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CONTENTS OF VOLUME CXXV.

JANUARY, 1924.

	PAGE
The General Election. I.—By the Right Hon. Sir Evelyn Cecil, G.B.E., M.P.	1
II.—By W. M. R. Pringle, M.P. III.—By Arthur Ponsonby, M.P.	19
IV.—By Sir Alfred Hopkinson, K.C.	27
The Capital Levy. By Sir Josiah Stamp, K.B.E.	33
Dr. John Clifford. By the Rev. Dr. J. Scott Lidgett	41
Lord Loreburn. By Francis W. Hirst	46
The Situation in Bavaria. By Hermann Lutz	54
What Europe is Thinking of America. By Professor Charles Sarolea	62
Joseph Conrad. By C. K. Allen	72
The Chinese Renaissance and its Significance. By the Rev. A. M. Chirgwin	78
The Courtauld Gift to the National Gallery. By W. A. Probert	84
What of Religion in Russia? By Edward Bernstein	94
Footprints of History in Provence. By Philip Carr	101
A Field for the White Man: Costa Rica. By V. Torlesse Murray	117
Foreign Affairs. By George Glasgow	123
Literary Supplement:—	
Devils, or What You Will. By J. E. G. de Montmorency	
Reviews of Books	

FEBRUARY, 1924.

The Political Situation. By the Right Hon. C. F. G. Masterman, M.P.	137
Agriculture—The Election, and After. By the Right Hon. Francis D. Acland, M.P.	146
The League and the Old Diplomacy. By Professor Alfred E. Zimmern	156
The French Senatorial Elections. By Denis Gwynn	163
The General Election, 1923: Three-Party Problems. By John H. Humphreys	169
A Century Ago. By Sybil Wentworth Roskill	176
The New Adult Educational Movement in Germany. By Dr. Werner Picht	182
Workmen's Compensation. By J. G. Lockhart	191
Gregorio Martínez Sierra and the Modern Spanish Drama. By Dr. Walter Starkie	198
The Rhineland in Inter-Allied Negotiations during the War. By S. Maccoby	206
Biblical Phrases in Context and Currency. By the Rev. Dr. G. W. Wade	216
Christian Survivals among Certain Moslem Subjects of Greece. By Margaret Hardie (Mrs. Hasluck)	225
In Norway. By Frances Pitt	233
Foreign Affairs. By George Glasgow	237
Literary Supplement:—	
Reviews of Books	253

MARCH, 1924.

Three Parties and the Implications. By Capt. W. Wedgwood Benn, D.S.O., M.P.	273
Woodrow Wilson. By H. Wilson Harris	282
The Greek Dilemma: Monarchy or Republic. By William Miller, LL.D.	290
The Revival of Poland. By the Right Hon. H. A. L. Fisher, M.P.	299
Lenin: A Genius of Revolution. By Ariadna Williams	309
A Reputed Fragment from the Parthenon. By Professor Ernest A. Gardner	319
The Conversations at Malines. By the Right Rev. the Lord Bishop of Ripon, D.D.	325
The Utilisation of Native Effort in the Development of East Africa. By C. W. Hobley, C.M.G.	331
Chekhov and His Plays. By C. Nabokoff	338
Recent Criticism of <i>Hamlet</i> . By Dr. E. E. Stoll	347
The Social Aspect of the Illegitimacy Problem. By Mrs. Neville-Rolfe, O.B.E.	358
Evolution by Symbiosis. By H. Reinheimer	365
Foreign Affairs. By George Glasgow	373
Literary Supplement:—	
Reviews of Books	389

INDEX.

APRIL, 1924.

	PAGE
Indian Reform: The Second Stage. By Lord Meston, K.C.S.I. ...	409
Can Labour Pacify Europe? By George Young, M.V.O. ...	416
The Unemployed Problem of To-day. By Percy Alden, M.P. ...	425
The Fascist Rule. By One Who Knows ...	432
New Light on the Drink Problem. By Sir Arthur Newsholme, K.C.B. M.D. ...	438
The Macedonian Tangle. By J. Walter Collins ...	445
The Sifting and Sorting of the Poor: A Much-Needed and Long-Delayed Reform. By Miss Edith Sellers ...	451
Byron as Politician. By Walter A. Briscoe ...	460
Some Aspects of the London Traffic Problem. By H. Arthur Baker, L.C.C. ...	468
The Czar Nicholas II. By Count Leo L. Tolstoy ...	474
Psychology and Spiritual Miracles. By the Rev. A. N. Rose ...	485
Latvia of To-day. By Miss E. C. Davies ...	497
Albania's Past and Present. By Madame Marie de Perrot ...	504
Foreign Affairs. By George Glasgow ...	509
Literary Supplement:—	
Reviews of Books ...	525

MAY, 1924.

The Political Situation. By Ramsay Muir, M.P. ...	545
Housing: The Rents of Working-Class Houses. By E. D. Simon, M.P. ...	553
Russia and Her Neighbours. By H. Charles Woods ...	562
"Copec" and After. By the Rev. Alfred E. Garvie, D.D. ...	571
The New Turkey. By Dudley Heathcote ...	576
The Continuity of Christ. By the Rev. Dr. J. Scott Lidgett ...	584
Social Insurance: Extended and Unified. By Joseph L. Cohen ...	593
Rural Germany and the Towns. By J. L. Benvenisti ...	600
The New Criticism: Albert Thibaudet. By Madame Turquet-Milnes ...	607
Spain and Hispano-Americanism. By Frank B. Deakin ...	616
The Life of Olive Schreiner. By Miss Phyllis Bottome ...	624
The Troubles of Switzerland. By Dr. E. Fueter ...	631
A Private Secretary to William III. By Miss M. Lane ...	639
Foreign Affairs. By George Glasgow ...	645
Literary Supplement:—	
Reviews of Books ...	661

JUNE, 1924.

The Budget. By Sir Godfrey Collins, C.M.G., M.P. ...	681
Reparations and Security. By Major-General Sir Frederick Maurice, K.C.M.G., C.B. ...	687
The German Elections. By Eduard Bernstein ...	695
Liberals and Labour in the House. By Isaac Foot, M.P. ...	701
The Greek Republic. By Dr. William Miller ...	706
A Swiss View of British Foreign Policy. By Sir A. W. Ward, Litt.D. ...	715
Eleonora Duse. By C. Nabokoff ...	721
South African Race Problems. By William Harbutt Dawson ...	726
Poetry and Philosophy. By Professor A. C. Pigou ...	735
The Foreign Office and Lithuania. By Valentine J. O'Hara ...	745
The New Reformation. By the Rev. Dr. Samuel McComb ...	753
Progress in Siam. By Percy Cross Standing ...	762
Duck, The Thresher Poet. By G. H. Godwin ...	769
Foreign Affairs. By George Glasgow ...	777
Literary Supplement:—	
Reviews of Books ...	793

THE GENERAL ELECTION.

I.

EVERY General Election affords material for comment from the party point of view, but some distinction may properly be drawn between broad comment, which more or less applies to every General Election, and strictly party comment, which is mainly directed to the particular circumstances of the occasion: and one in great part has its complement in the other.

Accordingly, I should like in the first place to make one or two broad comments on General Elections as a whole. It is, no doubt, one of the cardinal theories of democracy that government should be by the people and for the people, to borrow from President Lincoln's phraseology, and that decisions of the King and his Government should be decisions virtually in their name and supported at all times by them. But this theory has the germ of the serious inconvenience and danger of causing too frequent General Elections, especially in these days, where the number of large political parties is not two but three, and the danger would be greater if the number of parties increased. Already it has long been a commonplace for the Opposition in the House of Commons to declare vociferously that any controversial decision of the Government of the day does not represent the opinion of the people, and if these declarations were accepted logically they are challenges to repeated General Elections. This latest dissolution of Parliament was, admittedly, to obtain the view of the country on Mr. Bonar Law's pledge at the previous dissolution about no fundamental change in fiscal policy during the late Parliament, and Mr. Baldwin's advice to his Majesty to dissolve was, at any rate, in complete accord with democratic doctrine, even if regretted by some critics on practical grounds. Yet if this doctrine is to carry sway without discretion and cause perpetual General Elections it must recoil upon its admirers, for few tolerate the continuous dislocations of trade, and often the best candidates will jib at the strain of the reiterated contests and, it must be added, the heavy expense.

The next broad comment which I should like to make on General Elections as a whole is, perhaps, a platitude, unfortunately, and that is that they do not bring out, as a rule, the finest side of human nature. I fear this cannot altogether be avoided, human nature being what it is, but the selfish tendency, which is apt to assert itself, promotes unscrupulous electioneering, the dragging of red herrings deliberately across the track—I am not speaking of any one party, and connives at the half-truth leaflet, which is so unworthy a feature of many electoral fights. It would be

a vast gain if a voter would more genuinely endeavour to set before himself the real good of the entire community or nation or Empire, and not be so readily influenced solely or mainly by how any specific proposal will affect himself. This selfishness is a factor in the proverbial fickleness of the populace.

Another factor is the hopeless ignorance of some of the electors. In my childhood, if my memory serves me right, rumour alleged that Liberals gained votes, and the Conservatives were handicapped, because of the Psalmist's testimony that a good man is merciful and liberal; and in this late Election I have been told on the evidence of canvassers, that voters said they must vote for the Labour Party, because they thought that Labour Exchanges belonged to them, and the Exchanges had been so helpful in paying benefits. In my own election contest a voter was prepared, she told one of my supporters, to vote for me as a Unionist candidate because she liked the Union: her mother had died there, and they had been very kind to her. Further explanations followed!

Bearing these aspects in mind, and turning now to the particular circumstances of the present Election, several thoughts suggest themselves. Primarily, the United Kingdom is faced for the first time in its history with the fact already incidentally mentioned, that instead of the two traditional Conservative and Liberal parties, there are three parties numerically, more or less equally powerful, and that any two of them can combine to make government by the third impossible. It may occur to some observers that the proper ideal division in party politics is between moderate opinions and extreme opinions, but whether this be so or not, it is plainly beyond the point just now. For better or worse we are up against the Continental instability and inconvenience of several political parties. Writing as I do before the middle of December, curiosity will probably be satisfied and speculation allayed, long ere this article is published, as to whether Mr. Baldwin will meet Parliament, and what steps may next be contemplated, but one or two general remarks may not be amiss. The King's Government, according to the old maxim, must be carried on; and, brushing aside some important considerations, which after all are for this purpose secondary, it is the duty of the party with the biggest numbers to accept the burden of governing. It does not seem to me that former precedents about a Prime Minister not meeting Parliament in a minority apply, because in those days the Opposition majority was homogeneous, while to-day it is heterogeneous, and in circumstances like to-day's the positive and simple thesis ought, in the first instance, to prevail that the biggest Parliamentary party should carry on until chal-

lenged. If this statement is accepted it clears the air. But if the biggest party is successfully challenged, conditions change, and responsibility for efficient government shifts to the challengers, be they one party or more, and the outlook in British politics is that they may usually be more. The situation may then easily arise of "thieves falling out"—I hope I may employ the phrase without offence, as I am referring to any parties, and it crisply expresses my meaning—but there will be a safeguard in the fact that the "thieves" are unlikely to operate and take active measures, or precipitate a crash, unless they are prepared to face the music. In the present case, if Mr. Baldwin is defeated in Parliament, it would appear natural that Mr. Ramsay MacDonald, as leader of the second biggest party, should be sent for by His Majesty, and this would be a suitable precedent for the future. It is to be hoped, however, that in no event will national interests be sacrificed to party manœuvring for position.

On a different plane of comment some attention must be drawn to the reckless misrepresentation, only too obvious last November and December, from which no elections appear to be free, however much it is justly deplored and resented. I have been invited to write this contribution from the Conservative point of view, and I should not fulfil my undertaking if I did not, as a member of the party, give vent to some protest against the parrot-cry of dearer food, which I think was as unsparingly and unfairly used as was the "terminological inexactitude" of Chinese labour in the Election of 1906. The matter may be one for fair controversy, but the exemption of the chief necessities of life from taxation should have put the contention out of court this Election. It was only by distorted statements, such as that Protection would "scrape a bit of the butter from the slum child's dirty crust" that the natural fears of women could be played upon. The bogey of dear clothing and dear goods of all sorts was also conjured up to frighten the easily alarmed voter, and the argument that increased production resulting from a protected home market would reduce prices did not dispel his nervousness, while the effect of increased production on unemployment was lost sight of as the cry of dearer food grew louder. The slogan did its work in scaring the housewife, and confusing the issues in her mind. Certainly it did not help to educate accurately an unlearned elector seeking knowledge, or assist him in elucidating Imperial or trade considerations, or realising his own Imperial responsibilities.

In conclusion, I cannot but remark that Mr. Baldwin's transparent honesty—for such it was, otherwise there would have been no Election—was dogged by a combined section of the normally Unionist Press, which was disloyal to him for mysterious or un-

4 THE CONTEMPORARY REVIEW.

declared reasons best known to itself. Before Mr. Baldwin was fully or fairly in the saddle its newspapers began methods of disparagement, first by pin-pricks, and then by open attack, well aware that it is only through continual dripping of the water upon the stone that any impression is created. Are we to be driven to the conclusion that honesty is not the best policy? Or that a Prime Minister who possesses it and resists this kind of pressure will always be hounded out? For the country's sake I devoutly hope not. We need to maintain the highest traditions in statesmanship, in journalism, and among the electorate.

EVFLYN CECIL.

II.

"A LEAP in the dark," was Lord Derby's description of the Reform Act of 1897, whereby he commended that measure to his faithful followers in the House of Lords. Never has a Conservative Prime Minister taken a leap so long, or plunged into a darkness so impenetrable as Mr. Baldwin when he decided on this year's dissolution. Some have found in this political suicide a conclusive proof of the futility of the business man in politics. It would be a mistake, however, to attribute Mr. Baldwin's action to a combination of courage and simplicity. There is evidence of calculation in the hurried and apparently purposeless Election, but none of the assumptions of the calculators was sound.

An immediate Election was expected to offer three advantages to the advocates of Protection. First, they expected to gain by the poverty and unreadiness of Labour, and by the disunion in the Liberal ranks: second, they believed that after nearly three years of bad trade and unemployment the victims of these depressing conditions would be ready to snatch at any remedy which was offered for their ills: third, remembering that three years of reflection and discussion had been fatal to the tariff propaganda of the late Mr. Chamberlain in 1906, they determined not to repeat that mistake but to take a verdict without developing the policy and before the facts could be ascertained.

Nothing went according to programme. In a few days the Liberal feud was healed. The Independent and National Liberals laid aside their internecine quarrels, and with a smoothness and expedition which nobody had foreseen, not only presented a united front against the Protectionist proposals of the Government, but propounded a common policy, both foreign and domestic, which, as events have shown, commands the largest body of support among the electors. The Labour Party, likewise,

though at first taken by surprise, developed an energy and driving power which astonished its leaders as much as its opponents.

The expectation that public distress could be exploited for political ends was equally unfounded. The most important factor had been overlooked. The clever people who had carried Mr. Baldwin off his feet had not observed that the trades which were suffering most from the depression were precisely those to which Protection offered no ray of hope. Even those industries whose woes had been most loudly advertised as the victims of unfair foreign competition failed to respond. Nottingham increased a hundredfold the majority of its solitary Liberal M.P., and sent a Free Trade colleague to bear him company. Sheffield, indeed, recorded one Conservative gain, but only on a minority vote. The three Labour Members retained their seats by commanding majorities. In Middlesbrough a Conservative seat was lost, and the Protectionists did not even challenge the Free Trader in the other division. In Bradford, alleged to be suffering from French competition, the solitary Conservative disappeared—and a member of the Government too. Coventry, which was held out as a living witness of the benefits of Protection for the motor car industry, substituted for its Protectionist Member a representative of Labour. Even agriculture did not succumb to the bribe of £14,000,000. Where the subsidy policy was boldly fought, the Conservatives were routed, as in the South-West of England. Most of the Conservative gains were obtained in divisions where more timid counsels prevailed. In pre-war days the Protectionists believed that two bad winters would give them the victory: this year in the third bad winter they have been routed.

The shock tactics from which so much was hoped were fruitless. The Protectionists were right in believing that a longer delay would have been disastrous, but they found to their cost that the people resent any attempt to steal a march upon them. History has shown that the British people have a constitutional aversion to being rushed. The Election proves that this is as true under a wide democratic suffrage as it was under the older and more restricted franchises.

The case for Protection could not have been more crudely or feebly presented. It would be a compliment to describe the platform resources of Ministers as second-rate. Mr. Baldwin was moderate, respectable and dull. The convinced Protectionists among his colleagues—Mr. Neville Chamberlain, Mr. Amery, Sir Philip Lloyd-Greame and Sir William Joynson-Hicks—received the public attention they deserved. Lord Derby floundered helplessly in the Protectionist morass. Lord Robert Cecil's few interventions did nothing to support his reputation as a

man of principle. Lord Curzon, the only first-rate speaker in the Government, was silent. Nor were the forays of Lord Birkenhead of much avail. His "sharp sword and strong arm" won no "glittering prizes" for the Ministers who cold-shouldered him. He was not content to damn them with faint praise: in at least one speech he covertly attacked them for their handling of the European situation and their settlement of the American debt. The ex-Lord Chancellor spent more time in expounding the Prussianism of his Glasgow Rectorial address than in defending the Protectionists of Mr. Baldwin's Plymouth speech.

The case for Protection, thus incompetently and inconsistently presented, did not bear examination. In propounding Protection as a cure for unemployment, Conservative speakers were confronted with two difficulties which they could not overcome. First, for ten out of the last twelve months they have agreed with everybody else in attributing our exceptional unemployment to a falling off in world trade which could only be restored by a settlement in Europe. Second, they could never produce any trustworthy figures to show that competition in the home market was responsible for more than a fringe of the prevailing unemployment. When, owing to exigencies created by other parts of their policy, Ministers had to contend that their Protective taxes on imports of a little over £200,000,000 would produce a revenue of about £60,000,000—£14,000,000 for the farmers, £10,000,000 for unemployment insurance, £10,000,000 for Empire development, £25,000,000 for remissions on tea and sugar, and if there was anything over an undefined sum for widows' pensions—their dialectical position became untenable.

In the rare cases where Ministers descended to facts they invariably came to grief. The scare about Ruhr steel is only the most glaring illustration. 4,000,000 tons of steel were discovered by the penetrating vision of Sir William Joynson-Hicks locked up in the Ruhr, ready at any moment to flood our markets and throw tens of thousands of steel workers out of employment. On investigation it was found that there were only about 400,000 tons of exportable steel in the Ruhr valley. Further, it was readily understood that even if greater quantities were available, and we excluded them by tariffs, they would only have gone to foreign competitors, while if we had been in a position to receive a large quantity of cheap steel, it would not have diminished unemployment here because it would have provided work in the steel-using industries which are now suffering so severely from the depression.

Motor cars also, instead of providing a case, became a trap for the Protectionists. They were shown to be wrong in their figures, both about touring cars which are protected, and about

commercial cars which are not, and this confusion was completed when a leading manufacturer announced that the duty would have to be raised from 33½ to 50 per cent.

The examples of other countries were shown to be both misleading and irrelevant. America had not by her high Protection averted a depression, owing to which over 5,000,000 had been thrown out of work. The further argument that the American recovery was due to the Fordney Tariff was exploded when it was proved that the revival of trade had begun long before September 21st, 1922, when the Fordney Tariff came into operation, and must, therefore, be attributed to other causes than the tariff policy of the United States. The case of France was even less helpful, as the artificial prosperity of that country is attributable to her refusal to pay her way, and is associated with a scale of real wages which would not be tolerated in this country.

Supported by champions so unimpressive, and defended by weapons so untrustworthy, it is not surprising that Protection has suffered an overwhelming defeat.

The Labour and Liberal parties were agreed in resisting Protection and opposing the Government. This common interest and common objective produced no alliance between them. Some efforts to effect at least local understandings were made on the eve of the Election, but these met with no success. There were two reasons for this failure. First, the Labour Party was suspicious of any arrangement which would have imperilled their prospects of remaining the second party in the House, with the right of succession should the Conservatives be in a minority. Second, a large section of the Party regards the destruction of the Liberal Party as its primary object, because it holds that the continued existence of Liberalism is the chief stumbling-block in the way of a Labour majority in the House of Commons. These motives not only prevented co-operation, but in some cases made the antagonism between Liberals and Labour more bitter than their respective opposition to the Government. Complaint has been made that in some places there were arrangements between Liberals and Conservatives in opposition to Labour. Such arrangements did in fact take place; they were not numerous, and only in a very few instances were they successful. On the other hand, in a much larger number of constituencies, Labour candidates were introduced whose only object and result would be to defeat the Liberal. In some of these cases there is reason to believe that the candidatures were financed from Tory sources.

Mr. Ramsay MacDonald was the only Labour leader who could be described as a national figure in the Election campaign. Every-

where he went he had enthusiastic receptions. His speeches were on a high level and made a wide appeal.

On the Labour side the Election was a soldiers' battle. The Party's main strength lies in the Trade Unions, which provide a ready-made organisation and enable Elections to be carried on at a much lower cost than in the case of the other parties. The Labour Party has also the benefit of the wholehearted devotion of the Socialists, who, though a small minority, have a representation in the Parliamentary party far out of proportion to their numbers in the electorate.

The Capital Levy and an equivocal reference to Nationalisation were the chief differences between the Labour and Liberal parties. The former topic was pushed into the background by the wiser members of the Party, who now recognise that the opportunity for such a levy has passed away. Socialism was treated with similar discretion, except in the West of Scotland and South Wales. The practical policy, therefore, which was most advocated on Labour platforms was indistinguishable from that of the Liberal Party.

Labour is naturally elated because its numbers have risen to 191. Its most valuable recruit is Mr. Frank Hodges, while it suffers from the temporary absence of Mr. Arthur Henderson.

The Liberal Party, though still numerically the third party, has gained most from the Election. The figure with which to compare its present strength of 160 is not 117—the number of Independent and Coalition Liberals combined in the last Parliament. The majority of the latter gave pledges a year ago to support the Government, and did in fact support it. By virtue of these pledges they were returned by Conservative votes, and this explains the defeat of so many of them at the recent Election. The growth of Liberalism is revealed in the increase in the number of Free Liberals since 1918. In that year they numbered only 28; last year they were 60; they are now 160.

The party has sustained regrettable casualties in the Election. Sir Alfred Mond's absence is a serious loss. Mr. Walter Runciman and Sir Donald Maclean unfortunately undertook impossible tasks. Sir Arthur Marshall's narrow defeat deprives the party of an efficient Whip. Against these losses are to be set the return of Mr. Masterman, Sir Ellis Griffiths, and Mr. Geoffrey Howard, and the election for the first time of men like Mr. Ramsay Muir and Mr. Comyns Carr.

During the Election, in platform oratory the Liberal Party far surpassed its rivals. Mr. Asquith's speeches recalled his achievements of twenty years ago. Mr. Lloyd George in renewing his old associations revived his platform triumphs of pre-war days. Lord Grey was as weighty and impressive as ever. On Free Trade

Mr. Churchill spoke with his usual force and eloquence. Sir John Simon was as effective as he was indefatigable.

The Liberal Party opposed Protection, and Protection was defeated; it also opposed the Capital Levy, and the Capital Levy was defeated. It is the chief irony of the Election that though the Liberal programme was that upon which there was the largest measure of agreement among the electors, the party is third in numerical strength in the House of Commons. But it holds the balance. Be the life of the new Parliament long or short, whoever is in office, the Liberal Party will be in power.

W. M. R. PRINGLE.

III.

FATE chastises stupidity more severely than moral obliquity, even if the stupidity be honest. The result of the General Election is the punishment of nothing more nor less than stupidity. When a Prime Minister decides to make an appeal to the country he must survey the field and base his calculations on a considered estimate of the chief factors which are likely to influence the people's verdict. First and foremost among these he must take into account his own personality and reputation, the position of his party and their strength or weakness in Parliament, and the condition at the moment of public affairs nationally and internationally. Mr. Baldwin never made any sudden decision to appeal to the country; he suggested it tentatively, and was then violently forced into it. Apparently, therefore, he never had time to examine with the necessary care any of the relevant considerations. Had he done so he must have come to very definite conclusions.

His personality was unknown, and his reputation blank; even if he had had the whole of his press behind him, which was very far from being the case, he was entirely overshadowed as a political figure by the leaders of other parties. This, however, could have been counterbalanced by a dramatic and effective appeal which might have stirred the public imagination, and roused enthusiasm at any rate among his supporters. But his appeal was half-hearted and unattractive, and was continually weakened by an apologetic note which gradually made people impatient. In Parliament his party was firmly established with a good working majority, ready to give him support for another three years. But he seems to have preferred the judgment of the party managers to that of his House of Commons supporters, who, being in close touch with their constituents would, had they been consulted, undoubtedly have counselled him against such a rash step as a general election. Meanwhile unemployment in the country showed little signs of

diminution. The record of the Conservative Government during the twelve months, both in regard to unemployment and in other respects was far too meagre and inadequate to count at all in their favour. The Election itself was interpreted as a confession of failure to deal with the main problems of the moment; and the new proposals to deal with unemployment by means of tariffs, even if accepted, could not come into force till after a full session of Parliament, and could only produce results some considerable time after the imposition of the tariffs. There was no cure in this for the immediate evil. As to the international situation the Government attitude had been one of almost ignominious vacillation, and Europe was in a far worse condition than it was a year ago. Added to all this a quickly recurring General Election is most unpopular unless very explicit justification is given for it.

None of these considerations are far fetched, nor are they the least difficult to think of. To repeat them briefly and simply: Mr. Baldwin was not a Lloyd George, nor an Asquith, nor a Ramsay MacDonald nor even a Churchill or a Birkenhead; he could not hope to make anything like as good a case for Protection in two or three weeks as Joseph Chamberlain made of it in his prolonged and spectacular campaign, which, however, ended in complete failure; the Conservative Party were strong, contented and comfortable in the House of Commons; the unemployed in the country were enraged against the Government; and the imminent collapse of Germany was only to be prevented by undistracted vigilance and tactful interference at a psychological moment, which could not be selected except by continuous study of the intensely complicated and ever-changing circumstances of the European situation.

All these points were fully and freely discussed by rank and file politicians of all parties. It required no profound knowledge to arrive at an obvious conclusion under each head. When, therefore, a dissolution was announced, it was generally felt that no sane man would act in this way unless there was "something behind," "something up his sleeve," something we had missed in our probably too hasty review of the situation. Behind the simple and honest demeanour of our Prime Minister there must be a Macchiavellian mind; his honesty was a mask; his modesty a blind; he knew of factors concealed from us; the thing must be very far from being as simple as it seemed. There would be a surprise in store for us; we should prove to be utterly wrong.

There was a surprise in store for us. But it turned out to be that we were more right than we ever dared to assume possible. No prophet had gone further than to foretell a reduced majority for the Government. But every one of the palpable objections to holding

an Election held good with one section or other of the electorate. A Conservative majority of over seventy above all other parties was converted into a minority of over ninety. The Liberal Party in which internal dissensions had been so acute as to render all recent attempts at reunion fruitless found themselves suddenly united beneath the old banner of Free Trade, under which all had fought successfully in years gone by. Negative as it may be, the Free Trade appeal against Protection carries still a certain magic in it (another factor which the Prime Minister's advisers seem to have entirely disregarded). On balance the Liberals gained over fifty seats from the Conservatives. These seats and reunion were indeed unexpectedly magnificent gifts. But they were gifts not bought by Liberal constructive proposals, by intensive Liberal propaganda, or by the wisdom and foresight of Liberal leaders; they were gifts gratuitously presented to the Liberal Party by a Conservative Prime Minister.

The Labour Party lost only sixteen seats and gained sixty-two. This was beyond the expectations of the most sanguine of our prophets. But in point of fact it is not very surprising, because Labour does not wait for election time to preach its gospel. In season and out of season Labour principles are preached and propagated to an ever-widening circle of the people. Week in week out from thousands of platforms the appeal of Labour reaches far and wide. Moreover, the record of the Party in Parliament had stimulated interest and appreciation to a remarkable degree in the constituencies; and further, the prestige and high reputation gained by Mr. Ramsay MacDonald became itself a great asset to the cause. Although handicapped by a party chest very meagrely filled as compared with the overflowing coffers of the two other parties, Labour could depend on armies of voluntary workers whose zeal made each one of them more valuable than a dozen paid agents. So the ever steady advance of the Labour vote and Labour representation in Parliament continues and is due to no fortuitous swings of pendulums but to concentrated and, one may say, inspired endeavours of the workers themselves. In spite of the skilful and untiring efforts of both the national and provincial Press to counter by every means conceivable the great new movement, recruits are joining Labour in steadily increasing numbers.

In the present confusion caused by the sudden development of a three-party system, it is this outstanding fact—the inexorable advance of the Labour Party—which becomes the predominating political consideration of the moment whatsoever the issues may be which are being discussed on the surface. It has been referred to by prominent members of both the other parties as "a menace." Only a year ago Mr. Churchill declared:

"Liberals must join with Unionists and Conservatives in every part of the country to oppose this disastrous movement which is gathering strength month after month and year after year."

Mr. Lloyd George has repeatedly thrown down the challenge to Labour and Socialism; there were several Liberal candidates fighting Labour during the election with full Tory support, and the union of the two parties in municipal matters has become habitual.

It would seem, therefore, that the deadlock which the three-party system seems for the moment to present, will only be temporary. Government by a third of the House of Commons on the sufferance of another third is not a system of Government which can endure. The middle party may seem to hold the whip hand by giving or withdrawing its support, and so making or destroying governments. But the exercise of that function is not likely to bring that party very much credit or support from the electorate in the long run. Although shades and wings within parties will continue to exist, the great cleavage, the real, deep gulf of difference must eventually be between those whose proposals are all directed towards a fundamental and drastic change in our social order and those who desire the maintenance of the present capitalist system. It may take two or three elections before the really significant issue will present itself quite clear cut. There will be questions of the moment arising upon which superficial political animosities will be stirred. But ultimately progressives and reactionaries are bound to fall into two main camps. The Labour Party is essentially and necessarily anti-coalitionist. Whether the other two parties coalesce, co-operate or fuse time will show. At any rate the idea of a centre party is alien to our political instincts, and such an institution would be unlikely to thrive.

In the present immediate dilemma the Government have decided to meet Parliament. The analogy of 1892 is quoted, but as a matter of fact there is little or no resemblance in the special circumstances of the two elections. Indeed, there would appear to be no parallel for a Government dissolving a Parliament only a year old without any adverse vote, and being handsomely defeated on making a special appeal to the electorate. Their decision therefore to remain in office without power merely has the effect of depriving their successors of the benefit of this valuable interval which would be devoted not only to formulating but to the actual preparation of the schemes and projects which they will want to submit immediately the new Government is formed.

ARTHUR PONSONBY.

IV.

THE result of the Election has disclosed nothing that need impair our belief in the solid good sense or in the right feeling of the British people, in spite of the startling ignorance of huge numbers of the electors; but it has demonstrated only too painfully the defects of our electoral system. We shall, no doubt, hear the old complaints about the fickleness of democracy and the swing of the pendulum. There has been, in fact, no real swing of the pendulum, the votes given for Conservative candidates this year are only slightly fewer than those given last year, the votes for all other parties very little more than in 1922.

Probably a majority of the electors may, not unnaturally, have thought that the issue before them was whether it is better to have a fiscal system based on Free Trade or on Protection, and the answer they have given is the same as when that question last came before them—in 1906—Free Trade. A portion of the Conservative Party no doubt desired to see Protection made the permanent basis of our fiscal policy; others believed that there might be, and actually were at the present time, conditions which made a departure desirable from the general rule that Free Trade is best, that there were exceptions to that rule, dependent on the special circumstances in which both this and other countries are now placed. Both Cobden and Mill recognised that it was unwise and impossible to make an absolutely rigid rule which many regarded with superstitious reverence. The nature and extent of these exceptions, however, were not clearly pointed out, and the same conservative instincts which led the Barons to say long ago *Nolumus leges Angliæ mutare*, caused many electors to think it wrong to support changes which seemed to be tampering with the holy faith, handed down from their fathers for nearly a century, at a fortnight's notice. In Lancashire especially, the memory of the "hungry forties" was still alive.

It is unfortunate that most Free Traders forget Mill's warning: "Defeated as a general theory, the Protectionist doctrine finds support in some particular cases from considerations which, when really in point, involve greater interests than mere saving of labour—the interests of national subsistence and national defence." But Mill could not foresee the events during and since the war, which made it necessary to have a resurvey of the position as a whole. Electors were told quite truly that the usual result of Protection was to raise prices. They had difficulty with the prices now charged in making ends meet. The lie followed, and no time was given to contradict the assertion made in the flood of leaflets distributed that it was the intention to tax every-

thing coming from abroad, even to raise the duty on sugar. If ever there was a case in which clear and definite statement was required, and time for consideration, it was this, when important alterations in our fiscal arrangements were being proposed. It was too much to expect the agricultural labourer or the artisan, and, worse still, to expect his wife, living in overcrowded quarters, with "so many children she did not know what to do," to pick out from the Prime Minister's speeches in a few days what his proposals really amounted to, especially when the views expressed by Conservative candidates often differed very widely from each other.

In spite of all this, the reduction in the number of "Unionist" Members, as compared with last year, was due less to any reduction in the number of votes given for them than to the fact that the element of mere luck, owing to our defective electoral system, was in their favour last year and against them this year. After all, the "Labour" policy was defeated by a majority far larger than that against the policy of the Government, and the minority in favour of the "Liberal" policy, if there is one, was smallest of all.

A sound electoral system would be so framed as to secure four things:—

(1) That the deliberately expressed will of the nation is to prevail and be effective.

(2) That the House of Commons should be fairly representative of the opinions held by various sections of the people in proportion roughly to their numbers, and that the best representatives of each section should find a position there.

(3) That a strong Executive Government should be formed with the requisite parliamentary support.

(4) That vital changes of policy, or in the Constitution, should not be made without the nation having an opportunity of expressing, after fair consideration, its wish with regard to them.

The recent Election emphasises the fact that under our present system none of these objects is secured.

Proportional Representation seems to be needed more than ever to secure the second. It seems the height of absurdity, for example, that when the country has pronounced in favour of Free Trade, neither of the two ablest advocates of that policy, whose arguments have carried most weight during the contest—Mr. Winston Churchill and Sir Alfred Mond—should have a seat in the new Parliament, and that the leader of the Liberal Party in the House during the time of its worst eclipse, and who won universal respect—Sir Donald Maclean—should also be left outside. It is still more unfortunate that, at a time when agriculture

is in such a critical condition, Mr. Pretyma, whose experience and sound judgment would have been invaluable, has been defeated. The results of this election have greatly strengthened the case for Proportional Representation. At the same time it has shown that under the present system, just as under Proportional Representation, there may be no party strong enough to form a stable Government without some kind of arrangement with one of the others. Under a system of Proportional Representation, too, independent men would have a really good chance of election, men who would support fair proposals put forward by those responsible for carrying on the Government, and be free from the absurd idea that it is the regular duty of an Opposition to oppose. Party passion would count far less, and there might even be occupants of a few cross benches ready to listen to an appeal to reason, and exercise their own judgment and not merely respond to the crack of the party whip.

Far more important, however, for securing the other three objects above stated would be the introduction of the Referendum as a regular part of the constitutional machinery to ascertain the will of the nation when there is some question of vital importance upon which it has pronounced no definite decision. By a process of log-rolling or unholy bargaining a majority of the House of Commons may be induced to vote for some far-reaching measure, some vital constitutional change, or some new policy to which the nation is opposed. To ensure that the will of the people shall really prevail the Parliament Act is worse than useless. The same process which led to the passing of a measure, which the nation did not desire, a first time would enable it to be passed a second and third time by the same majority in the House of Commons, and the issue would be clouded by prejudice created by the cry that the will of the people was being resisted by a second Chamber not elected by popular vote. In such an atmosphere calm judgment would be impossible. The only effective way of knowing the national will is to refer the specific question, if really of vital importance, at once and simply to the decision of the electorate. A decision adverse to the proposal would not necessarily, though it might usually, involve either a dissolution or the resignation of a Government if it had recently been placed in power for other reasons and might still be carrying out the policy which the nation wished in all other matters. The present Election has proved clearly that our constitutional machinery needs amendment, that it does not secure things that are vital if democratic government is to be effectively carried on. It ought to be and could be amended without any revolutionary or dangerous changes.

The cause of the defeat of the Government was not a sudden

change of opinion among the electors. A number of causes contributed to produce the result:—

(1) The Government allowed it to be supposed that the issue was between Free Trade and a general system of Protection, without stating definitely what their proposals were and how limited, or at least not giving time for a fair consideration of these proposals.

(2) Resentment against an election being so hurriedly forced when nobody wanted one.

(3) A real division in the Conservative Party itself. Some were for Protection as a general policy, others against. Some wished to support France in forcing ruin and starvation upon Germany and to encourage France to go on using the money owed to us in keeping up armaments to dominate Europe. That was not the policy of the Government, but there was a fear that the sinister influence of a portion of the party would seriously cripple any attempt to carry out firmly a foreign policy demanded alike by humanity and self-interest. Probably, however, the sense of fairness innate in our people prevented Mr. Lloyd George's reckless attacks on the Government in a difficult situation, for which he himself was largely responsible, from having any serious effect even in the innumerable constituencies which he visited.

(4) The two sections of the Liberal Party managed to arrive at an agreement which prevented two Liberals from contesting the same seat, as they did last year.

(5) The Labour Party had a leader of great ability who had proved in a single session that he was fit to lead a great party in Parliament. His speech, for example, after the death of Mr. Bonar Law was a model of sincere good feeling, true appreciation, and restrained eloquence. It appealed to the best instincts of the House. So far as he could, he discouraged disorder and discourteous behaviour among members of his party.

(6) In mere debating cleverness, notwithstanding the admirable tone and real ability of Mr. Baldwin's own utterances, it must be admitted that his opponents had a certain advantage, even when solid argument was on his side.

(7) He fought under the disadvantage of being stabbed, perhaps one should rather say persistently pricked, in the back by a portion of the Press which, while not openly coming forward to help his opponents, may, owing to the large circulation of the cheaper papers owned by two peers, have exercised some influence adverse to him. That influence will be admitted by responsible men of all parties to be wholly noxious. Mr. Lloyd George himself, when serving the nation so splendidly as he did during the war, sometimes suffered from attacks of a similar kind from some quarters,

but the evil has grown worse. In many constituencies the Government suffered from having no local paper to support them. In Manchester, for example, there was no paper at all which represented their views, while no one can deny the ability of the paper which consistently opposed them.

(8) Flagrant misrepresentations of the Government policy were circulated by leaflets, some of which went even so far as to say that it was proposed to increase the duties on sugar and tea—the exact opposite of the truth but readily accepted by large numbers of voters who believe any statement, however preposterous, if they see it in print.

(9) In 1922, by mere luck, the Conservatives gained a much larger number of seats in three-cornered contests where they were really in a minority, than they did this year.

Lastly, attack is always easier than defence, and what Hooker said long ago is true still. "He that goeth about to persuade a multitude that they are not so well governed as they ought to be shall never want attentive and favourable hearers." The whole paragraph at the opening of Hooker's great work should be read as full of political wisdom profitable for these times.

With all these causes contributing to the result, it is no wonder that the Conservative Party did not retain a majority over the other two parties combined, and that there is a difficulty in finding out how the King's Government is to be carried on at all.

There is one curious result of the existence of three large parties instead of two which should be noticed. Say that thirty per cent. of the electors now are so ignorant or so indifferent to the questions raised that it is a mere chance for which side they will vote. Many canvassers would say that that is under the mark. It is, we may assume, an even chance, if there are only two parties to choose from, whether the electors vote for party A and its proposals, which have the support of a majority of the more thoughtful, say forty per cent. of the whole electorate voting, while party B has the support of thirty per cent. Half the utterly ignorant tumble into the A camp, which thus has fifty-five per cent. of the whole electorate and can carry on a Government based on the popular verdict. Suppose, however, that there is a third party C, with money and "literature," but having only the support of say, ten per cent., and that B has now only twenty per cent. of the thoughtful. The chances are now two to one against the ignorant and indifferent voting for A, instead of even. One third of the ignorant thirty per cent. follows each of the three parties, so that we have A's policy supported by fifty per cent., B's by thirty, and C's by twenty. There is no effective majority for anybody. The Government has lost its majority and is too

weak to carry on. Surely this is rather like what has actually occurred? The percentages suggested may seem absurd, but it is impossible to deny that some such result may follow, from having three parties instead of only two to choose from, until the electorate is better educated.

The truth is that there ought not to have been an Election at all now, but a Referendum to the nation on specific questions. Such a procedure would have carried out Mr. Bonar Law's pledge in spirit, though possibly not to the letter, more fully than the course that was adopted so hastily and with a result so unfortunate. The events of the last two months and the months to follow must furnish matter of immense interest to the political pathologist; to the patriot cause for intense anxiety. Still, although reports from all parts of the country show that the ignorance existing among numbers of electors, and perhaps especially among the women voters, is simply appalling, there is no reason to doubt the sound old maxim, "Trust the people"; but you must put the case clearly and fairly before them and in a manner which enables them to give an honest, considered, and clear reply.

ALFRED HOPKINSON.

THE CAPITAL LEVY AND DEFLATION.

AS the Election propaganda proceeded it became obvious that, while the superficial aspects of the Capital Levy and the procedure for its administration are becoming familiar, there is still much misunderstanding upon its less obvious consequences.

The first important stage of economic insight is to look beyond money values and outward expressions of wealth, to the physical objects of possession behind them. Mr. Ramsay MacDonald clearly reaches this stage. He observes the profound truth that these objects would remain undestroyed and intact, and that their ownership only would be affected by redistribution; that real wealth would not have been lost, but would only have changed hands. From this he has concluded that when the banker and financier refer to £3,000,000,000 having "disappeared" from business, they are talking nonsense, and he seems to be unaware that there is a world of values other than the values of physical objects of wealth. He thus applies his knowledge to a point at which it is quite irrelevant. For the second stage of economic insight is to realise that most complex physical objects, however physically perfect and complete, can only realise their full value in a *conjuncture* or co-operative setting of a highly complex economic, social and political structure whose characteristics are not physical but constitutional and psychological. Is a coal mine "wealth"? Not until men have the will and the skill, and the reserve of stored up values (fixed capital) and the reserve of immediate consumable goods (working capital) to work it. In other words, not until a State is functioning smoothly in internal peace and financial confidence.

At Northampton, Mr. MacDonald had said:

"There was not a single honest financier in the City of London who did not smile when he read the sort of stuff appearing in *certain* newspapers about panic and so on."

This drew from Mr. W. W. Paine a reply:

"It is incontestable that a huge and sudden contraction of both capital and credit must follow the cancellation of £3,000,000,000 of Government debt which involves the extraction of an equivalent amount from the pockets of the people in cash, bank credits, or securities; and it follows from this that the volume of trade, upon which the employment of our workpeople depends, must thereby be enormously reduced."

At Blaenavon, Mr. MacDonald, secure in the realisation of his truth, made a stinging rejoinder, and referred to the argument:

"which shows how grossly ignorant the so-called experts are when they deal with economic matters. He (Mr. Paine) was under the impression that if we raise a levy from accumulated wealth we are taking 3,000 millions away from the effective credit of the

country. He imagines that we are going to do something equivalent to coming round to you in this hall, emptying your pockets, and throwing everything we get into the fire. He supposes I owe you £5,000, and, as a body of creditors, you shake your fist in my face and say: 'Look here, we know you can pay up, you scoundrel; pay up at once.' This wonderful banker thinks that when the £5,000 has gone out of my pocket into yours in discharge of the debt, it is lost. Nothing of the kind. If 3,000 millions were taken by the State from accumulated wealth and used by the State to pay off its debt, that money would go back into the pockets of the people who now hold the debt. The amount of their scrip is redeemed by cheque or by pounds, shillings, and pence, the money which finds its way into the pockets of the State's creditors is immediately reinvested through the banks into industry, and that new investment goes into industry at 20s. in the £, and not at 17s. (Cheers.)

"There you have a City of London banker, a gentleman who, at any rate, is supposed to know something about the relationship between finance and credit and business, assuming that if the State pays up its debt every pound of the payments is lost to industry, and is a destruction of the credit of the nation. That is an absurdity."

The Times City Editor justly remarked:

"Mr. MacDonald made the capital blunder of denying an obvious truth. He asserted that such a measure would not cause a deflation of credit. Mr. MacDonald thinks that the sum of £3,000,000,000 could be extracted from the pockets of the more wealthy taxpayers and transferred to the pockets of holders of this amount of debt; and that nothing would be changed except that interest no longer would be payable on it. If the problem were as simple as that everyone would be in favour of a Capital Levy. Unfortunately, it is not. Take the case of a trader whose wealth rendered him liable to a levy of £50,000, and who holds £50,000 of War Debt. He would hand the War Loan to the Government, and the latter would in fact burn it. This man consequently would have £50,000 of securities less with which to finance his business."

Mr. Ramsay MacDonald is not the first to confuse the two distinct questions. Opponents of the Capital Levy never tire of pointing out that the destruction of £3,000 million of War Debt is a colossal measure of deflation. As one correspondent says, *apropos* of the above discussion, if individuals make payment of the 50 millions of levy in War Loan, "the Government would cancel this stock, and thus at once 50 millions less of potential credit would be available for the trade of the country." It should be obvious to everyone that if the real measure of deflation is the complete removal of £3,000 million from the credit structure it would, indeed, be "colossal" and, therefore, disastrous, and this form and measure of the argument is so common as to be tacitly accepted by thousands of people. But is it true?

I am opposed to the Capital Levy on a balance of its merits and demerits. I believe the balance of disadvantage to be a really substantial one. But I am for that reason the more sensitive that the

arguments against it shall not be exaggerated, for it is only by a moderate, balanced statement of a sound argument, or a correct representation of a fact, that objectors to the scheme can expect to command the acceptance of argument and fact by its partisans. If the object of the argument be to convince the genuine thinkers (as distinct from impressing the gullible) the disadvantages of overstatement are obvious.

• To what extent, then, will the payment of £3,000 million be actually a measure of deflation? I do not here refer to the lowering of the Stock Exchange prices, through panic, but only to the problem automatically raised by the annihilation of this sum as a basis of credit, without the accompaniment of psychological magnification. I desire, in simple economic terms, to examine, a little more closely than has hitherto been done, where the truth probably lies between the two extreme views.

It is just as well to remind ourselves of recent experience on what makes for inflation or deflation and what does not. The doctrine that inflation follows upon any addition to effective purchasing power if there is no corresponding addition to the goods to be purchased, was well exemplified during the war. In that case there was already practically a maximum possible production, and, therefore, it could not be said that the effect of inflation would be to induce a multiplication of goods. When people were induced to subscribe to War Loan by raising loans at the bank, either on the security of the loan itself or other collateral, it depended upon their subsequent behaviour whether inflation resulted or not. For if they troubled to forgo consumption themselves, or "save money" to repay the Bank Loan, at about the same rate that the Government spent the money borrowed, then the total exercise of spending-power competing against the available stock of commodities was no greater than before, and inflation did not ensue. But if they lived up to their incomes, and did not save rapidly, then the total purchasing power competing for the available stock was increased. For they, themselves, were still trying to get the old supply of commodities and had also enabled the Government to enter the market to compete with themselves for that supply, so that in this case inflation ensued and prices rose.

Speaking broadly, if a man possesses £1,000 in railway shares, and the certificate lies in his box, it represents only a title to certain property, and could be burnt without affecting business or purchasing power at all. But if he lodges it at a bank as security for an overdraft, it begins to perform another function. Banks are giving such overdrafts or putting out new purchasing power in excess of purchasing power forgone by others by way of deposits, and as soon as they increase the extent to which this is done, a net increase

to existing purchasing power has been granted and *ceteris paribus* inflation begins. The *duration* of inflation depends upon the use which is made of the new power. It is at a minimum, for example, when an overdraft is used for a single demand such as the construction and purchase of a house, and at its maximum when it forms a continuous basis of credit for a business purchasing and selling commodities which are consumed and replaced.

If, however, the destruction or loss of the railway scrip referred to above has deprived its owner of something which he has been using as collateral, and the credit given him upon it is no longer forthcoming and must be withdrawn, the reverse process of deflation ensues, and the volume of his business is contracted. The existing stream of goods, brought into being by forces of which the maintenance of the existing purchasing power is not the least important, finds itself faced with a reduced purchasing power, and prices fall, unless in the remote event, other persons owning unpledged resources happen or choose to use them, and so make the purchasing power up to its old level.

Now the payments to be made for discharging a Capital Levy will take various forms, and when the holders of War Loan which is redeemed or bought by the Government receive payments on that account from the Government they also will have various ways of disposing of the funds. These two varieties will have differing results upon the question of deflation. On the one hand, individuals only will be called upon to pay the Levy, though they will call to their aid banks, the Stock Exchanges, and corporate institutions. On the other hand, the holders of War Loan which will be taken up include individuals, banks, trustees, and companies of all kinds.

The following is a broad classification, for my present purpose, of the individual payers of the Levy:—

Individuals (including in effect small one-man companies) possessing:—

- | | | |
|----------------------|-----------------------------|--|
| (1) War Loan | (a) Unpledged | |
| | (b) Pledged | (i.) For trading purposes
(ii.) For non-trading |
| | | and possessing also other unpledged securities; |
| (2) Other Securities | (c) Pledged | (i.) For trading purposes
(ii.) For non-trading |
| | | and possessing no other unpledged securities; |
| | (a) Unpledged | |
| | (b) Pledged to the full | (i.) For trading purposes
(ii.) For non-trading |
| | (c) Not pledged to the full | do. |
| (3) Cash | | |
| (4) Property | (a) Mortgaged | |
| | (b) Unmortgaged. | |

Where the Levy is paid in War Loan, we will assume that that security (or some equivalent of War Debt more convenient for redemption for which it is exchanged by the Government) is ultimately cancelled. If its owner has not been "using" it in the sense above—(Case 1 (a))—there is no deflation in the process of cancellation, or only deflation of a remote and minute order—a mere reflex action. But even if he has been using it, deflation may not necessarily ensue. As the basis of an overdraft used to hold further securities, it may give place to those other securities themselves being accepted, either as the basis of business credit or, as a secondary matter, to carry other securities. For instance, there are many overdrafts where the security given is War Loan because it is the collateral which is the most readily acceptable of the borrower's securities, but where it does not represent his whole resources—for he possesses other stocks and shares not being used, so far, as security for loans. As his "front line" is taken he may mobilise his reserves to take the place of the War Loan surrendered for the Levy. The bank credit will not cease, it will be based on the second line, though, perhaps, requiring rather more ample cover on that account. (Cases under 1 (b) (i) and (ii) may not give rise to deflation at all). If, however, his unpledged resources are inadequate to support as much credit, he may have, in the one case, to realise the new shares purchased and cancel the overdraft, or, in the other case, contract his business. (Cases under 1 (c) (i).)

Where shares are realised in these circumstances some other person may, of course, raise a bank loan on hitherto unutilised collateral or on the shares themselves, in order to purchase them, in which case one bank loan merely replaces another, and neither inflation nor deflation results. (But there may be a slight tendency frequently to force down the price of the shares and thus lower the *extent* of the business credit given everywhere on the basis of such cover—a *general* deflation following the specific event). Where business is contracted, goods are sold off probably at some sacrifice in price and not fully replaced.

Now we must deal with the people who pay by tendering proportion of the total sum proffered in War Loan will come from people who have been "using" it, and who, at the same time, have no other securities in their locker to fill the place of the War Loan as cover? This proportion will make for active deflation, but the balance will not.

Now we must deal with the people who pay by tendering approved securities, and we find that similar considerations apply. Those who are using such securities as the basis of credit and have no other second line to substitute will have their credit contracted (Cases under 2 (b) i.) because of the shrinkage in their

way, *viâ* the market, into the hands of individual companies and trusts which have been holding War Loan now bought up by the Government and cancelled. In the hands of these recipients the newly obtained securities will perform whatever office of supporting credit and loans the redeemed War Loan may have been performing hitherto—no more, no less. No economic tendency is set up at this point. We can, therefore, take the previous question and ask it in the following form: "What proportion of the total sum tendered for the Levy in War Loan and approved securities will come from people who use the War Loan and securities as collateral for credit purposes in trading, and will not possess a balance of such securities (after paying the Levy) equal to the cover required for their present activities?"

It is probable that the total War Loan in the hands of individuals lies somewhat between £2,200,000,000 and £3,000,000,000. It is also probable that the total amount belonging to individuals liable to the Levy could not exceed seventy per cent. of this, say, £1,500,000,000 to £2,200,000,000. (The common guess that £1,000,000,000 out of a £3,000,000,000 Levy would be paid in War Loan direct is consistent with this, since there would be many reasons why the whole of the holding would not be required to be handed over). It is a matter, of course, not of precise statistics but rather of individual predilection to state how much of the £1,000,000,000 would fall within the answer to my question above. But I should be surprised if it exceeded £400,000,000.

- The further estimate for securities generally would, in my judgment, certainly not be greater than this.*

The next method of payment is by cash. Few people keep enough cash in their till to make a Levy payment. Payment may be made either by drawing on existing deposits, or by raising bank loans or mortgages; or by selling off securities; or by selling off trading commodities, which, by handing over the proceeds without replacing such goods, contracts the volume of business. In the first place, what is the effect of reducing bank deposits? It is necessary to consider what use the Government would make of the new cash resources. Probably their first use would be to repay Treasury Bills to the banks and others, and also the various stocks with early maturing dates. In the case of a deposit withdrawn by cheque, the bank's liability to its depositor is reduced by a given sum and its assets by a corresponding withdrawal and cancellation of a Treasury Bill.

If putting its depositors' money into a Treasury Bill were the only function performed by the bank in this case, neither deflation nor inflation would result. But it is not. In so far as the super-

* After considering the available evidence, *e.g.*, especially House of Commons Paper 102 of 1920, Appendices.

structure of *general* banking credits moves with the total deposits (cash remaining the same), there must inevitably be some curtailment of all that business directly linked thereto by the sensitive regulator of the proportions which other banking factors must bear to advances, to preserve the balance of liquidity and in order that depositors can be properly met if they withdraw their deposits.

One may estimate the amount held by the banks in forms suitable for redemption at, perhaps, £500 to £600 million, and, if the cash received by the Government is used to take up a considerable proportion of this, the shrinkage in advances may be important, though it is, indeed, possible to exaggerate it. It is important to observe that so far from money getting "back into trade" by this process, the contrary happens, and credit shrinks.

But what happens when the Government redeem the bills and securities held by *non-banking* holders or private individuals? These holders become possessed of cash instead of stock, and part of their existing advances are repaid. It does not follow, therefore, that the whole of the cash withdrawn from deposits to pay the Levy will take a finally deflationary course. The deflation process is almost restricted to that body of securities held by bodies whose function is to make credit facilities out of it, *i.e.*, the banks.

There will be a great demand for mortgage advances—which directly or indirectly would mean bank advances—to provide cash for the Levy. Roughly, the final recipients of this cash, the holders of the redeemed stock, provide the funds for this process by banking that cash. It is not to be supposed, however, that all the people with free funds to handle, on selling their War Loans to the Government broker, will necessarily want to have bank deposits or mortgages, and I have indicated elsewhere that a shifting must take place in the relative values of different classes of securities owing to a strong demand for that gilt-edged type of which the supply will have actually been cut down. In a similar way, on the sale of securities by a payer of the Levy, some buyer is provided with equivalent funds by the Government and no important mechanical deflation results. The case of the definite liquidation of trade stocks is more involved. It is a depletion of trading wealth in the individual business working on its own capital, and there must be much friction (unless the special provisions for instalments are very widespread) before the new free funds in the hands of, say, a trustee holding War Stock, can reach such a business as a loan, *viâ* the banks or similar channels, having regard to the fact that the business may be an untried borrower, have no good collateral, and be trading on a falling market. The funds in the whole range of individual businesses must of necessity suffer marked contraction.

I find it convenient to classify the deflationary effects, therefore, in four orders:—

(1) *Primary or automatic deflation* due to the final removal of a definite proportion of the basis of existing credit.

(2) *Secondary or consequential deflation* due to the influence of the first deflation in reducing the money value of *remaining* collateral cover for credit (in stocks or goods). This would cause a slight general tightening of credit limits and margins. Included in this effect is the fact that, value for value, the second line of securities which would be partly mobilised for collateral would have (in individual cases) less proportionate potency as cover. An overdraft might be agreed up to £9,000 on £10,000 of War Loan, but cut down to £7,000 on £10,000 in value of industrial ordinary shares.

(3) *Disturbance deflation* due to maladjustment in the demand and supply for new securities of different types. It is one thing to show that for every £1,000 of shares on the market seeking a buyer, there is £1,000 of recently freed buying power. Equivalence in amount is not equivalence in kind. There would be a stiff demand for securities of a kind to replace those cancelled, whereas the supply will be mainly of sound but little-known industrials, stocks with narrow markets, which must suffer, and so reduce the general credit basis.

(4) *Psychological deflation*.—If individuals become nervous through the deflation resulting from the foregoing causes, and general distrust sets in, their mental processes will carry the preceding effects far beyond the point arithmetically or automatically necessitated. A stampede is no less effective or dangerous because the size and ferocity of the oncoming pursuer is somewhat exaggerated by the pursued. A second class of psychological deflation would be due to lack of confidence in political conditions.

While I am of opinion that the defects of automatic deflation under the two first heads have been frequently exaggerated by the opponents of the Levy, for it could not reach more than one-half of the total sum payable outright as Levy and, in my judgment, it may not *necessarily* attach to as much—not more than £1,000 millions—I think the deflation necessitated under those heads would have a very appreciable effect in contracting business and employment. The greatest danger of that effect is, however, not so much in its own extent as in the favourable environment it affords for the rapid spread of the fourth class of deflationary influences.

J. C. STAMP.

DR. JOHN CLIFFORD.

THE passing of Dr. John Clifford has removed from us a great personality and one of the most notable public men of our time. Many years ago, Cardinal Manning warned his friends that Oliver Cromwell was not dead in England but only sleeping. The character, convictions, and widespread popular influence of Dr. Clifford show that there was substantial truth in this remark. In him the outstanding faith and temper of Puritanism received a fresh and impressive embodiment, while the contagious effect of his convictions and enthusiasm upon great multitudes of Englishmen showed that the spiritual and moral appeal of Puritanism was by no means exhausted.

Such a character and career are worthy of commemoration and study outside the bounds of the Christian denomination he so greatly served, and beyond the wide circle of those who were closely associated with him in the public activities of his life. I, therefore, venture, having known him well and observed him closely for many years past, to put on record some of the impressions made upon me by my intercourse with him. It is nearly thirty-five years since I first made his acquaintance, when I called upon him to ask for his sympathy and support in founding the Settlement of which I have ever since been head. I shall never forget the unaffected simplicity and generosity of his welcome and the encouragement he at once and unreservedly gave me. My last communication with him, only a few weeks before his death, was an affectionate letter in which he thanked me for a telegram of congratulation that I had sent to him on his eighty-seventh birthday. During the many intervening years I was brought into very close connection with him in Council, Committee, and Conference. We stood on many platforms together and served many causes which we both had at heart. In particular, Dr. Clifford and I were constantly brought together throughout the Education Controversy, which began in 1896, raged from 1902 to the outbreak of the war, and has recently shown signs of revival, though happily with a greater desire on all sides to reach agreement by consent. Perhaps my impressions of Dr. Clifford may be of greater value because he and I were influenced by different traditions, and, even when pursuing common aims, did not always see eye to eye, either as to the policy to be adopted or the methods to be used.

The *Times*, in its obituary notice of Dr. Clifford, spoke of his "moral grandeur." This description was amply justified, and will be endorsed not only by the multitudes who owned his leadership and watched him from a distance, but still more by those who

were brought into the most intimate relations with him. Dr. Clifford's career was in every way most remarkable. That the lad who worked at eleven years of age in a factory should found a Church in the West End of London, carry on his ministry there for fifty-seven years, and make it a centre in which multitudes of the keenest seekers after truth and the most ardent enthusiasts for social reform found their spiritual home, was in itself a wonderful achievement. It was the more wonderful because Dr. Clifford was not only a great preacher attracting crowds three times a week for nearly two generations, and preparing his discourses with amazing thoroughness, but also because he was even more truly concerned for the individual than for the crowd, and followed up his public ministration by a pastoral solicitude and sympathy which spared no efforts and made enormous demands on his thought, energy, and devotion. Nor was this all. By rigorous self-discipline and ceaseless application, Dr. Clifford made himself abreast of the best thought of his time over a wide range of subjects, and kept himself abreast throughout all the pressure of his later years. That he took Degrees in Arts, Science, and Law at the University of London while strenuously engaged in building up his church is substantial, though not the most important, evidence of this fact. Those who met him in quiet intercourse were astonished at the extent of his knowledge, at his acquaintance with the trend of modern thought, and above all by his familiarity with the philosophy of religion as well as with the methods and results of Biblical and historical criticism. Indeed, if anything, some of his sermons and addresses were too heavily laden with the fruits of these studies, and too carefully "documented," as the phrase is, with the authorities upon which his arguments were built.

Despite all this, his blazing vitality was not exhausted with the heroic labours of the preacher, pastor, and student, but was so drawn out through overflowing sympathy that he became a foremost popular leader in almost innumerable causes, and *the* foremost leader in some. The effort involved in all this was herculean: the passion that inspired it was spiritual and moral. Dr. Clifford's life was never tarnished by the slightest element of self-seeking. It was marked throughout by high faith, dauntless courage, and intense sympathy, all of which were sustained and made effective by indomitable determination and ceaseless effort. That the flame of his spirit did not consume his flesh was due in large measure to the devoted care of his wife and daughters, as well as to the fact that he had the power and cultivated the habit of snatching sleep in the day-time as well as at night. It is to this that I attribute the fact that in all these years I have never once seen him exhausted

or irritable, even in times of the highest tension and the most exacting engagements.

Dr. Clifford was "ever a fighter." The strength of his convictions, the intensity of his feelings, and the ardour of his temperament made this inevitable, and were a magnificent equipment for a great combatant. More than all this, the whole attitude and activity of his intellect was combative. He took immense pains in collecting the material of his public utterances and in marshalling his thought. Yet his exposition of truth as he saw it, and his advocacy of principles as he held them, always suggested a contrast. He was distinguishing for himself and his audience truth which filled the foreground of his consciousness from error which lurked in the background. For him the Word of God was the sword of the Spirit, with which, like St. George, he slew the dragon. Hence he had taken great trouble to cultivate a style of speech and writing that, while laden with material, was arresting, unmistakable, and pungent. Then when the moment came, and, thus prepared, he faced his audience, the exhilaration of a great orator seized upon him, blotted all reservations out of his speech, charged his most abstract conceptions with emotion, and swept the multitudes along on the surging flood of his enthusiasm.

Dr. Clifford was a fighter because he was both an idealist and an optimist. All his ideas were ideals—unquestionable truths to be wrought into the fabric of human life. He believed that the Universe meant so supremely well that his highest vision of what was right carried with it an assurance that it was completely practicable. For him the watchword of life was: "As in heaven, so on earth." Hence the advocacy of any policy that fell short of the ideal seemed to him to be a betrayal alike of truth and trust. It was in this exalted temper that he came face to face with the hard facts of life, with its meanness, its unrighteousness, and its cruelty. Any contradiction of his ideals challenged him and spurred him to pity, anger, and denunciation. Not least of all did the stupidity and lukewarmness which tolerated evil irritate and rouse him. Whether it were the ravages of the drink traffic, the restriction of education, and the imperfect attainment of democracy at home, or the denial of freedom to subject races abroad, the massacre of the Armenians, or the organised cruelty on the Congo—these and numberless other evils throughout the world stirred him in equal measure to blazing indignation and sanguine hope of immediate redress, to unsparing denunciation and undaunted attack. If these attacks failed for the time being, he was never discouraged, still less out of heart. For him his ideals were "a pattern," as Plato said, "laid up in the heavens,"

or, as he would have said, in God. Hence, if defeated or delayed on the battle-ground, he withdrew to the strong fortress in which he held joyous and refreshing communion with the imperishable realities for which he had contended.

Dr. Clifford was an invaluable but embarrassing ally of practical statesmen. His platform oratory was of immeasurable service to the Liberal Party, above all on the subject of education. Yet his very success in the end constituted their difficulty. As he often said, "Politics is the art of the second-best." He stood publicly committed to nothing short of what he considered the absolute demands of righteousness and freedom. What then was he to do when called into counsel by statesmen who had to deal with facts as they are, to take account of the past with the vested interests it had created, to face keen Parliamentary opposition, and, above all, to deal with the inherent tendency of the English mind not to drive matters to extremes? In one respect Dr. Clifford's optimism always failed him. Englishmen generally think favourably of compromise; Dr. Clifford always looked upon it with gloomy foreboding. This was especially the case in regard to education, and though his good sense often inclined him to tolerate a working arrangement, he was always rendered uneasy and somewhat uncertain by contact with extremists less sensible than himself. It went without saying that, with other Free Churchmen, he was called into counsel by a succession of Liberal Ministers of Education during the period from 1906 to 1914, when various legislative attempts to settle the Education controversy were made. On such occasions, when any serious concession was suggested, his formula was always that "we must submit if it is put upon us, for we cannot expect to reach the ideal all at once." This attitude did not prevent him, however, from going straight from such consultations to renew his public demand for the ideal in a way that was disconcerting to those who had hoped to induce him to advocate the working arrangements they intended to propose. It was his business to contend for his ideal without abatement until the Government "put upon" him an arrangement to which he was prepared to submit but never to agree.

Dr. Clifford got into similar difficulties in regard to religious education. He stood for the principles that had made Dr. Dale a secularist in State Education. Yet his religious feeling made him realise the impossibility of excluding the Bible from the schools of the people; his common sense also told him that the English people would never stand this exclusion. So he adopted the formula that the Bible "should be taught as literature," a solution that lent itself to somewhat varying interpretations according as he was defending it among those who supported, or

among those who were hostile to religious education. He seemed to overlook the fact that the Bible occupies such a place in the religious life of England that to reduce its position, even for a moment, to that of the very loftiest literature, is to violate a reverence that has become almost instinctive. Thus in many ways Dr. Clifford was shorn of his characteristic strength when called to participate in the give-and-take of practical legislation. In all such matters he was a Newton pressing the claims of the Absolute upon practical politicians, who, like Einstein, had to take account of the Relative.

Yet if Dr. Clifford's triumphs were those of a combatant rather than of a conciliator, no gentler or more loving man ever lived. Frequently he differed seriously from his friends on questions of theology, ecclesiastical concerns, and politics. Sometimes these differences touched vital principles; more frequently they had to do with policy and methods of action. Such differences, however, never impaired his friendship for those who differed from him. I have never seen him out of temper or seriously ruffled in debate. Where he knew men his judgments were the most charitable of any public man with whom I have been acquainted. It cannot truthfully be said that his public attitude towards his opponents always conveyed this impression. On the contrary, his unsparing denunciation often wounded them to the quick, especially during the years when the education controversy was at its height. The fact was that for him, as for Gambetta, Clericalism was the enemy. While his sympathies made him a Christian Socialist in ordinary politics, where spiritual interests were involved he was an unswerving individualist. He disliked creeds, holding that every man must reach his own personal faith through individual effort and self-discipline. Hence he would make no terms with ecclesiastical authority as such, still less with the establishment of religion by the State. His actual opponents were hidden from his view by the cause with which they were identified. In those days, some of my Anglican friends complained to me of Dr. Clifford's sweeping denunciations, and the apparent bitterness that prompted them. I used to say that there were three methods of softening such asperities: to pray together, to administer together, to smoke together; that each of these was effective and that combined they were irresistible, but that Dr. Clifford had never done any one of the three. When, however, these same opponents emerged from the cloud and became personally acquainted with Dr. Clifford, or allied with him in some other cause in which they were agreed, they found in him a warm and even tender friend. In proof of this, I may quote the Bishop of London, who, in speaking to me of Dr. Clifford just after his

death, said, "When he was attacking us years ago, you told me that if I knew him I should find how loving and gentle he was. I got to know him afterwards and found that you were right."

Above all, Dr. Clifford was a devout and humble Christian. Many years ago, a very distinguished educationist remarked to me when Dr. Clifford had been speaking as a Free Churchman, that he was "more free than Church." This was an entire misunderstanding, as the members of his denomination know well. He gave ceaseless attention to the affairs of the Baptist Churches throughout the world, and was the foremost leader in their common undertakings. He was seen at his best in devotional meetings. By the bedside of the sick, and in the house of mourning, he was the tenderest of comforters. His closing years were greatly occupied with a movement of Personal Evangelism throughout the country, by which he hoped that young people might be won to the active service of Christ. His mind was always open to new light, for he was so sure of the reality of Christ that he shrank from no discoveries of criticism and no advance of science. His mind was modernist, but his heart was evangelical, and his heart took charge of his mind. Moreover, there was a deeper strain in him. I well remember an occasion some years ago when, as guests of the late Sir Joseph Compton-Rickett, Sir Oliver Lodge, Dr. Clifford, Dr. Forsyth, and several others of us, discussed to a late hour the relations of Science and Religion. Dr. Clifford deplored as he walked away with me that Dr. Forsyth had "so little mysticism about him." There was a distinct strain of mysticism in Dr. Clifford, and this element became more apparent towards the close of his life. Nothing could possibly have been more dignified and gracious than his old age. His last words of sympathy with a disabled friend for whom divergences of opinion had never lessened his trust and affection were characteristic of what was inmost in the man. When he had spoken them, "he was not, for God took him." We shall not look upon his like again.

J. SCOTT LIDGETT.

LORD LOREBURN.

OF the many Scots who have risen to distinction at the English bar, none have excelled Robert Threshie Reid, Earl Loreburn, in the combined characters of pleader, judge, scholar, orator, and statesman. His memory is affectionately cherished by all who knew him intimately; and his character—blunt, manly, courageous, and sincere, always respected by high-minded opponents—may serve to inspire with loftier ideals the lawyer-politician, who is too often inclined to adopt the cynical maxim that in order to climb it is necessary to crawl.

Robert Reid was born at Corfu in 1846, the year of the repeal of the Corn Laws. He came of a well known Dumfriesshire family. I have often heard him talk about Sir James Reid, his father, who played a prominent part at Edinburgh in the days of the Reform Bill, and of his grandfather, who was a friend of Burns. From his father Robert inherited a strong physique, a love of sport, and a gift for languages. Lord Grey of the Reform Bill, on hearing that the doctors prescribed a warmer climate for James Reid, appointed him Chief Justice of the Ionian Islands. So they made their home in Corfu, which Robert Reid always stoutly maintained to be the Homeric island of Phaacia. He was fond of describing the stream where Odysseus saw Nausicaa and her maidens washing linen. This stream and the gardens of Alcinous, and the tall Albanian highlander who served his father, and their yacht, the *Gipsy*, with its Maltese crew, and many other picturesque scenes of boyhood stood out vividly in his memory. Passing through Austria on their return to England, they drove in a carriage from Trieste, and met in the Brenner Pass a cavalcade escorting the young Francis Joseph, whose Imperial sceptre still ruled from Cracow to Verona.

Soon after his return Reid was sent to Cheltenham College, where he had been preceded by Morley and by James of Hereford. He became Head of the School, and won a Demyship at Magdalen, but relinquished it for a scholarship at Balliol. At Oxford he won fame as one of the best racquet players and perhaps the best wicket-keeper—not merely in the University, but in all England. Jowett, the Master of Balliol, hearing of these exploits, sent for him and remarked: "You will get a Third, Mr. Reid." After Reid had taken two Firsts and the Ireland scholarship, the Master sent for him again and apologised. Much to his chagrin, Reid, though the most brilliant scholar of his year, failed to gain a Fellowship. But he soon made his way at the Bar, became very popular as "Bob Reid" in the profession, and at thirty-four enjoyed already so large a practice that he could afford to stand for Parliament as a

Liberal, and became one of the two Members for Hereford. Two years later he applied for silk and won the distinction up to that time of being the youngest Q.C. on record.

Since the Redistribution Act of 1884 deprived Hereford of one of its seats, Reid stood for Dumbartonshire at the General Election of 1885, but was beaten after a very close contest. In the following year, however, he stood successfully as a Home Ruler for the Dumfries Burghs, and held the seat until 1905, when his friend, Campbell-Bannerman, made him Lord Chancellor. In the Parliament of 1880-5, Reid took a prominent part on the Radical wing, supporting leasehold enfranchisement and assisting Mr. Jesse Collings to draft his Allotments Bill. With Russell, Lockwood, and Asquith, he represented the Irish members before the Parnell Commission. In 1894 he was appointed successively Solicitor and Attorney-General, in which latter capacity he assisted Sir William Harcourt (not without some altercations; for if Harcourt was overbearing, Reid was anything but meek) to pilot the Death Duties through the Commons. After the tame collapse of the Rosebery Government in the summer of 1895 he returned to private practice and public opposition. But his outstanding merits as a lawyer commended him to Lord Salisbury in the important arbitration over the Venezuelan Boundaries. The value of his service on that occasion was recognised by the Prime Minister, and Sir Robert Reid was awarded the G.C.M.G.

Reid was the first Scotsman since Lord Campbell to receive the Lord Chancellorship. But he used to plead in extenuation that his native county of Dumfries was more English in character and dialect than any of the Lowland Scotch counties; and further, that through his mother he had a Norfolk ancestry. He chose his title Loreburn from the motto of the Burgh of Dumfries (A Lorburn), an old rallying cry of the citizens when they were called to arms.

Thanks partly to his reputation as a sportsman, but still more to his sincerity and habit of plain dealing, he speedily won the affection and respect of the House of Lords, and became by general consent the most popular occupant of the Woolsack within living memory. Yet he never compromised, but remained to the end a consistent Radical and an unbending Liberal, even when radical doctrine and liberal principle led him to sever all connection with the Party organisation. When, in 1912, because of ill-health and overwork, he resigned the Great Seal, he had carried through successfully a number of valuable reforms. The country owes to him the new institution of Public Trustee, an important codification of the Statutes, and the Court of Criminal Appeal. A good rather than a great judge, he despatched cases with laudable

celerity. Of legal casuistry and refined arguments he was rather impatient, always endeavouring to make law accord with justice. During the war, when he gave up sitting as judge, he asked the Treasury to reduce his pension—an action without precedent, I believe, in the annals of the Lord Chancellors. In private life he showed himself to be one of the most tender-hearted and affectionate of men. He cared little for ceremonial, despised ritual, smiled at pomp, and detested vanity. In discussing public men and public affairs his temper often exploded. But he never stood on his dignity, invariably treated humble folk as equals, and could listen to arguments; though it took a good many before he would budge from a position he had once taken up and fortified.

About Robert Reid's political opinions and political philosophy I can speak with confidence from 1899 onwards. Nobody was in the least surprised that he opposed the South African policy of Chamberlain and Milner stoutly and persistently from first to last, or that he was one of the few members of Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman's Cabinet in 1906 who supported unreservedly that great act of Liberal statesmanship and national magnanimity which restored complete self-government and practical independence to the Transvaal and Orange River States. After the formation of the Liberal Government the Lord Chancellor was involved in a long dispute with the Liberal whips, who wanted him to proceed with dangerous, if not indecent, haste in the appointment of Liberal Justices of the Peace. Loreburn, who had inherited the pugnacity and pertinacity of his border ancestry and was very jealous of interference, was substantially right if a little unaccommodating. He recognised the need for a large number of new appointments, in order to prevent political prejudice affecting the administration of justice—as it often did, especially in the rural parts of England where the squirearchy was still supreme; but he fought tenaciously against the efforts of what he always called "the Caucus" to force him to acquiesce in a flood of unconsidered appointments for which he would be held responsible. He was on good terms with many of the Tory Lord Lieutenants and felt that he could induce some of them to co-operate with him and to recognise the fairness of large Liberal and even Labour additions to the Bench. The case for caution was proved early in the controversy when he discovered that some of the names submitted to him were quite unsuitable. One indeed, strongly recommended by an ex-Minister, was found to have served at least one sentence in jail for criminal offence. Eventually, after much worry, he put the whole system on a sound basis, and we have heard no complaints since that time. This trouble over the appointment of J.P.'s proved too much for his

health and strength, in addition to his work as President of the Supreme Court, as Speaker of the House of Lords, and as Cabinet Minister. In this last capacity he did his best to keep an eye on the Foreign Office, which was secretly developing a new policy of Continental entanglements under cover of a friendly and peaceful entente with its previous enemies, France and Russia.

In the hope of restoring the concert of Europe and of promoting international goodwill as a solvent to the rivalry of armaments, he had, just before the General Election of 1905, addressed a letter to the *Times*, arguing, as Cobden had argued fifty years before, that it would be good policy for Great Britain, as the greatest maritime and commercial nation in the world, to co-operate with the United States and other countries at the approaching second Hague Conference in a reform of the Laws of Naval Warfare. This reform, now popularly known as the Freedom of the Seas, was described by him as "an Extension of the Declaration of Paris, so that private citizens of the nations which are at war, as well as of Neutrals, shall be free to engage in peaceful commerce." Peaceful ships and peaceful cargoes would be free from capture, and prize money at sea would be abolished just as booty or loot had been abolished in wars by land. "If, for example, Norway should unfortunately go to war with Turkey, a Norwegian under the proposed new rule would have as much right to carry flour in ships as he now has to carry flour in a wagon, and the Turk would have no more right to make prize of the ship than he now has to loot the wagon." By way of enforcing his arguments he asked me to prepare a Blue Book with quotations from Authorities on International Law, together with examples, illustrating the economic and commercial advantages of the proposed change. Only a few copies were printed for circulation in the Cabinet. The opposition of the Foreign Office and of the Admiralty proved too strong for Loreburn; and this failure perhaps explains why the Second Hague Conference not only proved abortive, but was followed by ever-increasing competition in armaments between the Great Powers.

In 1912, when he relinquished the Great Seal by the advice of his doctor, Lord Loreburn had some reason to think that Anglo-German relations were improving, and that the danger of a great European War, suddenly disclosed by the Morocco crisis, was sensibly diminishing. I saw more than ever of him from this time onwards, and in 1913 we planned a sort of crusade to popularise the Freedom of the Seas policy in business circles. He wrote a series of letters to the *Manchester Guardian*, and I visited many of the Chambers of Commerce in Great Britain. Lord Loreburn republished his letters in a book entitled *Capture at*

Sea (Methuen and Co.), 1913. It is, I think, the best statement of the subject ever issued, and may serve as a textbook for reformers, when civilised nations have sufficiently recovered their balance to be able to start once more on the march towards international peace. He inscribed a copy to me with one of his favourite quotations, which I venture here to transcribe: "Idem velle atque idem nolle de republica ea demum firma amicitia est." This agreement on politics—the close correspondence of our likes and dislikes—was certainly the foundation of our friendship; and it was confirmed by the outbreak of the terrible war which we had vaguely feared, and had sought in various ways, unsuccessfully, to prevent.

From that fatal moment in August, 1914, down to the climax and conclusion of Armageddon, not a day, I am sure, passed in which Loreburn did not explore the horizon and scan the dark clouds for some bit of blue sky which might open out prospects of an honourable peace. He never relapsed into despair, or accepted the philosophy of fatalism. The rhetorical doctrines of "the last man and the last farthing," or "the Knock-Out Blow," were to him detestable. More than once he was encouraged by talks with Colonel House and other neutral statesmen. He never let pass any opportunity, however slender, that offered to put a period to the miserable carnage. From his chalk cliffs he could see on a clear night the lights of Calais; and the rumble of the guns could often be heard telling the doom of countless thousands lost on the battlefields of Flanders. He never could forgive the men who made the war, not more than fifty he thought, and his book *How the War Came* shows very clearly where, and upon what shoulders, he laid the responsibility. It is the work of a statesman and a judge accustomed to weigh evidence and to dispense justice with an impartial hand. He discussed every chapter with several friends who can testify to the pains bestowed upon a task which he hoped might serve to imprint the lesson on the minds of the coming generation, and to restore, if not the Liberal party, at least the Liberal faith.

Many times did he discuss with me the past, present, and future of English Liberalism, and of the Liberal Party. He was always outspoken, and sometimes very bitter. Like Lord Morley, he felt that a great peace party had been surreptitiously converted by Imperialists into an instrument of war. For that reason, while disagreeing with the economics of Socialism, they both welcomed the emergence of a peace party under the inspiration of Ramsay Macdonald and Philip Snowden. I believe that once, if not twice, Loreburn voted for a Labour candidate, as a protest against the foreign policy of Lord Grey. Among the many letters

that he wrote to me on this subject, I may quote a few sentences from one which was printed and published at the end of December, 1919. It contained a very able review of the policy of the Liberal Imperialists from the time of the Boer War, and of the two Coalitions, the second of which, under Mr. Lloyd George, was then governing the country.

"We seem," he wrote, "to be on the brink of a crisis in what is still called the Liberal Party, and anxious questions are being asked on the assumption that there is still a Liberal Party of the real old kind in existence. I am one of those who look forward to a time, very likely a distant time beyond the limits of my own life, when there will be such a thing not only in existence but also in power. At the present moment I can see nothing more than an organisation with a Fund, derived largely from questionable sources, and a number of newspapers largely dependent on the goodwill of the Concern, and therefore naturally anxious to continue it, together with a large staff of agents and officials throughout the country equally anxious to continue it. But of the policy and maxims by which it was governed during the time when it did so much good work—the time of Cobden and Bright, Gladstone, and Campbell-Bannerman—though no doubt numberless individuals are still the repositories of those doctrines, I am not able to see in the organisation any trace of their effective survival. They have been utterly uprooted by the action of the Ministers preceding or accompanying the great European War, and its consequences."

To describe Lord Loreburn's character, to estimate his influence, and to weigh his talents, would be no easy task, even if many more pages were at the disposal of a far more competent critic. He was upright and downright, of a very warm and affectionate disposition, much beloved in his home, and much liked by opponents who appreciated his sterling honesty, his candour, and his love of truth. Since Lord Salisbury, no one, save, perhaps, his old friend Lord Lansdowne, has exercised more influence over the House of Lords. He knew exactly how to appeal to the Tory peers, and often persuaded them to support liberal measures when Bishops and Law Lords rose to oppose them. He worked zealously and successfully for the consolidation and simplification of our statute law. When an attempt was made to "amend" the Defence of the Realm Act, in a fashion which would practically put an end to Freedom of Speech and writing, he induced, not only Lord Bryce, Lord Parmoor, and other liberal-minded peers, but ex-Chancellor Halsbury, a Tory of the Tories, to join him in opposition. At that time nothing could be done in the House of Commons; but the amendment pressed upon the Lords by his successor, Lord Chancellor Haldane, was defeated (February, 1915) and the Government was forced to withdraw. In the penultimate year of the war he made a supreme effort with Lord Lansdowne to bring about peace by negotiation. It

was unsuccessful; but a considerable body of public opinion was brought to bear, and I was afterwards assured by Colonel House that this demonstration encouraged President Wilson to make the series of speeches which, in the following autumn, led to the surrender of the Germans. That the Wilson terms embodied in the Armistice were not incorporated in the Peace of Versailles, was no fault of Loreburn's. He did his utmost in public and private letters to plead for a peace of justice and reconciliation. Much as he detested German militarism, he would be no party to the imposition of oppressive and impossible terms upon the German people.

All through those terrible times he sought recreation in scholarship and letters. One of his favourite pastimes became the translation into English verse of fine passages from Latin, Greek, French, Italian and German poetry. I was the humble means of inducing him to publish a number of these anonymously, and I persuaded him to execute several of my own favourite bits of classical poetry. Altogether, these pieces would make a charming collection, and I hope that some day his intention of publishing them in a little book may be carried out. As their literalness and beauty have been much admired by good judges, I may conclude by presenting a specimen to readers of the CONTEMPORARY. It is a translation made by Lord Loreburn three years ago, from Victor Hugo, who wrote the original in 1871, after the Franco-German War:—

THE PATH OF PROGRESS.

One more decisive war! Yes. It must be.
Mourning unlimited and murder free.
Such are the terms on which alone we may
have Progress. Strange. What is this curious way
of Industry? What law of Progress places
its road to Heaven through Hell, Torture and Pain?
Toward what final end? Of that we strain
our eyes quite humbly to discern some traces.

Has then the Spirit of the depths below
in those unfathomable spheres decreed
that man may never take one step to know
which foot is limping or which flank may bleed,
that grief is here his only recompense,
his one reward for all fights fought before it,
that every Rome was nurtured in wolves' den,
that every birth must tear the womb that bore it,
that in this world Ideals, too, must spill
their blood, like flesh, and be touched at their birth
with iron, and so bear, for good or ill,
mysterious seals of life and pain on Earth,
that future hopes, to blossom in the Spring,
must first be hatched in a decaying thing?

* * *

That man shall one day reach his Paradise
 whose gates, despite mists and dogmatic pother,
 already seen, fire rapture in his eyes,
 but that their double doors are closed still standing,
 while Satan blocks one and Cain shuts the other,
 Christ, Saints, Apostles, Prophets notwithstanding.
 Appalling contradiction. On one side
 aloft the Laws of Peace, Life, Goodness, shining
 beyond the prodigies of Space, abide,
 and on the other a sad Voice repining.
 "Thinkers, Redeemers, Mighty Souls," it cries,
 "fighters, win your ideals—at a price.
 "The price is blood, chains, sorrow, hecatombs.
 "The path of Progress is a road of tombs."

FRANCIS W. HIRST.

THE SITUATION IN BAVARIA.

IN the last decade the Bavarians have shown themselves to be rather fickle in politics. They rushed enthusiastically into the Great War, and were the first to have enough of it. They were the first to talk of and to have a revolution. They were the first to depose their King and inaugurate a Republic. And Munich was the first and only city in Germany which in 1919 enjoyed a purely Communist *régime*. Then a violent reaction set in. Kahr, the present General State Commissioner, became Prime Minister, and his term lasted until 1921. Bavaria was cleaned of the radicals, whereas Monarchists not only from all over Germany but also from Russia were heartily welcomed.

In November, 1919, Adolf Hitler founded his "National-Socialistic Labour Party," which was actively fostered by Kahr. Hitler was born in German Austria, and was by trade a mason. He became a rabid anti-Semite already before the war, while working in Vienna. With the little money he was able to save, he bought historical, political, and philosophical books. At the outbreak of the war he happened to be in Bavaria and volunteered at once as a common soldier. He often distinguished himself for bravery and seemed to bear a charmed life. Only towards the close of the war was he poisoned by a gas shell, temporarily losing his eyesight and power of speech.

Having been a workman himself, Hitler has an instinctive sympathy for the needs and misery of the lower classes. But above all he feels German. The loss of the war was a terrible blow to him. The fact that many of the revolutionary and communist leaders in 1918-19 were Jews inflamed his hatred anew. The Jew is to him the poisonous germ destroying the nationality of all peoples. Democracy appears to him essentially Jewish, and in no way German. How utterly biassed his point of view is in this respect was demonstrated by his recent speech on the real authors of the Great War. According to Hitler it was the Jew who, for many years before the war, whipped the German and the Russian peoples into deadly animosity against each other, and it was the Jew who deliberately prepared the war and let it loose, in order to subject the nations to the international Jewish financial power.

Similarly Hitler hates the social democratic and communist parties, because he believes they threw Germany into the abyss. He hates all these forces with the intensity of a man whose heart is torn by the increasing misery of his beloved people, which he desires to see again powerful, united, and restored to its old place in the estimation of the world. He does not want to have the men of the old Government return to power, but wishes to erect a new

State for the people and by the people, in which there is no room for the parasites of either reaction or destruction. For the time being Parliamentarism is to be abolished and a dictatorship "for national purification" established. Hitler preaches action and brute force. Germany has to be swept with an iron broom, and ten thousand of her bloodsuckers have to be hanged. His fiery speeches exert a powerful influence upon youthful persons thirsting for action. Herein lies a grave danger. Germany is practically disarmed and has ammunition only for one day's fighting. But that does not worry Hitler. In one of his last speeches he dismissed this troublesome question by crying out: "If 60 million had no other purpose than to be free, their weapons would grow out of their fists!" And the fanatical belief in the success of his mission led him to ejaculate such sentences as: "Redemption will come through our movement. . . . This is almost a new religion. . . . We have laid the basis of the army which will deliver new Germany. . . . Ours must be the victory. . . . What is being prepared to-day will be greater than the world war! It will be fought out on German soil for the benefit of the *whole* world!" With this Hitler meant the desperate fight against the red deluge which he foresees as an absolute certainty, before Germany can turn her attention to her outside enemies.

General Ludendorff is body and soul with this movement, and is the military leader of it. His gambling spirit scents here a welcome field of action, and he is very keen on leading an army again. The trouble is that Hitler, who is now thirty-four years old, has only politically inexperienced men as advisers, and has himself a very narrow outlook, so that he is in no way equal to Mussolini, with whose political creed he otherwise agrees. Hitler has failed so far in one of his chief aims, namely, to convert the working classes into nationalistic fascists. His followers consist of small shopkeepers, students, former officers, well-to-do persons, and mere youths. As soon as it became apparent that his movement might lead to an explosion, his rank and file were strengthened by numbers of communists, who probably joined in the expectation of plunder and theft. This mob was very noticeable in the streets of Munich at the time of Hitler's Putsch in November, 1923. If he ever should come into power we shall see a wholesale slaughter of Jews and Socialists.

Kahr, when Prime Minister of Bavaria, openly favoured Hitler's aspirations and smoothed his way. But the failure to win the working classes was a great disappointment to Kahr. The Prime Minister gradually came to the conclusion that Germany could never be rebuilt with, but only against, the social democratic parties. That explains his fierce attitude towards them; they are

to him non-German. But even the social democratic leaders in Bavaria admit that Kahr is a highly honourable character who, unlike Hitler, would never allow a pogrom to be inaugurated against them, although lately they have had enough proofs of his persistent endeavours to suppress the social democratic parties by all means short of brute force.

Kahr is now sixty years of age and a leader of the Bavarian People's Party (former Zentrum or Catholic), though a Protestant himself. He is an ardent Bavarian patriot who does not look far beyond the boundaries of his country, but at the same time he is a thorough German who is convinced that even a temporary separation of Bavaria from Prussia would be fatal. For two years he had to stand in the background. His time came again last September when passive resistance in the Ruhr had to be given up. The Knilling Cabinet realised then that it was not strong enough to prevent an explosion from the Hitler party. So Kahr was nominated General State Commissioner with the duty to keep order and to rally all nationalistic forces around the authority of the State. Kahr's energetic personality was well fitted for the task. There was no doubt about his views, and his relationship to the various "Patriotic Unions" was well known. But there opened a serious difference of opinion between him and Hitler and Ludendorff. Fundamentally their aims are much alike. Their chief disagreement was the question of the time for action. Hitler and Ludendorff were under the delusion that all Germany would receive them with open arms on their triumphant march to Berlin, whereas every sensible man knew that this futile attempt would have ended miserably in a bloody civil war and would have provoked the immediate intervention of France.

Under the pressure of events, especially the loss of the Ruhr, the financial chaos, and the fearful misery, Hitler's power had grown so strong that Kahr could not think of suppressing him, and tried instead to persuade him to follow his guidance. Hitler and Ludendorff actually gave their word of honour to do so. They broke it on the evening of November 8th, when Hitler forced Kahr at the point of the revolver to follow him. Kahr showed unusual presence of mind that night. He ostensibly gave in, only to preserve his freedom of action. He was sure that the Bavarian troops and the police forces would back him. But though Hitler and Ludendorff were informed of Kahr's real attitude, they none the less tried in the morning of November 9th to overthrow the Government. The only result was the death of about twenty men, and an impassable gulf in the nationalistic camp. Kahr had the "National Socialistic Labour Party," together with the "Kampfverbände" (fighting organisations) attached to it, dissolved, and

about 150 men arrested, who will be tried before the People's Court in Munich in January. This will be the supreme test between Kahr and Hitler, and many believe that Kahr will be beaten; for it is a curious fact that, though Hitler's Putsch was doomed to failure, he has since gained in popularity. Kahr's prestige suffered in the same degree, but only in Bavaria. The rest of Germany had always looked upon him with misgivings. His energetic measures against the Hitler party in the interest of Germany have now restored confidence in him—outside Bavaria.

Kahr has often declared himself to be the "Statthalter" (Viceroy) of the Bavarian Monarchy. He is in close touch with Crown Prince Rupprecht, who leads a retired life at Berchtesgaden in the mountains. When Kahr became General State Commissioner, Rupprecht ordered all present and former officers of the Bavarian army to stand by him. Neither of the two thinks of a speedy restoration of the Monarchy. Rupprecht is himself a sensible, clever man, who during the Great War opposed Ludendorff's plans, and in 1917 wanted to make peace. He is determined to wait his time, which may only come for his son, and may never come at all. It is said that he realises the impossibility of a return of all the former German rulers; therefore he contemplates only the return of one Monarchy for united Germany. During the last months the prerogatives of the Prime Minister von Knilling have been curtailed by Kahr's dictatorship. Both men belong to the same camp and have the same convictions. Knilling is an experienced official, but he lacks the authority of Kahr. They try now to delimit their respective spheres of action. Kahr has for some time favoured the creation of a new office, that of State President, with a term of seven years. Before the Hitler Putsch he certainly would have been elected; now the outcome would be doubtful.

In recent years Bavaria has developed into the centre of reaction in Germany. The present Government intends to build up a strong nationalistic State, from which will emanate the convalescence of all Germany. To accomplish this Bavaria needs more freedom of action than the Weimar Constitution allows. This has been one of the chief causes of friction between Munich and Berlin. The Weimar Constitution meant an absolute centralisation of the governmental powers in Berlin; the former privileges of the different States were abrogated. Now Bavaria demands the return to the federalistic system of Bismarck, and has, indeed, some historical right to it. There is no doubt that soon the first step will be made in this direction by the return of financial sovereignty to Bavaria and other States.

In October the relations between Munich and Berlin seemed

several times at the breaking point. Kahr refused to negotiate with a Cabinet containing social democrats, and made things worse by his pig-headed obstinacy. In his impulsive way he rather demolishes an obstacle than goes round it. He is straightforward and has not the *finesse* of a diplomat. The fall of the last Stresemann Cabinet smoothed the path between Munich and Berlin. A compromise on unsettled disputes is now confidently expected. But as soon as social democrats re-enter the Berlin Government the old hostility will revive.

Since the disarmament of Germany the nation as a whole has felt acutely how powerless is a State without a military force, when it lies in the heart of Europe and is surrounded by numerous enemies. The different organisations have therefore tried to revive the idea of military defence. Since the break between Kahr and Hitler the Bavarian Government resolved to bring this movement, which it intends to foster, under its control. The social democratic parties will, of course, resist this attempt. They secured 31 per cent. of all the votes in the last election of 1920, and occupy forty-one seats out of 158 in the Bavarian Diet. It is my personal conviction that no Government can ignore and suppress these social democratic forces. They will always be in a position to disorganise any uprising, or anything of the kind, by effective acts of sabotage.

Kahr used to be an advocate of the continental policy; that is to say, he favoured at least an economic understanding with France, which was meant as an opposition to England. Since Poincaré has returned to power he has given up this idea. On the other hand, rumour has it that Hitler's movement was partially financed with French money. This may be the case, as France aims at the disruption of Germany and follows the policy of supporting those forces likely to fight each other. But Hitler personally is above suspicion of playing the French game. Even his enemies admit that he would refuse any assistance if he knew it came from France. The Separatist movement in Bavaria has few adherents, and a union between Bavaria and German Austria under a Hapsburg Monarchy has no real chance.

HERMANN LUTZ.

Munich, December 6th, 1923.

WHAT EUROPE IS THINKING OF AMERICA.

WHEN we try to analyse the currents and cross-currents of European opinion on the relations of the United States to Europe, when we try to understand the chaotic welter of reason and emotion, of fact and fiction, which we are pleased to call the European mentality, it will be advisable, for the sake of clearness, carefully to distinguish and to emphasise at least four main tendencies. First, there is the attitude of the pacifist, who approves of the present course of American policy. Second, there is the attitude of the cynic, who, whilst he takes a low estimate of American policy as of every other policy, yet submits to what he believes to be inevitable evils. Third, there is the attitude of the disappointed moralist, who protests in bitter indignation against what he considers the betrayal of a great trust and the waste of a great opportunity. Fourth, there is the attitude of the man of the world, who, although regretting the American attitude, honestly tries to understand the American point of view, who still continues to believe in a constructive American intervention, who retains an indestructible faith in the magnanimity and good sense of the American Commonwealth, and who remains convinced that in the fullness of time the New World will intervene to save Europe from a catastrophe.

I.

The pacifist section heartily endorses the American policy of non-intervention. We shall find it mainly represented in the Labour party and in the Nonconformist Churches. The Treaty of Versailles and the League of Nations are denounced by the Labour Party in most European Parliaments even more cordially than they are denounced by the American Congress. America, the pacifists hold, has been shamelessly treated by European Governments. She entered the war on a wave of popular enthusiasm and idealism. She made a gigantic effort. In July, 1918, the situation of the Allies was desperate. The surrender of Paris was expected every moment. At the eleventh hour America saved the situation. The American people obeyed no selfish purpose, they were inspired by the most exalted ideals. America wanted to make the world "safe for democracy." And she proclaimed her democratic gospel with no uncertain voice. She had a right to be heard, and she insisted on being heard. But once the hour of danger was passed the Allies refused to listen. In October, 1918, the Allies and Germany had accepted the Fourteen Points. At Versailles the Fourteen Points were ignored. The Peace Treaty deceived both Germany and America. Each nation fought for her own ends. Secret diplomacy won its most signal triumphs.

To-day the European victors, whether great or small, are intoxicated by the new wine of victory. Almost everywhere even the newly liberated nationalities are found to be oppressing the racial minorities and imitating the evil example of the vanquished Germanic Empires. Political reaction is again supreme, and the war which was to end war has only resulted in a recrudescence of militarism everywhere. And now the political tragedy of the last five years has culminated in the horrors of the Ruhr. And all the time the League of Nations, which is nothing but a League of the victorious Powers, is looking on in futile impotence.

In the face of such an insane policy, the European Governments still have the impudence to press for the financial aid of America. They have already repudiated their moral obligations. They also claim, with the solitary exception of Great Britain, to repudiate their monetary obligations. They further ask to be assisted with extensive credits. To grant such aid would simply be to encourage evil political courses which every true American is bound to condemn. It would be like giving money to a confirmed drunkard of violent temperament, with the full knowledge that, if we supply the drunkard with the means of getting drunk, he is almost certain to commit a murderous assault. America is willing to help the suffering people. She has spent money like water on every imaginable work of European relief. She has fed millions of European children. She has saved millions of Russian peasants from starvation. But she cannot conscientiously help European Governments. If she were to do so she would virtually become their accomplice.

Nor can America accept to join the League of Nations. She would be quite willing to do her due share of work in an International Supreme Court. President Coolidge advocates its establishment as wholeheartedly as the late President Harding. But to join the League of Nations as at present constituted would mean a rupture with the cherished traditions of a hundred years. Moreover, America would either be hopelessly outvoted on the Council and would have to continue to look on in ignominious paralysis, or she would have to endorse a policy which she disapproves. Compared with such dismal alternatives the present American attitude of protest and abstention is infinitely preferable. Indeed, it is the only way to compel Europe to abandon her mad courses and to put her house in order.

II.

I have tried to give a fair description of the attitude of the European pacifist who approves of the American foreign policy. He approves of that American policy simply

because he disapproves of European policy on moral grounds. There is another section of the population which, if it does not approve, at least submits to the American policy, although for totally different reasons. Their attitude may be described as the attitude of the cynic and the pessimist, of loyal disciples of Macchiavelli. The modern Macchiavelli believes that nations are guided and rightly guided by their selfish interests. An individual may, if he chooses, sacrifice himself to the common good. A nation cannot afford thus to play the part of Don Quixote. On that realistic principle America is justified in her present policy, and she has consistently acted on it. America has tried to follow her national interests ever since 1914. She kept out of the war as long as she made billions of dollars by selling armaments and lending money to belligerents. After Europe for three years had been bleeding to death America entered the war for the obvious reason that if Germany had won, as she would have done but for the American intervention, America would have lost the colossal sums of money which she had advanced to the Allies. And now once more she is careful to keep out of European entanglements, even as she was careful to keep out of the war. Once more she is trying to make the most of her commercial and financial opportunities.

And certainly Europe has no right to blame America. America simply follows the course which every European nation would have followed, or has actually followed. There is no example of any nation in modern times assisting another nation in the face of her own interests. France intervened in the American War of Independence. She intervened, however, not because she loved America, but because she hated England. On the other hand, England refused to intervene in the War of Secession. The ruling classes of England in fact gave their moral support to the Slave States. Nor has European policy changed in the present generation. The very nations which to-day are denouncing America, are themselves acting on the selfsame principle, as is made manifest by the existing chaos of the European Exchanges.

III.

Both the pacifist idealist and the utilitarian cynic on the whole approve of the American policy. But there is a third and a much larger section of public opinion which opposes it with bitter indignation. That section is represented by the so-called "man in the street"—by those unpolitical and inarticulate masses which are led, not by cold, calculating reason, but by their feelings and emotions, by their illusions and disillusion. They are the same people who, five years ago, based all their hopes on the active

intervention of the United States, who hailed President Wilson as the heaven-appointed saviour. The very violence of their indignation to-day is the measure of their disappointment.

America of her own free will entered into a partnership, and she now deserts her European partners in the hour of their bitterest need. America undertook to assist in a critical surgical operation, and now she deserts the patient before the operation is finished, whilst he is still delirious with fever and exhausted from loss of blood.

America is actuated by ignoble greed. She is playing the part of Shylock exacting his pound of flesh. The medieval alchemist in league with the devil claimed to transmute base metal into pure gold. The American financial alchemist of to-day has managed to extract gold from the blood of the European peoples. The American moneylenders object to Germany paying reparations to her victims. At the same time, with an amazing lack of consistency and moral sensibility, they find it quite right that France should pay her debts to her American Allies, debts which were incurred in the pursuit of a common cause.

A very simple dilemma ought to force itself on any fairminded American citizen. Either the war was a just and necessary war or it was not. If it was not, America ought not to have entered it. On the contrary, if it was just and necessary—and after three years of careful deliberation the American people decided that it was—then the war became the common concern of all the Allies, and consequently every one of them was in duty bound to shoulder the necessary responsibilities and to make the necessary sacrifices, each according to his strength. There is no way of escape from that inexorable logic. And, by virtue of that logic, on those self-evident principles, not only has America no moral right to demand the payment of debts which were incurred in a common cause, but she ought to have contributed very much more than her proper share in money, because she contributed so much less than her proper share in blood. There is a memorable historical precedent for such a just American policy. In the Napoleonic conflict, Great Britain for twenty years paid nearly the whole cost of the continental wars. Her allies did most of the fighting, but Great Britain did most of the financing, and for a hundred years she bravely carried the burden.

America has chosen to take a different point of view, that of the moneylender. She looks upon the war as a business proposition, as a commercial transaction. But not only is she playing the part of Shylock, she is playing simultaneously the part of the self-righteous, sanctimonious Pharisee, denouncing the wickedness and folly of Old Europe. Shylock at least did not pose as an

idealist, he did not invoke a higher moral law. The Jew only acted as a Jew. But the American claims to act as the self-righteous Christian, as the stern judge traducing European nations before the Supreme Court of Yankee opinion.

Thus America is adding insult to injury. And it is an entirely gratuitous insult. For, let it be noted, there is not a shadow of justification for such a superior attitude. No doubt Europe has committed blunder after blunder, but those blunders were unavoidable, they are an integral part of the European tragedy, they are the aftermath which every war brings in its train. One would have thought that America would have learnt something of what is meant by the "aftermath of a great war." The years following the War of Secession are known in textbooks of American history as the "years of reconstruction." But every American is aware that those so-called years of reconstruction meant hell to the Southern States, that they meant a reign of terror, that they meant the hideous tyranny of the carpet-beggars, of the Ku-Klux-Klans. It took fifteen dreary years before normal conditions were restored, before a sound currency replaced the greenbacks. Yet in those days America was far more favourably situated than Europe is to-day. She was a young, growing community with infinite recuperative powers. And the losses which she then endured were as nothing compared with the destruction endured by Europe.

We have granted that Europe has made many blunders, but we have submitted at the same time that those blunders were unavoidable. As for the blunders which might have been avoided, it is America, and not Europe, who is directly responsible. American critics say that the main cause of the European chaos is due to the circumstance that the Versailles Peace is a hopelessly bad Peace, that it is a militarist European Peace. In point of sober fact, the Versailles Peace might be much more fittingly described as an American Peace. And it ought to be so described, not only because American plenipotentiaries affixed their signature to it, but because the Peace was concluded largely on American principles.

Let us consider dispassionately the deeper causes of the European chaos, in order fully and clearly to realise the terrible responsibility of the United States. Apart from Bolshevism, for which the Allies are certainly not accountable, there are two main causes of the present European position. The first cause is the explosion of nationalist forces all over the continent. Now let it be noted that those nationalist passions have asserted themselves in the name of the principle of self-determination. That principle was loaded with dynamite. The self-determination of every little

national group was certain to overrule the general European interest. And let it further be noted that this principle of self-determination was pre-eminently a Wilsonian principle. It may well be, as we are told by our American friends, that Poland is a very troublesome member of the European Commonwealth. But let those American friends remember that the resurrection of Poland was one of the Fourteen Points. It may be that the mutilation of Eastern Prussia and the Polish Corridor was a grievous mistake. But that mutilation was submitted to in order to give Poland access to the sea—again in accordance with the Fourteen Points. It may have been a grievous blunder to cut up the Austro-Hungarian Empire into half-a-dozen States, and not to have insisted on retaining at least its economic unity, even though breaking up its political unity. But the mutilation of the body politic of Austria-Hungary has also been accomplished in the name of the American political gospel.

The second cause of the European chaos is the financial collapse of the Exchanges. But again for that collapse America is largely responsible. America has drained the gold of the world. She controls the money markets. She partly causes the high prices. Her resources have remained intact whilst Europe has been ruined. She has gained a virtual economic monopoly, and she is using that monopoly as recklessly abroad as her Trusts have used their monopolies at home. The methods of the United States are strikingly like the methods of the Russian Bolsheviks. The Bolsheviks have expropriated and massacred the capitalist, America more cunningly has appropriated the capital.

America alone could have extricated the Old World from its desperate position. America alone was not directly involved. She alone had the necessary resources. She refused to give any assistance. What was the European Hecuba to her? Was she her brother's keeper? She thought, no doubt, that she was following a policy of enlightened self-interest. She was grievously mistaken. She has not only been selfish and hypocritical, she has also been stupid. The day of retribution is bound to come. To-day Europe is suffering terrible straits. But to-morrow the turn of America is sure to come. For she has wantonly destroyed her best markets, she has let loose the forces of disorder which may destroy her after they have completed the destruction of Europe.

The American newspapers are never tired of denouncing the methods of secret diplomacy adopted at Versailles. They may be quite right in denouncing those methods, but they forget that no one has been more secretive and more seclusive than President

Wilson, as has been abundantly proved by Mr. Lansing. They also forget that when political problems are very complex, and when popular passions are roused, secret diplomacy may be the only possible method. Peace negotiations would have been broken off almost at the outset if the negotiators had taken the sensational Press into their confidence. American critics forget that the most august political assembly in American history, the Convention of Philadelphia, which in 1787 elaborated the American Constitution, did carry on its debates *in camera*. Before the American critic denounces the secret intrigues of the Versailles negotiators, let him remember in fairness to Europe that it is to those very methods of secret diplomacy that the American Commonwealth owes her existence.

IV.

We have tried to diagnose as accurately as possible the opinions of the inarticulate and unpolitical masses which are carried away by sentiment rather than by reason. There is a fourth body of European opinion which may be described as the opinion of the ruling political class. Its numbers are small, but its weight is considerable. That political section tries honestly to understand the point of view of the American people, the adverse causes and the complex forces which operate in the American community. It is convinced that those forces have proved too strong for the Government in power, and that they are certainly sufficient to explain and to justify the present policy of the American Government.

First, we have to take into account the ignorance of Europe which exists amongst large classes of the American people. That ignorance may be profoundly deplorable, but it is certainly not greater than our own British ignorance of American affairs. To the ordinary American, Europe seems to belong to a different planet. How can a prosperous farmer in the Far West be expected to understand the conditions of the struggling Polish or Serbian peasant?

In the second place, we are confronted with the venerable tradition of non-intervention. Abstention from any European entanglements is one of the traditions of American policy, and, judging from the recent Monroe Centenary orations, it remains one of its sacred principles. Even Mr. Lansing is still constantly referring to it as the one great obstacle to common understanding. When we consider the strength of that tradition, the astonishing thing is not that America should refuse to intervene to-day, the miracle was rather that America should have been brought to intervene six years ago.

In the third place, we have to take into account the ethnical

composition of the American people. Is it reasonable or fair for us to expect unity of political direction in a Commonwealth which is composed of such heterogeneous elements?

But perhaps the most important factor in the present American policy, a factor which is too little understood in Europe, is the circumstance that America has been shaken by the war to her very foundations. The United States may have suffered less than Europe, but the political upheaval has been even greater. The war has not essentially changed the constitution of European nations. Even before the war they were organised mainly on a military basis. On the contrary, the war has radically changed the conditions of American political life. As the result of it, the American Constitution is on its trial. Hitherto America had been a democracy organised for the purposes of peace. She did not even possess in her Constitution the proper machinery to settle the complicated problems of foreign policy. Otherwise it would have been impossible for America to repudiate the signature of her own plenipotentiaries. Her Constitution did not even allow the Government to levy an Income Tax on its citizens. The world war was bound to bring about a formidable social and political revolution, from which America may require many years to recover. So far-reaching were the consequences of that revolution that, during the critical years 1920 and 1921, an American patriot might well have entertained the worst fears for the future of his country. High prices, unemployment, dislocation of transport, strikes, lawlessness were the order of the day. It is only fair to give the American Commonwealth sufficient time to return to normal conditions. Democracy means government by consent, and to obtain the consent of one hundred million people who are spread over a vast continent is bound to be a very slow process.

The American people are a sensitive people, legitimately proud of their commanding international position. It is reasonable to expect that they cannot remain indefinitely satisfied with a merely negative attitude. The American people, whatever may be said to the contrary, are inspired by lofty ideals and have generally obeyed a sound practical instinct. The political optimist in Europe, therefore, has very good reasons to believe that the moment cannot be long delayed when America will once more energetically intervene in European affairs. The existence of civilisation is at stake. The very gravity of the situation is an additional reason to think that he who believes in a reconstructive American participation will be ultimately justified in his faith. In its own time and in its own way the New World will use its moral and political weight to redress the balance of the Old.

CHARLES SAROLEA.

the new spirit shall find expression in the corporate life of the people—national, civic, industrial, and domestic. It is also a definitely democratic movement, thoroughgoing and logical. It demands the abolition of the old autocracy and the substitution of democratic institutions in all departments of China's life; the removal of corrupt officials and the purging of all political parties; the reform of the despotic, paternal family system and a larger liberty for women; the abolition of the classical Chinese language and the substitution of the vernacular; the emancipation of the masses and the building of a new social order; the redemption of the new industrialism and the exploration of all avenues likely to lead to national efficiency; the denunciation of religious superstition and the substitution of something like a cult of Western science.

The youth of China are determined to know, and are willing to learn from any who have aught to teach. Already leading thinkers of the West have been to China by invitation lecturing in all the great cities. Professor Dewey of America went in 1919 for two years. His lectures were fully reported in all the leading Chinese newspapers and journals, while in book form they have run into fourteen or fifteen editions. In 1920 Bertrand Russell of Cambridge went to preach his nihilist philosophy, and special magazines containing his lectures on mental analysis, natural science, mathematical logic, sociology, and free love were issued and sold in thousands. Russell's impressions of China have since been issued in a pungent, revealing, and in some ways irritating book, *The Problem of China*. China's impressions of Russell and his philosophy may be estimated by the fact that already the extraordinary influence that he exerted while there is decidedly waning. China wants to learn, and arrangements are being made for Einstein, the mathematician, Bergson, the philosopher, and Driesch, the biologist, to spend a year each in China. The time is surely ripe for some outstanding Christian scholar to set forth to these open-minded people the Christian philosophy of life. The throes of intellectual rebirth are just now upon China; it is her hour of travail, and what manner of New China shall be born no man can say.

Certain general effects of the movement upon the life of the nation are already apparent. It has developed a critical, inquiring attitude of mind; it has given rise, or at least impetus, to a new national consciousness—witness the Students' Rising of 1919—and inspired the Chinese people as a whole with a new hope and courage: they believe they have a place to fill in the world and a contribution to make to the human race; it has made modern science to be almost a fetish in the eyes of Young China; finally, it has

created a new mode of literary expression, which is bound before long to issue in a widespread movement for popular education.

It is fairly obvious that a striking parallel can be drawn between the Renaissance of Western Europe and that of China. Both were caused by the mingling of two streams—the widespread influence of new knowledge with a revival of interest in classic literature and civilisation; both were correlated with an emerging nationalism; both marked the passage from the mediæval to the modern world, for the life of China's masses is still ancient or mediæval; both applied a new method to the study of the foundation of religious belief; both took their rise in centres of learning and found their chief exponents among younger students and professors; both exposed and attacked religious superstition; both had Christian and pagan elements intermingled; both were more than merely intellectual movements, for they had expressions on the social and human sides; both issued in a new interest in letters, the creation of a new literature, and the adoption of a new literary medium. Perhaps this last is one of the most striking and significant symptoms of the Chinese Renaissance.

The present intellectual output is astonishing. A new phonetic script has been invented, by which the Chinese alphabet of fifty thousand ideographs or characters is reduced to less than forty symbols. It makes the reading of Chinese a matter of comparative simplicity. The old classical language took the Chinese scholar of the first rank a whole lifetime thoroughly to master; the new phonetic script can be learnt by illiterate men and women in two or three weeks. It is a kind of shorthand, or a device to help the untutored. Since it is hardly more than a mechanical simplification of the static, classical Chinese it is not fitted to be a medium for any creative literary work: it is a script, not a plastic, living language.

But the tide of new thought which is sweeping through the land has now created its own vehicle of expression. Professor Hu Shih, of Peking University, at the cost of personal opposition and boycott, headed a movement for creating a new literary medium. It was necessary that in some way the new knowledge and ideas, with which the minds of the Western-educated Chinese were full, should be passed on to the people of China as a whole, and for this a tongue understood of the people was essential. It was precisely here that an *impasse* was reached.

For some two thousand years the spoken and the written language have been growing further and further apart. *Wen Li*, or the classical written language, has remained unaltered, standardised, and static. Only scholars understood it, with the result that the *literati* became a distinct class in the community. Their intellectual interests were utterly divorced from the ordinary

JOSEPH CONRAD.

IT is the penalty of commercialised literature that so many writers of to-day, talented, versatile, and prolific, leave us with the impression of second-best where, with just that extra conscientious effort which Carlyle meant by his "capacity for taking infinite pains," the first-best would surely have been possible.

If Joseph Conrad does not give us the sense of completely full achievement, it is not because he has ever consciously given his second-best. His is the great quality of *spoudaiotes*—"high seriousness," as Matthew Arnold called it. He bears his torch higher and with a finer gesture than any novelist in England to-day.

Doubtless he would arrest attention by his romantic personality and history, if by nothing else. Linguistically alone, he is without parallel in our own literature, and probably in any. As everybody knows, he had not a word of English till he was twenty. From the appearance of his first book, he has written not merely good but very remarkable English prose. Occasionally, in the earlier books, one can detect a small trick of foreign speech—an adverb oddly transposed, a use of "already" as if it were the much more flexible *déjà*; a slip such as "he was the only other present," very rarely a vulgarism such as "lay" for "lie." But these infrequent details do not rob his prose of its essentially English, and idiomatically English, character. One may criticise his style, but only as one would criticise the style of an Englishman born. His is not merely the adequate word, but the just word, and the "stunning" word, as Rossetti called it. Foreign he may be in temperament, but in language he has naturalised himself completely.

No less extraordinary are the facts of his adventurous career. A youth, born far from the seaboard, of an inland race, gently nurtured and destined for studious pursuits, renounces every influence of his upbringing and declares a preposterous passion for the sea, which he knows only from books. And this against the almost passionate advice of those who knew him best and cared for him most (see *A Personal Record*). To them it was like a child's resolve to be a pirate. But of course much more serious. Conrad was not exactly a child, and he did not want to be a pirate—he wanted to be a sailor. If he does not tell us why, it is because there is no explanation. The desire was as dominating, and as inexplicable, as love at first sight.

When he found himself at Marseilles, an eager novice among veterans of his chosen craft, he had indeed achieved his desire;

and, unlike most men, he found it sweet to the taste. Even then a last word of warning came to him. "*Il faut faire attention*," said a friendly and adored old lady, with great experience of the world, "*il faut faire attention à ne pas gâter la vie*." Nearly half a century later, Conrad was able to salute that friend's memory with a confident assurance that he had *not* spoiled his life. The sea was and is his unchangeable love.

This, one might have thought, was enough Protean adventure for one short life. But now the landsman turned sailor turns artist! He must have possessed from the beginning—it is evident in all his work—the power to look "quite through the deeds of men"; and among the many curious types he had observed was one who particularly struck his imagination, and perhaps appealed particularly to his Slavonic cast of thought. This was the lonely, pain-stricken atom, utterly little in himself, yet intense in the fierceness of his disillusionment, who became Almayer. With a prophetic combination of the analytic and the imaginative, Conrad began to weave into one pattern the unlovely story of this waif's pulverised life and the ardent lyric of Nina and her prince. The manuscript, compiled with infinite slowness, travelled with him the world over, till it literally yellowed before his eyes. But it did not wither. Why it was ever begun we know no more than why young Conrad ever went to sea; but in the one case as in the other it is clear that the choice was prompted by a fundamental necessity of the man's nature.

Perhaps if you had told Captain Conrad that he was an artist, he would have resented the reflection on his seamanlike qualities. Yet Almayer grew and grew, in all kinds of improbable places and for a considerable period of time. It was only when a casual auditor expressed a qualified approval of it that Conrad began, perhaps with a kind of amused wonder, to regard himself as a possible writer of fiction. A publisher saw in Almayer, if not an entirely successful work of art, certainly a very remarkable first novel. Again Conrad's life was shaped upon a new course, and now he made the port for which, had he but known it, he was bound from the first.

Of course he was no breezy sea-dog turned spinner of yarns. He must always have been pre-eminently the man of "sensitivity," with no little schooling in the best models of literature. He went to sea for the sea's sake; but he found there material which the artist in him could not ignore. For the sea is a great leveller of men. Your shipmate is primarily your fellow in a common task, and for the rest he is simply a man. You can know him at close quarters, stripped of all the adventitious trappings of society ashore. So Conrad learned to see him; and draws from the nude.

The background is nature seen in every part of the world with zest and sympathy and an exuberant sense of colour.

His characters seldom interest us because they represent any particular phase of social development, still less because their author sees them from any particular social angle, as most authors do. They are presented to us simply as individuals, as it were upon their merits, influenced by certain external circumstances and certain internal characteristics, moving to the destiny which these things make for them. Even to their names, which often might belong to any one of half-a-dozen nationalities, they are free from conventional labels. Nothing factitious goes to their composition, and nothing human is alien from them.

One who works thus in the raw material of humanity is not prone to illusions. He must be constantly aware of the startling extremes which have made history—on the one hand, man a little lower than the angels; on the other, man a little higher than the brutes. Conrad cherishes no illusions as to either of these aspects of humanity. "Disillusioned" he is not, as the word is used. He shows us, only a very little lower than the angels, human courage as the highest and most vital quality. Gentler attributes, love and sympathy and tolerance, find their place in his philosophy, but they come later in man's moral progress. Courage, the first necessity of existence, without which man is doomed from birth, is the strongest theme in his work. Not merely the epic aspect of valour, man battling with tempest, as in *Typhoon*, or his self-made fate, as in *Lord Jim*. The secret battle of the soul is to him an equally noble strife. This is especially true of his women, who, on the whole, are presented in less bold outlines than his men. He gives us, besides the debonair pluck of Seraphina in *Romance*, the endurance of the unhappily married women, as in *The Rescue* and *Nostromo*, or of the friendless girl—the loneliest creature in the world—as in *Victory* or *Chance*. There is pity in his view of strife, as there must always be where there is appreciation of courage; but pity is a luxury, courage a necessity.

All the greater is the need for courage because Nemesis moves among the ordinary affairs of men as certainly as ever it moved among Greek demigods. Conrad's characters act and are acted upon with the relentless logic which governs all human conduct. "Whatsoever a man sows, that shall he also reap," is the immutable law, and Conrad never mitigates its severity by the false comfort of miracles or benevolent accidents. The harshness of the law, to human intelligence at least, seems to consist in this, that the seed sown may be minute and the crop huge. So it is with *Lord Jim*. He is no caitiff, but as good a man as most, indeed a better than most; his sin springs not from any radical defect of

character, but from a cruel and unexpected temptation. His blame, to any but the Pharisee, is little, his penance extreme. But no penance will serve. The wheel, once in motion, must come full circle.

If it be pessimism to see in human affairs this irrefragable logic of cause and effect, Conrad's is the pessimistic frame of mind. At least he will not blink the facts with glib generalisations about the freedom of the will. But of the despair or resignation of the true pessimist there is nothing in Conrad. He might say with Shakespeare, "The fated sky gives us free scope." Fated indeed the sky is; but we need not say of it, "Whereunder crawling cooped we live and die." We need not crawl, and if we are cooped, it is within such wide limits that we need never lack high exercise of mind and body and soul. Pessimism is static, patient; and that is not Conrad's temper. His ideal is rather that of the Stoic—poise attained through strife; but, unlike the Stoic, he finds greater virtue in the strife than in the poise. He is seldom light or buoyant; life is to him a very serious business, and man a very solemn fact. There is little humour in his work, and wit only of a somewhat sardonic kind. Sometimes a fit of Slavonic brooding gets the better of him. Like Jaques, he has been a traveller, and his "often rumination wraps him in a most humorous sadness." Had he remained a landsman, doing less and brooding more than he did, he might well have added specimens to the museum of morbid anatomy which is Slavonic fiction. Only once has he given us a picture of Russian life (*Under Western Eyes*), and reproduced those blue-black abysses of despair and impotence which only Eastern Europeans can truly relish. Happily, the salt sea, with all its vivacious associations, kept these humours in check. Conrad's world was "so full of a number of things" that, if he could not be as happy as a king, at least he could make instead of brooding.

From the first, what he was chiefly concerned to make was character; and to that end he spared no pains. It is the mark of a conscientious, workmanlike novelist never to bring a character on to his stage who is not given some distinct personality. The temptation to advance the story by means of mere lay-figures is often very great and constantly yielded to by inferior or careless craftsmen. Conrad early learned that this is a deadly sin against an artist's duty to himself. There are very few lay-figures in his books. Each character, for however short a time he appears, is studiously conceived and represented. And, in the earlier works at least, we are shown character as most of us delight to see it—in action. Is it conscious intent, or the obscurity which increases with a man's years, that in his later books he seems to incline more to

leisurely researches, laborious distillations, in the chemistry of character? He is a whole-hearted admirer of Henry James, and one cannot think that that great but tortuous-minded virtuoso was the best model for a man of Conrad's predispositions. *The Arrow of Gold* was difficult reading, and seemed to move at a snail's pace over ground not vastly interesting. In *The Rescue*, the sturdy, simple man of action, Lingard, whom we met long before and felt we knew intimately in *An Outcast of the Islands*, becomes a new and supersubtle creature. The chisel has been used too industriously; the bold outlines are gone, and only a number of confused, irregular angles are left. Instead of the character in action, we are shown a number of emotional crises which, without the connecting links, are painfully suggestive of recurrent fever. One longs for a return to a less pathological mood.

No less conscientious than this draftsmanship of character is Conrad's care in setting his stage. Whether it be a ship or a forest, or a port, or an "interior," the picture is constructed with the most meticulous attention to detail. This is not the "mere virtuosity" which exalts the photograph above the portrait, and realism above imagination. The externals of Conrad's world are not merely reproduced: they are most intensely felt. There is in some writers an almost transcendental sympathy with objective things which I can only call, very inadequately, a poetic sense of the concrete. Walt Whitman possessed it perhaps more than any other. With him it was a sheer exultant joy in the physical presentation of concrete things, in the power of a steam-engine as much as in the song of a bird. Often it led him to what are, in a literary sense, drunken excesses—those exuberant catalogues of apparently unrelated physical things which he shouts at the top of his voice, like a man magnificently intoxicated. This quality proceeds from a peculiar degree of mental and physical vitality. We are all aware that with abundant health and a fine spring day we can take an intense pleasure in material things which at other times would seem inconsiderable, or even distasteful. Of this vitality Conrad possesses a great store. He is not, publicly at least, a poet, and there is not much lyrical quality in his prose work. Even his love themes, scarlet and intense though they often are, lose much of their impulsive joy in a shadowy melancholy which is never far away from them. But in his treatment of natural events and natural scenery, he approaches magically close to the heart of nature. Without the sheer lust of life which makes Whitman so exhilarating and sometimes so strident, he seems to enter into a kind of pantheistic communion with all created things, among which man is but *primus inter pares*. It is a strange and elevating conjunction of materialism and mysticism, of subjectivity and

objectivity. It reaches its highest point in that great study, *Heart of Darkness*, where he seems to be transported as if in a rapture into the primitive soul of a tropical forest.

Despite his many distinguished qualities, Joseph Conrad leaves us with a tantalising doubt whether he has ever produced, and whether he will ever produce, the very best that is in him. Sometimes he reminds us of an actor of great histrionic ability, whose elocution is so faulty that the emotional current never reaches the audience. We hear much of "stagecraft" nowadays, little of novelcraft. Yet I suppose technical dexterity—the choice of an appropriate and significant medium—is as vital to the novel as to the drama. This architectural skill absent, the dramatist's play is not actable, the novelist's tale is not told. Conrad's tale is sometimes told so deviously that it hardly seems to be told at all. He suffers—it would seem in an increasing degree—from that trick of construction which some writers seem to regard as a mark of superior intelligence—a kind of perverse secretiveness in the telling of their story, a disinclination to say forthright what can be conveyed by allusion. Nobody desires a heavy meal of the obvious; but any meal must contain some plain articles of diet, it cannot consist solely of flavours.

One turns back the pages of *Lord Jim* with an uneasy fear that one has stupidly "missed something"; a fear which is familiar to every reader of *The Amazing Marriage*. Here is a man suffering extremely, the centre of a storm of passions and judgments, clearly meant by the author to be an object of interest and sympathy; we ask ourselves constantly, What is it all about? For aught we are told, it may be a convulsion of nature, or it may be a storm in a tea-cup. It is not until more than a hundred pages have passed that we are told what happened on the emigrant ship, and are thus enabled to form any conception of the origin and meaning of Jim's situation. Meanwhile, the incorrigible Marlow goes on with his garrulous gossip about the suicide of a prosperous sea-captain and the philosophy of a German entomologist. Throughout, we are never brought to the direct view of Jim himself; he is always seen through other eyes. This is often cited as an example of Conrad's "technique." But indeed *cui bono*? Is it that Marlow, and therefore the reader, are intended to have the detachment of the Greek chorus; that Jim, but one passing wraith in the phantasmagoria of experience, is to be viewed impersonally and dispassionately? But we do not wish to regard him so! He is too lifelike a figure to be seen thus indirectly. Nothing is gained by the spokesmanship of Marlow and Marlow's interlocutors. It is not as if we got intensely different and intensely individual views of the same character, as in *The Ring and the Book*. We merely

have fragments of a career pieced together from different sources, not without unsightly sutures.

Nostromo is a conspicuous example of Conrad's imperfections as a narrator. The theme is a study in ruling passions—the passion for material wealth in Gould, for a woman in Decoud, and for self in *Nostromo*. But no part of the theme is ever conducted to a full close. Gould is at the end of the book as he was at the beginning, Decoud is jettisoned almost contemptuously before he has well begun to explain himself, and *Nostromo*, after fitful appearances, generally described by *oratio obliqua*, falls at last to a rather melodramatic stroke of accident. A large number of characters came upon the stage, and each is depicted with penetrating vision; but the nexus is so loose, the story so halting, and the development so spasmodic, that interest is taxed beyond what most readers can endure. Rich indeed is the material, but the thing fashioned out of it is like a sprawling conglomerate of precious metals, opulent, solid, barbarically handsome, but without form or unity.

Nor is Conrad always fortunate in his choice of theme. At his first attempt, he seems to have chosen for tragedy that which is scarcely capable of tragic import. It is difficult to shed a genuine tear over *Almayer*. He is merely one of the world's incompetents, living entirely within the bounds of a somewhat sordid imagination. His consuming ambition is only that of the frog emulating the cow; he arouses the interest neither of the sinner on a grand scale nor of the noble mind o'erthrown. The sadness of tragedy, if it is to purge the emotions, must be something more than mere dull misery. The accumulation of Job's misfortunes would not be interesting if Job himself were not interesting; and *Almayer* is certainly incapable of cursing God. It is only Nina who saves the book from being a mere fit of the blues.

Conrad did not often repeat this mistake; but in one book, published fourteen years later, he misspent his energy upon an obscurely conceived theme. *The Secret Agent* is his worst failure. It never succeeds in striking any dominant key. Most of the characters are so grotesque, the theme itself is so macabre, that the atmosphere seems at first to be that of *The Dynamiter*. One is led through many pages in a spirit of rather heavy, but still satiric, satire. Then suddenly Mrs. Verloc butchers her husband with a carving-knife, and the book rushes to its conclusion in a tempest of evil passions. The peripety is too violent; we gasp, and are bewildered, and believe less than ever in these ghoulish eccentrics. Here again we approach that disordered world of Slavonic fiction where all orientation is lost and all values are reversed.

Individual examples of failure are little in themselves, so the aim be high; but in Conrad they are symptomatic of an incompleteness

which may endanger the permanence of his reputation. He has given us no single book of which we feel "Others abide our question, thou art free." In all this distinguished work there is no *Copperfield*, or *Richard Feverel*, or *Père Goriot*, or even *Old Wives' Tale*. Conrad darts the rays of his lantern upon a thousand dark places of the human heart, but there is no dry light illumining the whole. This vague sense of unfulfilment seems to be the result rather of defective method than of defective outlook. Will he ever give us his perfect book? He is now well-stept in years; and a tendency to crabbedness grows hugely upon a man with advancing age. It is not too late to hope for the fullest fruition of his genius; but if it does not come soon, he will be in danger of losing that high place in literature which his talents warrant.

It is strange that one of Conrad's most brilliant works is now almost forgotten. If the present writer were asked to select his "favourite" Conrad, he would unhesitatingly name *Romance*. This was written in conjunction with Mr. Ford Madox Hueffer, himself no mean teller of tales. One can but guess at the system of collaboration, but it would seem probable that Mr. Hueffer chiefly contributed form and arrangement, acting as a kind of producer for Mr. Conrad's drama. This would be a fortunate combination; and if we add to it the full *verve* of Conrad's more youthful imagination—it is a comparatively early book, published in 1903—we have a fine, pulsating tale which swings us along in a glory of romantic adventure. Not even *The Three Musketeers* is more impregnated with the true spirit of the romantical-picaresque. John Kemp and Tomas Castro, and the Juez O'Brien, and Captain Williams, and Manoel del Popolo, and that splendid, high-hearted girl Seraphina, are among the most engaging characters of the English romantic novel. The dramatic action, too, is finely virile: one does not easily forget the palpitating scenes in the *hacienda*, and the cavern, and finally at the Old Bailey. It is not a pretentious work; it does not seek to plumb the depths of "psychology" or reveal the springs of action. Its material is as old as romance itself—adventure, danger, fortitude, and love. Nor is it a well-known work; for years it has been out of print, and many admirers of Conrad are unacquainted with it. But in the opinion of the present writer it is among the great romantic novels of our language; and he for one will keep it by his bedside when the masterpieces of Scott and Dumas have gone back to their unremembered shelves.

CARLETON KEMP ALLEN.

THE CHINESE RENAISSANCE AND ITS SIGNIFICANCE.

CHINA is one of the most arresting facts in the present life of the world. This may be a matter of indifference to those who retain the comfortable illusion that nothing of any moment to the human race happens outside of Europe and America, and that the history of the world has room for the East only in footnotes. The history of China has no parallel save in that of the Hebrew nation. For two millenniums its social life has been singularly stable and its national temperament unchanged. The qualities which were held in highest esteem in the days when Nebuchadnezzar was king are still the characteristic virtues of the Chinese people. Its area, its population, its unexploited resources, combined with a national character which has stood the test of time and a social order which has persisted though dynasties have waxed and waned, help to make credible the statement that China is the key to the future of the world. The U.S. Minister in Peking says, "The twentieth century will be China's century, just as the outstanding feature of the nineteenth century was the unprecedented development of America."

No land has been more deeply disturbed by the impact of modern civilisation on an unprepared people than China. In less than one generation China has passed from the candle to the electric age, from the wheelbarrow to the motor-lorry, from the bullock-cart to the aeroplane. There are cases in Chinese cities where, without the intermediate stages, life has passed directly from the norms of a thousand years ago to the age of wireless. The Great Wall, which was completed some centuries before the Christian era, was intended to be an effective barrier against external influences of every kind; to-day, one of the towers of that Wall is used as a receiving and broadcasting station, fulfilling the very purpose the Great Wall was intended to prevent. That is symptomatic of what is happening on every hand in China to-day. From Canute to Marconi is a far cry: China is taking it at a stride.

Perhaps the most significant of all the recent developments in China, and that which lies behind every phase of her awakening, is the intellectual renaissance. It began on that fateful day when, by a stroke of the vermilion pencil of the Dowager-Empress, the whole system of education in China was altered and Western scholarship was made an integral part of the Chinese educational system. This meant more than merely adding Science and History and English to the curriculum; it involved the emergence of a new scale of values, a wider intellectual horizon and a new attitude to life. Dr. T. T. Lew, a Western-educated Chinese, now a professor in Peking

University, recently put the matter very arrestingly. He had been out of China for nearly ten years, and on his return was naturally interested in noting social changes. The outward changes which he found were few as compared with those of an immaterial and spiritual character. Everywhere was a new kind of invisible power and atmosphere which found expression in the tone of public opinion, the attitude of ordinary citizens, and the topics discussed in the newspapers. Dr. Lew spent an evening roaming round bookshops and newspaper-stalls, and gathered some fifty different kinds of magazines and journals. He found on investigation that there were more up-to-date matters discussed and a wider range of opinions expressed in those magazines than any combination of fifty magazines picked up from American bookstalls would contain. The mind of China to-day is seething with new ideas.

A glance beneath the surface of this intellectual world reveals a widespread movement which is sweeping over the students and the *intelligentsia* generally, known variously as the New Thought Movement, the Tide of New Thought, or the New Civilisation Movement. What is taking place is not less than a renaissance. Its prime concern is with learning, and in this pursuit it is resolved to use every resource of modern science; it welcomes everything new, but insists on preserving a critical and scientific attitude of mind; it is strictly utilitarian and insists that the only study of mankind is man.

Many factors have had a share in giving impetus and direction to this movement. Everything that has happened in the last quarter of a century may be said to have contributed in some way. But in particular the Movement may be said to have sprung from the interaction of two streams of tendency. One stream is that of Western thought. The first effects of this contact were largely regrettable, taking the form of war, commercial exploitation, and political chauvinism. There were natural waves of reaction and resistance such as the Boxer Rising, but on the whole the Chinese saw the value and inevitability of Western thought, and they realised the advantage of having for their own country the same intellectual background as that of the rest of the civilised world. For a period China was under the glamour of the Occident, and accepted in a rather indiscriminating and superficial way all the thought-forms of the West; but she has now outgrown that phase, and her thinkers to-day are engaged in probing beneath the surface of Western thought, and frankly advocating the adoption of whatever may seem to them desirable and worthy. An enthusiastic reception is accordingly given to new ideas from the West, as is shown by the publication of a large number of books and magazines devoted to modern thought; by the welcome given to visiting

European and American scholars; and by the founding of a number of voluntary Societies devoted to Western learning, such as the Science Society, the Society of Progressive Ideas, and others.

The other stream is a renewed interest in the old civilisation of China. Of late years a number of Chinese scholars have been re-examining their national classics and using the critico-historical method for the purpose. The result has been a re-interpretation of the classics and something like a revival of interest in the old Chinese civilisation. This was not wholly due to the impact of Western civilisation; it was largely an effort of pure scholarship, a determination to get back to origins. The result has been the unearthing of the deeper truths of Chinese thought, the challenging of present-day political, social, and religious philosophy, and the revelation of the fact that modern Chinese orthodoxy is itself an upstart thing and a departure from the true genius of Chinese modes and norms. The classical music and drama are consequently being reviewed; the ancient novels and fictions are being studied in a new light; Buddhism and Confucianism are being re-examined, and in some places re-tried; the literary language is being simplified, while the vernacular is being given a literary flavour; an Institute for the study of the principles of Chinese civilisation is being promoted, and the conviction is growing that the old civilisation contains much that men ought not willingly to let die, especially on the side of ethical and philosophic teaching. China certainly has a considerable contribution to make to the sum total of human good, and perhaps in the world's next great cycle of advance she may give back to the restless West something of the poise and inner calm without which men must perish in pure frenzy.

It is almost possible to date the chief events in the history of this Renaissance. In 1900 the National University of Peking came into being. Although its early years were not such as to inspire confidence, it has now without a doubt "made good." In 1910 a New Thought Society was founded, the avowed intention of which is to bring to China for long lecturing tours the leading Western thinkers of the day. In 1915 the remarkable journal *Youth* was launched upon its career; at first hardly more than an insignificant though enterprising "Occasional Paper," it has now become the recognised exponent, as well as the dynamo, of the Movement. But it was in the spring of 1919, shortly after the close of the world-war, that the Chinese Renaissance, in any full sense, began. More than two hundred new publications suddenly appeared—weeklies, monthlies, quarterlies, and annuals, all of them vibrant with new life, zealously preaching a new Gospel, and strangely at variance with all that was typical in Chinese

literature. There was nothing organised or unified about it, it was a spontaneous outburst marked by a spirit of scientific inquiry and a determination to be done with the abuses and corruptions of the past. It was clear that the old social system of China had broken down under the paralysing touch of Western life. Even the new Republic was impotent, as the "twenty-one demands" of the Japanese militarists showed. The cry of self-determination which Woodrow Wilson shouted across the roof-tops of the world evoked a response in China, and a new national consciousness emerged. The downfall of German junkerism and the apparent success of the Russian Revolution aroused in the student-class a feverish desire for some speedy solution of China's ancient ills. The influence of Christianity, even if silent, was widely diffused; its conceptions of one family of man and a new way of life, its demand for education and for social and industrial reform, were strongly operative in the minds of all forward-looking Chinese. That the influence of Christianity is not negligible is proved by the fact that while only one in every thousand of China's vast population is a Christian, yet one in every four of the acknowledged leaders in China's life to-day is a member of the Christian Church. Last year a vote was taken among students throughout China by certain newspapers on the question, "Who are the twelve greatest living Chinese?" The results were significant. Of the first four, who have an easy majority of the votes, two are keen Christians and the other two were brought up in a Christian environment, either of home, or school, or both, and owe everything to Christianity; of the whole number one-third are known and active Christians.

It must not be supposed that this renaissance movement is at present influential beyond the large cities and student-centres. Eighty per cent. of Chinese people live in the villages, and the tide has not yet reached them. On the upper reaches of the rivers forty or fifty men may be seen any day hauling with might and main at a hawser attached to a laden junk, while a "ganger" cracks an enormous whip across their bare shoulders. For this slave's toil they are paid a handful of rice and a penny a day! No progress in the method of transport has been made here since the days of Abraham; whilst on the Peking-Mukden railway there was a strike last year in which the men made demands of such an advanced character as could not be put forward in any other country on earth, save perhaps in Soviet Russia. While in most of the cities there has been an amazing revolution, the country districts are quite untouched. There are two Chinas to-day.

The movement is primarily a renaissance of learning, and it welcomes knowledge from whatever source; but it is not exclusively intellectualist: it has its social and humanistic sides. It insists that

affairs of life, and their position was assured by the system of examinations which dealt solely with the old classical books. *Wen Li* thus became wedded to the old autocratic Government; it stood for conservative imperialism and the ruling aristocracy. It had nothing in common with the new democratic and scientific spirit. It pointed backward, not forward, and was therefore unfitted either to interpret the ferment of new ideas seething in the mind of Young China, or to be the tool of expression of a democratic people. It lacked creative capacity and no really original book, so it is said, has been written in the classical tongue for four centuries. Into this incapacitated realm of letters the tide of new thought has broken. A medium is demanded which is at once plastic and simple; it must be able to convey the new knowledge and at the same time to be intelligible to the people. Dr. Hu Shih and a few other ardent spirits took their reputations, and almost their lives, in their hands and boldly advocated and practised the use of *Pai Hwa*, or the spoken language, as a literary medium. They urged its use as being alone fit for the free citizens of a great Republic and alone capable of expressing the democratic aspirations and scientific spirit of the age.

The scholars, of course, presented a solid phalanx of opposition. Long-entrenched privileges and vested interests felt themselves challenged, and the heavy artillery of pompous learning was brought into action. The *literati* ridiculed the possibility of using the vulgar tongue, maintaining that it was no more than a *patois*, without dignity or power. The "moderns" replied that not any inherent fitness, but only the support and prestige of the Empire had preserved *Wen Li* through so many centuries, and in any case it was now a dead language. A dead language, they said, could never produce a living literature.

A measure of the contrast between the classical and spoken languages may be gathered from the fact that they are at least as distinct as the Greek of Aeschylus from that of M. Venizelos, or the Hebrew of the Psalms from that of Shoreditch, or the speech of Hengist and Horsa from that of modern Kent. The history of the European renaissance is being repeated in the Far East with striking similarity. The rising national consciousness and the requirements of the new learning brushed Latin aside as inadequate to the task, and demanded the substitution of the vulgar tongues of Italy, France and England. The Latinists resisted the change: they poured scorn on the claims of the upstarts and prophesied their speedy downfall. But Dante and Petrarch, Lipsius and Dolet on the Continent, and Wycliffe and Langland, Spenser and Colet in England, demonstrated the competency of the spoken tongue to be a worthy vehicle of literary expression.

The rapidity with which *Pai Hwa* is gaining recognition seems to suggest that before long it will be the national Chinese language. The output is astonishing though it is only five or six years ago since the first considerable experiments in its use were made. In the last five years hundreds of periodicals have come to birth for long or short careers, chief among them being *La Jeunesse* and *The New Tide*. All kinds of subjects are being dealt with in the new literary tongue. Commercial and philosophical topics are handled in the new journals; poems and literary *causeries* appear; articles on the Boy Scout Movement, University Settlements, Votes for Women, the League of Nations, and new methods of agriculture are included, while side by side may be found extracts from Tolstoy and Bernard Shaw, H. G. Wells and Rabindranath Tagore, Confucius and Jesus Christ. With every month the new style is gaining in flexibility and range, in dignity and precision, and is proving its entire adequacy to the new needs. It can be used in everything, even in writing poetry, on which point the battle with the *literati* was the most severe; it can accept modern terms, and for the first time in Chinese it has punctuation. The stiff and stern tradition that all books must be written in *Wen Li* is finally abandoned. To-day a Chinese newspaper would be considered out of date unless it had at least some articles in the new style, while the Board of Education, with a "modern" as its President, has decided to adopt *Pai Hwa* for all the text-books used in the elementary schools. In a word, the old classical tongue is disappearing, and with it is going, once and for all, the old Chinese view-point in philosophy, social life and morals. This does not mean that the unsurpassed Chinese classics are to be abandoned. On the contrary, it means that from being the exclusive possession of the scholar class they will become accessible to the people as a whole.

The contemplation of the possibilities now opened up for China almost makes one dizzy. Fructifying ideas are now falling fast in fertile minds. Everything that is written is assured alike of a wide and eager perusal and of a balanced and critical evaluation. The necessity of speaking in one tongue and writing in another, which for centuries has stultified all intellectual development in China, is gone for ever. An ancient tyranny is broken and Young China, free from shackles, is bending to her task.

By the very principles which the leaders of this movement have adopted, religion is a subject for investigation, just like everything else that comes within the gamut of human experience. In strictness the Renaissance movement cannot acknowledge a bias either for or against religion. Some of its best-known leaders, including Tsai Yuan Pei, the Chancellor of the National University, Peking,

are frankly anti-religious and anti-Christian. They hold that in the past religion was more or less necessary, but that all that it provided can now be supplied by science and æsthetics. As science progresses the realm of religion will diminish, until finally it will disappear. They admit that religion has been useful to mankind because it has inspired, comforted and sweetened life, but all this can be secured by æsthetics, and religion can with advantage be jettisoned as so much useless and discredited lumber. The thinking of the group on this matter tends to be superficial, and only a frank and full facing of the facts is necessary to prove its inadequacy. At the moment, however, this anti-religious group is very active, and it must be acknowledged that the vast majority of students in the Universities are agnostics, if not declared atheists. They hold religion to be a "past issue," and themselves incline to a positivistic philosophy. Obviously the movement is here lacking in moral and spiritual dynamic. Certain temporary improvements may result, but a true intellectual renaissance must be robbed of half its value unless it is correlated with a moral and spiritual reformation. Close observers of China at the moment maintain that she is largely impotent precisely for lack of that correlation. Another section of the New Thought Movement proclaim religion as material for investigation, and Christianity, at any rate, asks for nothing more. This group ask whether Christianity can stand the test of the modern age; they acknowledge the loftiness of its precepts, but go on to inquire whether those precepts are operative in the lives of Christian people. In non-Christian China, as in Hindu India, there is a remarkable increase in appreciation and respectful recognition of the personality of Jesus Christ.

The opportunity thus created is obvious. The movement is daily removing the obstacles of superstition and ignorance, and in this fight finds itself ranged on the same side as the Christian forces. In such matters as social service and education the New Thought and the Christian movements are allied. All this is great gain.

There can be little doubt that the tide of new thought in China will live and grow. The fact that the movement is democratic, scientific and social, means that it is in the main stream of the world's progressive thinking. It insists on applying its principles fearlessly to industrial and international life, and though it is unorganised, in the sense of being without central offices or executive, it is nevertheless making amazing progress. It is advancing like a resistless tide. The revolution that is taking place in China is as amazing as anything in modern history, for the Chinese Renaissance has religious, political and industrial, as well

as intellectual elements. These four great Revolutions which Western Europe passed through in a period of several centuries, China is facing in a generation. A small group of educated men are endeavouring to lead into a larger liberty one quarter of the human race.

Although this Renaissance may appear iconoclastic and destructive in some of its phases, it is yet the only means by which Chinese civilisation may be saved for mankind. Some ancient civilisations, as that of the Aztecs, have completely disappeared; they made no contribution to the race, and the whole world is the poorer for their passing. In two centuries Chinese civilisation might have been in the same way completely submerged by the oncoming tide of the aggressive, dominant civilisation of the West. Its art and philosophy, its literature and science, its social organisation and general culture would have been preserved only in museums and encyclopædias: they would have made no living contribution to the race. Frankly and fully to become Westernised would be a loss in the things of the spirit: it would be like gaining the world at the cost of losing the soul. What the Chinese Renaissance, with its mingling streams of ancient and modern, is seeking to do is to achieve a synthesis and give birth to a new thing in the world. The Tide of New Thought is a determined attempt to think through to the secret sources of Chinese and Western civilisations in order to discover if those fundamental principles may not be married in due time and give birth to a new philosophy of living. It has been unthinkingly asserted that "East is East and West is West, and never the twain can meet," but the leaders of the Chinese Renaissance demand the right to investigate.

The main characteristic of China is social solidarity. It is that, and that alone, which has prevented utter national collapse in a period of unprecedented chaos that has seen eight Premiers in fourteen years. Social cohesion is the outstanding fact in Chinese civilisation. The five duties and the five relations bind the folk in one. Life is fundamentally a unity in Chinese philosophy. The main characteristic, on the other hand, of Western civilisation, as enriched by Christianity, is the untold possibility and worth of the individual. These two great ideas need synthesis. Each is the creation of a particular kind of civilisation, and each of itself is partial and unbalanced. The two wedded together would produce something new in human history. All the evidence points to the probability that the Chinese Renaissance is one of the great creative movements in the story of mankind, and seems to promise results as good and as great as those of the Renaissance in the West.

A. M. CHIRGWIN.

solution. But is it to be expected that Parliament will indefinitely give its confidence to him if he adopts a policy so different from that which he has hitherto pursued?

Meanwhile, the parties of the Left are continuing their general attack upon the Poincaré Government. Not the least effective part of their campaign is the deliberate attempt to discredit the record of the Government in repairing the devastated districts, by denouncing a whole series of scandals connected with their reconstruction. Day after day and week after week for some time past the Press of the Left has been publishing the result of its own investigations into the expenditure in the north-east. It is far from surprising that scandals have arisen during the desperate rush to get the factories and the houses rebuilt. One notable case is, I believe, due to be tried before long, which will have to explain how it was that a certain individual who claimed compensation for a factory which was apparently valued before the war at 250,000 francs succeeded in obtaining 8,000,000 francs compensation, which he has not even spent on constructing a new factory. There have been many minor instances recently in which lawyers and architects employed in the assessment of claims and in the expenditure of compensation awards have been implicated. There were scandals of the same kind in England during and after the war in connection with the Ministry of Munitions. They are inevitable when immense programmes of construction have to be carried through at top speed and regardless of cost. But in France they are just now being exploited with relentless skill by the enemies of M. Poincaré's Government. They have even adopted the practice of reporting such scandals under the general heading "The Panama of the Devastated Districts."

At the same time, M. Poincaré is very seriously embarrassed by the continued rise in the cost of living, and also by the depreciation of the franc, which is largely responsible for part of that rise. The franc is likely to fall still further if public confidence in France is shaken, by a realisation of the fact that Germany can no longer be counted upon to repay within any near time the enormous loans which have been floated in France for reconstruction. And if the franc does continue to fall, as it has always fallen hitherto when the Government has been obliged to borrow from the Bank of France, M. Poincaré stands to lose credit in two ways: first by the increasing discontent at the high cost of living, and secondly because French people resent the depreciation of the franc as a national humiliation. M. de Lasteyrie was obliged to return hurriedly to Paris from his constituency when the franc dropped suddenly to over 88 to the pound almost immediately after the elections, and there was a distinct clamour for his resignation

from the Ministry of Finance. Such problems, however, will always arise as the time for the next budget draws near, and hitherto one Finance Minister after another has had to give place to some deputy who has made a reputation for financial insight by being particularly eloquent about the imminence of national bankruptcy.

Not many weeks ago, I was astonished to hear a very important Conservative in the north-west assure me solemnly that he believed M. Caillaux would come back to power as Prime Minister within the next two years. Certainly it would be difficult to deduce any such probability from the results of the elections for the Senate. But there is little doubt that the combined effect of attacks from many quarters upon M. Poincaré will before long bring him down. Not least significant has been the bold return to the political arena of the French Radical Ministers who were condemned for treason during the war. M. Caillaux now makes speeches frequently, besides contributing articles to the various newspapers which welcome his contributions. M. Malvy, whose term of ostracism has now come to an end, has announced his intention not only of contesting his old constituency at the forthcoming elections, but also of stumping the country to vindicate the patriotism of the Radicals who were condemned during the war. What is more astonishing is that M. Malvy actually unveiled a war memorial in his own constituency not long ago, at the request of the local people. It is true that he was publicly struck in the face by a young Royalist of the *Action Française*. M. Caillaux also has suffered frequently from such personal violence at the hands of M. Daudet's supporters. But whereas twelve months ago M. Daudet and M. Maurras were among the most influential publicists who provided the driving force behind the move into the Ruhr, M. Maurras has since been put in prison for instigating outrageous violence against a number of unoffending deputies who were merely going to address a public meeting of which he disapproved. And as for M. Daudet, there is the amazing verdict of the jury in Paris which the other day acquitted, on a plea of political provocation, a disreputable girl anarchist who had been arrested red-handed after she had shot dead the General Secretary of the *Action Française*. The verdict was made all the more staggering by the fact that it was delivered in the very week when Paris was full of speculation as to whether anarchists were also responsible for shooting M. Daudet's schoolboy son. That in itself is an extraordinary sign of the times.

A year ago the *Action Française* was still so strong that Caillaux and Malvy seldom dared to venture into print. Now the Radical Ministers are posing everywhere as the only men in France who

painters, the Italianised Flemings, and watch their degeneration when they adopted the Italian manner. You can see two of them at their empty worst in the National Gallery—Jan Lys and Gerard Honthorst—one of them given and the other deliberately bought within the last year. It is to be hoped that they will quickly be moved from their posts of honour and taken to the vaults, with Lawrence's Mrs. Siddons and the late de Hooghe, to form the fitting nucleus of a Chamber of Warning against insincerity. On a very much higher level we can watch the effect of a foreign atmosphere in Poussin, who at times ranks with the great painters, but on whom the Roman air worked with such stifling effect that his genius died under the heavy burden of his pseudo-classicism.

On the other side, we can see how the great can be inspired by the greater, even though they be of different race. Look at any *Fête Champêtre* by Watteau and see how it is quickened by the spirit of Rubens. The rhythm of the easily moving figures, the glitter of the blonde colour, and the quivering confident brushwork are as characteristic of one as of the other. But purged of all that is gross, and veiled with a mysterious aloofness, the whole thing has become typically and inexorably French. Take Chardin and the brothers Le Nain, who drew their inspiration from the poetic realism of Vermeer, Metsu, and Steen. These are the men who are the real foundation of French painting. The way of Poussin leads downwards to the bathos of Coypel and the Van Loos; the way of Watteau and of Chardin leads directly forward to Renoir and to Cézanne.

Later again, the Italian influence, that has so often hurt it, came near to killing imaginative painting in France, in the days of David and Ingres; and again salvation came from Flanders. This time it was Delacroix who saved France, when with the great wind of Rubens in his sails he poured new life into the French painters and hurried them from their overheated studios into the fresh air. But if it was Rubens, and in a lesser degree Constable, who had kindled the fire in Delacroix, it was to Delacroix and not to Rubens or Constable that the younger painters turned. While it is impossible to over-estimate the influence of Delacroix, it is difficult for us to point to any individual work of his that can obviously prove his greatness, apart from his decorations in the Palais Bourbon. It is the man himself who captivates us as he captivated his contemporaries, and the proof of his greatness is seen in the power and vitality of the school he founded. The stimulus from outside had but roused him to think for himself and to look at the world with his own French eyes. His sincerity and enthusiasm were contagious, and on such secure foundations rose the first great French School. No more invoking of Raphael or Michel Angelo

or the lesser divinities. They could at last stride forward for themselves—brains alert and eyes wide open, and they could let the great dead rest.

And so the movement began and prospered and, as is the nature of such movements, having lasted the span of a man's life it died. We may date its beginning with Delacroix's maturity and its end with the death of Cézanne and the decline of Renoir. It had had a life of about seventy years, which, after all, was longer than that of the Dutch or the Spanish great periods. Its different chapters are headed with the names of Impressionism, Pointillism, and Post-Impressionism. By the side of the Central School in Paris existed the separate groups of the Barbizon and Pontaven Masters. It has produced masterpieces in every branch of painting—subject pictures, portraits, pure landscape and still-life. Its leaders were invariably men of markedly forcible character. They lived on the whole to a good age, considering the violence of their living—though two died mad and two were eccentric to the verge of madness. They quarrelled violently among themselves, and were united only in their passion for painting and their reverence for Delacroix. With all their faults and inequalities they were a heroic lot, and the world is infinitely the richer for their coming.

There is, all the world over, a generous tendency to exaggerate the greatness of the recently dead leader. It is so in this case. We find Ingres coupled with Raphael, Manet with Velasquez and Cézanne with all the heroes of all time. The phase will pass. If Ingres' superb portraits recall anyone, it is Bronzino; the name of Raphael in connection with his will only be a reminder of his failures. Manet will be found nearer to Franz Hals than to the greater Spaniard, while Cézanne will be ranked with El Greco as a man whose mind soared higher than his hand could follow. The men of this group are indeed far from being the demi-gods their admirers would make them out to be. Never before had painters of their rank been so unequal in their work. There was not one of them, except perhaps Degas, who was not capable of turning out a downright bad picture—and Renoir, who in pure colour vision excelled them all, was the greatest sinner in this respect.

We are very ready to overlook this inequality, and we even find them the more lovable for it. For their eyes were so overfull of the beauty that they could see in everything round them, below them and above them, their brains so longing to record it, that their hands could never keep the pace and faltered from sheer weariness. A great deal of their bad work that survives to puzzle and annoy us should never have left their studios, and but for greedy executors would never have done so. A wiser counsellor would

have seen that Renoir's work in his last fifteen years was destroyed. Cézanne would have been roused to more than usual fury had he foreseen that his studio would be swept clean of the last scrap of his abandoned failures and that these would be put on the market for his blind adorers to buy.

With such an amount of unequal work all round them the position of the Courtauld Trustees is not to be envied. Of the older Masters practically all their work is known and classified. With the more modern men the task of choosing will be infinitely more difficult. Unknown pictures will be constantly appearing, and as constantly will the five men have to make up their five minds whether to buy or wait for something better. Mr. Courtauld has, I believe, given his trustees power to sell or exchange. But this is a weapon that probably, in their public capacity, they would never dare to use.

It is unfortunate that there should have to be trustees at all. In this case there are five of them to administer the £50,000—the directors of the National and Tate Galleries, Lord Henry Bentinck, Sir Michael Sadler and Mr. Courtauld himself. The question is whether there will be found among them a Lane or a Camondo, and if so whether he will be able to rule his fellows with the necessary rod of iron. The buying of modern pictures is decidedly a work for one man, acting on his own judgment and owing no responsibility to any but himself. It can be said with certainty that there never has been a Committee that proved its ability to choose well from among its contemporaries (for this School and these trustees are practically contemporary). There are innumerable public collections of modern art all over the world, and if any one of them can show one sheep to every dozen goats they may be congratulated. The foreign section of the Luxembourg falls far below even that modest standard. The Chantrey, with all its faults of omission and commission, has managed to keep a little above it, thanks mainly to the greater wisdom of its latter years. The list of painters whose work may be bought includes the names of at least two living men. It is sincerely to be hoped that the trustees will not use that right. State purchase should be reserved, like canonisation, as a posthumous honour.

A special gift, like this one, should be used only for pictures of capital importance. The ordinary funds will suffice for the less important and the less costly. It were better for the trustees to give us a few masterpieces than thrice as many of less value, no matter if they come, as they must, at long intervals. Time is a factor of no importance in such a quest, nor are Bond Street Exhibitions the best places to search in. If only the question of the Lane Bequest were definitely settled we should know better what we most need. Assuming that these pictures remain in England, there can

be no immediate necessity to buy more Manets—and yet one of the two pictures so far bought is a “ five-figure ” Manet by no means of the highest quality. The purchase of such a picture at such cost is not reassuring. The second picture, a Renoir, is, on the other hand, entirely worthy. But what we need above all is a Delacroix, one that would explain the reason of the fame that is so justly his. To get such a thing no expenditure of time, trouble or money would be too great. Gericault is another of the missing pioneers. We have no Chassériau. Ingres and Courbet are most inadequately presented. Cézanne has yet to justify to us the importance his contemporaries assigned to him, and Van Gogh, who is the fulfilment of Cézanne's teaching, has yet to appear. If the trustees aim at the highest, are patient, and do not dissipate their forces in any hurried acquisition of the second-rate, they will have earned the gratitude of all lovers of pictures and have dispelled the legend that no Committee is capable of understanding modern Art.

W. A. PROPERT.

WHAT OF RELIGION IN RUSSIA?

I HAD the good fortune to be in Russia last winter. I arrived in Petrograd when the year was beginning to fall and, as I promenaded with the leisured throng up and down the Nevski Prospect, I gazed at unforgettable September sunsets. And it was the young April sun that smiled on the streets and boulevards of busy Moscow when I bade adieu to that enchanting city.

How different is the Russia of actuality from the Russia of the imagination of the average Englishman! It is impossible for him, I suppose, to get a true view of what is happening in that land of revolution and mystery. If he were transferred from London to Moscow, he would undoubtedly meet with things to startle him and make him grumble; but in spite of negative circumstances he would assuredly feel his imagination challenged, his better nature stirred, antipathy give place to sympathy, high anticipations supported, and faith in humankind made fuller and purer by the process of creation and transformation obviously and constantly going on around him. The negative things he would meet are such as belong to the pulling down of buildings in disuse, and to the scaffolding and machinery and toil bound up with the business of raising a new structure. The simple fact is that a new order of life, a new society, is being created in Russia, out of the Russian materials of existence, and that enterprise is in every sense of incalculable significance to the rest of the world.

I was not in Russia as the representative of any party, policy, business, or newspaper. I was just an ordinary person and lived and worked as ordinary Russians did. I lived with the people, among the people, and like the people. I witnessed their labours and hardships, and shared in their interests and festivities. One desire I strongly felt was to become acquainted with the spiritual movement and struggle of Russia. What of religion in Russia? was the question I wanted answered. Churches are everywhere in Moscow. Their carbuncled cupolated tops, their lace-work gold crosses on crescents glow in the light of day and meet your gaze on every hand. And the church bells make such a jingling din and clatter—most strange to English ears—both Sundays and weekdays. And priests walk in the street wearing their curious long black cassocks, tight to the waist and flowing skirtlike down to the ground almost. The evidences of orthodoxy, ritual and hierarchy are everywhere. In the Iverski shrine the old icon is hourly and daily kissed, and crowds of tattered and huddled beggars wait outside for alms. When the crowded electric tram passes by the shrine, a peasant woman or an old man, who was

once some official, makes the sign of the cross. A strange, strange spectacle, that Iverski shrine! And there are many other shrines with worshippers and beggars.

But are all these evidences leaves on the trees in autumn? In the turbulent process of creation and transformation going on in every sphere of existence, how stands it with the problem of religion? Have not some of the clerics shorn their long hair and put on bowler hats? Have not some churches been turned into schools, clubs, and even hairdressers' shops?

A good many malicious inventions are circulated with regard to religion in Russia. The peasants and townsfolk have not abandoned faith and worship. A stupendous ritual is still observed, and a dense superstition still exists. On the other hand, I accompanied the anti-religious procession through the bright wintry streets of Moscow last Christmas. I saw the procession being formed. Of course it was an *anti-religious* show. Still it was a sincere and jolly carnival. It was youth's remonstrance against the forces that long have darkened and enslaved the spirit of man. Though it was a satire of religious notions and habits, it was on the whole an affair of healthy-mindedness, good-humour, and courage.

Let me sketch a few episodes which bear upon the problem of the spiritual forces at work in Russia.

A PUBLIC RELIGIOUS DEBATE.

Here is a brief description of a religious debate that took place almost on the eve of the present year. A series of such debates, initiated by the Commissary for Education, had been going on for a considerable time. This debate was in aid of refugee children. It was held at the Polytechnic Museum, one of the large central buildings of Moscow. The advertised subject of discussion was "The Future of Religion." It was timed for eight o'clock in the evening. The night was clear and frosty. The tramcar that took me to the place was half empty. The conductor in his sheepskin stood huddled up inside, near the door. The old city wall towered in shadow and in stillness when we passed it, going up the slope to the Lubyanka—the square leading to the Polytechnic Museum. The shops were closed. A splash of dazzling light on the half-lit snowy street was made by an open café. When I reached the hall a huge crowd waited to get in—which was unlikely, as all the tickets had been disposed of. The business of pushing one's way through that mass was a painful effort. At length I was inside the building, up the stairs, along the corridors, and then through a door into the auditorium. But the crowd inside was also close up to the doors. Clusters of people pressed near every door within. How I got a seat I cannot tell. People still kept coming in from outside.

"Shut the doors!" was shouted, but it was a vain cry. A packed, immense throng filled to overflowing the spacious auditorium of ascending semicircular rows of seats: the passages and gangways were full of people. In the square, shallow recess facing the auditorium sat the four speakers of the evening—W, X, Y, Z—and the rest of the available space in the recess was occupied by the audience.

The debate began. Up stood "W"—a divine of place and repute, a big, broad-figured man in a cassock, and on his breast a shining cross. His bearded face and long-haired head were of the thoughtful, homely, peasant type—a kindly strong face. His speech was slow, soft and resonant. His argument was as follows:

"The Eternal is the foundation of religion. Man belongs to the Eternal. The effort of man to commune with the Eternal is religion in expression. This effort expresses itself in forms. These forms become necessary to the exercise of religion. They become organised. Behind all such forms is the reality of the Eternal. If people with amputated limbs have no need of boots that does not mean that there are no bootmakers. If people have no religious needs it does not mean that there are no realities of religion."

The speaker had a respectful and attentive hearing. His homely metaphors and sallies were enjoyed, though many in the audience held a fundamentally opposite view.

"X," another divine, followed, a young priest of eminence and leadership. His figure tall and slight, his clean-shaven face pale, refined, romantic, his eyes shining with intelligence and vision, he stood there an attractive personality, and at once took hold of the audience. Not a moment was he in repose whilst he delivered his utterance. Gestures abounded. The whole form and energy of the man was giving utterance to his spirit.

"'I have come here,' said he. 'feeling as if I were going to minister at the altar of God on behalf of sinful man.' What is the ultimate note and plea of religion? This: *Man, give Me thine heart.* That, nothing less, is demanded. Can Art, Science, Economics satisfy the heart? Only Religion can meet the heart's need. Religion is like a thief in the night. It comes and steals the treasure—the heart of man—and how or when the thing was done you cannot say. You say the plea is not heard. No! The din of the bazaar deafens the soul's ears. Silence must be made. When the silence is made the voice which will be heard will be, *Man, give Me thine heart.*"

Spiritual vehemence and yearning held and ruled the speaker. As he urged and pleaded I looked round at the ranges of faces behind and beside me. They were strangely absorbed. Here and there faces shone in rapt, joyous attention. On the following day a friend—a person without religious profession—said to me: "I could have sat there and listened for hours."

"Y," a speaker of a different class and outlook, followed—a young Tolstoyan, a man in simple dress and of the schoolmaster or lawyer appearance. With his first words he struck the note of criticism and challenge. There was the note of the trumpet in his voice.

"Why is not the subject of the debate more precisely defined? 'Religion in the Future' is a vague title. The Churchmen spoke about religion. But the Church sides with 'the powers that be.' It always does that. It makes an odd saying in the Romans the grounds of justifying its conduct. How easy! How naïve! Why does not the Church speak out the truth of Christ? Violence is the method men follow. Why does it not teach and preach against the use of violence? The Church sides with what is anti-Christ. And the State rests on force. It adopts a censorship. It practises capital punishment. Only Truth, Love, Peace are of real value, only they can make a new world, a better society."

Nearly all through this speech the audience thrilled to the note of daring challenge. Frequently the speaker was interrupted by much applause, applause which he did not want, and which he indeed decried.

Finally spoke "Z," a leading and influential Communist. In his blouse-jacket and pince-nez he looked as if he were a sculptor just come out of his studio, where with mallet and chisel he had been working at some task of beauty. He began by taunting the previous speakers.

"They form a united front against me. One of them cried out against force. But this is a period of revolution. What can you do with the attacks of Kolchak, Yudenich, Wrangel, and the rest? Why do you interfere in our affairs? We do not interfere in your affairs. Religion is separated from the State. A man, as he please, may be religious or anti-religious. That is his affair. But we can smell the decay of religion. We have no room for a tyrant God. We are concerned with raising man. Do not put fetters on the newly arising life. Don't bind the awaking peasant. Science must be our illumination. Heaven! This earth must become a heaven for man to live in."

A tumult of long cheering followed as the vision of a new humanity in a new world was revealed by the speaker. The debate was over. One o'clock in the morning had passed. Some hurried home. But in the snowy street outside groups of eager disputants formed and went on talking of what they heard and thought and felt.

EASTERTIME.

Easter is the religious festival of Russia. The *Khristos Voskress!** has taken hold of the deepest part of the nation's faith and feeling, and the joyful greeting has been cried from man to

* Christ is risen!

man throughout the centuries in every city, town, village, hamlet, and house.

A lady typist in the office where I worked fasted through Passion Week. She is not a particularly devout person. A day or so before Easter she partook of the Communion early in the day. When she arrived at the office she was greeted and congratulated by her friends on having made her Communion. Such congratulation is common among the orthodox.

At eleven o'clock on Easter-Eve a party of us made our way to the Cathedral of Christ the Redeemer. The verger let us in, and led us up dark stairways to a lofty part of the Cathedral, and put us in a balcony whence we could observe what was to take place. The Cathedral is a magnificent temple without and within. It stands in an open space not far from the Kremlin, and is close to the river. The balcony where we stood was veiled in semi-darkness. We could dimly discern the colours of the frescoed walls around. We looked over the spiked and gilded railings to the scenes below. Beneath we discerned the diminutive forms of the priests as they hurried to and fro. They were engaged in robing themselves in red and gold for the service. The Metropolitan came in and his fellow priests vested him in garments of white and gold and put a mitre on his head. He kissed the vestments he put on, and then kissed the priests who garbed him. Beyond the great golden gates that divide the nave from the altar part of the Church an immense surging throng filled the place. They moved like waves of the sea or swayed like a cornfield in the wind—a huge moving mass of human bodies and souls. The subdued sound of booming bells softly reverberated through the spaces of the Cathedral. The *Khristos Voskress!* began to be cried. Wax tapers began to be lit on the floor beneath. It looked as if the starry sky had mysteriously been inverted and the constellations were glistening below us. Sweet singing rose aloft from choir and worshippers. Also the undertone of a faint murmuring sound from the moving multitude was heard in the Church. In rich baritone voice priests intoned the benedictions. Other priests moved about and swung censers of fuming incense. From midnight into morning the celebrations went on. It must have been two o'clock when we managed to push our way through the great mass of worshipping people and got outside into the frosty air.

Outside there was also a crowd. By the south wall of the Cathedral an open-air meeting was going on, a Communist speaker was addressing the assembled folk in the darkness. He urged them to put aside superstitious ideas and customs, to get rid of antiquated beliefs, to have done with the domination of priests. He urged them to read the history of religion, to study the truths

of science, to get to know the laws and workings of political economy. The crowd listened. And this too was a kind of Resurrection celebration.

WORSHIP IN A CELLAR.

One Sunday morning in April a friend and I went through the slush and drizzle to attend a service of the Evangelicals. They are the successors of the body of believers which sprang up as a result of Lord Radstock's mission in Russia in the 'seventies of last century. Their faith and practice is somewhat akin to those of the Plymouth Brethren. But on the whole they are actuated by a progressive social spirit. They meet on Sunday morning in a street not far from the Sukhareff market. When we got to the place it was rather late. The service was practically over. Their place of prayer is a cellar. We went down the stairs into a low, underground room. Here lay a pile of bricks, there lay a pile of old timber. Débris of various sorts lay in a part of the passage. But undeterred by these queer surroundings men and women came together for prayer and for fellowship. The caretaker sleeps in a corner of the place—his bed stood not far from the chairs and forms on which the congregation sit. We found little knots and groups of people sitting and standing about the place. They were talking about intimate matters and difficulties and struggles of their outward and inward life. In one part of the cellar among empty chairs two women were kneeling. In whispered tones one prayed that the other's perplexities of mind and heart might be removed. In another place a group were reading and discussing passages of Scripture. The choir leader and a knot of young people were choosing the hymns and tunes for a future service. I learned that they met in the cellar because of the housing scarcity. This vexation is widespread, and hampers life and work. However, the authorities are grappling with the difficulty, and the Evangelical leaders hoped that before long they would have more suitable premises.

To sum up. Signs of spiritual reality and life can be met on every side. Church despotism has gone. The darkness of superstition is thinning and shrinking. Chains of dead creeds are broken. The wind of a new spiritual life is blowing over the land. Churchman, sectarian, anti-religionist—all feel it. The vision of honest labour and honest love among man is breaking on all. The call to a joyous universal comradeship is heard. Finally, the question is not of religion or anti-religion. It is a question whether man shall be man, and whether men shall live together a worthy, happy, free, and progressive life.

EDWARD BERNSTEIN.

FOOTPRINTS OF HISTORY IN PROVENCE.

WHEN you go to Provence it should be in the spring—the late spring when the *mistral* has blown out its most icy gusts from the Alps to the sea, and before the summer heat has baked the grey rocks and shadeless plains, or filled the valleys with mosquitoes—the gauze on every window and the curtain over every door in a Provençal town or village show how seriously the mosquito must be taken. There are other reasons for choosing the spring, besides the fact that the climate is at its most pleasant. One is that the country is at its most beautiful. In May you will indeed be too late for the lovely almond blossom, and that is a pity. The almond trees are everywhere, for they are, with the olive, the chief harvest of the country, and bread with almonds is the food of many a peasant. But there will be other fruit blossoms. There will be masses of white and pink may. There will be carpets of field flowers, and gorse and terebinth among the rocks, and the first warm scent of thyme. The isolated groups and single sentinels of tall cypress will be putting on their points of light, new green against the dark. The occasional palm will remind you of how hot it is going to be later on.

Apart from all this, there is a symbolic reason for associating Provence and the spring. Its ruins carry the imagination back to the springtime of more than one civilisation. Not only so, but its people—at least in the villages and smaller towns—seem to belong still to that springtime and not to have changed and grown tired with the civilisations which have left them behind. In no country of historic monuments that I have seen can you find so much to-day, in traditions, customs, language, and even physical appearance, of the still living memory of the men by whom those dead monuments were made. The soldiers of many races have passed over the land. Hannibal ferried his elephants across the Rhone and marched his Carthaginians relentlessly on towards Italy. Later, the Cimbrian and the Teuton would have marched on to Italy, too, but a hundred thousand fighting men left their rotting bones in the place which is still called Pourrières, after being defeated by Caius Marius in the greatest battle ever fought on Provençal soil.

All the other invaders came to stay, and all have left their mark. The Phœnicians stamped the name of their god Melkarth on the naval station of Heraklea, which afterwards became St. Gilles, and on the Via Herculea, all around the coast to Spain. The Greeks founded Marseilles and Arles, and it has often been noted how, to this day, the beautiful Arlésienne—and she is beautiful, especially among the older women—is a Greek in profile, in carriage, in

serenity. The Romans have left their tradition in endless ways. What is the festivity at the end of the vintage but a feast of Bacchus, and what were the Courts of Love of the Troubadours, which made Les Baux famous, but celebrations of Venus? The Saracens, after being roasted out of their fortified position in the Roman amphitheatre of Nîmes by Charles Martel, who set fire to it but did not, even so, destroy its massive masonry, were established for two hundred years in those mountains by the sea, still called “Les Maures,” and impressed a racial type which survives, not only in that district, but in such other villages of bandit tradition as Les Baux itself. They also created a record of devastating terror which has never been forgotten; so that even now a peasant of the country, recalling the vague story of Caius Marius’s great battle, speaks of the barbarians who were there defeated as if they had been Saracens.

This Provence, with its many-coloured history, is perhaps more individual than any part of France. Indeed, although it has been French for 400 years, its independent existence before that was longer still. After being part, like the rest of Gaul, of the great Empire of Rome, it belonged for a time to that late Holy Roman Empire of the Middle Ages, and even now the boatmen of its great Rhone give the name of “Empire” to the eastern bank and “Kingdom” only to the western. It was once granted by the Emperor as a fief to King Richard Cœur de Lion, a fief only in name, but perhaps not inappropriately held by England’s one troubadour monarch; for it is with Provence that the troubadours are most characteristically associated. For a hundred years the Popes lived and ruled at Avignon, and so made it the metropolis of Christian Europe. Provence’s poet King, René, the friend and champion of Joan of Arc, the uncle of Louis XI., the founder of the order of the Crescent, held his Court at Aix and his world-famous *tournoi* at Tarascon in 1449. It has links with more lasting poetry in Laura and Petrarch at Vaucluse, in Aucassin and Nicolette at Beaucaire. Above all, it has its own sturdy spoken tongue, and a local patriotism and self-consciousness which have, in our own day, made that tongue the expression of the group of poets who have centred round Roumanille and Mistral.

Provence is the lower Rhone and the land close to the east and west of it, and to understand its greatness and its history you must appreciate, not only the importance of the river itself, but the way in which it has changed and is still changing the land around its mouth. I have spoken of St. Gilles as a naval station. To-day it is not even on a river, and is many miles from the sea. You must think of Provence in the early days as a land of rocky hills rising out of great lagoons, where the Rhone, so swift in its higher

reaches, is constantly silting up sand, to block up its many twisting mouths, to make one channel after another impracticable, to remove one coast town after another further from the sea. To-day those lagoons have been drained by canals, where they have not been filled up by natural action; but you must imagine the Phœnicians at anchor at the foot of the hills of St. Gilles: you must believe that when St. Louis chose Aigues-Mortes as the port of embarkation for his crusade—and he had to buy it from the Abbot of Psalmodi, for Provence was not France—his thousand ships could ride in the harbour and could arrive, by the old canal, at the sea; and you must picture the fishermen of Arles coming in their boats over what is now flat land to hear the earliest gospel preached by St. Trophime from his cell, overlooking the water from the side of the cliff at Montmajour, three miles away.

Having guessed something of her personality and grasped something of her geographical elements, you can then take Provence historically. But in so doing, when you visit her monuments and her ruins, do not make the mistake of most travellers, and tire yourself out with a confused sequence of buildings and museum specimens. Try instead to understand the beauty and the meaning of a few typical and illuminating things. There are certain wonderful examples of Greek art and many expressions of Roman massiveness and order and power. Among the first, do not fail to see that wonderfully proportioned and decorated gem, the temple, called the *Maison Carrée*, at Nîmes (neglect the collection of statuary within it) nor the ruins of the theatre at Arles, with their calm dignity and gentle lines. Both are entirely Greek in design and spirit, though they were made for Romans. One remains almost perfectly complete: the other calls on the imagination to supply many of its lost beauties. In either you can read much of the secret of Greek architecture—its subtle variations from mathematical accuracy, its delicate and yet sober use of ornament, its unique sense of poise. There are other fine things to be seen as well. The bronze head and the Julia bust at Nîmes, and that wonderful face of a boy, looking doubtfully and wonderingly out upon life, which is the Marcellus marble in the museum at Arles, are only three of them. It is not because it is lacking in good things that I advise you not at first to go inside the *Maison Carrée*. It is merely that they may tempt you not to pay full attention to the building itself.

Among many things which Rome has left you must see the Pont du Gard; you must see the theatre at Orange; and you must see the amphitheatres at Nîmes and at Arles. There are Julius Cæsar's monument to Caius Marius's victory at St. Remy and the arch at the same place to commemorate his own triumph over

Vercingetorix. There are other triumphal arches at Carpentras and Orange. There is the row of tombs beneath the cypresses which is all that remains of the Elysian Fields of Arles, that cemetery famous all over Gaul. Bodies were committed to the Rhone in boats, far away up the stream, and the current was trusted to carry them—and it did—and strand them on the bank at Arles: and no man would have dared the sacrilege of robbing these bodies of the jewels they bore or hindering them on their way. There are these things and many others. All are interesting to the student, and the very names of many are enough to call up vivid pictures to the historical imagination. But the four monuments which I have put first require no name and no story. They make their own powerful and certain impression. They are enough to tell you what Rome was.

The impression is not at first, or largely, one of beauty. It is above all of mass and strength and order. Those huge blocks of stone, so nicely cut and measured and laid that for eighteen hundred years they have stood without mortar: that triumph over engineering difficulties which seems at first a triumph of mere weight, until you know how much skill enters into it too; that stern rule of proportion and of simple economy of means to ends which is indeed a beauty, though it never is allowed to become a grace; that sense of a governing will which caters, in the grand manner and by thousands, with one hand for the physical comforts and with the other for the amusements of the governed, whom it has undertaken to keep contented and in order—this is only a little of what is suggested by these great memorials of dressed stone. They call up the very life of the peoples for whom they were built, as well as the organisation and directive energy of the men who built them. The Pont du Gard, that mighty aqueduct, bridging its country valley, along the very pipe of which a man can walk upright, carried water for the baths at Nîmes, where Gallo-Romans spent many hours a day. The Theatre at Orange, whose huge back wall can still act as an effective sounding-board to tragic declamation—the *Comédie Française* gives occasional open-air performances—looked after the tastes of those who wanted drama. The two vast amphitheatres pandered callously to the far greater number who simply wanted blood.

Go to these amphitheatres. Go to both of them, for what is wanting in one will be supplied by the other. For instance, at Nîmes there were fights of gladiators only. The pit of the arena is not deep enough for the audience to be protected from wild beasts. At Arles, on the other hand, tigers would fight with elephants, lions with armed men, and often there would be massacres which were not fights at all, but merely the handing over to wild beasts,

for the amusement of the crowd, of men and women and children who happened to belong to an unpopular religion. Go to these amphitheatres. Climb up their tiers of seats to the top, and see the holes for the posts which held the mighty awning over the whole of this yelling audience of twenty thousand people. Wander along their cyclopean galleries. Enter their caverns and stables. And if your imagination still requires a spur to enable you to picture what went on there, take a ticket for a bull-fight and see the "games" which are played for the amusement of the descendants of the old audience to-day.

Before you leave the Roman, remember not to be deceived by that portico at Arles, which is built into the side of your hotel. For all that the square is called the Place du Forum, the ruin is made up from various sources, and was placed there in the eighteenth century.

From the Roman to the Romanesque is but a step, and here you touch a style of architecture in which Provence is especially rich. It will suffice, however, if you concentrate on two examples—the porch, and, above all, the cloister of St. Trophime at Arles and the great façade of the ruined church at St. Gilles. In the North, where the nearest that we know to the Romanesque is the Norman, almost Roman in its simplicity and stern utilitarianism; where the beauty of the Gothic arch is that of a constructive limb rather than an opening; where the evolution of our architecture was towards great window-spaces to catch the light from our dark skies, and high-pitched roofs to carry down the rain from our heavy clouds—in the North we have no example of this lovely style of round arches within round arches, of linked pillars, of small windows and thick, cool walls and shadows. And although our Gothic sculpture had much of the symbolic convention and poetic beauty which are lost in the statuary of later times, we have to come to the South to find the masterpieces of stone carving and ornament, the severe and spiritual and delicate convention of the human form by which the Lombard or Comacine architects and chisellers made a link between Europe and all the old tradition of Indian art.

The first impression which you will get from the portals of these two great churches is of richness in detail. As you examine the carving more closely, you will be struck by the fact that although the artist has drawn widely upon nature in man and beast and flower, though he has put movement and life into them all, he has adopted in every case a convention which removes his work many degrees from realistic representation, and so gives it poetry. You will see that in so doing he has attained in the faces of his saints and martyrs and angels a spiritual quality, which would merely be sentimental if it were attempted by a realist. To read the meaning

of the story as a contemporary would have read it, you must be learned in its symbolism. You must know that the crouching lions of Judah on which the columns rest are the signature of that guild of Freemasons who fled from Rome to Como at the arrival of the barbarians and were since known as Lombard. You must be able to recognise each saint by the conventional attribute which he carries, or his peculiar spiritual triumph by the fierce beast which he has overcome and on which he stands. You must remember that when the fisher casts his net, it is for souls, and that the sign of the soul when it has left the body is a small naked child. But an ignorance of these and many other symbols will not hinder your understanding of the artistic beauties. As you pass from the porch of St. Trophime to the cloister, you can examine these beauties more closely still—especially on the two walls which are pure Romanesque, and have not begun the transition to the Gothic. Carved from the solid stone of which the cloister is built, and not merely added to their pedestals, the saintly figures have a precision and formal grace of line and a rapture of expression which link the spirit of their art to that which, in a later century, inspired the paintings of the Italian primitives. The carvings have also the same simple human interest in a story. You can find a story at every turn, in the animal head of each corbel, in the capital of every one in the linked pairs of columns.

The same earnest and childlike simplicity in the telling of a story, the same passionate symbolism of religious fervour, are to be found in the noble portal, which is almost all that remains of the great church at St. Gilles. There is still, indeed, the magnificent crypt, which once contained the tomb of the saint, and there is the curious spiral staircase of the ruined choir, now called the "Vis de St. Gilles," an architectural wonder for the delicacy of measurement and workmanship with which the vault slowly revolves and rises around the central shaft. The portal, however, is the wonderful thing that remains of the old church, for the building to which it now leads is much more modern. All else was destroyed in the wars of religion, chiefly by the Protestants, who attacked the place, but partly by the Catholics, who used it as a fortress. This magnificent façade to a village church which was once a powerful abbey, surrounded by the squalid and sleepy little streets of what was once a great town, stands, as does that of St. Trophime, at the head of a great flight of steps; but they are nobler than those of St. Trophime, as the portal itself is nobler and wider. The sculptor, Brunus, who was responsible for most of the statues and left his signature on one of them, finished his splendid work in 1150, and then went on to Arles, whose porch he completed in time for the coronation, in that church, in the year 1178, of the Emperor

Frederick Barbarossa, a name which the imagination readily associates with the spirit of its architecture. St. Gilles is, however, the artist's finer monument. Alike in the severe convention, yet exalted feeling, of its principal figures, in the amazing richness of imagination and narrative in its minor scenes and in the lavish detail of its ornament, it is certainly the best example of its period in France, and perhaps in Europe. A curious detail is that the unequal heights of the columns of the portal show that the shafts were taken from the ruin of some classical building already existing, as, indeed, has often happened in this Provence, where every age has left such a profusion of riches to the next.

I have spoken of the church of St. Gilles having been used as a fortress. Such a use for a church was, of course, by no means rare in the Middle Ages, and many were built with that special object in view. Of the survivors of these in Provence perhaps the most curious is the Saintes-Maries de la Mer, whose exterior is absolutely that of a fortress, with a crenellated parapet and a donjon keep, and whose interior, consisting of a single nave and an apse, possesses in the apse (which is the donjon) three chapels, one above the other. The middle chapel is the choir of the church. The upper contains the relics of the three Marys, Mary of Bethany, Mary the mother of James, and Mary Magdalene, who, according to Provençal tradition, set out to sea in an open boat after the Crucifixion, and were miraculously carried to the shores of Provence. They were accompanied by Martha, by Lazarus, and by the gipsy, Sarah. It is the tomb of Sarah which is to be found in the lowest of the three chapels, and for many gipsies all over France this tomb is a place of pilgrimage. Les Saintes Maries is a pilgrimage for others also, and, every year, on May 24th, the faithful sick, who have waited all night, are miraculously healed, as the ark is let down slowly from the roof, while, next day, the Archbishop of Aix, with the model of the Holy Boat, marches into the waves and blesses the sea.

The historical origin of the legend is as interesting as the legend itself and its commemoration are picturesque. In reality, it dates back further than the Christian era, and is only one of many examples of the skill with which the Church has fathered already existing local traditions. In all that land the great terror and the great deliverance of which the memory remains are the invasion of the barbarians in Roman times, and their shattering defeat by Marius. Carved in the rock of the hillside at Les Baux is a commemorative relief of three figures—Marius himself, Julia, his wife, and Martha, the prophetess from Syria, whom the Roman general, as Plutarch tells us, carried with him "in a litter, with great reverence." It is easy to see how the legendary fame of Marius

was adapted to Mary, and how the prophetess became that other Martha, who, in the local story of the destruction of the terrible dragon, the *tarasque*, at Tarascon, delivered the country from a great danger.

In Les Baux itself we come to another age and a very different spirit, the spirit of mediæval romance, poetry, and sentiment, of the troubadours, of the *gai savoir*, of those May-time festivals, the Courts of Love, with their elected Queen of Beauty, which, if they ever existed in anything but fancy, held at Les Baux their most famous sessions. Eleanor of Aquitaine, who, as the wife of Henry II., stands in English history as the stern consort, pursuing to her doom the frail and fair Rosamond, had been, during her first marriage to the King of France, the earliest Troubadour-Queen of chivalry, as her grandfather, Guilhem of Aquitaine, was the first Troubadour-Prince. She was followed at Les Baux by noble Provençal ladies with soft-sounding names, such as Alazais and Baussette and Marie de Chateauvert and Douce and Stephanette and Ermeline and Bérengère and Tricline and, above all, Passe-Rose, who were worshipped by such poet-lovers as Raimbaud and Roger d'Arles and Pierre d'Auvergne and Ponsodol and Fouquet and the good king René last of all, who built at Les Baux the garden pavilions, of which one remains, for his wife, Jeanne de Laval. It was perhaps one of these fair ladies whose skeleton was found in the ruins only a few years ago, with its golden hair—now in the museum at Arles—still perfect on its head.

But Les Baux has a sterner history than that of the troubadours. Its white ruins of to-day, which can barely be distinguished from the bare bones of rock in the ghostly valley in which they stand, were for many centuries a redoubted robber fortress, whose menace was only removed with its systematic destruction by Richelieu, after its capture in the seventeenth century. The Counts of Les Baux were a restless and powerful family, who once included the whole of Provence in the "terres Baussenques," and once also held the title of Prince of Orange, a title, which, although history has associated it with the rulers of the Netherlands, belongs to the Provençal town of that name, and, by the decree of the Emperor Barbarossa, gave its holder the right to march through the country with flags flying. To-day, the dusty ruins of their fortress town are all that remains of the family's greatness.

There is that other Provençal fortress at Aigues Mortes, standing, grim and lonely, amid its surrounding marshes, with its walls, built by Philip III. in the thirteenth century, still perfect, and with the rings to which, in an earlier day, St. Louis is said to have fastened the ships as they waited to carry his Crusaders. Its

exterior view is one of the things in all Provence which most vividly strike the imagination; and this imagination is once more stirred by the tale of those courageous Protestant women prisoners, who, in the time of Louis XIV., chose to remain confined there for twelve years rather than sign an abjuration of their faith.

I have left to the last the most famous of all the towns of Provence, whence, for a hundred years, until the Great Schism came to an end, nine succeeding Popes exerted their authority over Christendom. I have already spoken of fortress churches. The palace on the Rocher des Doms at Avignon is the greatest of them all. It is, for the most part, the work of Pope Benedict XII., and he was moved to build it by the fact that his predecessor, John XXII., the second Avignon Pope, had collected such a tremendous treasure in gold and precious stones that a stronghold was needed to guard it. The very mass of the palace, dominating the town, with its courtyard hewn from the living rock, is imposing. It is, indeed, at its finest when seen from across the Rhone at Villeneuve, for nearly all its detail has been destroyed since the Popes left it. It alone would make a visit to Avignon memorable, even if it were not that the town itself, completely encircled by its old ramparts, contains, with Villeneuve on the other side, a wonderful series of fourteenth-century buildings. As far as Villeneuve is concerned, these buildings stand deserted in what is now no more than a village. Washerwomen, blacksmiths, pork butchers, and other small local tradesmen live and work under its cloisters and in its courtyards, which are otherwise forsaken. Avignon, on the other hand, is a busy modern county town; and instead of melancholy loneliness, you have the piquant contrast of these relics of the past wedged between contemporary activities and even turned to modern uses. The central post-office is a mediæval abbey, and the chief hotel has its dining-room in the old refectory of a monastery.

Avignon and Villeneuve were joined, as early as the end of the twelfth century, by the famous bridge of history and song, and remained so joined until, in 1679, the task of keeping it in repair was abandoned. The nursery rhyme, which causes every French child to know the bridge, may convey a false impression of the expanse of its roadway: for, as that roadway was never more than four metres wide, it afforded little space for dancing "en rond." However, the original version of the song was probably "danseront," and its very existence shows how famous the bridge has been for centuries. Indeed, it deserves to be, alike as a work of art and as a work of engineering. It was made by the religious brotherhood of Bridge Builders, that white-robed confraternity, with two arches of a bridge in red, and a cross above, upon the breast, who had been responsible for the still existing, though

now altered, St. Esprit bridge at Lyons. Their leader, and the designer of the Avignon bridge, was a certain Benezet, afterwards canonised, whose body remained in the little chapel on the third pile of the bridge until Louis XIV. removed it to the Celestines Church, whence, at the Revolution, it was transferred to its present resting-place in the parish church of St. Didier. The original Romanesque chapel has a Gothic superstructure, which was added when the bridge was repaired, in 1352, and the height of the roadway was raised. The bridge, as it was built, consisted of twenty-three arches, and it was kept in good order by the religious societies in charge of it, until, in the fourteenth century, Pope John XXII. handed it over to secular care. From that time it began to fall to ruin, especially as the Popes at Avignon were none too anxious to maintain a means of communication by which the Kings of France might attack them from the other side of the river. Now there remain only four of its glorious arches, ending in nothing in the middle of the stream.

Such are a few of the many wonders of Provence. I have said nothing of Aix, or Beaucaire, or Tarascon, or many other places that add to its fame. I have said little of that grey-green Southern landscape, at first forbidding to one who is accustomed to the soft meadows of the North, but with a fascination which never fails to grow. For that alone it is worth a visit, but above all because it is full of beautiful and pleasant ghosts. Historically it is sacred ground.

PHILIP CARR.

A FIELD FOR THE WHITE MAN : COSTA RICA.

IN these days of the over population of Europe, it seems a pity that so little should be known about a country where there is a great opening for a healthy ranching life. I fancy that Costa Rica must be one of the least known Spanish republics in the American continent; this is certainly so if one may judge by the common ignorance of its position on the map. I have acquired the habit now of prefacing my remarks about the country where I lived for some few years, with "I wonder if you have ever heard of Costa Rica?" or "Costa Rica, you know, Central America, next to Panama." If you merely mention the name of the country, it is always assumed that it forms part of South America, but the mention of Panama brings an instant gleam of intelligence. Panama, yes the canal malaria de Lesseps.

And so, excusing the assumption of a certain degree of ignorance about Costa Rica, I may open my description of that country by stating that it forms part of the narrow strip of land between the two Americas, being contiguous to Panama, and lying between that country and Nicaragua; that it is in area about half the size of England, with a spine of mountains, making an almost equal division between the Atlantic and Pacific slopes; that it was originally occupied by Indians, and that after remaining for some time under Spanish dominion, it has become an independent republic.

The time may come when the U.S.A. will absorb these smaller republics, not so much by reason of their geographical position as by the law of the survival of the fittest. For greater contrast than that existing between the virile, go-ahead, and money-making race of the Americans and the phlegmatic, unenterprising Spaniard of the Central States could hardly be found. The mines on the Pacific Coast, the railway, originally run by ourselves, now in the hands of an American company, the fruit trade, all are owned and controlled by our trans-Atlantic cousins. I think the enterprise of the United States is one of the things that strikes one most out West.

The railway line from Port Limon to San José, the chief town of Costa Rica situated on the central plateau, runs through some of what I imagine must be among the most beautiful scenery in the world. For the first thirty miles or so, it runs along the level, and you pass plantations of cocoanut palm, and swampy jungle. All this part of the country is inhabited by negroes from Jamaica, imported for labour on the cocoa and banana ranches, the climate at sea level being a bad one for the white man. Shortly after

leaving Limon, you find yourself alongside the river Reventazon, at this point a placid-looking stream some hundred yards wide, where an occasional crocodile may be seen emerging from the mud on the banks. But later on it becomes a rapid torrent, here deep, here shallow, forming whirlpools and eddies as it tumbles foaming over the rocks which form its bed. From the first thirty miles or so onward, the railway line is a steady climb, and it is then, with the coming into view of the mountain ranges, that the real grandeur of the scenery is realised. Range upon range, and peak upon peak, sundered by immense gorges and ravines, the train meanwhile sinuously wending its way like some slow-crawling serpent, sometimes skirting gorges hundreds of feet in depth, sometimes using bridges to span smaller ones. The near scenery is thickly wooded, giant trees hung with florida moss, flowering trees, and thick lush tropical undergrowth.

No doubt the name of Rich Coast was originally given to the country by the early Spanish settlers who thought that large quantities of gold were to be found there, but it is well named to-day in face of its agricultural possibilities. Very sparsely populated—the whole population being under half a million—and therefore sparsely cultivated, it is rich beyond reckoning in potential yield. Its climate, especially on the higher levels and central plateau, is perfect for growth, and the cultivation of coffee—a most paying industry since Costa Rican coffee is among the best in the world—yields a large percentage. The maturing of a coffee plantation takes four years from the time of planting, but after this the trees will continue to bear for a practically unlimited period. It is necessary, of course, to keep the ground clear of weeds, and to undertake careful pruning. Sugar-cane flourishes like the green bay tree, and has a much more rapid yield, from one year to fifteen months sufficing to turn the suckers into ripe cane. Bananas require comparatively little labour, and if planted on the same ground as coffee, serve the double use of giving shade to the latter.

The country is rich in water power, being intersected at short distances by large and rapid streams, and these of course enormously facilitate the working of machinery necessary for making sugar and preparing coffee for the market. Apart from these staple commodities, a great, in fact the greater part of the country consists of virgin forest, untouched timber of the most perfect description for the uses of civilisation; oak, mahogany, cedar, and many others. There is also the balsa tree, a wood which, from its extreme lightness, is specially suitable in the construction of aeroplanes. The possibilities of ranching are really endless. The pastures, though at present limited to the amount of ground under

cultivation, are rich, and the fattening of stock for consumption might be undertaken, while there is a big local market for milk, butter, and cheese.

But there are too few natives with real enterprise ever to make this El Dorado yield its full quota. An example of their general inertia—and it is a thing which strikes one most forcibly when first going into the country—is the absence of roads. I think there are but two decent ones in all; so that the straining oxen have to drag their carts from outlying farms over boulders, pits, and holes, and, in bad weather, through mud reaching to their bellies. That transport should be undertaken with oxen at all is of course in keeping with the backwardness of the country, for there can be no slower or less economical way. The use of big mules for draught as well as pack work would be the only alternative to light rail.

Unlike our own colonists who have acquired virility from the lands of their adoption, alien shores seem to have had the opposite effect on the Spaniard. One came across people who had lived in Nicaragua and Mexico and who had not a good word for the natives of those countries. Certainly, the peons of Costa Rica, in close contact with whom I lived for more than two years, strike a note of decadence, and the better classes are, for the most part, curiously unenlightened and primitive in their ideas. There is an amazing lack of patriotism about them, an inability to take any view beyond the personal. There are and must be exceptions, of course. I have heard of a small set of "intellectuals" in the capital, San José, but their influence does not touch the masses. One meets really nice women, too, whose powdered faces, attention to dress, and attraction of the other sex, disguise good characteristics; but they have for too long been looked upon as mere chattels and complementary to man to have much outlook of their own; and, though the feminist wave has begun to lap their shores, one fears that they have not sufficient energy or enthusiasm to welcome it. It is still considered almost a mark of disgrace for a Costa Rican *señorita* to remain unmarried after young girlhood.

The peons are really nothing more than children, but without their charm. Very many of them are entirely illiterate, and have had no education. Of course you begin, in your dealings with them, by imagining that if you treat them well, and expect the best, you will get it, but, unfortunately, the theory does not work. True, you will, by decent treatment, proper housing, and so forth, reap the benefit of a higher class of labour, but as for any personal *quid pro quo*, I am afraid it is past sighing for. Respect, in so far that they accept your word, and know that you are not to be "done"—yes, certainly, but any sense of gratitude is extraordinarily lacking. I have known case after case where real

kindness and human brotherhood have been shown, only to be rewarded, when least expected, with theft and treachery. They will thank you with all the "courteous Spanish grace" at their command—"God repay you," is the common phrase, but it means—except for the moment in which the words are uttered—no more than the breath with which it is said.

Their blessings and their curses fall easily. I remember with amusement a case in which, after repeatedly telling a child that I would not have spitting—a chronic and most objectionable habit of theirs—in the kitchen of the ranch house, the next time it was done deliberately in front of me, I took her by the arms, and ran her outside! Blank amazement and incredulity were depicted on the child's face, and next day I was told that she and her mother were busy praying the saints to send me to the Inferno! Shortly after this, the mother was taken ill, and I was able to prescribe some alleviation for her sufferings, when I was told, with equal vehemence, that God would repay me. I have often wondered which of these conflicting aspirations was listened to by their deity!

Of real religion I saw very little all the time I was living among them, though there is any amount of superstition; in fact, I think one may say that it plays a dominant part in their lives. No child is seen without a charm hanging round its neck. The ceremonial over a corpse is, like that in many primitive Roman Catholic countries, extremely rigorous. Candles are lighted immediately death has taken place, and a watch is kept by the body till it is conveyed to the grave within twenty-four hours. However poor the family may be, no expense is spared for the wake, all the neighbours and acquaintances are called in, and plenty of intoxicating liquor is supplied for the occasion. The moon is made the chief timekeeper of their lives, all planting, sowing, and timber-felling being done in accordance with her quarters. There is, however, a reason for this, since in regions where no seasons exist it is a fact that sap rises and falls with wax and wane.

But medicines and treatments follow the same course. A woman came to see me once whose child was suffering from the same internal parasite which had already killed off six of her offspring, and for which we had provided a certain infallible cure. "What!" I cried in wrath, "have you not given it the medicine, do you then *want* it to die?" Quite unruffled, she replied: "Oh, no, but I am waiting for the moon to be full." "Then," I said, at a venture, "it is full to-night." And so it was!

The medical superstitions held by the peons are many and wonderful! One illustration will suffice. A man, suffering from an ulcerated sore on his leg, came to us for a remedy. This was given; but we heard afterwards that he had resorted to a better one. A

toad was captured, and passed slowly over the leg, after which the reptile was hung up, head downwards, till it turned black and died, when the patient was found to be completely cured!

I never heard of the existence of any good fairies, but *duendies* or bad ones abound. Many, many folk have seen them. Clad in blue, they haunt the woods and river banks; and most mischievous they are, for often when a man has laid down his axe or *machete*—the big knife which every male wears slung round his waist—and happens not to be looking, a *duende* will seize it, and spirit it away. Sometimes the goods are returned, but never without having suffered damage at the hands of the mischievous sprite. I cannot say that their mythology surprises me, for beautiful, overwhelmingly beautiful as nature is in Costa Rica, there is a curiously sinister aspect about many of the flowering shrubs and berries of the jungle; and if it be likely that the function of fairies is to attend on flowers, one would not expect them to be beneficent.

One can hardly call the peons immoral, the word denoting a certain wilful disobedience to laws; a-moral rather expresses it. And perhaps the prevalence of unmarried mating, with the consanguinity entailed, may in part account for the decadence of the race. No stigma or shame is apparently attached to the irregular unions, and by far the greater number of couples living together on our ranch had not been united by marriage. One feels that the only means of salvation for these people would be to get hold of the children, and replace superstition by real education. The innate, ingrained cruelty to animals common among the Latin races is, I am sure, entirely accounted for by the rooted belief that animals *no son cristianos*, and are not therefore worth consideration. Though why, because a creature is supposed to have no soul, it should also be devoid of nerves, has always been a mystery to me.

To turn to the fauna of the country. It is literally teeming with beasts, birds, and insects of all kinds: a fine field for the entomologist and ornithologist. In the nesting season, which lasts from March till July and even later, it is true to say that hardly a bush or tree is without its nest, while many delicate little creatures are fastened on to the long grasses. The birds are of all shapes and sizes. Maeterlinck's "blue bird" is there; a smallish, black bird with a large splash of the most vivid scarlet between the wings, which darts like a flame across the landscape; the oriel, with its brilliant plumage and loud, discordant note, and its curious habit of nesting in colonies, the nests, about four feet in length, hanging by dozens from the same tree; the toucan, with great, heavy beak, seemingly as long as its body; and innumerable others, including green parrots and parrots, which fly by in screeching flocks. Wild duck, too, wild turkey and wild hen abound, and all three

make excellent eating, but are rarely hunted by the native, who is a very poor shot. The butterflies and moths must surely be among the most wonderful of created things, such colours and such intricate patterns as I had never imagined. Some, notably two kinds of blue ones, are as big as bats; others of tiny dimensions, a great many of the smaller ones resembling the most wonderful inlaid jewellery. At night, under the lights on the balcony, the walls and ceilings are covered with marvellous moths which are caught quite easily.

The jungles must be full of all kinds of beasts, and a great many come out into the open. What the natives call lions and tigers, but which are really pumas, are a nuisance in the outlying districts, carrying off calves, and sometimes oxen and horses. One of our peons came rushing in one day with a story of having met a *tigre* among the cane, which, instead of turning back as they generally do at the sight of man, had actually threatened attack. A neighbour who kept hunting dogs was sent for, and it was not long before a fine full-grown puma was brought in dead. Various species of stoat, skunk and ferret abound, and the domestic hen has many enemies. Sloth I did not see, as they haunt the river beds, but tapir has been met with by our own wood-cutter, and I once had the pleasure of rescuing an armadillo from the jaws of a rapacious terrier. I believe there are several varieties of monkey in the country, but not more than one kind, the congo, visited our locality. These make a curious, loud, barking noise which, when heard in the distance, is distinctly uncanny.

I had the opportunity of personal acquaintance with the wild pig, some neighbours having caught a baby one, and made me a present of it. It was a delightful pet, being as tame and as fond of human society as the dog, a fact which struck me as most curious, seeing that all its atavistic tendencies must be of a defensive and inimical order. It would follow close to heel, and come when called; it was also feline in its love of a comfortable place to lie in, and milk to drink. This it would take greedily from a saucer, kneeling down and immersing its snout in the fluid. But, though charming as babies, these remarkably intelligent animals cannot well be kept after adolescence as they become too pugnacious, and are also possessed of a stink gland like the skunk.

There are many snakes, both poisonous and innocuous; but considering the number of the former, it is wonderful how rarely accidents occur. Occasionally an animal will fall a victim, and you know by its swollen body how it has come by its end. But as the peon is always barefooted, and has perforce to tread in thick undergrowth, the fact of his not meeting with them oftener is, I think, evidence of the serpent's shy and retiring nature. That they also

like warmth and comfort is well known, but I will mention a curious illustration of this. Two of our party were once riding through some low-lying banana plantations when one of them, putting her hand to the back of the saddle, felt a foreign body, and, turning, saw a snake just disappearing. Supposing it to have dropped to the ground, she took no further notice, and on arrival at their halting-place, she and her brother changed horses, shifting saddle and blanket from one horse to the other. The ride home had proceeded some way when suddenly the girl, looking down, saw her old friend slowly threading its way up from between her saddle and the blanket, but this time they met face to face! I fancy her leap from her horse was more rapid than usual, and the snake was despatched to happier hunting grounds. It had, doubtless, spent an agreeable afternoon, dozing in warmth and comfort, being apparently not in the least incommoded by my friend, no light weight, sitting on the top of it!

As regards rainfall in Costa Rica, a sharp division exists between the Pacific and Atlantic slopes. On the former, rain falls practically every day, beginning at about two o'clock in the afternoon, for half the year, while the other half is dry. On the latter, it is unseasonal, fine days and weeks alternating irregularly with wet ones. At sea level, the climate is bad, too hot for the white man to endure with comfort, and a good deal of it malaria infected. But on the altitudes where, except for the two ports, the residential towns and coffee ranches are situated, it is, I suppose, as near perfection as anything can be—brilliant sun, tempered always by a fresh wind, cool nights, and radiant mornings.

On the whole, then, life under the shadow of the two big volcanoes of Costa Rica, the one active, the other extinct, can be a very pleasant thing. Of course, one is not expected to walk in the tropics, even the peon often possesses his own steed; and I know of no more exhilarating occupation than to canter on the back of one of the small, easy-paced, native animals across the great stretches of pasture, under the bluest of skies, and with the wonderful mystery-haunted blue mountains of Central America around you. Days such as these form an unforgettable page in memory.

V. TORLESSE MURRAY.

FOREIGN AFFAIRS.

A RIFT IN THE DIPLOMATIC CLOUDS.

THE swing to the Left prescribed by the British electorate in November was immediately recognised from one end of Europe to the other as an important factor in Europe. In France it had a noticeably sobering effect. Mr. Baldwin had risked his party's majority in asking the electorate for authority to swing further to the Right; and M. Poincaré's hopes, so far, at any rate, as international diplomacy was concerned, were centred on Mr. Baldwin. The emergence of Mr. Ramsay MacDonald as the possible successor to Mr. Baldwin, and therefore as the potential arbiter in Europe, warned M. Poincaré that he was likely to find a steadier and more determined British foreign policy to deal with in the future. In Germany considerable relief was manifested that at last we should be done with the system of blowing hot and blowing cold, which had stultified British diplomacy during Mr. Baldwin's short term of office.

If, however, Lord Curzon has to leave the Foreign Office, he will be a serious loss in some important respects. His shortcomings were mainly due to the Die-Hard influences of his party, not to his own wrong-headedness. He was too weak to withstand the forces of reaction among the permanent officials of the Foreign Office and their Die-Hard following among the politicians. Left to himself, or with a Liberal or Labour Government behind him, Lord Curzon would have been more consistent and more effective. We had a short glimpse of the true Curzon during one week in November. When Mr. Baldwin left home to sow his wild oats, taking his colleagues with him, Lord Curzon was left in untrammelled charge of British foreign policy. The position was that Mr. Baldwin, as was explained here last month, had scuttled from the whole business of settling with France and Germany, and had failed to take any step after American half-heartedness and French bad faith had ruined the British project for an expert investigation into Germany's affairs. France was exultant. On the one hand, she restarted negotiations with the Ruhr industrialists, which led to the signing of the Düsseldorf Agreement on November 23rd; on the other, she prepared to tighten the screw on Germany by the reimposition of military control.

The Ambassadors' Conference met in Paris on November 19th, and the stage was set for carrying out one part of the French programme. M. Poincaré had been led to expect by his recent experience that the British Government would acquiesce, albeit under

protest, in anything that he proposed to do. He was pulled up sharply on November 19th. Lord Curzon, holding the pass on behalf of the British Government, quickly made it clear that he was not disposed to be trifled with. The French proposal was that Allied military control in Germany should be immediately reimposed throughout Germany, and that if Germany made difficulties, or failed to protect the Allied commissioners, no matter where they might be, penalties should at once be applied in punishment, and new German territory perhaps annexed, or "occupied," to use the French verb. Lord Curzon sent instructions to Lord Crewe which considerably surprised M. Poincaré. Great Britain (they ran) was in complete agreement with France about the desirability of making Germany carry out the military clauses of the Treaty; but would in no circumstances agree to the imposition of impossible demands on Germany. If the French Government insisted on advocating in the Ambassadors' Conference that an immediate Note be sent to Germany the effect of which would be (1) to make unreasonable demands on Germany, (2) to threaten new and formulated sanctions in case of non-compliance; then the issue between France and Great Britain was clear and final, and it would be impossible for the British Government any longer to collaborate with France in the execution of the Treaty. It would be unreasonable to impose control in those parts of Germany—for instance, in Saxony and Bavaria—where no Berlin Government could at the moment exercise any effective authority. In the British view it would be a mockery of diplomacy to demand the impossible from Germany and then to regard its non-fulfilment as a case of default.

The i's were even dotted to make it difficult for M. Poincaré to misunderstand British determination in this matter. According to a diplomatic leakage, the accuracy of which there was reason to believe, Lord Curzon threatened that the British representatives in the Ambassadors' Conference, the Reparation Commission, the Rhineland High Commission would be withdrawn; that British participation in any Allied body created by the Treaty of Versailles would be at an end; that the Treaty itself would be dead. Lord Curzon's firmness had the immediate effect of completely changing M. Poincaré's outlook. Throughout the following day (November 20th) direct exchanges passed between the Quai d'Orsay and the Foreign Office, as a result of which M. Poincaré undertook to meet the British view all along the line. He agreed that the Allied Note to Germany should not contain any ultimatum; that no "sanctions" should be threatened; and that no request be made for the expulsion of the Crown Prince from Germany. On the evening of November 21st the Ambassadors' Conference drew up

the Note to Germany on the agreed lines, and all was well. That was Lord Curzon's first achievement.

Hot on its heels came the question of the Düsseldorf Agreement, concluded on November 23rd between the Ruhr mine-owners and the French authorities, which immediately threatened to bring with it a much thornier controversy. The French had made the Agreement without consulting Great Britain and the other Allies, who are concerned equally with France in all questions affecting reparations. It is true that the Agreement was made subject to the approval of the Reparation Commission, which is the proper Allied body to deal with these questions; but it is one thing for the Reparation Commission to come to an agreement with any body of Germans on a point of reparations, and quite another thing for the Reparation Commission to have an accomplished fact presented to it for "approval," especially as the Commission, as now constituted, has a safe Franco-Belgian preponderance. When, further, the Agreement reached without consulting the Allies as a whole contained a clause which assigned a tax on reparation coal to the exclusive pockets of the French, it constituted a challenge which the British Government was bound to take up.

Once before a somewhat similar situation was produced by a separate Franco-German Agreement. In that case, as in this, the Germans signed the Agreement under compulsion by superior power, and in neither case, therefore, is there any ground for complaint against the Germans. In October, 1921, the Wiesbaden Agreement was drawn up by Herr Rathenau on the German side and M. Loucheur on the French side. It was then submitted to the Reparation Commission. Sir John Bradbury, as British representative, subjected the draft agreement to so searching an analysis that he convinced both the Italian and the Belgian representatives on the Commission that it would militate seriously against their interests. What, in effect, the Wiesbaden Agreement aimed at was an acceleration of the German payment of the French share of the indemnity during fourteen years ahead, the interests of the other Allies being left to look after themselves. Sir John showed that German commitments to France under the Wiesbaden Agreement during the fourteen years would be so heavy that she would not be able to pay anything during that period to the other Allies. As Belgium was not concerned in the Agreement there resulted a three to one majority against France—namely, Great Britain, Belgium, and Italy—and the Agreement had to be radically altered before it was ratified.

In the case of the Düsseldorf Agreement, however, the Belgian Government was implicated equally with the French; and, therefore, the prospect was that of the familiar division of opinion in

which Great Britain and Italy would be on one side, France and Belgium on the other, with the casting vote in the hands of the French Chairman. Sir John Bradbury could have abstained from voting, as he did on another important resolution which preceded the occupation of the Ruhr, his object being to reserve the British Government's freedom of action in the future. He could also have quoted Article 237 of the Treaty, which stipulates that:—

"The successive instalments paid over by Germany in satisfaction of the reparation claims will be divided by the Allied and Associated Governments in proportions which have been determined upon by them in advance on a basis of general equity and of the rights of each."

He could, further, have argued that as the Spa Agreement of 1920 did, in fact, lay down the percentages of that division, the Düsseldorf Agreement would have the effect of excluding the non-French and non-Belgian Allies from a share of German money, which obviously ought to go to the general reparation account. The issue would not have arisen if the occupation of the Ruhr had been a regular proceeding authorised by the Treaty; but the occupation had been formally challenged on legal grounds by the British Government, and had been carried out in direct opposition to the view expressed by Mr. Bonar Law at the Paris Conference last January.

It seemed inevitable, therefore, that if the Düsseldorf Agreement were submitted to the Reparation Commission, the whole question of the legality of the Ruhr occupation would again be raised. Sir John Bradbury came to London on Wednesday, November 28th, and the meeting of the Reparation Commission was arranged for Friday the 30th. It was known that M. Barthou was instructed to submit the Düsseldorf Agreement to the Reparation Commission on that day. It was equally known by everybody concerned that, if it was submitted, the voting would be a walk-over for France. The Reparation Commission has been a recognised instrument of French policy ever since America abdicated her responsibilities in Europe. What was new in the present instance was M. Poincaré's new-found fear of Lord Curzon. Remembering Lord Curzon's threat to withdraw British participation from Allied affairs, M. Poincaré decided, on the eve of the meeting of the Reparation Commission, not to enjoy his walk-over, just as in September he decided not to accept his "victory" in the Ruhr. The Düsseldorf Agreement was not submitted to the Reparation Commission. The issue between the French and British Governments over the legality of the Ruhr occupation was shelved, and France stayed her hand from the ill-gotten gains of the Düsseldorf Agreement. That was Lord Curzon's second achievement.

On moral grounds another important point was suggested by the Düsseldorf Agreement. Quite apart from the question of the legality of the Ruhr occupation, and therefore of the French right to appropriate reparation proceeds to meet the expenses of the occupation, it should be recalled that up to the time when the French occupied the Ruhr the Germans had been paying reparations. The proceeds were divided between the Allies, France included. Since the French occupied the Ruhr—without the authority of the Reparation Commission and against the express wish of the British Government—all reparation payments have stopped. The Allies of France have thereby been deprived of reparations income as a result of French separate action. If the French authorities and the Ruhr industrialists had so far come to terms as to make it again possible for reparation payments to be made, the first consideration ought to have been, not for France, who has wasted her substance in the Ruhr, but for the Allies, who have suffered from French folly persisted in against their wishes.

It was hardly surprising after what has been related above that still another indication was given of a new trend in French thought. At the meeting of the Reparation Commission on November 30th, when M. Barthou refrained from raising the question of the Düsseldorf Agreement, he did raise another question, none other than that of the expert investigation into Germany's capacity to pay. Sir John Bradbury had no difficulty in agreeing to the French proposal then made because it showed that the French Government had adopted all the ideas which it resisted when they were proposed from London in October. In October it was agreed ground between Paris and London that the experts, Allied and American, who were to serve on the proposed Inquiry Commission, should be nominated by the Reparation Commission, and should serve under its auspices. It made no practical difference whether the representatives were nominated through the Reparation Commission or directly by the Governments. Where the two Governments disagreed was about the scope of the proposed inquiry. M. Poincaré insisted that the experts should be restricted so as not to investigate anything beyond Germany's "present" capacity. This was tantamount to a French request that the inquiry should be reduced to a farce because M. Poincaré had himself recently stated that Germany's present capacity is zero, and that any investigation into it would be "useless."

The discussions which followed in Washington between Mr. Hughes and M. Jusserand led to the dropping of the whole proposal, because it was made clear that the French Government had no intention of undertaking any serious investigation. On

November 30th, however, when the new scheme was decided on by the Reparation Commission, it appeared that the French Government had changed its view. In the resolution then passed it was expressly laid down that the two committees to be set up should work "with a view to examining, in conformity with the provisions of Article 234 of the Treaty of Versailles, the resources and also the capacity of payment by Germany." There was no restriction of scope; the qualifying word "present" had been eliminated from the formula. Moreover, it was equally stipulated that Germany should be granted an "equitable hearing," and that American participation should be invited. In other words, M. Barthou had now adopted the three cardinal conditions put forward by the British Government in October.

The combined effect of Lord Curzon's firmness in the last stages of the Baldwin ascendancy and of the prospect of a Labour Government in London was responsible for still a fourth manifestation of French reasonableness. On December 15th M. Poincaré received Herr Hösch, the German Chargé d'Affaires in Paris. That was the first indication that M. Poincaré was prepared to do what he had said he would do on the cessation of passive resistance. To historians in the future it will no doubt be a subject for controversy why M. Poincaré delayed seeing a German representative till December 15th. Up to September 25th it had been understood, on the strength of declarations made regularly by M. Poincaré every Sunday for months, that France would not resume negotiations with Germany till passive resistance had ceased. It was therefore deduced by those who thought M. Poincaré to be logical that when passive resistance did cease, he would negotiate. It ceased on September 25th. Herr Stresemann, it will be recalled, came to this decision after consulting the Federal Prime Ministers and the representatives of the Ruhr, and the German surrender was announced in a Presidential Proclamation (see *CONTEMPORARY REVIEW*, November, 1923, p. 655). That was nearly three months ago, and there could be no doubt about the fact. M. Poincaré, however, proceeded to announce that more and more steadfastness of purpose was required of the French people. Did it really take M. Poincaré three months to realise that passive resistance had ceased? It was assumed in September that the chief reason why he refused to accept "victory" when it was offered to him was that the French peasant, who is a realist, would want to see the fruits of the victory in cash, and there was no cash. It was precisely because the German Government had come to the end of its resources, and could no longer finance passive resistance, that the struggle in the Ruhr was given up. In December, there were not only Lord Curzon and Mr. Ramsay MacDonald to help M. Poin-

caré in his search for the truth; there was also the French peasant, who by then had realised that the "victory" won by the French armies on the Rhine had nothing in it.

One has therefore to consider carefully what is the possible bearing of the remarkable developments in French policy during November and December on the general problem of Europe. There were four distinct events which seemed to show that French feeling was at any rate less aggressive: (1) on November 21st, when M. Poincaré accepted the British view of Allied military control in Germany; (2) on November 30th, when he held back from rushing the Düsseldorf Agreement through the Reparation Commission; (3) again on November 30th, when he adopted British ideas about investigating Germany's capacity; (4) on December 15th, when he acknowledged that passive resistance had ceased, and consented to receive Herr Hösch. It is at any rate arguable that we have reached a stage in the diplomatic war between France and Great Britain when good feeling and forbearance may turn the scale. In December, 1916, when during the Great War Germany made her first peace offer, the Allies, on French prompting, made the appalling blunder of refusing to listen. The war could have been stopped then; millions of lives spared; the economic structure of Europe saved. The French bogey of the "Pangerman Plot," coupled with the military keenness of Mr. Lloyd George, who had just turned out Mr. Asquith, and started the Napoleonic business of "winning the war," prevented a timely peace. It would be a travesty of reason if a corresponding delusion on the part of the liberal-minded people in Great Britain now made it impossible for a timely peace to be concluded in the diplomatic war. Curiously enough, most of the organs of the Left persist in ignoring the above-mentioned symptoms of returning reason in France, and in copying the French example of December, 1916. The paradox is that the Liberal newspapers here are clear-sighted enough about the wrongheadedness of France in copying that very German militarism which she denounced so feelingly in the war. It is now the chance of the British Left to show that its attitude towards France is something better than that of a dog-fight, and that when France begins to be more reasonable, we are ready to meet her half-way.

From this point of view the accession of Mr. Ramsay MacDonald to the Prime Ministership would be a Godsend. Just as during the Great War he protested against the insane fanaticism which made otherwise sensible men regard everything German as the instrument of Anti-Christ, so now he may be relied on to adopt the same pacific and commonsense attitude towards France. It

was the Right which chiefly screamed at Germany in the war; it is the Left which chiefly screams at France in the peace. Mr. MacDonald had in the one instance to protest against his political opponents; he now will have to restrain his political friends. He will do the one with the same courage which he showed in the other. In 1915, he was expelled from membership of the golf club at his native town, Lossiemouth, for not being as big a fool as his fellow members, although the point had little bearing on the purposes of a golf club. Now that he is the most likely successor to the Prime Ministership they want him back; which goes, perhaps, to show that sometimes the good that men do is justified. One can only hope that the Moray Golf Club will not again expel Mr. MacDonald, this time for trying to prevent the war with France.

A special interest attaches to-day to Mr. MacDonald's views on foreign policy. The prospect of a Labour Government under him is uncloudedly bright so far as foreign policy is concerned. Russia will be recognised. Germany and Russia will be genuinely encouraged to join the League of Nations, and will have a better chance of admission. The League, in that event, will at last be a real League and not a farce. For the rest, it is worth recalling a recent statement of Mr. MacDonald's general feeling about foreign affairs, the full text of which was published in the *Daily Herald* of October 26th and 31st. Mr. MacDonald had just returned from a visit to Europe, where, as a private individual, he had "come into contact with a more representative life, and had felt things which had hitherto been obscured" (the comparison being with his former visits undertaken as an official delegate to conferences). The following short passages are worth reproducing as showing his state of mind:—

"This is the position as I see it after having crossed Europe. Our policy has been amateurish, feeble, uncertain. We have, therefore, almost ceased to count except as a hope (a no mean asset, however, if used). But do not let us deceive ourselves as to our present position. To whatever school we may belong, we can see little but failure in British foreign policy. If we are militarists, as a military Power we are too weak to have initiative. The Singapore folly, as a piece of world strategy, is extravagant and ill-conceived; if we believe in wise diplomacy and moral rectitude, as a political power we have been too flabby, and as a moral power too tainted since 1918 to have authority and respect (I repeat, much is hoped of us yet); if we pin our faith to the purse, we have failed to use our economic power even to influence creditor nations. Hence to listen to the pity of our best friends is more galling than to be assailed by the reproaches of our worst enemies.

"The error committed by our responsible representatives was to allow Europe to fall into the language and thought of militarism and imperialism without an attempt to lead it on to a different

path. In the military game we are weak, and the genius and heart of our people do not lie in that way. Other nations instinctively feel that to be true, and regard us as essentially a political and a liberal people, and because the Labour Party has come to represent to the Continent that liberal mind and policy, its present position in British politics has been the most powerful single factor in keeping alive the hopes upon which the influence of Great Britain to-day so much depends. Our moral attitude during the war, our advocacy of a just peace, our insistence that reconstruction should be the supreme concern of victors and vanquished alike, our firm attitude to Bolshevism, have given our country an advantage that a Government which knew its business would use with great effect. . . .

"It is true that in the ebb and flow of recent events our country has slightly recovered itself. But I must emphasise that what I have heard has made it quite clear that if there are still trust and hope in us (and, especially amongst the small nations, these exist mingled with doubt), it is because in the policy of the Powers dominating Europe to-day the liberal sections in all nations miss the qualities which the last generation taught them to expect from Britain. . . . Everywhere I have met with a feeling that the victors have been mistaken, that they have been deluded in their ways and pursuits, that they must return to general reconstruction and the demands of justice; and everywhere there is a hope that Great Britain may become active in leading to that. Europe is getting sick of Napoleonism. Therefore, my general conclusion is that whilst in Governments there may be no change, whilst vain men gain some reputation from vociferous sections in their own States for empty triumphs, the general mind turns away from them and looks for other voices and other leading. Things have been allowed to go so far wrong that they cannot be righted in a day; wisdom will be frowned at at first as hostility by some Governments, perhaps; but the supreme need of Europe now is that the liberal elements in all the nations should be drawn together, should be made to live, and should get a lead in a comprehensive policy of pacification and reconstruction."

THE JANINA REPORT.

The Janina Report has not yet been published. It has been kept a close secret in the archives of London, Paris, Rome, and Tokio. The Greek Government is still denied a copy; in other words, is not allowed to know the evidence on which it was condemned. It happens that a full copy of this report has come into my hands. It is too long to publish here in full, but I have published it elsewhere in full and propose to summarise the important points here. In passing, I owe some apology to Lord Crewe for the criticisms made on him personally in these columns, criticisms which I now find to be unjust. It is true that that infamous decision reached by the Ambassadors' Conference on September 26th bears his signature, and that he signed with the full knowledge that he thereby became a party to

a deliberate act of injustice; but I now learn that in the Ambassadors' Conference he resisted his colleagues, refused to agree to their proposed decision, and finding himself in a minority, insisted on referring the point to the Government at home. That was on September 25th. That evening he received instructions from London to sign, and he signed on the following morning, as in duty bound. I am sorry, therefore, to have associated Lord Crewe personally with the responsibility. What, however, is to be said of Mr. Baldwin, who was asked in the House of Commons, on November 15th—the day before the fatal prorogation—whether the finding of the Ambassadors' Conference had the approval of the British Government, and who answered, "I think it had, but I should like notice of that"? Acts are sometimes perpetrated by Great Powers in good faith which later prove to be unjust. Sometimes acts of injustice are perpetrated against the light. It is not often that the British Government is implicated in the latter kind of misdeed, but the Corfu episode of 1923 brings a true bill against it for having knowingly taken part in an act of injustice, perpetrated by a judicial body in defiance of all the evidence before it.

The report is dated Janina, September 30th, 1923. It first recapitulates its terms of reference and gives a full list of witnesses and suspects interviewed, both on the Greek and on the Albanian side of the frontier. The first report, telegraphed to Paris on September 22nd, in accordance with the instructions of the 'Ambassadors' Conference, was as follows:—

"At the present stage of its labours, both by reason of the difficulties and of the complexity of the problem to be solved, the Inter-Allied Commission of Janina cannot yet formulate a firm, definitive and unanimous opinion on the responsibilities incurred in the outrage of August 27th. From evidence collected, and from observations made by the Commission, it follows that:—

"(1) The crime was prepared and carried out in conditions so minutely studied that clearly it is a case either of a political crime or of a vendetta carried out against General Tellini in which the other victims were sacrificed by the assassins only for the purpose of removing all the witnesses of the deed.

"(2) The inquiry carried out by the Hellenic authorities after the crime certainly shows cases of negligence on the part of those authorities, but the observations made up to this date are not complete enough to allow the Commissioners to judge whether the Greek Government ought to be held responsible for the negligences revealed, or whether these negligences are the result of the defective organisation of a police administration which disposes of imperfect means of criminal investigation. For the moment the Italian Commissioner, for reasons more particularly of a moral order, inclines rather to the first hypothesis, while the other three Commissioners incline to the second.

"(3) On this head also [the search for the culprits] the Commission has established several cases of Greek negligence, but it ought to be pointed out that on the one part the atmosphere of mystery and fear which surrounds the crime, and, on the other part, the nature of the territory make investigations extremely difficult.

"(4) The Commission is actively pursuing its investigations, and is making energetic representations to the Greek authorities to continue the search for the culprits."

From September 22nd to 27th, the date on which it was asked to return to Paris, the Commission made further investigations in Epirus and in Albania. Its further report may be thus summarised:—

A. Greece is criticised for the Press campaign against General Tellini which preceded the crime, and for failing to take special measures to protect him.

B. "In a general way the Commission has established that the Hellenic judicial inquiry has been conducted with all the dispatch made possible by the habitual working methods of the Greek authorities."

On the day of the crime General Tellini's car was preceded at a few minutes' interval by the car of the Albanian delegation: but the members of that delegation were not questioned by the Examining Magistrate of Janina. The General's car was stopped by a barricade of tree branches thrown across the road. Those branches ought to have been preserved for finger-print evidence. They had disappeared by the evening, although the Greek authorities gave orders for their preservation. The Greek authorities concealed the news of the crime from the Albanian delegation. This is put down as a criticism on the Greeks, although the British delegate on the Inquiry Commission at this point records the observation that "if the crime was so carefully concealed from the Albanian delegation it was no doubt because Lt.-Col. Botzaris was afraid lest the inhabitants of the Albanian villages near the frontier, in which he perhaps knew there were some of the accomplices of the crime, might take steps to conceal the authors of the assassination and prevent their detection." The British delegate bases his opinion on an episode in his own experience, where he had known the same processes of concealment carried out against himself in Asia Minor." It is conceded in the report that "orders certainly appear to have been given in good time by the Greek military authorities for strengthening the vigilance of the frontier posts and for pursuing the culprits. But these same authorities do not appear to have assured themselves personally of the execution of the orders given by themselves or by their subordinates."

So much for "Greek responsibilities." Then comes a chapter on Albanian responsibilities, which is more interesting.

"On August 31st an inhabitant of the Albanian village Causi, named Timio Lollo, went and warned the Albanian authorities that a band of thirteen brigands had come into his village, that the chief

of this band, Yani Vancho, a man of Greek origin, had admitted to him that he and his band were the authors of the crime, that he had recognised in this band two men, also of Greek origin, but Albanian subjects, named Stefan Cerea and Gola Senitza. The Albanian authorities of Argyrocastro, as soon as they were made aware of this deposition, dispatched to Causi a detachment of thirty gendarmes. With the exception of Stefan Cerea the brigands escaped towards the Greek frontier which they succeeded in crossing again, thus passing into Greek territory. The Albanian authorities did not inform the Greek authorities of the deposition made by Timio Lollo, nor of the events which followed it. Moreover, on September 12th, Stefan Cerea was placed under arrest by the Albanian authorities of Argyrocastro, a fact which again was never reported to the Greek authorities; nor was anything said about it to the Inter-Allied Control Commission when it went to Santi-Quaranta on September 17th."

Finally comes the Inquiry Commission's "Conclusions," which I give in full:—

"The problem to be solved is very complex. Much time and caution are needed. In the short period at its disposal the Commission cannot hope to elucidate the mystery of the outrage of August 27th. The Commission, therefore, is not in a position to pronounce definitely and emphatically on the real responsibilities incurred. At the present stage of the inquiry it can only refer on this subject to the opinion already given in its report of September 22nd. Nevertheless we seem to be getting near the truth.

"On the one hand the Greek authorities have laid hands on a bandit, Constantine Mémos, notorious in Greece for his numerous crimes, and for the price placed on his head by the Greek Government. Nothing as yet would authorise us to declare that Mémos was one of the assassins, but the past of this brigand, whom rumour widely accuses, furnishes a presumption of guilt. On the other hand, the arrest in Albania of the bandit Stefan Cerea gives to the Albanian authorities a serious basis for inquiry, and allows one to hope that a clue has been found which may lead to the apprehension of the leader of the gang, Yani Vancho, whose confession was received by a witness who has made a formal deposition on the subject.

"Before leaving Janina the Commission deemed it a duty to communicate: To the Albanian Government the information collected in Greece about Mémos; to the Greek Government the information obtained in Albania on the Vancho band and on the arrest of one of its members, Stefan Cerea. But this precaution is insufficient if it is desired to ascertain the full truth. To arrive at this result it is indispensable to ensure a complete understanding between the Albanian and Greek Governments. This understanding can only be realised under the energetic pressure of the Ambassadors' Conference. The Inter-Allied Commission therefore earnestly requests the Conference to intervene with both Governments in order that the inquiry should be continued in agreement with the judicial authorities of both countries. And in order to assure that agreement, the Commission suggests that at least one neutral person, an expert in criminal investigation,

should be placed at the disposal of the two Governments, Greek and Albanian.

"The Italian delegation asked that the following declaration be inserted after the present report:—

"The Italian delegate, while associating himself with the general lines of the present report, does so under the reservation of sending to the Conference of Ambassadors a special report about circumstances which enable him to establish at once the grave responsibility of Greece and to give indications which may lead to the discovery of the culprits."

There was not one word of evidence in the report to convict the Greek Government of responsibility for the crime; nor even to prove that it was a political crime; nor that it was committed by Greeks. Yet the full penalty for all those unproved charges was imposed on Greece by the Ambassadors' Conference.

SINGAPORE AS STORMY PETREL.

It is right to record the deplorable effect which has been produced on Japanese opinion by the project of the British Admiralty, as approved by the late Parliament, to create a big naval base at Singapore. In the present chaotic state of affairs at Westminster, in which Tory policy has been submerged, and out of which may emerge a Labour Government, it is impossible to say whether the Singapore scheme will be persevered with, but it is at the moment a decided fact in British policy and will presumably remain so unless and until opinion is brought to bear on whatever Government may be in store for us. The comments that have appeared in the Japanese Press during the summer and autumn of 1923 have been strikingly unanimous, and it is embarrassing for an Englishman to be asked by a Japanese: Against whom is this naval activity directed, and why? It is, of course, clear that the Government of Mr. Baldwin entertained no designs against Japan, on grounds of policy. It is equally clear that the Admiralty, after the manner of Admiralties and War Offices, bases its routine tactics on the assumption of war with the strongest Power in sight. In this case the assumption is war with Japan.

There is nothing to be gained by shutting one's eyes to the intensity of feeling which has been produced in Japan, and which is daily increasing. Why, ask the Japanese, should the British Admiralty have chosen the very moment when the Anglo-Japanese Alliance has been scrapped to plunge into this Singapore business? Japanese feelings were brittle enough, and Japanese disappointment deep enough as a result of the breaking off of the Alliance. Why this positive move, which naturally appeared to Japanese eyes as a move in a wholly new direction? The Japanese newspapers all protest that Japan had cherished great

hopes from the results of the Washington Conference of 1921, and weighed the advantages of a better prospect of world peace and the lightening of the armaments burden against the loss of the Anglo-Japanese Alliance, which had been her mainstay in the past. As most observers will admit, Japan has loyally respected the Naval Disarmament Treaty and the Four Powers Treaty concluded at Washington, and has scrupulously reduced and readjusted her naval armaments in accordance with them. The Japanese Press has shown remarkable evidence of the confident way in which the Japanese people have looked forward to the new situation created in the Pacific by the conciliatory co-operation of the Great Powers which was foreshadowed in the treaties. There has been equally remarkable evidence that they have been taken aback, at the very moment when the treaties were on the point of bearing fruit, by what they regard as a British challenge to the Japanese Navy. It is unconvincing in these circumstances to explain that the Singapore scheme is not a political affair, but an affair of Admiralty routine, and part of a previously decided programme. It is true that Singapore is just outside the restricted area, but Japanese opinion, while admitting that there is no infringement of the letter, is inclined to see in it an infringement of the spirit, of the treaty.

In a case of this kind the proof of the pudding is in the eating, and it seems clear that the peaceful conditions which it was the object of the Washington Conference to create in the Pacific are, in fact, jeopardised by the effect of the Singapore scheme in Japan. By the time speculation begins on the prospect of resumed armament competition, harm has already been done. A point often made in the Japanese Press in these days is that Japan has been the faithful ally of Great Britain for twenty years, through thick and thin, and that, therefore, it is unseemly for the British Admiralty to base its plans on the assumption of war with Japan.

There is another side to the question. The British Empire bestrides the world to such an extent that British policy in the Pacific and British relations with the United States on one side, and with Japan on the other, are apt to set in motion conflicting impulses. Canada's nearness to the United States is responsible for one view of the Pacific question; Australia's nearness to Japan for another. The Imperial Conferences of 1921 and 1923 afford an illuminating commentary on this state of affairs. When the Imperial Conference met in 1921, just before the meeting of the Washington Disarmament Conference, one of the most important subjects before it for discussion was whether the Anglo-Japanese Alliance should be renewed. Canada showed herself to be strongly

opposed to the renewal on the following grounds: (1) that it conflicted with our friendship with America; (2) that it rendered difficult the problem of Japanese immigration; (3) that it had, in any case, done its work; (4) that there was no more call for an Anglo-Japanese alliance than for an alliance with the United States, France, or Italy, if its only object was to safeguard friendly relations; (5) that, in general, entangling alliances are in conflict with the new spirit of international relations as expressed in the Covenant of the League of Nations; (6) that the renewal of the alliance with Japan would bring with it the crushing burden and the certain disaster of an armaments race with America. In support of her general contention, Canada pointed out with great effect that she had a common frontier with the United States of more than five and a-half thousand miles, unguarded on both sides; what better proof of the efficacy of mutual confidence as an alternative to military alliances, even from the point of view of security?

Australia, on the other hand, defended the Anglo-Japanese alliance on the double ground that (1) it was disloyal to throw over a proved friend, and (2) the alliance was the best and most economical means of eliminating possible misunderstandings with Japan, and of safeguarding the security of Australia. The Home Government took a line midway between these two points of view, but felt acutely the force of the dilemma. Mr. Lloyd George, on July 11th, 1921, expressed the Government's feeling in the following words:—

"In Japan we have an old and proved ally, and the agreement of twenty years' standing between us has been of very great benefit, not only to ourselves and her, but to the peace of the Far East. . . . In the United States we see to-day, as we have always seen, a people closest to our own in aims and ideals, with whom it is for us not merely a desire and an interest, but a deeply rooted instinct, to consult and co-operate. The object of our discussions (at the Empire Conference) was to find a method of combining all these three factors in a policy which would remove the danger of heavy naval expenditure in the Pacific, with all the evils which such expenditure entails, and would ensure the development of all legitimate national interests in the Far East. . . . The first principle of our policy was friendly co-operation with the United States, and we were all convinced that upon this more than upon any other single factor depend the peace and well-being of the world. We also desired to maintain our close friendship and co-operation with Japan. . . . In addition to these considerations we desired to safeguard our own vital interests in the Pacific, and to preclude any competition in naval armaments between the Pacific Powers."

When the British Empire Conference found itself in the dilemma produced by the issue between Canada and Australia, President Harding's invitation to Washington came as a *deus ex machina*.

A general agreement on the problem of the Pacific, to which the United States, Britain, Japan, and China were alike parties, would have the happy effect of satisfying the demands of the British Isles, Canada, and Australia alike.

The Washington Treaties promised in effect to demolish the British dilemma. The Singapore scheme threatens to introduce a complication of another kind. At the Imperial Conference of 1923, Australian opinion showed itself strongly in favour of the scheme, on the argument that the protection afforded by the Anglo-Japanese Alliance having gone, it was desirable to be prepared against all contingencies. Herein we see the possible beginnings of an old vicious circle. A really sound understanding between the British Empire, Japan, and the United States in the Pacific would satisfy Australia. Once Japan becomes restive, Australian instinct is towards the further development of the very measure which was responsible for that restiveness. The Singapore project has not at this moment produced the danger of war; but beginnings are always small, and there is no mistaking the effect of the Singapore project. Is it too late to stop it?

GEORGE GLASGOW.

LITERARY SUPPLEMENT.

LIST OF CONTENTS.

	PAGE
1. DEVILS, OR WHAT YOU WILL. By J. E. G. DE MONTMORENCY	117
2. REVIEWS ... THE CAMBRIDGE MEDIEVAL HISTORY; THE GREAT WAR AT SEA; THE FAITH OF ROBERT BROWNING; CHINESE PAINTING; THE BOOK OF SAINTS.	123
3. SHORTER REVIEWS: "The Beggar's Opera"; "Who's Who, 1924"	135
4. NOTICES OF BOOKS: "Nightmare Abbey"; "The Romance of Sea Rovers"; "Chinese Furniture"; "The Hampshire Gate"	136

DEVILS, OR WHAT YOU WILL.

THE Cathedral of Saint Nicholas was singularly noble in appearance on the afternoon of December 31st. The precincts of the splendid pile were snowclad, and a thin layer of snow adorned the multitudinous roofs of the wonderful edifice. The sky was so blue that England might have been Italy, and the only clouds lay in the west. It had been a windless day, and from the moment when the sun saluted with a pink, purple glow the great bell-tower, to sunset, when the glow reappeared tinting the whole structure with an indefinable atmosphere of colour, the world had been a dream of winter delight and the snowy underworld a joyous vision. But it was cold, very cold, and when the lights of the Deanery windows began to answer the fading sunset, it was plain that the Cathedral City was in for a hard night of it.

A hard night that New Year's Eve proved, and perhaps hardest of all on the Dean and Chapter, for they were destined to have the fright of their saintly and dignified lives. As is well known to all who live in the City of Wiltchester, the Deanery is haunted. It is not haunted in any gross or noisy fashion. That could not be the case. Generations of scholars and saints have inhabited that spacious and gracious house, and not more than one or two of them—and they far-distant figures hidden for all ordinary purposes in the dim, backward abysm of time—had transgressed the current morality of Deanship. And even these transgressors were men of manners and refinement to whom noise was abhorrent, men

who did their deeds of darkness quietly. The Deanery had not ghosts who clanked chains or rolled tubs or screeched in the midnight silences. Such ghosts may be found in ordinary manor houses, or even in episcopal palaces; but in the Deanery they would have been inconceivable. The Creatures that haunted the Deanery were of another quality altogether. They belonged to the most refined sphere. When they came upon you, or you upon them, in the spacious hall or on the broad, well-carpeted stairs or in the nobly shelved library, they bowed and passed on, or, at the most, laid a hand upon your arm, as much as to say; "Remember, I am here, I am here, *here* always, because I loved and died here. Remember in your orisons Marie de Bourgogne, the lady of tears and death." It is true that if this particular lady came and spoke to you in some such fashion things happened to the auditor, happened for days and nights: dreams and sorrows without number because you had spoken with Marie de Bourgogne, the Lady of Tears. And there were others that you might see as you stood in the richly tapestried hall with your back to the winter fire, creatures that came up to you out of the mist of the pictured hall, came and said: "I will tell you your fortune in the year that is to be; you will sorrow, you will have ill things ever about you, you will die, a failure in all that you undertook, because you have met the descendants of Marie de Bourgogne." Then they will pass you by in a procession—the children of successive generations, tens of dainty, winsome things with wide eyes, with glancing eyes cast up at the dreamer as he stands with his back to the great, glowing hall fire in the dark, picture-hung, rustling hall. These children, tens of them, march by and up the stairs, and before them marches a horrid creature, a devil from Hell, who, with a grim smile, leads the children of a doomed race through the old house where they were born to the place that their ancestors had won for them.

That is the legend of the Deanery, and (strange to tell) successive generations of Deans, in their innermost hearts, believed in the haunting, and especially in the strange Frenchwoman Marie de Bourgogne and her doomed descendants. If any member of the family of any Dean came to misfortune, died early, failed in life, or did something wrong, it was always proved that he or she had seen and spoken with "La Diable." The devil had been given the feminine article centuries before by some Dean who spoke the French of Stratford-atte-Bowe; and since the Devil was, beyond all doubt, in the tradition of ghost-seeing, a lady—though a very plain lady—the feminine article was retained. It became a matter of faith with cheery undergraduate sons and daughters—for all the Deans were learned and had learned issue—to see *La Diable*, or, as they also called her, *La belle Dame sans merci*. The house was

a house that ought to have been haunted; and houses that ought to be haunted and have a tradition, and also creepy passages and large, eerie, tapestry-hung rooms and galleries round a sumptuous hall, become, in the eyes of the young, haunted, and gliding figures appear almost on demand.

But the Dean was not young, and he had a faith in himself almost more robust than his faith in the Thirty-Nine Articles. A Modernist to his rather gouty toe-tips, he scorned all belief in ghosts, apparitions, fairies, or any other reminders of that unseen world which must lie behind all belief. He would have none of them. He had fought his way from a curacy of no repute to a Bishopric of great fame; and then, having exhausted his ambition, resigned his See and accepted this very remote Deanery in order to write his great work on "The Significance of the Unseen in Human Phenomena." On that last day of the year, before tea-time, he had put the last touches to the last proof and lit his pipe with an exclamation of satisfaction. The great library was growing dark, but an electric lamp illuminated his table. He had risen from the desk and was in a state of extreme mental satisfaction. He had completely proved the reality of another unseen world, and in doing so had greatly added to the material comfort of this world so far as he was concerned.

In this ecstatic moment, with his pipe glowing and the thought of tea expanding his soul, he heard a gentle, nervous tap at the library door. It was repeated, and he called out, rather impatiently, "Come in, come in," but no one came in, and the knocking was repeated. He therefore limped down the long library to the secret door among the books that closed him in, and opened it a little way. The reason that he opened it no further was that just as he opened it a white hand, glowing (though it was dark) with wonderful rings, was thrust through, and placed in his hand a slip of parchment. The hand just touched his and seemed like a dead hand, but one of extraordinary beauty. Before he knew what had happened the door closed, and he heard it gently locked on the other side. He was too astounded to be furious and went back to his lamp-lit table and placed the parchment on it. The sheepskin was shrivelled and cracked, but on it was written, in a bold, fourteenth-century hand, these words: "*Je ne suis pas la Diable.*" He was astounded, for the writing was as old as the parchment, and it was in a hand that he knew, the hand of a manuscript from the Chapter Library dealing with the life and death of Marie Bourgogne, a manuscript said to have been written by the unfortunate beauty *and finished by her after her death*. The words were certainly in her hand, the famous and lovely script of the most beautiful woman of the Middle Ages.

When events begin to happen in this irresolute world they happen swiftly, if unwisely. The Dean had had hardly time to take in this amazing discovery when an acrid smell of smoke struck his sensitive nostrils. The wood fire in the grate was glowing in a pleasing, wintry fashion; the room was even less misty than usual, so that it was plain that the fire, if there were one, was outside the room. He was about to go back to the door when he remembered that he was locked in by the sturdiest of oak panels. That there was a fire, and a great one, became obvious, for a sudden glow illuminated the window that peered into the Cathedral cloisters. A dart of agony went through the Dean's heart and almost choked him. The Cathedral was on fire. No such event had happened since the Reformation, and the curse had come in his time. He would be handed down as the custodian in the days when the noblest structure of the Middle Ages had vanished in a pillar of fire. With the Cathedral the Deanery, and incidentally the Dean, would also disappear, for there seemed no hope of escape. Dr. Hardstone sat in his chair and wiped the sweat from his capacious forehead. The dreadfulness of the event for the moment stunned him. The manuscripts in the Chapter Library were doomed; the twelfth-century stained glass was, perhaps, melting at that moment; the bones of the most pugnacious Saint in Christendom would be calcined; the boys in the choir school could hardly escape (but after all they were only boys, and the only ones worth mentioning were away for scholarship examinations); probably all the Canons would be burnt alive, but after all they were immortal as well as past work; and their wives would die with them, a superb suttee. It was the perishing of the Cathedral, of the manuscripts, of the tombs, of the painted glass, things that have only one immortality, that mattered.

This thought stung the Dean into action. He suddenly remembered the telephone and the secret passage as he automatically relit his pipe. Behind a curtain was a door that he rarely used, which gave access down a long, winding, echoing stair and passage to the famous crypt beneath the Cathedral. Had he his keys? Here he struck his first touch of good fortune. They lay on the table before him, though he was perfectly certain that they were, and ought to have been, in his dressing-room. But there they were, and he almost laughed. As he did so he heard, quite audibly, the words, *Je ne suis pas la diable*. He looked round with a start, but there was no one about, though he fancied that he saw the dim door amidst the bookcases open and gently close. Then he turned to the telephone and rang up the Puisne Dean, the Treasurer, the other Canons, in turn. "The cathedral is on fire," he said to each; and in each case he had the reply, "We are locked in the house."

"Then meet me in the crypt by your private passage," he shouted. By some mediæval arrangement each of these ancient houses communicated with the crypt. He knew that the City fire brigade was perfectly useless, but he rang up the municipal offices. There was no reply. The City Hall was closed. He rang up the Mayor, the police, the workhouse, in turn, but in each of these cases he had merely a horrible laugh in reply and the horrible words, *Je suis la diable*. If he was startled by this new development, he was still more startled by slashing tongues of flame outside the window, which illuminated the study like shafts from Hell. It was too late to save the Cathedral, and he doubted if he could save himself. However, pouring with sweat he pulled back the curtain, found the old door, fitted the key, said good-bye to his house, to his stately library, to his well-worn books, in one comprehensive glance of despairing love, and, switching on a pocket electric torch, left the room, its shadows, its memories, its hopes and fears. Then, on a sudden thought, he went quickly back to his table and picked up his corrected proofs. There was certainly somebody in the room as he entered; but It, or He, or She glided away, and he seized his proofs. At that moment, as he turned again to the little door, a crash like thunder announced the fall of the Bell Tower, and a flash of light revealed for an instant a form as beautiful as that of Helen of Troy, a face like hers who launched a thousand ships and burnt the topless Towers of Ilium (he had often imagined her form and beauty and compared Dido to her in scorn). He saw the vision for a moment, thought that she had burnt something far nobler than the Towers of Ilium, and as he slammed the little door behind him heard the sweetest of voices protest, *Je ne suis pas la diable*.

The passage down the winding stone stairs was to Dr. Hardstone like gliding from one nightmare into another. How many hours had passed since he had put the last touches to his proofs he did not know, but it seemed like the eternity of Hell. As he crept on (for he was old and feeble) he heard footsteps coming down after him, he heard footsteps going on before him. He heard crackling everywhere, he smelt smoke though he saw none. It was the sense of pursuit that was most horrible, most mentally devastating of all. He had locked the door through which he had come. If there was anything *after* him it was not human. If there was anything *in front* of him it was not human. He had noticed that the parchment was not on his table when he returned for his proofs. In despair, he sat down on the stone stairs. Then he remembered that his wife, who had been dead ten years, had told him that this was bad for his rheumatic affections, so he rose and pressed forward, and amid a sudden tornado of crashing sounds he achieved the passage that was on a level with the crypt. He flashed his light along the

arches and saw, to his relief, that the door into the crypt was intact. He hurried along the narrow but straight passage, key in hand, a desperate spectacle, with his white hair flowing out behind him and his pipe still in his mouth and still alight. He pushed the key into the lock with the skill of a burglar, and flung open the door.

The place was dreadfully silent. There was no sign of any fire or any disaster there, but a silence so intense that his very breathing echoed through the dreadful place. He stood still and put out his torch, as he was afraid to exhaust it. He spoke in accents long familiar in the church above. "Is anyone here?" he said, in his most distinct dulcet tones. The place rang with the simple words. They came back to him from every corner of the pillared crypt. Promptly he heard, with a relief that only Dante could describe, the voice of his special enemy the Puisne Dean. And one by one the members of the Chapter answered him. He advanced, with a cautious use of his light, to the central spot in the midst of a bevy of stout pillars. To this spot the Chapter gathered, and each member told of his experiences as the Dean, from moment to moment, flashed his torch. "The Cathedral is undoubtedly destroyed, and death, too, is our portion," said the sepulchral voice of the Puisne Dean.

At that moment, to the consternation of this unusual meeting of the Chapter, a strange glow pervaded the whole crypt. "The end is at hand," said the Treasurer, "and I feel more ready for it than I have been for years." He spoke almost cheerfully in his soft, West-country way. But, in fact, something worse (it may be hoped) than the end was at hand, worse and better, and certainly something that was, at any rate, beautiful. There was a sound of singing at the far east end of the crypt; and the singing became louder, while the light was sufficient to make further use of the torch mere waste. It was plain that a procession of children was approaching, and soon it was to be seen; many children in white—they might have come from Giovanni Boccati's brush—came through the crypt singing a Christmas chant:—

We innocents once died when Christ was young;
We are alive because we died for Him:
The children of Saint Nicholas who tread
The golden spheres that all the poets have sung,
Whose faces to the pure grow never dim.
We are alive because we once were dead:
Love us and love all children till you grow
Pure as their hearts, white as the winter snow.

Before them marched, not a Devil, but a woman with a lute just as Boccati painted her, singing, too, as she sings still in the

Pinacoteca at Perugia. Each member of the Chapter saw her differently, saw her as his ideal of all that was noble, all that was lovely, all that was divine. She waved them to take their place behind the procession, and she—was it Marie de Bourgogne, or another?—led them up out of the crypt into the Cathedral Church, and thence, through its noble aisles, lit by the pink dawn of the New Year's Day, out once more into the snowy precincts, whence they vanished, she and her golden choir, into thin air.

"It is intact," said the Dean; "it was some Devil's mummary, some horrible dream." "We are intact," said the Puisne Dean, in his sepulchral voice. "It was indeed some Devil's mummary." Then in the silence through the keen air there fell from the heights the musical refrain: *Je ne suis pas la Diable. Je suis un ange. La Diable est partie.*

J. E. G. DE M.

REVIEWS.

THE CAMBRIDGE MEDIÆVAL HISTORY.*

It is difficult to overpraise this particular volume of a singularly efficient work, for while in a sense the earlier volumes were dealing with periods and movements of which the historical difficulty is obvious, the present volume, in treating the seven centuries of the Eastern Empire from the Isaurian Dynasty in the eighth century to the fall of Constantinople, is dealing with a great range of history about which all general readers of Edward Gibbon had made up their mind. A totally wrong impression of those seven centuries of the Empire which stood as a little-known bulwark that rendered possible the whole of European evolution, was prevalent for more than a century, and was, in a sense, rightly prevalent, since it was the considered opinion of a very great historian. Edward Gibbon regarded the Byzantine Empire with frank contempt. He had neither the knowledge, nor, indeed, adequate opportunities to acquire the knowledge necessary for any other opinion. Professor Bury, in his admirable edition of the *Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire*, pointed out, more than a quarter of a century ago, that "Gibbon's account of the internal history of the Empire after Herodius is not only superficial; it gives an entirely false impression of the facts." The reaction against Gibbon's view began with Finlay and, since his time, a series of

* *The Cambridge Mediæval History*. Planned by J. B. Bury. Edited by J. R. Tanner, C. W. Previté-Orton and Z. N. Brooke. Volume IV. *The Eastern Roman Empire (717-1453)*. (Cambridge: At the University Press.) 50s. net.

competent writers, whose labours are co-ordinated and enlarged in the present volume, have finally destroyed the Gibbon outlook on the later Eastern Empire.

Professor Bury has, indeed, for more than forty years combated the false impression that Gibbon created, and it is only one more instance of the fact that the fundamental mistakes of great masters of thought are very far reaching and very difficult to overtake and overcome. This, so obvious in the realms of philosophy and social thought, is less obvious in the region of history, but here we are faced with a monumental example. It may be said truly that in this vital matter of correcting a gigantic historical error Professor Bury's labours are second to none. His *History of the later Roman Empire from Arcadius to Irene*, published in 1889; his continuation of that work in *A History of the Eastern Roman Empire from the fall of Irene to the accession of Basil I* (A.D. 802-867), published in 1912, the second volume of his recent work on *The History of the later Roman Empire*, from the death of Theodosius I. to the death of Justinian (A.D. 395 to 565) gave some idea of the perpetual labours that have done so much to reconstruct the Byzantine world from, often enough, stubborn and scattered material. The present volume owes to Professor Bury much. He has revised it all in proof, his suggestions have been manifold. He has written a striking introduction, and has briefly summarised the story of the struggle with the Saracens from A.D. 717 to 1057, and shows how Baghdad and Oriental influence affected the Byzantine world in this period and played a part in the growing structure of Byzantine civilisation. Professor Bury notes in his introduction the basic fact that Gibbon overlooked.

"The chief function which, as a political power, the Eastern Empire performed throughout the Middle Ages was to act as a bulwark for Europe, and for that civilisation which Greece had created and Rome had inherited and diffused, against Asiatic aggression. . . . The Ottomans were the latest bearers of the Asiatic menace. If the Eastern Empire had not been mortally wounded and reduced to the dimensions of a petty state by the greed and brutality of the Western brigands who called themselves Crusaders, it is possible that the Turks might never have gained a footing in Europe. Even as it was, the impetus of their first victorious advance was broken by the tenacity of the Palaeologi—assisted, it is true, by the arms of Timur. They had reached the Danube sixty years before Constantinople fell. When this at length happened, the first force and fury of their attack had been spent, and it is perhaps due to this delay that the Danube and the Carpathians were to mark the limit of Asiatic rule in Europe and that St. Peter's was not to suffer the fate of St. Sophia. Even in the last hours of its life, the Empire was still true to its traditional rôle of bulwark of Europe."

The Eastern Empire, he adds, educated the Slavs of Eastern Europe; it contributed to the trade of Western Europe, "it guarded safely the heritage of classical Greek literature," so long and continuously studied by the scholars of the Eastern Empire. "The conception of the later Empire, which has made the word Byzantine almost equivalent to Chinese was based on ignorance, and is now discredited."

The fact is made clear in the successive chapters of this remarkable volume. Professor Charles Diehl, the eminent French specialist on Byzantine history, deals with the Isaurian and Phrygian dynasties, the Abbé Albert Vogt with the Macedonia dynasty from 867 to 1057 A.D. The struggle with the Saracens is described by Mr. E. W. Brooks and Professor Vasil'ev. Professor F. Macler of Paris describes Armenia; Professor Kadlec of Prague indicates the relations of the Empire with its northern neighbours; while the invaluable account of the conversion of the Slavs is from the pen of Professor Jagić of Vienna. Dr. William Miller is responsible for a number of chapters on the Balkan States; Sir Thomas Arnold deals with Muslim civilisation during the Abbasid period; that admirable scholar, the late Ferdinand Chalandon, gives a picture of the earlier and later Comneni; Mr. H. M. J. Loewe treats of the Seljuqs and of the Mongols; Professor Bréhier shows the work of the Greek Church and its relations with the Latin Church; while there is a chapter by the late Sir Edwin Pears on the Ottoman Turks before the fall of Constantinople. Professor Bury has been fortunate to secure an essay from that eminent jurist and Roman lawyer, Professor Paul Colinet, on Byzantine legislation from the death of Justinian (565) to 1453, and to this chapter all students of the evolution of Roman law will turn with pleasure and instruction. It is not possible here to attempt to criticise the formidable collection of research work. Each chapter is practically a piece of fully documented research and perhaps the only critical word in a brief notice is that in Roman law, or, indeed, in any law, it is not right to regard marriage as a mere contract. It is a contract which changes *status* permanently, and that is the cause of all the problems on the subject which have plagued all systems of law. Justinian's view was not a common-sense view, since it missed the real difficulty.

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THE GREAT WAR AT SEA.*

This third volume of the striking record of the naval operations in the Five Years' War deals with the Dardanelles campaign from

* *History of the Great War, based on Official Documents, by direction of the Historical Section of the Committee of Imperial Defence. Naval Operations. Vol. III. By Sir Julian S. Corbett. (Longmans.) 21s. net.*

May, 1915, and the opening of the Salonica operations, and also covers various campaigns East and West, including the German submarine campaign, and culminates in a remarkable and detailed account of the Battle of Jutland. It is the last volume from the wonderful pen of Sir Julian Corbett, who died only a few hours after he had completed the last chapter dealing with the terrible and Homeric struggle in the North Sea between the two greatest fleets recorded in history. Sir Julian's perfectly balanced account of the battle, written with all the knowledge that was available from both sides and without one shade of bias, but with a vigour and a literary skill that show no trace of physical weakness, will prove a lasting memorial to this ideal historian. Homeric on a scale that Homer never conceived is the only description of the vast battle scene. The terror and wonder and mystery of the early dawn in the North Sea of June 1st, 1915, is brought home to the reader in a fashion that only a great historian could compass. Touch after touch suggests, over and above the bare lucid narrative, the subjective side of the great struggle. Here is a passage of this type:—

"Scattered far and wide over the waters which the British fleet was thus quartering was the debris of the action. The battle fleet on its northerly course was soon in the region in which the Germans had stolen away astern. It was the scene of the thickest of the destroyer fighting, and on all sides foul patches of oil, life-buoys, and floating bodies, both friend and foe, told how deadly it had been. Further afield damaged ships that had survived were struggling for life in the solitude of the grey shroud that wrapped the raging sea. The *Sparrowhawk*, after the *Contest* had cut off her stern, was able to creep slowly to the westward. In this helpless condition about two o'clock her crew saw a large ship appearing slowly out of the mist, and she was soon made out to be a three-funnelled German cruiser. For ten minutes they watched her, waiting in breathless suspense for their end, when as by a miracle she was seen to settle down and disappear. What it was they saw cannot be determined with certainty."

The account of the five phases of the battle is as lucid as such an account from masses of confused material could well be. Every necessary tribute is paid not only to the caution and the wisdom of Admiral Jellicoe, but to his intense determination to force the final decision which it was the business of Admiral Scheer to avoid. Victory was not the business of the German Fleet, but escape to its base. In the early evening of May 31st, Admiral Scheer was seeking to "break loose" from the death-grip that Admiral Jellicoe was fastening upon him and to retreat, by almost any device (but certainly not by the mad device with which he later credited himself, to the amazement of his Chief-of-Staff, of attempting to thrust at his enemy's centre in line ahead) to Horn Reefs. His

turn east was detected by the splendid and bold light-cruiser work of Commodore Goodenough, and Admiral Jellicoe was in a calculated and ideal position with the battle fleet to meet the enemy.

"When Admiral Scheer, on his easterly course, came in sight of the Grand Fleet he found that his opponent had surprised him in the worst possible position. Instead of gaining a clear path to eastward, he was rushing to destruction into the arms of a much superior force disposed on a quadrant athwart his course. So much he could see, but little more. For the Grand Fleet was to him nothing but a long vista of formidable shapes half seen in the increasing gloom of the eastern horizon, while groups of his own ships from time to time were defined between the shifting veils of mist against the glow of the western horizon. For the second time he found himself enveloped in a flaming arc of gun flashes, and now they were so near that his predicament was more critical than ever. The surprise had been complete."

Yet with the help of smoke screens and sheer good fortune in the vast misty midnight seas, Admiral Scheer, with indomitable spirit and boldness, managed to pass astern of the Grand Fleet, and, despite the efforts of the British flotillas and the lack of support from his own destroyers, crept home. The complete success of Lord Howe's victory of the First of June was to be denied to his great successor on June 1st, 1915. No effort to cut off the retreat had been relaxed, no risk that was necessary had not been taken. Admiral Scheer made his passage from the North-West to his port while Admiral Jellicoe was scouring the seas off Horn Reefs in search of him, and Admiral Beatty was sweeping the waters southward and eastward. The enemy had escaped, almost miraculously escaped, and the British had to be content with a victory which sealed the German fleet into the home ports for the remaining three and a-half years of war. The German Battle Fleet had escaped annihilation, but thenceforward it was impotent until the day that it came to Scapa Flow and surrendered.

The book, admirably edited by Colonel E. J. Daniel, deals in most valuable detail with the campaigns in Mesopotamia and the Dardanelles, and with the German submarine campaign. Students of the manifold activities of the British Navy during the Five Years' War will study with pride and satisfaction all these phases of our naval operations, but it is inevitable that the record of the fighting in the North Sea will attract the fullest attention, because of the great issues involved, and because there the British fighting captains, men worthy of the tradition of Drake, Howe, and Nelson, met foemen truly worthy of their steel, and fully maintained the supremacy of the British Flag.

THE FAITH OF ROBERT BROWNING.*

The author of these six essays dealing with the strength and comfort of Robert Browning's faith—which is somewhat overlooked by the casual reader—publishes these essays by request, hoping that by so doing they may reach a wider circle than the literary society for which they were originally written, and thus prove a help to the understanding of the great poet who was the precursor of the doctrine of the "Larger Hope," and one who looked past the present into the future and saw "Good in everything." It was a great gift and greatly needed it is to-day, when the clouds are heavy and the "seen" is but dim. It is in times such as ours that the noble literature of a nation clears the vision. Robert Browning saw beneath the surface of things, and essays such as these elucidate his method of insight. To the careless, and to those who look only for beauty of rhythm in poetry, Browning often fails to appeal; but for depth of thought and originality of expression he is unique. Seeing the unseen in the seen, he stretches forth from the temporal to the eternal. "A man's reach should exceed his grasp, or what's a Heaven for," is his motto writ large through all his work.

The author of these essays brings out by her clear analysis the inner meaning of many abstruse passages, and throws, by her searchlight of knowledge of the poet's manner and metaphor, light on much that might otherwise appear confused and dark. The first essay deals with "Abt Vogler," whom Browning drew from life. George Joseph Vogler was born at Würzburg in 1749. A man of original ideas, he invented a new theory of music and a new scheme of organ building, while he constructed a new instrument called an Orchestrion; he was, in fact, an enthusiast in music. He lived in troublous times: "Europe was in the throes of the immense political upheaval following upon the French Revolution of 1789; and he was living almost in the centre of the current of the Napoleonic armies which swept through and over Germany on their way to and from the disaster at Moscow. Indeed, the great battles of Jena and Leipsic were fought at no great distance from his home, and the vibrations of the thunders of the guns must have mingled with those of his organ." Weber and Meyerbeer were numbered among Vogler's students at his famous School of Music at Darmstadt; and he was greatly beloved by them. He died suddenly in 1814. Browning, by his poem "Abt Vogler," has retrieved the name and fame of this musician, and they will live in conjunction, as Miss Burt says, as long as Browning holds his own.

* *The Seen and Unseen in Browning*. By Emma I. Burt. (Oxford: Basil Blackwell.) 6s. net.

A true poet is always ahead of his own age, and although Browning in his life achieved fame and notoriety amongst the educated of his time, the advance of knowledge acquired by the masses to-day will doubtless add to the appreciation of his work. His faith, which never failed him in prosperity or sorrow, will be a source of inspiration to those who, in like manner, search and find God, whether in a palace of music or in a poor cell amid the small things of life. "It is not what a man does, but what he would do" in life that matters: "not dreaming all day long," but striving to know of the doctrine by the performance of the will. The "Abt Vogler" essay is most interesting, the quotations throughout are well chosen and illustrate the poem, as a film might a scene.

The Grammarian's Funeral "follows: all who know and love Browning's poem will apprehend the essay":

"This is our Master, Famous calm and dead,
Borne on our shoulders. . . .
Leave him—still loftier than the world suspects,
Living and dying"

The essay on "Poems of Love and Death" comes next. "God! Thou art Love! I build my faith on that," is the key note of these striking works, and well does the author of these essays accentuate it. Of Death, the poet had a certain horror, but with it a faith which surmounted and conquered it. Even on the loss of his beloved wife, he could write in her New Testament the quotation from Dante: "Thus I believe, thus I affirm, thus I am certain it is, that from this life, I shall pass to another better, there, where that lady lives, of whom my soul is enamoured."

Well might the poet write:

"Body shall cumber
Soul-flight no more,
Waft of soul's wing!
What lies above?
Sunshine and love,
Sky-blue and Spring."

The fourth essay deals with the wastrel, "The Householder," a most curious and difficult poem, but one that the poet thought well of, as he desired to be judged by it. It is a life study of a man, a wastrel, a sad man if you will, but it ends on the higher note of certainty, "Love is all and Death is nought." It is the same note as the answer to the cry "What of the night?"

"Out of the shadow of night
The world rolls into light;
It is Daybreak—everywhere."

Or as another of our own poets has said :

“ Not from Eastern windows only,
When daylight comes, comes in the light.
In front the Sun climbs slow, how slowly !
But westward, look ! the land is bright.”

The two final essays treat of suffering and work. Ixion is the example of suffering, from which Browning adduces the result, that is, the restoration—after the day of Probation is past—to a true manhood through the power of Divine Love :

“ Out of the wreck I rise—Past Zeus to the Potency o’er him !

Pallid birth of my pain—where light, where light is, aspiring
Thither I rise. . . .”

Again, as ever, it is the message of Hope and Faith. Man must never be daunted by circumstance, but stepping over his dead self must rise to higher heights.

“ The Boy and the Angel,” is the subject of the closing chapter. It is a beautiful story told in the poet’s own way, so sparing in words, so full in thought: the craving for work out of the daily sphere, the attainment of it, and its dead sea fruit. The worker’s Angel who had taken up his earthly, lowly task, saved him,

And all his past career
Came back upon him clear. . . .
“ Back to the cell and poor employ :
Resume the craftsman and the boy !”

And God no longer missed the little human praise. Thus ends this touching and simple tale which holds so much of the unseen. Miss Burt brings out the teaching of it in a way for which all who love the work of the poet will be grateful.

S. de M.

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CHINESE PAINTING. *

Mr. Arthur Waley, an Assistant in the British Museum, provides in this very learned work “ rather a series of essays than a general survey of early Chinese painting.” These essays are a necessary preliminary, a phase of the scientific evolution of a standard history. Mr. Waley largely occupies his pages with a history of Chinese art-tradition, æsthetic, and taste with some account of early Chinese civilisation. One difficulty in building up a history is lack of co-ordinated material necessary for the exercise of the critical faculty.

* *An Introduction to the Study of Chinese Painting.* By Arthur Waley. (Ernest Benn, Ltd.) £3 13s. 6d.

The private collections in China were too scattered for this purpose :—

“ Only at one period in Chinese history did a representative national collection exist, that of Ch’ien Lung, which was accessible to members of the Court, and no doubt to aristocrats and high officials in general, from 1730 till 1901. But it was arranged in a way calculated to make systematic study as difficult as possible. The paintings of any individual artist were distributed among a number of different buildings and apartments; moreover, secular paintings were kept apart from religious ones. Nevertheless, it was probably during the eighteenth century, and owing to the existence of this vast collection, that connoisseurship reached its apogee in China. The only other great representative collection which ever existed was that of the Emperor Hui Tsung. But it seems to have been made somewhat uncritically; moreover, its existence was extremely brief, for in 1127 the Capital was sacked by the Tartars, and the treasures of the Palace were destroyed. A certain number of paintings (among which, if we believe in its genuineness, we must reckon the *Ku K’ai-Chih* roll now at the British Museum) was carried south by the retreating courtiers; but it was only a minute fragment of the vast collection.”

The Ch’ien Lung collection was in a great measure looted or destroyed during the Allied occupation of Peking in 1901, while there appears to be no authority for the belief that in 1127 the Tartars preserved the collections of Hui Tsung and handed them over to the Mongols.

This difficulty, the lack of authenticated and grouped material, is emphasised by the great art of forgery rendered possible by the formalism of Chinese Art. Picture forgers were almost a clan and much of their work survives unsuspected. But this critic peers through and behind all difficulties. We see the Court Painter, Ts’ao Pu-hsing, of the third century of our era, the convert of a preacher from India. He is famous as a painter of dragons. This painter’s pupil, Wei Hsieh, developed a “ pre-Raphaelite ” cult of extreme detail. Perhaps all pictorial art goes through this phase. The art of those early centuries, before, indeed, the time of Ts’ao Pu-hsing, survives on earthenware vases, and we get painted vases and painted bronzes during the period between the second and fifth centuries of our era. After the middle of the fourth century the great Ku K’ai-Chih came on the scene and made his fame by a single wall-figure of the Buddhist Saint, Vimilakirti. One of his designs was acquired by the British Museum in 1903, and other extant paintings are attributed to him. In this painter, as in all Chinese art, design and illustration are evenly balanced.

The age of Ku K’ai-Chih was followed by a period of great art dominated by the Wei Tartars who succeeded the Chin dynasty. The artists of this period were realists. The previous period

was conventional, but the new school as represented by Chang Sêng-You in the sixth century made his beauties "round-faced and plump." His method was direct. He painted without any basic drawn outline. Realism seems to have been the note of the new period even in the treatment of drapery. The painters of the great T'ang period have, in their frescoes, the same forceful realism. The figures stand out as if alive in full three-dimensional quality. This realism never died out. The work of the fourteenth century is detailed, alive and three-dimensional in almost the Dutch sense. It is not possible here to try and trace the schools from the days of the great eighth-century master, Wang Wei. The coming of the Mongols did not crush but did not stimulate art. They were "merely policemen." Yet policemen—for the purposes of art as well as for the purposes of social life—are useful, and perhaps this book would not have been possible with its superb series of reproductions if the Mongols had not been collectors. This book is one that will fascinate every student of the history of painting, and perhaps some will see in late Byzantine work some echoes of the great Chinese periods.

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THE BOOK OF SAINTS.*

This substantial compilation by members of an English Benedictine community has received an official *imprimatur*, and is therefore a Roman Catholic book of reference of considerable interest. It is certainly not without interest to Protestants, since they claim, in common with the Roman branch of the Catholic Church, an historical interest in, at any rate, the English confessors and martyrs of pre-Reformation time. There are many confessors and martyrs not mentioned in the book that Protestant communities revere and who, indeed, are Saints in everything but name. The Roman Catholic Church unfortunately has limited the claim to canonisation to members of their own community since the days of the Reformation, though since that date, in the mission field, at home, and abroad, Christians of many denominations have witnessed to and become martyrs for Christ in a manner that would have won canonisation had they been in the obedience of Rome. This is an unfortunate limitation, and one that deprives the Book of Saints of many saintly names. But the Ramsgate Benedictine

* *The Book of Saints: a Dictionary of Servants of God Canonised by the Catholic Church and extracted from the Roman and other Martyrologies. Compiled by the Benedictine Monks of St. Augustine's Abbey, Ramsgate. (A. & C. Black.)* 7s. 6d. net.

House, in the preface to this compilation, point out that the official Saints "form but a small proportion of the 'great multitude which no man can number of all nations and tribes and peoples and tongues, standing before the throne and in the light of the Lamb, clothed with white robes and palms in their hands.'"

This is, of course, true, but recognition of extreme saintliness outside the Roman communion would be an act of courtesy that would indicate the essential unity of all Christendom. The canonisation, for instance, of a man like Charles Gordon—he would have been very angry at the thought—stands on exactly the same footing as the canonisation of a man like Ælfege of Canterbury, concerning whom at the great trial when it was proposed to make him a Saint, Anselm, his advocate, said, "Who dies for Justice dies for Christ." This plea was immediately successful. Gordon died for Christian justice if ever man did.

It is, of course, impossible to check the accuracy of the various entries which are based on Alban Butler's *Lives of the Saints* and the vast *Acta Sanctorum* of the Bollandists, but some revision will prove necessary, for we find in the case referred to above, that of Saint Ælfege, that there are a number of errors. The name is incorrectly given, it was probably originally *Ælfeah*, but the *ph* for *f* is inexcusable though it is commonly used. It was in 1011 and not 1006 that he was carried off by the Danes from Canterbury to Greenwich, and he was martyred at Greenwich on April 19th, 1012 not 1002. He was not stoned but pelted with ox bones, and the final blow (to put him out of his misery) was given by a Danish axe and not a sword. St. Ælfege is a Saint whose history is very well known, and the particulars should have been checked. No doubt it is difficult in making a compilation from other compilations to check detail, but perhaps this instance will put the learned fathers of Ramsgate on to a thorough revision of the sources in view of a subsequent edition. There is one other suggestion to be made. There ought to be an index to the secular names of the Saints whose names have been preserved. Take, for instance, the name of St. Jane Frances. She was by birth Jane Frances Fremiot, and became Baroness de Chantal on marriage. She was the founder in 1610 of the Order of the Nuns of the Visitation. It would be a convenience to have all persons of this type—there are not very many—indexed under their family name. James Hudson (Saint beatified but not yet canonised), one of the Catholic recusants executed in 1582, is indexed under the name "James"; but there is a cross reference to the name "Hudson." This is not always done. A special index is the best plan.

The list includes not only actual but many reputed Saints. Thus

the Emperor Charlemagne in some churches has been honoured as a Saint, the fact probably being due to the many superstitious legends that have gathered round the name of the great son of Pepin. The fact draws attention to the process of canonisation. In the early days of Christianity, canonisation was a national act carried out by one or more Bishops and their people, with the result that there are many Saints of whom the only record is a church dedicated to him or her and an annual festival.

From about the eleventh century the procedure began to be systemised and centralised, with the result that canonising is now reserved exclusively to the Holy See. The legislation of Pope Alexander III. in the twelfth century and Urban VIII. in the seventeenth has firmly established the principle. The present process of Canonisation is exceedingly complex.

There is first a thorough investigation into the life and death, the acts, writings, and utterances of the candidate. "He must be shown to have been God-fearing, pious, just in his dealings, patient, self-denying, charitable, and so on, far above the average of ordinary good men." This is tested by a legal trial, with trained lawyers and sworn witnesses. If the Court of First Instance is favourable, the case is retried by a higher Court, and at this stage popular opinion of the candidate is considered. At one stage of the proceedings a surcease of at least ten years is enjoined in order that the Court may not be swayed by mere enthusiasm. In fact, the procedure in Causes of Canonisation takes many years to complete. A first stage is that of Beatification, which is reached on proof of extraordinary holiness of life and of two miracles. In modern times this stage is rarely reached within fifty years of the death of the Saint. Permission for local veneration follows the stage of Beatification. For Canonisation proof of two more miracles since the date of Beatification is necessary. "The Servant of God is then enrolled in a Canon of Saints, his or her name being inserted in the Roman Martyrology or official catalogue of the Saints proposed to the veneration of the Universal Church." This elaborate procedure is, however, not necessary in the case of one who has deliberately laid down his life, rather than deny Christ, but in such a case it must be fully proved that the person in question "was put to death on account of his religion, and not because he was guilty of some political or other crime, true or only alleged." The Roman list contains about five thousand entries. Local "Saints" have sometimes been disallowed the honour, for instance, the claim of Clement of Alexandria, who died about A.D. 216, has been disallowed. St. Peter is on the list as an Apostle and Martyr, otherwise his claim apparently might be challenged on these rules.

SHORTER REVIEWS.

The revival of "The Beggar's Opera" ("The Story of 'Polly' and 'The Beggar's Opera,'" by Charles E. Pearce)* in recent years at the Lyric, Hammersmith, with the many new facts brought to light, made an immense impression upon Londoners, and it was then "that the public were permitted to see the work in its entirety and adequately reproduced. It burst upon London as a revelation, and at once justified the fascination which has attended every revival since Lavinia Fenton, the first Polly Peachum, took the town by storm." Polly Peachum and Captain Macheath are the two principal characters in this masterpiece of wit and satire, and it is a remarkable fact that "though for a century and a-half nearly every comedy actress who could sing was never satisfied until she had appeared as Polly Peachum, not one ever succeeded in eclipsing the fame of the original Polly. Polly Peachum is identified with Lavinia Fenton, and will ever remain so." "The Beggar's Opera" was a Newgate pastoral, an idea which originated with Swift, and was carried out by Gay, who made a comedy of it, at the same time introducing about sixty of the most celebrated English and Scotch tunes, which added to its popularity. Newgate was the centre of life in London, a recognised institution housing every kind of prisoner. "The very incongruity of the notion was an element of success." Polly, the lovely daughter of the vicious jailor, had a long series of amusing adventures with her lover, the dashing highwayman Macheath, who was ultimately caught; and so great was the popularity of "The Beggar's Opera" that Gay prepared a sequel which he called "Polly." In this opera he was not so happy, and, like most sequels, it is inferior to the original. The highwayman, instead of hanging, he transports to the Plantations, whence he escapes and turns pirate, only to be discovered after many adventures by the faithful Polly. Both books hold us by their charm as a whole; they give us the life of the people, their manners and customs of two hundred years ago.

* * *

We welcome the publication of "Who's Who, 1924: an annual biographical dictionary with which is incorporated 'Men and Women of the Time.' "† This is the seventy-sixth year of issue, and is correct and full down to last June. So great is the labour of compiling and printing this vast work, which comprises over three thousand pages of close double-column type, that printing has to begin as early as June. Those who wish to provide correct or add to biographies must supply the material before that date. The work opens with a useful obituary for the preceding year. This is followed by a long account of the Royal Family, and then comes the body of the work containing more than 30,000 biographies, some very brief, some extending to half a column or more. These biographies are most usefully planned, and it is difficult to see how journalists could get along without this book of reference. But it has a larger use. It is a substantial footnote to modern history; it is a record of the many-sided activities of the British race, and it shows to those who are engaged in any particular field of work what has been achieved by other workers. It would be convenient if there were an index of scientific and other activities, so that the information could be obtained at a glance.

*Stanley Paul & Co. 2s. 6d.

† A. & C. Black. 42s. net.

NOTICES OF BOOKS.

This new edition of T. L. Peacock's novel, "Nightmare Abbey,"* has been reprinted, page for page, from the edition of 1818. As a novel the book is a failure according to the standards of to-day; but as a philosophical discourse submitted to the reader in a colloquial and amusing form it is a classic. The attempts at love and mystery reveal a mind unaccustomed to deal with amorous fiction. Peacock preferred reasoning in a clear or bewildering fashion according to his mood. The study of the two girls, Marionetta O'Carroll and Celinda Toobad, give the impression that the author knew little about women. Except that Marionetta is a decided coquette they are not real; they are more like figures in a bad play, well drilled to their parts and never moving out of them. With the other characters, terrible as they are, this is not so. They may be overdrawn, but they are very much alive as far as gloom will allow them to be. It was fortunate that although Peacock's work so greatly influenced Thackeray, it did not spoil the latter's brilliant native wit and humour.

* * *

In "The Romance of Sea Rovers"† Mr. E. Koble Chatterton, who knows more than most men about the history of pirates and sea rovers, and has told of them in various delightful books, describes "the sea-roving spirit which has been handed down through all ages and in many nations manifested in every kind of sailor using all sorts of ships." It is a regular holiday book that older people as well as boys and girls will delight in. Professor Elliot Smith has pointed out that much pre-historic migration was by sea, and perhaps this is the source of sea roving. Mr. Chatterton begins with the Egyptians, shows us the Phœnicians, the Vikings, the mediæval sea-rovers (these should include some of the Scottish pirates who haunted the English Channel), and carries the reader on into Elizabethan and later times, showing the days of privateering and the many peaceful sea rovers of to-day, when small sailing craft afford endless adventures. It is an excellent book.

* * *

We must note the publication of this volume on "Chinese Furniture: a series of examples from collections in France,"‡ with an introduction by Mr. Herbert Cescinsky. The examples are all of Chinese workmanship, though in many cases the inspiration was European or even English. The influence of the East India Companies on this art in China was very evident. Mr. Cescinsky states that there is much to be learnt from Chinese furniture by the student of decorative form. Such students should turn to this book and give the world the result in a new English furniture revival.

* * *

Mr. H. G. Dent, in "The Hampshire Gate,"§ has produced an excellent book on Southampton and the Southampton region which is a study of "the interaction of geographical and historical factors" in the development of the area. The book is one of a series of Historico-Geographical monographs edited by Professor H. J. Fleure, and has an interest that is by no means local. The study of the basin of the River Itchen is indeed closely linked to the history of England, while, of course, Southampton is world famous.

* (The Oxford Miscellany.) Oxford University Press. 3s. 6d. net.

† Seeley, Service & Co.

‡ Benn Bros. 40s. net.

§ Ernest Benn. 8s. 6d. net.

THE POLITICAL SITUATION.

ON Monday, January 21st, the Conservative Party, which had appealed to the nation to support a Protectionist tariff, was thrown out of office by a majority of 72 votes. Despite the wild ravings of an irresponsible newspaper Press outside, it was quite evident to all who followed the debate in Parliament that no other verdict was possible without the smashing of the Constitution to pieces. All the Liberals who voted for the Labour amendment had pledged themselves in the course of the election in almost every meeting to destroy the Government. If a socialistically inclined Government is now put into power, and if such a Government means "the end of all things," no responsibility can be thrown upon the Liberals, who in a large number of cases had to fight Communists on the one side and Protectionists on the other. It will be entirely due to the fact that the first Conservative Government in office for this century decided, after less than twelve months of unchallengeable position, to commit suicide.

During the prolonged and rather dismal debates on the Address, we challenged them with every conceivable proposition of any conceivable alternative, and we received no answer. We asked them whether they would care to remain in office with Liberal support, and they haughtily answered, no. We asked them if they would support a Liberal Free Trade Government, and they scornfully answered, no. We asked them if they were prepared to drop Protection and protective food taxes, and with unanimous and vehement voice they also answered, no. In fact, the only speeches worth listening to, including that of Mr. Neville Chamberlain, the Chancellor of the Exchequer, and Colonel Page Croft, the unofficial leader of the Die-Hards, were simply reiterations of the dreary arguments advanced at the last election, in favour of a policy which has been rejected by an overwhelming vote in the constituencies. If, therefore, the Tories are ashamed to hold office with Liberal support, and afraid to put the Liberals in office with Tory support, it is quite evident there are only two alternatives left. The one is another General Election, which no sane man in Britain desires, and which would merely leave the *status quo* exactly as at present. The other is that the King, acting in accordance with every constitutional precedent, should invite the largest party of the Opposition to form a Government and to see if that Government can command, in its personnel and policy, a majority of the House of Commons. This is exactly what the King has done. All the ravings of hysteric millionaires are unable to criticise him for acting on strict constitutional lines, or to suggest any other alternative.

To Liberals it may indeed be a choice of the second best. But then through all history politics has been in the main the accepting of the second best against the ideal or the impossible. Newspaper proprietors, professors, men of wealth and of fear may rage furiously together. But the practical politician knows that his duty is to deal with practical affairs, and not with theories of panic or despair. This great Empire of ours has seen many Labour Governments in power in the great Dominions beyond the sea. And it is not going to be destroyed by a Labour Government here at the heart of it, especially as that Government can do nothing either in legislation or administration without the approval of the House of Commons.

It is difficult to understand why there should be any genuine doubt, at least as to the immediate successful survival, of a Labour Government in the present Parliament. Men and women believe what they wish to believe quite apart from the facts. But the general scaremongering concerning the advent of Socialism, engineered by some syndicated newspaper proprietors, has "cut no ice" at all, except, perhaps, to frighten some small investors into the ludicrous attempt to find more safe and satisfactory concerns into which to place money now stored up in British securities. These British securities will remain, with a Government of any party in power, the best securities in the world. Mr. MacDonald has, indeed, complained that Mr. Baldwin did not resign immediately after the election instead of remaining in office for more than six weeks. But Mr. MacDonald is too old a "Parliamentary hand" not to know that it is probably this six weeks' delay, with subsequent additional weeks for reconstruction, which alone has ensured the Labour Party a substantial lease of power. The complaint is purely a political one, in order to appease what might have been the frantic demands of the extremists of his own side for immediate and sensational change. No better occasion in the whole year, even if the choice had been left to them, could have been given to a new and untried Labour Administration than the beginning of February—the month before the closing of the financial year.

For what a new party suddenly placed in power must desire before other things is time to turn round; to gain experience; to understand Departmental administration; to learn the procedure of carrying Bills through the House of Commons. None of the new Labour Party have had such experience, and, had they come into office at any other time, they might have had suddenly forced upon them, by the more vigorous of their supporters, a demand for action in law-making or administration under which, in absence of such experience, they might have broken down. But, to-day, Mr. MacDonald's work is simple. The Estimates have all been

prepared, and cannot now substantially be altered. And he has merely to declare that, as money has to be voted for the public service before March 31st, he can do little but modify in almost non-controversial manner, and certainly by changes which no Liberal can oppose, these elaborately complicated Estimates which the Departments for six months have been engaged in compiling.

The same also applies to the Budget, which is, of course, the great controversial Bill of every Session, and the Bill on which ultimately, perhaps, Liberalism and Socialism may join issue. There is no time, he can plead and rightly plead, before the beginning of April, to compile a Labour or a Socialist Budget. All he can do is to carry through the Budget already prepared by the Treasury officials, with, perhaps, the elimination of some smaller, vicious elements of Protection or Preference, and with, perhaps, the supplementing of the provision for national finance which the Tory Party has made, by some increase in taxes which were first imposed and cannot be resisted by the Liberal Party which will be keeping him in power. Such, for example, is the super-tax, which he might increase on the highest incomes without fear of any substantial resistance, although it would bring him in but little revenue for the coming year. And such would also be an increase on the death duties, a policy which many Tories, as well as men of other parties, greatly prefer to the Capital Levy. Such a prominent member, indeed, of the Conservative Party as Sir Edwin Stockton, late Member for the Exchange Division of Manchester, has definitely advocated this as an alternative to that Levy.

According to the editor of *The Economist*, the Labour Chancellor of the Exchequer will not only have a substantial balance on the revenues for the present financial year, which will go automatically to the reduction of debt through the old Sinking Fund, but he will also, even without increasing taxation, have a substantial number of millions of pounds to play with in the Estimates of the year to come. These millions he may use, either for the removal of the limit for Old Age Pensions, or for a national scheme of "all in" insurance; to both of which all three parties are pledged, or for work and credit for dealing with the unemployed; or, again, for the reduction of the taxes still remaining on food, to which are pledged not only the Labour Members, but the overwhelming majority of the Liberal Party.

If nothing sensational is revealed by these efforts, he can always plead with those who expect the millennium in a fortnight that he and his party have had no time to produce a real Labour Socialist Budget, and must be given a breathing space before they can fully develop their policy. And exactly the same applies to the legislation of a Session which may quite likely be a short one.

Mr. MacDonald could pick out at least five first-class Bills which would occupy all the Parliamentary time until next September, to the fundamental principles of which all the three parties are pledged. He could pick out at least fifteen first-class Bills which are common to the Liberal and Labour Party programmes. Indeed, he could occupy five years at least of Parliamentary time, from February of each year to December, in passing Bills which are common to the programmes of these two parties, and which it would be impossible for the Liberal Party to oppose—Bills dealing with housing; with the valuation and taxation of unimproved land; with the throwing open of land to the labourer and smallholder in the country; with Wages Boards, and the establishment of Industrial Councils; with schemes for the amelioration of unemployment; the modification of the present methods of control of Currency and Credit; with economy in armaments and in the public service. He could also claim, in an assertion for which he can obtain the endorsement of Liberal speeches again and again repeated, that home affairs are so overshadowed by foreign affairs that a new Government must turn its best energies to the appeasing of still existing international feuds, and the creation of an international peace. I can see no reason why a Labour Government should not continue on these lines to hold office with Liberal support for one year, or even for two years or for more. The difficult question of the Capital Levy, of which, perhaps, too much has been made in the newspapers, and whose meaning and operation the ordinary voter has not even begun to understand, can be disposed of without trouble. It will be referred to a Royal Commission, disguised under the general mandate of an impartial body of Professors of Economics, business men, bankers and others, to examine into the whole question of how best can be treated the problem of the redemption of eight thousand millions of war debt.

It is said, however, by the voice of panic, that Labour, although it may be checked from wild Socialistic schemes so far as legislation is concerned, can do infinite harm in the actual work of Administration through its control of the Executive. Such a criticism reveals little knowledge of House of Commons procedure. During a struggle of centuries a far more careful control of the Executive in Administration through a challenge to Supply has been developed even than the control of a minority which may endeavour to convert an injurious Bill into an Act of Parliament. It is entirely possible that Bills may be introduced and even passed into law, some provisions of which the majority of the House of Commons may regard as harmful. But so far as Administration is concerned, any action which is disapproved by the House of Commons can be challenged in a week, for every week the Govern-

ment of the day has to submit an estimate of expenditure in some Department or other to the Committee of the whole House. Any week, if a majority of the House determines that it disapproves of the administration of such a Government, it can throw out that estimate, bag and baggage. And the Government has no power under such conditions but to resign, or, if the King can find no Ministry out of the Members of the House of Commons which can obtain the voting of supplies, to demand a dissolution of Parliament.

What we shall see during this year is, of course, new Members untried in Government experience endeavouring to find their feet; and while they are finding their feet we shall experience government by the permanent officials of the great Departments so far as administration is concerned. It will be an interesting experiment in power given to an enlightened, intelligent and public-spirited bureaucracy—that British Civil Service which, in its indifference to cash reward and its whole-hearted devotion to the public good, stands unrivalled among the nations of the world. I do not see many of the Labour Ministers engaged, at least for these few months, in any permanent controversy with the heads of the Departments. I am sure if any so do they will find themselves cutting a sorry figure on the Front Bench in Parliament. And I am convinced that these officials will not only give as whole-hearted effort and service to a Labour Ministry as they have previously given to a Tory or a Liberal one, but that they will welcome the chance of thrusting forward ideas and ideals which they have found difficult to realise when they have had Chiefs of long political experience, skilled academic education, or committed to some point of policy from which they cannot recede.

I should surmise, therefore, that a situation entirely without precedent and a Parliament at which so many queer people are alarmed may develop into a condition of "tranquillity" in which men may become astonished at their old fears, and a Labour Ministry may learn experience and perform good work at home and abroad. I do not think that Mr. MacDonald and his Government have anything to fear from his extremists—not even from the Glasgow "Red Squad" whose utterances are being used to prevent people sleeping quietly at nights in the regions south of the Tweed. These are desperately in earnest; but they are also a jovial, light-hearted crew, full of a humour rather occult to the Southerner. He can appease them for at least one Session by the plea that he has come in too late to do all the great things promised. It is possible that in another Session he may be able to defy them. The statements made by even the Labour Members themselves of the extraordinary difficulty of the situation seem to me to be exaggerated. Their difficulties will only arrive later if and when,

after some considerable period of office, they have to go back to the country with all their great promises unfulfilled and a confession that they could not make efforts to fulfil them because they preferred the maintenance of office with Liberal support to a frank adherence to the promises they made. But there need be no question of this for many months or perhaps for many years to come. I can see as perhaps the most likely prophecy a Session of almost non-controversial legislation, an autumn devoted to propaganda, organisation and foreign affairs, and no substantial difficulty arising until perhaps in the Budget of 1925 some definite effort is made to use the great instrument of finance to produce such a change in fundamental institutions as may compel the Liberal Party, in very fidelity to its ideals, to declare that it cannot be made by an administration which commands less than a third of the votes of the House of Commons, and a far greater substantial minority of the people of Britain.

The difficulties, I think, are likely to come less from inside than outside the House of Commons, and these difficulties I may briefly summarise. First, there is the too extravagant hope that has been raised of immediate benefit to the classes afflicted with poverty and unemployment from the coming of a Labour Government into power. It is true that the programme itself, as issued officially, promises no great millennium of immediate and universal happiness and prosperity. But Labour candidates and Labour Members all over the country, unrestrained by their possible entry into office, have in many cases promised everything to everybody and will find some difficulty in implementing these promises. I heard a story of a North of England Labour candidate, who, in the election of 1922, solemnly announced that if he were returned butter would be sold for a shilling a pound. He was successfully elected, and immediately the housewives besieged all the shops and co-operative stores demanding that they should obtain butter at this price, as Mr. X. had promised. They failed to do so, and twelve months after Mr. X. was thrown out of the constituency and a Liberal was returned at the head of the poll. Improvement in trade, public work for the unemployed, an unexpected balance in the national finance, and the evident and inevitable advance towards a settlement in Europe, will undoubtedly assist this or any Government which will be in power within the next few months. But there will be a large number of bitter feelings saved up against those who spoke with an irresponsibility incongruous with the acceptance of the government of the country, and there will be difficulty in facing, at a future election, those to whom such promises were made.

The second difficulty is that the Central Labour movement is itself a coalition. There are greater divergencies between the Right

and the Left than there are between the Right of Labour and the most hide-bound Die-hard. Some of the more unbalanced minds are already promising Old Age Pensions to all at the age of sixty, the taking of the money from the wealthy and the giving of it to the poor, not in a Capital Levy for the repayment of war debt, but in a series of levies on capital which they invite their hearers to believe can be indefinitely repeated. For a time the exuberance of such strange economic doctrine will be repressed, and the Labour Party is so pleased at the moment with being in power, and so almost intoxicated with its remarkable triumph, that I do not imagine any immediate or serious revolt against Mr. MacDonald's policy of providing that moderate series of desirable reforms which is common to both the Liberal and the Labour programmes. But ultimately one may imagine that the split may have to come. The life and fire and almost religious zeal which has driven men and women to dedicate all their efforts and energy into the making of this new party belongs to the Socialist section. They are inspired by belief in a world transformed through the destruction of the capitalistic system and the removal of the "blood suckers" who batten in luxury from rent and interest unrighteously extorted from the effort of the working man. But these Socialists are in a hopeless minority in the Labour Party as a whole, and in the bulk are confined to the movement that centres in Glasgow and is spread over so large a part of Scotland. On the other hand there are the Trades Unionists, the overwhelming number of whom are not Socialists at all, but who vote for their own Secretaries to be placed in Parliament because they believe that these Secretaries—in coal, in cotton, in textiles, and engineering and the like—will look after their interests better than men coming from outside. If Home Rule had been given to Scotland, as one vigorous Socialist triumphantly asserted, the Red Flag might be floating over Edinburgh Castle; but in such a case there would be very little Socialism left in the Labour Party in England, which, instead of seeking ultimate ideals, would probably be settling down in a good old stolid English way to deal as it arises with each practical difficulty affecting the life of the mass of the working people.

The third difficulty is the relationship between Labour representing Trades Unionism as a Government and Labour representing Trades Unionism as an industrial organisation. The position would, indeed, appear to be frankly impossible. It will not be completely solved by the obvious fact that the Trades Union leaders who have entered the new Government will be compelled, as directors of big companies have been compelled, to resign their outside positions. Mr. Thomas, for example, could not both engineer a railway strike, which would be really an attack on the whole community—perhaps a right one, perhaps a wrong one, but

in any case a method of war—and at the same time be sitting in Parliament as a Member of the Executive to resist, or to arbitrate against, such an attack.

But the mere fact of the cutting loose for a time of the Labour Members in a Government from official posts in their Trades Unions by no means settles the matter. The Labour Government in power depends overwhelmingly for the election funds of its supporters upon Trades Union levies, and for the election of its majority upon Trades Union votes. Whether it can deliver itself from such a condition by becoming a party appealing to opinion and not to Trades Union organisation, is a matter which at the moment remains conjectural. But until it can do so, it continues in a hopeless condition. When any conflict of opinion arises between what is assumed to be the public good and what is assumed to be making for the advantage of the members of some particular trade organisation, it cannot stand aloof and arbitrate in strikes as previous Governments have more or less succeeded in doing, because its money and support are dependent upon the trade which is aggrieved. If the coal miners, for example, demanded an award which would raise their wages, still desperately low, but at the expense of an increase in the price of coal for industry and the consumer in even the poorest cottage home, a Labour Government might be faced with either the granting of demands which industry and that cottage home would fiercely resent, or with the losing of the support of their very greatest source of personal and monetary assistance.

It may be said that the difficulties can be avoided by the reference of all such disputes to impartial arbitration. I doubt if this method would be welcomed if such arbitration gave awards which, as a matter of fact, were repugnant to the mass of the Trades Union concerned, which had been encouraged to high hopes of better conditions of life and reward through the advent of a Labour Government into power. Already impartial arbitration has been refused in the case of the Union of Locomotive Drivers, although accepted by the National Union of Railwaymen, and there is a strong danger of discontent arising against the men who have only been elected and made a Labour Government by being paid by the Trades Union if, as a matter of fact, the Labour Government could do only what Liberal and Tory Governments have done in the past.

The fourth problem, which perhaps looms larger in academic discussion than it is destined to do in the actual course of affairs, is the question of the relation of the Labour Government to the House of Lords. I do not anticipate any particular excitement on the question. The House of Lords is now excluded by Statute from touching any financial Bills. It is also unable to do more than protest in any question of administration. It can only throw out

legislative proposals for the delay permitted by the Parliament Act. As Labour obviously can pass no legislative acts except by the support of the Liberals, a House of Lords which attempted to throw out such a measure would obviously be sealing its own doom. The lesson of 1909 is probably fresh in the mind of the hereditary Assembly. And with the fear of the economic possibilities of change which has made so many rich men break foolishly into hysteria, that Assembly is not likely to give the handle of a constitutional issue to two parties united and together overwhelmingly dominant in the majority in the country, and with a cry against which they have never had any power of resistance. My own impression is that, for the next few months at least, the Tory Party is down and out. It has no popular leaders. It has rejected the most defiant of its fighters. It presents in the House of Commons a dismal spectacle of forlorn ineptitude. For twenty-five years it has been trying to get back to power, and, having at last succeeded in doing so, it has thrown away its position with both hands in less than a year, and now once more treads the weary shades of Opposition; learning, in famous lines,

"how salt his food who fares
Upon another's bread, how steep his path
Who ever climbeth up another's stairs."

Its rejection of Protection, not because it ceases to believe in it, but because the country has refused to accept it, has caused it to fall into two misfortunes instead of one; for on the one hand it has destroyed all the enthusiasm and energy which the Protectionists alone possessed in the Conservative Organisation, and on the other it has not satisfied Free Traders that if, by some curious combination of circumstances, it should again come into power, it would not promote Protection again. Whatever Labour's difficulties may be, I am convinced they will not come from any revived Tory reaction acting through the hereditary Assembly.

I therefore anticipate a Parliament full of interest and energy. It is a great change, which all men should welcome, that the majority of men and women are again interested in politics and in the work of the elected Chamber; and that all talk concerning direct action or violence outside constitutional methods has died away. I think that to-day the men most strongly opposed to revolutionary tactics and most resolutely determined to uphold the supremacy and dignity of Parliament will be the members of the Labour Party which has so suddenly and unexpectedly been called to the great trust and responsibility now committed to its charge.

C. F. G. MASTERMAN.

AGRICULTURE—THE ELECTION, AND AFTER.

THE demand of the National Farmers' Union that the Government should give one pound per acre per annum ("perhaps," as an interrupter added) on all arable land has failed. Mr. Baldwin is well known not to like bounties, and took care to make it clear that the bounty would depend on the success of his policy of a general tariff, and could be paid only out of the yield of a tariff, and as his tariff proposals are now dead, the bounty dies with them.

It was one of the most remarkable features of the recent elections that (except in parts of Scotland) the bounty policy failed to win approval, even in those districts which apparently had most to gain from it. Liberals more than held their own in the East of England; they swept the agricultural districts of the West, and they won seats never won before in the toughest Tory districts of the home counties. The writer, who came within three votes of losing a seat just snatched to Liberalism at a by-election five months previously after thirty-eight years of Tory supremacy, is not, perhaps, in the best position to give the reasons for this failure, for clearly in his constituency there was not the sweeping turnover which occurred elsewhere. But certain general tendencies were clear everywhere. In the first place, the bounty policy, if argued out, could be shown to be utterly unstable. Agriculturists are realising that every party alike in the House of Commons has a majority of members who are returned not by the country districts but by the towns, and that this fact, however unwelcome to them, governs the situation. It follows from it that no agricultural policy has a chance of being enacted, let alone of obtaining the stability which will make it of real use to the industry, unless it is regarded by the urban interests as being fair. And the more the policy of the pound an acre bounty was examined the more it was seen that urban members, whatever party they belonged to, never would regard it as fair. Its universality was its first condemnation. That everyone who had an acre of arable land, whether he needed help or not, should dip into the taxpayers' pocket every year would not do at all. Cases came to mind of home farms kept as pleasant annexes to country houses, of farmers still contentedly paying three or four pounds an acre rent, of men making thousands a year by breeding pedigree stock, of men who buy farms to retire to and to play with, or because it's the easiest way nowadays of getting houses to live in, without in any way depending on farming for a livelihood. Was the bounty to be paid in all these cases? Apparently yes. And what was the nation to get in return? Was

there to be any guarantee that the arable acreage would be maintained, or that there should be no lessening of the number of men employed? Apparently no; the only *quid pro quo* was that adult male workers, if retained, should receive in cash or kind or house-room thirty shillings' worth a week. And what of the indifferent or bad farmer? Was the payment to be made only on a certificate of good cultivation? No; there would no doubt be some check to see that the acres actually under the plough corresponded with those returned, but that was all. And the most difficult point of all for the town-dweller to swallow was that inevitably, if the bounty system had been got going, the greater part of the advantage would have passed automatically to the landlord on a change of tenancy. This point was disputed, but it was really beyond controversy, for clearly no law in the world can prevent the men who want to take a vacant farm offering for it the rent which they think they can afford, and if Government money is to be pumped into that farm every year the rents offered will be higher than they would otherwise be. It was no doubt these elements of instability in any universal bounty system which had led Mr. Baldwin in one of his many moments of candour to state that agriculture could not depend on any Government giving it a bounty of public money, whatever promises they had made. Taken in conjunction with this statement, which was widely quoted throughout the election, the obvious instability of the bounty counteracted its attractiveness in the minds of many sensible farmers. And, looking beyond the moment, these men wondered what would happen if after a year or two the bounty were dropped in deference to urban criticism, but Protection had meanwhile been established. Was there not a prospect of more to pay for implements and fertilisers and a score of other things of almost daily use on the farm? The bounty policy, put forward by the National Farmers' Union for acceptance by the country generally—on its merits—as a necessity if agriculture were to be preserved from decay, had from the point of view of this class many good points; but as accepted by Mr. Baldwin, simply as the rural counterpart of a general system of industrial Protection, it had few, if any.

It was when combined with Protection, too, that the bounty failed to attract the labourer. He argued that he deserved 30s. a week anyhow, and if what was given in wages were to be taken away in higher cost of his boots and clothes and furniture, to say nothing of food taxes, how would he be better off? He knew also that his only real security for better treatment in some districts lay in the return of a full-blown Wages Board system; and the Government, in their anxiety for the farmer's vote, would not honestly square up to the Wages Boards. Without them there

was nothing to prevent men being replaced by boys or youths whose wages would not be regulated, and nothing to prevent excessive deductions from the 30s. as the value of "privileges" or of the occupation of the cottage, and no one to stop the employer from taking back from Sunday or overtime or harvest pay the extra amount which he had had to give for the regular week's work, or from saying that he could not regard Bill or Jim as really able-bodied, and they must, therefore, be content with a lower rate of pay. The bounty policy, in fact, fell between two stools. It lacked the element of stability and security which might have won the whole-hearted support of farmers, and the element of generosity which might have overcome the labourer's innate distrust of Tory offers.

This slight analysis of the failure of the bounty may contain lessons for the future, but before attempting to draw them another point must be made. Farmers—it is grief to write it—are not generally popular with other classes. They are thought to be crying out too much and not doing as much as they might to help themselves, and not to be treating their men as well as they might, and there is some *apparent* justification for this view. Though they are not doing well, they do not seem to be doing badly. They still look prosperous in the market, they drive cars and find time to shoot. They and their sons still compete briskly for vacant farms, and pay rents increased since the war by 10 or 15 per cent. With agriculture to the outward eye still apparently fairly prosperous, and other industries quite obviously not prosperous at all, it seemed an enormity to the ordinary man in the street that he should be taxed to help the farmer. And as to treatment of men, though a very large proportion of the modern type of farmers are undoubtedly doing their best, the sins of the fathers are sometimes visited on the children. A very old man said to a friend of the writer's in Cornwall, "I mind when they chaps paid their men a shilling a day and then they always said they weren't worth not more than ninepence, and they be just the same now. Do 'ee think I be going to help they?" This feeling in various forms contributed to the failure of the bounty policy.

But because a supposed remedy has failed it would be folly from every point of view not to attempt any diagnosis of the disease, and not to search for cures which may haply be more successful. And as often with disease the outward appearance of things does not tell the true story. The true current state of the agricultural industry is veiled because it is largely living on war-won capital; but this capital, where it remains, is generally being very rapidly used up. And though there is still a good demand for vacant farms, this is largely due to the desire of the

men who lost their farms in post-war sales to get back into the only industry they know, even though it means an almost certain loss to carry it on. One should not, however, speak of the industry as if it were one and the same all over the country. The grass farmers are doing fairly well, and in most mixed farming districts men ought to be able to carry on, if they will attend to the results of research and experiment, and make some adaptation of their rotations. But almost every farmer whose farm is largely arable is having a difficult time. And men on much of our market garden land and men forced to rely mainly on the sale of grain for their profit are having a very difficult time, so much so that on these lands the type of farming which can get the most out of the land is often becoming quite impossible. This position is resulting in the rapid conversion of arable to pasture, and on the light sheep-and-barley land inevitably to such pasture that almost whole villages seem certain to disappear unless something at present unexpected happens. The sowing down to grass will not be done at the bidding of the Farmers' Union, even were the Union to give the order, or as a direct consequence of the failure of the subsidy policy, but it is the inevitable way in which costs will be cut and loss reduced or avoided.

The arable area is now reduced practically to what it was before the war, and unless the process can be arrested further reductions on a considerably increasing scale must be expected. Farmers have in general with great tenacity hung on to their arable so far, and this is greatly to their credit. They have done so partly because as long as their war capital remained they could afford it, and partly because they have hated to have to turn men off, but mainly because they hoped that somehow something would turn up. If now the nation is content to accept the failure of the bounty policy, and makes no effort to put anything in its place, hopes will be extinguished, farms will be thrown up, and there will be a far more serious decline both in cultivation and in employment than we have seen as yet.

And the position of the worker is worse than that of the farmer, for he has less reserves. The standard wage is less than 30s. a week in thirty-three of the administrative counties of England and Wales, and, except in the exceptional districts in which men get big prices for accommodation or produce from summer visitors, such a wage means serious under-feeding and under-clothing for the wife and children of any man who has a family. By common consent there were serious deficiencies in these respects before the war. Yet, if a man received before the war 18s. in cash and 2s. worth of perquisites and paid 2s. rent for his house, which was a common average case in the low-wage districts, he ought, at the

present cost of living, if he now pays 3s. a week for his house, to receive 31s. in cash and 3s. 6d. in perquisites if his family is not to be actually even worse off than they were before the war. There must, however, be tens of thousands of first-rate skilled agricultural workers whose incomes now fall short even of this standard by four, five, six or more shillings a week, and there are to be further reductions at the New Year. It is a most terrible thing to realise the human suffering and the loss of national efficiency which this involves. Village teachers could tell us very sad stories of the increased health, strength, intelligence and power which came to their children during the war years, now all dying away again.

As to remedies, it is right to look at those which Lord Bledisloe with great and deserved authority has recently put forward. Apart from railway rate reduction, which would become a definite subsidy if carried much further, they are (1) to stabilise rents from any future increase (though presumably not from decrease) except on account of definite improvements carried out by the landlord, and (2) to exempt all improvements from rates and taxes. The first has the grave objection that it does not really touch the worst case, which is that of the arable farmer, who would not feel in the least helped in his present difficulties if his rent were to be stabilised to-morrow. Regarded as a general reform of our land system, it would presumably create tenant right, and no doubt give sitting yearly tenants the right of nominating their successors and make the landlord a mere charger of ground rent in good times, while leaving him, as before, to support his tenant through bad times. It is questionable whether such a system is compatible with the continuance of the triple partnership system of landlord, tenant, and labourer. It seems to lead to the extinction of landlordism at a very short remove, and if that be so it would probably be much better to extinguish it deliberately and of set purpose by a big scheme of State-aided land purchase. As to freeing agricultural improvements from rating and taxation, it also seems doubtful whether the probability of an increased assessment for rates is the operative factor in preventing improvement of land. It is no doubt grasped at as a pretext, but the real reasons are generally lack of capital or of confidence or of enterprise. If poor grass land yields £2 per acre and good grass land £8 per acre, the former being assessed at 10s. per acre and paying an actual rate of 2s., and the latter at £2 and paying 8s., it is not the fear of the extra 6s. in rates which deters the occupier from trying to gain the extra £6 by improvements. As to the broad question of applying the principle of the rating and taxation of land values to agricultural land, the question seems to require far more detailed work than has yet been given to it by the League for the Taxation of Land Values. It is very easy to say that one has merely to assess the land at its

unimproved value—and *in towns* it is perfectly easy to do it, for land changes hands at this value every day. In the country the unimproved value of land is generally pure guess-work, and valuers will not value on guess-work. They can answer the question "What would the fields composing this farm let or sell for if there were no buildings on them?" and in doing so, when they find that all the buildings on the neighbouring farms are ample, they make very little diminution from the existing rent or market value. But this, while as near as anyone ever came to an assessment of the unimproved value of agricultural land under the Lloyd George Land Valuations, is clearly in no true sense a fair valuation of the land apart from improvements. It is a very necessary step before the working of the idea can be popularised to publish a map of a rural district containing both good and bad farm property, with the existing and proposed valuation carried out by professional valuers. At present farmers are convinced that if assessments are taken off buildings they will be put on to land, including *their* land, and are consequently not in the least inclined to believe that Lord Bledisloe's proposals would help them.

It may be of more practical value at the moment to consider the agricultural reforms put forward by the Liberal and Labour Parties in their recent election manifestoes. Both point towards fundamental changes in the ownership of land, the Liberal to ownership by the actual cultivator, that of Labour towards ownership by the State, and here there is fundamental disagreement. But the important point in the practical politics of to-day is to find where they agree, and, if the well-sounding phrases common in such documents may be simplified down to concrete proposals, the two policies are found to be at one as regards the encouragement of co-operation, the provision of credit, and the setting up of Wages Boards.

Agricultural co-operation has grown steadily but slowly in this country for the last twenty years. Societies for supplying farmers' requirements practically cover the country, and there are in different districts well-established bacon factories, wool societies, dairying societies, fruit and vegetable societies, egg and poultry societies, slaughter-houses, and auction marts—all on a co-operative basis. These societies have brought considerable benefit to their members, partly directly in giving them better terms in purchase of requirements or sale of supplies, and still more indirectly in keeping down middlemen's profits. But at every aspect the movement is beset by lack of the precious element of faith, which has somehow been found present in other countries and in them has made co-operation the corner-stone of a prosperous agriculture. "Show me," says the farmer who is asked to join

a co-operative society, "that it will pay me, and I will join." "Show me," says the member of a society, "that it will pay me to give it all my trade, and I will do so." "Show me," says the society, "that it will pay us to put all our trade through a central purchasing organisation, and it shall be done." "Show us," says the National Farmers' Union, "that co-operation is really successful, and we will consider giving it our official support." Each in turn is alike oblivious of the fact that unless and until the movement has whole-hearted and universal backing, it cannot accomplish either for producer or consumer one-tenth of what it could with such backing.

The disappointing results due to half-hearted co-operation are not peculiar to this country. The movement in the United States passed through the same experience; but the hard-headed American farmer, with his superior knowledge of agricultural economics, was not long in realising where the weakness lay, and the methods of co-operative organisation were completely remodelled on the basis of organisation per commodity instead of per locality, and the institution of a binding contract between the grower and his central co-operative selling agency, and immense progress has been made on these lines. But this result was only possible because the Farm Bureau and other organisations corresponding to the National Farmers' Union in this country gave whole-hearted support to the movement.

But while here farmers wait and their Union also waits, the movement, which, as the result of strenuous spade-work in the past years, has made considerable progress, is likely to lose much of the ground already gained.

The Agricultural Organisation Society, which is the only body to which, at present, farmers can turn for advice in connection with the working of existing societies, the initiation of new ones, or the federation of societies on commodity lines, is not in these bad times sufficiently supported by affiliation fees or subscriptions to be able to carry on this work effectively. Unless it receives Government support, and that very soon, its work will have to be drastically curtailed, and great stores of very hard-won experience will be lost. Surely we may look to any new Government at the least to prevent this by keeping the movement alive, and it may be hoped to go further by working out with prominent representatives of the movement, and of the Union, according to commodities, new schemes for strengthening and federating existing societies, and for starting and helping to finance new ones—mainly on the lines of disposal and marketing of produce, as to which hardly the fringe of what might be done has yet been touched. Co-operation is by itself no panacea for the ills of agriculture, but in one way its

active development by the farmers themselves is of the very greatest importance. It has been suggested above that the farmer is not generally believed to be doing all he can do to help himself, and that this feeling played no small part in the country's recent refusal of the universal subsidy policy. Nothing would go further to convince the average urban voter, upon whom the fate of agriculture ultimately depends, that the industry is worth helping than that enterprises should be actively pushed forward on a co-operative basis to give the consumer his supplies of bread, meat, bacon, fruit, vegetables and dairy produce by a more direct and efficient service.

As to credit, the late Government made a great mistake through lack of vision ably seconded by determined opposition from the Treasury. They passed an Agricultural Credits Act, of which the first part gave some practical help to farmers, who, after purchasing their farms, were troubled with uncertainty as to their mortgages. The second part of the Act, intended to give farmers access to credit for the purchase of requirements or for improving their buildings and equipment, has been from its inception little more than window-dressing. The rate of interest which the Treasury insisted on from the Credit Societies which were to be established—5 per cent.—has made the scheme almost impossibly heavy on the hand in actual working. The Agricultural Organisation Society has been entrusted with the propaganda, and they have worked with ability and goodwill. But their experience is this: There are in every district men who pressingly need credit and could generally make good use of it; but the credit must be granted and supervised judiciously, and it would be neither safe nor desirable to form societies wholly of the men who most need their help. Nor in practice will they come forward and join a society unless the sounder and more experienced farmers will also join; and when such farmers have to be told that the rate of interest which the society must charge them, so as to cover the rate they pay to the Treasury and give a margin for expenses, is 6 per cent., and that even this rate will not allow the society to do anything towards establishing a reserve fund, they will have nothing to do with it. Surely this can be speedily put right. The rate of interest must be made at least the same as that which a bank would charge. This may have to carry with it careful control to ensure that the more generous facilities given are not abused. But why not? Agricultural Committees of County Councils cry out that they now have little to do. Both these Committees and the County Agricultural Organisers could be enlisted in the task of encouraging men who could improve the yield of their land by spending a little money on better buildings or more fertilisers or better seeds to apply for

the necessary credits, and in seeing that the credits when given were properly made use of. With a little general goodwill and hard work a great deal could be done without any considerable risk of loss in helping to raise the standard of fertility and cultivation of our less good farms.

As to Wages Boards, let it be asserted categorically that the first charge on any industry should be a living wage for the worker; that unless an industry, either naturally or with assistance, can pay such a wage it were better that it should disappear or be transformed; and that without a Wage Board system there can be no guarantee of a living wage in a great part of England, now that unfortunately the Workers' Unions have become weak. The Conciliation Committees salvaged out of the wreck of the Corn Production Act have done their best, but except in a few counties, such as, to its credit, Devon, they have not really been effective. Their working has, indeed, had a curious and regrettable effect in weakening the county branches of the Farmers' Union; for where the employer members of the Committee, nominated by the Union, have recommended a rate, it has been considered morally binding on members of the Union, and those who did not intend to observe it have either not joined the Union or have seceded from it. Under these circumstances it is small wonder that the employers' representatives have often refrained from committing themselves to any recommendation. The minimum necessary to make County Committees function properly as Wages Boards is that there should be an independent Chairman able, if one or the other side votes with him, to establish rates of wages and all the other matters necessary for a complete system of security, and that decisions so arrived at should be legally enforceable. A Central Board, now that the whole ground has been covered by the three years of work which the previous Board did, is not absolutely necessary, for their work will remain on record for the guidance of the County Committees.

It is, however, all very well to look to Wages Boards to establish a living wage; but what if there be no present and little future prospect that under the existing system of carrying on the industry the wage can be paid, while under the alternative system of grassing down, every other worker in many districts will lose his job? If, in fact, a Wages Board system is to work, must not Agriculture pay? That is the great crux of the present agricultural position. It was the writer's experience under the old Wages Board that no wage could be enforced unless the better and better disposed farmers of a county were able and willing to pay it. Can the industry now afford a living wage in most of the purely arable parts of the country? The writer is a West Countryman and does not know the Eastern Counties, where conditions are worst.^f He

believes that far more evidence of the actual facts ought to be published before public opinion can be thoroughly convinced. But if the farmers' case is justified, a living wage can be maintained only if within the next few years we are to allow a devastating transformation of great areas of our countryside. The answer to the question—"Are we to allow it?"—will depend in the minds of reasonable people first and foremost on the farmers' case being proved, and then on the cost and method of preventing the transformation. This is too big and difficult a subject to discuss thoroughly here; but it seems certain that with all round goodwill, and if the farmers, after their recent experience, will be content not to put their claims too high, a system of aid could be worked out which would at any rate be free from those elements which killed the bounty. On those farms, for instance, or in those districts in which it can be shown that land can only be cultivated as practically pure arable unless there be a very fundamental change of rural economy, and in which a man must look to the sale of grain crops off his farm for profit, and cannot walk his grain to market on four feet or drive it in in the milk can, it might be possible to make good the difference between the estimated cost of production and the average sale price of some or all of the grain crops, so long as the arable area was strictly maintained and so many men per hundred acres were employed. Certificates of good cultivation would have to be produced, and there would also have to be a limit to the maximum payable in any one year, as safeguards to the taxpayer.

The average farmer considering such a scheme would no doubt say "Thank you for nothing," and overflow with objections and difficulties. But persons who will realise two great truths: that nothing is worth doing for agriculture unless all the parties in the State will accept it as a part of their permanent policy, and that this necessitates the convincing of an urban electorate that the policy is just, will realise also that the only practical alternatives are something on these lines, and letting things rip.

At any rate—if anything is to be done at all the position calls for very early, very careful and very detailed examination. The writer is in this matter a humble backer of the idea put forward by Lord Bledisloe, by the Central Chamber of Agriculture, and by the Central Landowners' Association, that much good might come from the sittings of a Committee upon which all three parties were represented. If they were to find that nothing very much can be done without the use of State credit for land purchase and land development, in ways, and on a scale, hardly yet imagined, it would do no harm. We might be at the beginning of a new era.

FRANCIS D. ACLAND.

THE LEAGUE AND THE OLD DIPLOMACY.

WHEN the Treaties were drawn up in Paris in 1919 five years were regarded as about the length of the "transition period" which must pass before it would be possible to see what the normal post-war world would look like. The five years have passed; and, although the economic situation is still very abnormal, the strictly political changes effected by the war and the peace have had time to settle themselves and to allow of the necessary adjustments. Unless "the jingoes of pacifism," as they have been happily called, have their way and involve Europe in a new war in order to correct this or that departure from the ideal which chafes them in the existing order, the present political constellation of Europe is likely to remain fixed for many years.

In that constellation the League of Nations has a recognised place. It is admitted on all hands, by both its advocates and its detractors, that it has become a permanent part of the post-war order. Its advocates may be disappointed that it is not playing a larger rôle; its detractors may oscillate between contemptuous reflections on its weakness and angry surprise at its powers of interference; both are agreed that it has come to stay.

But what exactly is the place which the League has made for itself on the post-war political scene? Has it replaced "the old diplomacy"? Or does it supplement it? Or is it, as some would have it, merely a fifth wheel to the old diplomatic coach, a sort of international Circumlocution Office.

The question is best answered by looking back five years and comparing what the League was designed to be by its framers with what it has actually become.

The Covenant, as it emerged from the Paris Conference, was what the textual critics call a conflation; but its main source was British, and it is not claiming too much to say that its "archetype" was the "Cecil draft" first revealed to the world by Mr. Bullitt and since reprinted by Mr. Lansing and Mr. Baker. It is true that the Americans, the French, and the Italians all had their own drafts. Of the Italian draft, all that the present writer knows is that, according to its author, Signor Scialoja, most delightful and paradoxical of international lawyers, it was "more perfect" than the others; but that, since politics is not logical and perfection not a political virtue, its very excellence was considered its worst defect. The French version laid much more emphasis on the prevention of war and on the elaboration of sanctions against law-breakers than on devising a new instrument of normal international intercourse. M. Bourgeois, veteran of two Hague Conferences, naturally took his inspiration from that source. As for

Mr. Wilson's own draft, it was not very clearly conceived, and the original proposal to work the machinery of the League through a body of ambassadors attached to the new international centre reads more like a reminiscence of the old Venetian scheme of Emeric de Crucé than as a practical proposal for the present day.

The Cecil draft was itself inspired by three different sets of ideas. For the prevention of war, it looked, like M. Bourgeois, to an extension and development of the plans discussed and partly elaborated at the Hague. For the organisation of international consultation and administration in non-contentious questions, it developed a line of thought set forth by Mr. Leonard Woolf and the Fabian Society in 1916; curiously enough, it was also influenced by the very similar line of reasoning adopted by the Austrian Socialist leader, Herr Renner, in his book *The War, Marxism, and the International*. Herr Renner, in arguing for the maintenance of the Danubian Monarchy as an organic economic entity, devoted a section of his work to showing how a similar integration was being steadily built up in the wider sphere of world relations, citing the Universal Postal Union and the other organisations that had grown up since 1868.

But the chief exemplar in the minds of the framers of the "Cecil draft" was the British Imperial Conference. Here, in the regular meeting of Prime Ministers, each responsible to his own Parliament and public opinion, for the discussion of current international problems and the elaboration of a common policy, seemed a sound and practical working model to avert the dangers of a new balance of power. With pre-war Europe, with its two armed camps of Triple Alliance and Triple Entente fresh in their minds, and with the recent experience of the so-called Imperial War Cabinet to inspire them, British political architects hoped to devise a regular Conference of the chief statesmen of the Great Powers which should serve as the organ of a common policy for world affairs. Instead of two European policies, as there had been since Alliance and Entente began to confront one another in 1904, there would be a single policy, not merely European but world-wide in its scope.

It is true that such a policy, being the greatest common measure of a number of very disparate States, would have, as General Smuts remarked concerning the parallel problem of evolving a British imperial policy, to be on very broad and simple lines; but we were all used to simple policies after four years of warfare, and, if the experiment seemed hazardous, the alternative, a relapse into the "discredited game of the balance of power," seemed unthinkable.

How has this British idea worked out in practice? Has the

Council of the League (as the "Conference" of the Cecil draft was rechristened) become the organ and instrument of the policies of the Great Powers? And, if not, are we cast back upon the discredited alternative? Or have the last five years revealed to us a *via media* unperceived in 1918?

The answer to the first question is, of course, that the Council of the League has never performed, and is not now likely to perform, the task assigned to it by British thinkers in 1918. It has deviated from the draft design in two distinct respects. It is not a Conference of Prime Ministers; and it is not a Conference of Great Powers. The latter is the more important deviation, for it is organic in the Covenant. When the Cecil draft was taken to Paris, its Conference of Great Powers was changed into a "Council" consisting partly of permanent and partly of temporary members, the latter being elected from time to time by the Assembly. The four Great Powers who acceded to the Covenant were joined by four smaller States, whose numbers were increased in 1922 to six. Thus at present the smaller States are actually in a majority. Spain, Belgium, Sweden, Czecho-Slovakia, Brazil, and Uruguay sit together with the British Empire, France, Italy, and Japan. The Covenant has been drafted to permit of the accession of new permanent members to make up the full numbers of the Great Powers; but even so the complete Council of thirteen, including the United States, Germany, and Russia, would not be a suitable body for the discussion of vital issues of policy. Responsibility would be too unequally divided between the great States and the small; and minor and even accidental considerations enter too much into the choice of the non-permanent members by the Assembly.

Thus it is that, though we still hear complaints from time to time that the League Council is not allowed to "take over" from the Supreme Council or the Council of Ambassadors, it has come to be tacitly accepted that the policies of the Great Powers will not be discussed and co-ordinated at Geneva, and that their Prime Ministers and Foreign Secretaries will not make use of it for their deliberations.

Let us face the facts and admit that, as the world now is, this is not a misfortune.

It has proved more difficult than even General Smuts anticipated to evolve a common foreign policy for the seven members of the League of Nations who constitute the British Commonwealth. As to framing a common policy, even on the simplest lines, for the four members of the League who rank as Great Powers, the attempt was hardly made. The divergences of view on the Russian question in January, 1919, proved the idea to be a chimera almost

before the ink on the British draft of the Covenant was dry. World-policy cannot be unified or co-ordinated, for the simple reason that the angles of vision from which statesmen and peoples approach it are too various. To expect that the play of interest, which has constituted the substance of "high policy" in Europe for generations, would give place at the end of the war to a *régime* of altruistic co-operation was to replace political thinking by prophecy and aspiration and, unhappily also, to mistake the temper of modern democracy. Foreign Offices, as such, are concerned with national interests, "vital" and otherwise: and if their exponents met on the League Council they would soon make of it a new arena for their manoeuvrings.

Already, in the Corfu crisis and in the recent Italo-Spanish *rapprochement*, there have been suggestions that, if the opportunity arose, Italy, Spain, Brazil, and Uruguay, with their four votes would find means to assert their power against the "British bloc," consisting of Sweden and Japan, and the "French bloc," consisting of Belgium and Czecho-Slovakia. Strange language, this, of a body in which the States are supposed to sit in co-operation to conduct business in the interests of humanity; and strange it must no doubt have seemed, if they read it, to Lord Robert Cecil and M. Bourgeois, to Viscount Ishii, Mr. Branting, M. Hymans, and, above all, to M. Benes; nor have the representatives of the hypothetical new bloc, which includes that most sedulous pacificator, M. Quinones de Leon, done anything to countenance such a supposition. But imagine the wishes occasionally put forward by League advocates in this country fulfilled. Imagine the "elder statesmen" just named replaced by men in closer touch with the passions of their fellow-countrymen and holding power as a pledge for their realisation. It would not be the League which would co-ordinate and purify world-policy. It would be policy which would disintegrate the League. No, the Council can rest content in the limitation which has tacitly been placed upon its powers.

But if the old diplomatic game, which we have seen revived since the war, in Paris, Prague, and Warsaw, in Tokio and Washington, in Rome, Madrid, Athens, and Angora, in Moscow and London, is to remain outside the sphere of the League, what advantage has the League brought us? Are we not plunged back into the pre-war hurly-burly with the additional complication that the web of diplomacy now extends beyond Europe to the whole world, and that instead of two camps there are now three or four?

This is the question which clear-sighted advocates of the League have to face. It admits of a plain answer. The function of the League, in relation to the "old diplomacy," is not to be its instrument, or its successor. It is to be its *limiting factor*. It is

to mark off boundary lines for the Foreign Offices beyond which they may not go. It is to secure the formation of certain new habits or rules in the diplomatic game, which, while leaving ample scope for the play of interest and rivalry that will admittedly continue, will reduce its dangers to a minimum and bring something of a new spirit into its conduct.

So much for its part in relation to policy properly so called. In the secondary matters of the kind now remitted to it it can go further. It can provide a standing model of an international practice more advanced than that to which popular statesmanship is at present committed. Thus the economic arrangements worked out for the Upper Silesian settlement, the recommendations made to the Finnish Government to placate the Aaland Islanders, the suggestions and criticisms of the Mandates Commission—above all, the plan of Austrian rehabilitation, both in its general spirit and in its technique, will assuredly exercise an influence far beyond the localities to which they have been applied.

But to return to high policy. In what sense is the League likely to be an effective limiting factor? The answer is threefold—Open Treaties, Limitation of Armaments, Guarantees. Taken together, these three ideas constitute a single policy capable, and alone capable, of providing the necessary practical adjustment between the old diplomacy and the League.

But, in truth, they are not three ideas, but a single idea: for they are nothing but the working out of a line of thought which was already explicit, perhaps as a sort of second line of defence, in the minds of the framers of the Covenant. For Open Treaties read Article 18; for Limitation of Armaments read Articles 1 (§ 2), 8 and 9; for Guarantees read Articles 10 and 16, and, last but not least, Article 21. The obligations contained in these articles are practical obligations. They are not *vœux* of the kind to which the peoples of Europe had become accustomed from the Holy Alliance to the second Hague Conference. They have either been put into practice already or are forming the subject of technical deliberations in order to ensure their practicability. Together they constitute a series of limiting factors which should go far to rob the old diplomacy of its terrors without draining it of its vitality.

We hear much criticism of alliances. Englishmen sometimes resent the intimacy of France and Poland. Frenchmen complain of the relations between Italy and Spain, or between Britain and Portugal. Italians look with suspicion on the supposed connection between Britain and Greece. And Europeans in general are inclined to look a little critically upon the Monroe Doctrine. But what is there objectionable about an alliance? Alliances are as old as history. They are the natural expression in politics of the law, operative in private as well as in public affairs, that common

interests breed common policies. In a world so large as that of present-day world-politics subordinate groupings of interests are inevitable. In that respect the Monroe Doctrine was prophetic; and its mention in the Covenant was an act of high wisdom. Accepting alliances, then, how can we deprive them of their sting?

Firstly, by ensuring their registration and publication by the League, so that the peoples bound by them may know their obligations and the world in general may be able to measure the forces involved in them. This provision, laid down in Article 18 of the Covenant, is being thoroughly carried out. The number of treaties and technical agreements already registered exceeds 500.

Secondly, by ensuring their non-aggressive character. Article 21 speaks of understandings "for the maintenance of peace." So far as the League is concerned, the phrase is sufficient. But, from the point of view we are now considering, it would be more accurate to say "for special purposes agreed upon, in so far as they are not inconsistent with the maintenance of peace." We have no right, in the name of the League, to demand that an Italo-Spanish meeting or a British Imperial Conference shall confine its deliberations to the question of how to maintain peace. This would be to turn a live gathering of friends and associates into a bedside meeting. All we can reasonably ask—and democratic opinion even in the most exuberant countries is ready to grant it—is that such deliberations shall not lead to a breach of the peace.

Thirdly, alliances with their special obligations must not supersede the general obligation of mutual protection assumed by all members of the League towards one another. We do not ask any people to feel as cordial an affection for a fellow-member as such as for an ally. We only ask that its alliance shall involve no deviation from its pledge to secure the maintenance of the reign of law. In July, 1914, it was still possible to adhere to the traditional anarchic view of judging a breach of the peace according to the merits of the dispute. The events that followed proved that, in modern Europe, a breach of the peace cannot easily be "localised." That being so, it follows that a breach of the peace, with however good a cause behind it, becomes the cardinal offence in international politics, and it follows also that every member of the League must take action, even against an ally, to penalise it. The impression made by the Corfu incident upon the public opinion of the world shows that this conception has thoroughly sunk into the mind of the peoples—all the more so since the occupation of Corfu was not, in the strict sense, an act of war.

Fourthly, alliances with their special obligations must not be an obstacle to a general project of limitation of armaments. It would,

indeed, be paradoxical if they were: their more natural effect would be precisely to make such a limitation more practicable by relieving apprehensions and consolidating guarantees. The Washington Conference inaugurated the association between the reduction of armaments and the drawing up of a "regional pact." The Treaty of Mutual Guarantee considered by the League Assembly last September is conceived along the same lines: but since the problem involved is more complicated it had to provide for two sets of regional agreements, one inside the other, the first continent-wide in scope, the second more narrowly "regional." The essential point, however, remains the same—the association between regional pacts and reduction of armaments.

Fifthly, alliances, tending as they do to be regional, must be drawn up in an inclusive rather than an exclusive spirit. If Mexico was absent from the last Pan-American Conference, and if Hungary is not a member of the Little Entente, this is not because the Santiago gathering was directed against Mexico or the Sinaia gathering of last August against Hungary. It is simply because the time is not yet ripe for making these two regional pacts or understandings all-inclusive. But if their chief object is to provide for the proper handling of the problems of a particular region in the interests of its dwellers rather than to perpetuate ancient feuds and divisions, the obstacles to all-inclusiveness are not likely to prove insuperable.

Finally, and most important of all, regional pacts must not be allowed to interfere with the international handling of problems which are already ripe for League treatment. Regional pacts are a valuable aid to international peace and stability—but upon one condition: that they do not become "economic blocs" or "selfish economic leagues" of the kind projected by the prophets of "Berlin-Bagdad." We have seen that there are problems which are better handled locally than internationally. But there are others which are better handled *functionally*—that is from a specialised international centre—than locally. To draw the frontier between regional and functional problems would carry this discussion too far. Suffice it to say that to find the right adjustment between them is one of the most delicate problems of modern statesmanship, and one which the watchers on the Geneva conning tower must never have absent from their minds.

Thus the end of our discussion brings us back to Geneva, not as the metropolis of the world's policies, in the old sense of the word, but as an observation post and repository of safeguards for the statesmanship of to-day, and a working model, if but on a miniature scale, of the less restricted statesmanship of to-morrow.

ALFRED E. ZIMMERN.

THE FRENCH SENATORIAL ELECTIONS.

M. POINCARÉ has good reason to congratulate himself, and the group of parties which he leads, upon the result of the senatorial elections which took place on January 6th. The parties of the Left have for months past been proclaiming, as parties in opposition always do, the imminent defeat of the Government in the general elections for the Chamber of Deputies which are due to take place in April. It was reasonable to suppose that if any violent landslide of opinion has been preparing, evidence of it would be clearly apparent in the elections for the renewal of one-third of the Senate in January. On the face of it, such prophecies would now seem to be discredited. The actual number of seats which had to be filled was 116, and the results show only very small changes as between the different groups. In the aggregate it cannot be claimed by the parties of the Left that they have gained more than six seats at most. The elections were, moreover, fairly representative of the whole of France. One third of the Senate has to be renewed at the end of every three years, and the seats which became vacant in this way this year are those of the Departments which in alphabetical order range between the letters H and S. Thus, every part of France was represented in the final results. There were, for instance, three Departments in Brittany—the south-west was represented by Gironde and Haute-Garonne, among other departments; while there were also elections in departments as distant as the Nord and the Jura, or Isère and M. Poincaré's own department of the Meuse.

But how far can it be seriously claimed that this relatively very small accession of strength to the parties of the Left must be interpreted as showing that the great majority of the constituencies have not lost confidence in M. Poincaré, and in the policies which he represents? In the first place, the senatorial elections register the opinions only of a very small electorate. Votes belong only to the electoral colleges comprising (1) the Deputies, the Councillors General, and the District Councillors of each department concerned, and (2) delegates specially chosen by the municipal council of each commune in proportion to its population. Obviously, these electoral bodies are themselves representative of public opinion, and if there were any overwhelming reaction of opinion against the Government of the day, they would naturally reflect it. Nevertheless, they are always rather more conservative than the immense popular electorate which has to return the Chamber of Deputies. A more serious qualification of M. Poincaré's apparent success is the fact that the parties which are for the time being regarded as his supporters have such vague political

characteristics that they may quite possibly vote against him before many months are out. Even in the Chamber of Deputies M. Briand, who is generally supposed to have pursued a policy more or less opposed to that of M. Poincaré, was able to obtain the constant support of almost precisely the same mixed majority which is now regarded as being Conservative and militarist. In the Senate as it is now constituted there are 163 members of the *Gauche Démocratique*, 97 members of the *Union Républicaine*, 10 members of the Right, 2 Socialists, and 6 Independents, of whom three are generally classed among the Right, 2 as Radicals, and one as belonging to the *Gauche Républicaine*. Very few people indeed, even in France, would venture to define the difference between several of these parties. M. Poincaré himself has always been regarded as a strong "homme de gauche," but his present majority in the Chamber is essentially Conservative. Now that public opinion in France is undoubtedly drifting towards the Left, it is well known that M. Poincaré is doing his utmost to shift the centre of gravity of his own majority further away from the Right. It is well known that he has been engaged in a very difficult struggle against the President of the Republic, M. Millerand, over this general orientation of policy; and the really critical question of the next few months will be whether M. Poincaré can establish his own future position as leader of a composite majority which would depend more upon the Left than upon the Right.

Such a position would seem to suit M. Briand's record and political gifts much more than it would suit M. Poincaré, who, in fact, superseded M. Briand mainly through the determination of the Right that M. Briand must be got rid of. Moreover, even if M. Poincaré's personality were sufficiently acceptable, after his record in recent years, to the rank and file of the Left, it may well be questioned whether a leader who has advocated such uncompromising policies as M. Poincaré has identified with his own name could hope to retain his leadership in France as the advocate of compromises. For that is unquestionably the programme of M. Poincaré's Government in the New Year. He was installed in M. Briand's place as the man who was going to make Germany pay. He occupied the Ruhr in defiance of British protests where M. Briand had hesitated month after month. In the week before the occupation actually took place the French newspapers throughout the country were filled with glowing accounts of the riches of the Ruhr, and were provided with economic maps of the Ruhr district to illustrate these accounts, all of which came to them from the Quai d'Orsay. They even argued that the truth might at last be told, which was that British opposition to the occupation of the

Ruhr by France was really inspired by fear that the British coal-owners would no longer be able to sell their coal to France. Before long the tune was changed, and British selfishness was denounced on the very different ground that, since neither France nor Germany was now obtaining coal from the Ruhr, it was only the British coal-owners who benefited. It is unpleasant to recall now these undignified and rather hysterical attacks. But it is necessary to do so, because they are being recalled mercilessly by the propagandists of the Left, whose main case against M. Poincaré is that he has misled the people of France about the Ruhr, and, while failing to make Germany pay, has produced a highly dangerous situation which may at any time lead to war with Germany, and which has in any case made it impossible for Germany to pay any substantial reparations in the near future.

So long as the French troops remain in the Ruhr, however, M. Poincaré can count upon at least some of the support which a patriotic people will always give to its Government when it is at grips with a foreign enemy. His chief efforts for the moment are being concentrated upon the necessity of appearing conciliatory in regard to Germany. But therein lies the weakness of his position. For if conciliation is the only policy that he can now recommend to France, what conceivable benefit has been gained by the military occupation of Germany's principal industrial area, which has cost immense sums of money to France and has left Germany admittedly unable to pay? His supporters, of course, argue that the occupation of the Ruhr guarantees not only the security of future claims upon Germany's industry, but also military security against invasion. Nor can this argument be disregarded. It is true that in some industries, and particularly in the case of the mines, where wages represent a very high proportion of the total cost of production, a determined policy of *ca' canny* on the part of the German workers would result in so small an output that there would be practically no profits over and above the amount required to pay wages. But in the more highly organised industries, in which machinery plays the principal part, and where the amount paid in wages is relatively small, there is no apparent reason why the French should not successfully exploit such factories—unless they are prevented by sabotage from doing so—and refuse to pay any remuneration to the German capitalists unless they can induce their workers to produce more. That, however, is a policy which could scarcely be enforced over a period of years, and the leaders of the Left insist that the only possible way of getting reparation for France is through deliberate co-operation with the German capitalists, on a basis of sharing the profits of their industries. M. Poincaré appears to be trying to arrive at precisely some such

solution. But is it to be expected that Parliament will indefinitely give its confidence to him if he adopts a policy so different from that which he has hitherto pursued?

Meanwhile, the parties of the Left are continuing their general attack upon the Poincaré Government. Not the least effective part of their campaign is the deliberate attempt to discredit the record of the Government in repairing the devastated districts, by denouncing a whole series of scandals connected with their reconstruction. Day after day and week after week for some time past the Press of the Left has been publishing the result of its own investigations into the expenditure in the north-east. It is far from surprising that scandals have arisen during the desperate rush to get the factories and the houses rebuilt. One notable case is, I believe, due to be tried before long, which will have to explain how it was that a certain individual who claimed compensation for a factory which was apparently valued before the war at 250,000 francs succeeded in obtaining 8,000,000 francs compensation, which he has not even spent on constructing a new factory. There have been many minor instances recently in which lawyers and architects employed in the assessment of claims and in the expenditure of compensation awards have been implicated. There were scandals of the same kind in England during and after the war in connection with the Ministry of Munitions. They are inevitable when immense programmes of construction have to be carried through at top speed and regardless of cost. But in France they are just now being exploited with relentless skill by the enemies of M. Poincaré's Government. They have even adopted the practice of reporting such scandals under the general heading "The Panama of the Devastated Districts."

At the same time, M. Poincaré is very seriously embarrassed by the continued rise in the cost of living, and also by the depreciation of the franc, which is largely responsible for part of that rise. The franc is likely to fall still further if public confidence in France is shaken, by a realisation of the fact that Germany can no longer be counted upon to repay within any near time the enormous loans which have been floated in France for reconstruction. And if the franc does continue to fall, as it has always fallen hitherto when the Government has been obliged to borrow from the Bank of France, M. Poincaré stands to lose credit in two ways: first by the increasing discontent at the high cost of living, and secondly because French people resent the depreciation of the franc as a national humiliation. M. de Lasteyrie was obliged to return hurriedly to Paris from his constituency when the franc dropped suddenly to over 88 to the pound almost immediately after the elections, and there was a distinct clamour for his resignation

from the Ministry of Finance. Such problems, however, will always arise as the time for the next budget draws near, and hitherto one Finance Minister after another has had to give place to some deputy who has made a reputation for financial insight by being particularly eloquent about the imminence of national bankruptcy.

Not many weeks ago, I was astonished to hear a very important Conservative in the north-west assure me solemnly that he believed M. Caillaux would come back to power as Prime Minister within the next two years. Certainly it would be difficult to deduce any such probability from the results of the elections for the Senate. But there is little doubt that the combined effect of attacks from many quarters upon M. Poincaré will before long bring him down. Not least significant has been the bold return to the political arena of the French Radical Ministers who were condemned for treason during the war. M. Caillaux now makes speeches frequently, besides contributing articles to the various newspapers which welcome his contributions. M. Malvy, whose term of ostracism has now come to an end, has announced his intention not only of contesting his old constituency at the forthcoming elections, but also of stumping the country to vindicate the patriotism of the Radicals who were condemned during the war. What is more astonishing is that M. Malvy actually unveiled a war memorial in his own constituency not long ago, at the request of the local people. It is true that he was publicly struck in the face by a young Royalist of the *Action Française*. M. Caillaux also has suffered frequently from such personal violence at the hands of M. Daudet's supporters. But whereas twelve months ago M. Daudet and M. Maurras were among the most influential publicists who provided the driving force behind the move into the Ruhr, M. Maurras has since been put in prison for instigating outrageous violence against a number of unoffending deputies who were merely going to address a public meeting of which he disapproved. And as for M. Daudet, there is the amazing verdict of the jury in Paris which the other day acquitted, on a plea of political provocation, a disreputable girl anarchist who had been arrested red-handed after she had shot dead the General Secretary of the *Action Française*. The verdict was made all the more staggering by the fact that it was delivered in the very week when Paris was full of speculation as to whether anarchists were also responsible for shooting M. Daudet's schoolboy son. That in itself is an extraordinary sign of the times.

A year ago the *Action Française* was still so strong that Caillaux and Malvy seldom dared to venture into print. Now the Radical Ministers are posing everywhere as the only men in France who

saw that France would drift to disaster unless reconciliation with Germany was attempted. They insist boldly that their alleged treason was the only true form of patriotism, and they have lately been joined by M. Caillaux's former protagonist in the army before the war, General Sarrail, who, in his book about his own campaign in the Near East, declares that the Salonika campaign could have ended the war several years earlier if his own efforts had not been deliberately hampered for political reasons by the military chiefs who thought only of revenge upon an old enemy. All these combined attacks must inevitably produce a deadly effect. What makes them specially formidable now is the growing disposition in France to listen to them. Allowing for the greater violence of political incidents in France, M. Caillaux and M. Malvy have scarcely more ground to recover before they can be reinstated than had Mr. Ramsay MacDonald or Mr. E. D. Morel in England. Moreover, their rehabilitation will be naturally assisted by the political recovery of the war-time pacifists in England. A Labour Government in London will in itself help, in conjunction with the German Socialists, to strengthen the position of the French Radicals. What is more, its foreign policy will certainly add very seriously to M. Poincaré's embarrassments.

DENIS GWYNN.

THE GENERAL ELECTION, 1923 : THREE-PARTY PROBLEMS.

THE man in the street is awakening to the fact that all is not well with our method of electing Parliament. Two problems perturb him. First, an appeal to the country on great public policies may produce a wrong result; the considered will of the nation as expressed at the polls may be thrust aside through false representation in the House of Commons. During the election party leaders directed attention to this danger. Mr. Lloyd George said at Conway on November 30th, 1923 :—

I predict with absolute confidence that whatever the representation in Parliament may be, the vast majority of the electors of the country will vote against it. *You might have millions for Free Trade but a Protectionist majority in Parliament.* That raises the greatest constitutional issue with which this country has been faced since the days of Ship Money, that is, taxing people against their consent.

Mr. Churchill was even more emphatic at Leicester on the following day. He said :—

So absurd is the electoral system, so confused, so unfair, so baffling is it at the present time that *it may well be that, although Mr. Baldwin has a large minority of votes, nevertheless he may have a majority of members of Parliament*, and by that Parliamentary majority he may attempt to carry through the tariff in defiance of the expressed and declared opinion of the great majority of the British people. Now that, I say, raises one of the gravest Constitutional issues of our time.

For the moment we have escaped this problem, only to be confronted with another. We are in the presence of three parties nearly equal in strength. On the changes in Government necessarily involved, the public has received little guidance either from the Press, from leaders of opinion, or from teachers of the science of politics, and not only the man in the street but the average politician finds himself at a loss. The permanence of the two-party system has been almost a postulate of British democracy; hardly any consideration has been given to the situation which a steadily growing third party was bound to produce.

The general election produced a total result more closely corresponding to the votes cast by the various parties than any within recent times. But the more the figures are examined, the more apparent does it become that this unwonted accuracy is purely accidental. The following table shows for the last two elections the votes polled and the seats won by the official Conservatives in the contested borough and county seats in Great Britain :—

GENERAL ELECTIONS—1922 AND 1923.
(Contested Borough and County Seats.)

Party.	Votes.		Seats.	
	1922	1923	1922	1923
Official Conservatives ...	5,381,433	5,394,295	296	216
Other Parties ...	8,781,438	8,882,687	251	337
Totals ...	14,162,871	14,276,982	547	553

The table does not disclose all the relevant facts. There was a marked movement in public opinion. There were more Conservative candidates in 1923 than in 1922; the average number of votes per constituency was less. But after making all possible allowances, the capricious working of our electoral system, as illustrated in this table, is disconcerting. In the two elections the Conservatives polled the same proportion of the total number of votes, and yet in the contested seats, about 550 in each case, a majority of 45 became a minority of 121. In a new election the same proportion of votes might give the Conservatives a still smaller representation, or, on the other hand, it might give a larger representation than in 1922.

The uncertainty is even more apparent if we examine individual boroughs, counties, or larger areas. A most interesting turnover took place in Manchester:—

MANCHESTER—1922 AND 1923.

Party.	Votes.		Seats.	
	1922	1923	1922	1923
Conservative ...	129,457	104,027	7	1
Labour and Co-operative	76,179	79,885	3	4
Liberal ...	54,025	71,141	0	5
Totals ...	259,661	255,053	10	10

In 1922 a Conservative minority secured seven seats out of ten. In 1923 the number of seats obtained by the contesting parties is in a sort of inverse ratio to the number of votes polled for their candidates. Again the figures do not state all the facts. In neither election did Labour or Liberal contest all the seats. But that does not go far to justify the result in either year, and who knows what manner of revolution a new election would produce?

Further curiosities abound. In Birmingham the largest party secured all eleven seats, the substantial Labour and the smaller Liberal minority receiving none. In Devonshire a Liberal minority

slightly exceeding one-third won a majority of seats—obviously a very unstable situation. The figures for these two areas were:—

GENERAL ELECTION—1923.

Party	Birmingham		Devonshire (including Boroughs)	
	Votes	Seats	Votes	Seats
Conservative ...	149,980	11	133,516	4
Labour ...	76,114	0	37,793	0
Liberal ...	28,980	0	99,733	6

To take yet wider areas, the figures for Wales and Scotland repay attention. In Wales the figures were:—

WALES (Contested Boroughs and Counties).

Party	Votes	Seats
Labour ...	355,172	17
Liberal ...	314,783	9
Conservative ...	178,113	4

Labour polled 355,172 votes out of 848,068, and secured seventeen seats out of thirty. A similar good fortune befell Labour in Scotland. The figures were:—

SCOTLAND (Contested Boroughs and Counties).

Party	Votes	Seats
Labour and Co-operative ...	558,515	34
Conservative ...	468,233	14
Liberal ...	422,996	17
Independent ...	51,304	1

Labour polled 558,515 out of a total of 1,501,048, and secured thirty-four seats out of sixty-six. The Liberals polled fewer votes than the Conservatives and secured more seats. There seems to be no limit to the exaggerations and distortions of the recorded views of voters which the present electoral system can produce. There is no rational and assured relation between public opinion and its representation in Parliament.

The alternative vote, instead of improving, may further distort representation. Had it been applied in Manchester, the largest party might have been deprived of the one seat which it gained. The representation of Manchester would have been more unfair. It is difficult to estimate the effect which the alternative vote would have produced on the national result, as the political conditions varied greatly from one area of the country to another, almost from constituency to constituency. But the fact that the alternative vote does not necessarily yield a better representation than the present "first-past-the-post" system may be further illustrated by the case of Scotland. Among the grounds upon which the alternative vote has been recommended is this—that it would facilitate the co-operation of Liberals and Labour. Suppose such a spirit of co-operation had existed in Scotland, the result would have been:—

SCOTLAND (Boroughs and Counties).

Party	Votes polled	Result with Alternative Vote	Result under Present System
Labour and Co-operative	558,515	37	34
Conservative ...	468,233	9	14
Liberal ...	422,996	19	17
Independent ...	51,304	1	1

The representation is again less fair than under the present system. In either case the Labour Party obtains a majority of seats on a minority of votes.

The variation in political conditions in those constituencies to which the alternative vote would have applied creates a new problem. The figures for Spen Valley and for Cleveland were:—

GENERAL ELECTION—1923.

Spen Valley		Cleveland	
Simon, Sir J. (Lib.)	13,672	Starmer, Sir C. (Lib.)	13,326
Myers, T. (Lab.)	12,597	Goff, Sir R. Park (Con.)	11,855
Ramsden, E. (Con.)	7,390	Dennison, R. (Lab.)	9,683

Under the alternative vote Sir John Simon would depend for success upon the second choice of Unionists, Sir Charles Starmer upon the support of Labour. Every possible combination of parties can be illustrated from the election returns. In the two constituencies named the fight for supremacy between Liberal and Labour will become more intense. As Sir John Simon is a powerful advocate of Free Trade, the Conservatives may deem it their duty to remove him from Parliament at all costs. If, on the other hand, the Conservatives help him to defeat Labour, he is placed in a difficult and an uncertain position.

The success of the leaders of parties is not a party or personal question. It is one of national importance. If the ability and prestige of Parliament are to be maintained at the highest possible level, the uncertainty now attaching to the re-election of any and of every leader should be diminished. In the past the loss of a seat by a leader was a matter of less moment. Seats could then be found for the more outstanding; to-day this is almost impossible, and the introduction of the alternative vote would increase the opportunity of a destructive vote.

In the existing political situation what has proportional representation to offer? It will give a representation in close correspondence with the division of opinion disclosed by the voting figures. It will make an end to the sometimes exaggerated, sometimes topsy-turvy, results of the present system. This fact is so well known that there is no need to insist upon it. It will produce such results, not by a lucky accident, but with certainty. It removes the element of caprice from elections. Further, it gives

more security that men of outstanding ability and courage will be retained for the service of the nation. This may be illustrated from the Irish Free State Elections. Mr. Kevin O'Higgins, Minister for Home Affairs, stood for County Dublin. He attracted votes from all parts of the county and was elected at the first count, with over three times the minimum required to ensure election. The figures were:—

DUBLIN COUNTY—1923.

Total votes polled	57,363
Quota (number of votes sufficient to ensure election)	6,374
Votes polled as first preferences by Kevin O'Higgins, Minister for Home Affairs	20,821 } (over three quotas).

Mr. Kevin O'Higgins was not at the mercy of other parties. Every Irish leader is in a similar position. Each can make his contribution to the discussion of Irish affairs, courageously and fearlessly.

Amongst some who will readily admit these results of P.R. there is still a hesitation to support it, on the ground that it will stereotype the three-party system. The three-party system is regarded as necessarily an evil. Yet its value in the recent elections in the organisation of public opinion would seem to be beyond dispute. The presence of three parties alone made possible the fairly clear and definite expression of opinion on the great issues of the day, Protection, Capital Levy, European Peace, and Socialism. Consider what would have happened if the three parties had been reduced to two, Labour and Conservative. The 4,000,000 Liberal electors would have been compelled to decide whether Free Trade on the one hand, or the Capital Levy and Socialism on the other, were to them the more important of the issues. Some would have voted for the Conservatives; others for Labour; many might have abstained. Either the Labour Party or the Conservative Party would have had a majority of seats. In either case, legislation might have been at complete variance with the national wishes.

To some advocates of the alternative vote, the defeat of the representative principle, with all its consequences, seems not too high a price to pay, if—as they believe—the alternative vote will restore the essence of the two-party system. But this expectation has no foundation in fact or experience. The alternative vote has been rightly described by its supporters as “fundamentally the same thing as the second ballot.” On what ground then is its influence on parties assumed to be exactly opposite to that of the second ballot? A more reasonable anticipation is that it would have an effect precisely similar to that of the second ballot, namely, it would lead to the fractioning of parties. This process has already begun. There are now three types of Liberal members, the Liberal

returned by purely Liberal votes, the Liberal owing his election partly to Conservative votes, and the Liberal owing his election partly to Labour votes. Within each party the members elected under the alternative vote will reflect the varying conditions in which their seats were won. The groups in the French Chamber, recently depicted in the *Economist* as a "delicately graded gamut of the political scale," are the product of an extended use of the second ballot (not, as is often alleged, of proportional representation, which France has never yet tried). Why groups arise under the second ballot is clear; why they will readily arise under the alternative vote is equally clear. The new House of Commons has already provided an illustration of the birth of groups. In the historic division on the Labour amendment to the Address, some ten Liberals, rejecting the advice of their leader, Mr. Asquith, voted with the Unionist Party. At least eight of these members owe their return in part to Unionist votes. However much a member approves of the principles of his party and desires to act in accordance with them, he cannot in practice ignore the character of the combination of votes which has secured his return. The alternative vote, by revealing unmistakably the different combinations by which members of the same party are returned, emphasises and crystallises the splitting of parties.

Proportional representation does not promise any return to the forms of political organisation characteristic of the previous century—the wide franchise, the more universal education, require that we look ever forward. At the same time P.R. gives far less encouragement to the formation of groups than does the alternative vote. For there will be little variation in the conditions in which members of the same party will be returned. Conservatives will be elected by Conservative votes; Liberals by Liberal votes; Labour by Labour votes. But P.R. will not reduce three parties to two if three parties are required for the expression of the mind of the nation. It will restore the two-party system only if the people of the country choose to divide themselves into two sections taking diametrically opposed views on all political questions of importance. Whatever the conditions, proportional representation will make Parliament a trustworthy expression of the national mind. Sincerity in representation, however, does not mean the breakdown of Parliamentary government. The open forward-looking mind disclosed in Mr. MacDonald's utterance in the *New Leader* of January 4th is far more helpful than any harking back to the past. He said:—

If we adopt proportional representation we may not have one majority Government in a century (not necessarily an evil, if we frankly recognise what we are doing). I am therefore much more

interested in what that means in terms of Parliamentary organisation. . . . The first effect will be to loosen party bonds. Members, whilst holding generally to party principles and conceptions of policy, will, more frequently than they now do, use their own judgment as to how to vote. . . . The legislation that will be carried will have to be more in accordance than it now too often is with public desires outside and the course of debates inside. This will tend to curb the partisanship of parties and make them, like Cabinets, more public servants than public dictators. This can be put in another way: it will weaken organisation, but strengthen reason; it will make Ministers more the instruments of the general will than the captains of party horse. On balance, that will be good, but the working of the system will call for more intelligence from the democracy.

Proportional representation will make its contribution to the education of democracy. The present conflicting conditions of political contests bewilder the elector and raise doubts as to the sincerity of politics. In one constituency the Liberal candidate must attract Conservative support. In a neighbouring constituency Liberal and Conservative are fighting tooth and nail. Under P.R. the main parties will have candidates in all the constituencies. In each constituency a party will appeal for support on similar grounds. The nation-wide discussion under practically identical conditions will clarify issues and will assist the elector in forming his judgment on the rival policies.

After an election, for every national policy which has received the support of the majority of the people there will be a corresponding majority in Parliament. In order to give effect to the national decisions there may and probably will be required a co-operation of parties in respect of proposals which were common to their election programmes. This would not involve a coalition covering the whole field of politics either in the House or in the constituencies. It would give confidence if the negotiations relating to the character and extent of the co-operation were frank and open. The arrangements made should be announced in a public declaration of the policies to be pursued by the Government, whether this be of one party or more. Further modifications in Parliamentary conventions and procedure would probably follow. The problem of government, where no party has a clear majority, presents no insuperable difficulties. In this connection Mr. MacDonald's words are of special value. He has indicated his belief that under proportional representation we can pass to new conditions of government, not only without breakdown of the Parliamentary machine, but even with a promise of its greater efficiency.

JOHN H. HUMPHREYS.

A CENTURY AGO.

OVER a hundred years ago the Chief Clerk of Portsmouth Dockyard was Mr. Charles Wentworth Dilke, the great-great grandfather of the present writer. He was the first of five consecutive members of his family to bear the same combination of names, the others being Mr. Dilke, the critic, Sir C. Wentworth Dilke, Sir Charles W. Dilke, M.P., and his son. The Chief Clerk never achieved any fame and would have been completely lost in oblivion but for the fact that he was a great letter writer—less remarkable perhaps then than now—that he kept very careful accounts, and that he was the father of a celebrated son. The elder of his two sons has been made known to the world by *The Papers of a Critic*, compiled by his grandson, Sir Charles. Mr. Dilke, the critic, the friend of Keats, the owner and editor of the *Athenæum*, is well known in the literary world, but his father, the Chief Clerk, only lives in these letters and account books which have survived among the family records. He reached the age of eighty-four, and towards the end of his life was almost stone deaf, and had recourse to letter writing for amusement and distraction. His letters are full of quaint though rather ponderous humour, which possibly found its only outlet in his pen, for, as he pathetically writes, "I could have nothing to say, for no one says anything to me." He was a collector of engravings and himself an etcher, a maker of intaglios, a chess player, and a student of heraldry—a taste he bequeathed to other members of his family. He had two sons, Charles Wentworth, and William, who became a soldier and fought in the Peninsula War, also one daughter, Letitia, who married a man with the euphonious name of Snook, a miller and corn merchant. He and his brother afterwards made their fortune by making biscuits for the army during the Crimean War.

Mr. Dilke kept his accounts in a beautiful copperplate handwriting, a model of neatness, with even the red line ruling done by hand, probably by his own. The entries which survive begin in 1801 and continue until 1814, with the exception of the year 1807, which is missing. The first item in the list is always *Rent* £60, which never varies, after which taxes are enumerated, *House, Window, Land, Hair Powder, and Dog*, and, as is the usual experience of taxpayers in time of war, these rise steadily from £19 5s. od. until they reach £30 3s. 10d. Then follow the rates: *Watch, Poor, Light, Paving, and Water*, which begin and remain at £13 10s. od. until 1808, when he enters *Poor Rate* only as £7 15s. od. rising to £14 2s. 6d. in 1814, and then *Water Rate* is entered separately as £2. In 1790 *Income Tax*

was first introduced in England and was 10 per cent. on all incomes over £200. In 1801 Mr. Dilke first enters *Income Tax* £2 10s. 8d., but by 1806 it reaches £79 19s. 1½d., after which he enters *Property Tax* £87 13s. 9d. and this sum remains fairly regular. This *Income Tax* was exceedingly unpopular, and the agitation against it, which was voiced by Henry Brougham, resulted in its repeal in 1815, only to be revived in 1842 by Peel and never abandoned. The only extra public demand seems to have been in 1804 when £1 is paid as *Rate for Cleaning Shores*, probably a necessary proceeding in a town like Portsmouth.

Pew in Church is first £2 15s. 9d., but later this entry becomes *Pew in Percy Chapel* and rises to £12 2s.; so either Percy Chapel was a more fashionable place of worship or the requirements of the family were greater. On the other hand, his *Easter Offering* of 2s. 6d. never changes, except one year when it is entirely omitted.

Coals vary from £13 10s. to £20 6s. 6d. a year, so presumably prices were considerably lower than to-day. *Candles and Soap* cost him anything from £4 18s. to £11 2s., and *Servants' Wages* £17 to £20—a small sum considering that on *Wine and Spirits* he spent a similar amount, and sometimes more. Thanks no doubt to his wife, the *Housekeeping* expenses maintain a commendable regularity of about £250 a year, so that, although she was known in the family as a great beauty—her maiden name was Sarah Blewford—she could evidently combine good looks and domestic virtues.

Schooling costs £40 to £50 a year until 1812, when it ceases, and the last four years this had been for *William's Schooling* only. Charles was already launched in life and living in London, and at the age of nineteen had married the daughter of a Yorkshire farmer younger than himself. Letitia's schooling is never mentioned, so probably home teaching was then considered sufficient for a daughter. *Wife and Daughter Cloaths* and then *Self and son Cloaths* are each about £40 a year, but when, in 1804, Letitia married, at the age of twenty, we have *Letitia's Wedding Cloaths* £59 4s.

Of Letitia herself we know little, for there are no letters to or from her, but she went with her father and mother to Bognor in 1824 after twenty years of married life, and he writes from there to Charles:

"Your sister subscribes to the library, and brings home a pack of Love nonsense. 'She is fat, fair, and forty,' can taulk, eat, walk, sleep, and looks uncommonly fat and well, but is carried up and down stairs, so that I cannot inform you what ails her for to appearance nothing can promise more health and cheerfulness. . . . I have made up my mind to be in London for three days if your

Mother will let me, and myself well enough for so long a journey, and money left to pay the carriage. Every body knows we are nobody at home, but here we have several dashing equipages at our door, so the Milkman and the Butcher pay us visitants the compliment of an extra price, and four guineas a week for lodging. . . . I perfectly agree with you in the description of a Watering place, and detest living in view of the Sea, because it recalls to my mind the fatigues, dangers, anxieties, troubles and sicknesses I constantly experienced at Portsmouth."

The old gentleman himself evidently wiled away the time at the sea-side, which he detested, by reading the latest novels, for Scott had only that year published *St. Ronan's Well*, from which he quotes "Fat, fair and forty." Two years after Letty's "Wedding Cloaths" were bought there is a mysterious entry, *To prevent Publishy. Bands* £1 18s. 6d., but whether this was a special licence, or whether some member of the family broke off an engagement, is not clear. The health of the family during this period appears to have been good, for under the heading of *Physic* many years pass with no entry, until in 1805 there must have been a somewhat serious illness, for the amount is then £12 16s.; in 1812 it is £11 14s. 6d. but as this seems to have included doctors, for whom there is no separate heading, it is not a very large amount. *Christmas Gifts* did not play much part in the family life, for they only vary from 15s. 9d. to £1 1s. 6d., while under another heading of *Presents* the entries rise as high as £18 6s. Living by the sea, *Fish as Presents* seems to have been a favourite attention to his friends, on which he spent as much as £7 17s. in the year. An annual charge in the accounts is *Dinner Lord Melville's Birthday* £1 1s. up to the year 1804, when it ceases and was never renewed. The reason for this is not far to seek, for Henry Dundas, Lord Melville, was in turn Treasurer of the Navy, Secretary for War, and First Lord of the Admiralty in Pitt's Cabinet, and his administration was largely responsible for the inefficient conduct of the war and for the mutinies at Spithead and the Nore. It was of Melville that Sir John Fortescue wrote "principle with him was a kind of water ballast to be pumped in or out as required." As Chief Clerk at Portsmouth, Mr. Dilke would be expected to attend these dinners as long as they were held.

Music does not seem to have interested the Dilke household much, and perhaps Mr. Dilke's deafness accounted for this, but in 1802 a *Forte a Piano and Music* were bought for £18; nothing more was ever paid for music and there is no suggestion of music lessons for any of the children. *Books and Prints* were the old man's favourite hobby on which every year he spent £10 to £14, as well as £1 8s. on the *Gentleman's Magazine*. *Mr. Bent* for

Repairs was not a serious matter until 1806, when repairs amount to £95 19s. 4d., so he must then either have enlarged his house or have completely renovated it. He evidently helped his sons considerably in their early life, for Charles Rent, etc., costs him sums varying from £34 to £117, and in 1812 he pays him £316 15s. 6d., and in that same year though William's *Schooling* ceases his *Rent* begins, as well as that of Charles, and amounts to £142 os. 2d. *Travelling and Amusements* for the whole family average about £10, a modest sum for which they cannot often have gone far afield, and he spends about the same amount on *Household Linen, Plate and Furniture*.

Of Mr. Dilke's income during these years, 1801 to 1814, there is no indication, but his expenditure rose from £550 7s. 7d. to £1,110 17s. 10d., and for the years 1787 to 1797, during the whole of which period he was Chief Clerk to the Dockyard, he has left a careful statement of income. His *Salary* was £184 18s. 0d. rising in 1790 to £212 12s. *O.P. on ships*, which probably represents Official Payments on ships, brings him in anything from £34 12s. 8d. to £203 15s. a year, this sum apparently becoming larger in time of war, and *O.P. on Yards* contributes from £58 9s. 3d. to £63 11s. 0d.; besides these there is also an entry of *Commission*, but it is not stated on what he received commission. He had a private fortune, the interest on which mounts from £11 7s. 6d. in 1789 to £910 11s. 2d. in 1797, so his savings must have been considerable even though he notes that he *Lost by Loyalty Loan* £341. The Napoleonic wars evidently cost people dear. His investments were a number of Mortgages, 3 per cent., 4 per cent., and 5 per cent. Loans, and Shares in Northam Bridge, and his Bankers were Robert Curtis & Co., 15, Lombard Street.

Some of his later letters give an amusing insight into his views on public events. In his mild sarcasm as to the necessity for wearing mourning for Princess Charlotte, and in his remarks on her character may perhaps be seen the beginning of the Republican spirit on which his two great-grandsons, Sir Charles Dilke and his brother Ashton, prided themselves. Miss Tuckwell writes in Sir Charles's *Life*, that Queen Victoria, when told that she had stroked the future Radical's head as a small boy at the time of the Great Exhibition, remarked that she supposed she had "stroked the hair the wrong way."

"Chichester, 18th Nov. 1817.

"There are two setts of people who never answer their correspondents in a reasonable time, the busy and the very idle, but that you may not be at a loss under which genus to class your present correspondent, I must acquaint you my time has been wholly taken up in endeavouring to decide the following important circumstance, whether it would be requisite to wear a crape hatband on the late

most melancholy occasion [the death of Princess Charlotte] or to go without, for the wearing, your Mother quoted the example of Dendy the *Banker*, Gruggen the *Doctor*, and all the people of the first fashion at Chichester, against it I alledged the following very strong reasons, it would cost more money at this time, as trade always take advantage of their customers necessities, and after it is purchas'd at an enormous price, in a month, it would be utterly useless, must accumulate dust, so require frequent brushing. Now do not think the smallness of the object should less on the time of debate or perplex us the less on deciding, on the contrary, that composed the most intricate part to adjust. By the same rule as it requires more nice investigation to discover (what is not the less true) that a Louse (beg pardon) is one of the fiercest animals in nature, more so, than a Lion, so was this a nicer point to determine and employed much longer time and a more accurate disquisition than it would to settle whether I should wear black breeches or go without any. Here again does my anxiety to illustrate, and abstract reasoning hurry me in to transgress the bounds of elegant epistolary correspondence, that should always be attended to when I am writing to a Lady, of manners the most elegant and of thoughts the most pure. But to resume the subject I will elucidate the intricate question by calling to your mind that the cause of the variation of the needle is not yet ascertained, nor the perpetual motion yet discovered tho' they have employed the heads and the pens of the wisest men for ages, so is this important question yet settled, therefore you must allow I am fully justify'd in asserting I have not time to say more than that I remain your loving Father."

* * *

" P.S.

" The death of Princess Charlotte is a public loss, as it makes, as it now stands, the succession to the crown subject to frequent changes, by a large number of claimants of regular decreasing ages, and may give rise to party's and schemes for altering the present regular rotation, which we are at this time not aware off. All tongues are in motion in praise of Charlotte, many amiable qualifications and sweetness of temper, but such a character has been general with the Heirs of a Crown, it was with the Son of James 1st, Edward the 6th (I should have named him first,) Prince George of Denmark, etc., etc. The Princess was a girl of spirit, some of her actions gave proof, which at a more mature age, are termed obstinacy, perverseness and error."

The height to which party feeling rose in 1820 over the trial of Queen Caroline is well described in a long letter written to his daughter-in-law, Maria Dover Dilke. He was very devoted to her and writes as often to her as to his son Charles, but the letters, which are folded and sealed so that the written address comes in the middle of the letter, as envelopes had not then come into use, are always addressed to C. W. Dilke, Esq., Navy Pay Office, London, with her initials in the corner, to show for whom they are intended.

" Chichester, Nov. 18th, 1820.

" My dear Maria,—I must inform you how high party runs with us, between the Radicals & high Church. This for a long time like

most females quarels consisted only in words, but the Queen's acquittal afforded an opportunity for action, but first I must tell you St. Pancras, (our parish) claims to be a corporation in itself. About three weeks ago, or less a meeting was held in the Church at which an address was voted to the Queen by more then the Parish contains sign'd and presented to the Queen by a deputation. A gracious answer was received on which a resolution was taken to collect from house to house a shilling to purchase the queen a service of plate. Mr. Wooldridge ask'd your Mother to subscribe. She is warm in any cause she espouses, answer'd she would not give a penny, but you may ask my husband. No! you won't let him! Thus the fire was smothering till the Bill was thrown out, when last saturday Biffin hoisted the Ensiin and the Cryer was to say there would be an Elumination on Monday, but in the afternoon the Cryer went round to say ' he was not to say there would be an elumination on monday. On the Sunday the Rev. Mr. Payne ask'd a Radical who dared to use the Church for a factious meeting, when I suppose the retort was not quite polite. Mr. Payne's father, a clergyman, Ah! I congratulate you now on having a W—for your Queen. When service began a number of Unitarians went into the galery and when he omitted the Queen in the service they came down with as much noise with their shoes as they could make, so much as to bring out many Women through fear who return'd into Church on finding ye cause was only shouting the Queen. On Saturday night handbills were distributed saying the Cross could not be got ready by monday but would be illuminated on tuesday with a long list of subscribers and soliciting further subscriptions. The same night and Monday boys went round collecting pence for a bonfire, and for what reason I leave you to judge, my Dame gave and on Monday evening we had a flaming bonfire."

Mr. Dilke died in 1826, and was buried in the cloisters of Chichester Cathedral.

SYBIL WENTWORTH ROSKILL.

THE NEW ADULT EDUCATIONAL MOVEMENT IN GERMANY.

PRESENT-DAY Germany began with the Revolution. Much has been written at home and abroad of the German upheaval of 1918 being merely on the surface. Though it had succeeded in altering the structure of the State, it certainly did not instil enthusiasm. But if revolution means a turn of the tide, a turn that implies a struggle with one's own past, then indeed we may say that a revolution in the deepest sense of the word is going forward in Germany. Nor is this essentially a political process, but rather the actual experiencing, more consciously there than elsewhere, of the crisis in European civilisation and society. For this there are internal as well as external reasons. The rapid development economically and politically after 1870, with its wealth, its efficiency, the concentration of all its powers on matters other than those of the spirit, coupled with decay in intellectual and artistic culture, had, at the close of one generation, engendered a reaction. The attack on the spirit of the age had already commenced at the beginning of the present century, and had undermined, in intellectual Germany at any rate, the belief in an age characterised by the Americanisation of the outer and the disintegration of the inner life, even before the collapse had betrayed its hollowness. It is evident that the disease of the time was not a specifically German but a European one, and only the catastrophic pace of the rise and fall of Germany brought out this general development so much more clearly there than elsewhere.

These general facts should be borne in mind before the change which recent years have brought about in adult education in Germany can be understood. For, as is stated in the constitution of the newly founded Adult Educational Association, "Free adult education is the expression of a spiritual movement for the preservation and revival of German culture, and not merely a practical undertaking for the spreading of educational values." This expresses the point at issue: that we have to deal with a development of German thought, a process closely connected with the spiritual crisis of our time. The programme expresses the will to spiritual regeneration, the conscious refusal to recognise accepted values.

So-called free adult education, as we understand it to-day, had been known since about the middle of the last century. The necessity for the use of artificial means for bringing adults into contact with culture was keenly felt, as the access to things of the spirit became more complicated and difficult for the man in the

street on account of the tremendous accumulation of subject matter, and the increasing tendency to specialisation in study. This feeling was strengthened by the loosening of tradition in family life and in society, which made it difficult to hand down a cultural inheritance from one generation to another. There was, however, in adult education no questioning of the value of spiritual possessions. On the contrary, the opinion was prevalent that the mere dissemination of knowledge was a service *per se* to the people and an asset to culture in general.

It was the time when popular lectures, concerts, and picture shows were the fashion, a time when cheap knowledge was offered to the people wholesale without much reflection as to methods or results. A characteristic institution of this period, a creation of this age of enlightenment, were the University Extension Lectures, at which University professors offered a diluted draught of knowledge, without descending from their pedestals to discover whether the hearers had understood their language or whether their attitude towards the problems in hand carried any weight. A naïve faith in the innate power of truth, goodness and beauty characterised this intellectual epoch. Apart from University Extension this spirit also expressed itself in popular Educational Unions, most of which were (and still are) united under the name of *Gesellschaft für Volksbildung* (Society for Popular Education), which is probably the largest organised body for popular Education in the world. A typical example of their methods of work is the *Bunte Abend*, the recreational evening, which comprises the performance of humorous and serious songs and recitations as well as an instructive lecture, often with lantern slides, to make it more attractive for an audience which wanted entertainment and satisfaction of curiosity rather than real insight into a special branch of knowledge. There are large Institutes in which this spirit is still predominant, such as the Humboldt Akademie in Berlin, where one can go to hear single lectures or a whole course by professional popular lecturers on all subjects from Esperanto and cosmetics to Kant. At the same time public libraries provided the reader indiscriminately with any book demanded, from a novel of doubtful value to a work of science, and determined their success by the quantity of books in demand. Every expert knows that all this finds its exact parallel in England.

It is in the nature of this work, which rightly refused to control the students by examinations, that its results or failure do not easily become visible, and that one may go on with it almost indefinitely without becoming conscious of the very doubtful service one is doing to the people by encouraging their false ambition to be "educated," i.e., to feel able to converse on any

and every subject in heaven and earth. It was obviously impossible for this work to transform itself. An entirely new mental attitude towards traditional culture could alone be the primary step to the abolition of this educational optimism.

It is characteristic that those circles which had always adopted a critical attitude towards prevailing culture, namely, the working class, should first recognise that educational activity of this kind was worthless. Their healthy instinct had made them answer all attempts at this bestowal of happiness on the part of popular educationists by unexpected passive resistance. The University Extension in England did not in general succeed in reaching the working class,* and the parallel experiments in Germany, on the whole, remained a middle-class affair, all the more as their tendency was anti-social, especially in the case of the above-mentioned Society for Popular Education. For England it is of peculiar interest to note that this is an instance of international development. It was a working-class movement that, through the W.E.A., sought new ways of adult education, which it discovered half a generation ago in the Tutorial Class Movement. In Germany the forces of the working classes were far more deeply involved in the political struggle. Working class education was practically synonymous with Socialist political training, and, until the Revolution, the working class did not exert any notable influence on the education of the people. It was nevertheless no mere accident that a Socialist, Walter Hofmann, the director of the Leipzig Municipal People's Library, set on foot a reform of public libraries years before the war, and about the same time as the beginning of the Tutorial Class Movement, and by this he led the way, though on a small scale, to a new epoch in adult education.

Hofmann was the first to break with the accepted opinion that something is gained by the mere distribution of books, even of good books, and he emphasised the fact that the all-important thing was for the right book to get into the right hand at the right moment. The recent *enquête* circulated by the Committee of the German Union for Popular Education (*Ausschluss der deutschen Volksbildungsvereinigungen*), now succeeded by the Adult Educational Body,† forms an emphatic illustration of the fact that there are no "best books" which every German should have read. This insight is but the result of years of work undertaken by Hofmann and his disciples. It is the first practical result of the opinion that a critical sifting of the accepted cultural inheritance

* cf. Picht, *Toynbee Hall and the English Settlement Movement*, Excursion I.: The University Extension Movement. (G. Bell & Sons: London. 1914.)
† cf. *Volksbildungsarchiv*. Vol. IX., number 10-12. (Oct.-Dec., 1922.)

should be the first step to any kind of popular education. Here for the first time systematic research work was undertaken with regard to the object of popular education—in this case, the reader—in order to determine the educational work according to his needs.

A general "movement" as an expression of this new spirit did not, however, commence till 1918, nor was it led by the masses. It was led by the educated. The time was a favourable one for adult education. Military collapse, economic decay, both made a permanency by the Treaty of Versailles, led to the centering of all hopes for reconstruction on spiritual regeneration. On the other hand, both the working class and the educated portion of the populace recognised that it would spell peril to public life if the workers were not to become equipped through a fuller education for the rights that had so suddenly fallen upon them from the skies through the Revolution. The result was a tremendous increase of adult educational activity. This side of the question, however, is not under consideration here. What I wish to emphasise is that now, for the first time and simultaneously with this adult educational vogue—we might well say, in spite of it, mostly distinguished as it was from earlier efforts merely by greater numbers—a spiritual movement was set on foot that undertook to reform adult education and that contributed more and more to its actual transformation. Primarily it was characterised by a change in the attitude towards traditional values. Hofmann describes the new attitude* in the following way:—

"To me the work of the true education of the people in our day . . . is not possible without a faith in culture. We believe that as a people of culture we are not at an end . . . that a new day is yet in store for us . . . but old and new work in the education of the people would differ in nothing if faith in culture were synonymous with cultural optimism, with a belief in a continuous growth of culture. It is exactly in this that opinions differ. It is quite possible to associate faith in the continuity of culture with belief in the possibility of false developments and in the necessity of a return to older forms of culture. This brings us to the second factor which so decisively determines our new work in the education of the people: scepticism with regard to culture and yet faith in it. Scepticism towards the bulk of what has been offered us in the name of culture since about the middle of the nineteenth century. We do not believe that the forces actuating our spiritual and intellectual life during the later generations of glaring civilisation were forces of real culture. But our scepticism, as educators of the people, runs in a different line as well. Even if we were, after a thorough sifting of values, to draw up a new inventory of the assets of culture, we should yet discover that much of what originally was a strong expression of true culture no longer

* W. Hofmann: *Der Weg zum Schrifttum*. Gedanke, Gestalt, Verwirklichung der deutschen Volkstümlichen Bücherel. p. 78. Publishers: Arbeitsgemeinschaft, Berlin. 1922.

appeals to those men and women who go to our classes as seekers or filled with a desire to learn "

—most especially does it not appeal to the working class. The point therefore is to discover a form of popular education that will adapt itself to the actual needs of those seeking it. In the people's libraries, it is Hofmann's manner of book distribution, into which we cannot enter here. In instruction, it is the *Arbeitsgemeinschaft* (Tutorial Class). This *Arbeitsgemeinschaft** has become the distinctive term of the new movement.

In the first instance the word stands for a new form of instruction. Though the "father" of the English University Extension movement, Professor James Stuart, had already recognised the necessity for supplementing his popular lectures by discussions, the popular University courses and similar activities in Germany were hardly different from academic lectures in form. And only now have the pedagogical consequences been realised of the fact that in the education of the people we have to do with students with fundamentally different attitudes from those of the Universities. They are generally lacking in ability for independent acquisition of subject matter presented in a lecture; they are, moreover, as a rule, not in a position to follow a lecture on some abstract subject, much less get the essence of it down on paper. On the other hand, the tutor lacks a more intimate acquaintanceship with the needs of his students, their manner of questioning and their way of thinking, so different from his own.

A form of instruction adequate to overcome these difficulties must compel the tutor to enter into a spiritual give-and-take with his students. The one-sided stream of eloquence on the part of the tutor must alternate with some manner of co-operation between students and tutor. This does not necessitate a dogmatic prohibition of lecturing. In these classes the form of instruction will vary according to requirements; the tutor may begin with a dissertation, and a discussion may follow. A round-table debate on some subject may be more in keeping, or a discussion may begin in the class while the tutor may gather the threads together at the end.

This alteration in the outer form of the lectures has a deeper meaning. The tutor's descent from his platform, his mingling with his students, bears witness to his renunciation of the authoritative position which had long since lost its inward truth. The essential justification of authority is its recognition. And even when the people were sufficiently educated to give due

* *Arbeitsgemeinschaft* = work in common, as a form of study also to be translated by "Tutorial Class." The Monthly Journal of the movement is called *Die Arbeitsgemeinschaft*, edited by Dr. W. Picht. (Quelle & Meyer, Leipzig. Fourth vol. 1922-23.)

respect to the expert capacity of the tutor, they were far from accepting his opinions as absolute truth, all the more as the working man had become accustomed to consider the language of the Universities as that of capitalism, which was partly due to the manner in which economic and political science was handled. The men of science, for their part, could not assert their right to authority while they themselves were growing increasingly sceptical with regard to the possibilities of their own work and the value of its results.* Science was, therefore, badly equipped for the needs of the man in the street, for expounding to him the content of life and for being his spiritual leader. For what distinguishes the visitor to Institutions of Public Education from the Tutorial Class student is that the former wanted diversion, while the latter wants a satisfying of his spiritual needs, and is ready to cope with the deepest probings of life. And it is remarkable that the tutor is compelled to desist from his customary academic questioning, and has to enter into the questions put to him by the students who have no specialised scientific interest, but who are out with naïve directness for the essential.

The home of the Tutorial Class (*Arbeitsgemeinschaft*) is the *Volkshochschule* (People's University). A fundamental difference between the English Tutorial Class movement and the parallel German movement is that in England the classes are organised according to demand, all over the country, from one central office, while in Germany it is a local Institution, that of the People's University, that arranges the classes. This is due to the fact that the Tutorial Class movement in England is supported by an organised working-class movement, the Workers' Educational Association, to which there is no parallel in Germany. There the initiative was taken by the intellectual leaders, who, since the revolution, have met with much greater interest among the workers and with more willing support from the State, and from municipalities and workers' organisations.

This led to the opening of so-called *Volkshochschulen* (People's University Institutes) for evening classes, in all larger and smaller towns and even villages in Germany. The value of these was naturally very different. There is, in fact, no minimum standard guarantee in the work of the German movement as in the English Tutorial Class movement, owing to the lack of a central organisation. In many cases the new endeavours are in no way distinguishable from the ordinary former routine of free popular education, unless it be the tragic-comic aspiration to renew German

* This resigned attitude of the scientist has found powerful expression in the famous speech made by Max Weber, Germany's great political economist, on "Science as a Profession."

culture through a few popular lectures. It was obvious that this vogue could not last, and that a reaction must set in; this, hastened by increasing financial difficulties, has already begun, and is a not unwelcome development in the progress of the movement. Those *Volkshochschulen*, however, which can be taken seriously, are becoming more and more representative of the spiritual movement described above, and they have in most cases the difficult task, not so much of discovering a form as of persuading others working enthusiastically, but with too vague an aim, to join forces with them.

The financial support of these *Volkshochschulen* is mostly allocated to the municipalities, which are, however, not entitled to interfere in any way with the teaching. On the executive bodies are representatives of the tutors and students of the *Volkshochschule*, of the workers, sometimes of the churches, schools, university and adult educationists. It is considered essential that the students should take an active part in the administration. The *Volkshochschule* is independent of party or creed and open to every adult over eighteen years of age. But this impartiality of the Institution as such does not mean that, as was formerly the custom, the teacher should not be allowed to express his personal convictions. On the contrary. Whilst he is expected to refrain from proselytising, to have sufficient scientific training to see and show the other side of the medal, and to give his hearers the mental equipment for the deepening of their own convictions rather than to convert them, it is realised that the worker will never be impressed by a teacher with too much academic reserve. He wants to feel that his teacher is a man of flesh and blood, of faith and goodwill, with whom he can take up a battle, man to man. It is, of course, difficult to find personalities who combine the almost contrasting qualifications of the academic mind and the fighting spirit. The movement will have to produce this entirely new type.

Whilst, as we have seen, the English Tutorial Class Movement is more elastic and has better guarantees as to quality than the municipal *Volkshochschule*, the latter has the advantages of a comprehensive programme, of continuity of study and of local colour. A fairly complete *Volkshochschule* affords an opportunity for the study of the most important branches of knowledge, and not only will the course of study on one subject be systematically developed from term to term, but it is possible to combine courses in different branches of study, to enable the student, e.g., to get an idea of the history, philosophy, literature and art of a certain epoch. As tutors hardly ever move from one place to another, they become fully acquainted with local conditions and have every opportunity for personal contact with their

students—both being essential for the achievement of our aim; for we do not wish to impart abstract knowledge, but to assist the students to an understanding of their particular sphere of life. The study of economics, politics, and philosophy is to the fore, while science and art are generally more in the background where the influence of the industrial working class is stronger. All the good *Volkshochschulen* have secured its interest in the work, the proportion of working-class hearers varying from 30 to 70 per cent.

Besides these evening schools, the People's High Schools, so widespread in Denmark, play—for pecuniary reasons—a very small part in Germany to-day. There are several in Schleswig-Holstein (Mohrkirch-Osterholz, Rendsburg, Leck), a Socialist People's College at Tinz, near Gera, a neutral one, but attended in the main by young Socialists and Communists, at Dreissigacker near Meiningen, besides a few less important ones in East Prussia and Württemberg. With the exception of Dreissigacker, they are, in contradistinction to the *Volkshochschulen*, experiments in corporate life, thus affording a possibility for the development of character which is denied to the Tutorial Classes.

The attitude of the State towards the movement differs greatly in the different parts of Germany, educational policy being in the hands not of the Reich, but of the States. Thus, in Baden and Bavaria, the State has kept entirely in the background. In Württemberg, the different branches of adult education are thoroughly organised in the Society for the Promotion of Popular Education (*Verein zur Förderung der Volksbildung*), which is working in close connection with the Board of Education, the initiative resting entirely with the Society. In Prussia, certain recommendations for *Volkshochschulen* were published by the Board in May, 1919, and in the autumn of the same year a special department for adult education was organised. This department leaves the financing of the *Volkshochschulen* to the municipalities or (in certain cases) to free societies, and in no case limits the freedom of action of the Schools. Its influence is restricted to suggestions as to forms of work and methods. The Schools can ask for advice from it; it organises meetings in the provinces where the teachers of the local People's Universities assemble—as far as possible in some beautiful, remote spot—and devote a fortnight to a discussion of the problems of their work. It has further caused advisory bodies (*Volkshochschulstellen*) to be formed at all Prussian Universities and Technical High Schools as a link between the People's Universities and the academic world. Certain Schools receive a small stipend, but, owing to the financial difficulties of the State, only in very exceptional cases; it would be highly desirable that in case of need the State should be able to

help these institutions, especially as financial difficulties are threatening the movement with a catastrophe that may annihilate most of its hopeful beginnings.

Defeated in battle, deprived of political rights, crippled industrially, the German people have taken refuge in things of the spirit. The most distinct evidence of this is the avalanche of *Volkshochschulen*. Undoubtedly, much mistaken—and soon disappointed—optimism played its part in the beginning of the movement. But the recognition soon gained ground of how deeply western and, with it, German culture was suffering from a slackening of its creative powers which prevented a productive handling of the abundance of material at hand. This state of anarchy is as striking in the lack of style in our houses, in our specialisation in science, as in the chaos of ideas in the brains especially of the so-called educated. It is certainly not curable by extending that same form of knowledge and education without which former periods were, if not better, certainly stronger and happier. So we lack the admirable optimism that distinguishes English adult education. The tide of energy that flooded the spiritual life of the nation washed ashore the refuse that, unrecognised, had long been spreading disease. Thus much we have gained from these latter years.

That extensive activity in adult education, which for more than one generation offered at every street-corner the kind of spiritual food that—let us be sincere—has not been able to nourish even the educated themselves, is wearing itself out with astonishing swiftness. Just because of the exaggerated hope of a speedy spiritual renaissance of the nation by educational means (a typical error of an age which takes reproduction for production) people began to realise more and more that in this far too easy way no spiritual regeneration could be attained. That has led us to pause and consider. So adult educational work leads to a critical survey of the substance of culture itself. It finds itself in pronounced opposition to the modern attitude of mind. It is no longer tempted to inquire into all that is interesting, all that is clever, all that is sensational, but to judge things according to their intrinsic worth for the man of to-day. Thus, after the chaos created by a superfluity of wealth of material, we are striving for order in the realm of the spirit, a simplifying of spiritual life through a return to what is essential. In so far as adult education follows this course it may be looked upon as of importance for the spiritual destiny of the people and their regeneration.

WERNER PICHT.

WORKMEN'S COMPENSATION.

WHEN the country is passing through the turmoil of a Parliamentary Election, its attention is naturally concentrated upon one or two big issues, with the result that the minor problems of the day are sadly neglected. Certainly it is inevitable that when there are a million and a quarter people out of work the only industrial question which can be discussed with any thoroughness during an Election should be unemployment and its remedies. But apart from the exigencies of Elections, so far as industrial questions are concerned, the same tendency is always prominent. People are so busy with ambitious schemes for the total reorganisation of industry that they will often ignore, as scarcely worthy of serious attention, those smaller matters which nevertheless have an important influence on the business of production. Yet it is almost a platitude to say that the prosperity of a trade will frequently depend upon a close attention to details, and that the embitterment of the relations between employers and employed is due at least as much to a number of tiny points of friction as to any big collision of principles.

The question of Workmen's Compensation plays a bigger part in industry to-day than is generally recognised. It is a vital matter to the workman, who is liable at any moment to be incapacitated by an accident for which he is in no way to blame; and it is of some moment to the employer, who has to meet financial claims which are often a heavy burden upon his business. The passage into law last November of the new Workmen's Compensation Act did, it is true, attract some momentary attention. It is to be feared, however, that the attention was in no way concerned with its virtues or its failings, but solely with the fact that it represented the last act of an expiring Parliament. And it may be added that the circumstances in which the Bill became law are quite consistent with the recent history of Workmen's Compensation, a history which is creditable neither to the good sense of governments nor to the vigilance of the electorate.

The Act of 1906 brought the great majority of industrial workpeople under the Scheme. It made compensation payable for any accident "arising out of and in the course of the employment," which incapacitated a man from following his trade for a fortnight or longer; it fixed the rate to be paid for total incapacity at one-half his average weekly wage, with a maximum of £1; and it provided for the commutation of the weekly payments by a lump sum settlement. In the event of death resulting from the accident, the workman's dependants might receive an amount not exceeding

£300; and any dispute which might arise between the parties concerned could be referred to a selection of arbitrators, of whom in practice the most popular has been the County Court Judge.

It may be noted in passing that the payments are not blood money. It was not intended to compensate the workman for any disfigurement, mutilation, or suffering which he might incur while on his master's business, but merely to protect him from actual want while unable by reason of the accident to follow his trade. It will be generally recognised that such a provision is not only humane, but absolutely necessary.

During the war wages and prices went up. The old maximum of £1 became a farce, since the lowest paid labourers received considerably more than double that amount weekly; and, on the other hand, in 1918 the purchasing power of the sovereign was much less than half of what it had been in 1914. To meet the altered circumstances two Acts were passed in 1917 and 1919, giving a temporary bonus of 15s., in addition to the old maximum sum of £1. Thus a man whose wages were 50s. received not £1, but 35s., not two-fifths of his weekly wage, as previously, nor half, as had been intended by the Act of 1906, but seven-tenths.

Since this solution was purely temporary, a Departmental Committee was appointed in 1920 to examine and report upon the whole question; but for various reasons no legislation followed. The Government was unwilling to fish in troubled waters; and for a time neither employers nor employed were inclined to press for action. The employers were anxious to retain the nominal maximum of £1, in the pious hope that a day would come when the war additions might be quietly dropped and the old figure restored. The Trades Unions were equally ready to allow it to stand, since in fact a very large number of injured workmen were drawing considerably more than half their weekly earnings; while, over a period when big reductions in wages were taking place, a man frequently drew nearly as much in compensation as he would have earned if working. In other words, while the payments may have been only 50 per cent. of his average earnings during the previous year, they may have been 90 per cent. of his earnings at the date of his accident; so that, taking into consideration the mutability of industrial affairs and the constant risk of unemployment, it was really better worth a man's while to retire for a season on a modest pension than to earn a fraction more than the same sum by a hard day's work.

Before the beginning of this year, however, the attitude of both parties had begun to change. The amazing anomalies of compensation were provoking an increasing amount of irritation. The employers were anxious to get rid of the war addition of 15s., which

in their view was no longer justifiable; while the Unions, encouraged by the report of the Committee of 1920, claimed a new maximum of 60s. Moreover, the patience of both parties had for long been sorely tried by the ambiguous terminology of the Act and the apparent caprice with which its provisions were applied in different parts of the country. Compensation is awarded for accidents "arising out of and in the course of the employment," an accommodating phrase of which it seems to have been impossible to obtain an authoritative interpretation. *Quot Judices tot sententiæ!* A host of awards of a conflicting character have left it open to an arbitrator to interpret according to his own inclinations, and, whatever his verdict might be, he could be sure of finding good authority for it.

This obscurity of phraseology has had certain inevitable and unfortunate results. It has turned arbitration into a gamble on the temperament of the County Court Judge; it has produced a number of really bad decisions; and it has involved a vast amount of unnecessary and expensive litigation, since a workman (being a human being) is quite ready to accept the risks of the law, when the chances of success are rarely less than sporting, and the penalty of failure is a bill of costs which he has no intention of paying.

The speculative character of the Act has driven the majority of firms into the refuge of insurance. Thus at least they could reckon the full extent to which in any year they might be mulcted; and thus, too, they might rid themselves of a great deal of difficult and unpopular work. But the price of protection has been very high. The Committee of 1920 found that out of every £100 paid out in premiums only £48 actually went in compensation to the workman; the remaining £52 apparently go to meet the charges and swell the profits of the Insurance Companies.

These considerations, of course, carried more weight with employers than with employed. There was, however, one provision of the Act of 1906 which the war additions had not affected, and the inequity of which was deeply resented by Labour. In the event of the death of an injured workman the maximum sum payable to his dependants was £300. Since larger amounts have frequently been awarded for the loss of a limb or even of a couple of fingers, it might fairly be said that it was cheaper for the firm if a man were killed outright than if he were merely mutilated. Moreover, the sum of £300 was paid irrespective of the number of dependants. A man might leave only a wife, or he might leave a wife and a large family of young children, but the amount remained the same.

Accordingly in May, 1923, the Labour Party introduced in the House of Commons an amending Bill which was designed to give

effect to the recommendations of the Committee of 1920. It proposed to extend protection to certain classes of workpeople not hitherto covered: to increase the sum payable on the death of a workman in proportion to the number of his dependants: to raise the amount of compensation during total incapacity from 50 per cent. to 66⅔ per cent. of a man's average weekly earnings, with a maximum of £3 instead of £1: to increase the payments for partial incapacity accordingly: that an absence from work of three days instead of a fortnight should entitle a man to compensation: and that a Commissioner should be appointed to supervise the premiums charged by Insurance Companies. After an inconclusive debate, which was nevertheless of service in exposing some of the grosser inconsistencies of the existing Act, the Government promised legislation and the Labour Party's Bill disappeared.

As might perhaps have been expected, the subsequent official measure, which has now become law, adopted the line of least resistance; it concedes a good deal, but by no means all that Labour demands; and it conspicuously refrains from going to the root of the matter. The War Additions Acts are, of course, repealed, and a new maximum of 30s. is fixed for total incapacity, with corresponding increases in cases of partial incapacity. The waiting period is reduced from a fortnight to three days, and more generous provision is made for the dependants of a deceased workman. The measure, however, is a superficial attempt to compromise the claims of both parties rather than a genuine contribution to the problem.

In the first place, it is unjust to the workman. A man with a wife and family may have been bringing home £3 to £4 a week in wages. He meets with an accident which for a time totally disables him. He himself is probably in hospital, but his wife must maintain herself and her children; and when he comes out of hospital there is generally a period of convalescence before he is fit to return to work, when a number of little luxuries may greatly assist his recovery. But at a time when he is needing every penny he can get to support his family and restore his health he is compelled to manage on an income of half or less than half the amount of his wages before his accident.

In the second place (though this is a digression) the Act makes no provision for a man who sustains an accident which does not arise out of or in the course of his employment. While the employer can scarcely be expected to meet claims of this kind, the establishment of the principle of Health Insurance clearly implies the necessity of some sort of provision against accidents for which compensation is not payable.

On the other hand the Act does little if anything to lighten the

financial burden of the employer, or to lessen the volume of expensive litigation to which, if not insured, he is now exposed. In the sacred cause of economy the appointment of a Commissioner to supervise the premiums charged by Insurance Companies has been rejected by the Government; while the phraseology of the Act remains as obscure as ever. The employer is still between the devil and the deep sea. He has the choice either of insuring at an exorbitant rate, or else of carrying his own risk and facing every year a number of costly contested cases in the County Court.

Legislation of a very different kind is therefore necessary if the real needs of industry are to be met; but before indicating the line which it is suggested that this should take, it is desirable briefly to consider certain broad principles involved.

The most controversial point is undoubtedly the rate of compensation. This obviously should not be fixed so high as to encourage malingering. If a man is going to get nearly as much for doing nothing as for working he will be inclined to arrange for a mild but disabling accident. That this has frequently happened even under the old Act is common knowledge; there are perfectly fit men to-day who pass from one works to another, carrying with them an accumulation of lump sum settlements and leaving behind them a trail of suspicious accidents and doubtful verdicts in the County Court. That such a state of affairs should be possible is due partly to the loose wording of the Act, and partly, it is to be feared, to the complaisance of panel doctors. On the other hand, the genuine case must not be penalised for the sake of the malingerer. It can scarcely be questioned that the amount paid should be not a mere pittance, but sufficient to maintain a man and his family during his enforced unemployment.

The financial burden of compensation is also a very important consideration. In a big works the cost may well total thousands of pounds a year. The Committee of 1920 estimated the annual charge on industry at £8,000,000, and this figure probably does not cover a large proportion of the legal and other expenses which non-insuring firms have to meet. However desirable it may be to deal generously with the victims of accidents, it is as much against the interests of workpeople as it is against those of shareholders to place a crippling load on the shoulders of trade. It is therefore essential that the "overhead" cost of compensation should be reduced to the lowest practicable level, and that payments to workpeople should cover at least 70 per cent. of the total expense incurred. The solution which appears to be indicated is some form of State Insurance such as has been already adopted in the United States, Germany, Italy, Switzerland, and other countries. An

arrangement of this kind was, it is true, considered and rejected by the Committee of 1920, but does not seem to have received quite the amount of attention which it merits.

The principle upon which the British schemes have always been based is that while the employer, in paying half the weekly wages of the injured man, meets half the cost of the accident, the workman himself meets the other half by the wages which he forfeits. In an article of this kind, it is, of course, impossible to do more than suggest the general form of a scheme, but some arrangement on the following lines should be feasible.

There should be compulsory State insurance against all accidents, just as there is against sickness and unemployment. The rate of compensation for total incapacity should be fixed at $66\frac{2}{3}$ per cent. of a man's average earnings, a figure which even the Labour measure accepted as adequate for the support of his family, and which the Committee of 1920 considered was not so high as to encourage malingering. The employer's contribution should be based, as it is now, on his liability to meet half the cost of the accident and to pay 50 per cent. of the average weekly earnings; while the workman would make a weekly payment (which would probably not exceed 1d.) to cover the difference between 50 per cent. and $66\frac{2}{3}$ per cent. The protection afforded him would extend to every form of accident, however and whenever sustained, and the other provisions of the Act should be designed in conformity with these principles.

The advantages of such a scheme would be very valuable. While the workman would be asked to make a small contribution himself, he would be amply compensated by the higher rate payable to him in the event of his being injured; and by the fact that he would be protected against any accident, even if caused by his own negligence. The employer's liability to his workpeople would remain precisely the same, but by insuring with the State his premiums would be greatly reduced. At the present moment, for instance, £500,000 is paid out annually by Insurance Companies in agents' commissions on this class of work. By eliminating burdens of this kind and the undue proportion of the premium which at present goes to the overhead charges and profits of Insurance Companies, a very considerable saving would be effected.

The employer, on the other hand, who at present carries his own insurance, will be delivered from the bills of his solicitor and the vicissitudes of the County Court; while by the extension of compensation to all accidents the risk of litigation between the workman and the Government would be reduced to a minimum. Such disputes as might arise would be mainly medical in

character, and as such could be dealt with more expeditiously by a medical Referee than by the County Court.

Apart from the advantages which have been enumerated, perhaps the most commendable feature presented by a solution on these lines is the removal of a big cause of trouble in industry to-day. Every dispute on compensation inevitably prejudices the relations between employer and employed; every case which bears hardly upon the employer increases his suspicions and diminishes his readiness to meet without argument the fair claims of his workpeople; every case in which a man conceives himself to have been awarded less than his due, or in which the amount he is paid is inadequate for the upkeep of his household, increases his bitterness against the capitalist system. By removing much in the treatment of compensation that is at present provocative of controversy and discontent, an important step will have been taken towards bettering the relations between Capital and Labour.

J. G. LOCKHART.

GREGORIO MARTÍNEZ SIERRA AND THE MODERN SPANISH DRAMA.*

"I feel that my soul is mediæval, and that the soul of my country is mediæval; I feel that it has passed perforce through the Renaissance, the Reformation, and the Revolution, learning from them, yes; but without letting its soul be touched; and Spanish Quixotism is nothing but the most despairing struggle of the Middle Ages against the Renaissance."

WITH these words Unamuno, Spain's great prophet of modern days, terminated his book on the Tragic Sense of Life.

In these words uttered by the sage from his ivory tower at Salamanca we may read the destiny of romantic Spain. All the levelling forces of modern Europe which are gradually breaking down the barriers between each country have not been able to change that traditional Spanish spirit which subdues us the moment we cross the Pyrenees. Ever since the eighteenth century Europe has been disciplining itself according to the principles of Voltaire and his Goddess Reason: we have all tried to play the part of Hans Sachs, and mark with our hammers the mistakes of Walther's inspired song. But the Spaniard has shunned these theories and Byzantine abstractions; "the man of flesh and bones" has always been the subject of his art. There is always the representation of definite types whether in picture, in drama, or in novel; they stand out in such relief that Nature fades away behind them.

This desire to present definite types made the Spanish an essentially dramatic people: when we think of the Spanish golden age of drama we straightway visualise the rakish jauntiness of Tirso de Molina's classical Burlador or the sturdy steadfastness of Pedro Crespo in Calderón's great play. At the end of the nineteenth century, when the material products of modern civilisation bowed to the taste of Paris, we yet find that it was José Echegaray who captivated the public with his bombastic rhetoric and rigid code of honour worthy of Calderón. In vain did Galdós and Duchess Rosario and María Rosa are lineal descendants of Lope de Vega. Joaquín Dicenta, who claimed to be the originator of the workman's drama, tried to draw his inspiration from Zola's naturalism, but what he produced was *Juan José*, a drama full of the old chivalrous notions of the seventeenth century.

By the group of modernists known as the "Generation of 1898,"

* An English translation has been issued by Messrs. Chatto & Windus of the plays of Martínez Sierra in two volumes. The plays in the first volume are translated by J. G. Underhill, and those in the second by H. Granville Barker.

new ideals were brought in, and nowhere do we see greater changes than in the drama. Through the influence of Jacinto Benavente, who became the all-powerful leader, foreign methods of stage technique were imported and the Spanish play began to reflect the sprightly satire of the Parisian stages. But Benavente was not able to impose for long this subtle satirical comedy so different from Spanish tradition: as time went on his style evolved towards types more in accordance with the native taste. He remains, however, as a great example of the European dramatist who has taken Schiller's phrase as motto: "I write as a citizen of the world: early in life I exchanged my fatherland for humanity." Benavente's theories of stagecraft were eagerly followed by all the younger dramatists. Some, like Manuel Linares Rivas, mainly aimed at becoming a Beaumarchais of modern society; others, like Martínez Sierra, wanted to preach new ideals. But in the idealism of Martínez Sierra, we note a reversion to traditional values.

Born in 1881, Gregorio Martínez Sierra in his short dramatic career has achieved remarkable successes. His work has not been confined to drama: in his early years between 1900 and 1904 he wrote novels in a beautiful lyrical prose worthy to be compared with that of Darío. Like Benavente, his first attempt at drama was *Teatro de Ensueño*, a collection of fantastic plays which were intended for reading rather than acting. These symbolic plays by their sensitive imagery, their lyrical charm, resemble the fairy plays of Maeterlinck. Like Maeterlinck, Martínez Sierra followed Novalis, who proclaimed the absolute reality of poetry; his sensitive personality projected itself on every *nuance* in Nature. As Rosa María says in *Pastoral*, one of the plays, "I am a friend to all I see: it seems to me that my soul breaks up into little pieces and each one finds its dwelling-place in a corner of the world. If I hear a bird sing, I imagine that I have the heart of a bird; if I smell a flower, it seems to me that its perfume is my soul; if I look at the sky I believe that I am the sky; if I bathe myself in the waters, I become like them and I lose myself in them; all the world is in me and all its joys are my joy." Martínez Sierra adopts an impressionistic method in his early works; he develops his plays by prophetic intimations and subtle suggestion.

The short symbolic play, *El Palacio Triste* (The Palace of Sadness), which was produced in 1911, by its subtle descriptions recalls the Belgian master. An atmosphere of dejection and boredom surrounds Princess Teodora living in her palace with her three sons. She is a frail little thing suggesting by her pale delicacy Princess Maleine: she seems more of a child than her sons and, bereft of her husband who had been drowned, she lives on dreaming in that dreary palace surrounded on all sides by

courtiers and conventions. Her daughter Marta has disappeared suddenly, and all believe her dead, but the mother feels in her heart that she will return, and has opened up a white path through the wood in order that she may find her way home. But Marta has not been killed: she had wandered away from the sad palace in order to reach the life of freedom, and now she returns to free her mother and brothers. "They are going to live," she says, "far away from this palace of sadness, far from boredom, in the open air, in the sun, far from mere words which have no stability, with liberty, with responsibility, with love, with duties, with laws which do not come from old books, repeated by masters who do not understand them." This play is a glorification of human will, and in the character Marta we can see the basis of all Martínez Sierra's later work. As a Spanish critic has said of him, hard winter pines should be placed in his hand to symbolise Will and Perseverance in an allegory of the moderns. By this optimistic glorification of human will Martínez Sierra is a contrast to Maeterlinck, who has generally depicted passive conditions of being rather than active conditions of doing. Maeterlinck was as pessimistic as Thomas Hardy, and believed that the power of human will is an illusion: Martínez Sierra, on the other hand, shows the moral triumph of human will.

In *Canción de Cuna* (Cradle Song), it is possible to realise the truth so often insisted upon by writers that Spanish realism must be poetic. The play unfolds itself in a convent of Dominican nuns, and we are admitted to their happy, serene life. Suddenly a newborn child is found at the gate of the convent, left there by the poor abandoned mother trusting to the goodness of the nuns. Though it is against the rules of the Order, the maternal instinct triumphs in the nuns, and they decide to adopt the child. Between the first and the second act eighteen years have passed, and the child Teresa has become a joyful young girl whose rippling laughter re-echoes through the shadowy cloisters and shocks the nuns. She is a charming character, and by her *joie de vivre* recalls Consolación in *Genio Alegre*, that brilliant comedy of the brothers Quintero. The play ends with the happy marriage of the foundling, and as the curtain descends on the praying nuns we have a feeling of sadness, as if by the departure of Teresa the sunlight had for ever disappeared from their austere lives.

The twentieth century with its steel and stress is not propitious to the poet living in his enchanted castle; Martínez Sierra, like Guimerá and Rusiñol, left the realms of fantasy and turned towards the heated problems of modern life. In the same year as the *Cradle Song* he produced *Primavera en Otoño*, in which he studies married life. This play bears resemblance to Benavente's

famous work, *Rosas de Otoño* (Autumn Roses), which had been produced in 1905. In both plays the theme is the reconciliation between husband and wife after many sad years of misunderstanding. But there is great difference between the personalities of the two writers; Benavente is mainly an intellectual writer who lets his cold irony play with the follies of the world, and his satire does not kill at one blow, but little by little by dint of pinpricks; Martínez Sierra is more warm-hearted and full-blooded; his irony in its soft good humour never suggests the bitter grimace of Voltaire, but rather the cheerful laugh of Moreto. Owing, however, to his optimism and his equable temper Martínez Sierra does not always awaken deep emotion. He is too much occupied with his thesis that women are ever so much better than men, and consequently there is a tendency to over-elaborate feminine psychology and to leave masculine character to take care of itself. Elena at first is capricious; she has not the virtue of Benavente's rather self-conscious Isabel. In the end she triumphs to the advantage of all in order to prove that the ideals of the Spanish mother are unassailable.

In *Mamá*, which was produced in 1912, the author develops his play round the same moral, but there is more truth to life. Mercedes is good, but inclined to frivolity: she is, as a character says, "one of those women who go and pray before starting off for a dance—a sign that they feel fear of the Devil." She is unhappy with her husband, who recalls Helmer by his confirmed egoism. Temptation is put in her way by a worthless rake, Alfonso, who goes through society winning conquest after conquest. He is called by his friends the Don Juan of our century who has a pact with the Devil: "I have only one method," he says, "serenity and constancy. Every woman who appears I make love to: naturally many send me about my business, but there are a fair number who receive me with mercy. As I am serene the failure matters little—I counted on it—the gains balance the losses." Owing to saving strength of character Mercedes saves herself from Alfonso, but then finds that her daughter has fallen in love with him. Again the mother's strength appears, and she saves her daughter from the libertine. Mercedes is a Spanish Nora: she realises at the end of the play that she and her husband have failed in their duties. "Wife," she says to him, "that is what I have never been to you. I have been your plaything, your distraction, the pet animal which is caressed and scolded. I have never thought; perhaps you have left me to think for myself. Man thinks alone, decides alone, is self-sufficient; he is the master, the king—let woman keep to her frills and frivolities." Mercedes, however, does not follow Nora's example and go off, leaving her husband and children; she

determines to remain and tame the wild beast in him. She will help him to find his true self and he will be unable to live without his tamer. Mercedes may say to Alfonso what Victoria, the heroine of Galdós' drama, *La Loca de la Casa* (The Mad One of the House), said to her husband, "You are evil, and, if evil did not exist, we good people should not know what to do . . . nor could we live."

It is in *Mamá* that we get the first complete exposition of Martínez Sierra's ideals with regard to women. The play seems to be a reaction against Ibsen's where the woman insists on living her own life. Martínez Sierra approves of Nora when she claims equality with her husband, but he holds that nowhere can woman be happy except in following her traditional duties as wife and mother. He also tries to prove in this play as in many others that man cannot understand the true meaning of love, and that it is woman only who can fathom its true significance. The motto of his work might be written in the words of Dante:—

Donne ch'avete intelletto d'amore
io vo' con voi della mia donna dire;
non perch' io creda sue laudi finire,
ma ragionar per isfogar la mente.

Martínez Sierra, in making woman represent the ideal in his art, has followed the general trend of Western civilisation. Like the ancient troubadours of Galicia his songs have ever been inspired by an ideal, sylph-like spirit, clad in woman's robe. He is untouched by Oriental civilisation with its hero Don Juan, that sinister but brilliant ruler of Spanish drama to whom women are immolated. In vain we look through his plays for one strong personality of the male sex. In *Madrigal* and *Pobrecito Juan* (1912), the two protagonists are entirely dependent on the courage and will power of the heroines. Agustín, the hero of the former play, an artist, has always been in love with Ana María, but when he goes away to foreign parts and becomes famous, he forgets her and succumbs to the temptations of a dancer. When the dancer leaves him he returns to his native village and meets Ana María again. Unfortunately, Carmelina, the dancing girl, tracks him down and Agustín weakly is about to go off with her, but the influence of Ana María is stronger and he remains. Agustín, as Ana María says, is a school-child, as changeable as water, as fragile as Venetian glass, tossed about to all the winds by the first woman he sees. Luckily for him, Ana María is a masterful woman who cannot help that roguish feeling of compassion which makes women gather up the fallen idol in their arms as if it were a son. From the dramatic technique point of view this play is very effective; the dialogue is rapid and brilliant, and the scene between the dissipated

Carmelina and Agustín, where she plays on his sentiments and senses as on a musical instrument, is remarkable from a psychological point of view.

In the one-act comedy *Pobrecito Juan* we can note the increasing interest taken by the author in social questions. At times his plays suffer from the faults that were common to the last plays of Galdós where the thesis wears bare. Mariana is a healthy young girl full of life and spirits: she has been loved for years by Juan—a handsome but delicate young man—one of those weak creatures who are unable to bear up against the kicks of the world. Mariana likes him, but feels that she cannot love him—"I need," she says, "as husband a man who can carry me up hills in his arms." When Antonio, a strapping fellow from America, arrives on the scene, she agrees at once to marry him, after a dialogue somewhat in the following fashion:—

MARIANA. Good, let us talk seriously.
ANTONIO. All right. Will you marry me?
MARIANA. Heaven preserve us—what a start.
ANTONIO. Do I seem so ugly to you?
MARIANA. (Looking at him.) You'll do all right.
ANTONIO. Thanks.
MARIANA. Don't mention it. Besides, that is the least important.
ANTONIO. Yes, lady, but what is important?
MARIANA. Do you cough?
ANTONIO. No, Miss, never.
MARIANA. Do you often suffer from headaches?
ANTONIO. Wait a minute . . . yes, once when I was a child, they cut my head with a stone.
MARIANA. Besides, if I marry I want to have ten children . . . all males.
ANTONIO. If you don't mind, we'll add in a pair of females in order not to lose the race of valiant women.

Meanwhile, poor Juan, disconsolate at Mariana's refusal, has tried to commit suicide, but, true to his own ineffective nature, he even fails at that, and is brought back to see the triumph of his rival. It is certainly a play which proves how miserable we should be in a world run on strictly eugenic lines.

Social drama has never taken root easily in Spain: Joaquín Dicenta with *Juan José* and *Daniel* had tried to interest the public in the socialistic questions of the day, but the public of Madrid received these works with enthusiasm not on account of their socialistic ideas, but because of their red romanticism, which made them successors to the dramas of Echegaray. Martínez Sierra at first was not altogether successful in adapting his poetical muse to social theories, and thus *Madame Pepita*, which appeared in 1912, suffers from too much *parti pris*. The heroine, a woman of the lower class, is used as a foil to set off the gross faults of

the degenerate aristocracy. The author draws the moral that aristocracy of race is useless nowadays in a world that requires aristocracy of brains and will.

Amanecer (Dawn), produced in 1915, introduces many socialistic ideas, but that does not prevent it from being one of Martínez Sierra's best plays. It is splendidly constructed, and is true to the traditions of the Spanish *comedia*, where tragedy is mingled with comedy right up to the end. The subject of the play proves how defenceless a household is when the head, the breadwinner, fails. It is a common subject, and has been treated with remorseless pessimism by Henri Becque in *Les Corbeaux* and with sadness by Giacosa in *Come le Foglie*. Martínez Sierra looks at the subject in a way that sums up the ideas of Becque and Giacosa. He shows with merciless satire the drab poverty and disillusionment following the father's disappearance, but he follows Giacosa in making the heroine a strong girl, who is determined to save the crushed fortunes of the house. After Carmen's family have been plunged into abject poverty on account of the dishonesty of her father, who fled to America to avoid prison, she strives to support her mother and sisters by working as a clerk. The mother is one of those weak characters who needs the support of a husband; when, instead of living in a beautiful house, she is reduced to taking in lodgers in a small house, her courage fails her. Her daughter Elvira is pretty, but extravagant and capricious—she does nothing all day but lament her misfortune. Carmen, by her glorious optimism, is the only influence which keeps the family from complete despair.

As a satire on the poverty of the poorer middle classes, Martínez Sierra's play is even more cruel than *Les Corbeaux*. All their old friends leave the family when they see them in poverty: Elvira, though she hates Carlos, who has left her when ruin descended on them, yet goes back to see him, though she knows that his intentions are dishonest. Carmen sees her sister's peril.

CARMEN. (*Frightened.*) You love him!

ELVIRA. (*In a disdainful tone.*) I! Love him after what has happened! Not likely, nor anybody else either! Here (*speaking hastily and full of bitterness*) we are suffocated by poverty, whilst in his mother's house there is luxury, abundance, there is heat in winter, there are cushions, furniture, comfort. It belongs to them, I know, but I enjoy it while I am there; I cannot live; living as we live here is not living . . . I cannot.

Carmen also is abandoned by the worthless Mariano whom she loved: in desperation at the state of her fortunes and those of her family, she agrees to marry Julián, a wealthy business man who is attracted by her devotion. In the third act we find Carmen living with her husband, surrounded by every luxury, but she is

unhappy. She feels that she has sold herself for money, and consequently she gives her patient husband the very worst time possible. There is not enough evolution about the character of Carmen: in the first two acts she had been gay, charming, and warm-hearted. Her very first word in Act III. shows that she is lacking in all the graces of womanhood. She only softens at the end when Julián confesses to her that he is ruined and that they must start life again. Then her true life begins to dawn. "I had dreamed, as all women do, of a man in whom I could believe, in whom I could place my trust and love as equal to equal. A man with whom I could walk through life hand in hand, laughing and weeping when it was necessary, earning my bread with him, dividing it with him, proud of his glory and mine." This play is another very strong appeal for new feminist notions in Spain, and the author has not limited himself to preaching his new ideas from the stage. Many of the opinions put forward in his plays are to be found in his book on *Feminism in Spain* and also in his *Letters to the Women of Spain*.

The chief fault that is to be found with Martínez Sierra's dramas is that he has only thought of the heroine and has forgotten the hero. We always remember charming heroines like Carmen or Mercedes, who by their courage are able to fight against any odds, but we do not remember any really strong man out of the big gallery of types. He has not described any character whose tragic power reaches the level of Santiago Rusiñol's Mystic. It seems as if Martínez Sierra started off with Ibsen's deterministic ideas and worked straight ahead. Like Ibsen, he makes all his heroines carry on a dialogue between their two egos—the momentary ego that they are and the ideal one towards which they strive. But Ibsen did not err in making the man characters merely a foil to the brilliant women, for Brand and Stockmann are as strong as Nora or Rebecca West. Perhaps one of the greatest virtues of Martínez Sierra is that he abolished that ideal of renunciation in drama which had lasted into the twentieth century, and had cast its pall over literature. His heroines do not, as many of the Benaventian heroines do, sacrifice themselves in order that others may be happy. Ever since the days of Senta and the Flying Dutchman there has been too much renunciation in literature. The heroines of Martínez Sierra follow the precepts of Maeterlinck's *Sagesse et Destinée*, and devote themselves to sane, healthy life, not to death. And it is perhaps this splendid optimism and belief in life that makes the theatre of Martínez Sierra one of the durable edifices in this storm-tossed twentieth century.

WALTER STARKIE.

THE RHINELAND IN INTER-ALLIED NEGOTIATIONS DURING THE WAR.

THE diplomatic manœuvres of the Powers during the Napoleonic wars, the contest for position between Napoleon, the Bourbons, Metternich, Castlereagh, Alexander, and Hardenberg are but now being laid bare by the painstaking work of a number of historians who have been laboriously examining original documents stored in Foreign Offices and Chancelleries. That we shall have to wait so long for a satisfactory history of the diplomacy of the period 1914-1918 seems unlikely. Even during the period, Parliaments had to have their curiosity satisfied and their alarm subdued in Secret Sessions, while the hungry Press, which could easily mobilise discontent, had to be placated by confidential information which it was expected to give to the public in a modified form only. Powerful neutral organs learnt much from their industrials, bankers, and diplomats, who had to be approached on all kinds of matters by agents of belligerent Powers. They were under no restraint and published all they knew, heard, or guessed. A great autocracy collapsed, and its Communist successors, eager to discredit the preceding régime and, indeed, the whole of European "democracy," published the Secret Treaties. Since the war, however, information has been accumulating at a still greater rate. There has been a flood of memoirs by soldiers, statesmen, diplomats, and journalists, both of the victorious and defeated alliance, all seeking to justify themselves before their peoples and the world; all equipped with official State papers and using them in a way which before the war would have seemed not merely indecent but incomprehensible.

One of the subjects of the most particular importance to the whole of Europe, and which will in all probability loom even larger in the history of the post-war period than the annexation of Alsace-Lorraine in the pre-war period, is the disposition of the Left Bank of the Rhine. French diplomacy has especially concerned itself with this question, seeking to make German territory on the Left Bank a barrier between Prussia and France. Sufficient authenticated material already exists to make it possible to attempt a short sketch of French diplomatic activities in this connection.

M. Paléologue, late Ambassador of France to Russia, has recently issued his *La Russie des Tsars*, a work of high historical importance and genuine literary merit. He gives precise information of the first discussions between France and Russia as to the remodelling of Europe, in which the fate of the Left Bank was debated and tentatively sketched.

The circumstances were these. In November, 1914, the first fever of war activity had died down. Diplomats and Foreign Offices, largely concerned hitherto with excited transmission of war intelligence and pleas for more and more earnest military co-operation, saw themselves face to face with a winter of comparative inactivity. It was time to discuss the bases of peace. On the morning of November 21st, Sazonow, the Russian Foreign Minister, informed M. Paléologue that the Tsar wished to have a long private discussion with him that afternoon. It seems obvious that a programme had been drawn up by the Tsar with some intimate advisers. When M. Paléologue was closeted with him, the Tsar, after very few preliminaries, put the question: "What should we do if Germany or Austria asked us for peace?" M. Paléologue replied by pointing out that the peace could not be a negotiated one, since the reparations and guarantees the Allies would demand would be of such a character that they would have to be dictated. The Tsar quickly agreed. Before passing on to detail the particular conditions of peace he made the following significant introduction: "I am anxious to say that I approve all those conditions which France and England will consider it necessary to draw up in their particular interest."

His proposals for changes in the west of Europe consisted in the recovery by France of Alsace-Lorraine, and the possible extension of French dominion over the Rhenish provinces, Belgian annexation of German territory in the region of Aix-la-Chapelle, and the erection of Hanover as an independent kingdom. Beyond this the Hohenzollerns were to lose the Imperial title. Even the diplomatic Paléologue was for a moment astounded. "Alors c'est la fin de l'empire allemand?" he asked, half incredulous, only to receive a complete affirmation.

Later, Paléologue was to argue that the assurances received at this interview were sufficient to bind Russia to a French programme on the Rhine and that there was no need for special specific agreements.

The whole account of the incident confirms the impression created by the examination of the *Livre Noir** of Russian diplomatic documents that before the war no precise understanding existed between Russia and France as to the bases of a desirable European territorial settlement. The Dual Alliance was an arrangement for mutual armed support in certain eventualities and provided in addition for constant diplomatic co-operation. The particular ends to be obtained by such support and co-operation were apparently decided *ad hoc* as questions arose.

The next time Paléologue received confirmation of the Russian

* *René Marchand's Collection*. 2 vols. (Librairie du Travail, Paris.)

position in regard to French claims on the Rhine was in March, 1916. He was pressing for Russian assent to an agreement between France and England as to the disposal of Asia Minor. The Tsar made some objections to details of the agreement but promised to consider the question with every sentiment of friendship to France. He ended with the enigmatic phrase: "J'espère que l'Asie Mineure ne fera pas oublier à votre gouvernement la rive gauche du Rhin." M. Paléologue's information is confirmed by a telegram of the same month sent by Sazonow to the Russian Ambassador in Paris. "We are prepared," it runs, "to allow France and England complete freedom in drawing up the western frontiers of Germany in the expectation that the Allies on their part allow us equal freedom in drawing up our frontiers with Germany and Austria."

The next scene in the negotiations is London, and the guide Mermeix, a pseudonym for a French writer who has obviously received information from high sources. As between France and Russia, exchanges of view of the kind described were on the frank basis of the desire to weaken or annihilate dangerous enemies. With England it would be impossible to deal in such a fashion, and the French must undoubtedly have hoped that the Foreign Office, occupied with American and maritime difficulties, would delay asking the Allied Powers for their war aims until a military success seemed nearer at hand. Sir Edward Grey, however, in September, 1916, suggested to the Russian, French, and Italian Ambassadors in London that the moment was opportune for exchanges of information as to war aims. Incredible as it may seem, the English Cabinet had been fighting for more than two years in France without asking the French Government for a statement of its exact intentions towards Germany.

The Russian and Italian Governments were perplexed as to the attitude to adopt towards the English move and sought to take counsel with France. Barrère at Rome and Paléologue at Petrograd were approached. They received instructions from Paris that they were not to commit themselves but were to confine their observations to generalities. Cambon, meanwhile at London, was instructed to avoid any fundamental explanation. The French intentions are quite frankly stated by Mermeix.* A statement could not be made to the London Cabinet until one of the Allies was irrevocably pledged to its support. Only in such conditions could English reluctance, already foreseen, be overcome. Though Paléologue had received verbal guarantees from the Tsar, a much more definite and precise engagement was desired. One of the

* *Combat des Trois*, pp. 191-3.

main purposes of the Doumergue mission to Russia in January, 1917, was to obtain this.

In November Sir Edward Grey repeated his suggestion of an interchange of information as to war aims. It was considered necessary in Paris to take some steps to supply the French Ambassador in London with sufficient material to keep the English Foreign Minister in play. Accordingly the General Secretariat at the Quai D'Orsay proceeded to draw up an *aide-mémoire*, wherein essential French claims were to be noted.

At this point, however, the French were rewarded for their patience in spinning out the negotiation. The Asquith Coalition Government fell in December, 1916, and Grey left the Foreign Office, to be replaced by Balfour. A negotiation which seemed likely, if pressed, to lead to some precise indications of French intentions was allowed to drop, and seems never to have been resumed. The French Government, which had been loyally supported by England throughout the war, entered the Peace Conference pledged not to England but to America. Mr. Balfour's conduct in not pursuing Grey's campaign for information need not necessarily be dismissed as pusillanimous, though it is open to condemnation as short-sighted. Grey had a vast prestige, not only as the only European Foreign Minister who had been in continuous function since 1906, but as the Minister mainly responsible for England's entry into the war. This prestige Balfour did not enjoy, and he may have thought it not only indelicate but almost impossible for himself to press further in a matter where Grey had yet achieved nothing.

The French Secretariat-General meanwhile had continued with the preparation of the *aide-mémoire*. It was possible that the inquiry from the English Foreign Office might be repeated. The draft prepared at the Quai O'Orsay for submission was altered by the Prime Minister's office. Briand, the Premier, had no time to choose between the two competing versions as his presence was required in Rome for an Inter-Allied Conference. Accordingly Viviani, who was left in charge, took the two proposed drafts, first to Poincaré, President of the Republic, and then to the Council of Ministers. The first draft prepared at the Quai D'Orsay was preferred.

Mermeix, who has apparently seen the document, states that it proposed the reannexation by Belgium of the Grand Duchy of Luxemburg with the consent of the population, the cession to France not only of Alsace-Lorraine in its full extent of 1792, but also of the Saar Basin, and, finally, the erection of an independent German State on the Rhine as a buffer between France and Prussia.

In a special instruction sent by Briand to Cambon, the London Ambassador, on January 12th, 1917, the ground he was to take up in maintaining this position was indicated: "La France étant la plus intéressée dans le statut territorial de la Rhénanie elle doit avoir voix prépondérante dans la solution de cette question." But, as has been pointed out above, the British Government did not think fit to resume its efforts to learn the precise war aims of its Allies. The French could wish for nothing better. Poincaré in especial strongly opposed any suggestion that the French should approach England with their full Rhine programme in order to secure British assent. He saw that it might lead to a serious strain of the Alliance. It was advisable to secure quite definite Russian support before England could with any safety be consulted. It may be surmised that Poincaré thought it would be better never to mention the subject until the victory had been won and French troops were actually encamped on the Rhine.

The occasion for an approach to the Russian Government directed to secure its written assent to the detailed French programme soon presented itself. An Inter-Allied Conference had been fixed in Petrograd for the late January of 1917. To this Conference M. Doumergue, an ex-President of the Council, was sent, with General Castelnau as military assistant. While M. Doumergue's ostensible mission was to represent France at the Conference, the French Government attached much more importance to another task with which it had entrusted him. He was to win from the Tsar a definite pledge to support all French aims on the Rhine. M. Poincaré, who prided himself on his personal friendship with the Tsar, supplied the Envoy with a special letter of introduction addressed to his "dear and great friend," wherein the Tsar was begged to consider everything Doumergue should say as the considered opinion of the French Government.

When Doumergue arrived in Petrograd and confided his instructions to Paléologue, he did not find the latter very enthusiastic. Paléologue pointed out that the Tsar had on his own initiative pledged himself to a French Rhine solution so far back as November, 1914, and that this pledge had been repeated on March 13th, 1916. Doumergue replied that Briand considered that a written undertaking of a detailed character was necessary. On a matter of such grave importance it was impossible to take too many precautions. There is no question but that Briand was right. Paléologue was probably piqued that a greater part in such a negotiation was not assigned to him. Briand, of course, was right, on the assumption, which still seemed legitimate, that Russia was to enter the Peace Conference as a powerful Ally, who had contributed greatly to the victory. His calculations were

disturbed, and considerable danger was consequently incurred by the French cause as a direct result of this negotiation. For, first, the pledge asked for proved valueless when the Tsarist régime fell, and, secondly, the German Government learnt of the negotiation, and made a very bold attempt to use it to sow dissension among the Allies. This, however, is another story, and for the moment it is necessary to return to MM. Paléologue and Doumergue in Petrograd early in the year 1917.

Doumergue was received by the Tsar in private audience on February 3rd. After insisting on the necessity of early general offensives he passed on to the question of the Left Bank of the Rhine. He made a complete exposition of all the aspects of the problem, political, military, and economic, and then, calling up the memory of the Tsar's declarations to Paléologue in 1914 and 1916, he declared that the French Government had resolved to place among the conditions of peace the following:—

1. The return of Alsace-Lorraine to France.
2. The frontiers of this province to be extended at least as far as those of the ancient Duchy of Lorraine, so that the mining districts of the region might be incorporated with France.
3. The other territories situated on the left bank of the Rhine to be entirely detached from Germany.
4. Those territories not incorporated with France to form an autonomous and neutralised State; French troops to garrison the State so long as the guarantees demanded by the Allies for the general peace were not satisfactorily fulfilled.

It will be noticed that the exact territorial gains to be made by France are left vague and extensible. The frontiers of Alsace-Lorraine are to stretch at least as far as those of the ancient duchy but might stretch further. Indeed, if the mining districts of the Saar are to be included, as is presumably intended, they will stretch much further. Moreover, French expansion is not necessarily excluded even beyond these limits. All that is fixed is that of all the territories on the Left Bank of the Rhine some are to go to a neutralised autonomous State garrisoned by French troops, and others are to be territorially incorporated with France. The word autonomous (*autonome*), too, has an ominous significance. It will be remembered that Poland also was to be an autonomous State within the Russian system and not an independent State. The use of the word autonomous and not independent may therefore conceal a French ambition for suzerainty over the new political creation. In any case, France was to garrison the new State for a period very vaguely delimited. Neutralisation should probably be interpreted in the Luxemburg sense and not in the Belgian—no military organisation and no system of fortification is to be permitted to the new State.

The Russians are said to have examined each point minutely so that it must be assumed as certain that the considerations just developed were not absent from their thoughts. Doumergue, however, obtained a complete acquiescence from the Tsar and the whole negotiation was confirmed by Paléologue, who wrote out the French conditions and received from Pokrowsky, the Imperial Foreign Minister, a written assurance that "le gouvernement de la République peut compter sur l'appui du gouvernement impérial pour la réalisation de ses desseins."

This considerable diplomatic triumph was soon rendered valueless by the outbreak of the Russian Revolution. Miliukof, the first revolutionary Foreign Minister, was quite prepared to carry out Russian pledges to the French, but Kerensky, whose aims were very different—a peace of no annexations and no indemnities—very quickly surpassed him in importance. Nothing embittered the closing days of Paléologue's embassy more than the support which French Socialist missions lent Kerensky, to the detriment, as Paléologue considered, of the truest French interests. Both Kerensky and Miliukof, however, were very soon to be displaced by new men, who shed the last diplomatic decencies of the old school.

During the course of the Doumergue negotiations, neither the French nor the Russians had suggested that England should be informed of French aims. Both sides apparently took it for granted that England and the world would not be faced with the full French programme until the peace negotiations. By a piece of treachery, French policy was revealed at least in part to the German Government which published it to the world.

On July 30th, 1917, Michaelis, the German Chancellor, addressing the representatives of the Berlin Press, made the following statement:—

"I know from eye-witnesses of the debate in the Chamber of Deputies sitting in secret session on the 1st and 2nd of June, 1917. I can therefore publicly address the following question to the French Government, 'Is it in a position to deny that during the course of the secret sessions MM. Briand and Ribot were compelled to admit that, shortly before the Russian Revolution, France had signed an agreement concerning vast plans of conquest with the Government of the Tsar? Is it true that President Poincaré entrusted M. Paléologue with the signature, together with the Russian Government, of a treaty prepared by M. Doumergue, which assured France her 1870 borders (with rectifications envisaging the annexation of the Saar Basin) and still further changes on the left bank of the Rhine?'"

Michaelis's speech was undoubtedly intended to have many repercussions. It may be assumed that his principal desire was to

frighten French opinion by the revelation of treachery in high political circles. A subsidiary aim was to discredit France with the democratic parties in England and America, and to produce an outcry for revised declarations of war-aims, which should not conceal, as previous Allied announcements had done, quite sinister intentions behind benevolent generalities.

Michaelis's success in America and England was not conspicuous. The Governments of these countries had apparently reached the conclusion that the great immediate need was concentration on the war, and that nothing was to be gained by reproaching France for her action in the past or by seeking (at the moment) to impose terms offensive to her pride as to her action in the future. Even Tardieu, however, admits that when Balfour learnt in July, 1917, of French ambitions on the Rhine, he made some objection, though, according to the same authority, he did not press the matter. Public opinion, too, in both countries was hardly moved by the Michaelis revelations, the authenticity of which was open to doubt. As proof it may be urged that a hostile question was not put to Balfour in the House of Commons concerning the Doumergue treaty until December, 1917, after the Bolsheviks had published the secret agreements.

A great change in democratic sentiment was produced by the second Russian Revolution. War weariness was widespread, and the sacrifices called for by the continued hostilities seemed endless. The secret treaties proved how objectionable had been some of the aims of the Allied Powers. The simple programme of the Russian Revolution, "no annexations and no indemnities," made a great appeal. A public declaration of unselfish war-aims was necessary if democratic opinion was to be placated, and statesmen could use the opportunity for cancelling the secret agreements and facilitating the departure of their Allies from impossible positions.

Accordingly, when a question concerning the Doumergue treaty was put to Balfour in the House of Commons on December 19th, 1917, he said:—

"We have never expressed our approval of it. Nor do I believe it represents the policy of successive French Governments who have held office during the war. Never did we desire and never did we encourage the idea that a bit of Germany should be cut off from the parent State and erected into some kind of independent government on the Left Bank of the Rhine. His Majesty's Government was never aware that it was seriously entertained by any French statesmen."

Balfour's statement as to the British Government can unhesitatingly be accepted as it stands. His reference to the policy and ideas of French Governments and statesmen must be assumed to be

the kindly endeavours of a charitable Allied Minister to help the French Government to retreat from an impossible position with as little loss of dignity as possible.

What Balfour had done here on a limited field Lloyd George and Wilson were to do on the whole surface of Allied interests, and with even greater authority. Lloyd George, speaking on January 5th, 1918, to the Trade Unions, declared among other things that the British Empire was not fighting for "the break-up of the German peoples or the disintegration of their State or country." As regards Alsace-Lorraine, however, he said, "We mean to stand by the French democracy to the death in the demand they make for a reconsideration of the great wrong of 1871, when without any regard to the wishes of the population two French provinces were torn from the side of France. This sore has poisoned the peace of Europe for half a century." He asked in addition for such reparations as could be made for the devastation of Belgian towns and provinces, and mentioned reparations again while referring to the restoration of the occupied parts of France, Italy, and Roumania. The specially insistent character of Lloyd George's demand for reparations, met again in Wilson's speech of January 8th, must be noted, for later it enabled France to claim the occupation of the Left Bank as a guarantee that money for reparations would be forthcoming.

Three days after, President Wilson in a famous speech laid down his Fourteen Points. The important demands in the present connection are those for the righting of the wrongs done to France by Prussia in 1871 and for the evacuation and restoration (meaning repair) of Belgium and the invaded parts of France, Roumania, Serbia, and Montenegro. Neither Lloyd George nor Wilson spoke with authority for France or Italy, but the position of these Powers was for the moment such a dependent one, and Anglo-Saxon statesmen had so definitely committed themselves to the principal French and Italian *desiderata* that not a breath of responsible criticism was heard.

When Germany finally approached the President early in October for an armistice and asked for a peace based on the Fourteen Points, Wilson's own particular ambition was to use the opportunity presented to him to democratise Germany. Throughout the series of Notes exchanged between him and Germany, however, it is obvious that Allied Ministers at Washington are at his elbow, forcing the conditions of an armistice higher and higher as the German eagerness for peace becomes plainer and plainer. While Wilson's first Note on October 8th demanded as military guarantee the evacuation by Germany of all invaded territory, before an armistice could be granted, the second Note of

the 14th said that the conditions of an armistice must be fixed by military advisers, and would be of such a character as to maintain the military supremacy of the Allied and Associated Powers. In the Note of the 23rd it was plainly stated "that the only armistice he would feel justified in submitting for consideration would be one which should leave the United States and the Powers associated with her in a position to enforce any arrangements that may be entered into, and to make a renewal of hostilities on the part of Germany impossible."

To leave the conditions of the armistice to the military advisers of the United States and the Associated Powers was practically to leave the military terms to Foch and the naval terms to the British Admiralty. Pershing was a negligible factor in the conference of commanders which met at Senlis on October 26th nominally to advise Foch on the armistice terms to be proposed, while House was much too insignificant a personality and much too flexible in French hands to be anything but an added danger in the Supreme War Council which drew up the final version of the Allied terms. The Rhineland occupation, the surrender of German war material and of the German fleet and the undertaking by the Germans to pay reparations for all the damage done, put France in a position to dominate a Paris Peace Conference. Although thirteen of the Fourteen Points had been accepted by all the Allies, they were phrased so vaguely that French statesmen and soldiers considered it unlikely that they would present serious obstacles to French aspirations.

S. MACCOBY.

BIBLICAL PHRASES IN CONTEXT AND CURRENCY.

IN a well-known quarterly journal there appeared a few years ago an interesting article* in which a distinguished scholar showed how certain phrases, drawn from famous literatures, have come to be employed in a sense other than that which the framers of them intended to convey. Being the product of genius, they have obtained wide circulation, and are used familiarly by a multitude of people who may be quite unacquainted with their source. But since some word or words in them can have more than one signification, can be taken literally or figuratively, or, through a certain flexibility, can admit of a wide range of application, such phrases have become deflected from their purport in the context where they first appeared, and have acquired a different meaning. Of sayings which have undergone this kind of twist some examples were adduced from various quarters—the Odes of Pindar, the plays of Terence and Shakespeare, and the Authorised Version of the Bible. Among these the richest source is the last, for the language of the Scriptures has entered deeply into the texture of our common speech. The present writer, long before he read the article referred to, had noted numerous instances of Bible sayings, which, as currently employed, are invested with a significance distinct from that which they had in their original context, and the divergence in many cases is sufficiently striking to make it worthy of attention.

A little consideration reveals the fact that the instances are of two kinds. Though the Authorised Version of 1611 is one of the world's masterpieces of literature, it nevertheless often fails (as is natural in the case of a production of the early seventeenth century) to do justice to the true meaning of the Hebrew or Greek. Accordingly, the "twisted" sayings which it is here proposed to notice are divisible into two classes: first, those which, as they appear in the English translation, correctly represent the original, but which, as popularly quoted, are distorted from their authentic import; and, secondly, those where distortion of the meaning of the Biblical writers is due to King James's translators. Nevertheless, it has happened in some cases that the error of the translators has been a fortunate one; and that by the scholars to whom we owe our Authorised Version there have been coined, howbeit through ignorance, phrases which, whilst misrepresenting the Hebrew or Greek writer's thought, yet supply a real need most happily.

Among the sayings comprised within the first of the two classes

here distinguished the one that perhaps is most frequently misapplied (the writer has observed such misapplication even in a *Times* leader) is Proverbs i. 17, "In vain the net is spread in the sight of any bird." The original has "in the eyes of any bird," and this means (according to Hebrew idiom) in the *mental* eyes, that is, in the thoughts, of the bird; and the context of Prov. i. 17 renders it clear that the phrase signifies that a bird, for the ensnaring of which a net has been spread, thinks that the net threatens no harm, and so is taken in it; and the writer of the passage goes on to liken to the folly of the bird the self-delusion of robbers who commit murder for the sake of gain, but who, in lying in wait for their victim, at the same time "lurk privily for their own lives," which will, sooner or later, be cut short by either human or Divine justice. But in general a different construction is put upon the saying. The words are interpreted quite literally, and are supposed to imply that a net which is spread while the bird's eyes are upon it will fail to capture it because the bird is too much on its guard. And being thus interpreted, it is often quoted in connection with some device or trick, the purpose of which is so poorly disguised that the intended victim of it sees through the design, and can congratulate himself, in the words of Proverbs, that his would-be victimiser is, or will be, unsuccessful.

Another phrase to which there is often given a sense, not indeed inappropriate, yet not that of the original context, has been recently recalled to the writer's mind by the advertisement of a book. The advertisement is *The Desire of all Nations; or, Christ and Reconstruction*, the expression which is here applied to our Lord occurring in Haggai ii. 7, "I will shake all nations, and the desire of all nations shall come." The second Temple, which, on the return of the Jews from the Babylonian captivity, was built by Zerubbabel, appeared as nothing in comparison with the splendid fane once erected by Solomon. So the prophet Haggai was inspired to hearten his contemporaries who were depressed by the contrast; and the true sense of what he uttered is represented by the Revised Version: "The desirable things of all nations shall come, and I will fill this house with glory, saith the Lord of Hosts." For although the Hebrew word rendered "desirable things" is an abstract noun in the singular, it is followed by a plural verb, this suggesting that the substantive has a collective sense; and the interpretation is put beyond doubt by the following verse, "The silver is mine and the gold is mine, saith the Lord of Hosts." But the view which identifies the desire of all nations with the Redeemer is found as early as the Vulgate, which has *et veniet Desideratus cunctis gentibus*; so that it is not unnatural that pious minds should still see in Haggai's words a prediction relating to

* *Twisted Sayings*. By Professor James Moffatt. (*Hibbert Journal*, Jan. 1919.)

our Lord who, during the last week of His earthly life, made the courts of the Temple the principal scene of His teaching.

It is unnecessary to say much about the not uncommon misapplication of the term "filthy lucre" to money in general, independently of the methods by which it is accumulated; for there is only required a glance at the Greek of Titus i. 11 to recognise that the expression *αἰσχρὸν κέρδος*, thus translated, really means gain acquired by base means; so that St. Paul, or whoever wrote the Pastoral Epistles, did not imply by his use of the term that he regarded money as in itself defiling. A more interesting passage which there is reason to suspect is often quoted with a misapprehension of its true significance is 1 Peter iv. 8, "Charity shall cover the multitude of sins," or, as the R.V. has it, "Love covereth a multitude of sins." The real sense is ascertainable by reference to Prov. x. 12, "Love covereth all sins"; and St. Peter's meaning is the same as that of St. Paul, when the latter, in describing the qualities of charity, or love, declares that it "covereth all things" (if the R.V.'s marginal rendering of the Greek *πάντα στέγει* is correct). Yet probably a number of people take the sins which charity covers to be the sins of the person who loves, as though the Apostle's thought was that the virtue of charity procures for those who overlook the sins of others God's pardon for their own sins. This is certainly an explanation that some commentators in the past have adopted as an alternative, for Archbishop Secker is cited as writing, "Charity . . . practised from a principle of conscience . . . shall contribute in a distinguished manner to fit us for receiving forgiveness from our Creator, and thus shall cover the multitude of sins at the last day." But there is little doubt that in the mind of St. Peter the sins covered were those of the recipient, and not those of the giver, of the love which is commended.

Another phrase which is probably by many misunderstood, and therefore "twisted" in application, is the precept in Romans xii. 19, "Dearly beloved, avenge not yourselves, but rather give place unto wrath." Perhaps the most usual sense put upon the last clause is, Give way to the rage of the wrongdoer; do not resist him. Another interpretation views it as advice to the injured to let his own indignation have time to cool, so that better feelings may assert themselves before he takes steps to retaliate. For this explanation a parallel may be found in the historian Livy, who relates that when, during the Samnite War, the Roman Dictator, L. Papirius Cursor, was about to execute for disobedience Q. Fabius Maximus, the Master of the Horse, his officers urged him *irae suae spatium et consilio tempus daret* (Livy, viii. 32). Yet the true sense of the Apostle's admonition

would be plain to all if the Greek *δοτε τόπον τῇ ὀργῇ* had been rendered and printed, "Give place unto the Wrath" (with a capital W). "The Wrath" is the wrath of God, who will avenge on an unjust aggressor the wrong he has perpetrated. The import of the counsel is really explained by the subsequent reference to the Lord's declaration in Scripture, "Vengeance is mine, I will repay," the source of which is Deut. xxxii. 35, "Vengeance is mine, and recompense." The victim of injustice is bidden by the Apostle to leave to the Almighty all question of redress, instead of seeking satisfaction himself.

From such instances of the popular "twisting" of phrases taken from the English Bible, where this represents more or less accurately the tenor of the original text, we will now proceed to adduce some examples of the distortion of the true sense of that text through a misunderstanding of it by the translators of 1611 themselves. Many, though not all, of the erroneous renderings resulting from such misunderstanding were corrected in the Revised Version published in 1881; but that Version will replace but slowly the earlier translation, and so in popular speech the phrases of the A.V. will long enjoy favour. In regard to one of the books of the Bible there are, indeed, two early versions in use; for besides the translation of the whole Bible produced in James I.'s reign, we retain in our Prayer Book a still earlier rendering of the Psalms, which is substantially that of the Great Bible, published between 1539 and 1541, and largely the work of Miles Coverdale. It is this version which has caused the contents of the Psalter to be so familiar to us; and, in the case of current sayings derived from the Psalms which depart seriously from the real meaning of the Hebrew, it is from the Prayer Book that they mostly come.

We may take as our first example of this class of sayings the speech of Hazeal the Syrian to the prophet Elisha in 2 Kings viii. 13. Hazeal had been sent by the King of Syria, who was sick, to inquire of the prophet whether there was a prospect of his recovery. The prophet bade the envoy carry back a favourable answer,* but at the same time predicted that the King would die (as the event showed, by assassination). Elisha then began to weep; and on being asked by Hazeal why he wept, he explained that he foresaw the harm that the latter would do to Israel, and the brutalities that he would perpetrate upon its people. Whereupon Hazeal, according to the A.V., cried, "But what, is thy servant a dog that he should do this great thing?" and his words

* This is the sense put on the passage by the versions and by Jewish tradition, which, in reading, substituted "Say unto him. Thou shalt recover," instead of "Say, Thou shalt not recover," as written in the text.

(commonly with the omission of the adjective "great") are often used in protest, playful or otherwise, against some distasteful proposal. But Hazael was far from viewing the prophet's prediction as derogatory to his humanity; and his actual words were, "But what is thy servant, who is but a dog, that he should do this great thing?" He was not shocked by the announcement of the butchery which he would commit, but was overpowered by the prospect opened up before him of such success over his country's foes, so far beyond anything that one in his subordinate station could dream of.

The same book which yields the phrase just considered furnishes another which, in the shape in which it is presented by the English Versions, has an implication that the original does not justify. When Gehazi, the servant of Elisha, ran after Naaman to obtain at the expense of a lie some of the presents which his master had declined, and begged the Syrian captain to bestow on two imaginary visitors, just arrived at the house, a small part of the proffered recompense, saying, "Give them, I pray thee, a talent of silver and two changes of raiment," Naaman is represented as replying, "Be content, take two talents." The words sound like an implied reproach, as though Naaman detected Gehazi's greed; and, strangely enough, the rendering of the A.V. is retained in the R.V. Yet the word used means "Consent to take two talents," the grateful Syrian pressing Elisha's servant to accept more than he asked for. The same verb is employed in 2 Kings vi. 3, where one of Elisha's pupils prays him to accompany them on an expedition to get timber for building a larger dwelling-place, and couches his request in words again rendered in the R.V., "*Be content*, and go with thy servants." Here, however, it is obvious that the phrase "Be content" is equivalent to "Consent"; and in 2 Sam. vii. 29 the R.V. translates the same imperative by "Let it please thee."

Readers of the Authorised Version who are endowed with some measure of curiosity must at times have speculated why the neighbourhood of the fifth rib was so often chosen by assassins as the spot for inflicting a mortal wound. Asahel and Ishbosheth, Abner and Amasa, are all recorded to have perished from a blow planted there. The Revised Version, however, has removed the occasion for such speculation. The word in the Hebrew, which was thought to mean the fifth rib (*rib* is inserted in italics in the English version, and has no representative in the original) because of a fancied connection with the numeral five, is now generally assigned to a different root; and the Revisers have translated it by *the belly*, a part of the body offering an ampler and a surer mark for a deadly stroke. The correction renders intelligible the account

of Asahel's death at the hands of Abner: the latter, closely pursued by the former, struck backwards with the pointed butt of his spear, and Asahel was close enough at his heels to receive the blow in the abdomen below the corslet. It also explains how Joab, when smiting Amasa in the same place, is related to have "shed out his bowels to the ground."

A passage deserving particular notice because it has been incorporated in our Burial Service is Job xix. 25-27. This is rendered in the A.V.: "For I know that my redeemer liveth, and that he shall stand at the latter (day) upon the earth: and though after my skin (worms) destroy this (body), yet in my flesh shall I see God, whom I shall see for myself, and mine eyes shall behold, and not another." This translation has been to a large extent reproduced in the R.V.; but the Revisers have shown their consciousness of the obscurity of the original by alternative renderings of various words and clauses, given in the margin. But though the Hebrew is certainly difficult and probably in some degree corrupt, yet it can scarcely be doubted that the A.V. is wrong in three respects. (a) It renders by "redeemer" a Hebrew word which does not mean properly a "deliverer" or "rescuer," but a person who reasserts another's forfeited claim or vindicates his right. (b) It implies that Job anticipated a resurrection of his flesh, an idea which, if it was in the mind of the poet, would most likely have been expressed less ambiguously. (c) It takes the last word (commonly meaning "stranger") in the sense of "another" than the speaker, whereas it probably here signifies "estranged." Several of the variant renderings in the margin are improvements upon those in the text; and with the help of these and two slight emendations the passage may be paraphrased thus: "But I know that my vindicator liveth, and that he shall hereafter rise up on the dust (of my grave); and after my skin has been stripped off like this (by the ravages of disease), yet without my flesh I shall see God, whom I shall see (to be) for me (and not for my traducers), and my eyes shall perceive (to be) unestranged (from me)." Job is not thinking of redemption from sin or from consequent suffering, but of the clearing of his character from the aspersions of his friends, who attribute his losses and maladies to offences committed by him against God. After uttering a wish that his assertions of his innocence may be put on record in a book or on less perishable stone (vv. 23, 24), he suddenly affirms his conviction that after his ulcerated frame has perished, he will not pass to the world of the dead with his good name tarnished for ever, but will, though disembodied, witness his vindication by God Himself, who, unlike his friends, will then stand up for him and do him justice.

But more interesting than any of the passages just surveyed are

some where a misinterpretation of the Hebrew has produced a phrase which, in spite of distorting the meaning of the original text, has given us something with which we could ill dispense. It will suffice to select a few examples out of several. In the case of each it will be recognised that the familiar English rendering has really dowered our language with one of those "jewels" of which the poet speaks:—

". . . Jewels five words long,
Which on the stretched fore-finger of all time
Sparkle for ever."

The first is Psalm cv. 18 in the Prayer Book version, "The iron entered into his soul." As it stands in the Hebrew, this clause, constituting the second half of the verse, is parallel in thought to the one which precedes it in the first half, and, like it, describes the physical constraint to which Joseph in Egypt was subjected in consequence of the malice of Potiphar's wife. The whole verse in the R.V., which gives substantially the sense of the original, runs thus: "His feet they hurt with fetters; he was laid in chains of iron." The literal rendering of the last words is "His soul entered into iron," the term *soul* being frequently used in Hebrew to designate the "person" or "self," especially where stress is laid upon some pleasurable or painful experience. But though the translators who were responsible for the Great Bible disregarded the grammar of the second half of the verse and the parallelism subsisting between it and the previous half, they created a most suggestive phrase for expressing that poignancy of mental distress which seems to penetrate the very core of the sufferer's being.

The second of our examples shall be Isaiah xxx. 7. It occurs in Isaiah's denunciation of the intrigue with Egypt into which King Hezekiah plunged in order to gain support for his contemplated revolt against Assyrian suzerainty. The prophet put small value on Egyptian help, and tried to dissuade the King from reliance upon it. He knew that the Egyptian people (whom Pliny calls *ventosa et insolens natio*) were given to vaunting and vapouring so long as the enemy was still at a distance, but were prone to leave their allies in the lurch when there was need for active intervention. And so he summed up their character and policy in a pregnant phrase, in which, however, instead of designating the object of his scorn by the usual Hebrew name for Egypt, *Misraim*, he employed the title *Rahab*. This appellation, meaning "boisterousness," was applied by the Hebrews to the stormy sea, imaginatively represented as a mighty dragon with which Jehovah contended: compare Isaiah li. 9, where the prophet,

apostrophising Jehovah's Arm, asks, "Art thou not it that smote* Rahab, that wounded the dragon? Art thou not it which dried up the sea, the waters of the great deep?" But the title, though originally bestowed upon the sea, was extended to Egypt as the land where there existed a real monster of the waters, the crocodile of the Nile; and Isaiah, on the occasion under consideration, adopted it. Speaking in the name of Jehovah he declared, "Egypt helpeth in vain and to no purpose; therefore have I called her, Rahab that sitteth still." The prophet applied to the boastful but untrustworthy nation a designation calculated to expose the hollowness of its professions. But the A.V. translates the passage, "Therefore have I cried concerning this, Their strength is to sit still." And, however much this rendering distorts the original meaning, it provides us with a felicitous description of any people that in times of world-tension remain collected and tranquil, husbanding their powers for a day of crisis, but, by their very calmness, helping to postpone it indefinitely.

A third instance occurs in several places in Ecclesiastes (A.V.). The melancholy conclusion "All is vanity" runs like a refrain through the book; but the appended phrase, rendered in the A.V. by "and vexation of spirit," has been variously explained. The most plausible translation of the original is "and a striving after wind"; but some scholars prefer "and a feeding upon wind" (comparing Hosea xii. 1, "Ephraim feedeth on wind and followeth after the east wind"), and this has the support of the Greek translators Aquila, Theodotion, and Symmachus, who represent the Hebrew by *νομὴ ἀνέμου* or *βόσκησις ἀνέμου*. Either alternative is superior in accuracy to the rendering of the Authorised Version, which follows the Vulgate's *Universa* (or *cuncta*) *vanitas et afflictio spiritus*. Nevertheless this latter expresses so aptly the pain of disappointment consequent upon the discovery of the bootlessness of so many human efforts that it is never likely to be displaced in current usage by a more correct but less impressive substitute.

Another illustration is one that recurs several times in the A.V., and has been retained in the R.V., but with an alternative in the margin. In three places the exact expression used is "Worship the Lord in the beauty of holiness" (1 Chron. xvi. 29, Ps. xxix. 2, xcvi. 9), whilst on a fourth occasion the words are, "He appointed them . . . that should praise the beauty of holiness" (2 Chron. xx. 21). An examination of the context of three of these passages shows that the phrase is associated with ceremonial worship; and the most probable translation of the words rendered "in the beauty

* So the Vulgate (*percussit*): the Hebrew, less suitably, has "cut in pieces."

of holiness" is that which is indicated in the margin of the R.V., "in holy adornment," the reference being to the vestments used in connection with the Temple ritual. But the A.V.'s translation gives valuable expression to a vital element in religion; and since the English Bible is not merely a translation of Hebrew writings but a manual of devotion for all English-speaking peoples, it is fortunate that it supplies us, even at the cost of a departure from the authentic sense of the original, with so exquisite a phrase to describe the goal of all worship.

For a final example, we may return to the book of Job. In xiii. 15 the A.V. and (virtually) the R.V. have, "Though he slay me, yet will I trust him" (literally, "wait for him"); but the latter version gives as an alternative, "Behold, he will slay me: I will not wait (i.e., entertain hope of a better issue)." The difference between the renderings turns upon the facts that a Hebrew word which generally means "behold" can be used to introduce a supposition (as can be seen by reference to Exod. iv. 1), and that there is here a variation between the Hebrew text and the traditional reading of it, as in 2 Kings viii. 10 (see above), the one having *not* and the other *for him*. But though the translation of the A.V. and the R.V. might be defended if the sentence stood in isolation, it is altogether out of harmony with the context, which requires the rendering given in the margin of the R.V. Job is in despair, yet he is resolved to protest his innocence to the last. So, though he anticipates certain destruction, he refuses to admit the justice of his fate: "Behold, he will slay me; I have no hope: nevertheless I will maintain (the integrity of) my ways before him." Such must be the true import of his utterance. Still, though the familiar words of the A.V. give an erroneous turn to the passage, they have furnished Christian piety with an unfaltering assertion of faith in God, however much the harsh experiences of life may combine to impugn it.

G. W. WADE.

CHRISTIAN SURVIVALS AMONG CERTAIN MOSLEM SUBJECTS OF GREECE.

AMONG the Moslems now to be deported from Greece to Turkey none are more interesting than a small group of about 12,000, who live in South-West Macedonia among the foothills of the Pindus mountains. Their Greek neighbours say they were Christians till a hundred years ago, when they were forcibly converted to Islam by the famous Ali Pasha of Yannina, who gave us such trouble during the Napoleonic wars. The prosaic tombstones, however, in their cemeteries are occasionally dated three, and even four, hundred years ago, so that their Christianity is many years behind them. In spite of this they have retained a number of interesting Christian customs and superstitions.

The most obvious is their language, which is the Greek of their Christian forefathers. Turkish is known only to the few men who served in the Turkish army while Macedonia was still Turkish. Not half a dozen women know any. Greeks laughingly declare that all even the men know is the oath *V'Allahi*, "by God," that is, the oath which all Turkish subjects must take in Turkish law courts. On this account the Greeks, being excellent punsters, have wittily dubbed these Moslems *Vallahadhes*, by which name they are universally known in Macedonia. Another Greek tale is that they are so little "Turk" that till thirty years ago their *hodjas*, or schoolmaster-priests, could not say the call to prayer in Arabic as *hodjas* ought, but merely clambered up the minaret of their mosque and called out in Greek, "Middy! Middy! Come to prayer!" But I think this is only a tale; nowadays their *hodjas* all know much more Arabic than that.

Their coupling a Christian language with a Mahomedan religion sometimes leads them into incongruities. For instance, a Moslem first name may be followed by a Christian surname, so that we find unnatural combinations like Hassan Bibradhes and Mehmet Dimou. Then they may tell you that such-and-such an event happened in the month of Holy Cross or of St. Demetrius, as local Greeks call September and October from the Church festivals which are then observed. But surely good Moslems ought not to notice so Christian a festival as the finding of the Cross! Again, I once heard two of them tell a Greek they were "Turks." He professed incredulity. "By the Holy Virgin, we are Turks," came their earnest assurance. On another occasion my horse bolted. When he caught him, my *Vallahadhes* horse boy cursed him heartily as an "Antichrist." Strange enough oaths

from Moslem lips! Less obviously strange to westerners, but none the less odd for that, is their oath "By bread." This, too, is a Christian survival, for, though Moslems treat bread, the staff of life, with great reverence, they do not swear by it. That is a Christian custom, due in particular to the use of bread in the Eucharist.

The survival of their original language has further preserved the old names of their hills, which are still called after such Christian saints as Athanasius, Elias, and Nicolas. By contrast, the Asiatic Turks, who were imported into Macedonia at its conquest and live just east of the Vallahadhes, have replaced the formerly Christian names of their hills with Asiatic names like Hassan Mountain, Peaked Hill, Snow Mount. These hills of the Vallahadhes have a further interest. On top of some there still stands a small Christian chapel—others no doubt have perished by natural decay. The Vallahadhes never molest these chapels, occasionally they repair them, frequently one of their women is caretaker. In a certain village, where all the houses except one are now Mahommedan, the second churchwarden of the church is a Moslem: the local bishop says he is more zealous in his duties than his Christian associate. Most Vallahadhes also make yearly presents of olive oil, money, or candles to churches in neighbouring Greek villages. They explain that this is "a good thing to do" for general health and prosperity, but no doubt they are really continuing a custom of their Christian ancestors. Greeks further assert that the Moslems of Vrosdan go to church on its festival and ask the priest to cross them with holy oil, but this they deny. As they admitted lighting candles in the church according to Greek custom and the *hodja* himself lit one in my presence, I accept their denial: a traveller has constantly to guard against the excessive liveliness of Greek imaginations!

Easter has left some traces among them. The Greeks, as is well known, then dye eggs red and present them to each other. These eggs are received with delight and carefully preserved by the Vallahadhes. The women, more conservative still, "spring clean" their houses at this time, as their Christian sisters do, and in some villages it is *de rigueur* to exchange Easter visits with their Christian neighbours. That, however, may be merely good manners, as Christians sometimes call ceremoniously on Moslems at their Bairam festival. Another favourite Greek feast is St. George's Day. Greeks then go out to the country, where they dance, sing, and eat roast lamb from morning till night. So do the Vallahadhes. Fanatical Moslems say this is because St. George is really the Moslem saint Khidr (Khizr), and that it is Khidr whom the Vallahadhes celebrate on April 23rd. I found, however,

that most of them know nothing of Khidr, and that the neighbouring Asiatic Turks make much less of his festival, so that it is difficult to understand how the Vallahadhes in their remote upland could have learned about him, if it is he, and not the Christian St. George, whom they honour that day.

Other Greek religious festivals they apparently ignore. Christmas and Assumption Day were doubtless too obviously Christian, minor saints' days too unimportant in essentials, to be retained. Some superstitions, however, which they share with their Greek neighbours, are duly carried out on their proper Christian dates. Thus, on St. Andrew's Eve they boil wheat and, eating some, throw the remainder on the roof with a prayer that next year's grain may grow "strong" like Andrew, "Saint Strong," as his name means in Greek. Fear for the crops presumably combined with the survival of their language to retain this superstition. A girlish practice is parallel. On St. Theodore's Day, towards the end of Lent, plates of boiled wheat are brought to church and left there during Mass. Service over, old women steal the wheat, the priest ostentatiously pretending not to see. It is destined for the girls, who, while unmarried, are not allowed out to church. Each receives nine grains, three to be eaten at supper and six to be placed under her pillow, while she recites a spell in which she invokes St. Theodore by name and calls on him to show her her future husband in a dream. The Vallahadhes girls are as anxious as their Christian cousins to secure this Macedonian equivalent of wedding-cake, and they say the same spell, omitting only the words which mention the saint.

More doubtful are some other alleged survivals. Thus, according to the Greeks, many Vallahadhes keep a Christian saint's picture, an *eikon*, in their house and burn a lamp before it at night. Personally they deny this, and I myself have seen none in any house where I have stayed or called, so that I think the Greeks here exaggerate. I fancy that a few such pictures do exist, but for a different reason than the Christian survival adduced by the Greeks. Moslems, as is well known, may marry women of other religions without converting them to Mahommedanism: an indulgent Moslem husband may even allow his wife to practise her own religion. The classical instance is Ali Pasha of Yannina, who, in his infatuation for his beautiful Greek wife, Vasiliki, actually built her a Christian chapel in his palace. In the only two Vallahadhes cases, where I thought unimpeachable the evidence for the existence of such a picture, I discovered that there had been a mixed marriage. Presumably, therefore, when such *eikons* are found among them, they were carried, among other family treasures, by a Christian wife to her Moslem home and

tolerantly left to her by her Moslem husband. Greeks also state that the Vallahadhes preserve "lists of souls," that is, lists of their dead such as the Christians hand at funerals to the officiating priest that he may read their names aloud with a prayer for the repose of their souls. As it is strongly against popular Mahomedan belief to mention the names of the dead, this survival, if substantiated, would be very remarkable. Since, however, they deny possessing such lists, and I have seen none either in their houses or at their funerals, I should think the Greek tale is again based on a few isolated cases of mixed marriage.

Just as linguistic and religious survivals from their Christian past linger among them, so do certain superstitious practices besides those mentioned above. In this connection a wedding was interesting. As usual, the festivities had lasted till after midnight, a notoriously "spooky" hour. Also as usual, the young women in our party had brought their infants with them, and, on leaving, each laid a piece of bread on her child to protect him against such evil spirits as were then abroad. They were unable to explain why they did so, having forgotten that bread derives its power from being the Body of Christ: only their Greek sisters still remember.

Possibly, however, the most important of their superstitious survivals concern the evil eye, that malignant power to which they attribute every ailment of man or beast which is not organic disease. Once, when staying at the Bektashi dervish monastery of Vodhorina, I saw an overlooked child brought to the abbot's wife for cure. She laid a clove of garlic on the threshold, took an axe in her hand, and three times signed a cross over the garlic, cursing the unknown man, woman, or child who had caused the mischief. This done, she brought the axe down on the garlic clove with a resounding whack that smashed it to atoms and thus, by sympathetic magic, destroyed the evil which had injured the child. A few days before I had seen a Christian woman do the same. Christians think the malignant influence may also be drowned by dropping live coals into a glass of freshly drawn water. Before letting the coals fall, the operator signs a cross with each across the glass and mutters a charm or spell. The Vallahadhes place great faith in this "cure," and odd enough I used to feel watching a trousered old crone sign the cross of Christian faith and mumble an Islamic prayer to her own Moslem Hazret Hava (Eve) or Fatmé (the Virgin).

Nothing could better testify to their dread of the evil eye than another Christian remedy they employ against it. This is the kind of crucifix called locally a *monókeró*, which cures overlooking by being merely plunged into a glass of fresh water. Yet,

besides belonging to a hated religion, it violates the veto which Islam has placed on the graving of images, on the ground that their fashioner cannot give them a soul and must therefore surrender them his own at the Judgment Day. The Vallahadhes are quite aware that this crucifix is made by Greek monks on Mount Athos for Christian use, and they are aware of the Mahomedan ban on images, as I have repeatedly found when trying to photograph them. Yet they cling to their *monókeró*. An old lady's case was eloquent. She bewailed to me the burning of her house in the Balkan wars, she bewailed the burning of her village, but most of all she bewailed her burnt *monókeró*. Soon after I found some exposed for sale at a fair, bought one, and sent it to her by a budding *hodja*: he delivered it without scruple. The fact is that the *monókeró* is not merely a Christian survival, but also an emergency remedy, and in an emergency people will try anything. Thus, Spanish influenza took enormous toll of all classes and creeds in Macedonia. To check its ravages, a Greek monastery sent on tour a famous healing *eikon* it possesses. The Vallahadhes welcomed it as hopefully and kissed it as reverently as did the Greeks. At the same time they allowed its attendant priest to sprinkle them with holy water, to bathe them in the fumes of incense, and to bless them in a Christian prayer. Some even made on their doors a great cross of pitch—safeguard against evil because the hell of the Christians is a lake of pitch.

Several other cases of such emergency appeals to Christianity by Vallahadhes came under my personal observation. Once, for example, I found a silver cross hung round a small girl's neck as if she were Christian. The mother, with touching simplicity, explained that she had borne thirteen children, that all had died except this daughter, and that, consequently, she loved her so dearly that she was willing to do whatever Christian or Moslem could devise to prevent her, too, from dying. Again, a *bey*, as landholders are called locally, had married several times, but all the boys born to him had died, and only those superfluous creatures, daughters, had survived. At last a Christian workman informed him that Greeks in similar trouble sent to the monastery of Saint Anna on Mount Athos in order to have service said there and the sanctified bread sent back with a little holy water for the longing parents to eat and drink. Saint Anna, the Christian expounded, had lived childless till eighty years of age; she then bore the Virgin Mary, and in virtue of this miracle she had now singular power to help mortals who had no children or saw all their children die. The *bey* followed his workman's advice, and he and his Moslem wife duly ate the Christian consecrated bread and drank the Christian holy water for the forty days prescribed.

Christians also have no scruples about appealing to Islam in their hours of difficulty. They regularly repair, for instance, if childless, to the Vallahadhes abbot of Odra monastery, the fame of the charms he writes being widespread. They also habitually visit the monastery shrine for certain illnesses, wash their faces in the water which drips from its roof, and leave offerings of money and candles, exactly as do its Moslem clients. A humorous story comes from Triven, where the population is mixed Christian and Moslem. Its elderly *hodja* and younger priest both write efficacious healing spells, but most of the priest's patients are Moslems and most of the *hodja's* are Christians! Both chuckle infectiously over this harmonious reciprocity, and neither seems to try to keep his flock from seeking help from the other. In these last examples religion clearly does not enter into the question. The people are simply summoning the medicine-man—Christian priest, Moslem *hodja*—as Englishmen in need call in a specialist without inquiring whether he be Protestant or Catholic. These cases are therefore not survivals, but rather borrowings, from Christianity.

Returning to genuine survivals, we find some which are without any religious bearing and are merely superstitious. For instance, on the Saturday before Lent begins, Christians boil eggs hard, eat them, and then ceremoniously cast out the shells, inviting a named neighbour to pick them up and, with them, the fleas of the coming season. Certain Vallahadhes villages also attempt to stay the approaching plague in the same selfish, but fortunately ineffective, fashion. An important event of the Greek New Year is eating a certain cake in which a coin has been concealed. The finder is the lucky member of the family for the year: the coin may be spent at once or, being lucky, may be sewn into the first sack of seed-corn to bring luck to the crops. The cake is almost as generally eaten among the Vallahadhes, the coin being disposed of in the same ways.

As was to be expected, a considerable body of superstition has survived in connection with infants. Immediately after birth a child is bathed and then rubbed all over with salt—the poorest mother will provide several pounds of salt for this, though she may have to clothe the baby in rags. The idea is that the salt makes the child strong and prevents chafing of its flesh—powder puffs have not yet reached Macedonia. The Asiatic Turks do not salt their babies, so both the Vallahadhes and Greeks, who do, curse them commonly as “unsalted heads.” The salting accomplished, the child's head is next bandaged round and round and also up and down, in the belief that only so can its bones grow firm.

The third day after birth is very important to a Greek child. It is ceremonially bathed in presence of relatives and family friends,

who are expected to drop coins into the water with good wishes for the child's future: it is the midwife, however, who collects the pence. The bath over, the midwife takes a new-made shirt in which no neck opening has yet been made. Drawing through a ring a piece of material where the neck should be, she sets fire to it and thus burns out a neck opening. As she slips the now completed shirt over the child's head, all present clap their hands and laugh uproariously, in order that the invisible Fates may hear and be glad and wish the child well. A Vallahadhes baby is bathed and dressed in exactly the same way. Faith in the pagan Fates has thus survived among both Greeks and Vallahadhes. Both believe them to be three in number and elderly, to visit children three days after birth and then decree their destiny. Their decrees being irrevocable, they are to be placated. So, in anticipation of their visit, the baby is dressed in its best, all its mother's jewellery is placed on its pillow, sometimes a meal of bread and wine is set out for the Fates, a gold coin being laid beside it if the baby is a girl, pen, ink, and paper if it is a boy. The Asiatic Turks seem to know nothing of the Three.

Mere mortals may help to ensure a child's future. When first taken visiting, the hostess should give it bread that it may be prosperous, sugar that it may be sweet, and wool that it may live till its hair whitens. The mother should be given an onion in order that her milk may flow as abundantly as the tears she sheds as she eats the onion. Both Vallahadhes and Christians take these precautions.

In their funeral customs I could find no traces of Christianity. It is to be noted that by Moslem law the *hodja* at once takes charge of the body and that the funeral ritual, stereotyped centuries ago, formed part of his training. He thus can give no rein to any innate tendency of his own towards superstition. Further, Islam forbids women, natural conservers of ancient ways, to frequent funerals or cemeteries. In these circumstances it is difficult for ancient superstitions to survive.

Weddings, too, are disappointing to the searcher after ancient survivals. Vallahadhes, Greeks, and Turks all seem to employ the same superstitious aids to happiness, so that there is no distinguishing what is Christian and what Moslem in the ceremonies of the Vallahadhes. On the social side, however, something may be gleaned. Possessing the same language automatically entails similarity in the traditional songs sung by Greeks and Vallahadhes at various stages in the festivities, such as plaiting the bride's hair, shaving the bridegroom, fetching the bride from her father's, welcoming her to her new home. Both creeds sing these songs in chorus and often dance to them in the long, trailing *syrtos* which

is so familiar (and boring) to Easter tourists to Athens. The Asiatics, however, do not sing in chorus or dance together. Instead, they hire gipsies to sing and they themselves dance a single, graceful pirouette. The difference is plainly one of race, not religion. The dowry system is characteristic. Greek peasants, unlike their brothers in towns, require no money dowry with a bride, because the work she will do for her husband in his fields is in itself a fortune. Asiatic Turkish women seem scarce, so, whether expected to work in the fields or not, they have to be bought from their fathers by the bridegroom. The Vallahadhes, all peasants, be it noted, follow the Greek peasant custom, requiring no money with their brides, though now that their religion secludes the women from the fields, these latter possess small economic value.

In interesting little household details Vallahadhes women follow their grandmothers' ways. Thus, they melt their summer butter for winter use as do their Christian neighbours, whereas their Asiatic sisters salt it down, English style. Then, Vallahadhes and Greeks alike cook with metal saucepans, while the Asiatics cook in earthenware jugs made by local potters. And both the former bake their bread—leavened bread—in ovens in batches big enough to last a week perhaps. The Turks bake bread without leaven twice a day under a primitive tray of glowing embers, eating it hot, it may be added, to the early ruin of their teeth and their digestions.

In their houses also the Vallahadhes have retained their Christian taste, building as handsome a two-storeyed house as their means permit. The Asiatics build by preference a one-storeyed house and let it straggle at will, apparently without any fixed plan. Provided its roof shelters them tolerably, they seem to desire nothing further. Should a son desire to marry and existing accommodation be insufficient, they build on a "lean-to" at one end or other of the parent house. Each house is set well back in a courtyard but, whereas the Vallahadhes gateway opens frankly into this yard, the Asiatic opens only to reveal a forbidding line of wall which juts out so as to prevent the visitor from catching a glimpse of the house and its female inmates. The general effect is of secrecy and inhospitality so that, on going from the furtive Asiatics to the welcoming, European Vallahadhes, I at least used to feel as if I had left a stuffy room and emerged into the fresh, wind-swept open.

MARGARET HARDIE (MRS. HASLUCK).

IN NORWAY.

THE rain was pouring down, steady rain from grey clouds that drifted relentlessly up the valley from the sea, shrouding the hills in woolly masses of vapour, so that the snow-covered tops were hidden from view. Water was running on all sides, streaming down the steep sides of the valley, roaring in cascades over the rocks, rushing between the pines and birches, then hurrying to join the much swollen river, already filled bank high by the melting snows from the heights. On every side were waterfalls, water tumbling from the hills, as if eager for the freedom of the valleys, much of which had no doubt been literally freed, freed by the rain, borne on the westerly wind, from the cold grip that kept it lying as snow on the frost-bound high ground.

With mackintosh collars turned up, with the rain pattering on our coats, we struck up the hillside, and stumbled up a stony cattle path between the birch trees. Though early summer, according to the calendar, the birches were only just in leaf, and were dressed in the daintiest of fresh pale greenery, which was all agleam with dripping water. Beneath them were juniper bushes, in sombre blue-grey, that contrasted with the red bark of the pines growing here and there. Some of these pines, more fortunate than their fellows in the matter of foothold, were nice straight trees, but the majority were the stunted, distorted children of misfortune, dwarfed and twisted by the adverse elements into the most fantastic shapes. Still they lived, thrusting their roots down between the grey masses of out-cropping rock, braving summer heats and winter frosts. With such evidence of the severity of the struggle for existence before us, it seemed strange to see such luxuriant ferns, the delicate oak and beech ferns growing in sheets, and the tall Norway fern reaching several feet in height. On the day in question, its graceful fronds were not yet unfolded, but reared their heads in an "S" curve. Between these clumps of fern were many plants of the beautiful little yellow violet, *Viola biflora*, which peeps shyly here and there all the way up the hillside. As one got higher the bilberry undergrowth became thicker, the common bilberry being covered with its little pink flowers that are so like wee Chinese lanterns, and the cowberry, *Vaccinium vitis-idaea*, with its paler blossoms.

Climbing upwards, steadily upwards, leaving behind us the chattering fieldfares, that are nesting lower down; crossing roaring torrents by precarious stepping-stones, we reach alder scrub, which, as yet, is leafless. Here the birch is only just breaking into leaf, and bird life seems scarce. A brambling flits from bush to bush, and reveals his handsome person, his dark head, almost

range shoulders, white rump, and white wing bars.' What a different bird he is here, on his native hill, from the item in a finch flock as we know him in our English country-side! Here, accompanied by his duller and more demure mate, he swanks (and that is the only word for it!) through the birch bushes, resplendent in brilliant uniform, a truly notable bird. Leaving the brambling pair behind we continue climbing, now emerging from the birch and alder scrub into a more open region of pines, little stunted trees, worn and weather-beaten, with exposed roots like red hands thrusting gnarled fingers into the rocks, and hung with white lichens like grey-haired old men.

At this height the uneven ground is covered with cushions of bilberry, sphagnum, and white lichen. The lichens are of all sorts; some are like tiny trees carved in old ivory, others like strips of crumpled brown paper, and some are little cups filled to the brim with vermilion. But weird and beautiful as their tints are, the sphagnum, growing in boggy spots between the rocks, glows in lovely shades—there are emerald green cushions, and bright red ones, to say nothing of many intermediate tints. Everywhere through the mosses and plants the rocks keep cropping out, in grey rounded masses, worn down by snow and ice. That this agent is still at work we see by looking ahead, for looming above us, in precipitous masses, is the snow-covered mountain still wearing its white covering. That the snow has only just gone from this lower ground is testified to by patches of bare brown, where as yet nothing has begun to grow. Ground that has been longer uncovered is breaking into life, the dainty white flower of the cloudberry is peeping up here and there, *Andromeda polifolia* hangs her lovely pink blossoms from wirelike stems, and the bilberries show fresh green shoots. In places the latter appear to form big bushes, but a closer examination shows that they are growing on ant nests. These nests are large heaps of leaves and stems, cut into short lengths, and piled up by the industrious ants year after year, so that they represent a considerable accumulation of vegetable matter, mostly disintegrated into leaf mould. Disturbance of the leaves and soil brings out the inhabitants of the city; they pour forth from their holes and tunnels in numbers, so that soon the hillock is alive with them, hurrying backwards and forwards in alarmed confusion, big dark ants that must be a terror to the other insect inhabitants of the spot.

Leaving the ants' nests we go on, still climbing, until, topping a ridge, we look down into a little valley or glade, tucked away in a fold of the hills—it is a more or less grassy, open space, sloping up at one end to the steep *fjeld* side, and bounded on the other by a precipitous cliff, on which birch bushes and ferns alone find

foothold. Turning to the right, we see that the grassy glade merges insensibly into wild birch and pine scrub, that stretches away towards Honstadt, the great mountain that holds its snow-capped head among the drifting mists. The rain is still pelting on our waterproofs, the water is squelching beneath our boots, and streamlets race and gurgle on every side, as they hurry towards a raging torrent that flings itself in headlong falls towards the valley; but it is neither to mountain nor torrent that I turn my eyes, rather to some small log buildings on the grassy plateau. This is the *Saether* to which we have been making our way. It consists of two or three little sheds with picturesque turfed roofs on which small birch trees are growing. Here, in the summer time, the Norwegians bring their cows and sheep, for the scanty pasturage on the *fjeld* sides. Save for a few sheep it is yet deserted, as there is not sufficient grass to keep even a Norwegian cow. However, there is life of other sorts; there is a flash of yellow and green, a little bird flits through some rowan bushes, like a greenfinch in miniature, but very much in miniature, for it is just a wee sprite, and no bigger than a wren. It is a siskin. Another follows it through the branches, the twigs of which are just breaking into tender green leaf, yet these budding leaves appear quite dull compared with the hues of the feathered sprite that flits through them. The two little birds vanish, but I walk forward in the hope of seeing them again; a redwing, the Norwegian nightingale, is singing from a tree-top, pouring forth a thrushlike song, and some bramblings are also to be heard. Suddenly a cuckoo calls; how out of place it seems up here! There is something almost uncanny in that familiar "Cuckoo! Cuckoo!" echoing among the rocks. Again and again its call is uttered—the rain cannot quell its spirits!

Standing there with the pattering of the rain around one, the song of birds in one's ears, the tinkling of a sheep bell mingling with it, and the mountains looming mysteriously above, one seemed a little thing, but an atom in this wild world about which the grey vapours swirled and swayed. One felt as if at any instant world-old beasts might wander across the field of vision, that some monstrous prehistoric creature might appear beside that roaring, tumbling torrent, whose waters were raging down towards the sea. What could that be? An antlered head was emerging from the bushes, followed by a lichen-grey body: another followed, and another, until six reindeer could be seen. Almost as amazed as if they really were beasts from the prehistoric past, I stood staring in astonishment. But there was no mistake about it, only a hundred yards or rather less away they stood and grazed. There were two dark grey ones with good heads, a nearly

white one, two light grey, and a younger white one. Beautiful and quaint, in perfect keeping with the grey moss and lichen-covered ground, they formed a memorable picture, as they strolled forward, and finally disappeared into the scrub. Then the explanation of their presence was obtained: they were tame ones, part of a herd of sixty or seventy, kept by a farmer many miles away at the head of the valley, and had wandered down from the *fjeld* into the *saether*.

Turning back, we retraced our footsteps downhill, noting the black plumage and white throat of a ring ouzel flitting through the birch as we did so, and that the redwing was in full song again, singing lustily despite the heavy rain. But as we dropped downwards it ceased to pelt, the swirling vapours parted, and though the cotton wool masses still hung over the white pinnacles, the valley lay clear beneath us, with its river like a broad ribbon winding to and fro across it. As we stumbled and slipped over the rocks and slates of the water-washed path we saw it gleaming. Far, far below it lay, in tortuous turns and twists of silver athwart the green of the cultivated land, which was bordered by the dark woods of the valley's steep sides. With that as our goal, we climbed downwards, down and down, until at last, with shaking knees, we reached its level.

FRANCES PITT.

ERRATUM.

On page 23 of CONTEMPORARY REVIEW for January, 1924, in Sir Josiah Stamp's article on the Capital Levy, for line 11 from the bottom read:

It will be seen, therefore, that we must ask the question: "What

FOREIGN AFFAIRS.

THE RETURN OF VENISELOS.

THE Greek elections of December, 1923, cut short the exile which had been decreed for Mr. Veniselos three years earlier. After the November elections of 1920 he vowed that he would never again take part in politics. He married and retired to private life in the Riviera and elsewhere. The rebel Veniselos of the Cretan hills seemed to have undergone a metamorphosis. The pain caused him by the repudiation of the Greek people at the very height of his achievement had a visible physical effect, and he seemed thinner and even smaller in stature; but no word ever escaped him of criticism on his fellow-countrymen who had let him down. On the contrary, he spent his time in exile making eager appeals on their behalf, even attempting to justify the elections of 1920 and the treatment he had received. His grief was intensified by the helplessness with which he had to watch from abroad the gradual crumbling of the work he had been able to do for Greece, the gradual estrangement of all the Powers, the disastrous war in Anatolia and the complete turning of the tables between Athens and Angora.

When, in 1922, the Revolutionary Government which had replaced the Constantinist Government of Mr. Gounaris asked him to undertake a sort of roving Ambassadorship for Greece, he unhesitatingly forgot his vow and undertook it. He represented Greece at the Lausanne Conference and succeeded against all the odds in saving something from the wreck. None the less the Treaty of Sèvres was replaced by the Treaty of Lausanne, by which the Turks recovered most of their losses and the Greeks lost everything that had been won for them by Veniselos and more besides. When finally, at the end of 1923, the Greek Government sent a deputation to him begging him to return to Athens, he forgot still more of his vow and consented. He still made the reservation that he would not accept any political office in Athens, but would act in a consultative capacity and confer with all the political leaders. Some of his incorrigible enemies were openly imputing Republican designs to him, and they were the main reason as well as the justification of his decision not to take office. Two other reasons which contributed to his decision were: (1) that he believed unity to be the essential condition of Greek recovery, and he himself, being identified in the past with the struggle against the King, might perhaps cause further division; (2) that he was strongly of opinion that any constitutional change in Greece ought to be effected only by constitutional means, and that the people's wish should be expressed freely through a Constituent National

Assembly without any coaching from any quarter. The failure, however, of both Mr. Roussos and General Danglis to form a Government left him with no alternative, as the patriot we know him to be, to assuming the Prime Ministership himself. That he did on January 11th. It was against his interests, but with Veniselos his own interests count less than anything else. With Veniselos again Prime Minister of Greece, Greek fortunes at once began to rise. On January 15th—four days after he formed his Government—the British Government renewed diplomatic relations, which had been abnormal since November, 1920.

When the ex-King Constantine returned to Athens Mr. Lindlay remained there as Minister, but the British Government, while recognising the Greek Government, refused to recognise the restored dynasty. In November, 1922, when the Revolutionary Greek Government executed Mr. Gounaris and several of his colleagues for treason, Mr. Lindlay was withdrawn from Athens, and although Mr. Bentinck remained as *Chargé d'Affaires*, we had no regular diplomatic representative. That situation continued till January 15th of this year, when official relations were resumed. A British Minister will therefore again take up his duties in Athens, not this time Mr. Lindlay but another, who had not been decided on at the time of writing.

The overwhelming nature of Mr. Veniselos's success at the 1923 election is shown by the following figures. He was put up in twenty constituencies, it being the Greek practice for a candidate to be put up for election irrespective of any action on his own part, provided he is nominated by a minimum of twelve electors. He contested one or more constituencies in every region of Greece—Attica, Boeotia, Euboea, Peloponnesus, Thessaly, Macedonia, Thrace, Crete, the Cyclades Islands, the Aegean Islands—and was elected in nineteen out of the twenty; elected, moreover, with nearly a unanimous vote in all cases except that of Cynuria in the Peloponnesus. He personally received 66,000 votes in a total poll of 71,000 (the registered electors numbering 109,000) in the Capital's constituencies, which include Athens and Piraeus; and at Patras he received 9,500 votes out of 11,500 cast; in the Cretan constituencies he received seven-eighths of the votes, at Syra (Cyclades) the whole poll except one vote. On January 5th he was elected President by 345 votes from a total of 385 members, only extremist Republicans and Royalists voting against him. The influence he has recaptured in Greece is comparable with his influence in 1910 when he first went to Greece as a national leader.

THE JANINA REPORT.

The publication of the Janina report seems to have touched a good

many consciences. On January 16th there met at Geneva a committee of jurists appointed by the League of Nations, of whom Lord Buckmaster was the British representative, charged with the duty of considering certain results of the Corfu episode as they affected the Covenant of the League. The jurists were asked to report on the following points:

(1) Can the competence of the League be challenged in a dispute between two members, if one party is of opinion that the dispute is not likely to lead to a rupture?

(2) Must the League suspend its action if the dispute is referred to another body for settlement?

(3) Can the League's competence be challenged on any other ground than that of paragraph 8 of Article 15 of the Covenant; in other words must the League consent to be ruled out if a party to a dispute represents the dispute as a matter of national honour?

(4) Can a State member take reprisals (for instance, the occupation of Corfu) against another State member?

(5) Is a State responsible for crimes committed in its territory?

The answers ought all to be obvious, but there seems no reason why eminent jurists should not give them.

A TANGIER SETTLEMENT.

A Convention was signed in Paris on December 18th to establish the future international statute of Tangier. For good or bad, therefore, Tangier has been wiped off the slate as one of the regular squabbles between France and Great Britain. Lord Curzon gave it to be understood that although the settlement reached was not ideal, and was a frank compromise between the French and British points of view, there was reasonable ground for satisfaction that some settlement had been reached, that half a loaf was better than none, especially as the half contained a good deal of British wheat. It is certainly true that Lord Curzon has worked hard and more consistently than in any other field of diplomacy since 1918 to have Tangier removed from the list of irritants between Paris and London, and it is always satisfactory, other things being equal, to reach agreement at last about long-standing controversies. The question that will have to be answered is: Are the other things equal?

It has been a principle of British policy for many years to insist, as a matter vital to British interests, that Tangier should not fall into the hands of any first-class Power. Tangier is one of the chief gateways to North Africa and the East, and the object of British diplomacy has therefore been to keep it open and permanently to neutralise it. That is why in every Moorish treaty signed or recognised by the British Government since 1904, it is

laid down that a special régime should be established at Tangier. After the signature of the Franco-Moorish Protectorate Treaty and the Franco-Spanish Agreement of 1912, negotiations were begun between the British, French, and Spanish Governments for the establishment of such a special régime at Tangier. There followed a prolonged dispute, but the negotiators drew up a Statute which provided for a genuinely international régime. The British and French Governments declared themselves ready to sign it in the summer of 1914, but the Spanish Government, true to the well-known Spanish principle of never doing to-day what can by any conceivable excuse be put off till to-morrow, procrastinated; and the outbreak of the Great War cut the matter short before Spain had signed. The Tangier question was thereby held up for the duration of the war. In 1919 the Spanish Government, logically enough on its own imperturbable principle, raised the question of resuming the Tangier negotiations at the point where they had been broken off by the war. It was apparently not realised in Madrid that the intervening five years had radically altered the problem, and that British and Spanish interests had suffered the bulk of the damage done by French diplomacy. The post-war discussions about Tangier were made more difficult by the fact that the French had firmly consolidated their position in the French Protectorate, whereas the Spanish hold on the Spanish zone was daily becoming more precarious. What was still worse was that the French had taken advantage of the situation created by the war to entrench themselves in Tangier itself. In 1914, for instance, the French Protectorate authorities took it upon themselves to expel the German and Austrian Ministers at Tangier, to sequester enemy property, to put down Spanish and German intrigue against the Allies, and in other ways to assume an authority to which the British Government did not object because France and Great Britain were allies in the war, and it was a British principle during the war to take off our hats whenever the French did anything (a habit which with Bull-dog tenacity still persists in some quarters).

It could hardly come as a surprise, therefore, that by the end of the war the French were no longer willing to accept the 1914 statute, which had been drawn up on the principle of internationalisation, and instead made up their minds to appropriate Tangier permanently for themselves. The French, therefore, assumed the pre-war Spanish rôle of procrastination, but with a somewhat different motive. The French calculation was that the longer a settlement could be put off, the deeper the French hold on Tangier could be made. All the public services in Tangier were in French hands at the end of the war and still are. The administration of the natives, customs, public works, the post office (except

the British and Spanish postal agencies) were, and are, in the hands of officials nominated by the French Protectorate administration; the French, moreover, were able to exercise a more general measure of control over Tangier by reason of the fact that the expenses of the administration of Tangier were defrayed mainly by the Protectorate Government. At the end of 1923 the only non-French authority left in Tangier was that of the diplomatic body, which, however, had not met for two years owing to a Franco-Spanish dispute about the Presidency.

In Tangier, as in other fields, therefore, the British Government had to pay the penalty of its loyalty to France during and after the war. One extraordinary thing about the war and its aftermath is that by the sheer force of contrast one has no alternative but to take a Pharisaical view of British conduct. America entered the war and quitted the responsibilities of the war at moments which at any rate did not conflict with American interests. France deserted us after we had bled ourselves in life and treasure. Germany chose to fish in the troubled waters of Franco-British quarrels rather than help the British Government to evolve a decent settlement. On British shoulders has fallen the entire burden all along the line, and only because British statesmen have refused to follow the contemporary fashion in opportunism. We could have checkmated American realism, which refused to lend money to Europe except on a British endorsement of the obligation, by adopting French morals and refusing to honour our bond. Mr. Baldwin, instead, funded the British debt, although he knew that France would never pay us the money which she owed us, and which we had borrowed for her from America. France repaid our loyalty as an Ally by tying our hands, while she turned the victory into a French military hegemony directed against British as well as other interests; and so on. In the case of Tangier the British Government was left with three alternative policies, (1) to try and dislodge the French from the position they had usurped at Tangier; (2) to allow the state of affairs at Tangier with all their consequences to continue; (3) to effect a compromise. In choosing the third alternative, and in carrying it through to what may be argued, on the limits imposed, a successful issue, there is something to be said for Lord Curzon. He has secured for Great Britain an arrangement (on paper) for the open door for commerce and the permanent neutrality of Tangier, and also, again on paper, an international régime, which, if it works, will stand some small chance of preventing the overwhelming predominance of any single Power in Tangier. On the other hand, it should be noted that the Sultan of Morocco (in effect a French official) is to be represented at Tangier by a "Mendoub," a point on which France uncompromisingly

insisted and on which the British representative finally gave way. It is an open secret that France was ready to break the conference on this point, and that Lord Curzon actually considered the desirability of accepting a break on it.

Another serious disadvantage is that the International Assembly is to have four French representatives to three British, although against this may be set the fact that on the Committee of Control the French have only one vote equally with the eight signatories of the Algeciras Act, and that the Sultan is not represented on this body. It is also possible, though not likely, that in practice the French influence in the Assembly will be checked by the fact that out of a total membership of twenty-six, French and native votes together will (if certain negotiations now being conducted succeed) amount to only eleven. The difficulty, however, will be to obtain unanimity among the remaining fifteen. Lastly, there is the deplorable fact that for an initial period of six years the provisional administrator is to be French, a point on which the British representative capitulated as part of the bargain.

The following are the main provisions of the convention :—

(1) No international treaty concluded in the future by the Sultan of Morocco shall apply to Tangier without the consent of the International Assembly.

(2) The capitulations are suppressed. [Now that an international administration is provided for, there is no further need of the capitulations originally imposed on a barbarous State.] Those natives who have been accorded foreign protection will be justiciable before the European Mixed Courts and not the Native Courts.

(3) The establishment of a separate postal service is at present beyond the means of the international administration. The right of the new International Administration to establish a separate service is safeguarded, but for the present the postal service will continue to be performed by the Shereefian post office and the post offices which the various signatories of the Act of Algeciras may care to maintain.

(4) All Shereefian property in the Tangier Zone will be handed over to the International Administration. An exception is made in the case of the Sultan's palace and of three buildings destined to house the Sultan's representative and his offices.

(5) Moroccan francs and Spanish pesetas continue to be legal tender in Tangier.

(6) The international administration may not impose higher rates of taxation on natives than on Europeans.

(7) The Sultan will be represented at Tangier by a "Mendoub" who will be entrusted with the administration of the natives. In order to avoid the possibility of political agitation or the residence

of undesirables at Tangier, the Mendoub has the power of expulsion. He may, however, expel a European only on the demand of the latter's Consul or of the Mixed Tribunal. The Mendoub is responsible for the collection of taxes from the natives and failure to collect them is a contravention of the Statute.

(8) The Government of Tangier, except in so far as the administration of the natives is concerned, will be in the hands of a Committee of Control and an International Legislative Assembly. The Committee of Control will consist of the eight Consular Officers of the Powers Signatory of the Act of Algeciras. It will be their duty to ensure the observance of the Tangier Statute and to veto any legislation which violates it. [Stress was laid on this clause by official British comment on the ground that the Committee of Control, on which the Sultan is not to be represented, and on which the French are to have only the one vote of their Consul, ought to afford a check on French predominance.]

(9) The International Assembly will consist of twenty-six members (four French, four Spanish, three British, two Italian, one American, one Belgian, one Dutch, one Portuguese, six Moslems, and three Jews), and will have complete legislative authority over the native and European population. The six Moslems and three Jews, who are to represent the native population, are to be nominated by the "Mendoub." [This is undoubtedly a serious surrender to the French point of view because the Mendoub inevitably will act as a French officer, and if the nine native members are to be nominated by him they also will inevitably become henchmen of the French Government. Thus the French on this basis will at any moment have thirteen votes out of the twenty-six in the Assembly, and even if the other parties are united it will be impossible to outvote the French. It is true that negotiations are at the time of writing going on between the French and Spanish Governments which may perhaps modify this position. The Convention was signed definitely by the French and British Governments on December 18th, but the Spanish Government signed only *ad referendum*. At the time of writing the firm Spanish signature had not yet been obtained, because the Spanish made further claims for frontier rectifications, customs concessions, and a greater share in administration. These points chiefly concerned France, and the British Government took little part in the negotiations about them. It was arranged, when the Convention was drawn up, that discussions should be started between the French and the Spanish Governments to provide that one of the Moslems and one of the Jew members of the Assembly should be nominated by the Mendoub after consultation with the Spanish Consul, the effect of which would be that the Mendoub would

nominate two members recommended by the Spanish and not by the French Government. The negotiations on this point were still proceeding at the time of writing. If the arrangement is agreed on between Paris and Madrid, the French will control only eleven votes out of twenty-six in the Assembly; in that case France could be outvoted if the other parties were solid—a difficult “if.” France could still divide and rule with reasonable prospect of success. On the other hand there are those who think, on the lesson of experience, that French colonies are not likely to see eye to eye with their Government, and that in the case of Tangier the French Government will never be able to rely on their members in the Assembly.] The Mendoub will be *ex-officio* President of the Assembly and will be assisted by three Vice-Presidents of French, British, and Spanish nationality.

10. The International Assembly will nominate all administrative officers. For an initial period of six years, however, the Administrator and his two assistants will be nominated by the three Governments. In view of the [alleged] preponderance of French interests and trade, and of the necessity of close co-operation with the French Zone during the transition period, it has been decided that the Administrator should be French. His two assistants will be British and Spanish, the former in charge of financial matters, the latter in charge of hygiene and public works. [This is, perhaps, the most serious clause of all. The discussion on it brought the conference to its climax, and Lord Curzon decided to yield rather than break. In view of the *de facto* control established by the French, who achieved their unjustifiable object by taking advantage of the loyalty of their Allies during the war, it is disquieting to think what French opportunism will do in these six years of a “transitional” period. Will it be “transitional”?]]

11. The Commander of the Gendarmerie will be a Belgian, assisted by French and Spanish officers and N. C. Os.

12. A compromise [again of a dangerous kind] is agreed on between the British and French points of view about Customs, whereby the *Contrôle de la Dette* will be abolished, and the Government lands will be administered by the International Administration, but the head of the Customs will be nominated by the Shereefian Government. [The Customs and Shereefian Government lands at Tangier are at present in the hands of the “*Contrôle de la Dette*,” who represent the French holders of the Moorish loans of 1904 and 1910. This body is most corrupt and inefficient, and the British Government have throughout insisted on its disappearance under the new régime. The French Government took its stand on the defence of the interests of the French bondholders, and further pointed out that the Shereefian Government have

guaranteed the interest payable by Tangier on the 1904 and 1910 loans, the Tangier-Fez railway bonds and the Tangier harbour bonds, a total of over 4,000,000 francs a year. The customs are the chief source of Tangier's revenue, and if they are inefficiently administered, Tangier must default and the Shereefian Government pay. The French, therefore, insisted that in order to protect themselves, they must have some guarantee of efficiency in the customs. To meet the French demand, the Shereefian Government is given the power to nominate the head of the customs. On the other hand, the international administration will exercise a large measure of control over the customs administration, whose accounts will be submitted for the approval of the Assembly. Further, the Committee of Control may, by a three-quarters majority vote, demand the dismissal of the head of the Customs.

13. The Convention is concluded for a period of twelve years. It will continue, however, to remain in force indefinitely, unless and until the three Contracting Parties agree to revise it.

14. As soon as the Convention has been signed by the three Contracting Parties, the latter will approach the other Signatories of the Act of Algeciras and invite them to adhere to the new Convention.

“THE FANTASTIC CARNIVAL.”

The diplomatic after-effects of what Herr Stresemann called the “fantastic carnival of the Separatists,” have been more grotesque than the carnival itself. It has already been recorded here how the French and Belgian authorities in the Rhineland brought the spurious “Separatists” into existence. On January 2nd, they tried to establish them as a recognised and legitimate government of the Palatinate. By a Franco-Belgian majority vote the Rhineland High Commission decided to register certain decrees which had been issued by the self-styled “President” of the self-styled “Autonomous Government” of the Palatinate, Herr Heinz. The British Government lodged an energetic protest against that implied recognition of the Separatists, and the Rhineland High Commission, some ten days later, agreed to refer the point to its legal advisers, whose advice would be considered by the High Commission before any further steps were taken. In other words, it was agreed that the matter should be brought before the Allied Governments. It is the view of the British Government that the Inter-Allied Rhineland High Commission, to give it its official title, has no competence to take any political decision or any decision which by implication or possible interpretation, may be regarded as political.

The recognition of the so-called autonomous government of the

Palatinate was a case in point. By the terms of the Treaty of Versailles and of the Rhineland Agreement, to which the Allies on one side and Germany on the other were the parties, the powers of the High Commission were clearly defined. Clause 3 of the Agreement lays it down that the Commission's competence is restricted to securing "the maintenance, safety, and requirements" of the armies of occupation. It was the view of the British Government that the High Commission's decision of January 2nd did involve a *de facto* recognition of the "autonomous government," although, as a result of the British protest, the execution of the Commission's decision was suspended. Even a unanimous vote of the Commission could not grant such recognition, still less a majority vote. It can be granted only by the Allied and German Governments acting in agreement. The point is that the Palatinate is an integral part of the German Reich, and is held, together with the rest of the occupied territory, in trust by the Allies for an interim period of fifteen years, after which it has to be handed back to Germany. Any Separatist movement in the Palatinate could therefore be recognised by the Allies only if it conformed with the requirements of the Weimar Constitution, and thereby received the approval of the Berlin Government. The Weimar Constitution makes full provision for any genuine movement towards self-determination and stipulates a vote of only one-third of the population concerned to set the machinery in motion. The French allegation that the British Government's object was to thwart an impulse towards self-determination was a nonsensical irrelevancy. If the Separatist movement in the Palatinate was a genuine movement, what objection could the French have to its finding a constitutional expression by a one-third vote? Still more, what was the French objection to a British investigation into the matter?

The incident which followed the British decision to investigate was one of the most lamentable that has widened the post-war breach between London and Paris. After the affair of January 2nd, the British Government made up its mind to find out exactly what this Separatist business amounted to. That was not only natural, it was a matter of urgent necessity. The occupied territories, though divided into zones for administrative purposes, are the joint responsibility of all the Allies; and although that portion of the Bavarian Palatinate lying on the west bank of the Rhine was by the agreement assigned to the French zone, the responsibility for what took place there, in so far as it affected the general conduct of the Allies as trustees, was shared by the Allies in common. M. Tirard, however, appeared to be under the delusion that the British Government would be prepared to share the responsibility

for detaching the Palatinate from Germany without even looking at the matter. When Mr. Clive, British Consul General at Munich, was asked to proceed to the Palatinate and find out what substance, if any, was contained in the "Separatist" movement, M. Tirard took us all by surprise by protesting with apparent indignation.

As the Palatinate is part of Bavaria and, as such, part of the province which legitimately falls to Mr. Clive to report on to the British Government, M. Tirard's attitude was hard to understand. It was all the harder to understand because the British Government had not only the right but the duty to inform itself of conditions in every part of the occupied area. That was a right and a duty which had been recognised from the beginning of the occupation. Nearly twenty French officials are permanently stationed in the British zone at Cologne, and for the past four years a French political delegation has resided in Cologne for the precise purpose of furnishing reports to the French High Commissioner on the conditions obtaining in the British zone. Not only have the British authorities never objected to this, but they have taken it for granted as the obvious thing for the French to do, even though on their side the British authorities had not up to the time of the Separatist incident sent any British officials into the French zone. There was something Liliputian in the French threat, made apparently as a reprisal against the projected Clive mission, to send a French mission to Cologne to investigate the existence of an alleged secret German society there. It was a threat to force an open door. Any French delegation would be allowed at any time to conduct any inquiries it chose in the British zone, if the many French officials already there were unequal to the job; and M. Tirard was told so by Lord Kilmaunock. Curiously enough M. Tirard was thereupon more angry than ever. There was no need for the British Government to have informed the French High Commissioner, still less to seek his permission, before asking Lord Kilmaunock to entrust Mr. Clive with a mission of inquiry in the Palatinate. British courtesy being proverbial, however, M. Tirard was informed beforehand. The courtesy was returned with an outburst of wholly unintelligible resentment. The British Government was roundly informed that Mr. Clive would not be allowed in the Palatinate unless accompanied by a French official. The polite restraint of the British Government on these unpleasant occasions is admirable. Quite firmly, however, the French Government was informed that the British Government could not consent to its accredited representative being interfered with by any French official in the execution of his legitimate duty. Mr. Clive duly left Munich en route for the Palatinate. Thereupon the French High Commissioner

proceeded, in defiance of everything and everybody, to appoint a French official, one M. Filliol, to act as guide and general supervisor to Mr. Clive. Modern diplomacy certainly has its dramatic moments. Mr. Clive started out for the Palatinate and all that could be said at the moment of writing was that he certainly would not consent to be accompanied by the French official, unless the latter chose to adopt the methods of a detective.

The really interesting point in this astonishing story is to speculate on the reasons which were strong enough to make the French authorities throw to the winds even formal respect for the conventional behaviour of allies towards each other and to try at all costs to prevent Mr. Clive from conducting an impartial inquiry. There is no need to labour the point. M. Tirard's object was to prevent Mr. Clive from discovering the truth. As in so many other instances since the war, this French attempt to blot out the sun was destined to failure from the beginning. Mr. Baldwin's Government went out, as it came in, at loggerheads with France; and Mr. MacDonald's task of making peace with France promises to be as hard as the most heroic of pacifists could want.

Although the results of Mr. Clive's mission were not known at the time of going to press, it is worth calling attention to a document which was published in a Dutch newspaper, the *Nieuwe Rotterdamsche Courant*, of January 17th. That document, it said, had been given to Mr. Clive when he reached Heidelberg, on the frontier of the occupied territory, by certain exiled mayors and industrialists from the Palatinate. Some of the interesting points in it are as follows:—

"On November 16th General de Metz informed the legal government that the Separatist Government had taken over *de facto* control, and that the occupying authorities must take into account the actual state of affairs.

"On November 20th he threatened the local authorities of Neustadt with severe sanctions on account of the shooting of two Separatists, and declared that any action taken against the Separatists was automatically directed against the occupying authorities.

"On December 5th his representative, Lieut. Mabniez, introduced the Separatist, Herr Bley, to an assembly of Palatinate mayors and industrial representatives as 'Minister of Economic Affairs in the new Government.' On a protest being made to General de Metz he answered, 'I have had instructions from my superiors in Paris to act as I am acting.'

"Three days later General de Metz declared that he would stand or fall in the execution of the French plans in the Palatinate, and asked the Finance Department to allot a proportion of the Palatinate taxes to the 'autonomous government.'"

Evidence was further given of French military action on behalf of the Separatists and of the imprisonment of anti-Separatists by the French authorities.

CZECHOSLOVAKIA AND THE EUROPEAN STALEMATE.

"A negative attitude in politics," said Dr. Benesh to me last October, "is fatal." Whatever be one's opinion of the latest manifestation of Czechoslovak policy, one cannot charge Dr. Benesh with being negative. When, in December, the first reports appeared in the British Press of the treaty of alliance which had been agreed on "in principle" between M. Poincaré and Dr. Benesh, British opinion was taken by surprise, and the criticisms made were the harsher for that reason. Although Czechoslovakia is a State of only five years' standing, she has played a prominent rôle in European affairs, and up to last December won the enthusiastic approval of British opinion. She has developed quickly, and in quick growth there are always dangers. Up to the time of the Poincaré-Benesh pact, British opinion had almost solidly respected the level-headedness and success with which the young State was evolving order out of chaos in Central Europe. The idea of peaceful, economic reconstruction which underlay the Little Entente was such as to appeal to British minds. At the end of 1923 Czechoslovakia made what was regarded by British opinion as her first mistake. At the time of writing, the text of the proposed Franco-Czechoslovak treaty had not been published, nor the treaty signed, but it appeared certain that it would be signed, and enough was known of its nature to justify the unfavourable impression which the first news of it had made on British opinion.

It was clear that the intentions of Prague were excellent, as always; that the treaty with France was, in the Czechoslovak mind, a new departure in treaty-making, having for its object, not the binding of the parties to war in given contingencies, but the binding of the parties to peace in all contingencies. It was wholly in keeping with the scheme that Dr. Benesh wanted to make similar treaties with Great Britain and Italy. In the case of the French treaty the immediate object according to Prague was to make peace with Germany and with Russia; in other words, Dr. Benesh was trying to extend the methods of the Little Entente to a bigger experiment in regional understanding. Emphasis was laid on the fact that the proposed treaty is not a military convention either in form or in intention. There was, however, an important discrepancy between the French and the Czechoslovak comment on it. It was clear that France regarded it as the thin end of a wedge. She had failed in October to induce President Masaryk and Dr. Benesh to accept a military pact: she hoped to "wangle" the pacific pact in a way which would belie the epithet.

One of the chief weaknesses in Dr. Benesh's argument is that it

ignores the *status quo* of the French occupation of the Ruhr. He protests that his object is to ensure respect for international engagements, including the Treaty of Versailles. Now the British Government has placed on record its opinion that the French occupation of the Ruhr is illegal under the Treaty. Czechoslovakia could logically argue that the Treaty is dead, the Franco-British Entente is dead, and therefore that some new arrangement, such as the proposed treaty, was desirable from the Czechoslovak point of view; or she could argue that the Treaty must still be respected; but she cannot have it both ways. She cannot make a pact with France implicitly accepting the occupation of the Ruhr and still maintain that the pact is based on recognition of the treaty. While Czechoslovakia protests that the proposed treaty is not directed against Germany, but towards securing an agreement with Germany, France leaves no doubt that it is the French intention to mobilise Czechoslovak help against Germany. Dr. Benesh appears to be attempting an impossible thing.

A British comment made on the Benesh argument that no war liability will be involved in the treaty is that in 1914 Great Britain had no war liability on behalf of France. There was not even a formal treaty, but only a nebulous entente, between the two countries; yet morally Great Britain had to go to war on the side of France. Czechoslovakia, by accepting the present proposal for a treaty, would wittingly or unwittingly compromise herself in relation to France. The danger is all the greater because the Czechoslovak army is being trained with French help and in other ways France has enveloped Czechoslovakia with her tentacles.

When President Masaryk and Dr. Benesh visited Paris and London last October a rumour was started in Paris that a military convention had been agreed on between the French and Czechoslovak Governments. President Masaryk, asked about it when he came to London, made a public statement that it was not true, and that Czechoslovakia had not discussed and had no intention of concluding a military pact with France. What was not known at the time, but what has since transpired, is that both President Masaryk and Dr. Benesh, while in London, gave Lord Curzon a full explanation of an alternative development in Franco-Czechoslovak relations. They told him about the contemplated political pact with France. When President Masaryk and Dr. Benesh refused to discuss with M. Poincaré the formation of a military convention it was at the same time agreed that Dr. Benesh should return to Paris at the end of the year to discuss the Czechoslovak as opposed to the French proposal. It was made perfectly clear in the French Press that the Quai d'Orsay's object was to mobilise Czechoslovak support for the cause of French military hegemony

in Europe. Dr. Benesh returned to Paris in December and the broad lines of a "pacific" pact were agreed on between him and M. Poincaré. Hardly had Dr. Benesh left Paris than the Quai d'Orsay in its elation let loose the news, and the French Press acclaimed Czechoslovakia as a new recruit in the French camp. Now it happens that Dr. Benesh as far back as October 29th, on his return from London, made a full statement to the Czechoslovak Parliament which foreshadowed both the treaty with France and the possibility of Prague becoming a bridge between Paris and Moscow. That statement was published in full in the Czechoslovak Press on October 30th. It took up ten columns, for instance, of the *Gazette de Prague*. One of the striking passages was the following:—

"Our policy has been one of peace and reconstruction. From the first moment of our independence we have never lost sight of the proper methods of ensuring the internal peace of our country so that no obstacle should hamper our internal consolidation. From the beginning there followed our ambition to conclude agreements with Germany, Austria, Hungary, Poland. There also followed our effort to create in our foreign policy a tradition of friendship with France, Italy, and Great Britain. Thence also the creation of the Little Entente, whose object was to ensure to our country several years of peace. . . . Our foreign policy has had one single aim. We did not want to see Austria fall a prey to anarchy, and we have the same policy towards Hungary. We have set up a close network of commercial treaties. . . . Both our Russian and our German policies have been conceived in the same spirit of reconstruction." He then went on to say that "President Masaryk explained in Paris that in good and bad times Czechoslovakia could be counted on as a friend, which meant that Czechoslovakia wanted to bind herself with bonds of friendship to each of the western democracies, especially to the French democracy. . . . We discussed the form of our political collaboration with France, and it will no doubt be possible in the near future to give a definite form to it, and we explained in London that this development will not affect our relations with Great Britain."

That was on October 29th. There had been no attempt on the part of Prague to keep London in the dark, and President Masaryk's public statement that no military convention was intended has proved, as no one ever doubted, literally correct. There are no military clauses in the Franco-Czechoslovak treaty. Moreover, it became clear that Czechoslovakia was aiming at something which in theory was admirable. According to a statement published in the *Prager Presse* of January 3rd, that journal being the semi-official organ of the Czechoslovak Foreign Office, it was the ambition of Dr. Benesh to follow up the treaty with France with similar treaties with Great Britain and Italy. "Towards Italy and England (it stated) with which to a similar extent and with equal resolution

Czechoslovakia would like to arrive at an understanding for a similar purpose, she will maintain the same relations as those existing hitherto." At the same time it was frankly admitted that "There is no State in Europe with which the total interests of Czechoslovakia are so closely bound up as with France."

Dr. Benesh is a realist, and his general principle of action appears to be an adaptation of Mr. Ramsay MacDonald's "One step enough for me." It is impossible, in his view, to reach "complete accord" on anything in the present state of Europe. What is possible, again in his view, is to divide the outstanding problems in the European settlement into three categories: (1) Those on which agreement is certain between two or more parties concerned, (2) those on which agreement may be expected as the result of negotiation, (3) those on which agreement is impossible. It is his plan to draw up a series of treaties, with France, Great Britain, Italy, Russia, Hungary, &c., incorporating the subjects of category (1), to negotiate for the incorporation of category (2), and to wipe off the slate, as far as possible, those of category (3). It is his conviction that there are certain matters in Europe on which Great Britain and Czechoslovakia have common interests and a common policy, such as the maintenance of existing frontiers, the development of the League of Nations, the recognition and honouring of debts, disarmament, economic reconstruction and the like. Which is better, he asks, to come to a formal agreement with Great Britain on such common ground as exists and to discuss the rest as friends, or to assume, because Czechoslovakia has come to an agreement with France, that, therefore, Czechoslovakia is an enemy of Great Britain and to disagree on everything?

There is something in that argument; but in the British view Dr. Benesh would have been better advised to have sounded British opinion before concluding the treaty with France. On the other hand, British opinion ought to recognise Czechoslovakia's difficulties, and not to assume prematurely that she will lend herself passively to French purposes. After all she has proved that she has a mind of her own.

GEORGE GLASGOW.

LITERARY SUPPLEMENT.

LIST OF CONTENTS.

	PAGE
1. REVIEWS	253
A LABOUR PARALLEL; EDUCATION IN THE FACTORY; FOLK-LORE IN THE OLD TESTAMENT; AUSTIN DOBSON; ENGLISH WARTIME POETRY; AN ANTHOLOGY OF CHILDHOOD; AN AMATEUR AMBASSADOR; THE HERALDRY OF WOMEN.	
2. SHORTER REVIEWS: "The Letters of the Tsaritsa to the Tsar, 1914-1916"; "A Tale of Brittany"; "The Art of Thomas Hardy"	269
3. NOTICES OF BOOKS: "The Continuity of Letters"; "Studies in Milton"; "Land and Sea Tales for Scouts and Guides"; "Plague, Pestilence, and Famine"	271

REVIEWS.

A LABOUR PARALLEL.*

This book is eminently one to be studied carefully, and I would warn readers that it is no light task to do so. It is not a blind partisan plea for Labour Governments. On the contrary, it is a most frank exposure of various weaknesses and failures, which have been revealed in the attempt to secure a predominating influence in the Government to the manual workers. But it partly shows, and partly hints at, those peculiar circumstances which distinguish Australian experiences from any that we have had, or are likely to have in England; and it supplies, therefore, a warning against misleading analogies and rash inferences.

In the first place, Mr. Childe shows in his introduction that those droughts, which we hear of from time to time, and look on probably as mere passing troubles, have really produced a permanent effect on the climate of Australia, and, therefore, on the chances of life and work in that country. Agriculture is stunted, and in many places made impossible by these conditions, and even the pastoral life is limited by the large amount of land needed to support the cattle and sheep. Thus that rush from the country into the towns, which we often complain of in England, is in Australia an almost unavoidable result of the conditions and limitations of the occupations in the country districts. And the terrible overcrowding of the towns may excuse, in some measure, that anti-immigration policy which was for so long promoted by the Labour Party in Australia.

* *How Labour Governs.* By V. E. Childe. (Labour Publishing Company.)

Nor can we forget the large part which the convict element supplied to the early population of Australia. And this difficulty should be considered from two points of view. While, on the one hand, those convicts, whom we should still consider as criminals, would supply a fierce and lawless element to the population, we must always remember that men were transported in the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries for resistance to unjust tyranny. Thus some Dorchester labourers, transported for a strike, were among the earliest Australian convicts; and such men as these would have an excusable bitterness against the more successful classes. Then again, the gold-digging venture brought difficulties into the relations between classes. On the one hand, the successful gold-diggers had little outlook of a philanthropic kind, and Mr. Childe mentions that capitalist organisations were soon formed to resist the claims of the Labour Party. On the other hand, the large number of men who had failed in the gold-diggings supplied a nomadic element, who wandered over the country and took up odd jobs, now at mining, now at sheep-shearing, but always haunted by that discontent which an unsettled life must produce.

In spite of these miscellaneous elements, the Labour Party succeeded for a time in capturing the Government, and in making it dependent on the Labour caucus; and that caucus actually compelled one Prime Minister to resign. But the workers soon found that, when a man became a Minister of State, he felt bound to carry on the Government, and often to enforce laws against his former fellow-workers. Moreover, several small landholders and farmers and small miners, who had joined the workers in their resistance to capitalist tyranny, revolted against the rigid restrictions on their free actions which the workers desired to enforce. So there arose the great split in the Labour Party between the section which desired still to act through Parliament, and those who preferred "direct action." It was during this crisis that a society arose called the "Industrial Workers of the World." This body had its origin in the United States, and was the result of bitterer class oppression than any that had ever been successfully carried out in Australia. This Society claimed to rise above national aims, and to raise the Australian workers to a world outlook. It came to its full strength during the war. Mr. Hughes had then revolted from the Labour Party, and was trying to enforce conscription. This attempt the Labour organisation successfully resisted; and Mr. Hughes was formally driven from the Labour Party, and at last from office. But the World Workers' Union drifted into lawless acts of violence; and the other Australian Labour organisations opposed it and broke it up.

Thus the Labour Party succeeded in defeating Imperialism, but

failed to create a complete domination of all classes by the manual workers. Is this result, when taken in connection with the special local difficulties, very discouraging? Violence has been no monopoly of any one English Party. Failure to govern by one class, independently of others, is no new thing in England. May not the new Labour forces help the old leaders without ousting them from public life?

C. E. MAURICE.

* * *

EDUCATION IN THE FACTORY.*

At a time when a Labour Government is for the first time called upon to promulgate an education policy, the experiments in continued education for the adolescent and the adult carried on in connection with the Bournville works call for attention. Mr. Ferguson's monograph on the subject is timely, and will doubtless be studied at the Board of Education and by the directors of education throughout the country. Works schools are much more general than is commonly supposed. Mr. Ferguson says that there are about one hundred British firms which can claim to carry on systematic educational work, though there are not nearly so many that have a distinct Education Department. The Bournville scheme has been described in a succession of pamphlets, but these are out of print. It is felt

That the industrial conditions prevailing at this time give an enhanced value to descriptions of educational experiments which have become firmly established after passing through their earlier and more tentative stages. There is also another reason. The most important provisions of the 1918 Education Acts are still in abeyance, and efforts are made in many quarters to prove that they are industrially and economically impracticable. Pioneer schemes in various parts of the country, whether launched before or after 1918, have provided the strongest arguments in support of these two Acts, particularly those sections which deal with adolescent education.

Mr. Ferguson rightly points out the probability that "the character of the educational work planned by an employer is determined mainly by his ability to take a long as well as a broad view." There is no credit side in the balance sheet to day continuation school work, but the employer has to realise that perhaps ten years ahead the school will have trained students who can fill positions of responsibility in the factory, and others who can raise the whole tone of the district. "The employer who commences

* *Education in the Factory: an Account of the Educational Schemes and Facilities at Cadbury Brothers, Ltd., Bournville Works.* By R. W. Ferguson. (Publication Department, Bournville Works.) 6d.

an educational scheme with the single idea of increased output is simply inviting disillusionment." If there is an educational scheme connected with a business firm it must represent, if it means anything, long vision.

The continuation school sections of the Act of 1918 had one effect. They stimulated the creation of educational schemes in connection with various firms. Some of these died, some were handed over to the local education authority. "There is no doubt that a well-considered policy of co-operation with the Local Authority is the main secret of success in Works Education schemes, particularly those concerned with the education of adolescents." All voluntary continuation schools must have, if there is to be success, the support of both the employers and the Education Authority.

But the work done for education in industry is not limited to day continuation schools for juveniles. Adult or adolescent education is equally important. At Bournville the vital questions of organisation and administration are dealt with by a "Men's Education Committee" and a "Women's Education Committee," on which both the firm and the employees are represented, while the Works Educational Organiser acts as Secretary for both Committees.

The administration is carried on in a department devoted entirely to educational work, and employing generally a staff of eight persons. Intimate co-operation has to be maintained with various other bodies, with the Local Education Authority and the public educational institutions on the one hand, and, on the other hand, with the Works Councils, the Shop Committees, the Foremen's and Forewomen's Associations, the Youths' Committee, and other representative groups of employees.

The task of a Works Education Department in a large firm is really an Education Office with all the problems to solve that belong to any bureau of education. Apart from the endless detail of what may be called the social side (camps and so forth) of education there are organised at Bournville not only the day continuation schools for which the Birmingham Education Committee is financially responsible, but Initiation Schools (giving an introduction to factory life), Vacation Schools, Camp Schools, Apprenticeship schemes, examinations for promotion, training courses, vocational training, study circles, physical training, hobby classes, educational record work, scholarship provision to various Universities. Almost every form of educational activity has its outlet, and this is largely rendered possible by wise co-operation with the local Education Authorities.

To what degree can the work be extended through the country generally; how far will the new Government go in promoting the educational welfare of children in work; if (as few doubt) the com-

pulsory sections of the Act of 1921 are put into force, how far will this fact be related to the existing works schools? These are some of the many questions that the near future will answer. But meantime all great firms should make ready for a wide extension of both adolescent and adult education.

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FOLKLORE IN THE OLD TESTAMENT.*

This abridgment, partly enough, of Sir James Frazer's monumental work in three volumes on *Folklore in the Old Testament* should be very widely read, and read without fear, for the documentation of the original work gives all the necessary authorities for the multitudinous facts set forth and co-ordinated in the author's learned and attractive manner. Sir James, in his preface to the new edition, points out that modern research into customs and archæology has enabled us to add one more to the three histories of primary interest nominated by Renan: Greece, Israel, and Rome.

"To those three histories, which all rest on the evidence of written documents, we may now add at least a fourth, to wit, the history of mankind in ages and in countries to which the art of writing was unknown. For since the time when Renan gave to the world his great history of Israel and of early Christianity, our knowledge of the human past has been vastly enlarged and enriched, on the one hand, by the discoveries of prehistoric archæology, and, on the other hand, by a more exact study of savage races, who represent for us more or less accurately the various stages of social evolution through which the ancestors of the civilised races passed long ago. Taken together, those comparatively new sciences lift to some extent the veil which has hitherto hung over the infancy of mankind; they allow us to pierce, if I may say so, the dead wall which till lately appeared to block the path of the inquirer beyond the limits of classical antiquity; they open up a seemingly endless vista of man's thought and activity as they existed in those dim and incalculable ages which elapsed between the emergence of our species on earth and its full maturity in civilised humanity."

From many points of view this careful work will stimulate research. To those to-day who are poring into the origins of legal customs, to those who see in folklore a key to the maze of human wanderings, to those who are struggling to understand the bases of our most prominent institutions such as marriage, to those who seek to find the origin of the State, and not least to those who are anxious to find an explanation of many points in the Old

* *Folklore in the Old Testament: Studies in Comparative Religion, Legend, and Law.* By Sir James George Frazer, F.R.S., F.B.A. Abridged Edition. (Macmillan.) 18s. net.

Testament which neither textual nor higher criticism can explain, this book will prove of endless use. Here Sir James Frazer attempts "on the lines of folklore, to trace some of the beliefs and institutions of ancient Israel backward to earlier and cruder stages of thought and practice which have their analogies in the faiths and customs of existing savages." He deals in this fashion with the story of the Creation of Man, with the Fall, with the "Mark of Cain," with the innumerable legends of Great Floods, with the Patriarchal Age, with the customs of the times of the Judges and the Kings of Israel, and finally with "The Law." Each of these subjects has its own peculiar fascination. The very meaning of the Hebrew words for man, *Adam*; for ground, *adamah*; for red, *adom*, and the red colour of the earth of Palestine show how remarkably "nature itself bears witness to the literal accuracy of Holy Writ."

There is one chapter of wide research that shows how significant many things in the Bible are to the legal historian, and how investigation from the point of view of customary law clears up difficulties that have not yielded to the technical and professional critic. The story of the early life of the patriarch Jacob is not pleasing, and is indeed inexplicable. He cheated his brother Esau out of his seeming birthright and out of his father's blessing. No criticism can clear away the facts, and one grimly suspects that "Jacob is the type of the Semitic trader." Yet it is quite possible that both Jacob and his mother Rebekah ("whose maiden name might have been Sharp," as Sir James says with his characteristic humour) have been more sinned against than sinning; that the record leaves out facts that justify in some measure at any rate the action of the pair. What if Jacob was really the heir, as one might suspect from the subsequent conduct of Esau? The suggestion is startling, for certainly Esau was the elder. Yet we have to remember that the rule of ultimogeniture is very generally (though not always) earlier than primogeniture. Sir James Frazer does not commit himself to the theory that Jacob was the heir—even if he were, the fashion of asserting it was repellent—but he points out that there were certainly traces of ultimogeniture in Israel. Isaac was a younger son, and displaced Ishmael. Joseph was probably the youngest son, and certainly he was the favourite. Perez was proved to be the youngest son of Tamar; this was necessary, as he was to be the ancestor of David, who again was a youngest son, and transmitted his throne to a younger son, Solomon. These facts give Sir James the opportunity of providing an admirable account of the distribution of ultimogeniture throughout the world. It is perhaps not necessary to accept his explanation of the custom, the explanation, on a broader basis, put

forward by Sir William Blackstone, that the elder sons, whether in the pastoral or the agricultural stage, moved away from the home and left the youngest to look after the parents and to succeed them. It is a plausible and simple explanation, but seems to the present writer too simple and inconsistent with the Irish and Welsh and, indeed, the Kentish evidence. The alternative solution is too complex to consider here, but it seems to the present writer to turn on the fact that the original idea of inheritance was related to birth and not to death. The last person born into an inheritance was more important for the purposes of tradition than those who would in the course of nature die earlier. Thus one comparatively small point in this vast book at once opens up a delightful controversy. Each student of the book, from many points of view, will find the same delight and the same range of learning.

J. E. G. DE M.

* * *

AUSTIN DOBSON.*

Many lovers of poetry will place, gratefully, this volume of the poetical works of Austin Dobson beside the four volumes of Andrew Lang. There are, of course, many and indeed profound differences between these two true poets, but there is a body of doctrine and a body of technique in common, and a common humanism not wholly shared by any other writers of that generation. Austin Dobson's first volume of collected verse was issued in 1873, when he was thirty-three, and from that date his poetical work came steadily from the press. He was writing poetry all his life, and the poetry he wrote was always tender, always true, often whimsical, always touched with true nobility. His rondeau *Clean Hands*, an "Armistice Hymn," indeed, strikes the note of his work and thinking.

Make this thing plain to us, O Lord!
That not the triumph of the sword—
Not that alone—can end the strife,
But reformation of the life—
But full submission to Thy Word!
Not all the stream of blood outpoured
Can Peace—the Long-Desired—afford;
Not tears of Mother, Maid or Wife . . .
Make this thing plain!
We must root out our sins ignored,
By whatsoever name adored;
Our secret sins, that, ever rife,
Shrink from the operating knife;
Then shall we rise, renewed, restored . . .
Make this thing plain!

The Complete Poetical Works of Austin Dobson. (Oxford University Press.)
4s. net.

Half a century earlier he wrote of an old gentleman's working library:—

One more,—“ the Bible.” Not that he
Had searched its page as deep as we;
No sophistries could make him see
 Its slender credit;
It may be that he could not count
The sires and sons to Jesse's fount,—
He liked the “ Sermon on the Mount,”—
And more, he read it.

This gentleman of the Old School is Austin Dobson's model for the Gentlemen-at-Arms who won the Five Years' War, and he would import into the new world of aeroplanes and wireless the “ kind and gracious memory ” of that dear Gentlewoman of the Old School whose “ plain-song piety preferred pure life to precept.” That is the standard of the poet, the best men and women of the age when the bases of the Empire were laid. Who shall say that he was wrong, and that Manners can be divorced from Manhood?

Austin Dobson was an exponent of Manners in all senses. His heroes and heroines were never *sine nobilitate*. Those porcelain trifles of his are moralities that Browning must have loved. He worked in porcelain, and what looked like an artificial art became replete with beauty and goodness, with tenderness and love. Life to the poet is synonymous with Love.

None but Death loves the lips by Love forsaken.

We hear throbbing everywhere, through the work of this tender poet, man's “ poor beating heart,” and sometimes the reader and thinker must say, can Poetry go further, did Euripides, with all his splendour, take it further? Yet the poetry of Dobson would not be what it is if behind it all was not the poet's infinite modesty. He would have laughed at the idea of being compared with the very great poets. He honestly used the phrase from Martial, *Majores majora sonent*. He insisted in 1897 that “ the motto on my title-page is sincere,” and completed it

Mihi parva locuto
Sufficit in vestras sacpe redire manus

Of course it was sincere. Sincerity, glowing through the delicate medium of his soul, was the central fact of all his charming and delightful verse. No Alexandrine hopelessness coupled with beauty was his. He had the faith that knits into one the most diverse generations of men.

J. E. G. DE M.

* * *

ENGLISH WARTIME POETRY.*

This is an enlarged edition of an anthology of war poems originally published in 1920. Miss Trotter's intention is “ to present the poet as the historian, and to illustrate the different aspects and phases of the war by contemporary poetry.” She does not exact “ the highest literary standard,” whatever that may be. The test of inclusion is the power of the poem “ to strike a true note or express a living emotion.” Miss Trotter feels that the outbreak of war “ gave us little of prominent value.” The “ Soldier Poet ” appeared in the years 1915 and 1916, the year 1917 gave us poems from which “ the romance of war ” has evaporated, and the gloom became deeper in 1918. “ The poets speak of the nature and consequences of war with a directness of sincerity and a passion that leave no room for comment.” It is perhaps not possible to agree with Miss Trotter as to the early 1914 verse. Her own selection for this period is sparse but excellent, but we may doubt if she has ransacked all the sources. Local papers and school and college magazines will give her, we believe, much new material of a striking quality. Among the best in the 1914 collection are Sir Henry Newbold's “ Song of the Great Retreat,” Miss Alys Fane Trotter's lines, “ They Came from Far,” Mr. Herbert Asquith's very fine poem “ The Volunteer,” and Rupert Brooke's famous sonnet beginning “ If I should die, think only this of me.”

The schoolboys of 1915 make the heart ache, and we see them in Mr. Everard Owen's exquisite “ Three Hills,” and the answer to the ache is in Lord Crewe's haunting lines on “ A Harrow Grave in Flanders.” Surely these sacrifices of immature but splendid souls made possible the swift emergence of “ the man's essential soul.” In the brief period before the swift death came the lad had become a man indeed, and it is for us who are left to carry out his quest, the building of a better world. The sorrow of the last four years is that we have not yet fulfilled the purpose which they, in utter self-forgetfulness, handed on to us. That is the thought for to-day: are we doing what the dead schoolboys from Eton and the great public schools, from Barnardo's school (outstanding in the ranks of heroism and self-sacrifice), and from hundreds of other schools, died that England might achieve: the building of a better world. If we forget them and their goal, we are not worthy to survive as a nation. From everywhere the boys came. Mr. Neil Munro's wonderful poem, “ Macleod's Lament,” gives us the sense of loss:—

* *Valour and Vision: Poems of the War, 1914-18*. Collected and edited by Jacqueline Trotter. (Martin Hopkinson & Co., 14, Henrietta Street, Covent Garden.) 7s. 6d. net (postage 5d.).

Beside him, when he fell there in his beauty,
 Macleods of all the islands should have died;
 Brave hearts his English!—but they could not fathom
 To what old deeps the voice of Allan cried;
 When in that strange French countryside war-battered,
 Far from the creeks of home and hills of heath,
 A boy, he kept the old tryst of his people
 With the dark girl Death.

Scotland, Ireland, Wales, England, and the isles thereof, the Dominions overseas, and India, all of these gave their best for the tryst "with the dark girl Death," gave for a purpose which we now only can fulfil. When William Noel Hodgson cried in "Before Action," "Make me a soldier, Lord . . . make me a man, O Lord . . . Help me to die, O Lord," we get the very cry of youth intent on the eternal quest of righteousness. Francis Ledwidge, another soldier poet who fell, cried "to a Distant One":—

"I'm coming still, though slowly, to your hands.
 We'll meet one day.

There is so much to do, so little done,
 In my life's space that I perforce did leave
 Love at the moonlit trysting-place to grieve
 Till fame and other little things were won.

Oh, when we meet there shall be sun and blue
 Strong as the spring is strong."

The note of boyhood's infinite sadness and unconquerable hope fills this and many poems. There is a certain agony in reading these poems, and especially the poems of those who have passed in heroism out of the sorrows and temptations of this world and left their songs for us. But that agony is necessary if we are ever to keep at heart our duty to live as splendidly and cleanly as they died, and to carry on the torch of self-sacrifice that was meant to give light in human darkness.

* * *

AN ANTHOLOGY OF CHILDHOOD.*

Mrs. Susan Miles has brought together in this work a very full collection of poems and prose passages on children and childhood, and they will doubtless prove a delight to all those lovers of children and anthologies whose name is legion. She has grouped her selections under the following headings: "The Tender Age," "The Christ-Child," "Babes and Sucklings," "O Yonge Freshë Folkes," "The Joyes and Griefes of Parents," "Pleased

* *Childhood in Verse and Prose. An Anthology.* By Susan Miles. (Oxford University Press. 7s. 6d. net.)

with a Rattle, Tickled with a Straw," "Meat and Drink," "Beasts and all Cattle, Worms and Feathered Fowls," "The Earth is full of thy Riches," "New Wax is best for Printyng," "Precept upon Precept," "The Cockpit of Learning," "Young Toilers," "Early Sorrows," "Fear knows him well," "Fancies from Afar," "Theologia Innocentium," "Remembered Innocence," "Immortal Children." Whether the author has been wise in her method of selection is questionable. Girl and Boy eternal outstrip chronology, so, in a sense, it matters little whether the poems chosen to illustrate the various phases of child life, physically, mentally, or psychologically be drawn from Geoffrey Chaucer, Robert Louis Stevenson, or Walter de la Mare.

The fault of all anthologies is, that each poem or quotation is torn from its parent source; it may be so good that it can stand alone, but when it is rubbed against by a totally different period or manner of speech, it is robbed of its bloom: the Bible and Shakespeare are the two outstanding exceptions, and it is these exceptions that prove the rule. Mrs. Miles has spared no pains to make this anthology a very comprehensive and attractive collection, she has striven to avoid all sentimentality, which is a difficult task where children are concerned, since true sentiment is the breath of their life. Untrammelled by the world, they are free to express themselves without self-consciousness—that bane of later years. Childhood is such an intangible, intransient thing that it seems almost a mockery to write it down in black and white. The Greeks must have felt this reluctance, for there is little of child life in their sculpture. Even the boys in the Laocoon are not children, they are little men. Mrs. Miles has omitted "Ariel" and "Puck" from her collection, since they can hardly be classed as earthly beings. But are children earthly? It is their charm that they bring with them something of the rarer air from whence they come, "trailing clouds of glory," to become, alas, too often, "Farther off from heaven than when I was a boy." Some of the prose descriptions of early childhood written by well-known persons—Gladstone amongst them—create the feeling that the memory of early days must have been tinged and darkened by later years. Children's joys and sorrows are real, while they last, like good or bad dreams, but the morning light obliterates the unfixed negative, and the plate of the baby mind is ready for the next impression. Yet this is not always so. Early memories have often ineffaceable results.

The most successful poems on childhood are written by poets of simple faith, lovers of nature, such as Wordsworth or Francis Thompson; the latter expresses the contrast of early memory and disillusioned age:—

"The fairest things have fleetest end,
 Their scent survives their close :
 But the rose's scent is bitterness
 To him that loved the rose."

Swinburne, whose love for children never deserted him, even in his saddest hours, felt they were the salt of the earth:—

"If childhood were not in the world,
 But only men and women grown;
 No baby-locks in tendrils curled,
 No baby-blossoms blown;
 Though men were stronger, women fairer,
 And nearer all delights in reach,
 And verse and music uttered rarer
 Tones of more god-like speech;
 Though the utmost life of life's best hours
 Found, as it cannot now find, words;
 Though desert sands were sweet as flowers
 And flowers could sing like birds,
 But children never heard them, never
 They felt a child's foot leap and run;
 This were a drearier star than ever
 Yet looked upon the sun."

The prose extracts are less satisfactory than the poems or verses. Of course there are exceptions such as "Pain, the Parent of Love." A more beautiful and touching letter could scarcely be penned than Mr. George Wyndham's description of the accident which happened to his little son—a fall from his pony, resulting in a broken thigh:—

"Yesterday was more terrible than any horror I had ever imagined; but it brought us together in such a fire of agony that I believe to-day, as I have never yet been able to believe, that neither death nor any eternity after death can ever part me from my little beautiful child. He believed that my hands helped him, and fixed his fever-bright eyes on mine with love and trust even as the paroxysms came on, calling out, 'Hold me tighter, Papa, hold me tighter, here it comes.' Well, to-day he is not in such pain, and I have never felt such gratitude to God."

Truly, "Perfect love casteth out fear." This extract is followed by "A New Mamma." Pathos and bathos!

Enough has been said to show how large a ground this collection covers, and the importance and beauty of childhood's play in literature. At the present time when so much effort is being directed to the development of the child, and not only to its development, but to the understanding of its potentialities, it is good to have such a book as this to turn to, and see, set in the midst, a little child as the poet and the lover of childhood see him.

AN AMATEUR AMBASSADOR.*

The author, in this study of an attractive personality, bears always in mind that the motive power which directed and coloured the life of F. W. Fox was, to a great extent, due to his Quaker blood. Francis William Fox, born November 15th, 1841, at Kingsbridge, in South Devon, was one of thirteen children of George and Rachel Fox, of the Society of Friends. His parents and ancestors took a prominent part in the West Country life of the Friends. The influence of his mother for good was a great factor in the lives of all her children. The home at Kingsbridge, characteristic of the Quakers, was a centre of hospitality, and here, as was natural, Francis met very many interesting people, and acquired his life-long desire for social reform.

From 1857 to 1879 Fox led an active business life, and as an engineer established many foreign as well as English business connections. He was able to keep open house, and received many friends, some of whom were men of considerable note. The death of his father in 1882, and three years afterwards that of his mother, brought changes, and from about 1884 Fox came into touch with important foreign affairs, the links being purely business links, and these new fields speedily developed into fields of political and humanitarian work. In May, 1884, we read of his visit to Cairo to consider certain irrigation works, and here he came across men who helped to make history, such as Zobeir Pasha (with whom he discussed the safety of General Gordon), Nabir Pasha, and Sir Evelyn Baring, the result being a strong desire to reclaim the Sudan. The author gives a rapid survey of Fox's activities during the next thirty years, and puts before us in some detail Fox's work in connection with English social problems, his efforts abroad in religious and humanitarian matters, and finally his work in connection with great international affairs governed by Fox's ideals as a Friend, and by his search for a basis of universal and perpetual peace. These three groups of work were continually overlapping, but they were all governed by the guiding principle that men and nations alike are ultimately subject to the laws of reasonableness and love.

We can but touch on the many subjects of political interest with which Fox was daily in contact, and which he influenced by his sound judgment and knowledge of men. His deep interest in the pacification of the Sudan and the ending of the war between Italy and Abyssinia brought him into touch with the leading men of the

* *Francis William Fox; a Biography.* By J. E. G. de Montmorency. With a Prefatory Note by G. P. Gooch. (Humphrey Milford, Oxford University.) 7s. 6d. net.

drama. His flying visit to Canada with a colonisation scheme in view, near Winnipeg, had far-reaching results, and on his return home he worked on and off at this plan of colonisation until 1899.

His practical training as an engineer, combined with insistence and real insight, played some part in the opening up of Central Africa. His horror at the African slave trade resulted in active work in the African anti-slavery movement, and later he attended the Conference at Brussels as a delegate from the Aborigines' Protection Society. This meeting of such a Conference was significant. Leopold, King of the Belgians, not content with enlarging the territory of the Congo Free State, had in effect enslaved the native population for the purposes of production intended to enrich the State. No amount of pressure, diplomatic or otherwise, moved King Leopold. Fox's horror of war and his desire for peace at all costs resulted in him making pilgrimages to every part of the globe, showing the prudent judgment and diplomacy that characterised him, all for the one end in view, peace. Fox played a great part in securing the good effects which have sprung from the licensing legislation of 1902 and 1904. From October, 1906, to March, 1912, he turned his attention to China Missions, with their network of possibilities and impossibilities. He personally visited several missions, and presided over a conference held at the China Inland Mission's headquarters at Shanghai, convened for the purpose of considering the proposal to establish a College or University at Chenz-tu, the principal city of the Szechwan Province in Western China on the borders of Tibet. Education, he felt, was one of the chief factors in the reconstruction of China, and it must be the students who would supply leadership. F. W. Fox's efforts on behalf of religion and education were characteristic and produced, and continue to produce, very fine results in all parts of the Mission Field.

F. W. Fox from the close of the Boer War set to work to play a part in a far larger drama on a far wider stage, the world-wide reduction of armaments. It was in search of this result that he came to take a not unimportant part in the relations of England and Germany during the decade preceding the Great War of 1914. He took nothing for granted in life, every detail was looked into, every difficulty faced by his active brain. To do good was the object of his life, and in this he succeeded, while his capacity for work was as worthy of note as the just mind that he brought to bear on every matter before him. This biography of a tireless reformer throws a light upon one who must rank among the public benefactors of the past half-century; it shows us not only the work of the man but the noble and enduring spirit which prompted it.

THE HERALDRY OF WOMEN.*

This is an attractive book of curious interest. Most uninstructed people who think about heraldry and the right to wear coat-armour at all, regard the theme as one that properly belongs to the military sex, to men. The fact that the subject of the armorial bearings of a lady has never before been dealt with in a special work perhaps emphasizes this aspect of the case. The old heralds, such as Guillim, of course, recognised the rights of women, and R. Blome, in 1679, and Planché in modern times, have a great deal to say, but the treatment of the special theme has hitherto been incomplete. It has fallen to Mr. Charles Franklin, in very democratic days, but in days when the rights of women have re-emerged in a form hitherto unknown in history, to set forth in a careful but not too technical book the rights of women in respect to the heraldic bearing of arms. The subject, as Lady Yarborough points out in her preface, is not an unreal one, since on the one hand "heraldry is a real and living link between the chivalry of the Middle Ages and that of the twentieth century," while, on the other hand, the book lays stress on the significance of the right of women to bear arms "at the time when the claim to equality between the sexes has passed from the social into the political sphere." She further claims that the book is a footnote to the history of the English people, since "history and tradition mean much to English women as well as to English men." Mr. Franklin has, in fact, disclosed an unfamiliar link between the democracy of to-day and that of the Middle Ages.

Students often forget that the lower and middle and money-making classes of one age become the aristocracy of the next. In the decades following the Wars of the Roses, civil wars that wiped out the greater part of the old Anglo-Norman aristocracy, the mercantile and successful farming classes rapidly created a new aristocracy, linked by marriage with the surviving women of the old aristocracy. The same thing is happening to-day. New peerages abound, and many of these peers, Jews as well as Gentiles, are busy forming new "Houses," linked by marriage with the ancient families of the "new poor." It is an interesting social phase which almost exactly reflects the position at the end of the fifteenth century. The recent Five Years' war played havoc with the old houses of England, and men who made money in the war are replacing those houses with a new aristocracy of money.

* *The Bearing of Coat-Armour by Ladies: A Guide to the Bearing of Arms by Ladies of all Ranks, whether Maid, Wife, or Widow, in England, Scotland, and Ireland.* By Charles A. H. Franklin. With a Preface by the Right Hon. (Marcia) Countess of Yarborough (Baroness Fauconberg and Conyers). Illustrated by many plates, several in colour, and a large number of black-and-white illustrations. (John Murray.) 12s. net.

recruited, to a considerable extent, by the monied classes of the New World. These new families acquire, with their ennoblement, arms; arms that sometimes quarter the arms of ancient houses through the fact of intermarriage. To these new families, as well as surviving members of old houses, the book will be welcome since, while it tells much of what is known as to the right of women to bear arms, it also gives a careful introductory history of Armory, which will supply in practice what most people want to know about this very technical and not unattractive subject. It is a curious fact—which is usually attributed to snobbery, but is something much more significant than snobbery—that many people bear, and pay a tax for bearing, arms to which they have no legal title; that is to say, arms which are very often traditional in the family but to which they have no right duly recorded at the College of Arms. It does not in the least follow because the right to such arms is not officially recorded that the bearer has no right to use them. In very many cases people do not take the trouble to keep their pedigrees recorded when they could, and no doubt should, keep these recorded. Mr. Franklin speaks very strongly on this point, but the vast majority of people, where there is no hereditary title involved, do not trouble to keep their pedigrees recorded. They are satisfied, if they care anything about the subject, to use the arms traditionally used in the family.

No doubt, in one sense, these are "bogus" arms, but in many cases they are not "bogus" in any moral sense, but merely are "bogus" in the sense that the bearer will not spend hard-earned money to legalize the use. There are, however, arms that are purely "bogus," inventions of the holders, and this is, of course, pure snobbery. Mr. Franklin is very severe on the use of unauthorised arms, and denounces the idea that "the mere payment of the tax confers a valid right to use arms or crest." He goes a little far when he denounces the City of London for using "bogus supporters and spurious so-called 'crest.'" The point really is that London, from the very earliest times, has possessed a large measure of independence, and in the Middle Ages it regarded itself as its own source of honour. The Crown is the national source of honour, but in the case of institutions that far predate the founding of the College of Arms in 1483—an institution intended to meet the needs of the new mercantile nobility of that date—it is only proper that they should claim the right to hold without royal creation insignia already very ancient in 1483. Mr. Franklin admits that "when armory was in the making, it was quite reasonable for arms to be assumed by the landowners," and this is exactly what happened in the case of the City of London. The Arms of the City date at least from 1303, were confirmed with Lions (subsequently corrupted into dragons) as

supporters in 1381, and exactly come within the rule that Mr. Franklin affirms as legitimate in the case of other lords. The City was not only a lord but a lord that claimed successfully exclusive privileges from the Crown, and the small variations that were made after 1381 are evidences of the continued independence of the City.

The foundation of any lady's arms is usually some man's "achievement" (namely, his shield of arms, his crest, his motto, and his helm), but there is nothing to prevent a woman from obtaining a specific grant of arms for herself. A maiden lady may bear her father's arms (namely, what is upon his shield) together with his "difference" marks and quarterings, if any, upon a lozenge or diamond-shaped figure. If a husband and wife both bear arms during their married life, they combine their arms upon one shield; the husband placing his on the dexter half, and the wife on the sinister (or right hand as looked at) half of the shield. If the wife is an heiress—the male stock being exhausted—she places her arms and quarterings upon a little shield (the escutcheon of pretence) placed in the centre of her husband's larger shield. A widow who is an heiress does the same, but other widows use a lozenge, and not a shield. In the case of a divorced woman, or a woman who has divorced her husband, there are many opinions but no official rule, and this is naturally the case, since divorce was unknown to the law before the late sixteenth century. Some definite rule should be adopted. Mr. Franklin does not solve the real mediæval problem, that of an annulled marriage. He says that "both husband and wife become bachelor and maiden lady respectively. In this case there are no children to consider, so it is perfectly reasonable for husband and wife to revert to their pre-marriage achievements." But the mediæval case was not so simple. Children were often born before the annulment, and were held to be legitimate by the ecclesiastical courts. What was the actual practice in this case? This small point shows how crowded with social history is the whole subject of heraldry. This book is worthy of study from that point of view, but it will be read in England and America for its intrinsic usefulness to those who desire to acquire the legal right to bear arms.

SHORTER REVIEWS.

Students of Russian politics and psychology should not miss "The Letters of the Tsaritsa to the Tsar, 1914-1916."* Written in English and discovered after the murder of the family, they were first published at Berlin in two volumes, with a Russian translation. English readers can now procure these tragic documents in their own country. They are accompanied by an Introduction from the pen of Sir Bernard Pares, who

* Duckworth. 18s.

has never written anything more instructive, more impartial, and more full of insight than these forty pages. His residence in Russia during part of the period covered by the letters, added to the unique knowledge which he already possessed, render his studies both of persons and events of the highest value. A genealogy of the Romanoffs during the nineteenth century offers information which is not easy to find elsewhere, and a descriptive index adds to our knowledge of the *dramatis personæ*. Of the 404 letters the first is dated April 27th, 1914, the last December 17th, 1916. Every page breathes intense devotion to her husband, and portrays a family life which would have been ideally happy had their lot been cast in humbler places. As the story advances and troubles thicken, the Empress claims and gains an ever-increasing influence on politics; and for the last year before the revolution of March, 1917, Russia was ruled by the rascally Rasputin through his Imperial dupe. Her adoration of "the Man of God" suggests that she was not altogether sane. The Tsar appears as a tender and loving husband and father, whose weakness and unfitness for the rôle of autocrat were known to his wife and to all who came in contact with him. Whatever else is read about the causes of the downfall of the Tsardom, these poignant letters must always remain evidence of the utmost importance as to the character and mentality of the last and most unhappy of the Romanoffs.

* * *

Here is "A Tale of Brittany" (Mon Frère Yves) by Monsieur Pierre Loti, with coloured plates by Mortimer Mompes, translated from the French by W. P. Baines.* It is the story of Yves, a young Breton sailor, graphically told, and showing us all the different phases and temptations of a sailor's life: "Years passed in the onrush of the wind, in which he lived half-naked at the top of those great oscillating shafts, which are the masts of ships; years in which he wandered without a care in the world over the changing desert of the sea; then the more troubled years in which love was born and took shape in the virgin and untutored heart—to be translated into brutal orgies or into dreams naïvely pure according to the hazard of the places to which the wind drove him, according to the hazard of the women thrown into his arms." The description of the young Breton's life, whether before the mast or on shore, is realistic to a degree, showing a knowledge of human nature that arrests attention from first to last. The Brittany described in these pages, and its inhabitants, stand apart, as it were, from the rest of France, preserving their own customs and traditions, speaking their own language, singing their own songs, and dancing their own dances. Nowhere in France are there finer peasantry than in this pleasant, simple, homely people, with their strong, erect figures, in their picturesque costumes of simple stuff, their collarettes, and their tall white headdresses, and nowhere such primitive habitations, of which we are given a glimpse in the excellent coloured plates. All this Monsieur Loti puts before us in "A Tale of Brittany," written in his own inimitable way, with indescribable sympathy and charm, given us unspoilt, by this admirable translation of Mr. W. P. Baines.

* * *

This book, "The Art of Thomas Hardy,"† by Lionel Johnson, was originally published in 1894, when Mr. Hardy's reputation as a poet was still to make. It was not until four years afterwards that he, at the

* T. Werner Laurie. 10s. 6d. net.

† John Lane. 8s. 6d. net.

age of fifty-eight, issued his first volume of poetry under the title of "Wessex Poems, and Other Verses," and with the exception of some short stories every book he wrote in the last quarter of a century has been in verse, and he is looked upon by many as our greatest living poet, as well as our greatest living novelist. Mr. Lionel Johnson, who was born on March 15th, 1867, and died on October 4th, 1902, at the age of thirty-five, was a brilliant critic and an enthusiastic admirer of Mr. Hardy's works. He drew forth, and clearly puts before us, the innumerable points of those famous characters in Mr. Hardy's books, preserving, in so doing, the light and shade with which each one and all were drawn, leaving unhurt the indescribable charm which envelops every creature or thing that comes from the pen of Mr. Hardy. He deals with the novelist's presentation of the Wessex country with sympathetic skill in setting forth the country people, with their natures and passions, their simplicity and their complexities, in all of which one is impressed with the knowledge and insight he has of the human mind. Mr. Lionel Johnson, too, suggests what must haunt the minds of all his readers who care for the great traditions of English letters: his affinity with the great makers of English literature. For lovers of poetry, every aspect in life is produced and raised to perfection in song, the gems of which are put before us in this absorbing book, written by the master hand of a great critic on the art of a powerful and most human writer.



NOTICES OF BOOKS.

Mr. John Bailey's latest volume of essays, "The Continuity of Letters,"* is distinguished by the wide knowledge of literature, the firm judgment, and the polished style which he has taught us to expect from his work. "All the arts deal with life," he writes; "but none draws so closely from it, as none so intimately and powerfully affects it, as literature, and especially poetry, the highest and most excellent form of literature. Literature is life: the life of a man: of the man who makes it; but not only of him, because also of his race: and not only of his race, but also of his age: and not only of his age or of his race, but also, if it be great literature, of all the races and all the ages of humanity. It must be at once individual life and universal." Mr. Bailey thus appeals to all lovers of literature, not to experts alone. The present volume contains five studies ranging over large tracts of territory—Life and Art in English Poetry, The Grand Style, Prometheus in Poetry, Napoleon in Poetry, Poetry and Commonplace; and four studies of individual writers: Shakespeare's Histories, Don Quixote, Wordsworth, and Thackeray. All are admirably sane and helpful and fresh. The fine tribute to Thackeray is particularly welcome.

* * *

Mr. S. B. Liljegren, the well-known author of "Studies in Milton," teacher of English literature at the University of Lund (Sweden), has published an excellent edition of James Harrington's "Oceana."† The text is based upon the copy of the original edition in the Royal Library at Copenhagen, but the copy in the British Museum has also been consulted. As he points out in his Preface, all the former editions

* Clarendon Press, 12s. 6d.

† Heidelberg, Carl Winter, 1924.

of the celebrated political romance of Harrington, whose merits as a political thinker have often been underrated, are very unsatisfactory. Mr. Liljegren follows the original edition in spelling and punctuation, and produces even the topographical peculiarities of the work. The Notes (pp. 227-372) give evidence of the editor's diligence and immense knowledge. With the help of this commentary he has been able to exhibit the "Oceana" against the actual background of thought and learning in Harrington's time. Originally he intended to prefix an elaborate introduction, in which he desired to treat of the many questions connected with the origin, the form, the sources, and the effect of the book. But he abandoned this plan, promising, however, to write two separate books, one dealing with the "Oceana" and connected problems, the other inquiring into the question called the balance of property and its historical significance in England.

* * *

Mr. Kipling's Preface in Verse to these "Land and Sea Tales for Scouts and Guides" * is the best commendation of this collection of short stories, and should inspire all sorts and conditions of men, women, and children, whether they be scouts or guides, with the earnest desire to be fit. "Fit" is such a small word, but it embraces a great truth reaching from earth to heaven which permits of no retrograde movement, since he who looks back is not fit for the Kingdom of Heaven. So it behoves all to equip themselves as best they can to meet the emergencies of life; that is the aim and end of all education, and Mr. Kipling in these tales, simple as they are, emphasises the necessity of fitness in individuals and in nations. History is one long story of the decline and fall of both, from the want of that quality. Mr. Kipling does not preach fitness, he shows it forth in these tales of land and sea. Scouts and guides will revel in them, and strive to attain the fitness in body, mind, and spirit which can achieve all things. The stories range from "Winning the Victoria Cross" to "A Counting-out Song." For—

Eenee, Meenee, Mainee, Mo,
(Don't you let the grown-ups know !)
You may hate it ever so,
But if you chose you're bound to go,
When Eenee, Meenee, Mainee, Mo
Make—you—It.

And the moral of "It" is "Fit."

* * *

Miss Muriel Payne's little book, "Plague, Pestilence, and Famine," † can be read through at a sitting, for it consists of brightly written letters from the heart of Russia during 1922. The unadorned record of her struggle with famine, filth, and disease enables us to visualise the sufferings of a sorely tried people better than many more ambitious books on Russia in her agony. Like all other workers she is impressed by the patience of the sufferers, and she repeatedly testifies to the helpfulness and humanity of the officials with whom she came in contact. There are Bolsheviks and Bolsheviks. Some are blood-thirsty fanatics, others are kindly human beings. Though the Great Hunger is over, the need of Russia for nurses and medical stores is undiminished, and it is with the object of arousing interest in this noble work that the volume has been written.

* Macmillan. 4s. net.

† Nisbet. 3s. 6d.

THREE PARTIES AND THE IMPLICATIONS.

IT is becoming less and less necessary as events develop to justify the action of the Liberal Party in voting for the motion of no confidence in Mr. Baldwin's Government. The scare, which was sedulously fostered by the Press, has died down, and the public is looking at the whole situation in a much calmer frame of mind. A vote for the Conservatives would indeed have been difficult to justify. Whatever their limitations if in office in this Parliament, they remain convinced Protectionists, and not only Protectionist so far as their legislative programme is concerned, but Protectionist also in administration. It may be recalled that, so recently as October last, the Postmaster-General went beyond the recommendation of his own Committee in the matter of broadcasting licences, and proposed, by administrative Order, to protect the home market for wireless appliances. This is a sample from bulk. Moreover, those who are complaining of the Liberals' action forget that throughout the whole of the short Parliament of 1923, the majority of the Liberal Party were voting, time after time, in company with the Labour Party, against the proposals and the administration of the Conservatives. This was not a mere tactical manoeuvre: it was an expression of identity of opinion. We were opposing reaction. The case of the Home Office and the Irish deportees is a good example.

Further, it is difficult to see how the Conservatives could expect support from the leader of a party opposed ever since the Armistice to a Tory-Liberal coalition. Mr. Asquith, indeed, had gone further than this, and, dealing with the situation when speaking in Bournemouth in May last, said: "I am therefore equally opposed to a Tory-Liberal combination, and to a declaration of war against Labour." The fact is the Liberal Party would not have supported any such combination because it could not be based upon any harmony of principle.

There would, moreover, have been a strong reaction from the unfairness of denying to Labour what the Liberal Party, had they secured the same number of seats, would undoubtedly have demanded. This year has seen, or will see, three serious industrial disputes. The issue of the Dockers' and Miners' struggles is not yet resolved; but in the case of the Railwaymen, the principle of arbitration triumphed in the end. How different would have been the situation had Mr. Bromley been able to voice not only the grievances of his own men, but the bitterness of a great movement which would have considered, and rightly considered, that it had been deprived, though itself constitutional in character, of its just constitutional opportunity.

It must be remembered that the Liberal Party was called upon to cast its vote on the no-confidence motion whilst still in ignorance of the proposals which might be made by a Labour Prime Minister if placed in office. It was recognised that there were inherent limitations, of which more later, on any minority which assumed the task of government, but definite programme there could, in the nature of things, be none.

Mr. MacDonald's utterance on February 12th proved the wisdom of Mr. Asquith's decision. So far from being extreme, it was most moderate, and was criticised in an able maiden speech by Mr. Ramsay Muir not for economic heterodoxy, but rather on the ground of lack of constructive quality. It is only fair to the Prime Minister to point out that his pronouncement, though the occasion might have warranted the hope of a broad survey of public needs and the measures to meet them, really took the place of a second King's Speech, and, viewed in this light, it contained enough and more than enough to occupy the time of a session. After pointing out, with justice, the baselessness of the scare talk concerning the advent of a Labour Government and giving a welcome denial to the rumour of loans, he turned for a moment to what he described as the "mechanical operation" of rescinding the Poplar Order. The debate on this topic has not at the time of writing taken place, but though Mr. Wheatley explained his conduct in much the same language as that in which the Prime Minister condoned it, the matter is not one of detail. Granted the injustice of the system of rating in divided London, "direct action" is not the cure, and an intimation that the Poplar burden would be lightened by a long overdue reform would have been preferable to an attempt to dispose of the matter as being mere routine.

Mr. MacDonald's programme included, besides the usual and necessary business, the promise of a debate on the Preference Proposals of the Imperial Conference (he did not indicate whether and if so which of them would receive an official blessing); the ratification of the Lausanne and Tangier Treaties; the abolition of the means limit in the granting of Old Age Pensions; the recognition of Russia; the cultivation of wholehearted co-operation with France (how or on what terms?); the entry of Germany and, he hoped, Russia into the League of Nations; and a foreign policy which in general would be crowned by an agreement as to armaments—the test, as he truly said, of all diplomacy.

Housing and Unemployment are naturally the two chief preoccupations of a Labour Ministry. As to the first, the objective is a house at an average cost of £500 and an average rent, including rates, of 9s. The difference is to be provided by subsidy. It will be

remembered that the grant made by Mr. Chamberlain had a capital value of £75, to which the local authority was expected to add a like amount. It would appear, therefore, that the new subsidy will be higher than the old, but doubtless (though this is mere conjecture) conditions as to rents will be enforced on payment of the increased grant. On the subject of labour the Prime Minister spoke very hopefully of the negotiations now proceeding between the employers and employed, and argued with force, that as an extended programme of housing was required to meet the public need it might well be announced and fixed in advance as a guarantee of continuity of employment to the operatives; and that such a guarantee would render palatable the desired dilution.

In the matter of Unemployment the Labour leader declared for work or an "effective income." Relief schemes, including drainage, the construction of light railways and the improvement of roads, were sketched out, accompanied by an intimation that increased land values would be tapped in the national interest. But there is to be no draining of the pool of industrial capital to provide extemporised palliatives. On the contrary, the normal channels are to be widened and deepened, free use being made of the Trade Facilities and Export Credits Acts for the purpose. The insurance "gap" is to be abolished and "selection" in regard to uncovenanted benefit is to go. The scale of benefit appears not yet to be decided, and even as to the 1s. for children no assurance was given. The immediate cost of these two amendments is, as to the gap, £500,000, and as to the other, between two and four millions. Presumably these calculations are based on the existing scale of benefit. The Prime Minister insisted that they were not drawing on a State Fund, but clearly, if more money is to be found, it must come either from the contributors or from an increased Treasury grant.

This slight outline of a familiar speech shows no indication of extremism, and support of the Bills based on it will present no difficulty to Liberals. Indeed, a phrase in reference to agriculture and a plea for "solving their own problems by applying their own energy" provided a sort of tickling solace to the hard-bitten individualist.

What becomes, in face of these facts, of the torrent of abuse poured on the Liberal Party for their vote by means of which Labour was called to office?

No word, and naturally so, of nationalisation. Not even a hint of any scheme for dealing with the threatening difficulties in the mining industry. As to the Capital Levy, Mr. Clynes was explicit: "We could not approach any question of a Capital Levy when no national approval has been given to a device of that kind."

But despite all this it is argued that the moderation is studied, and that, being in power, the Government will attempt to carry out a policy which the country has rejected. It becomes extremely relevant, therefore, to consider in detail the effect of the relative position of parties on the power of the Cabinet. The situation is unprecedented. The Liberal-Nationalist alliance was of a different character. The Nationalists made one demand and one demand only. They were, as to the majority, Liberals so far as British policies were concerned. Further, their constitution forbade them in any circumstances to join in the task of government. We have now a Government which depends on other parties for securing a majority in the House for each individual proposal, and, what is more important, for permission to control the machinery of business, which control alone renders the course of administration smooth, or the passage of legislation possible.

Let us consider the task before the Chief Government Whip. His power depends entirely upon the use of time. He sits down to consider the business which he intends to have discharged during the Session. The Opposition Whip sits down with the same list of business, and each will fight, in normal circumstances, for the use of the time of the House. If the Opposition Whip is the more skilful, the Government will be defeated, not on its merits, but merely by the action of the clock. This the Irish Party discovered in the eighties, and as the result of the use of that discovery, powers were put in the hands of the majority of the House which, ever since that time, have been wielded by the Chief Government Whip as complete master. These powers are, first, the use of the closure, in its varying degrees of complication, from the mere demand that "the question be now put," to the action of the guillotine. And, second, the suspension of the eleven o'clock rule, which is, in effect, a process of legislation by fatigue. The Opposition Whip may in the early part of the Session delay the Government programme by many means. He may be checked from time to time by the closure, but he will be utterly defeated in the end, for whatever Orders the Government intends to pass they will announce and, by the method of all-night sittings, carry in some form or other before they consent to the prorogation of Parliament.

Has the Chief Labour Whip a complete control of either of these pieces of machinery? Clearly only by arrangement. The Liberal Party will desire (and I shall speak at greater length of this in a moment) to concede the use of these weapons for the passage of measures of real reform (and they are many) which are common to the programmes of both parties. But beyond this

they need not go, so that quite apart from the fact that forbidden measures would be defeated on a vote in any case, there are other means of preventing them from reaching the Statute Book.

Before leaving this question of the control of business, a word must be said about the powers of the Chair. It is within the absolute discretion of the Speaker or the Chairman to accept a motion for closure. The Standing Order says he may decline it if it appears to him to be "an abuse of the rules of the House, or an infringement of the rights of the minority." No Speaker has ever been asked to accept a closure on measures of a Government which is itself a minority. Moreover, a motion for closure, made on behalf of the Opposition, has been unusual. Such motions may, however, be made in this Parliament in respect of Government business, and the responsibility of the Chair in the matter is therefore considerably increased.

But there is a further power resident in the Chair. Under Standing Order 27a, Amendments may be "selected," that is to say, the Chair, looking through the Paper of Amendments which Members desire to move, may pass over, without any explanation, an indefinite number of proposals, intimating that it is intended merely to put certain specified, selected questions. In its purpose this Standing Order was unexceptionable. It was thought that much overlapping, or irrelevant debate, could be avoided by this means, and that the Chair could guide the discussion so that, while the whole subject was explored, no time was wasted. So far as the Chairman of Committees is concerned, it is traditionally accepted that, within legitimate bounds, he should assist the Government in the passage of their business. This tendency has, of late, been somewhat more marked, and there is a danger that Standing Order 27a may be employed as a time-saving device without regard to complete freedom of discussion of every material issue. Great wisdom and mature judgment will be indispensable if the rule is not to be abused on behalf of a Government representing a minority of the House.

Having dealt with the mechanics of legislation and administration, let us consider the new Parliamentary disposition of affairs in its relation to Amendments; Supply; and the Budget.

First, as to Amendments. In all past Parliaments, it was assumed in the majority of cases that Amendments could not be carried. They afforded a useful opportunity for the ventilation of opinion adverse to the Government Bill, and their form was not a matter of great importance. They tended to become more and more mere demonstrations. Let me give an example. Amendments are proposed to Clauses of a Bill in Committee. They may have been called and defeated, or they may have been passed over under

Standing Order 27a. When all the Amendments dealing with the Clause have thus been disposed of, the Chair is by practice forced to put the question, "That the Clause stand part of the Bill." Those who object to the whole proposal, or others whose Amendments have been outvoted or not discussed, are wont to vote against the incorporation of the Clause. In the new Parliament this practice will be abandoned. As any Amendment may be carried by weight of argument, the precise form in which it is drafted becomes of great importance, and Members will no longer be able to depend upon the Parliamentary draughtsman to save our Statutes from redundances, contradictions, and absurdities. It may even happen that the Labour Government will be driven to use much more fully than their predecessors the power to correct mistakes when a Bill is passing the Lords. But so far as they have been defeated on merits, and clumsy draughtsmanship is not the issue, they have not much to hope in this direction.

Let us turn now to the Committee of Supply, which represents the historic and supreme control of the House of Commons over the Government. Here, again, the whole battle array is altered. The Opposition, hitherto, has put on the Paper Amendments with the object of airing their grievances, and with the full consciousness that the estimate will be voted in the form in which it was drafted and presented by the Treasury. In consequence, no reductions of real substance have been commonly proposed. £100 was the formal figure, and on such a question might be argued a decision as to a proposal involving millions, or the approval or censure of some minor administrative act. In the new Parliament, reductions will be moved with a sense of reality. If the new base at Singapore is attacked, a motion will be moved to leave out the whole item containing provision for it. Such a motion may be carried, in which case, the supply is completely cut off, and the project killed.

An interesting aspect of this renewal of the control of the House over supply is apparent in the work of the Estimates Committee. In 1918 Sir Herbert Samuel outlined a scheme which would have created a Committee endowed with really effective powers. But these powers were never fully granted. Instead the Committee was allowed to examine estimates as best they could and either before or after their report the estimates might be passed in the House. Now the Government has decided to reappoint the Committee, but has not decided what powers are to be given to it. In point of fact the Chief Whip has no authoritative voice in the matter and we shall see the Members themselves called upon to say whether they desire to instal a new piece of machinery which might alter the whole balance of control and force on to the House the task of a

responsible examination of public expenditure—work which for all practical purposes has been hitherto done by the Treasury.

Whilst speaking of the subject of Supply it is convenient to deal with the statement often made that the action of Socialist Ministers in their Departments cannot be controlled by Parliament, even though itself predominantly anti-Socialist. A case in point is that of Poplar, to which reference has already been made. Mr. Wheatley has rescinded an Order and remitted, or announced his intention of remitting, existing surcharges. He has treated the matter as a mere detail of routine. It would appear to be quite a minor example of those administrative acts of which so much was made by critics. What has happened? A speech from Mr. Asquith and a motion made, raise it to a high level of importance and ensure a full debate and a modification of the decision made. Further, it must be remembered that a Minister may be deprived of the whole of his salary and thereby discharged by a vote of a House over which the Government Whips exercise no effective mastery. So that control is complete.

Most significant of all will be the change wrought in the attitude of Members towards the Budget. On the Finance Bill, demonstration votes have been most common. One group objects to the Corporation Profits Tax; another to the undue burden of indirect taxation. Each in its turn has, from time to time, voted either for swinging reductions or for the total abolition of the obnoxious impost. If all reductions of taxation moved from every quarter on the proposals of any Budget had been carried, the Treasury would have been poor indeed. In this Parliament a new sense of responsibility must appear. Private Members will know that their precise proposal is not certain of defeat, and that, if carried, they must accept responsibility for it. This means to say that every proposal for the reduction of a tax must be based upon some general conception of a Budget minus the value of the reduction. Non-Government Members, that is to say, must begin to bear the burden of responsibility which hitherto has rested upon the Cabinet and its supporters.

In general, weight and seriousness will be added to the debates. Speeches now may influence decisions. There will not be half-empty Houses, and arguments swamped from the smoking-room. Members will not be willing to accept the guidance of their Whips. They must attend the debates and make up their own minds. All those familiar with the proceedings of Parliament have seen the commotion, the doubtings and questionings at the entrance to the Division Lobbies when the deaf and silent voters pour in and learn that they are to receive no direction from their shepherds. That is the general case to-day. The crook has lost its authority, and each individual member of the flock must choose his own way.

One implication of this situation is clear so far as the Government is concerned. The fatality that has hitherto attended a defeat in the Lobby on any topic will vanish. The present Government cannot accept a refusal by the House in some matter of detail as vital to its continued existence. I am not speaking of direct votes in which confidence is implied. Mr. MacDonald has, in fact, already stated in terms that this is his view. What the actual result of such defeats will be we cannot know until they are experienced. They may entail the resignation of Ministers. Doubtless they will. Mr. Spoor will be entitled to tell his followers that a defeat of the Government will lower their prestige, but he cannot say more. Generally speaking, this fact, that defeat does not entail resignation, will strike a decisive blow at party discipline as we know it. Even in Opposition the rank and file of the Labour Party have not found the orders of their Front Bench always very congenial. There was the case of the suspension of the four Members in July last and the compromise that was effected in the party touching their conduct. This spirit of independence will doubtless grow, and should Ministers resign as the result of a casual defeat, the schism would be still further widened.

In short, the Cabinet will decide what programme it can reasonably expect to carry, with the House as it is, and it will rest for support upon a body of responsible opinion necessarily not confined to its own party following. Members who have no interest whatever in the Labour Party as a party will be called upon to refuse electioneering invitations to give "popular" votes against the Government. They may have to vote down a combination of Tories, who at all costs wish to get rid of Mr. MacDonald, and Socialists who consider that he is not going fast enough.

This fact that we have a minority Government and that the private member is in power has, of course, often been pointed out. No doubt the apologists of the Government have already filed the speeches of the other party leaders for use in the next election. "We would have done more, indeed all, but we were not in power," they will say. "Give us a clear majority and perfection really will be achieved."

There are two answers to this argument. Firstly it has to be shown that the failures, if any, are due to the opposition or neutrality of others. Now it is well known that there is a common field which Liberal and Labour can till side by side. Further, Liberals are eager to see the work put in hand, and certainly no question of the party label of the Government will quench their zeal. If this work is not done it will be no excuse to speak of "office without power." For such purposes the present is not a minority Government at all. Nor, I should say frankly, is there any reason

to suppose that this work will not be done. But secondly, if it is done the credit cannot be claimed solely by the party in office. Those who advocate, shape, and support by their attendances and votes the new measures will be sharers in the harvest.

Such is the present situation. Is it temporary or permanent?

There is no reason to suppose, and Mr. MacDonald has clearly stated it, that the strength of parties in the House does not represent the considered judgment of the country. The anomalies and injustices which arise under our present electoral system happen on this occasion to have cancelled out. But it is highly desirable that some form of electoral reform should be carried in this Parliament which will banish from the hearts of political managers of all parties the hope that by the accident of our system Parliamentary majorities may be obtained in defiance of the weight of the votes cast. If such reform is carried and perhaps even without it, we may see a continuation of the present distribution of forces.

Should that event happen, what does it mean outside, so far as the elections are concerned? Clearly a new point of view. Under Proportional Representation each party would without "arrangement" secure a fair quota of membership. The Alternative Vote would produce bargains whilst allowing each party to run its own candidates. But supposing that neither is passed, and that the elections take place under our present system? What then? The leaders of two parties at least will enter the conflict knowing, in the light of the experience of this present Parliament, that, next to securing a return of their own men, the best chance of office is that a sufficient number should be elected from the party not, indeed, allied, but accustomed to work with them. Will not this alter their previous attitude, and must not the bitterness between the two Progressive forces be somewhat allayed? Is it possible, in these circumstances, that friction and hostility which arise purely from differences of party organisation, and not from any differences of opinion, so far as the reforms possible in the next decade, at least, are concerned, will retain their old asperity? Clearly, the sharp edges will be blurred.

There is another possibility which may serve to obliterate differences even more completely. Nobody knows what will be the attitude of the House of Lords to Labour proposals. It may be one of suppleness without dignity; but there are always the backwoodsmen. They may appear in force to precipitate a conflict between the two Houses on the question of some purely radical reform. Such an issue would be supreme, and in face of it it is hard to see how the Progressive armies could go into the conflict independently.

WEDGWOOD BENN.

WOODROW WILSON.

I TWICE had the opportunity of personal conversations with President Wilson. Once was in Paris in April, 1919, when despite a brief recent illness Mr. Wilson was still at the height of his physical and intellectual vigour, and the shadow that came of failure to realise his full ideals of the peace had not yet fallen on him. I was stopped, like all visitors to the villa in the Place des Etats Unis, by French gendarmes, and within the outer gate of the house armed American sentries kept guard. The President himself, every moment of his crowded day mapped out, talked easily and with apparent pleasure. Nothing was more striking than his accessibility. It happened to be the day after he had launched the Fiume manifesto, and there was so far no sign that that bold throw had failed. "What else could I have done?" he asked, after certain singularly interesting references to the scene in that very room on the Sunday before, when Mr. Wilson had informed the Council of Four of the course he proposed to take if the Italians still stood out against the solution which all Signor Orlando's three colleagues urged.

Turning to the League Mr. Wilson emphasised, as he had emphasised repeatedly before in public and private, his conviction that there alone could a corrective of the inevitable defects of the Treaty be sought. He told me that among his many visitors that morning there had been a delegation representing a fragment of one nation transferred against their will to the sovereignty of another. If I remember rightly they were Southern Tyrolese. They came, of course, to protest and seek redress. "I had to tell them," said the President, "I could do nothing for them. They were a little island of people of one race embedded in territory belonging to another. I could only assure them that a League of Nations would be in existence to see that their rights were respected."

One other remark is perhaps worth recalling. The President was speaking—in what connection I have now forgotten—of the extraordinary amalgam of races in America. "I remember," he said, "in my student days seeing in shop windows in some downtown districts of New York, the notice 'English spoken.' " "But not meant seriously?" I asked, almost incredulous. "Absolutely seriously," he answered. "That," I commented, "shows at any rate what a tremendous work America has accomplished in welding a nation out of such elements." "Ah," Mr. Wilson interposed quickly, "we haven't accomplished it. We are doing it gradually, but the work is very far from completed yet."

As I left the President I shook his right hand. The next time

I saw him I shook his left, for that next time was during the Washington Naval Conference at the end of 1921, and the Woodrow Wilson of the end of 1921 was no longer President of the United States, hedged in by sentries American and French, but a crippled wreck of a man sitting in an upright chair by the hearth in his library in a modest house on the outskirts of Washington, his face pathetically drawn, one hand lying helpless on his knee and a stick laid close by in reach of the other. A week or two before he had driven to Arlington Cemetery for the Unknown Warrior ceremony—his first appearance in public since he left the White House—and before I went up to the library his brother-in-law, Mr. Bolling, had told me, as proof of the patient's visible progress towards recovery, that that week, his attendant who helped him in all his movements having been sent back for a book, the invalid had succeeded in entering his car unaided.

What Mr. Wilson said then was for the most part not meant to be—and will not be—repeated. One or two points in the conversation may, however, be recalled. Broken in body, the ex-President retained all his mental powers undiminished. His judgments on individuals were terse and decisive. When I said of a certain person that he apparently intended to devote all his future to a particular task, the reply came immediately that it was the only thing he had to devote since there was nothing to offer in his past; and a rather over-elaborate remark with which I took leave, to the effect that the fire the President had kindled would go on burning, drew a flicker of a sardonic smile, accompanying the swift rejoinder, "If it does, I hope some people will get scorched." Despite all that had happened, notably the calamitous defeat of the Democratic candidate in the previous year, Mr. Wilson's faith in the future of the League of Nations, and in America's ultimate participation in its work, was undiminished. Of Article X. he insisted still that it represented the root and foundation of the whole matter, a declaration which compares a little curiously with Mr. Ray Stannard Baker's statement that Article XI., designed largely to correct the rigidity of Article X., was the President's favourite provision in the Covenant.

But conversations of 1919 or 1921, however intrinsically interesting they may be, could hardly touch more than one phase, the latest, of Mr. Wilson's public life. It is in many ways a misfortune that Europe should only have discovered the President in 1914 and then riveted its attention (inevitably enough) solely on his policy in relation to the War. That could, no doubt, hardly have been otherwise, but no one can adequately appraise Wilson who is not familiar with the outlines at least of his career first as President of Princeton and Governor of New Jersey and then as a President of

the United States who in his first year of office created a record perhaps without parallel in the field of domestic reform. The Princeton days are now far off, and the odds against which the University President had to contend, in the shape of wealthy benefactors hostile to his policy, tied his hands in more directions than one. But even at that date so shrewd a judge as Mr. George Harvey (strange though the collocation of names may seem to-day) was pointing to Mr. Wilson as a future President, and the administrative record he established in New Jersey from 1910-1912 drove him irresistibly into the front rank of Presidential candidates.

The vigour with which the new President immediately after his victory in the three-cornered fight of November, 1912 (a victory based on an overwhelming majority of the electoral college but a slight minority of the popular vote) set himself to prepare legislation in three distinct fields—tariffs, trusts and currency—suggested that the qualities that impressed themselves at Princeton and Trenton were to see their full development on a larger stage at Washington. And so it proved. The Underwood Tariff, the passage of the Clayton Act and other measures to establish the more effective control of trusts, and the creation of the whole Federal Reserve system (a financial revolution in itself) were all due to the President's personal initiative, and it may be doubted whether the statute-books of the United States have ever, since the resettlement of the 'sixties, been charged with enactments so far-reaching in so brief a space of time.

That is worth recalling now, not so much for its historical importance as for the light it throws on Mr. Wilson's personality. It is, no doubt, true enough that he carried right through his public life some of the characteristics of the lecture-room, but to dismiss him cavalierly as a college-professor is to parade a total ignorance of his administrative and legislative record in domestic affairs.

But Mr. Wilson's record in America's domestic affairs after all concerns Americans mainly. It is as a world-figure that he leaves his mark on history, and as a world-figure posterity will judge him. For that purpose it may perhaps be convenient to consider his policy briefly in relation to four periods, that of America's neutrality, that of her belligerence, that of the Peace Conference in Paris, and that of the fight for the Treaty and the Covenant at home.

The first two cannot be kept quite distinct. If we ask why Mr. Wilson kept America out of war for two years and a half we can give no full answer till we examine simultaneously his reasons for taking her into war in 1917. To the first question there are at least three good answers. In the first place, the President was by temperament a man of peace,—not more so perhaps than Lincoln,

but incomparably more so than Roosevelt. In the second he was conscious, as half his critics even in America were not, of a Middle West resolved on peace at almost any reasonable price. In the third, he was profoundly convinced, till inexorable facts compelled a change of policy, that America's great rôle in the struggle was that of impartial and dispassionate arbiter. It was in that conviction that he offered his services to the belligerents as mediator in the first week of war; in that conviction that he definitely sought a statement of all their war-aims in 1916; and in that conviction that he had declared in April, 1915, that "we are the mediating nation of the world," not from any temptation to officiousness but through the destiny that had made America an amalgam of all peoples.

As to whether Mr. Wilson as President of the United States—for not even the tragedy of Europe justified him in forgetting the office he held and the claims it involved—rightly interpreted his duty to his people and the world different critics will always hold differing views. The American sword in the scale was finally decisive, and the decision might have come earlier if the sword had been cast in sooner. But it is by no means clear that it could have been. Despite the clamour of Rooseveltians Roosevelt himself, writing in the second month of war, implied clearly enough that the invasion of Belgium was no *casus belli* for America. It was, moreover, almost as important to the Allies as it was essential to America herself that she should enter the war a united, not a divided, nation, and as late as November, 1916, the country gave unmistakable proof of its sentiments by electing Mr. Wilson to a second term of office to the slogan, "He kept us out of war."

On the mediation issue equally President Wilson's attitude, whether it be approved or not, can at least be understood. Even in January, 1917, he continued to hope against hope that a peace shaped largely by the moral influence of a still neutral America might be possible. In that month he addressed to the Senate the speech embodying the much-canvassed declaration that there must be a "peace without victory," a peace the terms of which the United States should in the President's view guarantee. Suppose such a peace had in fact been concluded in 1917, and "made secure by the organised major force of mankind," is it quite certain, everything taken into account, that the world would be worse off in 1924 than it actually is? Idle speculation, no doubt. Yet there is a ring of tragic prevision in such a passage as this from the same speech of the President's—

"Victory would mean peace forced upon the loser, a victor's terms imposed upon the vanquished. It would be accepted in humiliation, under duress, at an intolerable sacrifice, and would leave a sting, a resentment, a bitter memory, upon which the terms of peace would rest, not permanently but only as upon quicksand."

How far those fears were justified the world, with the event before it, is competent to judge. And what has happened has happened in spite of Mr. Wilson's efforts in Paris two years after the words here quoted were uttered. By the time that day came America's whole weight had been flung into the struggle. Since April, 1917, Mr. Wilson had been Commander-in-Chief of the army and navy of a nation at war. The last culminating defiance of law by Germany (coupled, it may be, with real apprehension of a German victory) had decided the issue for a man to whom law meant more than to most of his fellows, and the country was ready or more than ready for his lead. It was a strange rôle for the college-professor, but the vigour and decision with which the President exercised his unwonted functions have left his bitterest critics mute.

Why Mr. Wilson failed to realise his ideals at Paris has been discussed by his friends and foes, and by many able and impartial observers who fall into neither category, far too comprehensively to make it profitable to traverse that worn ground once more here. The essential fact, of course, is that the American President was one negotiator out of four (to disregard completely the other twenty-odd members of the Conference), and a four-handed agreement must be based on compromises that make the result look strangely different from the castles a single one of the four has been building in the air. Again and again it was a question at Paris of a bad agreement or none. President Wilson faced that issue squarely more than once. Suppose he had left the Conference and gone home? The shock might have swung his colleagues—notably M. Clemenceau—round to his views. Equally it might have plunged three-quarters of Europe into the chaos over which it hung suspended by a hair. There may be those who think the President should have taken that risk—a risk, incidentally, which for himself would have meant acclamation, and possibly enough a third term of office, at home. There are others who hold a very different view.

But if that question must be left open there is another on which, unhappily for Mr. Wilson's memory, no such uncertainty remains. He himself, it has to be recognised in the light of events, by a series of tactical mistakes did as much as any man to compromise the peace. His thesis throughout—that the negotiators, with only weeks to work in and the shadow of the death-struggle still over them, could only make a partial and defective settlement, but that the League of Nations would in time correct its shortcomings—was sound, or at any rate defensible, enough, given one condition, the full and whole-hearted association of America with both the Treaty and the League. America has, in the event, associated herself with neither. Why? Partly, no doubt, by reason of her tradition of isolation, based on half-assimilated conceptions of

Washington's Farewell Address and Monroe's historic message to Congress. But America in 1918 was thinking neither of Washington (except as soldier) nor of Monroe, and but for errors which it would perhaps have been superhuman to avoid completely, the momentum generated by the struggle and the victory would have borne the country unhesitatingly on into full acceptance of all the results of Paris.

Unhappily those errors were not avoided. Most of them were made by the President himself, and made largely as the result of defects of character and temper that would have counted for little had not destiny so ordered events as to give them play in just that set of circumstances in which they were bound to matter tragically. To put it briefly, there were four moves on the President's part that, taken together, wrecked the hope of what he had postulated as far back as January, 1917—a settlement signed, sealed and guaranteed by the United States. Those four stages were his appeal for a Democratic Congress in November, 1918; his decision to go to Paris in person; his failure to take with him as Peace Commissioner any Senator at all, or any Republican of weight; and his refusal, after his return, to accept the Lodge reservations.

On one of those decisions at least judgment can be passed only in the light of history. In November, 1918, when the decision had to be taken, there seemed much to be said for carrying to Europe as decisive factor in the negotiations a personal reputation which left the President the dominant figure in the world. It is only after the Paris Conference and many others that we have learned how much greater, in such affairs, is power held in reserve in the background than power squandered on the day to day controversies of the Council chamber.

But of the initial, and probably decisive, error, the appeal to the American electorate before the Congressional elections of 1918, no such defence can be made. The attempt to persuade a nation that had sunk all thought of party for the better waging of the war to return a party majority for the making of the peace was as grave a psychological blunder as could well be committed. Its immediate effect was what any man but Mr. Wilson might have expected, and precisely the opposite of what the President did in fact expect, with the result that for the rest of his Presidential term he had a Republican majority to contend with in both Senate and House.

That being now clear, and the President knowing better than any man in the United States that it lay with the Senate to reject any Treaty, he none the less refrained from taking a single Senator to Paris with him. If he himself had been, like his successor, Mr. Harding, a Senator-President the case would have been a little different. As it was, every obstacle to a successful issue

was piled up gratuitously. Finally, after the return from Paris in July, the President and the Senate being now openly at issue, Mr. Wilson resolutely refused to consider anything less than the full Treaty and the full Covenant, when he could to all appearance have secured the ratification of both with reservations that would have done no radical harm to either. It is related that while the struggle with the Senate was in progress the Ambassador of a European Power ventured to make a personal appeal to Mr. Wilson at the White House. "I implore you, Mr. President," he said, "not for the sake of my own country, but of the world, to accept the Treaty with the reservations." "Mr. Ambassador," was the reply, "I appreciate your motives, but—the Senate must take its medicine." If the story is not strictly authentic, as I believe it is, it unfortunately bears all the marks of authenticity.

Rarely in history have defects in themselves so trivial exacted a price so heavy. At the root of them lay perhaps more than anything lack of imagination. Mr. Wilson used to speak of himself as having a single-track mind. That might be well enough in a single-track world, but in common life clear vision consists in seeing things not in isolation, but in relation to other things. Realising, in October, 1918, that his task of peace-making—which meant for him making peace in accordance with the highest ideals he could conceive—would be made vastly easier if Congress remained of the same political colour as himself, he never stopped to consider what reactions a party appeal in the particular circumstances must have. Failing in April, 1919, to bring Signor Orlando to a reasonable attitude on Fiume he issued his manifesto to the Italian people without appreciating for a moment that his action might not have the same effect as when he publicly exposed an attempted "job" in New Jersey in 1910 or broadcasted a denunciation of tariff lobbyists at Washington in 1913.

But even those misjudgments were in essence only slight perversions of great qualities. President Wilson was a democrat through and through. His faith in the people was profound, and it was hard for him to conceive that any appeal addressed to what was best in the people could fail. He believed himself in all humility the spokesman of "the silent masses of mankind everywhere." A "world made safe for democracy" was for him no facile phrase, but a simple and sufficient statement of his ultimate ideal. Much light is thrown on his political principles by the declaration, in his Independence Day address in 1914, that—

"The way to success in this fair country, with its fair judgments, is to show that you are not afraid of anybody except God and His final verdict. If I did not believe that, I would not believe in democracy. If I did not believe that I would not believe that people can

govern themselves. If I did not believe that the moral judgment would be the last judgment, the final judgment in the minds of men as well as the tribunal of God, I could not believe in popular government."

I have spoken of the price not President Wilson only but the world has had to pay for deficiencies relatively trifling in a great and noble character. But this, at least, is certain, that year by year men will judge Woodrow Wilson more generously, as year by year the world comes a little nearer to the realisation of his ideals. Already it is moving towards them. The Allied leaders, in offering Germany in 1918 "the terms of peace laid down in the President's Address to Congress of January 8th, 1918, and the principles of settlement enunciated in his subsequent Addresses," recognised that Mr. Wilson had done, what none perhaps of his countrymen had ever dreamed of doing, framed a new and practical polity for the world. That will remain as the President's supreme achievement.

And how great an achievement were the addresses in themselves! That series of momentous utterances which month by month through 1918 fell on the ears of men in every land with a note of almost unique authority, stands alone. They served their immediate purpose in breaking up Austria-Hungary more effectively than the Allied guns. They remain on record for all time. Whatever be said for President Wilson or against him, no one can ever unwrite his words. To his speeches, alone as yet among twentieth-century statesmen's, generations to come will go back and back.

H. WILSON HARRIS.

THE GREEK DILEMMA: MONARCHY OR REPUBLIC.

THE Greek people will be asked before long to decide by what form of government—a Monarchy or a Republic—it wishes to be ruled. Whatever may be the answer, we may be sure that the Powers will accept it. Since the annex to the Treaty of Sèvres of 1920, they have no further legal status to intervene in the internal affairs of Greece, and policy, no less than jurisprudence, counsels them to remain absolutely neutral. Those who interfere in the politics of South-Eastern Europe, even with the best intentions—and their intentions are not always of the best—are certain to burn their fingers and to suffer the fate of those well-meaning peace-makers who seek to step in between husband and wife. M. Venizelos came back to Greece, and the British Government renewed its diplomatic relations with that country, without any conditions. His successor has had to accept none. It is thus the affair of the Greeks alone to decide how they will be governed.

The growth of a Republican Party in Greece is a new thing. Everyone welcomed the establishment of the Monarchy and the arrival of Otho in 1833 as a relief from the anarchy which had followed the assassination of Count Capo d'Istria during the presidency of his brother. When Otho was deposed in 1862, what the overwhelming majority of the Greeks wanted was not a Republic but an English prince. King George I. had his ups and downs during his long and eventful reign of forty-nine years; but he was recognised as being a democratic sovereign, who rendered valuable diplomatic services to his country abroad. It was felt that Greece was not ripe for a Republic, because the Greek people, with its strongly marked tendency towards individualism, would not easily submit to the rule of an elective President, who was one of several persons of equal value. Frequent Presidential elections would lead to constant political agitation, long terms of office to jealousies and discontent, while the supply of purely ornamental Presidents was not numerous in a nation which has no aristocracy and is too intelligent to realise (as the British realise) the saving virtues of dullness in its representative men. It was not till 1882 that a Republican Party, consisting of five, of whom at least one is still alive, appeared in Parliament. In the crisis of the war of 1897, the writer, who was then in Athens, remembers how the late Demetrios Rhalles, wearing his "republican" hat, became the loyal Prime Minister of his sovereign.

King Constantine, however, weakened the monarchical principle. At home, his descent into the arena of party politics inevitably caused a feeling against the monarchy; abroad, certain dynastic

incidents led foreigners, by no means republicans, to ponder over the inference that kings, like workmen, form a trades' union. Moreover, his double deposition accustomed the Greeks to the spectacle of the ease with which a monarch of undoubted popularity with a considerable body of his subjects could be dethroned. What in England would have required a revolution was in Greece twice accomplished without bloodshed.

It was, however, the abortive military insurrection of last October which was the occasion of the present Republican movement. King George II. was accused of having expressed, or at least felt, sympathy with this insurrection against the Revolutionary Government of Colonels Plastiras and Gonatás. I have made many inquiries in Athens for evidence in support of this accusation, but have found none that any lawyer would accept. The real fact was that the king was suffering not for his own, but for his father's deeds. The occasion was seized for creating an agitation with the object of getting rid of the Glücksburg dynasty altogether, not only George II., who has no direct heir, but also his unpopular uncles.

In these circumstances, the elections to the National Assembly were held on December 16th. The Royalists largely abstained—for the total votes cast were only 8,046 more than in 1920, when there were no refugees; but, although the exact party figures have not been ascertained, owing to the uncertainty of some Republican Liberals, the Republicans did not obtain a majority over the Liberals.* The latter were, however, divided into two sections, the Conservative, or Monarchist Liberals, under General Danglès, the distinguished Epirote soldier who was one of the Venizelist triumvirate at Salonika in 1916, and the Republican Liberals, under M. Rousos, a native of Leros in the Dodekanese, who, after a fine practice at the Egyptian bar, became Minister in Washington and then Minister of Foreign Affairs in M. Venizelos' last Cabinet. But on the morrow of the elections the Officers' Union, the so-called *Soviet*, insisted, against the judgment of Colonel Plastiras, that the king should immediately leave Greece "on leave of absence." Critics interpreted this military *coup d'état* as due to the circumstance that the ardent Republicans were not sure of carrying their point in the National Assembly, which they, therefore, wished to present with an accomplished fact. M. Venizelos, upon his return, publicly disapproved of their action as "a slap in the face" of the national representation. But Athens perforce acquiesced in the "provisional" departure of the King and Queen, whose embarkation on December 19th did not interfere with the ordinary course of business. Admiral Countouriotès, who had

* In 1920 there voted 686,402, and in 1923, 694,448.

held the same post after King Alexander's death in 1920, assumed the Regency without the smallest hitch. A stranger arriving in Athens that evening would not have known that there had been what was tantamount to a change in the system of government.

The return of M. Venizelos on January 4th after over three years' absence was a great sacrifice on his part. A sexagenarian can have few illusions, and exile usually produces a marked effect upon the mentality. At my first meeting with the Cretan statesman after his arrival, I was struck by his estimate of the difficulties of his task; at my second, I was impressed by the tone of authority and confidence with which he spoke. He found, indeed, on his arrival, a *damnosa hereditas*. He came, as he said, to bring peace and reconciliation; but he found the embers of the "civil war," which has distracted Greece since 1915, still aglow, and in Athens politics enter into most of the relations of life. Nor were his difficulties confined to the old Royalists—some of them, especially their pressmen, *plus royalistes que le Roi*; there were extreme Republicans, like Captain Hadjikyriakos, who were quite as much opposed to him as the Anti-Venizelists. Moreover, in his own party there were several lieutenants of about equal standing, who were willing to serve under him but not under one of themselves. Consequently, the only solution was to become, for the fourth time and *malgré lui*, Prime Minister. The almost immediate renewal of diplomatic relations with Greece by the British Government and its cordial expression of "every confidence" in his Ministry, coupled with the improvement in the exchange on the mere rumour of his return, were signs that could not be mistaken.

In his declaration of policy on January 23rd, M. Venizelos told the National Assembly that, while he should vote as an individual for a Republic at the plebiscite, he did not wish to influence the voters one way or the other, because he desired that the form of government should be based upon something more durable than personal arguments. M. Venizelos, who, in 1917, after the first deposition of King Constantine, was not a Republican but desired a British prince, had apparently realised that the question is between the Glücksburg dynasty and a Republic, for which of the few remaining European royal families would care to send one of its cadets to occupy a throne so uncertain as that of Greece? Since the resurrection of Greece as a nation, only one head of the State, King Alexander, has died in his bed and in power. Capo d'Istria and George I. were assassinated; Agostino Capo d'Istria, Otho, Constantine, and—to all intents and purposes—George II. were deposed. Moreover, a British candidature would do harm to both countries, for the dethronement of an eventual British King of the Hellenes would be certain to raise resentment in a people so pro-

foundly attached to the Royal Family as the British, and would thus lead to an unwarrantable and impolitic interference in Greek internal affairs. A native Greek dynasty is unthinkable; for there is no aristocracy in Greece (except in the Ionian Islands), nor is there any one family which stands so high above the rest as to be exempt from the jealousies and rivalries certain to follow its elevation to the throne. Serbia, which likewise has no aristocracy, has in this respect been more fortunate; both its dynasties have been indigenous, and, except for the (now extinct) rivalry between the two "revolutionary families" of Karageorgevich and Obrenovich, there has been no desire on the part of other descendants of the chieftains of 1804 and 1815 to claim the crown.

Consequently, the Greek people has really no option except between the Glücksburg dynasty and a Republic. At the plebiscite, indeed, two questions will be put to it: (1) Are you for or against the present dynasty; and (2) in the latter case, do you wish for a Monarchy or a Republic? Practically, the answer to the former question will have rendered the latter superfluous. If the people prefers the Glücksburgs, it will not want a Republic; if it rejects them, it is bound to have one.

When I have asked the Republicans what kind of a Republic they desire—French, American, or Swiss, and in the first case the plebiscitary Republic of 1848 or the Parliamentary Republic of 1870—they have usually replied that these were questions of detail, and that what they sought was to establish the principle. To British minds the details of a measure are far more important than the principle. But the main motive of Greek Republicanism appears to be rather anti-dynastic than any preconceived prejudice in favour of a commonwealth. It is the actions of King Constantine and of his relatives, not the theoretical beauties of Republicanism, which have produced the Greek Republican movement. After the experiences of the last century, practical politicians have realised that Republics, being composed of human elements, are just as likely to be defective as Monarchies, that "the people"—a convenient formula at elections and in leading articles—has no more voice in Republican France, and less in Republican America, than in Monarchical England, when once the elective ruler has been installed, especially as in the third French Republic the President is elected not by the people but by the two Chambers, and in the United States—in practice—is chosen by a few wire-pullers rather for his "availability" than for his ability or austere Republican virtue. No man of the world any longer believes that any particular form of government means "a new heaven and a new earth."

What the Greek Republicans are really trying to obtain is a

head of the State, who shall be absolutely outside the rivalries of political parties. But it is not easy to find such men in a country, where almost everyone is a politician. Admiral Countouriotis has expressly stated that he would not accept the Presidency—a post held by one of his distinguished family exactly a century ago. M. Zaïmes is a royalist; and, although Thiers found his legitimist and Orleanist opinions no obstacle to his acceptance of the French Presidency, it is by no means certain that the most silent and least ambitious of Greek statesmen, now, too, no longer young, would follow his example. Outside these two names, which occur to everyone, there is no one mentioned, except by sensational newspaper correspondents in Paris. Most Greek Republicans would probably prefer a Conservative Republic, and there was general relief that in the critical days before the return of M. Venizelos the military party did not force the new form of government upon the country, as was then feared. All sensible civilians realised that there is all the difference in the world—and also in the eyes of the world—between a North American and a South American Republic, between a Presidency based upon the declared will of the people and a military dictatorship of the familiar Spanish type. The army, upon M. Venizelos' arrival, returned to its professional occupations. An example of disinterestedness rare in history was set by Col. Plastiras, who, after over a year's occupation of the chief post, retired into private life, as he had left it, a simple colonel. Like the patriotic Roman general, Rufus, of the post-Neronian civil wars,

Imperium asseruit non sibi, sed patriae.

M. Venizelos showed the determination that the plebiscite—a name, as the late Lord Randolph Churchill once said, "suggestive of the Second Empire"—shall be absolutely impartial. Hitherto there have been two plebiscites in modern Greek history: that which elected Prince Alfred King in December, 1862, and that which recalled Constantine in December, 1920. The second of these popular votes is generally considered to have been conducted with great laxity, and the figures—999,960 for and 10,383 against—were obviously exaggerated. M. Venizelos saw that the near future of Greece depends upon the loyal acceptance of the result of the plebiscite by all parties, and that this again depends upon a general conviction of its fairness. He has a good reputation as a holder of elections, which in some countries are too often "made" by the Minister in power at the moment. That has not been his practice, as his own defeat in 1920 showed. He saw, too, that, if a Republic is to meet with general recognition by the non-Republicans, the majority for it must be overwhelming, something

like three-quarters of the electors voting. The question of the form of government is complicated in Greece by geographical and historical considerations; for, as a general rule, "old" Greece, notably the Peloponnese and the Ionian Islands, has monarchical tendencies, whereas "new" Greece, notably Crete, Epirus, and Macedonia, inclines to a Republic. It would be unfortunate if there were a large monarchical majority in one region and a large Republican majority in another, just as in Italy it is regrettable when the North holds one set of political opinions and the South another.

The opinions of the real Greek people are not easily ascertainable; but it is admitted that King George II. and the Queen had a better reception than Col. Plastiras on their Peloponnesian tour. What seems most likely to injure the Royalists is the violent language of some of their own journals, which reminds a British reader of the tone of Irish journalism thirty-five years ago. To publish a black list of Royalist leaders who went to see M. Venizelos and discuss the situation with him is scarcely the way to promote an "era of good feeling," nor is it intended to be. The implacable spirit of Theognis hovers over much of this writing; his attitude towards the opposite faction at Megara breathes in these polemics. Allowance, of course, must be made for the feelings of those whose relatives have suffered in "body or estate" during the "civil war" of the last nine years. But practical statesmen do not live on tombstones. Yet there are people who would as soon have the dead Constantine's remains brought to Athens as his living son restored to the throne.

The policy of the extreme Royalists may be judged from the publication in their organ of the portraits of the five executed ex-Ministers on the day of M. Venizelos's return. This was their attitude towards the olive-branch which he held out to them. We have had similar things in our earlier political history, when personal hatreds ran high. There were Jacobites at St. Germain who felt much as the "old" Royalists in Greece; there were Non-Jurors in England who would have no pact with the House of Hanover. The world, however, went on its way.

But for Greece unity is essential; she has three enemies among her neighbours, who always regard her divisions with satisfaction. To Italy, indeed, M. Venizelos has magnanimously made the first approach. He wrote a strong letter rebuking an Athenian editor for having published an article hostile to the Italians. It is for them to reciprocate his friendliness by sending as their new Minister to Athens someone who, like the late Baron Carloti, is a friend of Greece, and by ceasing to regard M. Venizelos as a bogey-man bent on thwarting Italian schemes in the Levant.

Without Greek collaboration, Italy cannot achieve her policy of commercial penetration in a part of the world where trade is in the hands of the Greeks and the Armenians.

M. Papanastasiou, the Republican leader, has proposed that not only should the Glücksburg dynasty be deposed, but that none of its members should be allowed to reside in Greece. But therein lies one of the dangers of a Republic. The exiled royal family will always furnish, even against its own will, a rallying-point for those in Greece who are discontented with the Republican administration. This was not the case when Otho was deposed, because he had no family; besides, he died five years after his deposition. But the descendants of George I. are numerous and have a considerable following in the country. And that pretenders may long be a danger to a country is proved not only by our own 1715 and 1745, but by the example of Peter Karageorgevich, who after thirty-five years of exile ascended the Serbian throne. The third French Republic has, indeed, given proof of stability, in spite of Orleanist and Bonapartist pretenders; but the incompetence of the French royalist and imperialist representatives on the one hand, and the conservative nature of the French Republic on the other, afforded negative and positive reasons for its duration. But it remains to be proved whether Greece be ripe for a Republic of the conservative type, for no practical arguments can be drawn from the city republics of antiquity for modern conditions. Of one thing, however, there can be no doubt, that, outside the extreme men and the professional politicians on either side, the vast majority of the Greek people wants before all else, under whatsoever form of government, peace and quiet after fifteen years of excitement and nearly twelve of war.

Great Britain, alike by sentiment and by interest, should desire the welfare of the Greek people, irrespective of its form of government. As Chateaubriand said, a man may be a Monarchist for his own country and a Republican for another. Our devotion to our own Monarchy need not prejudice us against a Greek Republic, just as the policy of King Constantine towards us in the war should not give us a bias against his son. The centenary of Byron's death, which is to be celebrated with great honours in Greece this April, may remind us of the moral ties uniting the two countries. But Byron was a statesman, no less than a poet, in his handling of the Greek question. As Colonel Napier, then British Resident in Cephalonia, said of him, no one knew the Greeks better.

But to the memories of a long list of Philhellenes, from Byron to Clement Harris, may be added political and commercial arguments. It is not a British interest that the Mediterranean should be a Latin lake. There are some persons in England who believe in the

permanent regeneration of Turkey. But Finlay, who was no sentimental enthusiast, wrote to E. H. Noel on October 29th, 1864, a sentence true sixty years later: "An improving Greece would do more to keep the eastern part of the Mediterranean quiet than half a dozen loans to support the Ottoman Empire." The Greeks have repeatedly shown a liking for the British by no means universal on the Continent, and in M. Venizelos we, at any rate, have had a friend who from first to last, even in the darkest hour when some doubted, believed in the triumph of our cause, at a time when Turkey and Bulgaria were our enemies. Nothing would give greater satisfaction to the British friends of Greece than a settlement—any settlement, provided that it be deliberate and durable, not the result of legerdemain or violence—which would enable the Greeks to bury the hatchet and present a united front to the world.

The best form of government for a nation in the geographical position of Greece is that which divides the people least. It was personal rivalries which facilitated both the Frankish and the Turkish conquests; it was union which produced the great successes of 1912; it was disunion and the resultant discouragement which caused the defeat of 1922. Will M. Kaphandares—now that M. Venizelos' health has forced him to retire—will any other of the great leader's lieutenants be able to "bend the bow of Ulysses"? The only chance is that the other "suitors" do not impede his efforts.

To the Anglo-Saxon mentality, accustomed to compromise, the formation of a Centre Party composed of moderate Royalists and Conservative-Liberals would seem to be the obvious policy for all those who wish to save the constitutional Monarchy. What the extreme Royalists can gain by intransigence, it is difficult to see: they will, no doubt, gratify their passions, but they will not thereby further the interests of their cause. They disliked the late Premier; but, now that he has retired, would an extreme Republican be any more favourable to their aspirations? M. Papanastasiou goes far beyond M. Venizelos, or M. Kaphandares, and the Military Republicans far beyond M. Papanastasiou. This is not practical politics, but pique, although every excuse must be made for what these ultra-Royalists have undergone, either personally or vicariously, in the past. Lethe was a Greek spring; it were well that Greek politicians on both sides should drink deep of it. M. Kaphandares, the present Premier, when he was Minister of Justice, took, indeed, a copious draught, for he has pardoned, or reduced the sentences upon, numbers of those accused for participation in the military insurrection of last October. His object was to prove the Government's desire for reconciliation, and he had the courage to carry it out despite the strong opposition of the military

men in the Assembly. But it required still further courage to take up the succession to M. Venizelos. For the Greek and Italian situations have this feature in common, that they each too much depend upon the life of one man. The danger is that, when one man falls or retires, the history of the successors of Alexander the Great may repeat itself, as happened in Serbia upon the death of Stephen Dushan.

Apart, however, from politics, there is no reason for pessimism. So competent a man of business as Mr. Morgenthau, who is now in Athens directing the measures for the settlement of the refugees, believes that, with a stable Government, the refugees will in no long time enormously increase the natural wealth of the country. Greece possesses an abundant supply of able financiers and men of affairs, who, with the laborious and thrifty people, are the backbone of the nation. All that is wanted is a definitive political settlement, after which there shall be no more "tinkering with the machinery," no more *pronunciamientos*, no more "Bloody Sundays," such as that which we experienced a week before the last elections. Besides, a commercial revival might prove a valuable diversion, which would direct men's minds from the all-engrossing subject of politics. It is time that the discussion upon the relative merits of Monarchy and a Republic, which began with Herodotos, should stop, and that practical questions—roads, a good water-supply, public works, and similar material problems—should take its place. The moment that a really stable Government is secured, foreign capital will flow readily into the country.

Whatever the verdict of the Greek people be, it is to be hoped that it will be decisive, that the Royalists will not abstain, as so many of them abstained from the elections of last December, as the Liberals abstained from the plebiscite of December, 1920. The sooner the plebiscite is held the better, for agitation is bound to continue until it be over. The other suggested constitutional changes—the creation of a Second Chamber, which has not existed since the abolition of the Othonian Senate after twenty years' experience in 1864; and the institution of a Council of State, such as existed in Otho's early years, from 1835 to 1844, and was contemplated by the Constitution of 1864 but annulled in 1865—are unimportant compared with this issue. The immediate future of Greece depends upon a genuine settlement which will end the nine years' "civil war."

WILLIAM MILLER.

THE REVIVAL OF POLAND.*

THE prophet is so often confounded by the event that it argues some temerity to predict what posterity will regard to have been the greatest achievement of the Peace Conference at Paris. But if a guess must be hazarded, I should say the revival of Poland.

Revival perhaps is the wrong word, for Poland has always been alive. It furnishes the classical instance of a submerged but always vital and protesting nationality. Poland was devoured by its three great neighbours, Prussia, Austria, and Russia, in the last quarter of the eighteenth century. It was a State which in the Middle Ages had rendered a great service to civilisation as a bulwark against Tartar invasion, and frequently gave evidence of brilliant qualities in peace and war. The great astronomer Copernicus was a Pole. At one time the dominion of the Poles was carried eastward by their dashing swordsmen to the confines of Moscow; but the State suffered from grave disorder. The peasantry was ground down; the nobles were idle; save for the Jews, an insoluble element, there was no middle-class. The executive was powerless. The constitution was really legalised anarchy. A people of artists and musicians, of great proud feudal landlords, and agrarian serfs, but apparently incapable of the compromises and sacrifices which lie at the base of any sound political order.

So it came about that Poland was partitioned. The instigator of the crime was Frederick II., King of Prussia, who desired to obtain the province of Posen in order to link up the main body of his territory with outlying portions situated further East: but Russia and Austria not unwillingly joined in. The process began in 1772 and was concluded in 1795, for appetite came with eating, and the three greedy Powers, who had at first contented themselves with three succulent but comparatively small slices, eventually finished the whole joint. By the end of the eighteenth century Poland as a political entity was effaced from the map.

In all history there has never been a more cynical violation of national right. The Poles were as distinctive a nationality as the French or the Italians. They were for the most part Roman Catholics, which the Russians were not. They were Slavs, which the Prussians were not. They spoke a language allied to but different from Russian and unintelligible to the Teutonic subjects of the Prussian and Austrian monarchies. For centuries they had preserved a distinctive and well-marked position in the international

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life of Europe. Events showed that such a people might be submerged but could not be destroyed.

The Europe of the nineteenth century was never allowed to forget the Poles. Napoleon remembered them, used them against his Russian enemy, and constructed out of former Polish territory the short-lived Duchy of Warsaw as a French bulwark against Prussian power. At the Congress of Vienna which closed the Napoleonic Wars the question of this unfortunate people came up again. There was then a Liberal on the throne of Russia, to whose generous spirit the tragedy of Poland made an appeal. Alexander I. would not indeed go so far as to surrender his Polish acquisitions, but he was prepared to constitute a Polish Kingdom, with Warsaw as its capital, as part of the Russian Empire and to accord that Kingdom parliamentary rights. But the life of Congress Poland was short. It was born in 1815 and it perished of a Polish revolution in 1830. The free, turbulent, indomitable spirit of the Poles was once more found irreconcilable with the traditions and habits of the great autocratic Monarchies of the East. The liberties which were accorded in a mood of generosity were withdrawn. A severe and repressive discipline, only relaxed after the Japanese War, was directed to a thoroughgoing incorporation of the Eastern Poles in the Russian State.

After the crushing of the Polish revolt in 1830 Paris became the intellectual capital of Polish nationalism. It was in Paris that the Polish poet Mickiewicz preached the gospel of his native land to an audience fired by Napoleonic memories and by recollections of a political friendship dating back to the days of Louis XIV. And though France underwent many political changes in the course of the nineteenth century, passing from the autocratic monarchy of the Bourbons to the bourgeois monarchy of the Orleanists, then to the Republic, then to the Second Empire, and finally to the Republic again, the sentimental tie between France and Poland was never broken. It was not uncommon in French newspapers to read of the Poles as the French of the East, as a people evidencing in pleasant contrast to the brutal ways of the Prussian *Junker*, the sparkle and wit and artistic sense of a polite and ancient civilisation.

Still in the hard world of politics mere sympathy unsupported by interest goes for little. What observer of European politics in the first decade of the twentieth century would have predicted the reconstitution of Poland as an independent and sovereign State? The firmest and most constant friend of the Poles had made an alliance with Russia and was therefore debarred from raising the Polish question in any shape or form. Men of genius, a Paderewski, a Joseph Conrad, kept the name of Poland before the world in the spheres of music and literature, but the Russians were trying

their hardest to russify, and the Prussians were trying their hardest to prussify their Polish provinces, and who would have anticipated a situation equally destructive to the huge military strength of both these autocratic Powers? In a word, the political reconstitution of Poland is one of the greatest surprises of history.

Before the end of the war, and while the submarine danger was still formidable and the issue of hostilities in doubt, the Allied and Associated Powers decided that Poland was to be restored. President Wilson spoke in language of convenient vagueness of the restoration of the "Kingdom of Poland," but what frontiers were to be assigned to the new State and what significance was to be attached to the phrase "Kingdom of Poland" were mysteries only to be unveiled by the slow hand of time. The revolution in Russia, coupled with the dissolution of the central authority in the Austro-Hungarian and Prussian monarchies, made the task, which a few years earlier seemed quite impossible of achievement, not only easy, but inevitable. The Poles rose up and seized the wheel of affairs. There was the less difficulty in recreating Poland in view of the fact that Poland was there and was busily engaged in recreating itself. Still, the Allies were not entirely powerless to influence events. It was open to them to elect between a small Poland and a large one. They might have decided to restore Congress Poland, on the ground that the less ambitious the new State the more likely would it be to weather the storms of history. They might have argued that a Poland lacking the half-Prussianised province of Posen would be safer than a Poland so constituted as to embody the chief prize won in the field of diplomacy by the most illustrious of Prussian sovereigns. Since the principal danger likely to confront the new State in the future would probably be the same as that which brought about its extinction in the eighteenth century, it might have been thought wise to disarm the hostility of at least one of the partitioning Powers.

Such a view might have been entertained. Whether it could have been enforced is doubtful, and whether it would have been wise is more doubtful still. Having in view the passionate pride and high ambitions of the Polish nation, it may be asked if they would ever have been brought to consent to the idea of a Congress Poland. The project, however, was not seriously entertained by any of the Powers, and if it had been it would have foundered on the rock of French opposition, for it was a cardinal point in the policy of France that Poland should be as large and as powerful as the Allies were able to make it.

The drawing of the boundaries of the new State was, however, a matter too difficult to be accomplished in Paris. What ought Poland to be? No one knew exactly. There was a time when all

of the downtrodden class towards the rich and the powerful. To incorporate a province mainly Ruthenian in the Polish Republic would be a signal violation of the great doctrine of self-determination to which it was proposed to give a comprehensive and imposing application; the more so since a national Ruthenian movement had been on foot since 1848 and could not be altogether disregarded. So the Allies did nothing for three years. Meanwhile the Poles, despite many protests from Canada, where there is a strong Ruthenian Colony, treated Eastern Galicia as part of the Republic. Elections have been held to the Parliament in Warsaw and a form of autonomous government has been accorded to the provinces. And now the great Powers have found themselves compelled to accept the accomplished fact; but whether the incorporation of a reluctant people, bound by ties of race, language and religion to millions of Ruthenes across the Russian border, will ultimately contribute to the strength and solidity of Poland is a query which the future alone can answer.

A far graver question and one the solution of which brooked no delay was raised by the case of Upper Silesia. Here was a region, for the most part highly industrialised, containing coal fields second only in importance to those of Silesia, in which the Polish and German populations were, it would appear, inextricably intermixed. In the first draft of the Peace of Versailles the whole region was assigned to Poland. Then owing to British pressure a concession was made to the protests of Germany. It was decided that a plebiscite should be held and that the province should be divided in accordance with its results, due regard being had to economic considerations. Unfortunately the oracle gave no clear direction. There was, indeed, a district in the north-west, predominantly German, and another district in the south-east predominantly Polish, and with respect to these two portions no difficulty arose: but unhappily there was an intermediate district shaped like a triangle, in which Poles and Germans were mingled in such a way and in such proportions that bisection presented peculiar difficulties. And it so happened that this triangle was from the industrial point of view by far the wealthiest, the most highly organised, and the most important section of the province.

Accordingly the fate of the industrial triangle became for many months one of the burning questions of European politics. To give the whole of it to Poland, as the French desired, would certainly have produced a great falling off in industrial output, seeing that the triangle had been almost entirely developed by German brains and German capital. On the other hand, to assign the whole area to Germany, as the British experts recommended, would doubtless have secured the output, but only at the expense of the political

principle to which all the Allies were committed. There remained the expedient of subdivision, but the industry in this area was so closely and cleverly interlocked, each branch with the other, that the bisection of the triangle appeared to be a sin against elementary canons of business management. For several months the fate of the triangle was in the balance. France could not agree with Britain. In the end, despairing of a solution from the method of direct conference, Mr. Lloyd George proposed that the whole question should be referred to the Council of the League of Nations.

From the rule of unanimity which governs the constitution of this body, it was easy to infer that the award would be of the nature of a compromise. And so it proved to be. The League, guided by the results of the plebiscite, divided the triangle into a Polish and a German area, and then caused a Convention to be drafted for the purpose of removing the industrial inconveniences consequent upon the decision. The idea was essentially reasonable. The political frontier was not to disturb economic interests or to break up economic unity. With a little good will on both sides, the decision of the Council of the League of Nations ought to solve the difficulty.

Nevertheless, we are here in presence of a possible source of the gravest trouble. The Silesian coal field, one of the great sources of German industrial and military power, is now by a decision of the League transferred to Polish Sovereignty. It is true that the rights of private German citizens are safeguarded, true that under the new convention the industrial exploitation of this rich area may be carried out as effectively as before, but the best part of the triangle is no longer the possession of the German people, no longer a source of German revenue, no longer a prop of German power. It has passed into the hands of the Poles, who have contributed none of the directing energy, none of the organising contrivance, none of the scientific invention which had made this region one of the proudest trophies of German industrial skill. It has passed from the brain-worker to the hand-worker. And in the Polish hand-worker the German recognises an old and tiresome enemy. He feels as we might feel, if by a decision of the League of Nations the whole of Liverpool were handed to the tender mercies of the Sinn Féin electors of the Scotland division. When the Silesian award was made known a storm of indignation swept over Germany and was sufficiently strong to deter the German Government from applying for admission to the League in September, 1922, in spite of the promise of British support.

So much for the frontier problems which confront the new Polish Government. The task of internal reconstruction is even more formidable. Six-sevenths of the territory of this unfortunate people has suffered seriously from the devastations of the recent war. To

Lithuania, all Kurland and Livonia, and all the Ukraine were under Polish sway, when Kief was a Polish town as well as Reval. And the Poles are tenacious of historic memories. So the Powers decided to postpone the settlement of the Russo-Polish frontier: and, in fact, left it to be fought out by the two countries immediately concerned. The delimitation of the frontiers between Silesia and West and East Prussia was left to be determined by the result of a plebiscite of the inhabitants. The frontier between Poland and Russia was settled by a Peace Treaty signed March 18th, 1921, between the two countries and only in March, 1923, received the sanction of the Powers. The frontier with Lithuania is still contested. So, too, is the fate of Eastern Galicia, while the boundary between Poland and Czechoslovakia was only determined after a little was as late as July 28th, 1920. The Powers decreed the restoration of Poland, but have been compelled to allow the Poles to determine the configuration of their State. With its present extension the New Republic comprises 27 million inhabitants.

It was not sufficient for the Allies to restore Poland. The new inland State must be given a free and unfettered access to the sea. There are two principal modes of access to Poland by the sea, the nearer and more convenient by way of Danzig, the further and less easily reached, since it involves crossing a wide stretch of Lithuanian territory, by way of Memel. Danzig is a German city, one of the most famous members of that Hanseatic League which dominated the trade of the Baltic in the Middle Ages. No sane statesman would dream of placing this vigorous and powerful German community under the heel of the Poles, whom they view with sentiments of acute aversion. And yet if Danzig were to be left in German hands, the Vistula, the greatest of Polish waterways, might be completely robbed of its commercial value in Poland. How was the puzzle to be solved? Only by the erection of Danzig as a free Republic under the League of Nations and by the concession to Poland of a thin strip of territory or corridor down the Vistula to the great sea port, the use of which she was permitted to share with its legitimate owners. The inconvenience of this arrangement is obvious. The Polish corridor cuts straight across a German-speaking tract. It divides East Prussia from Brandenburg, and will therefore continue to be an offence to the mind of every patriotic Prussian. Neither does the Free City of Danzig welcome an arrangement under which the Poles are accorded certain rights with respect to the access to quays and the establishment of storehouses and repairing shops on the territory of the Republic. Accordingly the High Commissioner of the League at Danzig finds no little difficulty in settling the divergent and disparate claims of the two nations. Fortunately, the interests

of peace were well served in the difficult initial years by General Haking, an admirable mediator—just, firm, good-tempered, patiently impartial, and such controversies as he was unable to settle on the spot were resolved without difficulty in the conciliatory atmosphere of Geneva. So far the compromise has worked better than might have been expected. Let it be noted, however, that this novel international expedient is alone rendered possible by the establishment of the League of Nations.

The second outlet to the sea is Memel, a port which after more than three years of indecision the Powers have at length decided to allot to the Lithuanians. Now the route to Memel lies through Lithuania, and one of the important towns upon that route is Vilna, the old Lithuanian capital which the Poles have now seized by a *coup de main* and have proceeded to incorporate in their dominion. It is this lawless seizure of Vilna which has so far made it impossible to bring about a settlement between Poland and Lithuania, two Powers owning 400 years of common history, each liberated by recent events from the Russian yoke, but now unhappily sundered by a fiery and obstinate jealousy. Of this wretched dissension, which alone mars the spirit of concord among the States which have detached themselves from the Russian Empire, it is not possible here to furnish a full description. It is sufficient to say that the Lithuanian army is thirty thousand strong, and that Lithuanian public opinion is still inflamed by Prussian and Russian influences against the acceptance of a political union, however loose, with Poland. The only satisfactory feature of a thoroughly unsatisfactory situation is that owing to the action of the League of Nations no hostilities are actually proceeding.

The Lithuanian quarrel, rooted in a contrariety of language, social structure, and political ambition, is only one illustration among several of the difficulties which arise along the ragged and indeterminate edges of the new State. Another problem, less immediately serious but containing the seeds of much mutual trouble, is presented by the case of Eastern Galicia.

The province, which, together with Western Galicia, has formed part of the Austrian Empire since the partitions, was from the juridical point of view up to 1923 a no-man's land. It had been detached from Austria, but the Supreme Council had not yet taken the step of attaching it to any other Power or of recognising its independence. Reasons for this hesitation are very obvious. The majority of the population of Eastern Galicia is not German or Polish but Ruthenian or Little Russian. The Ruthenians have no love for the Poles. They belong to a different race, they speak a different language, they follow a different creed, they harbour the traditional jealousy of the peasant towards the feudal landlord,

repair the wreckage caused by the hostile armies and to develop to its highest point the productive energies of the people would in itself constitute a problem sufficient to tax the energies of the most enlightened and experienced Government in Europe. But the present Government of Poland suffers from many disabilities. Not only is it necessarily inexperienced in the large field of public policy, but only in Galicia, a province which had enjoyed a large measure of autonomy under Austrian rule, can it discover Polish officials who have received any training in the discharge of responsible public posts. It still remains to be seen whether a country so long oppressed by alien tyranny and so recently relieved of its chains can face the fierce sunlight of a democratic constitution based upon a suffrage practically universal and open to both sexes; whether, having no experience of the endless compromises and delicate adjustments of Parliamentary life, it will incline itself before the restriction of constitutional rule and decorum, or whether the old political weaknesses of the race will again reassert themselves. In any case the task of Government is not made lighter by the fact that it is still thought necessary to maintain an army far beyond the requirements of police.

Nothing is easier than to take a depressing view of the situation, especially if we add to the considerations which have already been touched on, the additional difficulty of fusing into one harmonious national system provinces which for so long have lived under differing legal and administrative schemes. But there is a bright side to the shield as well. First there is the immense psychological advantage attaching to the mere fact of liberation and recovery, for what can be more quickening to the energies of a people than a spirit of hopefulness and optimism? The Poles feel that they have a future and that they may have a great future. The destiny of their country is theirs once more to direct or fashion as they will, and they may make it famous in learning, in literature, in art, a dominating weight in European politics, a centre of illumination in the Near East of Europe. The sense of new horizons inspires men to harmonious efforts and patriotic sacrifice, and there is a strain of nobility in the Polish character which may respond to the appeal of so great an opportunity. Then Poland is a country rich in natural resources. Bad as its foreign exchange may be, its true economic position is thoroughly sound. It produces all and more than all the food which it requires: and it has begun to manufacture on a large scale. There is nothing top-heavy or ill-balanced about its industrial structure, nothing calculated to give alarm, as there is in Great Britain, where the population is notoriously over-dependent on sea-borne supplies; there is, on the contrary, as good and sound a lay-out as the architect of national prosperity can demand, pro-

vided always that the contact with the sea is successfully preserved. Poland, again, has natural allies in the small Baltic States which have detached themselves from Russia during the recent troubles, and also in the Little Entente, not to speak of the greater military power of France, to whom a strong Poland is a vital necessity of national defence.

There is no reason then why we should despair of the future of this new State, Catholic in religion, Slavonic in race, Republican in constitution, which is now starting upon its course of adventure through the seas of history.

Many wise spectators of European affairs about the time of the first Reform Bill might have judged on grounds sufficiently plausible that it would never be possible to form a united Italian nation. They would have pointed to the centuries during which Italy had been divided into warring States, to the differences of dialect and custom and historical tradition between one Italian province and another, to the faults in the political temper of Italy, to the influence of the Papacy, always intelligently and persistently directed against the construction of a strong Italian State, to the jealousies of foreign Powers and, finally, to certain features in the nature of the Italian people which seemed hard to reconcile with the Parliamentary temper as by use and wont it has been developed among us. And yet Italy is now a national monarchy, its inveterate spirit of localism overcome by a common patriotism and even the influence of the Papacy, so long reluctant, at last inclining before the stress of common national aspirations. Why should not an equal destiny be reserved for Poland? If her frontier is not so clearly marked or her historical tradition so imposing, Poland has at least a longer and more recent experience of national life than Italy could boast of on the eve of the *Risorgimento*. Let us not then despair of *Polonia rediviva*, the greatest enterprise of the Peace Conference.

And yet there are two great and interlocked dangers, the minorities in Poland and the place designed for the Polish State in the political combinations of Europe.

The minorities will be a danger unless they are treated with a disarming liberality; a danger to internal tranquillity and a source of external friction, for one powerful minority is German in tongue, in sentiment, in race, in religion, while another equally impatient of Polish rule, finds all its national affinities across the Russian border. The conciliation of its minorities is therefore one of the primary duties of the New Polish State; and it will prove to be the most delicate and difficult of all its operations. If the Pole was restive under the heel of the German, will the German be more contented now that the rôle is reversed? The feelings which an

Ulster Protestant might experience if placed under the dominion of a Catholic Parliament of Southern Irishmen may perhaps afford a fitting analogy. Only a policy tolerant in its regard for the susceptibilities of the minority races and intelligently directed to the promotion of material progress can in the end hope to overcome the inherent difficulties of the situation.

The international rôle assigned to Poland is also, if unmodified by the course of events, likely to cause trouble to herself and others. She is now an acknowledged part of the French military system. Her large army, which has received its discipline from France, is designed for the purpose of placing a curb on the ambitions of Germany and Russia, the argument being that if at any future time the Powers conquered in the recent war wish to take their revenge, they will first concentrate on the demolition of Poland and then proceed, with such interval of recuperation as may be necessary, secure from hostile diversion of their rear, to wreak their vengeance upon the isolated body of France. The peril of this political logic is that a heavily armed Poland is not only handicapped in the economic field, but naturally excites the apprehensions of her neighbours. The objection to large armies consists in the fact that nobody ever believes that they are only designed for defence. It is, of course, not only true, but obvious, that for the next generation at least the supreme interest of Poland is the preservation of peace. She wants peace in order that she may repair the havoc of war, consolidate her provinces, develop her industrial and commercial resources and quiet the uneasy fears of the peoples at her gates. It would be an act of political lunacy to prompt Poland to a war of aggression. But statesmen are not always guided by the lamps of wisdom, and Poland has so recently afforded an exhibition of military folly that some years must elapse before she succeeds in re-establishing her character for sane and balanced statesmanship. The most promising feature in the situation is that a peace signed with the Soviet Government in 1920 has so far remained unbroken, but the breakdown of the negotiations for a draft treaty for disarmament and arbitration in the Autumn of 1922 is an indication that the war cloud which hangs over the eastern frontier of Poland has not yet been effectually dispersed.

For the present, then, we must assume that Poland will remain a nation in arms and in consequence a centre of political inflammation.

H. A. L. FISHER.

A GENIUS OF REVOLUTION.

"Let 90 per cent. of the Russian people perish, as long as 10 per cent. may live to see the world revolution."

(From a speech by Lenin.)

THE death of Lenin has removed from the world arena an international revolutionary of a type hitherto unknown and of unparalleled influence.

Lenin is dead. His dead brain has been put in a jar and is preserved in the Kremlin: a wonder to the nations, a portent to the intimidated Russian people. But the power that was in his brain still moves in the world, kindling revolutionary aspirations and passions in the hearts of Aryans and negroes, Chinese and Letts, Georgians and Hindus, Jews and Gentiles. Least of all does it now inflame the Russians. They have burned too long in the fire of rebellions. They are hardened by the fire, they possess now an experience that is, as yet, unknown to other peoples.

Lenin's name inspires some with hope and admiration, others with abhorrence and fear, but there are few who regard him with indifference, even in death. Who was he? What was his power? Historians and dreamers, poets and thinkers scan the grim pages of the past and try to divine the secret of the strange interaction between man and circumstance. Lenin presents the problem in a new form. His contemporaries, in trying to judge him, are faced with the difficulty of distinguishing between the power of the leader and the force of events, which are the more bewildering because they are catastrophic. And since contemporaries are participants in these events their judgment must necessarily be more or less deflected by their own disturbing experience. It is not easy to measure accurately the stature of a man who only yesterday seemed like all others, who shared the common life, then suddenly rose to dazzling heights and became the master of the masses. What steps did he mount? What force aided him?

There can be no doubt that this driving force was personal to Lenin, as well as implicit in the historical conditions in which he lived. The conspirator, who for thirty years had groped in the underworld of European Socialism, was converted by the Revolution into a dictator, a Red Tsar whose power was comparable with that of Ivan the Terrible or Peter the Great. This, however, was not an accidental gift of Fortune. Lenin prepared for it all his life and forged the weapons of revolt. He cannot be separated from the Revolution. It was his element. As the musician listens to the harmonies of the world, so did Lenin hearken to the vibrations, now louder, now fainter of the revolutionary forces that during the latter half of the nineteenth century gathered strength in Europe

and in Russia. He heard tones that for others had little meaning; he realised their importance, and it was his constant effort to unite them in that dreadful symphony which in the end brought horror on Russia and astounded the world.

Now these revolutionary forces and tendencies were not confined to any one class. The manual workers, the have-nots, were coming to realise more acutely the hardness of their lot, while at the same time among the well-to-do the painful feeling was growing that something must be wrong with a system that permitted such glaring inequalities. Socialism seemed to provide a solution, to contain the promise of new and worthier forms of political and economic order. The air was full of theories of social reconstruction. To many it seemed that of all the theorists of Socialism Karl Marx was the most logical. Whole parties accepted his *Capital* as a dogma, as a Koran for orthodox Socialists. And inevitably theory and logic were fed by the under-currents of social emotions, by the growing spirit of discontent and of weariness of conventions, by the yearning for progress and change. Much depends in human society on the degree of intensity to which such emotions may attain. Not on reasoning, but on feeling depends the cardinal question whether the inevitable changes are to be brought about by reforms and evolution, or whether there is to be an explosion, an upheaval, a revolution, a series of catastrophes.

The Great War drove men into the way of catastrophe. The war in itself was a catastrophe which undermined the material and moral foundations of our civilisation. It opened the door to all forms of violence, and the path was cleared for Revolution. Lenin, watching the growth of revolutionary tendencies in the world, wrote as long ago as 1911: "If only we could have a good war! But I fear 'Nikolasha' (the Emperor Nicholas) will not give us this pleasure."

And it was not merely the general economic and intellectual conditions of Europe that favoured the formation of such a character as Lenin. With all his internationalism, he was the son not only of his time but of his country. From the middle of the nineteenth century onward, the Russian *intelligentsia* had been trained in revolutionary ideas, and it had become the fashion among them to assume that culture and progress were inseparable from revolution. This was the very atmosphere for a born rebel like Lenin. One of the sources of his strength lay in the fact that he was the last outstanding figure in a long line of Russian mutineers. On December 14th, 1825, the first attack was launched against autocracy by the so-called "Decembrists." These were a group of liberty-loving noblemen, imbued with the humanitarian dreams of the Great Revolution and determined to establish a constitution and representative

institutions in Russia, and most of all to abolish serfdom. They believed in the rights of man. If the "Decembrists" had lived in Communist Moscow, Dzerzhinsky, Lenin's faithful henchman, would certainly have shot them for their bourgeois mentality. But there is a direct historical connection between the "Decembrists" and Lenin, through successive generations and varying currents of revolutionary thought. The Soviet Government itself recognised the connection by granting pensions to the descendants of the "Decembrists."

During the decades that followed on this first attempt to overthrow autocracy by armed force, revolutionary parties and doctrines took an increasingly Socialistic colouring. The autocracy put a ban on free thought and political activity, and Liberalism, therefore, had no scope in Russian life. It was driven underground like Socialism. In such conditions extreme theories and a revolutionary psychology could not but flourish. The desirability of a Socialist régime was admitted by the great majority of the Russian *intelligentsia*, and opinions differed only in regard to methods and the moment for the introduction of Socialism. Even among the radical Constitutional Democrats there were many peaceful Socialists. They did not want a revolution, they did not consider it possible to effect the change at a stroke, but they had a feeling that somehow, by some vague evolutionary process, the happy goal of a Socialist paradise might some day be reached. Anyhow, they thought it would be a paradise. The more the Government sent Socialists to prison and into exile, the more popular became the belief that, if it were not for the obstruction of the Tsarist police, the path to paradise would be open.

As a result of a century of struggle for freedom and social justice, power was seized by the extreme Socialist party that least of all cared for political freedom and took the first opportunity to trample it in the dust. Historical conditions thus paved the way for the success of the Bolsheviks, but it was Lenin who led them to victory. It was his mind, his astuteness, his will that in the end determined the course of the Russian Socialist movement, for although the more moderate Socialists differed from him, they were continually driven from their positions by his pungent criticism.

Lenin became a revolutionary as a schoolboy. His whole family was thus inclined. His eldest brother, a student, was hanged for an attempt to murder Alexander III. Both sisters were under the surveillance of the police. This early enthusiasm for Socialist doctrines was common enough among the educated young people of Russia. Many of them dropped Socialism as they grew older, but not Lenin. He was a cold-blooded revolutionary, a theorist of revolution, not an emotional rebel. His tremendous energy was

converted into an iron will for revolution, a will for power. Power over men was his only passion. From day to day, from year to year, that was the meaning and purpose of his life. It was in the singleness of his effort and aim that this implacable man was really strong.

For Lenin and his wife, who also accepted the Marxian Koran in early youth, the material conditions of life mattered only in so far as they hindered or aided their revolutionary activities. They never had any children, they knew nothing of that warm, bodily sense of contact with the physical world that children bring. In Russia, and as *émigrés* in Europe, the Lenins lived a bare, comfortless, haphazard life. Their home was a sort of revolutionary dug-out. Only instead of machine-guns and bombs there were books, papers, pamphlets and manuscripts. But these had to do only with history, economics, and social sciences. Art, literature, poetry, not to speak of religion, were rejected as a wicked invention of treacherous capitalism and of its acolyte, that bourgeois metaphysical mentality which diverts the mind from the practical tasks of class war and economic materialism. Their *Weltanschauung* was the doctrine laid down by Marx and Engels in the first half of the nineteenth century and embodied in the Communist manifesto of 1848. In the domain of theoretical Socialism Lenin was not a teacher but an assiduous and obedient pupil. On the basis of the Marxian doctrine, however, he for thirty-five years worked out the revolutionary tactics by which Marxism was to be put into practice. All his voluminous writings present a tactical interest only and are a kind of manual of revolutionary psychology. Had he been merely a writer, he would have been lost for ever in the dull crowd of Socialist pamphleteers. There is neither originality of thought nor brilliance of style in his writings. His power lay in the definite, clear-cut character of the tasks he set himself. This was not literature: it was a summons of the will, almost a command.

When one recalls his life—the endless party discussions, plots, resolutions, long perorations on dead formulas and the many years of complete detachment from realities and from the very masses in whose name the social democracy in all countries are wont to speak—his fate seems almost incredible. It seems a monstrous legend that this life-long conspirator should be lying at present under the walls of the Kremlin in a glass coffin before the eyes of all the world, and it may be that on that face of his, ravaged by long illness, the strange, diabolic smile is playing that chilled the kind heart of Mrs. Snowden and repelled how many more besides.

Lenin trod the fantastic path from the by-streets and cafés of exile to the Throne Room of the Russian Tsars with a firm step, always knowing where he was going and never turning his eye

from the goal of world revolution and dictatorship. One of his closest assistants, Karl Radek, says that, looking at a series of his own articles written before 1903, Lenin smilingly remarked: "It is amusing to think what fools we were then." As a matter of fact, there was nothing in these writings for Lenin to repudiate. They are permeated with one aim: the will for power. It is described as the dictatorship of the proletariat. But the Bolsheviks always considered that they were themselves the proletariat, and their effort was in essence the struggle of a section of the Social Democratic Party to seize power.

There was a time before the Russo-Japanese war when Lenin considered that the proletariat was not yet ripe for revolution, and that it was illusory to imagine that it was capable of seizing power at a stroke. In 1901 he sought allies, and spoke of the services which the Russian Liberals and Social Democrats could render each other in the common struggle for political freedom. This was before the advent of the Duma. The Russian intelligentsia longed for the constitution and for political freedom. For Lenin, as a Marxist, political freedom was but a means for clearing the field for class warfare and social revolution. The next year, before even the first faint beginnings of representative government were visible, he went much further.

In 1902 he published a pamphlet *What is to be done?* which created a great stir among the *émigrés*. In this pamphlet he applied his tactics, which were as always of the bold, aggressive kind. He defined his aim without reserve, but he said nothing of the tortuous ways and the unscrupulous methods by which he proposed to reach his goal. There he wrote for the first time that the chief task of the Social Democrats was to form cadres of professional revolutionaries for whom the revolution should be the principal occupation in life, not a mere side-line. He satirised the typical revolutionary of the day who in his opinion had lowered the prestige of the revolution in Russia.

"He is weak and wavering in theoretical matters, narrow-minded; he alleges that the masses are undisciplined in order to find an excuse for his own weakness; he is like a secretary of a trade union rather than a tribune of the people; he is incapable of devising broad and bold schemes that would command the respect even of his adversaries; he is inexperienced and awkward in his profession, i.e., in the struggle against the political police, and, hang it all, he is not even a revolutionary, but a pitiable *kustar* (unskilled artisan)."

In the same pamphlet he wrote the prophetic sentence: "Give us an organisation consisting of real revolutionaries and we shall turn Russia upside down."

Lenin took the first important step towards the selection of revo-

lutionary cadres at the next congress of the party. In 1903 at the third congress of the Russian Social Democrats he split the party into Bolsheviks and Mensheviks by his drastic proposals in the matter of party organisation. He aimed at creating an army of true revolutionaries in order to "turn Russia upside down," and afterwards the whole world, and this meant picking his men carefully on the strength of special qualities of mind and character. He already realised quite clearly the qualities with which the real revolutionary must be endowed. He attracted and subjugated men of that type. Against all the other members of the party he led a fierce struggle. The split in the Social Democratic Party was in fact brought about not by differences of opinion in respect of the party programme, but by conflicts of character and differences in morale.

Lenin took his Socialistic theory from Marx. His idea of what constitutes a true revolutionary was borrowed from the well-known Russian revolutionary Nechaiev, who wrote in the 'seventies the *Catechism of the Revolutionary*. This amazing document, full of cold and fierce contempt for mankind, shows what depths of moral depravity the mind of a man possessed by revolutionary mania may reach. Lenin's work was accomplished in the same atmosphere of amorality. Historical conditions and his own personal qualities made it possible for him to outgrow Nechaiev and, what is more important, to put his diabolical theories into practice, which he did first of all within the ranks of his own party.

Nechaiev looked upon men merely as instruments in the work of carrying out the revolution, and in his *Catechism* he divided them into categories according to their degree of usefulness for that purpose. "Doctrinaires, conspirators, and revolutionaries idly expounding at meetings or on paper should be drawn into head-splitting activities." These spurious Socialists may and must be deceived, compromised, and drawn into intrigues, in order to hold them in fear and bondage by means of blackmail. A small group of chosen real revolutionaries who will stop at nothing will rule the human herd autocratically and at any cost. These supermen naturally will scorn public opinion. "A revolutionary despises and hates contemporary public morality in all its aspirations and manifestations. For him morality means everything that promotes the triumph of revolution. . . . A revolutionary is a doomed man. All tender, softening ties of family, friendship, love, gratitude, and even honour itself must be crushed in his heart by the one cold passion of revolution."

Lenin established on similar principles his first dictatorship—his sway over the Social Democratic Party. In contrast with other leaders his aim was not unity, but discord. At every congress he

deepened and aggravated dissensions by his speeches and writings. For many years fierce controversies raged within the party. Unity was only manifested on the external front—against the bourgeoisie and the Social-Revolutionary comrades. All this went on in the morbid atmosphere of conspiracy, and the conflicting parties were thus trained in the most ruthless and callous methods of political strife. These men brought the same methods, the same contempt of their adversaries and for the opinion of others—even to the right of other people to have a mind of their own—into the vast arena of the Russian revolution. Lenin was in the centre of this factional strife, ever ready to kindle the flames of discord, to divide and to subdue. He could not understand equality in human relationship. His indomitable will was directed solely towards revolution, and revolution, like war, required absolute obedience. With a firm hand he led the Social Democratic Party away from the struggle for the professional interests of the working class, from reforms and evolution, straight to the fight for political power, for the dictatorship of the proletariat. He looked on a gradual conquest of political freedom as dangerous, because it might allay the discontent and mitigate the acuteness of class feelings. The old order should, he considered, be destroyed wholesale, not gradually changed.

When in 1905 the Emperor Nicholas, under the pressure of the peaceful general strike, granted the October manifesto inaugurating representative government in Russia, the Socialists feared that the country might enter on a path of peaceful reform. The Bolsheviks, followed by the other Socialists, declared a boycott of the Duma and of the elections. In this way they did much harm to Russia. Instead of giving support and showing respect to the first Russian Parliament and strengthening the beginnings of political freedom, they discredited the Duma in the eyes of the masses and fostered the revolutionary spirit. They joined the second Duma not for legislative work, but in order to explode that "bourgeois institution" from within. Stolypin defined the position in a famous phrase. Addressing the Socialist benches, he said: "You want great upheavals. We want a great Russia."

In this first fierce onslaught of the revolutionary party on the Government the old régime gained a victory. By some miracle the Duma survived, in spite of the animosity of Court circles and the contempt of the extreme parties. This representative body, for all its weakness and imperfection, gave an unprecedented impetus to the social and economic life of Russia. The country grew richer every year. Many new schools were opened, and educational methods were greatly improved. Germany watched the growth of Russia with fear; and Lenin was equally anxious. He spent the

whole period of the first revolution (1905-1907) in the far background, concealed by friends under an assumed name, but secretly directing the revolutionary struggle. His opponents often accused him of having known little of prison and of not really being a martyr of the revolution. These reproaches meant little: he was by 1905 a "general of the revolution." His activities should be judged not by his personal participation in strikes, demonstrations, and armed rebellions.

The practical course of revolution which Lenin followed at that time taught him to gauge the psychology of mass-movements. He saw with his own eyes that strange, unique state of affairs which in its general effects on a country and on individuals is called "Revolution." While directing the revolutionary struggle he learned how to rouse the masses and to stimulate their baser instincts. Under his guidance the Bolsheviks extended their influence among the working classes and gathered recruits among the more active, the more passionate, the least scrupulous. The Mensheviks lagged behind, for they had more compunction and retained some respect for morality. That respect was not, however, strong enough to induce them to break with the Bolsheviks. As a matter of fact the Leninites did not recognise any abstract values. Man, his reason and his will—these were the ultimate measure of things. Their repudiation of moral and divine laws gave them full freedom of action, and this they demonstrated to the full when, at last, they came to power.

"Amorality" is the distinguishing trait of Lenin's closest associates. Such men as Zinoviev, as Dzerzhinsky, Radek, Kamenev, and Malinovski, all regard morality as the handmaid of the bourgeoisie. Falsehood, robbery, murder were considered compatible with the name of an honest revolutionary. Only, all this was described not as falsehood, robbery, and murder, but as propaganda, expropriation, and terrorism. The archives of the Tsarist police have demonstrated Lenin's utter lack of fastidiousness in his choice of henchmen. No other party included as many *agents provocateurs* as the Bolshevik party. One of them, Malinovski, succeeded, with the help of the Department of Police, in getting elected to the Duma, and he served as a link between Lenin, who was then living in Cracow, and the small Bolshevik group in the Duma. His Parliamentary speeches were drafted by Lenin abroad and revised by the Department of Police. The well-known revolutionary Burtzev, whose speciality it was to denounce *agents provocateurs*, asserts that Lenin was fully aware of Malinovski's connection with the police. In the early days of the war, the Assistant Minister of the Interior, Dzhunkovsky, discovered this unclean combination. He demanded the expulsion of the *agent provocateur* from the Duma, but instead of giving full

publicity to the matter he deported Malinovski abroad, and the latter became one of Lenin's chief assistants for propaganda among the Russian prisoners of war, preaching defeatism and social revolution. When the Communist Party seized power Lenin no longer needed Malinovski, and he was shot in Moscow.

The Great War and the defeatist campaign gave Lenin new opportunities. As usual, he defined the issue sharply and clearly. In November, 1914, he wrote in the Russian paper *The Social Democrat*, edited in Geneva: "The propaganda of class warfare during the war is the duty of the Socialists. The work of converting the war of nations into civil war is the only task of the Socialists. It has fallen to the lot of the Third International to conduct the revolutionary struggle against the capitalist Governments and the civil war against the bourgeoisie in all countries, to gain political power and achieve the triumph of Socialism."

Events have shown that the last two objects are by no means identical. But the defeatist Socialists in Zimmerwald (1915) and Kienthal (1916) endorsed Lenin's watchwords, and their resolutions, which spread so rapidly and had such a disastrous effect in Russia, were but paraphrases of Lenin's ideas. Lenin bided his time and worked relentlessly towards his goal—the world revolution. His ways are not easily traceable. He was loth to speak of the means he applied. At any rate, somebody provided during the war the funds used by him for the publication of journals, leaflets, and pamphlets which were distributed wholesale among the Russian prisoners in the Austrian and German camps. The prisoners lacked bread, but they had plenty of Bolshevik literature. Subsequently Lenin travelled across Imperial Germany when the revolution broke out. As soon as the Tsarist Government fell, the Bolsheviks proved to be the richest of all the parties and were able to spend money lavishly on revolutionary work against the Provisional Government.

In a word, after the beginning of the war the poor *émigré* Lenin found powerful and generous protectors who helped him to weaken Russia. The usual standards of honesty cannot, however, be applied to Lenin. He stood beyond them. All means were good as long as they helped the revolution and brought nearer the day when he might seize power, as later all means were good enough for Lenin the dictator whereby he could maintain himself in power. From the very first moment the dictatorship of the proletariat was not the rule of a party, but the dictatorship of Lenin over the Communists and over Russia. The Communists themselves did not conceal the fact that the word of "Ilyitch," as they called him, was law to them.

It was not by accident that Lenin, the prophet and teacher of world revolution, became one of the most sanguinary despots the

world has ever known. This was also premeditated and part of the scheme. As early as in 1905, defining the revolutionary aims of the Social Democratic Party, he wrote: "The Jacobins of the modern Socialist democracy, the Bolsheviks, want the people, *i.e.*, the proletariat and the peasants, to settle in a plebeian manner accounts with the monarchy and the aristocracy, ruthlessly exterminating all the enemies of freedom."

Lenin was thus preparing in advance the psychological atmosphere for terrorism, as though his dark imagination divined already in the recesses of history the gruesome death of the Tsar and his hapless wife and children, as well as the deaths of hundreds of thousands—the victims of the cruel Che-Ka. Lenin created the Che-Ka a few days before his actual seizure of power. This loathsome weapon of Bolshevik rule, which cannot fail to provoke the abhorrence and detestation of all who have a heart in their breast, is the most terrible reflection of Lenin's truly diabolical contempt for men. Through the servants of the Che-Ka he and his assistants settled their accounts with the whole of Russia—not only with the bourgeoisie, but with the workmen, and especially with the peasants who refused to deliver their grain to Communists. For Lenin the terror was a weapon for levelling minds in an effort to nationalise public opinion simultaneously with the nationalisation of capital.

Here Lenin's logic, which was erroneously considered unalterable, failed. It was not logic but the unquenchable thirst for destruction that never altered. When the revolution reached its extreme limit, not only all manifestations of a rebellious spirit, but mere freedom of thought became an object of hatred for him. So for some time Russia was converted into a graveyard. Life came to a standstill. The site was cleared for the erection of the new structure, for the creation of the promised Communist State. Lenin, however, proved powerless to build anything whatsoever. It may be that in order to attempt any constructive statesmanship at least some spark of faith in mankind is necessary. Bakunin's old formula, "The spirit of destruction is the spirit of creation," was brilliantly refuted by Lenin. Events have shown that the social destroyer is incapable of becoming the social reformer. He seems to have understood this. He turned to the ruins around him and said with his uncanny smile: "We have made a miscalculation. We have gone too fast with the social revolution. Russia is not ripe for it. Let us have the 'Nep' (New Economic Policy)." This retreat towards the capitalist system he had himself destroyed was Lenin's last significant gesture. The hand of Fate, as though completing a gigantic historical experiment, then removed from the world-stage this dreadful actor. But an evil force still flows over the world from his dead brain.

ARIADNA WILLIAMS.

A REPUTED FRAGMENT FROM THE PARTHENON.

THE Elgin Marbles occupy so unique a position in the history of sculpture that any new fact in connection with them is of interest; and when the new fact involves a problem that is extremely difficult to solve, this interest is enhanced. The problem is here stated, and a possible solution is suggested. Any further evidence, from whatever source, would be most welcome.

The horse's head which is represented on Plate I. has recently been presented to University College, London, by Sir Arthur Clay, Bart.; it has been placed in the Yates Library, and may be seen there by any who are interested in it and in the problem which it offers. Sir Arthur Clay has kindly supplied me with the following information as to its history.

The head is stated, on verbal authority only (which appears, however, to be well attested), to have come from Athens at about the time of the removal of the Elgin Marbles. It was acquired by Mr. Willats, who had collections in Rome and in Paris. It was sent from Italy, or from Paris, to Denton Hall, Kent, where Mr. Willats also had a collection, in 1827, together with a statue called "The Bather," and an "Etruscan" vase said to be priceless. These last two were destroyed by a fire at Denton about 1850. The horse's head, however, shows no trace of damage by fire. A catalogue of the antiquities belonging to Mr. Willats was kept in the vase, and was destroyed with it. But Mrs. Willats (afterwards Mrs. Crofton), the daughter-in-law of the collector, remembered that the horse's head was described in it as "a fragment from the Parthenon." Mrs. Willats subsequently presented the head to Sir Arthur Clay, and it remained on a shelf above the studio door in his house at Burrows Lea, Shere, Surrey, until October, 1921, when it was sent up to London, and transferred to University College, where it now remains. This appears to be all the external evidence available; for any further information we must turn to a study of the head itself.

The close resemblance of this head to that of the horse of Selene in the Parthenon pediment (Plate II) must strike any observer at first sight. The one might even be mistaken for the other at a casual glance, though more careful observation discovers a considerable difference of style, especially in the rendering of texture by the surface modelling, a characteristic in which the Parthenon head is unsurpassed. The head now at University College is of Pentelic marble, and appears to be considerably weathered in surface; but some of this effect of weathering is artificially produced by chiselled grooves in the marble. A very remarkable circumstance is that several

accidental breakages in the surface of the marble of the Parthenon horse are almost exactly reproduced in the other head. Where the surface of the lower jaw of the Parthenon horse has split away, owing to a flaw in the marble, a flat surface is found in the other. The explanation of these peculiarities must be considered later. The head at University College has been broken in two across the middle of the nose, and pieced together again with the help of three clamps set in plaster. Some outlying portions of it were made in separate pieces, and affixed by means of metal dowels. The piece at the back of the neck is still so affixed, but the top-knot is lost, and the dowel hole to fix it is visible. The left eye was also made in a separate piece, and, when I first saw the head at Burrows Lea, was lying on the shelf beside it. This has now been fixed in position by the British Museum mason.

The weathering, and the surface cutting in imitation of weathering, are of a very peculiar nature. Over the right eye and near the right ear are a number of carved wavy grooves, evidently originally made by a chisel, though softened down by subsequent weathering. The Museum horse (Plate II.) is considerably damaged by the weather in this region, but the grooves on the other horse do not here follow it very closely. The Museum horse shows very clearly all down the nose, in a transverse line, the mark of the drip from the edge of the cornice above, and its surface is almost entirely destroyed. The other head has this same line of drip weathering, but whether natural or imitated artificially it is hard to say in its present state. All down the right side of the nose of the horse at University College is a series of shallow markings that follows closely the lines of the weathering on the Museum horse, which in this case are due to the stratification or "bed" of the marble. And across the left cheek of the horse at University College are two parallel lines, running from the ear across the flat surface of the cheek, in a direction that suggests a bridle at first sight. But on a more careful comparison with the Museum horse, it becomes clear that these two lines, which are somewhat clumsily cut, represent exactly the position of two layers of schist which constitute the worst flaws in the marble, and of which the lower one, in its continuation, has caused the loss of the upper surface of the lower jaw and teeth, a break represented by a flat surface in the University College horse. In short, all the marks of wear or weathering follow the natural stratification of the marble in the original head, but in the copy are quite inconsistent with the natural structure, and often cut across it at a wide angle.

All these peculiarities are very difficult to explain. Any one of them alone might be an accident, but, when they are considered together, they show that there has been a deliberate attempt to

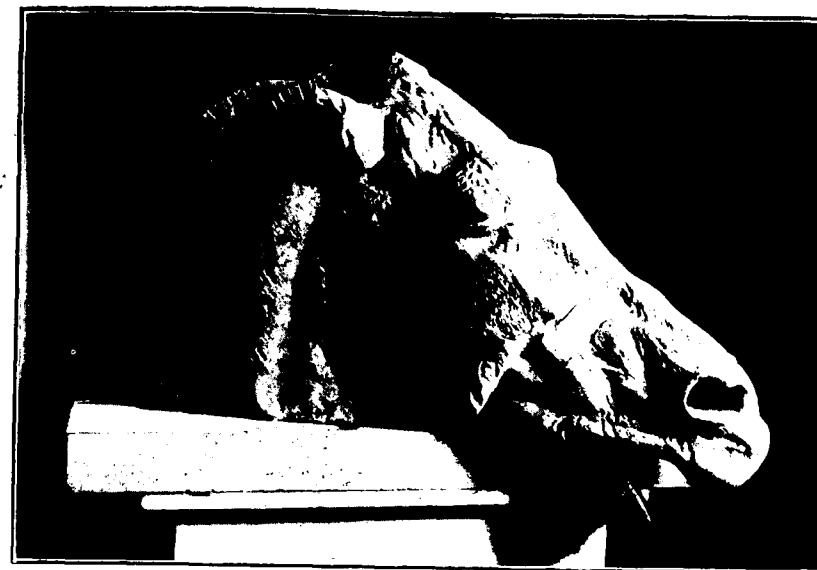


PLATE I. HORSE'S HEAD AT UNIVERSITY COLLEGE, LONDON

From a photograph



PLATE II. HORSE'S HEAD IN THE BRITISH MUSEUM

[From a drawing by Miss Phyllis Gardner]

make the University College horse resemble the other closely, not only in general form, but in many accidental details. One can only conjecture the motive of so strange a proceeding, but it seems a probable suggestion that whoever did it must have had an intention of fraudulently substituting the one head for the other. An argument as to when it was done may be drawn from the fact that it reproduces almost exactly the present state of the Museum horse, and this state is not likely to have been the same even in late Greek or Roman times as it is now, after so many centuries of exposure. On the other hand, the natural weathering subsequent to the artificial shows that the University College head must have been exposed for some time, probably in the open air: it certainly has not been so exposed in quite recent years, but may have been while in Mr. Willats' possession at Denton or elsewhere. The break across the nose may be due to some accidental fall, possibly at the time of the fire at Denton.

Before considering when the head was made, it will be convenient to review the evidence as to the position and history of the horses at the right extremity of the East pediment of the Parthenon. The chariot of Selene, the Moon-goddess, had originally a team of four horses, whose heads alone showed as she sank below the surface of the bed of the pediment; she herself was submerged to the waist. That there were four horses has been shown conclusively by the investigations of the pediment by Professor Sauer in 1890. Before this it was commonly supposed, as stated by Michaelis, that there were only two. But Sauer showed that there were actual remains of two horses' heads in the corner of the pediment, in addition to the famous one now in the British Museum. That there must have been a fourth one, between that extant in the Museum and the figure of Selene, was in itself probable, and is proved by the indications found on the bed of the pediment. In fact, the restoration with four horses is now generally accepted, and has not, so far as I know, been disputed. The fourth head—that is to say, the one nearest to Selene—was secured to the back wall of the pediment by a metal bar, for which the socket is still visible. This special support, as Sauer suggests, was necessary, owing to the somewhat precarious position of the head on the edge of the pediment. It did not, however, continue to fulfil its purpose, for this fourth horse's head had fallen from the pediment and disappeared before Carrey's drawings were made in 1674—how long before, we have no means of judging. The torso of Selene had also been lost before Carrey's time, the slab on which it stood having partly broken away. It was not recovered until 1840, nor identified till 1854.

With these facts before us, we are now in a position to consider

when the head at University College can have been made. We have already noticed the minute correspondence in detail of weathering and accidental damage between the two heads. These clearly imply that whoever made the head at University College must have had close to him while he was working either the Parthenon head itself or a cast of it. Now there is no reason for supposing that the Parthenon head was ever removed from its place in the pediment until Lusieri and his workmen removed it with the rest of the Elgin Marbles to be sent to London. Carrey saw it still in position, and it appears in its place in all other pictures of the Parthenon before 1800, notably those of Stuart (1751-3). While it was in position, it was clearly impossible for any sculptor to make such a detailed study of it as is implied in the University College copy. The possibility of the existence of a cast of the head must also be considered, but it does not seem at all probable that any casts of the pedimental sculptures were made while they were still *in situ* on the temple. It is true that Fauvel in 1787 and the following years had casts made for Choiseul-Gouffier and sent to Paris; but these appear to have been only of the frieze and metopes.

When Lord Elgin organised the expedition to Athens which ultimately led to the transference of the Elgin Marbles to England, Lusieri, the Italian artist in charge, was accompanied by several assistants, including two *formatori*, whose duty it was to make casts of sculptures and architectural members. Indeed, the scope of the expedition does not at first seem to have gone beyond making such casts and drawings, though a liberal interpretation of the famous *firman* ultimately resulted in the transference of most of the marbles to London. During 1801 and 1802 Lusieri's band of skilled assistants were employed in preparing the Elgin Marbles for transport, and in taking casts from them; and a cast of the horse's head may very well have been taken at this time. The original itself was also removed from its position in the pediment, and was probably warehoused for a time in Athens. It was dispatched together with three metopes and three slabs of the frieze by the *Mutine* to Malta at the end of May, 1802; and thence it was sent on to England. It occupied a prominent position in the exhibition of the Elgin Marbles in Park Lane in 1810, as may be seen from the pictures then made.

We find, then, that in 1801-1802 the original head and possibly also a cast of it were accessible to Lord Elgin's staff of workers in Athens. Thus there was an opportunity for copying it exactly, and there were present in Athens workmen of the requisite skill. They would also have found it quite easy to obtain a block of Pentelic marble on which to work, during their operations on the

Acropolis. The next question is whether we can find at this time any adequate motive for making such a copy, with all the damages and weathering of the original almost exactly reproduced. We have already noticed that such exact imitation must have been carried out with an intention of fraudulently substituting the one head for the other; and we now have to ask whether there was any such intention probable during Lusieri's work in Athens. In this connection we find a most illuminating passage in Hunt's report of July 31st, 1801. He says: "The architects and the *Calmuc* (Feodor) . . . have associated so much with Fauvel, that they are even suspected of intentions of concealing copies and measures with an intention to carry them to Paris." The meaning of this passage is somewhat obscure, possibly purposely so, if Hunt had suspicions which he could not substantiate on clear evidence. But the reference to "concealing copies" seems to suggest the existence of such a thing as the head now at University College. Presumably it was made at the instigation of Fauvel by one of Lusieri's skilled assistants, with the intention of substituting it for the original among the Elgin Marbles, and so getting hold of the original to send to Paris. For some reason or other the attempt failed, and the imitator, having the copy left on his hands, made the best of the situation by selling it to the collector, Mr. Willats, in Rome, as a "fragment from the Parthenon," the title under which it passed to his collection in England.

If these inferences are correct, they throw a curious light on the atmosphere of rivalry and intrigue in which the acquisition of the Elgin Marbles took place. Lord Elgin's famous *firman* was itself the outcome of British predominance in the Near East, as established by the Battle of the Nile; and the vicissitudes of naval capture affected the ultimate destination of some of the sculptures of the Parthenon. But Hunt's report above quoted shows that other means, of intrigue and fraud, were also being used for the same end, and in this horse's head we may well recognise an example of the copies that were concealed, here doubtless with the intention of substituting the copy for the original. In that case the very peculiarities that are a puzzle, on any other hypothesis, serve as a confirmation of the purpose for which the copy was made.

Other hypotheses have suggested themselves in the course of the investigation; but none of them, I think, attains any degree of probability. It is, of course, tempting at first sight to suggest that the head at University College is the original fourth horse, which is known to have been lost at some date before Carrey's sketches, or that it was made to replace that head when it fell. But its close correspondence in form and in accidental damage with the horse in the British Museum precludes this possibility. A more plausible

suggestion is that it was made, possibly in Roman or even in Renaissance times, with an intention of substituting it for the original in the Parthenon pediment. But even if we grant that some Roman official or some Italian visitor might have attempted by some such method to acquire a work of art which he admired, the careful imitation of accidental damage would be superfluous if the copy were to be placed in the pediment; and moreover this damage can hardly have been the same in Roman times as it is now. Nor can any suitable opportunity be suggested between Roman times and the year 1800 for the making of such an imitation. A process of exclusion thus appears to confine our conjectures to the date which is indicated by all the evidence available, and to confirm the result to which that evidence has led us.

ERNEST A. GARDNER.

NOTE.—For the quotations from Lord Elgin's correspondence I am indebted to Mr. A. H. Smith's article on "Lord Elgin and his Collection," in *The Journal of Hellenic Studies*, Vol. XXXVI., 1916.

THE CONVERSATIONS AT MALINES.

IT was not without surprise and considerable alarm that the British public became aware, through a letter from the Archbishop of Canterbury upon the progress of Reunion, of certain "Conversations" at Malines between members of the Church of England and certain Roman Catholic scholars, under the presidency of Cardinal Mercier. The Cardinal is, no doubt, well known, comparatively speaking, in England. If his reputation as a leader in philosophical thought among the chief teachers of his faith in Belgium is not widely spread, yet all men know of his patriotic championship of his country's cause in the time of the war. If on this ground his name would cause less alarm than that of most Cardinals, yet he is a Cardinal and represents the Church of Rome. A conference, even if it was only a conversation, under his presidency was, at the very least, a new departure. Nothing of the kind, we believe, has happened since the Reformation, and therefore the desire for some explanation cannot be criticised. It is inevitable that people should wish to know how the thing came about and what its probable consequences are.

Let us first realise carefully what exactly has happened. The Archbishop sets out the history in his letter. There was, first, a meeting arranged by private individuals and notified to the Archbishop: at this, a discussion took place upon the claims of the Papacy, based on a memorandum from the Anglicans present, and the Lambeth Appeal. Next, it was suggested that, with a view to a second meeting, the Archbishop should "informally nominate delegates, and suggest the outlines of the discussion." This the Archbishop declined to do, but "expressed my readiness to have official cognisance of the arrangements, provided that a corresponding cognisance were given by the Vatican. Satisfied, after correspondence, with regard to that point, I gave what was described as friendly cognisance to a second visit of the Anglican group to Malines in March, 1923." On this occasion administrative questions were discussed such as might arise "if and when" the great doctrinal and historical "questions sundering the two Churches" had reached a measure of agreement. Thirdly, it being agreed at Malines that a third meeting should take place, with increased numbers of members on each side, the Archbishop nominated Bishop Gore and Dr. Kidd and recommended that "prior to any discussion upon the possible administrative questions that might arise, attention should be concentrated upon the great doctrinal and historical issues at stake between the two Churches." Cardinal Mercier agreed upon this point. The reason which the Archbishop gives for this recommendation is that we on our side, "have no

thought of changing or weakening " in regard to the position adopted by the Anglican theologians of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. The meeting was held on these lines in November, and the Archbishop tells us that there has not yet been time to estimate the value of the result.

It needs no more than a simple statement of what has happened to make it plain that severe and hostile criticism would inevitably arise. There is a long-standing and intense dislike of the Church of Rome throughout this country. Even those who look forward to a reunited Christendom with hope and enthusiasm feel that the Church of Rome is a very intractable element in the problem. Hence it is not surprising to find that the Archbishop's action has been sharply condemned in various quarters: perhaps it would be truer to say that it is surprising to find that the criticism is not fiercer and more widely spread than it is. It is not the intention of this article—it need hardly be said—to pass judgment upon the Archbishop's bold decision: but there seems to be sufficient occasion for an endeavour to place it in its context and so to show how inevitable it was.

The first thing that must be said about the whole movement towards Reunion, as it stands at the present moment, is that it is a result of reflection upon the war. During the war, and for a time after it, there was much talk of reconstruction—though there was no precise meaning attached to that word—and a loud expectation of a new order. In large measure this talk has died down, and the world has relapsed upon old formulæ and old methods in order to deal with its problems. To realise this, we have only to look at the world of politics. Mr. Baldwin attempted to persuade the country to reconsider a decision arrived at sixty years or so ago, in very different circumstances from the present, and was driven from power. There are ideas before the public which have not been tried in practice, but these are no new ideas: we are to comfort ourselves by contemplating the old banners, and the reflection that no one of them is predominant. In the meantime, the discussions of Capital and Labour lead to strikes as before, and the interests of European nations are in the same kind of conflict as before. In politics, we seem to be living mainly in the old world with the old ideas: the League of Nations, though it is a splendid effort to create a new spirit and has had some degree of valuable and striking success, has not produced a new or even a reconstructed order.

But the Anglican Communion, usually charged with lagging behind and hindering all progress, in its Lambeth Conference has taken a distinctly new step by issuing its Appeal to all Christian Churches. The question of Reunion has been long before the Christian world, and the pressure of the war emphasised in the

most impressive fashion the reality and urgency of the problem. The need of ministering to the soldiers brought forcibly into view the loss of power and efficiency caused by what we have contentedly called for more than two hundred years "our unhappy divisions." There were, of course, before the war suggestions towards a solution of these difficulties, usually of two kinds. The Episcopal bodies, for instance, or the Church of Rome were willing to receive other bodies into communion if they would surrender their points of difference, and admit themselves to have been in error. Or in despair of this, there seemed to some a hope of solving the problem if all Churches would get rid of their positive doctrines and constitutional order, and agree in some really comprehensive, if vague, ethical sentiment. Admirable arguments were alleged for these various points of view, but they left the practical problem exactly where it was. No other result could really have been expected: because no solution on either of these lines gives sufficient weight to the real importance of the points in dispute. They are all matters upon which learned and conscientious men have differed for centuries, and these are not matters capable of facile or high-handed solutions.

The Lambeth Conference has one great advantage in considering such a point as this: its members are not limited to one State or nationality. Among the Bishops who attend it there are not only subjects of the British Crown, but citizens of the United States, and representatives of the Indian and African races. Thus the Lambeth Conference, though it is not constituted formally like one of the Councils of the Church, and though its decisions have no compelling authority behind them, has the eminently Christian characteristic about it, that it transcends nationality. The nations of the earth, as they accept the sway of Christ, will contribute to the one Church what they are qualified by their peculiar genius and intellect to bring to its endowment: but there are perils to a Church organised centripetally like a State: it is liable to lose breadth of view, and to be affected unduly by its own interests and discussions, and its own exclusive patriotism. A Conference like that at Lambeth, which transcends nationality, is held together by the true bond which constitutes a Christian community, that is, by a spiritual or religious bond: and it gains freedom thereby to look at spiritual questions in a spiritual way.

The difference which the Lambeth Conference of 1920 has made to the whole question of Reunion is that it has invited other Christian bodies, not to unconditional surrender, or to a declaration that their past conclusions may be set on one side, but to a frank and open discussion of the points which are disputed, and the reasons which lead to divergence in regard to them. The object of

such discussions is, of course, agreement not victory, and the hope of this result lies in securing that the parties engaged shall set out with perfect freedom what exactly their position is. It is only by such candour that it will be possible to estimate the nature and degree of their divergence.

The Federal Council of the Free Churches responded to this Appeal, and a Committee representing that Council on the one side, and the Church of England on the other, has been engaged in discussion on the lines above indicated. The Archbishop's letter informs the world of the large measure of success that has been attained. It is recognised fully that the Committee is not charged with drawing up a formal scheme of Reunion, but with the exploration of the ground of controversy, and the possibilities of agreement.

The "Conversations" at Malines have proceeded almost exactly on the same lines. In one respect, they are less formal than the discussions at Lambeth. The Committee at Lambeth resulted, as has been said, from the correspondence between the Federal Council and the Archbishop: the "Conversations" were originated by private persons and can only claim the more cautious support of friendly cognisance. But the process is the same in both cases. An effort is being made to define accurately and to compare some of the more vital positions upon which the two Churches differ. There is no proposal or probability of a proposal of any new scheme for formal Reunion, but it is hoped that by means of the exchange of views of learned men on both sides the existing position may be more fully understood. The Archbishop, as has been said, has acted boldly, but in the circumstances created by the Lambeth Conference, and the Lambeth discussions, refusal to act would surely have been very difficult to defend.

It cannot be denied that the Church of Rome presents very special difficulties to Englishmen. Its rule in this country has left highly unpleasant memories: the allegiance it requires to the Pope is hard to reconcile with complete loyalty to England and the English throne: its system and ritual excite what is frequently called a healthy virile antagonism. These are dispositions disinclining the English mind to consider Reunion with Rome seriously at all: but they are not, in themselves, conclusive objections. Beyond all these, there is very deep and serious doctrinal divergence; in regard to the Sacraments, including the meaning of Holy Orders; discipline, including especially the practice of auricular confession; and government, which affects the whole question of freedom of thought, especially in regard to Holy Scripture, and national ecclesiastical independence. These grave doctrinal differences, combined with the more inarticulate sentiment, have led to a view

of the Church of Rome as a wholly separate and alien organisation, with which no direct intercourse can ever be expected, and have almost destroyed the notion of this Church as a great spiritual force, possessing the allegiance of a vast number of Christian people, and having many important points in common with ourselves. It is practically forgotten that the Roman Church like ourselves uses the Nicene and Apostles' Creeds: that it celebrates the Sacraments of Baptism and Holy Communion, and that the forms in which we celebrate these Sacraments have many points of contact with the Roman Services. Other points might be mentioned. And the question necessarily arises how it is that two Churches, holding so much in common, should have diverged so widely. To discuss the question fully would require a large treatise: but it may be possible to suggest one or two considerations which may bear on the problem immediately before us.

If we try to push back these divergences to their real roots, it will probably be found that they depend upon a tendency in Roman theologians to precise logical definition and division and an extreme confidence in the logical exposition of ideas. The difference between the light of Nature and Revelation is most sharply defined. Certain things are attainable by the mind of man exercising his natural powers: other things are not. As we read, for instance, S. Thomas Aquinas (*Summa i. Gent.* I. c. 3) it is clear that the two regions of knowledge are conceived as mutually exclusive, but the final word is reserved for Revelation. There is, doubtless, a great truth in this: but the rigidity in which it is expressed leads to difficulty. For instance, in dealing with the Holy Scripture, in a paper on Inspiration presented to the Biblical Congress at Cambridge in 1921, we read the following (*The Religion of the Scriptures*, p. 5): "Inspiration necessarily involves the absolute veracity of every statement in the Bible; for as God wrote it, and God cannot lie, the Bible cannot contain error of any kind. This complete veracity of Scripture does not, however, of necessity imply that every statement must be taken in a literal sense, and as true in that literal sense." It is obvious that this principle is difficult to apply. The writer cited above calls attention (p. 13) to a case of special difficulty—the interpretation of the early chapters of Genesis. "The Church," we read, "decidedly rejects the idea of these (the Creation stories) being sagas, or myths, or legends, or merely moral truths, or merely ideas expressed in parables. The Church has ever maintained that they are historical, though real history may be metaphorically told." Clearly it is not easy to define the limits of metaphorical expression or its effect: and here the tradition of the Church is brought in to settle the diffi-

culty: the Church, and that will mean ultimately the Pope, is the means by which all uncertainty may be dispelled.

The desire for final guidance as to the meaning of the Holy Scripture and the contents of the Faith is not peculiar to the Roman Church. At about the same time as the Biblical Congress mentioned above, a Congress of Modernists was held at Oxford which gave rise in the Church of England to a clamorous desire that the Convocations or the Bishops should give an authoritative ruling as to some of the opinions expressed. No such ruling was given, and it would probably be argued now that this reserve was right. Most English Churchmen would hold that the true method of reaching truth in matters of this kind is not to issue disciplinary declarations, but to pursue honestly and faithfully the line of historical inquiry, trusting to the guidance of the Holy Spirit. And this will mean that the regions of natural inquiry and Revelation are not defined with absolute sharpness, but that religious truth is intertwined inextricably with natural and moral truth.

Space forbids an attempt to develop this position at length: or it would be of interest to point out how doctrines such as that of Transubstantiation arise from the logical extension of ideas not exclusively belonging to the Roman Church, together with the complete confidence that such logic is applicable in the region of spiritual realities. But it will be better to approach, in conclusion, a question which may be considered to be prior to all those which have been mentioned. Is there any use in attempting or hoping for any reconciliation with the Roman Church, except by the method of absolute surrender? We are loudly assured by Roman writers, and by many who are not Roman, that there is no use in any such efforts. There is, of course, facing us always, the Decree of Infallibility of 1870, and though a careful study of the text of the Decree shows that it differs widely from the average notion of it, its existence is a serious obstacle. It would seem, however, in spite of it, to imply a lack of charity and of faith to refuse to consider with learned Romans some of the points upon which the two Churches differ profoundly. And, further, it is difficult to exaggerate the immense importance of the whole question of Reunion—a condition of things which cannot come into existence if one of the largest Christian communities is left out. The division of the Churches, more than anything else, holds back the cause of civil union and concord throughout the world. The League of Nations, we hope, will do much: but the nations will only be securely held together in the bond of peace, when they realise themselves as conscious members of the one Body of Christ, in which the Holy Spirit dwells.

THOMAS RIPON.

THE UTILISATION OF NATIVE EFFORT IN THE DEVELOPMENT OF EASTERN AFRICA.

SUCH persons as ever trouble to enquire about the matter and give it any thought will probably admit that the British possessions in East Africa have some value to the Empire, and may some day be worthy of greater consideration. An attitude of academic goodwill is, however, inadequate, and if the intelligent British public would condescend to take a more active interest in this portion of Africa, and urge that its development should be considered with more imagination and prosecuted with more energy, then both England and the territories referred to would materially benefit.

The Union of South Africa contains some 1½ millions of Europeans, and this active community forms a fairly adequate driving force for the development of that part of the Continent, which has an area of 473,000 square miles and a native population of nearly 5½ millions. The country with which the present enquiry deals comprises the British territories in Eastern Africa, excluding Somaliland. These cover a much larger area—about 690,000 square miles—and only contain some 15,000 Europeans. When we deduct from this small white population the number of women and children, it will be realised that the number of the actual producers and, in addition, those employed in guiding the activities of the blacks, is a pitifully small proportion.

The black population in the portion of East Africa under consideration is approximately 11 millions, the great majority of whom are still in a very backward condition according to civilised standards, although admittedly intelligent and generally anxious to progress along lines the advantage of which appeals to them. In their primitive fashion they are by nature born traders; their agricultural methods are, however, very primitive, and the struggle against nature with their archaic methods is generally severe. The white planters, who are not very numerous in any portion of the area referred to, although they occupy large stretches of country, are naturally only interested in the development of their own estates, and are thus inclined to look on the native mainly as a source of labour.

These territories may, therefore, be viewed as a vast, ill-developed estate with enormous possibilities. What has been done by the respective local Governments with regard to them? The reply from each area would vary. Agricultural and Veterinary Departments have been formed in each Colony, and have been in

existence for a number of years. Numerous experiments have been conducted, and indications have been given with regard to avenues which promise success. The Veterinary staffs have actively combated the spread of epidemic diseases among stock, and a great deal has been learnt as to the life history of the principal diseases. In Uganda, owing to the efforts of Government, cotton culture by natives has reached considerable dimensions; in Nyasaland, tobacco culture by Europeans has become an assured success. In Kenya, the Agricultural Department has mainly concentrated its attention upon the crops grown by Europeans, and, except when serious epidemics have occurred, the Veterinary section has devoted its attention mainly to the interests of European stock owners. In Tanganyika, the Agricultural Department is giving considerable attention to native cotton growing, and the Veterinary section is combating the stock diseases to the fullest extent which its funds admit. In addition, a great deal of meteorological data have been accumulated, a certain amount of soil analysis has been carried out, sera for rinderpest and other diseases have been manufactured. Taking it altogether, a large amount of valuable information is now available for European planters and stock owners.

This research has, however, had but little effect on native products, and, generally speaking, but little attempt has been made to reach the native and get him to modify his prehistoric methods. Admittedly it is not easy, but if these territories are ever to fulfil their promise it must be done.

On one side, we have the innate conservatism of the native as regards agricultural processes. The women are the main factor, for the planting of products is generally in their hands, and they are loth to risk failure by experimenting with new seed or new methods. As regards live stock, custom again reigns, and various superstitions often block the way to progress. Above all, the native is poor and cannot, as a rule, afford machinery and such luxuries, and, unfortunately, improved methods usually entail expenditure. Then again, in some Colonies, there still exists a feeling that increased native production will damage the labour supply available for colonists; this spirit, however, is believed to be giving way to a more liberal outlook in the interest of progress as a whole.

On the other hand, the native is usually responsive to the advice of his District Officer, and amenable to reason if it is demonstrated that he will benefit; the only trouble is that the administrative staff is too small, and consequently too overworked in other directions, to be able to devote much time to an economic campaign. Great caution, moreover, is necessary in the introduction of new

products for native agriculture, for natives are easily discouraged by a setback, and each failure renders progress more difficult. Europeans, too, have in the past been rather prone to take up new products with great enthusiasm and then abandon them as quickly after the first failure.

It will be asked—in what directions should efforts to increase native production be made? Some indications are given below.

Animal Products: Hides and Skins.—Trade in these products is of old standing, and in the pre-war period it attained considerable dimensions. After the war the market for hides and skins experienced an unparalleled slump, but it is now slowly recovering. Considering the number of animals which annually die or are slaughtered, the proportion of hides which reaches the market must be small; a very large number of skins and hides are still used as wearing apparel or for sleeping upon. Strenuous efforts should be made to provide cheap and adequate textile substitutes for these uses, and an instructional campaign should be undertaken with the object of improving methods of preparation so that higher prices can be obtained. It is estimated that there are no less than 6 million head of cattle in our East African possessions, and in addition 1½ million in Ruanda; the number of goats must also amount to several millions, but they are more difficult to estimate. Central Africa, therefore, affords a vast natural supply of hides and skins, which will increase as veterinary science overcomes the numerous stock diseases.

Milk.—In connection with this great mass of cattle, their potentialities as a source of milk should not be overlooked. The desiccation of milk is now becoming an economic proposition and, with cattle-owning tribes like the Masai, it may in time be possible to induce them to milk in a cleanly fashion, and bring the milk daily to small, easily movable desiccating plants placed in spots accessible to the herds. At present, practically the only use of the vast amount of milk in the Masai reserve, apart from that fed to calves, is as a beverage for the so-called warrior class; this is a grade in the social organisation of the tribe which has outlived its time, and cannot long continue; its disintegration is being encouraged by the local administration as a danger to peace. With its disappearance, its dietetic idiosyncrasies will probably be modified. The above remarks apply equally to the manufacture of *ghee*, which is perhaps an easier product for natives than the treatment of fresh milk.

Agricultural Products: Cotton Culture.—This is now being widely fostered in British Africa, but great strides need to be taken before the volume of the crop looms large in European markets. The tribes of the Uganda Protectorate have taken up cotton culture

with marked enthusiasm; and this is solely due to the encouragement afforded by the local Government, and is an example of what concentrated effort can achieve. Past experience appears to prove that cotton is pre-eminently a native crop, for the simple reason that it requires a good deal of attention during growth; this can be best provided by the native cultivator assisted by his family, for in this way no wages bill can accumulate. Unless a minimum yield of, say, 260 lbs. per acre can be assured by means of properly organised irrigation works, it is doubtful whether cotton can be profitably grown on European-owned estates.

With native-grown cotton, the main safeguard is to distribute each year freshly imported seed—an insurance against deterioration of crop and lack of uniformity of staple. There is much room for improvement in native methods, and the output could be greatly increased by the general use of ox-drawn ploughs; unfortunately, however, some of the areas best suited for cotton are unfavourable to oxen owing to the existence of insect pests which are disease carriers. It is also incumbent on each local Government to teach native cultivators how to deal with the insect pests which damage either the growth of the bush or the cotton boll, and to afford facilities for such treatment.

Coffee Culture for Natives.—This is a very contentious question. Coffee, like most other introduced plants, is liable to attack by many insect and other enemies, and the experience of Ceylon is a warning to all planters, for in that colony the ravages of the *Hemileia* fungus proved so severe that an extensive coffee industry entirely disappeared within a short space of time. A plantation of high-grade coffee requires unrelaxed and intelligent supervision if it is to continue as a paying proposition or even survive at all. In the Kenya highlands and on the slopes of Kilimanjaro in Tanganyika territory a comparatively small number of Europeans have planted coffee, and in the former country the aggregate area is very considerable, the value of the crop running into big figures; up to now the natives in Kenya have evinced no marked desire to grow coffee. In Tanganyika territory the position is different; there are a small number of European coffee planters on Kilimanjaro, and on the western and south-western shores of Lake Victoria there is a considerable quantity of coffee grown by natives; it is probably a cultivated form of an indigenous species. Latterly, however, the energetic Chagga natives commenced to plant coffee, and the European planters on the mountain demanded that steps should be taken to repress them; the local Government has decided that such action cannot be initiated. This decision is logical, and in accordance with the spirit of the mandate, but it undoubtedly involves the administration in the responsibility of continuous

inspection of the native plantations, and it is essential that legal powers be provided for drastic action in the case of plantations which become infected with dangerous pests.

Rice Culture.—This is pre-eminently a native crop. The prospects in Tanganyika are favourable and an export trade is commencing to Zanzibar and South Africa; the amount grown, however, represents but a small proportion of what is possible, increase of production being at present hampered by distance from markets and lack of transport. As regards Kenya Colony, in spite of the existence of large areas admirably suited for this grain, rice from India and Burmah is still imported in considerable quantities. The coastal rice-growing areas are thinly populated and, further, the natives in those areas are apathetic and unprogressive. The large areas in Kenya and Tanganyika suitable for the cultivation of rice are, therefore, likely to lie dormant until the Governments concerned are able to come forward with carefully prepared irrigation schemes; in addition, a population capable of effectively using irrigation water must be settled on the tracts thus made available for intensive cultivation.

Sugar Cane.—Land available for rice is also good for sugar cane, and this is another product the culture of which has not been systematically pursued. Most tribes grow a little inferior cane in swampy valleys for chewing purposes or beer, but it is rare to find any who utilise the cane for sugar manufacture. The value of the sugar imported into these territories amounts to many thousands annually, whereas if the industry were properly fostered a large quantity should be exported. It is beyond the powers of natives to manufacture saleable sugar themselves, but their efforts as growers of cane could be utilised in certain areas to ensure a supply to sugar factories established by European capital.

Maize and Sorghum.—These are the two staple articles of diet for the native tribes, and, however alluring the profit may be from cotton or other products, the natives must not be allowed to lose sight of the importance of the culture of their own food crops and they should be taught how to get heavier crops from their acreage. In addition, there is a wide market for surplus maize, for, even if it is not of the highest grade, local uses will be found for it, e.g., fattening food for pigs, horses, &c., or as material from which commercial alcohol can be distilled. *Ground nuts, beans, and sesamum* are generally considered to be crops more suitable for native cultivation than for European plantations on account of the great expense of harvesting compared with the value of the crop. Beans, to obtain a good place in the home markets, must be carefully graded for export. The grading of agricultural exports has been found to be necessary in connection with European-grown

produce, but it is doubly so with that of the natives, for it is very difficult to induce the latter to take systematic steps to grow and sell the better qualities only.

The time is an apt one for some determined effort in the direction of inducing the black millions to produce more, for the following reasons.

Since the war, there are widespread signs among the blacks of these territories of a self-consciousness which is groping for means of expression, there is a general cry from the younger generation for more education. A renaissance is in the air, the psychological atmosphere is favourable to new movements, and what better propaganda could be preached than the development of the natural resources at their command? A recent political controversy has evoked from both European colonists and the Asiatics many expressions of a desire to promote and safeguard the welfare of the black races in Central Africa. Sceptics may sniff at the sincerity of these protestations, but the fact remains that the Colonial Office has accepted them and, seizing the one point upon which the disputants are agreed, has reiterated its intention to put native interests in the forefront of the development policy of British Eastern Africa; the declaration in the recent White Paper may in a measure be regarded as a native charter which no party in the State is likely to upset.

There can be no doubt whatever that increased native production will do more than anything to rehabilitate the embarrassed financial situation of the various Governments; it will immediately benefit the various railways and enable freight rates to be gradually reduced. It will stimulate imports, for the natives will have more money to buy imported goods and thus the customs revenues will increase. Increased trade will improve the credit of the countries in London, and the restoration of confidence will increase that flow of new capital into Africa which is one of its greatest needs. Now is the time to commence the campaign, for at present there is a world shortage of many essential products, while the consuming population continues to increase, and it must be remembered that new measures will take time to bear fruit.

Too much of the native produce is at present carried for considerable distances in head loads to petty shops in remote spots and again carried in head loads to the railways—a costly and lengthy process; to minimise this we come to the question of transport and transport roads. These are vital matters for these undeveloped countries, and also intimately affect the volume of trade, for quick realisation of produce means that higher prices can be paid to the producer; there is also less wastage in transit. The promotion of native markets on transport roads is of

importance, they induce competition for produce, and cash sales instead of barter will become universal.

In conclusion, it is, therefore, urged that each local Government should thoroughly investigate and report on the present conditions of native production and the marketing of the produce, adding proposals for its improvement and stimulation. It is highly advisable for these reports to be submitted to a body in England in touch with the commercial community and appointed by the Colonial Office as a standing committee to deal with the promotion of native production and trade. The rationale of this procedure is not far to seek; first-hand influence on the natives can only be exercised by the local executive, and the organisation for effecting this must be locally devised to suit the idiosyncrasies of each native group. The co-operation of the mercantile community is, however, essential, for the local Governments will not purchase the produce; they are not in close touch with the markets. It is also highly probable that material assistance will be necessary in the shape of seeds, and, further, as the campaign develops, it will be advisable for the trade to assist in the matter of technical advice and training. In fact, future success on a large scale depends to a great extent on the closest co-operation between administrative and commercial activities. The psychological effect on the natives of a concerted movement of this character cannot fail to be immense, for it will do more than anything to convince the masses of our genuine interest in their economic progress.

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CHEKHOV AND HIS PLAYS.

CHEKHOV was by nature an active man and was exceptionally responsive to all social phenomena. Not only did he conduct an extensive practice as a doctor, but he never missed the opportunity of rendering service to the people. During the great famine of 1891-1892 he worked with unremitting energy and well-nigh lost his life in a snowstorm, travelling from village to village in the Province of Nijni Novgorod, organising the purchase of horses for the peasants to enable them to till the soil for the next harvest, as during the famine they had sold their cattle for bread. He took an active part in the census of 1897. He never ceased to work for the spread of education. In 1892 he bought a small farm in the Province of Moscow and became an ardent farmer. The Chekhov family—the writer's parents, sister and brother—who lived on the farm, and the writer himself were exceedingly hospitable, and there hardly was a time when the farm was not visited by as many guests as the house would hold, even to the passages and the billiard table. In those days Chekhov would only write at odd hours. He would write a few lines and declare to his guests, "I have written for sixty copecs."

At the age of thirty Chekhov journeyed to Siberia and visited the island of Sakhalien—the cold inferno of the cruellest Russian prison. Upon his return to Russia his health definitely failed and the unforgiving disease—consumption—which drove him into the grave at the age of forty-four then declared itself. For the next fourteen years his life was a continual struggle against illness and was characterised by the "ups and downs" inherent in it, the transitions from intense *joie de vivre* to intense depression.

In his delightful book, *The Garden of Epicurus*, Anatole France says:

"The more I think of human life, the more I believe that we should give it as witnesses and judges Irony and Pity, just as the Egyptians invoked for their dead the goddesses Isis and Nephtys. Irony and Pity are good counsellors. The one, smiling, renders life amiable. The other, who weeps, renders it sacred. The irony which I invoke is not cruel. It does not deride either love or beauty. It is sweet and benevolent. Its laughter calms anger, and it teaches us to laugh at the wicked folk and at the fools whom we might, without it, have the weakness to hate."

In these lines the entire spirit of Chekhov's prose work is contained. The same spirit permeates his plays, which developed from one-act farces into four-act dramas where the dreariness, the torment, the yearnings and the grim humour of Russian life of that period were reflected.

Chekhov's first play, *The Swan Song*, is not a play in the strict

sense of the word. There is no action. An old actor falls asleep after the play in his dressing-room, comes on to the dark stage and talks to the prompter, recalling the days of his glorious career when he took the leading parts in the Shakespearean *répertoire*. His soliloquy is intermingled with recitations from *Hamlet* and *King Lear*. *The Swan Song* is only a sketch, but it gives a vivid insight into the life of Russian provincial actors of the time. Incidentally, it is a striking illustration of the hold which Shakespeare's plays had over the Russian public.

The next play was a one-act farce, *The Proposal*, a mere trifle requiring delicate handling on the stage, without which it becomes a silly grotesque.

In 1888 Chekhov's first four-act play, *Ivanoff*, was produced in a private theatre in Moscow.

The 'eighties of the last century were gloomy years in Russia. The peasants, freed in 1861, had been deliberately left by the authorities in a condition of ignorance and poverty, and the sporadic efforts of enlightened individuals among the landowners and the local *intelligenza* did not suffice to lift them from the morass. The enthusiasm caused in educated circles by the reforms of Alexander II. gave way to a spirit of despondency which was deepened by the reactionary policy of Alexander III. The result was an atmosphere of depression, described in the following words by one of Chekhov's characters:

And above all, may you be spared the so-called rational life, all wild theories and impassioned talk. Everything is in the hands of God, so shut yourself in your shell and do your best. That is the pleasant, honest, healthy way to live. But the life I have chosen has been so tiring, oh so tiring! So full of mistakes, of injustice and stupidity."

Ivanoff is under forty, but he feels as old as Methuselah. He is overwhelmed with *taedium vitae* which he is incapable of shaking off. He has ceased to love his wife, a Jewess, who is still passionately fond of him. A young girl who has retained, in spite of the "dull and ugly life," all the hope and enthusiasm of youth, is in love with Ivanoff and is determined to save him from this "stupor" and to revive his paralysed will power. She declares her love in passionate and naïve words. Ivanoff shakes with wild laughter. "What is this? Is it the beginning of a new life for me? Is it? Oh, my happiness, my joy, my freshness, my youth! So I shall live once more and work?" As he takes the girl into his arms, the wife comes in, sees them, and swoons. For some time after this incident, Ivanoff keeps away from the girl, but she is determined to save him from himself. She boldly comes to his house and tries again. After her departure the wife appears, and there follows a highly dramatic scene in the course of which Ivanoff completely loses his self-control, insults his wife and tells her that she is doomed, that the doctor has told him that she is dying of consumption. The wife dies, and in the last act we find Ivanoff hastening into the house of his fiancée on the wedding day—fringing upon the custom which forbids the bridegroom to see his bride before the church ceremony. Everyone is surprised and irritated. Left alone with the girl, he explains that he does not feel either the strength or the courage to start a new life and to accept her sacrifice, the sacrifice of youth to morbid disillusion. He does in the end what he wants to do. He shoots himself.

Eight years elapsed before Chekhov ventured to produce his next four-act play, *The Sea-Gull*. During those years his reputation as one of the prominent Russian writers was definitely established. It was the custom on the Imperial stage to give special performances for the benefit of the stars of the cast from time to time. There was a comic actress whom, *toutes proportions gardées*, I might compare with Miss Lottie Venne. The public who came to the performance given for her benefit naturally expected to see a lively comedy. Chekhov's play was just the reverse. He attempted for the first time to write a play with an entirely new technique, the technique which he later developed to perfection. The actual dramatic plot is a "side issue," so to speak. As in *The Three Sisters*, *Uncle Vania*, and *Cherry Orchard*, the people come and go, they suffer disappointments, they rebel and are

reconciled. In these three plays the dramatic situation in the accepted sense of the word differs, but I think they can all be described as presenting people who "come and go." Shorn of its inner meaning, of the atmosphere, mentality and psychology of its characters, the plot of *The Sea-Gull* is a commonplace one. It is the story of a young girl ruined by a passer-by, a self-centred author with a hollow mind and a hollow soul. The tragic fate of the girl induces a young man, a beginner in literature, whose instinct is against "old forms," but whose genius is unequal to the task of discovering new ones, to commit suicide.

Such was the story presented to a public that expected to be amused. The inevitable happened. The hostile reception of the first act disconcerted the actors, and in particular the talented Madame Komissarjevski, whom the author expected to achieve a triumph in the title rôle. The play was a complete, a deadly failure. Chekhov was present. The failure was to him a terrible blow from which he did not recover for a long time. A few extracts from his letters describe better than any critic might do the effect of this fiasco upon the sensitive author. On October 19th, 1896, he wrote to his friend, the newspaper proprietor and critic, Alexis Souvorin:—

that the best thing for me to do would be to go away, and on the next day I got your letter bidding me farewell. Where then was my cowardice? I behaved reasonably and duly, as a man who has proposed and has been rejected and who therefore has nothing else to do but to leave. Yes, my pride was hurt, but this did not come like a bolt from the blue. I expected a failure and was prepared for it—and I warned you in all sincerity."

To Koni, about three weeks after, he wrote:

"You cannot imagine what joy your letter gave me. I saw from the stalls only the first two acts of my play, and afterwards I sat behind the curtain and I felt all the time that the play was a failure. After the play, during the night and on the next day I was told that I had portrayed only idiots, that my play was a failure from the dramatic point of view, that it was not clever, not understandable, even meaningless, etc. You can imagine my position—it was a failure such as I had not dreamt of. I was ashamed and annoyed and I left Petersburg full of doubt. I thought that if I have written and staged a play that is so obviously full of shortcomings—I must have lost all discernment and that means that my little mechanism is definitely out of gear. When I was at home in the country I got several letters from Petersburg saying that the second and third performances had been successful, praising the play and abusing the critics. I read this with pleasure, but nevertheless I was ashamed and annoyed, and the thought occurred to me persistently that if kindly people find it necessary to console me—then my affairs are in a sorry condition indeed. But your letter has had a decisive effect upon me. . . ."

where one finds and where one loses. I never counted upon that play."

The end of 1898 may rightly be described as the turning point of Chekhov's career as a dramatist. The Moscow Art Theatre* had produced *The Sea-Gull* and had achieved a triumph almost unequalled in the history of the Russian theatre. After this triumph, Chekhov wrote his plays, as it were, for the Moscow Art Theatre.

paying a visit to the estate. The professor decides that, as the estate does not yield sufficient revenue, it must be sold, and a country house bought in Finland. The daughter and the brother-in-law, Uncle Vania, are thus left out in the cold. Uncle Vania rebels against this decision; there is a violent scene during which he threatens to shoot the professor. In the end, it is decided that the professor and his wife shall go and live at Kharkov, leaving the management of the estate as before to Uncle Vania and to the professor's daughter Sonia. Uncle Vania is in love with the young wife, who also attracts a friend of the family, a doctor named Astrov, with whom Sonia is in love. All this love-making is quite incidental, and never develops into any climax.

Dr. Astrov is, of all the characters painted by Chekhov, perhaps the one into which he has put the finest touches:—

little, but with incomparable mastery Chekhov succeeds in rendering the melancholy atmosphere of a "break-up." The storm has subsided, but the waves are still heaving. And the last chord in that mournful symphony is of exceptional beauty.

At the Moscow Art Theatre the production of *Uncle Vania* was as masterful as that of the *Sea-Gull*. Every theatre in Russia tried to emulate that perfection, and *Uncle Vania* became even more popular in the provinces than it had been before the Moscow production.

Yet in spite of this overwhelming success, in spite of the fact that Chekhov during his lifetime had become, as it were, the Molière of the House of Molière in Moscow, that he was loved by the company, not only as an author but as a kind and gentle friend, in spite even of the romance which ended in his marriage with one of the leading ladies of the cast—we notice in his correspondence that the wound inflicted by the original fiasco of the *Sea-Gull* in Petersburg had not completely healed. In October, 1899, he wrote to his future wife: "Art—especially the stage—is a region where it is impossible to walk without stumbling. . . . Should you think that *Uncle Vania* did not have the success you expected—please go to bed and sleep soundly." Is that not reminiscent of the night of sound sleep which Chekhov had after the collapse of the *Sea-Gull*?

Even after these triumphs he still looked upon play-writing as of secondary importance compared with his other literary work. In November, 1899, he wrote to one of the Directors of the Moscow Art Theatre: "I have a subject—*The Three Sisters*, but I shall not start writing a play until I have finished the stories that have been on my conscience for a long time. I have decided that there shall be no play of mine next season."

The *Three Sisters* saw the footlights at the Moscow Art Theatre in 1901. There is little relief in it from the atmosphere of misery and depression which, in the 'eighties, pervaded the life of the Russian intellectual middle class of the small provincial towns. If it may rightly be said that in the preceding plays the plot was of secondary importance, I think it would be safe to say that in the *Three Sisters* there is no plot at all. The best description I can think of is to call it *Nature Morte*. The strivings of the intellectual class for a better life, for freedom, for higher pursuits, are symbolised in the repeated wistful cry of the *Three Sisters*: "To Moscow, to Moscow, to Moscow!" One has to be thoroughly acquainted with Russian life in order to understand the delicate and sure touch with which Chekhov introduces us to that gloomy world.

So much for the dramatic substance of the play. I would, how-

ever, advise all lovers of dramatic art to read it more carefully than any other play, as such careful reading would doubtless reveal the perfection of Chekhov's technique. To readers—I refer particularly to Russians—the *Three Sisters* will remain an immortal work of art. I doubt, however, whether the altered spirit and outlook of the present generation in Russia will find in the *Nature Morte* the same interest as we found in the picture of a life with which we were contemporary.

The *Cherry Orchard*, Chekhov's last play, was produced at the Moscow Art Theatre only a short time before the author's death. The dramatic collision is between the "useless" people, erratic, unaware of their own mind, lacking energy, and lacking a definite purpose in life—and the spirit of practical achievement and material gain, which was beginning to sprout in Russia. Chekhov's sympathies lay with those who, like Dr. Astrov, were working for the benefit of future generations, as well as for those who had faith, like Sonia. When he has to choose between the poor in spirit and the practical people who pursue the narrow object of individual prosperity—there is no mistake about his choice. "Blessed are the poor in spirit for theirs is the Kingdom of Heaven." From the commonplace view of morality and respectability, Madame Ranevskaja, the central figure of the play, scarcely to be admired.

C. NABOKOFF.

RECENT CRITICISM OF HAMLET.

CRITICISM is still the business of the critics. Even the criticism of Homer, Chaucer, and Shakespeare, for which some considerable scholarship is a prerequisite, should be written by men of letters, not to say by poets. Scholars only go before and prepare the way for the critics, whose vision is clearer, whose mission is higher. Sometimes the world is so fortunate that both scholar and man of letters are to be found in one and the same person; but in him the scholar's knowledge can never take the place of the critic's imagination, sensibility, and faculty of expression. The critic, on the other hand, if he approaches the early literature without learning to tread in the scholar's footsteps, will go frequently astray.

It is now more than a year since Mr. Clutton Brock's *Hamlet** appeared. Nearly everybody then praised it, and some said that at last the problem had been solved, the age-long mystery laid bare. Even scholars said it. For the book is delicate, tactful, regardful of the text, and much Shakespeare criticism is still full of capricious vagaries. It is well written, and much Shakespeare criticism is not. And it is sensitive, human, and speaks, not the language of philosophy as too often Shakespeare criticism has done, but that of human experience and the now prevalent psychology. In many ways it is a book worthy of the man who rightly has the name of being one of the eminent critics of our time.

But despite the many good things in it, things said by the way about life, art, and *Hamlet*, too, in certain scenes and situations, I cannot think that the writer has plucked the heart out of the mystery or come near to doing it. Too little counsel has been taken of scholarship, and too little regard is paid to the art of the author as playwright. The advantage (and also the drawback) to literary criticism is that it itself is literature. It should be none the less criticism. It should fit the text; it should also fit the methods and conventions of the particular art in question; it should endeavour to meet the author's purpose and reveal it; it should be not only beautiful but true. "It is the object of criticism not to flatter the fancy but to understand, to trace results to true causes, to see the thing as it really is."†

Mr. Clutton Brock's "formula" is this:—

"That when Hamlet was implored by his father's ghost to avenge his murder, . . . his conscious resolve, made with all the force of his will, was to obey his father. But the shock which he

* In this critique I have not undertaken to answer Mr. Clutton Brock's strictures upon my own interpretation of the play. It is of more concern to me and to others to have it shown that Mr. Clutton Brock's theory, so widely disseminated and accepted, is not wholly right, than that I think mine own not wholly wrong. Moreover, it is the negative part of my own theory to which I attach most importance.

† A. B. Walkley, *Drama and Life*, p. 150, and compare Arnold.

suffered on hearing of the murder, and particularly on realising the full horror of his mother's remarriage, made, as it were, a wound in his mind, which hurt whenever he thought of the murder, or of his uncle, or of his mother's connection with his uncle. The pain of the wound was so sharp that, unconsciously, he flinched from it and seized every pretext to forget it. He would will to remember it as he willed to take vengeance; but here the law of reversed action worked within him. The more he tried to force himself into action, the more his unconscious [self] invented pretexts why he should delay to act. . . . This irrelevance causes Hamlet to misexpress himself in action and talk. The soliloquies are the great exception. . . . In the soliloquies Hamlet is puzzled by his own behaviour, and in them Shakespeare himself insists that that behaviour is abnormal."

As a formula it is admirable; save Dr. Bradley's it fits the character better than any psychological formula that has hitherto been presented. It fits particularly well (save where the purpose to "put an antic disposition on" is mentioned) at the close of Act I., where Hamlet is overwrought, is eager and yet loath. But it does not fit the character so well elsewhere. It does not fit the play. It does not fit in with what we know explicitly, and what an Elizabethan knew implicitly, of dramatic art.

I.

As for the character, Mr. Clutton Brock, like many psychological critics, refuses to see that after Act I. Hamlet, when in public, plays a part; and he thinks his mind "disordered." Mad, then? The word for Hamlet as a whole is a bit strong, and the feigning of madness, of course, presents little opportunity for the psychologist. Mr. Clutton Brock therefore explains it away. He considers the announcement which Hamlet makes to his friends concerning the antic disposition to be a hint to prepare the audience,* and the soliloquies to be Shakespeare's means of reminding the audience of what Hamlet is when normal. They serve a dramatic purpose, he says, not a "scientific," or psychological, one. This is highly ingenious; and though Mr. Clutton Brock makes no parade of erudition to support his opinion, it is, in some ways, not out of keeping with Elizabethan dramatic method. There is Prince Hal, announcing at the end of the first act of *Henry IV., Part I.*, that he will go on the loose for a bit and rise to the height of his nobler nature afterwards; and there are Shakespeare's villains soliloquising, who, in speaking of their own treachery and wickedness, use, almost unmodified, the language of the good. But really the cases are not parallel. Prince Hal and the villains are speaking to themselves, that is, to themselves and the audience; Hamlet, here, to his confederates; and in his

* *Op. cit.* Pp. 29, 30, 43, *i.e.*, if I rightly understand Mr. Clutton Brock.

numerous and extensive subsequent soliloquies he is entirely in harmony, not at variance, with this confessed purpose, as also in his conversations with those people whom he has no need of deceiving—the Players, Horatio, and the Queen. In all alike he betrays not the slightest trace of mental disorder. He is excited and overwrought after the play-within-the-play, as he had been after seeing his father's ghost, but that is all. It is at once, moreover, and with a sigh of relief that he throws off the mask, on escaping from spies and enemies:—

"Now I am alone.

O what a rogue and peasant slave am I!" . . .

And he claps it on again when enemies enter, as do Rosencrantz and Guildenstern after the play, or when he himself enters among his enemies, as at Ophelia's funeral. To have made Hamlet indeed disordered in mind, and not feigning, would have quite bewildered the audience, had they so understood him. They knew the story in *Belleforest*; they knew Kyd's play which only in a new garb they had come to witness again; and they knew plenty of plays, such as *Antonio's Revenge* and *The Malcontent*, in which the hero, like David and Brutus of old, feigns madness at his enemy's court, whilst he bides his time. But so they would not have understood him. No audience—no reader, even, without a theory—could understand him so to-day. And hence, all that part of his conduct being feigned to which applies the theory of "the dramatisation of a disordered state of mind," that theory must seem to us ill-founded. There is much, to be sure, in Hamlet's public behaviour that is not feigned—the melancholy and cynicism, the spirit of irony, mockery, and satire—otherwise he would in public be a very uninteresting, undramatic figure. His merriment, for instance, is feigned somewhat; his melancholy is real; but it is only when he misexpresses himself that he is acting intentionally, only when he expresses himself that he can be said to be acting under a compulsion which he does not understand. He inadvertently gives himself away in the "nunnery" scene; and at the play-within-the-play his irony is transparent.

But unfortunately the thing is not so simple as that. The trouble is, as Mr. Walkley long ago pointed out, that, like other Elizabethan heroes feigning madness, Hamlet plays the part "for all it is worth," and seems at times to be mad indeed. Disordered or not disordered in mind, he is almost equally unintelligible at Ophelia's funeral; we hope he is mad, for his credit, but madness does not come or go again so quick. Hamlet himself ascribes his conduct to madness when speaking to Laertes, to exasperation when speaking to Horatio. Surely the most satisfactory way to explain it is as the use of a stage situation, taken from Marston,

when Antonio starts up and calls Pandulpho, mourning and wailing over the body of Feliche, a liar,—or as derived, Marston's and this together, from the old *Hamlet* of Kyd. And in reality, as Dr. Bradley and others before and since have shown, Hamlet is suffering from melancholy. The symptoms of this physical and psychical disease or distemper "furnish the principle and groundwork scheme on which are portrayed Hamlet's gloom and thoughts of suicide, his irritability and fits and starts of emotion, his collapses into apathy or indifference after excitement—after rage, grief, or glee.*

Mental disorder, then? And is not Mr. Clutton Brock right after all? But anything that can be called mental disorder or derangement disappears at once, as by the turning of a tap, in Hamlet's soliloquies, or in his private talk with Horatio or the Queen. What basis, then, is there here for a psychological theory? Company may make a man crazy, but it will not leave him sane. And what psychologically can we nowadays have to do, on the other hand, with "melancholy adust," as described by Robert Burton and his predecessors, or as illustrated by Marston's Feliche, Antonio, and Malevole, and certainly Hamlet too? Hamlet means something to us, and is an artistic figure only as we surrender the psychological interpretation, modern or Elizabethan either, and, granting the convention of his feigning and his revengefulness, cling to the character—his pathos, wit, and passion, his devotion to his friends and ideals, or rather as we cling just to the person himself so vividly and engagingly portrayed. This individuality is what matters—everybody of importance who has written of Hamlet has remarked upon it. And rightly Mr. Clutton Brock bids Mr. Eliot remember his own words—"the dramatist need not understand people, but he must be exceptionally aware of them." But he needs to be bid remember them in turn, for while Mr. Eliot reckons it against the dramatist that Hamlet cannot be understood, Mr. Clutton Brock after all insists on understanding him.

The world is becoming weary, though, of this fruitless and desperate endeavour, and still keeps an interest in Hamlet, not, really, because of the psychology in him—the motives and the soul-states related within him—but rather as if he were a figure by the greatest of painters or sculptors, which touches them more intimately just because the medium is words—Shakespeare's words. It is Hamlet and his moods, identical though logically inexplicable, that engage us, not the mechanism of motions and impulses, the stream of consciousness and its undertow, and volition matched by inhibition, if so be that the like are really provided within him. Meanwhile Mr. Clutton Brock takes delight in what he

* See my *Hamlet* (1919), pp. 72-3.

reads Hamlet's "double consciousness." Neither madness nor the feigning of madness will do, and "double consciousness" is the modern compromise and the psychological label.

II.

As for the play, Hamlet is, of course, not the play, though again and again Mr. Clutton Brock says that he is, declaring that "the play itself is not a conflict of persons, but a conflict within the mind of Hamlet." "The King and all the other persons of the play," he adds, "are almost passive spectators of the drama of Hamlet's mind, which they cannot understand." How strange a thing, in view of the fact that this understanding of him is what Hamlet, so clever and secretive, takes every measure to prevent! Here Mr. Clutton Brock more than anywhere else lapses to the point of view of the romantic critics in the early nineteenth century, who took *Hamlet* for a closet drama, and of the German poets and philosophers, who took it for a sibylline book. To both sets the play was nothing, the character was all. In general, Mr. Clutton Brock is much more enlightened. Like some few before him he too insists that we must not confound fiction with biography, inquire into the character's previous history, or treat him as if, though "the best in this kind," he were not still a "shadow," a character in a play. "We know nothing about him but what is in [the play], for there is nothing else to know." But that does not much hamper or embarrass Mr. Clutton Brock, since to him everything in the play is Hamlet.

So he denies that it is a tragedy of revenge, but takes it for a tragedy of irrelevance; denies that it is a play of intrigue, but takes it for "the dramatisation of a disordered mind." He ignores, that is, all the evidence to be drawn from the history of the stage and drama—from the *Spanish Tragedy* and the old *Hamlet*, which must have been its counterpart, from Ben Jonson's new version of the *Spanish Tragedy* and Marston's *Antonio's Revenge*, the success of which at other theatres Shakespeare was emulating, not to mention Chapman's later *Revenge of Bussy d'Ambois* and the previous story of *Hamlet* in Belleforest—all of this he ignores and the history of public and literary opinion, through three centuries down to the days of Henry Mackenzie, the Man of Feeling, to whom the dim new light on the subject first appeared. These matters he would, no doubt, wave aside as mere matters of history—sheer pedantry—irrelevant to art; and in a sense, no doubt, they are. But Mr. Clutton Brock rightly lends his ear to evidence of the author's intention and to the verdict of the audience. Well, these historical considerations which he would disdain are simply a means of determining the author's intention and the verdict of the

audience in Shakespeare's time and since. In Tom Jones's day and the Earl of Shaftesbury's, people took an evening off, not to penetrate and explore Hamlet's mind, but to see the play; the interest of the play was that of an exciting story—Hamlet pitted singly against all his enemies, and beating them all at their own game; and such, for those who have not read criticism, is its interest to this very hour. Any actor, any playgoer will bear me out. Mr. Clutton Brock makes much of the fact that the play has held the stage through three centuries as evidence of its greatness and artistic worth. If to any audience—if to any troupe—it could have been what it is to Mr. Clutton Brock, the audience and the troupe would soon have been one and the same. To him, I cannot but think, it is not a play.

Imagine the discomfiture and boredom of an audience thus robbed of its story, the great critical moments—before the arras, at the play-within-the-play, or in the Queen's bedchamber—dissolving away into psychological demonstrations, the King, Rosencrantz, and Guildenstern, and Laertes shrinking away to shadows—what they say or do not really mattering at all—and the limelight forever fixed on one melancholy figure's face and brain. That is just what Mr. Clutton Brock makes of it, with his double theory that Hamlet does not feign and that all the play is within him. The *Stagirite*, I take it, is leagues nearer to the spirit of Shakespeare, and of every playgoer and popular dramatist to this day, when he declares that plot is the principal part of tragedy, and character the part next in rank. Without plot, without situation or complication, tragedy or comedy simply is not; and so far as we know, it is as situation or complication that tragedies and comedies spring up in the mind of their author—there and not in one of the *dramatis personæ* is the germ or nucleus—and the characters—in such measure, indeed, as they are inseparable—develop afterward. The interest in *Hamlet* for Shakespeare, for his audience, and for every audience, is the interest of a play—plot and character, that is, together—and only secondarily that of the hero's mental make-up. The point is that Hamlet, a character who attracts them, has a mission and is in danger, and that he rises equal to these dangers, one after the other, and, though in death, fulfils his mission at the end.

Take the first scene between Hamlet and Rosencrantz and Guildenstern, in Act II., and the scene with Ophelia, at the beginning of Act III. Mr. Clutton Brock almost wholly forgets the main issue—that Rosencrantz and Guildenstern are spies whom Hamlet comes to trust as he would adders fanged, and that Ophelia herself is a decoy, placed there by the King and Polonius before going behind the arras. Nothing could be defter than Mr. Clutton Brock's treatment of the scenes as the expression of Hamlet's

wounded spirit seeking to escape the thought of the murder and his mother's unfaithfulness, and seeking sympathy in his old friends and his sweetheart, but recoiling in dismay. But while in both cases there is treachery and treason at hand, and the interest of the audience is largely in the way which Hamlet eludes it, Mr. Clutton Brock's interest is almost wholly in a state of mind. If the interpretation of literature—and of drama still more—be, as has been said, mainly a study in emphasis, the critic here has shifted that emphasis awry. The dramatic interest is in one treading warily, compassed about by spies and enemies, not in one merely fleeing from his thoughts and purposes to the bosom of his friends. And so far as Ophelia is concerned there is the additional quite dramatic interest in Hamlet's anxiety for her happiness, at the wicked court where she already is a tool, now that danger looms ahead. As he plays the part of a madman he bids her get her to a nunnery, nor love such a man as he is, to be a breeder of sinners. He is cruel in his concern, both for himself and for her. But Mr. Clutton Brock thinks him all preoccupied with his mother's sensuality, his love for Ophelia being infected with his disgust for his mother, and his mother's sensuality being transferred even to himself, while he misexpresses himself under a compulsion he does not understand. And in the play-scene, where he indecently jests with Ophelia, and probes the conscience of the King, and in the scene after the killing of Polonius in the presence of the King and Rosencrantz and Guildenstern—there still he is but misexpressing himself! If he hadn't misexpressed himself pretty thoroughly, under a compulsion which he understood all too well, he would hardly have got off with a sea voyage, or ever returned from it.

In all these scenes, it is, then, a mere matter of course that Hamlet should not make allusion to the murder or his revenge? How can psychology be made out of that? If it be true that Hamlet cannot bear to think of either, or of his mother's faithlessness, is it not surprising that he touches on the matter on every occasion where it is appropriate to do so—when he talks with Horatio or his mother or has a chance for soliloquy? The only exception is the soliloquy on To be or not to be—the King and Polonius being behind the arras! As I pointed out in my monograph, to have done the like of that would have ended the tragedy then and there, and now all the audience breathe the more easily. They had feared, but do not expect, so much—would not have him put his head quite into the Lion's mouth.

III.

As for what we know explicitly, and an Elizabethan knew implicitly, of Elizabethan dramatic art, Mr. Clutton Brock at many points runs directly counter to it, particularly when he deals

with the subconscious. There can be less objection to his psychological analyses while he remembers, which he sometimes does, that both terms and ideas were unknown to Shakespeare and his audience, and while he keeps to them only as means to bring home to us the reality and profundity of Shakespeare's characterisation. Even then it is a ticklish business, for (once more I take refuge behind Mr. Walkley's ægis) "a dramatist's personage is a mere function of the dramatist, and can utter nothing, think nothing, be nothing outside the range of the dramatist's own nature and mental vision." But it is a very bad business, when he lets anything dramatic hinge upon them. That is what he does as he conceives Hamlet to be avoiding not only revenge, but the thought of it, throughout the play. It is a merely negative method, whereas the stage—and particularly the popular stage—is the place for only the positive and fairly explicit. There it is what a man does, not what he leaves undone, that makes the character—on the stage there are no sins of omission, so to speak. Even in a novel the reader would need some comment for his guide.

And as for the pretexts and excuses, I have repeatedly shown (and Mr. Schücking has done so again more recently) that they are not pretexts and excuses, but *bona fide* motives—if excuses, then only for the dramatist to prolong his story and defer the revenge. Mr. Clutton Brock himself inclines to think that Hamlet's reason for sparing the King at prayer is not a pretext. "In this case the explanation could not be acted . . . the text gives no hint of it." How, then, about the others—the play-within-the-play and the trip to England? Here, again, there is no hint of a pretext in the text; here, again, the explanation could not be acted. It is refreshing when Mr. Clutton Brock lapses from subtlety into simplicity and humble sense. So, he wonders at the ghost reappearing to Hamlet to remind him just after he has killed the man he took for the King; and quite properly attributes the fact to the old play and to the fine theatrical (and, indeed, philosophical) effect of the ghost visible to his son, but not to his faithless mate. And in the same sensible (though, as we shall see, somewhat inconsistent) fashion, he recognises that Hamlet's going to England "relieves the actor who plays the part, and gives the audience a relaxation from the exacting task [*the critic himself has relencings*] of following all his subtleties; and, in the fifth act, he returns with all the more effect. This is enough, I think, to explain why Shakespeare dispatched him."* Why, then, think that it is a pretext or evasion,† particularly in view of the fact of which Mr. Clutton Brock takes no notice, that Hamlet is not acquiescent, but deliberately and eagerly makes the plan of the King and Rosencrantz and

* P. 76.

† P. 74.

Guildestern his own? "They must sweep my way, and marshal me to knavery. Let it work; for 'tis sport to have the engineer hoist with his own petar," &c.

And there are other subtleties of the critic still less perceptible to an audience. When Hamlet speaks of bestial oblivion as the cause of his inaction, Mr. Clutton Brock interprets it as "the shrinking of his unconscious [self] from the very subject of revenge, which expresses itself, to the conscious, in forgetfulness." A suggestion worthy of Gervinus or Ulrici, in the Seminar! Surely *oblivion* is only the substantive for the verb *forget*, which is the contrary of *remember*. "Remember me," cried the ghost; "remember thee," echoed Hamlet after his exit; and "Do not forget," cried the ghost on his reappearance. And, as surely, it is the forgetting to do the deed that Hamlet is speaking of, not the forgetting of the very thought or "subject."

Or consider the close of the play. Mr. Clutton Brock has much better principles than most literary critics of Shakespeare—in intention respects the text, remembers the audience, and particularly remembers the actor and his part in the dramatic whole. The test which, he says, he applies to his psychological theory is whether it can be acted or would help a player to act the part—a risky test if uncorrected by knowledge of the Elizabethan technique and *milieu*, but here, even without such correction, not convincingly applied. How could any acting, for all the coaching by the poet, ever convey to the audience Mr. Clutton Brock's conception of Hamlet as not feigning, when he says that he is feigning and he is doing it so apparently, or insure the audience against understanding his noble last words in their simple and obvious sense:—

"O good Horatio, what a wounded name. . . ."

"When dying, he insists that all through the play he has been misexpressing himself. . . . His anxiety cannot be merely that Horatio shall explain the external facts, the murder and his mother's unfaithfulness, which could be done in a few words." In few words, to be sure, but they are not for Hamlet. It would spoil the ending. Even Horatio must not bore the audience by saying them on the stage like the Friar at the close of *Romeo and Juliet*. But certainly there is nothing in the text to make us think that Hamlet would have Horatio explain or excuse him, either disclose his mental processes or extenuate his delay. He regrets nothing, save that he cannot live to clear his name—of blood. All that he wishes said is what others have done and he has done, not now troubled, apparently, because of the time he has been about it:—

* P. 35.

"Report me and my *cause* aright
To the unsatisfied."

Not my failure! Not only would no audience, modern or Elizabethan, understand Hamlet's wish as does Mr. Clutton Brock, but Horatio himself does not, who, however, we are reminded, "certainly cannot explain Hamlet." That he is not asked to do, but "to tell my story." Hamlet, more easily content, thinks Horatio can, and insists that he shall live to tell it; and Horatio thinks he can too. Even here he briefly announces what he shall have to say at the funeral:—

"And let me speak to the unknowing world
How these things came about: So shall you hear
Of carnal, bloody, and unnatural acts,
Of accidental judgements, casual slaughters,
Of deaths put on by cunning and forc'd cause,
And, in this upshot, purposes mistook
Fallen on the inventors' heads."

All this, he adds, can I truly deliver; and there is no ironical hint of its inadequacy. But the whole scene, with its booming and trumpeting, and stir and tumult—with the hero's striking activity, self-assertion, and clear conscience, and Horatio's and Fortinbras's unequivocal approval and praise—there is not much that the philosophical and psychological critics can make of that. The franker ones have complained of it. A strange ending, truly, for the tragedy of a weakling or dreamer or one wounded and limping in spirit—and they must betake themselves to irony or paradox.

IV.

Irony, paradox, abstraction—these now are the pale colours which the critics work in as they deal with the positive ideas and the full-bodied—full-blooded—conceptions of Shakespeare. In this regard Mr. Figgis, Mr. Yeats, Mr. Masfield, and Mr. Clutton Brock are of one accord. Like most literary critics, they make Shakespeare modern instead of making themselves Elizabethan. "All through the play," says Mr. Masfield, "there is the uneasiness of something trying to get done, something from outside life trying to get into life, but baffled always because the instrument chosen is himself a little outside life, as the wise must be." The words are simple, but the meaning is not, and in Shakespeare's time they would not only not have explained the play, but would themselves have needed explaining. And there is a good deal like it—abstract, paradoxical, or ironical—in Mr. Clutton Brock. "It is not that he is incapable of action, but that action cannot satisfy a mind shocked by life itself. If he kills the King, he will not

kill that beastliness, which, since the King and Queen first convinced him of it, has infected the whole of his world so that Denmark is to him a prison." Or, again, "And this richness [of his nature] is always rebelling against the narrow passion of revenge imposed upon it, and hating the King all the more because of the alien and importunate hatred that he inspires." Or, again, "It is not merely conscience but his sovereign reason that rebels and is shaken by its own rebellion." A nature rich indeed, and a complicated—"double," after all, is putting it mildly.

But for such ideas there is insufficient evidence in the text and insufficient warrant in what we know of Shakespeare's way of writing. There is no evidence that Hamlet desires aught but what is demanded by the ghost—to kill the King—or that for his task he doubts if his sword suffices him. There is no evidence that Hamlet is troubled by the promptings of mercy, baffled by the breadth and depth of his experience, or looks upon revenge as anything but a sacred duty. Such tangles of motives, such abstractions, refinements, and paradoxes you shall find in some measure in Ibsen, and abundantly in the closet dramas of Browning; all that Shakespeare shows us is that Hamlet was eager and sometimes loath, delayed and reproached himself for delaying. And nowhere else in Shakespeare's representation of character, though there are cases of paradox and irony, is there anything of such a covert psychological method and manner. Matters so essential and fundamental could not have been left to the discretion of the actors.

"Every work should contain in itself all that is necessary for its own comprehension." and for a play merely rewritten, already familiar to both author and audience—either of them interested in a striking story rather than in a consistent one, and in character rather than in psychology—*Hamlet* did contain fairly all that was necessary, until, in a later age, the spectators changing to readers and inquirers, a long process of analysis and criticism (or of assimilation and absorption) by the modern spirit, began. Then *Hamlet* was discovered, on the one hand, to be in some ways a failure, as by Mr. Eliot, whom Mr. Clutton Brock attacks, or, on the other hand, as by most of the critics, a miracle and a revelation, though none too clear. But a play is not a puzzle, particularly a stage-play; and the fact that *Hamlet* has been a puzzle for a century and a half proves that we have been troubling ourselves about what does not concern the poet's or his spectators' imagination—or ours. Our wits have been busy instead. To spectators and the lovers of drama and poetry, however, it has not been a puzzle; the effect of a work of imagination is not only instantaneous but perpetual—otherwise this puzzle would not have lasted so long.

E. E. STOLL.

THE SOCIAL ASPECT OF THE ILLEGITIMACY PROBLEM.

IN all civilised countries in recent years the popular conscience has been quickened on two points:—1. The responsibility of the people for the welfare of the next generation—hence the rapid development of the Infant and Child Welfare movements throughout Europe and America. 2. The recognition of the equality of men and women, which has had its legislative result in the extension of the franchise to women and the equalisation of the law as it affects matters of family relationship—Divorce, Guardianship, Property Rights, and so forth.

There have thus been thrown into vivid relief such fractions of the main problem as have not been included in the general advance. In this country, for example, the position of the illegitimate child has not been improved. It is legal kin to no one—not even its mother, and the subsequent marriage of its parents cannot legitimate it; no effective machinery exists to ascertain its paternity and secure its support, except from its mother. The death-rate among illegitimate children is more than twice as high as among legitimate, but in Scandinavian countries, where the general advance in care for the welfare of the child has been more uniform and has included that for the illegitimate child, the death-rate is equally low for both groups of children, and the rate of illegitimate births has not risen.

Five years ago a determined move was made in the interests of the unmarried mother and the illegitimate child in this country. As an indication of the growth of public feeling, five Bills have been introduced since 1921. One Bill actually became law in August, 1923. It increased the amount of the affiliation orders, provided improved administrative machinery, encouraged the appointment of collecting officers, and improved the chances of maintenance being obtained for the child from the father.* In the same Session the Legitimacy Bill passed the Commons and was referred to a Committee in the Lords when Parliament dissolved. In accordance with the rules of our nursery game of "Snakes and Ladders," it must now be introduced afresh and pass all three readings in both Houses of the new Parliament.

This is the only country where the subsequent marriage of the parents does not legitimise the children, not excluding Scotland, the Channel Islands, and the Isle of Man! It should be remembered by those who oppose the proposal as a dangerous innovation that, up to the time of the Council of Merton (1236), there were two laws of legitimacy in England—the Roman civil law which did not

* Even now the lack of initiative on the part of the Courts in seeking the father and requiring regular payments on orders made, leaves much to be desired.

recognise legitimacy by subsequent parental intermarriage, and the Canon law, which did recognise the right of inheritance on the part of a "*bastard léigné*"—the child born before the marriage of his parents.*

The Scots law and the present Canon law both recognise legitimacy by subsequent marriage of those parents who were free to marry—at the conception of the child—at any period during the ante-natal life of the child—or at the time of the birth of the child. The Scottish law is variously interpreted; the Canon law code 1116 gives the widest interpretation, and the suggested proviso in the English Bill limits it to the time of the birth of the child.

Very little opposition remains to the principle of legitimacy. The point on which controversy arose in Parliament was as to whether only those children whose parents were free to marry at the time of the child's birth should be brought within the scope of the Bill, or whether all illegitimate children whose parents subsequently marry should be legitimated.

In all other countries legitimacy by subsequent marriage of the parents is recognised. Some limit its scope to that of the Canon law, others make it of general application. In New Zealand a law containing the limiting proviso that parents should have been free to marry at the time of the coming of the child, was passed in 1908. In 1921-2 an amending Act was adopted repealing the limiting Clause. In the U.S.A. the law contains no proviso in 35 of the 47 States. The Swiss, German, and Austrian laws contain no proviso. Until 1915 the French law contained the proviso, but an amending Act was then introduced. The British public are but little inclined to follow the example of foreign countries, in fact, they often show a perverse desire to move in the opposite direction. In this connection, however, the case for following the example seems fairly clear.

The new Legitimation Bill will in all probability be introduced either as a private member's Bill or by the Government this Session; the chances of securing a Government measure being, to say the least, precarious. It is a non-party question, and one which all men and women of goodwill would support in principle. The private member's Bill will be introduced without the proviso.

It will, perhaps, contribute towards our capacity to deal justly with the parties concerned in the question of legitimation if we consider (a) the types of parents of illegitimate children, (b) the reasons for limiting the numbers of the legitimated, (c) the reasons for omitting any limiting proviso.

(a) The parents of illegitimate children are not mainly, as the recent Parliamentary debates would lead one to think, to be

* *The Tablet*. By F. W. Sherwood.

classed with the heroes and heroines of the penny novelette and the daily serial! They are not so frequently found among the ranks of squires' sons home from the 'Varsity, or on leave, who seduce the gamekeeper's daughter or the housemaid. They are usually quite ordinary people who for the following reasons contract irregular but often permanent unions. Until very recently Divorce has not been accessible to any but the well-to-do in this country. The solution of matrimonial difficulties among the vast majority of the population in the past has been separation—either legally authorised or by private arrangement. Among the workers, the position of a separated man or woman with one or two dependent children is almost impossible. A young woman, separated from or deserted by her husband, if no relative is available, will "settle down" with another man who will take the place of a second husband, and in the eyes of the neighbours this couple are husband and wife. Not until the birth certificates of the children of the second family have to be produced to enter certain schools, trades, or professions, does the position become public, and then it is the child who pays.*

The position of the working man deserted by his wife is even more difficult; he is, under present conditions, unless a relative is forthcoming, almost bound to have a woman to take charge of the children, the result usually being the establishment of a second family. In both these cases the couples can marry as soon as the death of the deserting partner is established or divorce obtained.

It has been estimated† that, taking the twenty-one years up to 1915, there were

Magisterial orders involving	...	...	300,676 persons.
Judicial Separation decrees involving	...	...	1,174 "
Estimated private deeds (1 deed per annum per solicitor)	...	...	704,000 "
			1,005,850 "

This excludes persons separated with no legal assistance, and all cases of simple desertion where no legal proceedings were instituted. It also takes no account of the fifty thousand married persons who, it is estimated, are confined in Insane Asylums and other institutions.

It may be safely assumed that the largest part of the illegitimate birth-rate arises from families extra-legally established by separated persons. If all children were legitimated by subsequent marriage, the result would be to encourage these people to marry as soon as

* Many such parents are said to commit perjury and register the children as legitimate, but I have been able to find no reliable evidence.

† Civil Judicial Statistics, Part II., 1910, &c.

death or divorce permitted and thus establish a stable family. The exclusion of the children of such *liaisons* from the Act would deter marriage. In a known case a woman gave as her reason against marriage when it became possible, "It would not be fair to the two elder children for them to be bastards, and the others to be proper; *they ain't* done no harm, it's only fair to keep 'em all alike."

In addition to the large class referred to above there are, according to gossip and the modern novelist, a small number of "new morality" devotees who see in legal ties a barrier to "self-expression." Such persons will, whatever the law, ignore present custom and may propagate children, but they are not likely to be either encouraged or deterred by legislation, and the children for whom they are responsible, if any, do not usually fall into the group that suffers from economic distress.

The remainder of the illegitimate children are generally the result of youthful passion coupled with ignorance. These are almost the only cases which could come under the Act if it contained the proviso, and, even in the interests of morality, it is often recognised as undesirable and provocative of further harm to advocate marriage for which through mental or physical defect one or other partner may be quite unsuited, *e.g.*, the mentally defective girl or the man infected with disease.

The reasons given for limiting those legitimated to children of parents free to marry at the time of the *liaison* may be placed in two main groups:—(1) As affecting the inheritance of property; (2) as indicating a condonation of adultery.

(1) The Legitimation Bill as approved by the last Government contained Clauses dealing with intestacy, protecting the inheritance of entailed property and providing that all children legitimised under the Act should rank for purposes of inheritance as younger than the legitimate children.

The horrifying pictures conjured up by some of the speakers supporting the proviso in the House were certainly arresting, but hardly accurate. It was suggested, for example, that in order to secure an heir for his property a man would go to Peru and marry a woman with several children, bring them home and pass them off as his own in order to do his relations out of their chance of inheritance! That a man who could not have children himself would secure a deputy and own the offspring as his own and so do his relations out of their inheritance—That such an encouragement to the crime of falsifying family trees would lead to the breeding of a race of Henry the Eighth! And last, but not least, that the husbands of childless wives who refused to divorce them would be led to a course of systematic cruelty, culminating in wife

murder, in order that they might marry their mistresses and legitimate their children.

It has been seriously advanced that to legitimise the children by subsequent marriage would enable a man to have one family by his wife and another by his mistress. The two families might be about the same age. When the wife died and the marriage with the mistress took place the discomfort of the legitimate children would be greater if the children of the mistress were brought under the same roof and, in addition, were legitimated as younger children. But there would be no greater difficulty in combining such families than that which has to be overcome each time a widow with children marries a widower with the same responsibilities.

In England—unlike some of the Dominions and other European countries—individuals are free to bequeath their property wherever they will; if an individual now wishes to leave all his or her worldly wealth to a mistress, lover, or illegitimate child, and such property is not entailed, he is perfectly free to do so. Death duties are likely to be increased rather than abolished. The number of entailed estates diminishes every year. Even where entail exists, it is usually limited to certain forms of property only, and the acquired wealth can still be left at the discretion of the testator. The other group affected is those who die intestate—again, only a small proportion of the total property holders.

The total births for England and Wales in 1921 were 848,814, of which 38,618 were illegitimate. In the same year the total deaths amounted to 458,629. The death-rate being roughly half the birth-rate, there should be approximately 19,300 illegitimates among the deaths in 1921. In the same year death duty was paid on 84,544 * estates. In the same year there were 201 grants to the Crown on intestacies. Therefore only eight persons *per annum* in this group would be in any way affected by the proposed legislation. When we have a total of about 38,000 *per annum* illegitimate births it is clear the vast majority can in no way affect or be affected by the inheritance of property.

(2) The contention that the legitimation of all children whose parents subsequently marry would condone adultery arises from a wish to preserve a high moral standard, but exhibits some confusion as to what is a "moral standard." Is it an aim of Christian morality to encourage stable family life, and to provide children with parental care and guidance? If so, surely a higher moral standard is maintained if parents are encouraged to marry. As the largest numbers of illegitimate children arise from partners separated and unable to marry at the time of the birth of the earlier

* Civil Judicial Statistics, Part II., 1922, p. 26.

children of the union, the passage of the Bill without the proviso would be in the interest of true morality.

The Divorce law is now no longer only accessible to the well-to-do, and as, according to the recent reforming Act, either partner can obtain release on the ground of adultery, the numbers obtaining a divorce will increase, as those who before could only obtain a judicial separation from a promiscuous and adulterous husband will now be able to obtain a "decree nisi" and be free to remarry when it is made absolute. Society forgives the parents who can remarry, move to another part of the country and be accepted into the society of their fellows. The protests of those who did not wish to condone adultery were raised when the recent Divorce Reform Act was before Parliament, but the controversy then showed that both the advocates and the defenders of indissoluble marriage pleaded the claims of "morality," and the country decided that while all who looked on marriage as a religious sacrament were still at liberty to do so, the Civil law could not in justice admit adultery as a ground for divorce for one sex and not for the other: that the law could not be moral if it were not just. In the future, divorce will replace separation in many cases, but all who are now separated and only after some years of family life with an unmarried partner can under the new law obtain divorce, will find in a Legitimation law—if it contains a limiting proviso—only a weapon to injure their earlier-born children. Parents escape all penalty for their moral offence, society and law endorse that escape. The child—who at least is innocent of any moral fault—is made to pay the debts of its parents.

Again, is it honest to say that in legitimating these children we "lower the moral standard and condone adultery"? Do we really condemn adultery? By word, yes, by deed, most certainly no. If we want to promote a higher standard of morality, there are many more direct and effective methods open to us than an attack on the innocent and often accidental offspring of an infinitesimal proportion of the actual cases of marital promiscuity.

Naturally there are no figures showing the proportion of illegitimate births to acts of promiscuity, but one indication may be illuminating. In Colonel Ashburn's researches during the war as to the relationship between exposures to the risk of venereal infection and the number of infections contracted, he established that, on a conservative estimate, one case of disease resulted from every thirty exposures. It has also been estimated, on the available figures, that in England and Wales about 200,000 fresh cases of venereal disease are contracted annually. Multiply by thirty and, roughly, there are at least six million acts of promiscuity annually. Where is the logic or the justice of fastening all the blame for this

immoral social custom on the innocent results of 38,000 of such acts?

Our moralists should also bear in mind that those who are experienced in wrongdoing take good care that their evil ways produce no permanent consequences, which supports the argument that the largest number of children are the result of permanent unions or youthful ignorance. If we really are honest in our desire to raise the moral standard, why do we not give our young people positive training in sex control? Why do we not enforce, by social custom, a single moral standard? Why do we not facilitate early marriage? Why do we separate the men of our Army, Navy, and Air Force from their wives for long periods? Why do we dismiss women teachers on marriage? Many and various are the outlets for the activities of those who wish to raise the standard of sex conduct, but it is unfair and useless to attack the defenceless illegitimate child. Those who think the general moral standard will be affected have only to look to the experience of other countries and our own Dominions.

To sum up:—

(1) Considerations of entail and intestate property inheritance affect but a very small number and those are already safeguarded in the Bill.

(2) The motive for violent sex crimes is not an acute sense of parental responsibility, and other laws than Legitimation can deal with murderers and impostors.

(3) The majority of illegitimate children are the offspring of irregular but permanent unions, and it is in the best interests of morality to encourage the marriage of the partners in such unions by legitimising the offspring.

(4) The relationship between illegitimacy and promiscuity is so slight that no attack on the illegitimate child can affect the moral standard for better or worse; but it can, and does, victimise the child and jeopardises its development as a useful citizen.

The chances of a private member's Bill getting to the Statute Book in the near future are dependent on its passage being supported by the goodwill of all parties, and to the measure being in agreed terms and not the subject of controversy. In the interests of morality in its broadest and most Christian interpretation, I would urge the legitimation of all children whose parents subsequently marry.

S. NEVILLE-ROLFE.

EVOLUTION BY SYMBIOSIS.

DARWIN admitted in the *Origin* that he is aware that scarcely a single point is discussed in that volume on which facts cannot be adduced, often apparently leading to conclusions directly opposite to those at which he had arrived. He also stated his deliberate opinion that "no one ought to feel surprise at much remaining as yet unexplained on the origin of species, if we make due allowance for our profound ignorance on the mutual relations of the inhabitants of the world at the present time, and still more so during past ages." Further, he affirmed that "the extinction of species has been involved in the most gratuitous mystery"—"No one can have marvelled more than I have done at the extinction of species." Nor did he see clear with regard to the problem of success in evolution: "The causes of the present welfare and the future success and modification of species are shrouded in mystery."

It is evident that, to say the least, Darwinism can make little claim to finality, and that we must look elsewhere for an understanding of the evolutionary process.

I have come to see that Darwin's facts not only may be, but that they *must* be, differently interpreted if we are at last to reach sane biological generalisations; if there are to be any *jugements de valeur* in biology; if evolution is to be rescued from the rut into which it has fallen. I have long realised that to have explained the evolutionary process in terms of competition rather than of co-operation, which latter is more basic and more important in Nature than competition, was Darwin's greatest blunder. It was accentuating secondary matters and mistaking them as fundamental. It led to lop-sided views and, indeed, to a misapprehension of the natural process. The "conflicts" in Nature, which have been made the most of, are often mistaken for creative and constructive agents. But the one supreme truth that Nature insistently teaches is that conflict and aggression are never creative forces, except in so far as destruction may serve, Siva-like, to redistribute power so that ultimately it may be linked with other powers in better co-operative action. Evolution and progress are always measured by construction, or by the degree to which conflict is avoided and co-operation increased.

To Darwinists, the origin of species is still as much a mystery as is the extinction of species; and the mysteries will remain so long as the important chapter anent the mutual relations of organisms, i.e., organic sociality and that of the origin of disease are shelved, as shelved they have been by the fictitious self-sufficiency of Darwinism. "Natural Selection" is no more than a shield for

ignorance, at best a dialectical solution of the problem. Darwin's disciples have been the victims of a phrase: destruction and non-destruction, believed to constitute jointly "Natural Selection."

For there precisely where ideas lack
A word comes opportunely into play.
Most admirable weapons words are found,
On words a system we securely ground.

I submit that health and disease are importantly connected with "mutual relations," and that "evolution" cannot come into its own until this great fact is abundantly recognised, until, indeed, we possess an adequate socio-physiology, an adequate socio-pathology. In presenting a theory of evolution in terms of co-operation, in tackling the problem of the "mutual relations" and that of disease and degeneration, I claim to be doing what is more meritorious and in the spirit of Darwin than sticking dogmatically to that pioneer's provisional views. Darwin, as is well known, was not altogether unmindful of co-operation in Nature. He stressed many instances of co-operation. He may even have pondered the possibility of a co-operative instead of a competitive theory, as the above-quoted passage from the *Origin* almost leads one to suppose. But the facts of co-operation were too scant, and the mass of other material collected by him seemed to lend itself rather to a competitive view.

Had Darwin been acquainted with Symbiosis, *i.e.*, the phenomena of systematic biological co-operation, as they have since come to light, he would no doubt have given a different turn to his evolutionary theory.

It has been stated, only too truly, that "Natural Selection" has obtained an uncanny ascendancy over people's minds; and it is amazing to see how biologists cling tenaciously to this theory, the flaws of which are so obvious to-day. How can there be any talk of the "survival of the fittest," if we are not even half-informed about the fitness which is required to continuous survival, when such a mainstay of health and of evolution as Symbiosis is unknown or insufficiently appreciated?

We require to be informed by "evolution" about our true position in the universe, and precisely about what it is that determines success, failure, and status. Here no other study could provide more useful clues than that of Symbiosis, as I have shown in several volumes. Yet contemporary science has hardly paid any attention to Symbiosis, at least from these points of view. "Fitness" is a matter of physiological, psychological and biological integrity; and this depends on rightful association, on definite socio-physiological factors, which are quite inadequately covered by such a term as "selection." No one has shown with more

talent than Darwin himself that the effects of selection by man are inferior, and, in fact, pathological. And wherever "selective" or similar methods apply in Nature (operating for long periods of time and often in more unfettered ways than in domestication) the results will be even more potently pathological. In *Science Progress*, July, 1923, Prof. E. W. MacBride, himself a Darwinist, states: "Doubtless Darwin was mistaken in drawing too close a parallel between the monstrosities of domesticated breeds and the adaptational peculiarities of wild races."

Symbiosis, on the other hand, goes far toward satisfying our intellectual demand for some universal instrument of creation and preservation, whilst providing us with a useful standard for the measure of service. For service is always the product of co-operative action, it is that which creates and preserves new products by new ways and means of co-operation. And the extent to which co-operation is attained depends in turn on the extent to which integrity is attained; for co-operation cannot take place except the right things are brought into a definite relation of time and space to one another. In the organic world, as Dr. W. Patten, an American biologist, states: "The individual plant, or animal, is created and preserved (1) by its internal system of organic co-operation, (2) by its co-operative response to the larger cosmic processes in which it resides, and (3) by its co-operation, directly and indirectly, with other living organisms. And the welfare and security of the entire fabric of organic life, and of its highest products, is assured by conserving the welfare and security of all its co-operative parts."

Darwin's disciples, in deference to traditional formulæ, have hitherto ordered co-operation out of court wherever she dared as much as to show her face. They admitted that organisms had to fit themselves to their environment, and, further, that since their environment is largely made up of other organisms, there had to be some *modus vivendi*. But of co-operation they would have none, alleging that to introduce co-operation was to obscure the (Darwinian) outlook. Darwinism had so greatly over-stressed the "struggle for existence" and under-estimated co-operation that it was ill-prepared for the reception and appreciation of Symbiosis. Some derided the very idea. One biologist denounced the discovery of partnership in the case of the association between alga and fungus, forming the dual plant, the lichen, as worthy of inclusion *inter historias ridiculas*, among absurd tales. Another rejected the whole subject as a "Romance of Lichenology," or the "unnatural union between a captive Algal damsel and a tyrant Fungal master"—so greatly did Symbiosis threaten to cut the ground from under their feet.

Nobody, of course, would be foolish enough to claim that the *modus vivendi* is altogether made up of co-operation. There is always room for competition. But the value of competition and struggle is merely to prevent the decay of co-operation. Competition and struggle are disciplinary factors at most. He who wants to rest content with *modus vivendi*, without qualifying the term, and without introducing co-operation, wants to shelve what, according to Darwin himself, is all-important, namely, "mutual relations" and what this involves: the study of organic sociality, of socio-physiology, of behaviour. The results of such neglect could not have been other than they have been: deplorable. Did not Samuel Butler declare that as soon as the world began to busy itself with evolution it said good-bye to common sense; and had to get on with uncommon sense as best it could? He also stated that it will take years to get the evolution theory out of the mess in which Darwin had left it. This I too know to be true, to my cost.

The terms "modus vivendi," "struggle for existence," "survival of the fittest" are essentially meaningless and unsatisfying, because they fail to indicate what is good and what is evil, or to give any comprehensive explanation of how things came into being, why they endure, and how they increase in power. But when we realise that evolution is the summation of power through co-operation, and "good" is that which perpetuates or improves co-operation; when we realise that the "struggle for existence" is a struggle to find better ways and methods of co-operation, and that "fittest" is the one that co-operates best—we shall then be able to shed new light upon the evolutionary process. Until such basic realisations are made, there can be, in the words of Dr. William Patten, "no common goal for intellectual endeavour; no common rules for individual and social conduct; no common standard of what is right and what is wrong; and no common knowledge of that which creates and preserves and that which destroys."

A slightly better appreciation of co-operation dates from about 1907, when physiologists began to experiment with tissue culture, when it was found that the parts of the body have a local life, not without some measure of independence, and that their healthy interaction depends upon very delicate forms of co-operation. As Prof. E. W. MacBride put it (*Nature*, 24.3.23): "We are gradually learning to recognise that the body of an animal is built up by the co-operation of the semi-independent growths of a number of tissues and organs which, however, mutually limit and determine the extent of each other's growth."

The compromise, as will be seen more fully hereafter, is practically identical with that between symbiotic partners. There is no doubt that, as physiology deepens, it tends to express itself

increasingly in terms of the inner mechanism and of the co-operative action of the internal parts. Symbiotic partnership consists in the fact that, whilst one part or partner devotes itself to one kind of work and yields benefits to others, those others, jointly and severally in their turn performing their special duties, yield benefits to the first in exchange. Hence, too, I have submitted that the term "internal Symbiosis" should be substituted for that of "the physiological economy of the body"; and I have pointed out that socio-physiology alone can be competent to deal at all adequately with evolution. Socio-physiology represents the overdue amalgamation of sociological, psychological, and physiological factors. Nature knows no water-tight compartments. It is in biology as it is in human life. Emerson expressed a universal truth when he stated: "Do the thing, and you shall have the power; but they who do not the thing have not the power."

And the thing to do is mainly this: to obey the law of co-operation; for the secret of progressive evolution has been the genius of organic life for mutual accommodation. It is an axiom of socio-physiology that every living unit, be it organ or organism, has to justify its existence by service, on pain of disease, degeneration, and elimination. Every unit is a responsible member of the community of life, and has in one way or another to fulfil duties towards others. The universe is constituted for law and ordered government. As Sir Oliver Lodge states: "A necessity for honest effort exists in the very innermost constitution of nature." Things refuse to be mismanaged long. This, too, is axiomatic. Every organism has implanted in it faculties for adaptation and also for mutual accommodation. It is in accordance with the use of its faculties that the organism gains or loses in status. Dependence of organism upon organism is not at fault. It is only illegitimate dependence that is bad and in the long run disastrous.

It is not to be denied that necessity has always been the chief taskmaster of life; but it is equally true that the chief necessity throughout evolution has been to work, to store, and to co-operate—necessity to serve according to values and to derive all possible advantage from the principle of specialisation in division of labour. Not to serve, but to steal and to murder instead, that is the besetting sin of life. You cannot do wrong without suffering wrong. You cannot escape retribution. As Emerson says: "Every act rewards itself, or, in other words, integrates itself, in a twofold manner: first in the thing, or in real nature; and, secondly, in the circumstance, or in apparent nature." Co-operation involved an "ought" from the beginning; and, in an important sense, evolution is mainly the development of a moral principle. Evolution

becomes indeed more comprehensible every day as an uplifting and improving process with a strong bio-moral sanction behind it.

Biologists are beginning to realise that there is a "web of life," an inter-linkage of species, which inclines many of them to look with increasing favour at the social factor of evolution. Community life requires that there should be both social order and individual activity. It is an order of individual wills co-ordinating their activities. It is even more, it is an order in which the units perform work according to the strictest reciprocity. At least, only so can maximum well-being and maximal progress be achieved. Conflict may and does take place between some individual wills and the demands of social order; but a conflict between the social order of the whole community and all the individual wills within the community—the struggle of all against all—would make a "web of life" and progress impossible from the start and unattainable in the end. It would be too suicidal. Because interests sometimes conflict, we are not entitled to speak of a "struggle for existence." Nor can an expression such as this, which covers a heterogeneity of meanings, throw real light on the essentials of the web of life.

Critics, anxious to prove that Darwin appreciated co-operation, sometimes quote his famous example of the mistletoe from the *Origin*, where he states: "As the mistletoe is disseminated by birds, its existence depends on them; and it may, metaphorically, be said to struggle with other fruit-bearing plants in tempting birds to devour and thus disseminate its seeds." But, surely, the fact that the bird co-operates in an important sense with the tree, is the outstanding fact, the one most deserving of emphasis. Compared with this fact, the metaphorical "struggle" pales into insignificance. Upon such and similar forms of co-operation, *i.e.*, Symbiosis on the grand scale of Nature, life and evolution primarily depend. There would be few plants and fewer animals left to compete with one another, were it not for the operation of this fundamental form of co-operation. Though we grant that the mistletoe vies with other plants to be of service to animals, we need not interpret the phenomenon in terms of competition. It is a co-operation rather than a competition. Granted that the competition of the plants for a place of service is of some importance as constituting the arbiter who decides which plant is the best co-operator. But is not the fact of the fundamental co-operation between plant and animal ten times more important than that of competition between individuals or even individual species? The competition is between the few, the co-operation is with the totality. Competition between bakers gives us the finest cakes; and we all cherish competition *pro tanto*. But, more fundamental and more

important is the co-operation between the bakers, farmers, boot-makers, and professional classes, and what this involves in character, in honesty, in reliability, and in all those good qualities that render communal life possible and truly successful.

Now, in Nature too, competition and struggle merely serve to prevent the decay of the more fundamental co-operation. Competition and struggle are disciplinary forces at most. It is to co-operation and the appropriate nutrition, and *not* to a chimerical "Natural Selection" that we must, in Darwin's words, attribute the social instincts which afforded the basis for the development of the moral sense.

Competition in material things, according to a recent writer on economics, means the measuring of the intellect and resources of a man or of a group of individuals against those of another man or of another group, working in the same field of human endeavour, to create, or produce, or distribute what the world needs; and, he goes on to say: "it presupposes co-operation among the various elements composing that competitive unit." The latter form of co-operation is comparable to internal Symbiosis, which must be adequate if there is to be any successful activity of the organism in the web of life. But is not even more implied in the competition here depicted? Surely it also presupposes co-operation with the consumer who, in paying for the goods or services of the said competitors, is exchanging, by way of reciprocity, or compensation, the yield of his own labours for those of other men or groups of men. The case of the mistletoe, as interpreted above, shows that biological co-operation rests on the same principle as human. Nature may be said to be after the preservation and augmentation of values. "Value," according to Ruskin, is the life-giving power of anything, and "useful" is that organism which by its activities avails towards life with all its force. If it do not so avail, it fails to be useful and becomes malignant. Man's progress is measured by the degree to which he has extended the mutually profitable give and take of co-operative action beyond himself, into the family, tribe, and state, and into the world of life at large, and that, *mutatis mutandis*, applies also to species in Nature.

Just as they entertained only a rough notion of the *modus vivendi*, so biologists had only a vague idea of how the organism "makes good" in Nature. For the most part it was thought that the organism must help itself in some way according to mere expediency. A distinction as between good and bad habits, good and bad behaviour, was not thought of. Indeed, it was implicitly or explicitly denied that such a distinction existed at all. The survival of the fittest, according to Darwinism, is not that of the best, but that of the most expedient. Critical minds felt that

the phrase "survival of the fittest" must involve a value-judgment, and that "Natural Selection" as a mechanical theory was merely a pretence. But who was there talented enough to deal consistently with values?

It is, however, widely felt at the present day that we are suffering everywhere from too much specialism, and that this cause is a great bar to a better understanding of Nature. Not long ago an anonymous medical writer foreshadowed a time when the physician would gradually replace the clergyman, in as much as the former is linking up quite legitimately morality with the practical self-interest of health—in other words, because physiology and morality inseparably go together. This great truth cannot be sufficiently emphasised. It makes all the difference of interpretation whether we recognise it or not. Darwin hinted that liability to extinction may be due to "lack of improvement according to the principle of the all-important relations of organism to organism in the struggle for life." He thus adumbrated the need of a new department of biology, such as I am endeavouring to establish, namely, socio-physiology, involving a simultaneous study of sociological and related physiological and biological activities together with the recognition of values in the results of these activities. Not until we have this department will it be possible to deal adequately with normality and abnormality, with good and bad in biology.

Darwin himself did not fail to perceive that great advantages accrued from the co-operative intercourse between insect and flower. He saw that the benefits involved health, status, and evolution. But he did not see that a general principle of health and of evolution was here involved. He failed to discover the respective socio-physiological principle of health and evolution and to perceive that disease and degeneration are due to a divorce from Symbiosis. The latter realisation, though all-important, fails as yet to commend itself to the slow-consenting academic mind. Although it is increasingly seen that predaceous and pathogenic organisms are themselves exceedingly liable to infection, yet it has never dawned upon biologists that this is in conformity with a general principle of Nature, according to which anti-symbiotic behaviour is everywhere penalised in all possible ways. Biologists prefer to share the blindness of the thoughtless, the uneducated, who believe that disease is a visitation, a chapter of accidents, a mysterious happening. All contemporary thought on life and evolution has come to grief over this unfortunate defect of human mentality. *Totus mundus stultitiat.*

H. REINHEIMER.

FOREIGN AFFAIRS.

A PACIFIST FOREIGN POLICY.

"FOR what can war but endless war still breed?" asked Milton. Mr. Ramsay MacDonald never concealed his opinion that the cry of "a war to end war" was an imbecility. What is more interesting is that he is now the Foreign Minister of Great Britain; that he assumed office at a time when the demoralisation produced by the Great War was at its height; when France—or M. Poincaré—had almost openly pinned her colours to the Prussian mast and decided that shining arms were more reliable than the League of Nations; when Czechoslovakia (as the inevitable consequence of French militarism) had taken the lead among the small States in looking elsewhere than to Geneva for security; such was the moment chosen by the British Foreign Minister to declare to all and sundry that his foreign policy was to be openly pacifist. The dramatic nature of this phenomenon has fired the imagination of every people in Europe. No other contemporary Government in Europe is pacifist. The Russian Government is not, and never was; and the first public statement made by Mr. Rykov, Lenin's successor, was to the effect that Russia had still to put her faith in the Red Army. Whether Mr. MacDonald fails or not, his philosophy is a new thing in diplomatic history.

The test case will be Franco-British relations. M. Poincaré knows, and has known since January 22nd, that so long as Mr. MacDonald remains Prime Minister of Great Britain, there will be no war. The old diplomatists in every capital in Europe are, of course, laughing in their sleeves. If M. Poincaré knows that Great Britain will not go to war in any event in support of her diplomatic principles, then, they ask, why should he concede anything to the British point of view? It is an interesting experiment. The old diplomacy, at any rate, has a record than which no other record could be worse. They may find that the laugh is against them. Why is it, for instance, that the relations between M. Poincaré and Mr. MacDonald are more genuinely friendly than have at any time been the relations between the British and French Prime Ministers since the armistice? It is clearly not because M. Poincaré expects a walk over, nor because Mr. MacDonald is going to accept anything and everything lying down. It happens that the circumstances are favourable for a trial of diplomatic pacifism. The tide in Franco-British relations had already turned before Mr. MacDonald took office. The settlement of both the Separatist dispute in the Palatinate, and of the Cologne railways dispute was in sight before Mr. Baldwin gave up his seals, and the settlement

was mainly due to him and Lord Curzon. None the less, the lucky chance that the settlement of these two outstanding Franco-British disputes fell chronologically during the MacDonald régime, and therefore are put down to the credit of that régime, is a lucky chance in more senses than one.

It is lucky that it should be Mr. MacDonald. He is likely to make more use of his good fortune than would any of his predecessors since the armistice. One insuperable handicap against the success of those predecessors was that though they had pacifist aims, they did not use pacifist methods. Whenever Lord Curzon dragooned the French or the Turks it was known on the other side that the threat would not be carried into action. Great Britain is disarmed, and has no intention of going to war under any Government, Labour, Liberal, or Tory. Where Mr. MacDonald scores is in turning this fact into an asset, instead of allowing it to cripple his diplomacy. His argument is that, even if a Foreign Minister has an army, a navy, and an air force behind him ready for action in a last resort, the use of such force as a lever in diplomacy merely transfers diplomacy from the Foreign Office to the War Office; in other words, puts diplomacy out of court. What, then, is Mr. MacDonald's lever—for lever there must be in all relationships in this world? He frankly places his faith in international goodwill. He is convinced that the French people, for instance, when they realise that Great Britain is truly pacific, and proves her pacifism by refusing to consider war as a contingency, will be equally pacific, and will therefore damp M. Poincaré's powder. In other words, it takes two to make a fight. If, however, this proves to be too idealistic an argument, and M. Poincaré refuses to show reason, then Mr. MacDonald has his weapon. In present circumstances, at any rate, it is a stronger weapon than the War Office. France at the moment is the strongest military Power in Europe. To transfer diplomacy to the War Offices of Europe is to play into French hands. The mobilisation of public opinion by means of well-timed publicity may be argued to be a more practical measure, even on realist grounds. If Mr. MacDonald in writing declares to M. Poincaré that his policy is so and so, and that he is a pacifist, and asks M. Poincaré to declare in writing whether he agrees with it, and if not why not; and threatens not war, but the full publication of the correspondence, M. Poincaré will be far more afraid of that than he could possibly be of the British War Office. He has, in fact, already shown himself to be far more susceptible to pacifist MacDonald than he ever was to the more conventional Curzon. It is true that the already turning tide has created the best conditions for the test of pacifism; that the French elections are impending and that M. Poincaré, having sown the

wind in the Ruhr, and in the small States which surround Germany on the other side, is reaping the fiscal whirlwind in the French Chamber.

It will no doubt be answered that Mr. Baldwin tried the publicity method when he published the White Paper of last August, and that the result was a fiasco. That is a true exception which proves the rule; for Mr. Baldwin fell between the two stools of publicity and the old diplomacy. The case of the British Government as set out in the White Paper was unanswerable, and if it had been based exclusively on the moral ground, it could not have failed to be effective. Unfortunately the cloven hoof of the old diplomacy protruded at the end, when the Curzonian touch gave the threatening hint that the British Government "are reluctant to contemplate the possibility that separate action may be required in order to hasten a settlement which cannot be much longer delayed without the gravest consequences to the recovery of trade and the peace of the world." By all the rules of the old diplomacy M. Poincaré had no alternative but to construe that as a threat of a British-German alliance with its corollary, sooner or later, of war with France. British diplomacy, therefore, which would have been on impregnable ground if it had relied on its intrinsic strength, was weakened into the farce it rapidly became, precisely because its authors gave a semblance of military parade behind it. He would be a bold man who plunged into unrestrained optimism about Mr. MacDonald's alternative scheme in which the War Office is totally eliminated as an element in diplomacy; but it is, at any rate, an interesting departure and one which is promising on the face of it. One may expect a measure of success because the stars in their courses conspire with him. He starts on his experiment at the very moment when Europe is ready for it.

The demoralisation which had vitiated the body politic of Europe by the beginning of 1924 was illustrated by the reception given to Mr. MacDonald by German opinion of every shade. The joy with which the average German, reactionary or progressive, had anticipated the accession of a Labour Government to Whitehall, was due (as the disillusion showed) to the anticipation that that Government would promptly range itself on Germany's side in a Franco-German dog-fight. In the first fortnight of the British Labour Administration, German opinion showed up badly. One can understand only too well the bitterness of German feeling against France; and nothing will ever justify French frightfulness against a defeated enemy; but German opinion failed to see the big idea and even developed a sort of grievance against the new British Government; thereby repeating the Cannes and Genoa blunders. When at Cannes Mr. Lloyd George was

fighting for a decent European settlement and was on the point of winning over M. Briand, Herr Rathenau—even Herr Rathenau—could rise no higher than to advertise German grievances. He thereby played into M. Poincaré's hands, and contributed both to M. Briand's fall and to the subsequent Poincaré ascendancy in French policy. At Genoa, when Mr. Lloyd George risked (and met) his Waterloo in a similar cause, Herr Rathenau again turned Mr. Lloyd George into a French laughing-stock by the Rapallo treaty with Russia. At the beginning of 1924 representative Germans plainly showed that German policy was capable of becoming in its turn a stumbling-block in the path of European peace. Perhaps second thoughts will make a difference; but so far Berlin has shown a keener desire for revenge against France than for admission to the League of Nations. The MacDonald argument that friendship with France is one of the great needs of the moment, from the German as from every other point of view, was not only not understood, but was resented, in Berlin. Pacifism is not a German, any more than it is a French, virtue.

It is to the small States that one has to look for the quickest appreciation of the probable effects of the British Labour Government on European affairs. Unlike France or Germany, the small States have all along wanted a true League of Nations. If the MacDonald policy succeeded in winning over Berlin, Paris, and Moscow to the League principle, then the small States could reasonably be expected to put their faith in the League, and to forget the cold douche of the Janina-Corfu affair. In Prague the effect was particularly noticeable. Dr. Benesh—whose realism has necessarily to some extent depended for its complexion on French policy, because Czechoslovakia is a small and young State whose very life is bound up with Franco-German relations—is understood to have been deeply impressed by the practical aspect of Mr. MacDonald's idealism. So far as conference methods go, Mr. MacDonald agrees with everything Dr. Benesh said at Genoa. Mr. MacDonald has allowed it to be understood that he will not enter a European conference except on the basis of a series of definite propositions previously formulated and thought out. That was precisely the point on which Dr. Benesh joined issue with Mr. Lloyd George at Genoa.

THE HUNGARIAN LOAN.

During December, January, and February the League of Nations, the Allied Governments and the Reparation Commission came to closer grips than ever before with the economic problem of Hungary. Encouraged by the success of the Austrian reconstruction scheme, the Finance Committee of the League drew up

in December a corresponding scheme for the economic salvation of Hungary. In many points the two schemes were alike. Hungary was to submit to the control of a League commissioner and carry out certain reforms, and was to raise, if she could, an international loan, which, as everyone knew, would have to be raised on the London market if anywhere; but the loan was not to have Government guarantees, as had the Austrian. That was an important distinction. It gave British opinion an almost decisive voice in the whole negotiations, for the piper was to be paid in sterling raised as a purely business proposition in London.

Few contemporary problems are more difficult. The most serious complication comes from the nature of the present Government of Hungary; and there are those, including the best-informed students of Central European affairs, who seriously doubt if a purely economic scheme can wisely be applied to Hungary's case and who insist that the political implications must at least be looked at and political safeguards devised. Others argue that when a man is drowning one does not lecture him on his moral character before saving him. The analogy is doubtful. A Hungarian loan at this moment would certainly give a new lease of life to the Bethlen régime in Budapest, and on its present lines that régime is the most disturbing factor in Central Europe. It is by far the most reactionary, most oppressive, most unpeaceful Government in Europe. An unconditional loan at this moment might be the ruin, not the salvation, of Hungary, for it would buttress up Count Bethlen and his Awakening Magyars for many years to come, and would give them the powder which now they cannot buy. There is a clear case for political as well as economic conditions being attached to any loan. In the view of the British Government it is not expedient to attach any such conditions; and it seems certain that the League scheme will go through as it stands. That makes it all the more necessary that Count Bethlen should be under no misapprehension about the opinion that is held here of his reactionary administration.

The internal affairs of Hungary become a matter of general interest when an international scheme is afoot for helping Hungary. Certain facts ought therefore to be recalled at this moment about Count Bethlen and his Government. There is no lack of British goodwill, as was shown on January 19th, during the course of the meeting of the Hungarian Sub-Committee of the League of Nations in London, when Count Bethlen was received at Buckingham Palace by the King, being the first ex-enemy Prime Minister thus to be received. Goodwill is not incompatible with intelligence. The "Christian and National" Government of Count Bethlen has already brought back to Hungary the pre-war feudal system, the

quality of which is well known. Its Chauvinism is a danger not only to its neighbour, but to Hungary herself. Count Tisza was mild by comparison. The attempt on the part of Count Bethlen to stabilise the conditions produced by the counter-revolutionary swing of the pendulum at its extreme angle has succeeded so far only too well. The Hungarian "Dora" is still in force; newspapers are eliminated by the simple expedient of a Government decree; political assembly is forbidden except with Government consent; the secret ballot has been partially abolished and the electorate reduced by nearly one-third; Government critics are sentenced to long terms of imprisonment; no serious answer has been made to the Czechoslovak allegation that unnecessary sums have been expended on the arming of the "police." Perhaps the worst feature is the non-observance of the electoral arrangements reached between Hungary and the Allies in 1919. In the autumn of that year a decree of the Friedrich Government gave formal expression to an agreement reached with the Allies after the collapse of Bolshevism. Sir George Clerk was the British representative in the negotiations, and the agreement reached was that there should be a general enfranchisement and the system of the secret ballot for the election of the National Assembly. The Bethlen Government in 1920 confirmed the Friedrich decree by a law of its own (Law No. 1 of 1920). Lest there should be any doubt about this, I quote the relevant passage in full:—

"No. I. of 1920 on the re-establishment of constitutionalism and the exercising of the supreme power.

"§ 10. 'The National Assembly recognise the validity of Orders issued by the Governments which have been formed since August 7th, 1919, to re-establish constitutional and legal order and security. It authorises however the Cabinet to repeal, to modify, or to complete such orders as may be necessary. In so far as these Orders refer to matters which the Legislation is competent to deal with, the Government is bound to submit corresponding Bills to the National Assembly.'

"§ 13 par. 3. 'In case of the dissolution of the National Assembly, the Regent is bound to summon the new National Assembly on the basis of the election law passed by the present National Assembly. In case, however, this new law be not yet passed at the time of the dissolution, the election shall take place on the basis of the franchise by which the present National Assembly was elected.'

That clearly committed Count Bethlen to a proper course of action. Blandly enough, however, he proceeded to issue a decree which abolished the secret vote in all country constituencies and reduced the electoral roll by nearly one-third. Legal experts may be competent to decide whether a Government can repeal a law of its own making by an Order in Council; but the legality of the

thing mattered little. It is the consequences of this decree which have produced the present unsatisfactory state of affairs. According to the League protocol of the Hungarian scheme, the proposed international loan must first be voted by the Hungarian National Assembly. The question that arises is: Are the Allied Governments to be satisfied with the present National Assembly? At the elections held last year the Bethlen candidates were defeated in almost every town constituency—that is, in every election where the method of the secret ballot was allowed. In Budapest, where twenty-six deputies are returned, the Government did not even put up a single candidate; and of the twenty-six members returned fourteen are Socialists pledged to oppose the Government's policy.

Yet opposition to the Government is made next to impossible by another legislative stroke on the part of the Government. A law is in force "for the better protection of the State and society" (Law No. 3 of 1921). Students of Hungarian history know of old what this means. Under it anyone convicted of making an "untrue" statement about Hungary which is capable of prejudicing the interests of the country is punishable with a maximum penalty of five years' imprisonment, which is elaborated into ten years' penal servitude in case war results from his indiscretion. How this method of safeguarding society works in practice may be illustrated by the recent case of a Hungarian journalist and sociologist, Mr. Zoltan Szasz, the son of a Protestant Bishop. He was the editor of a Budapest monthly, *Szellem* ("The Mind"). He contributed two articles to a Hungarian daily, *Gövő* ("The Future"), published in Vienna, which was edited by two members of the moderate wing of the Hungarian refugees, Mr. Garami (a Moderate Socialist) and Mr. Lovaszy. In those articles he quoted instances of Bethlen political atrocities. The Court before whom he was tried refused to allow him to produce evidence of the truth of his statements, on the ground that the question of their truth or untruth did not arise, the prosecution basing its case on the argument that he had expressed a generality on the strength of his particular instances. Even if the particular instances were true, therefore, the generality covered anything and everything, and therefore covered something which was bound to be "untrue"! Thereupon he was awarded a sentence of imprisonment for two-and-a-half years. He appealed, and the result of his appeal was that his sentence was commuted into one of four years' imprisonment, the additional one-and-a-half year being designed, no doubt, to "larn him" to appeal. By contrast the "Awakening Magyars," who consist mostly of young and violent students, and who assign their inspiration to Signor Mussolini (an embarrassing compliment), sometimes come into conflict with the law, and are given

nominal penalties, such as one day's imprisonment. They are the mainstay of the Government, their support being made conditional on the Government's continuance of its feudal methods.

When the Little Entente expresses a fear lest the Bethlen Government should contrive to abuse whatever loan it may receive, their point of view obviously merits consideration.

It is true that the League scheme provides for supervision of the spending departments; and it is true that Sir William Goode, who has been unofficially advising the Hungarian Government for the past year on its finances, has interested himself in the question of the loan, and automatically therefore becomes in himself a guarantee that such supervision will be carried out as scrupulously as the corresponding supervision has been carried out in Austria's case; but the Hungarian problem is different from that of Austria owing to the political character of Count Bethlen and his Government. Obviously nobody wants to present Hungary with a loan which inadvertently will fortify Count Bethlen in a course of action which probably is not in Hungary's best interests; and everybody knows the peculiar lengths to which Magyar reaction is capable of going. All that is necessary, therefore, is circumspection on the part of those who want to help Hungary rather than to help Count Bethlen personally.

During the negotiations which have taken place in Paris and London in the past few months, Count Bethlen, who is an accomplished diplomatist, has made a parade of reasonableness which, if carried into effect, will no doubt make the reconstruction possible. In originally asking for a loan of 650 million gold crowns he was aiming at the moon to hit the top of a tree; and the 250 million crowns (£11,700,000), which in the event is named as the amount of the loan in the League scheme, is in itself an achievement on his part. It was clear from the beginning that Count Bethlen's diplomacy was directed—naturally enough—towards the exclusion of any political conditions from the granting of the loan. At a meeting of his party, held in Budapest on October 14th, he declared:—

"It is entirely untrue that any political conditions have been attached to the granting of the loan. According to the Treaty of Trianon, the Reparation Commission already possesses the right of financial control; but there is no fear that any condition, such as the formation of a broad Coalition Government or the return of the *émigrés* will be demanded as well."

A few weeks before he made that speech the Reparation Commission had asked the League of Nations to draw up a scheme for Hungary's economic reconstruction. The scheme was presented by the Finance Committee at a private meeting of the Council held

in Paris on December 10th, and was again discussed in the middle of January at a meeting of the Hungarian Sub-Committee held in London, after which it was referred to the Reparation Commission. The consent of the Reparation Commission was needed for the resultant reduction of the reparation liens on Hungary. The scheme was finally approved by the Sub-Committee on January 22nd after renewed consultation with the Finance Committee. The Sub-Committee consisted of representatives of Great Britain, France, Italy, Czechoslovakia, Rumania, Jugoslavia, and Hungary. The provisions of the scheme are:—

Hungary undertakes to balance her Budget within the period of two and a half years.

A High Commission will be appointed by the League for the supervision and control of her finances.

During the two and a half years she will pay no reparations, with the exception of the delivery of coal to Jugoslavia at the rate of 880 tons per working day.

In order to cover the deficits in the Budget during the two and a half years an international loan of 250,000,000 gold crowns (£10,400,000) will be floated.

Securities for the loan will be: Customs, tobacco monopoly, salt monopoly, sugar tax. All these assets being already pledged for the payment of reparations, the consent of the Reparation Commission is, of course, necessary for the release of its liens.

The amortisation of the loan is to be completed in twenty years. In addition to repaying the capital, Hungary will be liable to pay a maximum of ten million gold crowns (£400,000) annually in reparations—the term reparations being understood in this connection to cover all Treaty charges, such as the maintenance of the Inter-Allied Missions of Control.

In addition, Hungary has come to separate arrangements with Great Britain, France, and Italy for the refunding of pre-war debts, private and governmental.

It was agreed among the Allied Governments that if the Reparation Commission makes the necessary reduction in reparation claims, a proportionate concession should be made in the case of the so-called Liberation Bonds of the Succession States. That is common fairness. The Succession States of Austria and Hungary were made to bear as a liability to the Allies part of the indemnity which, under the Treaty, was to be paid by Austria and Hungary. In effect this liability was in the nature of an Inter-Allied debt due under war expenses. Czechoslovakia, for instance, owes 750 gold francs to the Allies in this way. Obviously the Allies could not maintain their full liens on Czechoslovakia and Jugoslavia while reducing those on Hungary.

END OF THE "POMPOUS FOLLY."

Competitive promptitude on the part of London and Moscow marked the resumption of diplomatic relations between the two countries. On February 1st Mr. Hodgson in Moscow presented the Note of recognition to the Union of Socialist Soviet Republics then sitting in Moscow. Within a few hours a telegraphic message of greeting was sent by that body to the British Government, the official acknowledgment being sent by post at the same time and reaching London on February 8th.

It is necessary to be clear about the Union of Socialist Soviet Republics. That organisation, whatever else be its value, plays the part of a *deus ex machinâ* so far as diplomatic relations with other countries are concerned. There may naturally be much division of opinion about what precisely is Russia; there can be no doubt what the U.S.S.R. is. One remembers that at the Genoa Conference, when Mr. Lloyd George's ambitious Pact of Non-Aggression was signed, some difficulty arose as to what exactly the signature of Mr. Chicherin was worth. Being an accomplished diplomatist of the old school, Mr. Chicherin met the difficulty in advance as far as possible by signing on behalf of "the Russian Government and the Governments at present allied with the Russian Soviet Government." I remember asking Mr. Lloyd George on that occasion whether he regarded this formula as committing each of the fifteen separate Republics which have been carved out of what was left of the old Russian Empire after the war. He said he thought they were all committed. Yet the point could not be satisfactorily cleared up. Only seven of the Russian Republics—the Bashkir, Tartar, Kirghiz, Daghestan, Gorsky, Turkestan, and Crimean Republics—were part of the Federation under the Moscow Government. Those seven owed their origin to the Moscow Government, although they each enjoyed a sort of autonomy. The remaining eight, however, namely, the Ukraine S.S. Republic, Khorezm (Khiva) Soviet Republic, Bokhara People's Soviet Republic, Georgian S.S.R., Armenian S.S.R., Azerbaijan S.S.R., White Russian S.S.R., and the Far Eastern Republic, were independent, and had been recognised as such by Moscow. Nobody at Genoa ever imagined that Mr. Chicherin took seriously the Pact of Non-Aggression, or indeed took anything seriously except his Rapallo intrigues with Herr Rathenau; and the validity of his signature did not much matter.

The formal *de jure* recognition of "Russia" by the British Government, however, was something that must be taken seriously even by "Russia," and therefore it was agreed informally in advance that Mr. MacDonald should address himself, not to the Russian

Soviet Government, but the U.S.S.R., and that the U.S.S.R. should answer. All fifteen republics in Russia are included in that Union, and therefore formally the position is clear. Whether the newly-formed U.S.S.R. will stand the test when the serious business of settling affairs between Russia and Great Britain is started is still to be seen.

Some mystery was created by an apparent diplomatic manoeuvre for position in both the British and the Russian Notes. Mr. Hodgson's Note to Russia stated that the British Government "recognise the Union of Socialist Soviet Republics as the *de jure* rulers of those territories of the old Russian Empire, which acknowledge their authority." That formula not only showed an elasticity which should be equal to any contingency of counter-revolution, but also appeared to cover any number of uncertainties there might be in the present composition of Russia itself. Mr. Rakovsky's answer seemed to show an equal agility, and the agility was at first perhaps naturally explained by the suspected thinness of the ice—a suspicion that was proved to be mistaken. He declared in his Note to the British Government that the authority of the Government of the Union of Socialist Soviet Republics "extends throughout all the territories of the former Russian Empire, with the exception of those which have been severed with the consent of the Soviet Government, and in which independent States have been constituted." The explanation of the rival formulæ adopted in Moscow and in London proved to be quite harmless. All that was meant on both sides was that in recognising the fifteen republics which constituted the U.S.S.R., it was understood that Russia did not include those territories, such as Lithuania, Esthonia, Latvia, Poland which had been detached and formed into separate States since the war.

Presumably there will be some more serious attempt than has yet been made on the part of Russians themselves to decide the constitutional relationship between the Central Government and the Governments of the various States which make up the Union. After the celebration of the sixth anniversary of the Bolshevik revolution, which took place on November 7th, there did take place in Moscow a series of conferences and congresses, which in the charming Russian manner talked much more than was necessary and did much less than was necessary; and one of the congresses was that of the Executive Committee of the Union of Socialist Soviet Republics. Its main business was further to discuss the constitutional changes instituted last July and to specify more precisely the relations of Moscow with the other capitals. No interest whatever appears to have been taken in the subject, and even the official Soviet organs spared little attention for it. Before,

however, the Anglo-Russian Conference opens it will be necessary to have some understanding on these constitutional points.

Only one point appears so far to have been decided about the relationship of Moscow with the other capitals. Moscow has just agreed to hand over to the Economic Councils of the various republics the budget provision for a proportion of the nationalised industries. The nationalised industries in Russia have not done well, and the burden of them has weighed heavily on the Central Economic Council at Moscow. In allowing the several republics to take over the control (and to find the money) for that share of the nationalised industries which falls within their territorial sphere, Moscow has escaped a financial obligation as well as decentralised the constitutional authority.

The question of Communism in Russia is thrust into artificial prominence by the fact that no political party is allowed to exist beyond the Communist Party; and yet nobody in Russia nowadays believes in Communism. The death of Lenin has indeed made it possible to say that there are no Communists to-day; for as long ago as 1921, when asked how many Communists were left in Russia, Lenin answered: "Three—Lenin, Ulianov, and myself." It is hardly surprising that the recent history of the so-called Communist Party in Russia has largely consisted of personal quarrels. Since the disappearance of Lenin's guiding influence there has been no reality in the party. Its members, who number 440,000, are artificially trained, not so much to believe in Communism as to be ready to take their part in the government machine, so as to ensure a Communist control of that machine. Yet as neither the members nor the leaders know precisely wherein Communist principles, as now applied in Russia, differ from any other principles, as now applied in Russia, the only practical effect of this procedure is to ensure that Government officials shall be *personæ gratae* to the leaders of the Communist Party. Hence it is that out of the 440,000 members of that party 400,000, as an angry opponent of the party in Russia lately declared, hold Government offices of one kind or another, and only 40,000 are "workmen" in the Communist sense of the word.

Naturally, the word Communist cannot yet be given up by the Russian politicians who have succeeded not wisely, but too well, in inculcating Communist catchwords into the vague mentality of the peasants and workmen; but from the point of view of foreign Powers the present Russian Government is as normal and ordinary as any Russian Government ever was. Even during the negotiations of 1919 and 1920 for the Trade Agreement, Mr. Krassin had accepted on behalf of Moscow the principle of recognition of debts as one side of a medal, the other side being recognition of Russia;

and Mr. Radek, in a recent survey of Russian foreign policy, made the illuminating observation that "the principle of repudiation is a schoolboy's and not a Communist's principle. Repudiation was for us a means of conducting the political struggle with the Allies, who waged war against us for several years. If the Russian workers could have achieved in 1917 what is now called the New Economic Policy, they would have been the greatest fools had they preferred the miseries of civil war to making such a deal."

The main result of the British recognition of Russia is that the threads are taken up again where they were left by the Trade Agreement of 1921, the most striking difference between Mr. MacDonald's policy and that of his predecessor being that he has decided to make recognition the first instead of the last step in the process of settling affairs with Russia. The MacDonald argument that the difficulties still to be settled between Moscow and London are no worse, even not as bad, as those between Paris and London, and that they are the more, not the less, likely to be settled if normal diplomatic relations are first established, is as convincing as it is simple.

Mr. MacDonald gave a hint that he might adopt these tactics in his Albert Hall speech. The position is that not recognition but "normal conditions of complete friendly relations" now depend on the further settlement of the points which were enumerated in the Trade Agreement of 1921. That agreement was made subject to two conditions, namely:—

1. That each party refrains from hostile actions or undertakings against the other and from conducting outside of its own borders any official propaganda, direct or indirect, against the institutions of the British Empire or the Russian Soviet Republic respectively, and more particularly that the Russian Soviet Government refrains from attempting by military or diplomatic or other form of action or propaganda to encourage any of the peoples of Asia in any form of hostile action against the British interests or the British Empire, especially in India or the independent State of Afghanistan. The British Government gives a similar undertaking to the Russian Soviet Government in respect of the countries which formed part of the former Russian Empire, and which have now become independent.

2. That all British subjects in Russia are immediately permitted to return home, and that all Russian citizens in Great Britain or other parts of the British Empire who desire to return to Russia are similarly released.

The second of those conditions, after some friction, was carried out to the satisfaction of the British Government. The first remained a persistent source of friction between Moscow and London, and

led only last year to a voluminous controversy between Lord Curzon and Mr. Chicherin, the *dossier* of which has been published as a White Paper (see *THE CONTEMPORARY REVIEW*, June, 1923, pp. 777-779). It was further laid down in the preamble to the Trade Agreement that it would be necessary to conclude a "formal general peace treaty between the Governments of these countries, by which their economic and political arrangements shall be regulated in the future," and a declaration made at the end of the agreement stipulated that "at the moment of signature of the preceding Trade Agreement both parties declare that all claims of either party in respect of property or rights, or in respect of obligations incurred by the existing or former Governments of either country, shall be equitably dealt with in the formal general peace treaty referred to in the preamble."

Ironically enough it is to be a capitalist bridge which is to connect Moscow with London. The Union of Soviet Socialist Republics has already buried the bogey of "hostile propaganda." It promises to settle "outstanding claims and obligations," and there is no doubt that when the Labour Government of Great Britain meets the Socialist Government of Russia those claims will readily be settled. Why? Because Russia wants a loan from London; because a loan is a capitalist transaction; because security will be asked for; because security means confidence in the repayment of debts and obligations. There will therefore be no difficulty in satisfying British firms or individuals who have claims on Russia and the extent of whose capital in Russian concerns can be ascertained. The main difficulty will probably arise in the case of joint Russo-British concerns which were confiscated in 1917. Assuming that an agreed estimate is arrived at of the proportion of British and Russian capital involved, it will be necessary for the Russian delegates to prevent internal Russian grievances arising from the fact of cash compensation being made to British capitalists. Obviously, the former Russian capitalists would themselves prefer a cash compensation to the somewhat cold consolation to be derived from their loyalty to a Communist principle in which they no longer believe.

THE PALATINATE AND COLOGNE.

Although it is too early to form an opinion on Mr. Ramsay MacDonald's chances of success in improving Franco-British relations, there is one point which differentiates his preliminary efforts from those of his predecessor. Mr. Baldwin's preliminary effort to create a friendly atmosphere between Paris and London never went any further than an exchange of words, and was quickly followed by the severest Franco-British crisis since the Armistice.

Mr. MacDonald, on the other hand, already has two achievements to his credit which give some substance to his verbal exchanges with M. Poincaré. Both the Separatist question in the Palatinate and the Cologne railway dispute have been settled. It is true that Mr. MacDonald has had a big element of luck on his side, and that both the Separatist and the Cologne difficulties were brought to the verge of a solution by the late Government, but their solution coinciding with Mr. MacDonald's figurative handshake with M. Poincaré falls to the credit side of the MacDonald Ministry.

The solution of the Cologne railways dispute, which was reached on February 9th, merely amounted to a French acceptance of proposals made by the British High Commission in Cologne on December 14th, those proposals being that the Cologne railways should undertake the transport of French goods through the British zone. The French and Belgian High Commissions refused this offer in December, because they wanted the British authorities to allow the Franco-Belgian Railway Régie to run their trains through the British zone and thus obtain control of the railway system. This was naturally refused by the British authorities, who stood out for complete British control over the British zone. It was inevitable that the régie would sooner or later accept the British offer, which, after all, was a generous one. The fall of the Baldwin Ministry allowed the present Ministry to reap the credit for it.

Similarly, the Franco-Belgian Separatist plot in the Palatinate had already been thwarted by the opposition of Lord Curzon and by the Clive Mission. The report which Mr. Clive gave to the British Foreign Office was thus summarised by Mr. McNeill, then Under-Foreign Secretary, in a statement he made in the House of Commons on January 21st:—

"Having spent five days hearing views of people of every class and from every part of the Palatinate, I have come to the general conclusions:—

"1. The overwhelming mass of the population are opposed to autonomous government.

"2. This Government could never have come into existence without French support, and would immediately be driven out if French support were withdrawn.

"3. On the admission of Bley, the nominal head of the Government, 75 per cent. of the Separatists came from outside the Palatinate. These unquestionably include a large element of ex-criminals and men entirely inexperienced in government.

"4. The Catholic and Protestant Churches, and the official classes and a majority in the large towns reject the idea of any separation from Bavaria.

"5. A considerable element, while indifferent to the question of separation from Bavaria, are opposed to separation from the Reich.

" 6. There is also a feeling amongst certain classes, especially peasants and Socialist workmen, in favour of a Rhineland State including the Palatinate politically independent but economically bound to the Reich. These people fear the militarist policy of Berlin and Munich.

" 7. Amongst peasant and working class there is a strong feeling of war-weariness and peace at any price.

" 8. The 'declaration of loyalty' [to the Separatist Government] was rejected in all sections. The signatories were confined to peasant proprietor mayors of communes, many of whom signed originally without consulting their Council and have now recalled their adherence. The Palatinate peasants in general are indifferent to politics, and only want to live in peace, with no risk of expulsion. These people would, I believe, sign any declaration from any government in order to be left in peace, and signatures obtained in a number of cases under threat cannot justify the assumption that the majority of the peasants favour an autonomous government."

It was inevitable that the French Separatist project should be blown sky-high, but it was not till Mr. MacDonald became Prime Minister that M. Poincaré formally repudiated the Separatists. The point, however, is that these achievements give to Mr. MacDonald a better chance of succeeding where Mr. Lloyd George, Mr. Bonar Law, and Mr. Baldwin failed. He is further helped by the rôle of injured innocence thrust upon him by the incident of the Lloyd George interview with the *New York World*, and by the impending French elections, which have the effect of inducing M. Poincaré to look round for political assets.

GEORGE GLASGOW.

LITERARY SUPPLEMENT.

LIST OF CONTENTS.

	PAGE
REVIEWS	389
THE BAGDAD RAILWAY; THE ITALIAN ROMANTIC REVIVAL; RELIGION, PHILOSOPHY, AND HISTORY; A NEW ARYAN THEORY; WESTMINSTER SCHOOL; TEACHERS OF ENGLISH.	
2. SHORTER REVIEWS: "Lady Margaret Hall"; "Persian Women and their Ways"; "Among Unknown Esquimo"; "The Revolution in Ireland. 1906-1923"; Japanese Colour Prints; "The Cambridge Historical Journal"	404
3. NOTICES OF BOOKS: "The Tomb of Tutankhamen"; "The Story of English Towns"; "Roman Dutch Law, 1923," etc.	407

REVIEWS.

THE BAGDAD RAILWAY.*

No student of the tangled history of our time should miss Professor Earle's authoritative study of the gigantic political and economic problem known as the Bagdad Railway. There is already a library of books, pamphlets, and articles in many languages on the subject; but we have had to wait for the result of the distinguished American historian's researches for a record more complete and a judgment more dispassionate than is to be found in any previous work. In addition to the vast literature on the exploitation of Turkey, which is marshalled in the admirable bibliographies at the close of each chapter, the author has drawn on the memories of the men who have been most closely associated with the enterprise and who have supplied for the purposes of this volume information which they alone possessed. Among these first-hand witnesses are Dr. Gwinner and Dr. Helfferich, of the Deutsche Bank; Sir Henry Babington Smith, an associate of Sir Ernest Cassel; Djavid Bey, the Minister of Finance during the *regimé* of the Young Turks, and Admiral Chester, the hero of the Chester concessions.

The story opens with a sketch of the economic attractions of Asiatic Turkey and of the earliest attempts to exploit them. The completion of a through railway route to Constantinople in 1888 intensified the desire to continue the line across Asia Minor; and in the same year a syndicate, headed by Dr. Siemens of the Deutsche Bank, obtained a concession to Angora, with an understanding that the Turkish Government intended to extend the line to Bagdad. In 1899 a new concession was given to the Deutsche Bank to build

* *Turkey, the Great Powers, and the Bagdad Railway: a Study in Imperialism.* By E. M. Earle. (Macmillan Co., New York, 1923.) 10s. 6d. net.

a line from Konia to Bagdad and the Persian Gulf, and in two agreements of 1902-1903 the details were worked out. The enterprise had begun as a purely commercial proposition, like the short French and British lines in Asia Minor; but the growing interest in Weltpolitik, not only in Germany but among all the Great Powers, attracted attention to the political and military implications of the scheme, and made the Bagdad Railway the theme of constant discussions in all the Chancelleries and newspaper offices of Europe.

Professor Earle's narrative makes it clear that the enterprise was begun without direct or indirect assistance from the German Government; that French and English capital was welcomed; that the financiers of Europe agreed in regarding the undertaking as profitable; and that Abdul Hamid, who, our author assures us, was no fool, was not led blindfold into a scheme which he did not understand, but cordially co-operated in developing his empire and connecting its different parts with each other and with the capital. With the opening of the present century, however, the rivalries of the Powers overrode the private interests of their respective nationals. Russia was jealous of a rival in the Ottoman Empire, which she hoped to swallow piecemeal; France, though desiring to develop the resources of a State in which she had invested so much money, drew back in loyalty to her allies; and in 1903 the British Government, though itself inclined to participate in the enterprise, suddenly broke off the friendly discussions which Mr. Balfour, Lord Lansdowne, Lord Revelstoke, and Dr. Gwinner had begun. The story of these negotiations and of the capitulation of the Premier and the Foreign Secretary to the outcry of some Germanophobe newspapers makes sad reading; for though our relations with Berlin were no longer cordial, they had not passed beyond control. The British and German financiers were equally surprised and disappointed at the sudden *volteface* of the Cabinet. "The failure to effect the internationalisation of the Bagdad Railway," writes Professor Earle, "was a colossal diplomatic blunder. If the proposed agreement had been consummated, the entente of 1904 between England and France would have taken control out of the hands of the Germans, who would have possessed, with their Turkish collaborators, only 14 of the 30 votes in the Board of Directors. Sir Henry Babington Smith assured the author that there was nothing in the arrangement suggested by the Deutsche Bank which would have prevented eventual Franco-British domination of the line." This severe but thoroughly justified condemnation of the decision of 1903 was shared by Sir Frank Lascelles, the British Ambassador at Berlin.

When co-operation was refused by the British, French, and Rus-

sian Governments, the Bagdad Railway was pushed on with great energy by its German sponsors; but the hostility of the Entente Powers, who declined to allow Turkey to raise the customs, and thus dislocated the machinery for financing the enterprise, was keenly felt, and repeated efforts were made to disarm it. At last, in 1910, on a visit to Potsdam, the Tsar and his new Foreign Minister, Sazonoff, withdrew Russian opposition as part of a bargain respecting North Persia. The change of attitude at Petrograd aroused surprise and resentment at London and Paris; but it was no longer possible to boycott a scheme the success of which was assured. Professor Earle describes, with a wealth of fresh evidence, the prolonged and complicated negotiations, involving not only political and strategic issues, but private interests such as those of the Lynch Brothers, Sir Ernest Cassel, and Lord Inchcape. Shortly before the outbreak of the war in 1914 a series of arrangements had been reached to the complete satisfaction of Great Britain, Germany, France, Russia, and Turkey. Had the Entente Powers co-operated in the great enterprise at the outset instead of combating it for a decade, our author suggests that recent history might have been less dramatic and less tragic in character.

The last two chapters deal with the war and the settlement. Professor Earle explains how Turkey was one of the glittering prizes of the great struggle, and he usefully summarises the various secret treaties of partition which were arranged by the Entente Powers. Some of those provisions were carried out; but the defeat of Russia and the growing divergence of British and French policy after their victory enabled prostrate Turkey to rise again and to recover her prestige and a portion of the territory which she had lost. We close this admirable volume with a deepened detestation of the Imperialism which in different degrees afflicted all the Powers, and which, unless it is discarded in favour of pacific co-operation, will doubtless set Europe once more alight.

G. P. G.

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THE ITALIAN ROMANTIC REVIVAL.

Professor Robertson in this original and attractive book elaborates the theme that "the movement which led to the dethronement of Reason as the chief arbiter in poetic creation, and gave the first place to the Imagination—a movement which, in Germany, inaugurated the rapid development culminating in Goethe and Schiller—is to be put to the credit of Italy rather than ourselves." This new theory opened out in a curious way.

* *Studies in the Genesis of Romantic Theory in the Eighteenth Century.* By J. G. Robertson. (Cambridge: at the University Press.) 12s. 6d. net.

Bodmer, the Swiss critic of two centuries ago, called Shakespeare "Sasper." Professor Robertson thought that this corruption was Italian rather than German, and this idea led to the view that Bodmer and Breitinger drew their ideas on literary æsthetics from Italy. An examination of Bodmer's letters, lying in Swiss German and North Italian libraries, confirmed the view, and led to a consideration of the general influence of Italy on eighteenth-century criticism. This volume is intended to show through the study of certain early eighteenth-century writers that Italy, "which led the critical theory of Europe in the sixteenth century, played again a pioneer rôle at the beginning of the eighteenth; that the conception of the 'creative imagination,' with the help of which Europe emancipated herself from the pincers of pseudo-classmen, was virtually born in Italy, to grow to full maturity in England and Germany."

In the latter part of the seventeenth century Père Bouhours, the literary Cartesian, one of the jewels of Mademoiselle Scudéry's salon, and Boileau himself were writing quite just and severe criticism of Italian taste in literature. Dante would have raged at Bouhours' attack on the Italian language, but the language, then and there, was being ill-used by its literary men. The attack had its reaction not chiefly in the formation of the Academy of "Arcadia," founded in 1690 (which, however, did not encourage originality but, rather, law and conformity), but the work of men such as Muratori, who flung back the insult by giving evidence of the constructive and critical capacity of his race.

Professor Robertson tells us in his fascinating volume a great deal of this group of late seventeenth-century and early eighteenth-century Italian scholars and critics, who were determined to show France and Europe that Italy could, if she chose, command the literary thinking of the world. To-day the general reader knows little of these Italian thinkers, and a debt of gratitude is due to Professor Robertson for clothing them again in their natural habits and placing them in their serene world. There is something of the feeling in studying this book that arises when the student turns to Robert Browning's "Parleyings with Certain People of Importance in their Day." But these men are more important than the people to whom Browning gave new life. The Abate Crescimbeni, the first President of the Arcadia, is perhaps not very important and rather fussy, though Browning would have loved him, the ideal head of a local literary society, full of enthusiasm and most industrious. His dialogues reflect the Thursday meetings of the Arcadians, and show that this Academy was, at any rate, deeply concerned with form and critical method. A little is also told us of Francesco Saverio Quadrio, the first to apply the com-

parative method to literary theory, a man of great gifts and insight. He again, with his doubts, sorrows, and spiritual struggles, would have roused Browning's enthusiasm. The men to whom Professor Robertson devotes full-dress biographies are, however, of different calibre. He begins with Gian Vincenzo Gravina (born in 1664), the jurist and Greek scholar, who, imbued with the spirit of Descartes, cut the critical knot by proclaiming the duty to go back to the Greek originals. He showed the intense Renaissance spirit, coupled with the new and better thinking for which Descartes stood. He was far more than an Arcadian. He was the founder of a movement that gave to the late eighteenth century a new classical outlook. But he was not greater than the world-famous Ludovico Antonio Muratori (born in 1672). Among his many labours he was determined to defend Italy from French insults, and in the *Della Perfetta Poesia italiana* he affirmed the essential divinity of poetry. To the student of Dante there is perhaps little really new in Muratori, but in his doctrine of Imagination he gave a new form to the philosophy of creative literature. The union of imagination with the intellect presents reality, or what looks like reality, but Professor Robertson feels that he did not provide for the Italians an "ars poetica," though he gave a foundation to a new philosophy of æsthetics. That starting-place is all-important if the Romantic movement is to be understood.

But not less important than these men were those Italians who linked up Italy with England, Germany, and France. Antonio Conti, who came to London with the first Hanoverian king, did much to deepen old literary ties between England and Italy. He is one in a line of poets and thinkers who make an unbreakable bond between the two countries. What Conti did for England Pier Jacopo Martelli (born in 1665) did for France. He was in Paris with the papal Nuncio in 1713, and, a "modern," he created links with France to an extent that roused suspicion in Italy. But he was loyal while admiring Boileau and Corneille. He would have done, if he could, for Italy what Corneille had done for France. Pietro di Calepio (born in 1693) is the link with Germany, and German critical literature owes much to his sane comparative mind. Professor Robertson also introduces us to the famous Scipione Maffei (born 1675), to the great jurist Giambattista Vico (born 1668), and to the Spaniard Ignacio de Luzan. In these portraits of men and in the elaboration of the theory of romantic criticism Professor Robertson, in his charming way, has opened up a literary field that the students of to-day would be well advised to wander in and dream of things past and to come in world literature.

J. E. G. DE M.

RELIGION, PHILOSOPHY, AND HISTORY.*

Dr. Strong, Bishop of Ripon, delivered these four lectures to a mixed audience in the University of Leeds during the early part of last year. The short preface puts in succinct terms the view "That the Element in man's effort to interpret the world which expresses itself later as religion is a primary and necessary element in his reaction to his environment; or at least that it has the same kind of claim to validity that is allowed to those elements which express themselves later in philosophy, art, and ethics."

In nearly every known nation and race there is a stretching out to something beyond their environment, reaction the author calls it. He does not consider that the aspect of the world which is called science and philosophy can interpret the primary ideas of life, ethics, and religion, but feels that the historic process through which God partially revealed or expressed Himself by natural law and moral right was consummated when in the fullness of time God sent forth His Son. The aim of these lectures is to consider how the Christian religion helps to elucidate the general problem of the root idea of religion, and what light it throws on religion in general. The author enters fully and conscientiously, but in non-technical fashion, into the consideration of these difficult problems. After all, the inquirer has to fall back upon the old question "Can man by searching find out God?" The whole idea of the First Cause is, and must remain, subjective. Dr. Strong says that "all intellectual processes of whatever kind are formed by a combination of what is given from outside with what is supplied from within." The Christian accepts this statement, believing that the God whom he worships has breathed into every human being His spirit, and thus the spiritual process is akin to the intellectual: first the natural and afterwards that which is spiritual, every man in his own order. Whatever the order may be, the craving for what is outside our ken is inherent in the human race. We may look before and after, using all our mental powers, seeking in science the causation of life, observing, comparing, collating, connoting, gaining knowledge at one point, losing it at another as civilisations ebb and flow, finding, for instance, in the faith of the Pharaohs a spiritual meaning that we cannot scoff at, an art of no mean order that symbolises their belief in a future life. Then we ask, has evolution wrought any great advance in the quest? Here a thousand years are but as yesterday!

The idea on which Dr. Strong lays special stress is, that in the earlier stages of man's existence his views of nature are fused,

* *Religion, Philosophy, and History*. Four Lectures by Thomas B. Strong, Bishop of Ripon. (The Clarendon Press, Oxford.) 3s. 6d. net.

while in later stages, when mental development has gradually evolved, those views become separated and assume various aspects reflected in science, philosophy, ethics, art, religion. The author says in his first lecture: "It is, of course, very difficult to conceive the earlier processes by which man justified his existence, so to speak, on the mental level. We are so accustomed to an articulate system of thinking that it is hard to imagine how such a system arose out of inarticulateness." Dr. Strong no doubt refers to intellectual inarticulateness. Yet of necessity thought must precede speech, thought, being life, must embody itself in speech. This, indeed, is the mystical philosophy of the fourth Gospel: Christ is the speech or word of God. "The words that I speak unto you they are spirit, and they are life."

The author passes from philosophy to ethics and art, and he finds that:—

"We do more than simply observe and co-ordinate facts; we also deal with what might be or ought to be. And when we reflect upon our life in this light we feel a demand resting upon us to guide our actions in accordance with our ideal. And we believe that ultimately the facts of human experience must conform to our ideal—though it may involve a long and tortuous history before the end is reached. There is an ideal of right as well as an ideal of order."

We learnt in the late war what it meant to maintain the ideal of right. Again, to quote Dr. Strong, "The total failure of the religious hope would mean a failure of the ethical ideal, and thus indirectly the collapse of humanity. But whereas the failure of the physical ideal of order would mean instant disaster, the failure of other ideals would or might produce its results more gradually."

Passing from the consideration of ethics to that of art, Dr. Strong finds here a more complicated mental activity, and one harder of explanation. There is little doubt that the instinct leading towards artistic representation is found in very undeveloped races, such as the Bushmen of Australia. A notable series of their drawings was published some years ago representing scenes of their ordinary life. The innate love of creation appeals to primitive man; surely it is his inheritance that he is reducing into possession, always striving after the pattern in the heavens or in his heart, idealising common things and sacred thoughts. Aiming at "what might be, from the basis of what is: it (Art) produces representations which are not merely copies." This is a very lucid description of the function of Art. "Beauty is Truth," as Keats said, and truth is an attribute of the Creator. The creature must carry on the work of creation with passion, till he also can pronounce it good.

Dr Strong sums up his course of deductions in a brief and

masterly manner, and shows from his point of view the historic sequence which led up to and embraced Christianity, that ideal form of religion which satisfies and expresses man's deepest cravings after God and immortality.

S. DE M.

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A NEW ARYAN THEORY.*

What might have seemed to be the most reasonable as well as the most recent theory of the Aryan race is given by Dr. Giles in the first volume of the Cambridge Ancient History. There this whole race is placed on the European plains below the Carpathians, and thence the great dispersals took place. But what looked like the final note on this part of a great theme has been rendered discordant in the still more recent book by Dr. Gilbert Slater on the Dravidian races. Professor Fleure lends some sanction to the very latest theory when he writes in his Foreword "the notion of a barbarous India on which Aryan civilisation descended has been fairly widespread, and the number of books which tell us of Southern Indian civilisation is not as large as one might wish." Yet the Southern Indian civilisation is no new theme, and is not at all inconsistent with the intrusion into India of a far higher civilisation. The Aryans met and conquered various civilisations. In Greece they met and absorbed the Cretan humanism, in Asia they helped to destroy the Babylonian. The fact that the Rig-Veda peoples met yet another civilisation in India is not surprising, and the facts are not new. Colonel Hodson in his excellent book on "The Primitive Culture of India," tells us much on the subject. Dr. Slater accepts the view that the Dravidian population of India is a branch of or allied to the Mediterranean race, and were seafarers from the West. This view is held by Professor Elliot Smith, and is certainly sound, and it is equally certain that they came, bringing with them Egyptian or Cretan culture, very many centuries before the coming of the Rig-Veda peoples. The date given by Professor Elliot Smith and Mr. W. J. Perry is about 2600 B.C., and this date can be accepted with some certainty. Dr. Slater holds (wrongly, as we think) that Dravidian culture was evolved in India, and premises an earlier date. He lays stress on the elaboration of the Tamil language. He does not seem to realise that this is no test of early humanism. One of the most complex languages in the world is the tongue spoken, in various dialects, by the aboriginal races of Australia. Yet Dr. Slater insists that the Tamil tongue implies a great system of culture: "Indian culture, with its special

* *The Dravidian Element in Indian Culture.* By Gilbert Slater. With a Foreword by H. J. Fleure. (Ernest Benn, Limited.) 10s. 6d. net.

characteristic of systematic and subtle philosophical thought, must have come from people capable of originating and developing it."

Side by side with this theory is a theory of the Aryans that has little to commend it, since it does not fit in with the facts as to the social condition of the Rig-Veda peoples, a condition that was accompanied by a singularly pure religion, by a belief in personal immortality, by a highly organised feudal system combined with a tribal structure of the strongest kind, and by a capacity for government never shown by any of the peoples with whom they came into contact. Those peoples at the best, as in the case of the Semitic nations, had built up a great commercial civilisation in which the grossest customary practices were inherent, a civilisation that had lost its tribal structure and had gained wealth instead, a civilisation that was accompanied by grotesque religions and incapacity for permanent political life. Dr. Slater seems in this part of the book to confuse commercial wealth and trading capacity with civilisation. He regards the Aryan invasion as "one of the long series of exoduses of pastoral tribes from Asiatic steppes that have repeatedly devastated surrounding agricultural districts." They were

"relatively low-born invaders, provided by their horses with an immense advantage for rapid and concerted movement, and so for military and political raiding of peoples who, as in the case of the Eurasians and Dravidians, lacked this equipment for victory and power, in spite of their superiority in those elements of culture which made for wealth and civilisation, and whose very superiority in wealth was an enticement to the invaders. The latter no doubt brought other new culture elements into India besides the horse, among them, we have reason to believe, the practice of burning the dead, and associated ideas with regard to life after death, which mingled with Dravidian beliefs without superseding them."

So Dr. Slater throws over the old idea of a dispersion from an "Aryan home" and projects a people of extraordinary moral force out of nowhere into India. Wanderers from "Asiatic steppes," whatever that may mean, could not have evolved such capacity for civilisation as the Aryan races evolved. Dr. Slater's book adopts an old and ineffective line of argument. It is not necessary to attack the established doctrine as to the Aryans in order to show that there was in Southern India an interesting survival of the scattered bronze age humanism of South-Eastern Europe. Dr. Slater's difficulty is his belief that the Dravidian culture did not come from Europe. It drives him to all sorts of extremes. It is almost certain that the caste system was a post-Aryan development not probably due to an Aryan impulse at all. Yet here we are told that "it would appear that the idea and principle of caste

aving been established at a very early date in the social organisation of the Dravidian people, so modified the consequences of historic events of very varied character as to make them harmonise with it." This seems to us mere assumption. These kinds of arguments are unnecessary for the establishment of Dr. Slater's interesting plea for the Dravidians of to-day. "' Dravida ' is at once the part of India where the most ancient culture still survives and the part which is closest in touch with the twentieth century." He thinks, probably rightly, that " Dravida " has much to contribute to the unity and wellbeing of the world. " Ultimately it may be found that the West has as much to learn from India as to teach. But in whichever way the flow of intellectual commerce is moving, the English-speaking Dravidians will supply many of the most active intermediaries." That may well be true, and perhaps Dr. Slater would have been wiser if he had devoted more space to this theme than to the production of a new and unsound Aryan theory.

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WESTMINSTER SCHOOL.*

Mr. L. E. Tanner has brought his historical gifts and learning to bear upon the school that was his and which he still serves—Westminster, of ancient memory. He is not compiling annals of the School: that was done by the late Mr. John Sargeaunt more than five and twenty years ago. Incidentally he supplements the *Annals* with new materials. Since Mr. Sargeaunt wrote, the undoubted history of the School has been carried back into the days of Richard II., and it is clear enough that Queen Elizabeth was a re-founder of a very ancient foundation. It may well be that further early information will emerge supplementing the mediæval material discovered by the Rev. H. F. Westlake in 1920. Names of early scholars may be found, and various searchers are busy with likely sources. But names and stray extracts merely suggest a past in the dim magic of the Middle Ages that in almost any event would have to be supplemented by material drawn from the general history of pre-Reformation schools. Mr. Tanner, for the moment at any rate, has another goal in view, to make the old School buildings live with the sound of vanished voices and the stately figures of famous men.

Yet this method takes the lover of Westminster back into the Middle Ages. Some of the monastic buildings that abutted on and partially covered the present Dean's Yard were handed over to the School by Queen Elizabeth. The monastic Granary became

* *Westminster School: its Buildings and their Associations*. By Lawrence E. Tanner.

the Dormitory of the Queen's scholars; the Gateway Tower near the entrance to the little lane which became Little Dean's Yard housed the Second Master; the Headmaster's House (now 19, Dean's Yard) is in substance a fourteenth-century structure with traces of earlier work. It may have been the Guesthouse. It was reconstructed by Dr. Busby. The Home-Boarders' House (18, Dean's Yard) is also mediæval. The beautiful seventeenth-century Ashburnham incorporates parts of far earlier structures (including the Prior's House), and the Garden of Ashburnham occupies part of the site of the mediæval refectory. School was part of the Dormitory of the Monks: School is still an intrinsic part of school life, and is used for daily Latin prayers and for the election examinations. The classroom on the east side of School (the Shell Room) is also mediæval, the guests' dormitory. Such associations, especially in view of the fact that the Cloisters were for so long the main playground of the school, makes the mind hungry to see what the actual mediæval life of the scholars was like. The history of the Abbey is sufficiently vivid to make it possible to place the boys there if some new material arises.

But meantime authentic history in the way of actual school life (apart from dry records) seems to take vivid shape in the somewhat tempestuous but great days of Dr. Richard Busby (1606-1695). Busby belonged to the City of Westminster and loved it. He fully repaid the City's care for him. In 1628 the Overseers gave him £5 "towards enabling him to proceed bachelor of arts." From 1671 we find that he is paying for the teaching of the parish children. In the year 1672 he gave £5 for this purpose, and in later years his yearly gift was £6. That is one side of Busby's character. Another is his actual work as a teacher. The boys at "Dr. Busby's School at Westminster" (there is no nonsense about that phrase of Lady Caithness in 1691) were "bravely taught both to be scolers and orators." The School became a "fruitful nursery" and the best school in England at a time when the rapid decline in English grammar education had begun. Busby had some thirty or forty boarders in his house, and doubtless he secured adequate profits. Pepys, in his friendly way, records Lord Ashburnham's complaint of the "devilish covetousness of Dr. Busby." It was probably a tribute to his excellent business faculties. Busby was not mean, that we know, but he probably saw no reason, as the other men of religion at Westminster saw no reason, to offer favourable terms to Lord Ashburnham. He certainly spent money plentifully on the School, and rebuilt Dean Williams's Library. Some of his books are there still, and the rest are in the Vicarage of Willen, a living still in the hands of the Busby trustees, Old Westminsters all. So far the picture of Busby is that of a good organiser, a shrewd busi-

ness man, a charitable man, and a first-class and very successful schoolmaster. There have been many such men. Why then does the name of Busby shine out so brightly that it is almost a household word in England more than three centuries after his entrance into the world? It seems certain that he had as terrific a personality as his contemporary Thomas Hobbes. He put the fear of God into every man in the shape of the fear of Busby. He feared no man. The story of Charles II. and Busby's hat would have had to have been invented if it were not true. The story of his relations with the Second Master shows exactly how he chose to meet the evils of the time. Inefficient ushers swarmed in the mid-seventeenth century. Whether Edward Bagshawe, the Second Master, was inefficient or not, Dr. Busby in 1658 had had enough of him and bade the boys deal swiftly with him, and not only turn him out of the School but out of his Chamber. Clearly Bagshawe was in the wrong, for the Courts were open for justice. So Busby hurled himself at all obstacles, and knowing perfectly well what he wanted, secured it to the terror of all beholders, to the lasting good of the School and to his own immortal memory.

Memories of great men, of course, run through the whole of this delightful book. Men famous in letters—a proud series including Ben Jonson, Dryden, Locke, Burke, Gibbon—and famous in all other great national activities, move through these haunted pages and give a new and indeed perpetual life to the old buildings of the School. We have chosen to dwell upon Busby himself, for it is doubtful if the greatest of Old Westminsters would feel worthy to sit in the chair of one who has become a sun myth of tradition. This volume is a storehouse of school traditions, and for that reason should be studied by all Old Westminsters. There is only one query that we venture to make. Surely Colonel Lovelace wrote the lines "To Althea" in the little prison in Canterbury, and not in the Gatehouse at Westminster.

J. E. G. DE M.

* * *

TEACHERS OF ENGLISH.*

It is a relief to read Professor Chambers's spirited defence of Henry Morley, John Earle, and Walter Skeat against the singularly ignorant attack levelled at these great scholars and teachers of the English language by the Committee which reported some time since to the Minister of Education on the Teaching of English

* *Concerning Certain Great Teachers of the English Language: an Inaugural Lecture delivered in University College, London.* By R. W. Chambers, Quain Professor of English. (Edward Arnold.)

in England. It might seem amazing that Morley, Earle, and Skeat need any defence, for the student need only look about him to see their imperishable monuments of fame everywhere in the field of English studies. But unfortunately students do not always look around, and are rather apt to regard the material supplied by a Committee appointed by a Government Department, and especially by the Board of Education, as sacrosanct. These reports, in fact, have as a rule a shaky historical introduction. Such introductions should always be written by specialists. This is rarely the case. In the present instance either the original writer of the historical part of the report had to get the subject up at a few hours' notice, or the Committee so altered it as to produce nonsense. Now a preliminary section on history in an important report is as necessary as a sick man's record is to a doctor engaged in diagnosis. In a recent report on school curricula issued by the Consultative Committee the historical introduction entirely ignores religious teaching, though, in fact, mediæval, Elizabethan, and Jacobean education cannot be understood from the point of view of curricula without the closest attention to religious education. Since 1909 the Board of Education has not been interested in religious education in secondary schools, and so the whole subject is not only excluded from the report but is deleted from the history. The explanation is not so much *odium theologicum* as sheer educational ignorance. To a certain type of mind education can be organised in watertight compartments, and if history does not agree with this view so much the worse for history.

The case with which Professor Chambers deals seems to us to be a parallel but a worse case, for while sheer ignorance dominates the Committee's sketch of the history of Old English studies in England it is ignorance that appeals to the not unnatural English dislike of all forms of German influence. That there should be such a dislike in the popular mind, and indeed in the philosophic mind, is most natural since it was widely felt that German philosophic influence had some very substantial effect on the German attitude of mind which was responsible for the terrible Five Years' War. But, after all, there is a reasonableness in things, and no war can destroy the German record of scholarship or make that record contemptible. But in the case of Earle, Morley, and Skeat the Committee seem to have used their ample fund of sheer ignorance for the purpose of creating a prejudice against these scholars in the minds of modern teachers. They write (after praising the men who really were under German influence):

But about the middle of the nineteenth century there was a new orientation of the study and it was diverted into fresh channels. The scholars who chiefly influenced the examinations in English of

the University of London and the Cambridge Modern and Mediæval Tripos, and somewhat later the Oxford Final Honour School of English Language and Literature, had either been trained in Germany or were under the influence of German educational ideals and methods. In their study of Anglo-Saxon they divorced language from literature and history and devoted their attention almost exclusively to philology and phonetics. Hence they tended to alienate from the study of English all but the small body whose interests and outlook were scientific rather than literary, and who handled linguistic problems in the spirit of the chemist or the physicist.

There can be no doubt that whoever wrote these amazing sentences was very pleased with them. They are terse, neat, convincing, and the little parallel to the physicist has the touch of finality about it that raises the whole moral tone. Yet it is all sheer and unadulterated nonsense issued in a solemn official document for use in schools and places where men and women teach English. Professor Chambers points out that "as to these scholars after the middle of the century being 'trained abroad,' or 'dominated by German influences,' the truth is the exact reverse." He declines to believe that "any member of the Committee has, or can have, more than formal responsibility for it [the above paragraph] or for the even more amazing statement which follows: 'the main concern [of the teachers of English language in the Universities during the latter part of the nineteenth century] was not with English for itself, but in its relation to more or less allied groups of languages.'"

With the work of Morley, Earle, and Skeat, and their passionate love of English as a literary language (whether it be Old, Middle, or Modern English) the whole world of letters is or should be familiar. Yet this Committee of literary men charge these scholars with divorcing "language from literature and history." Who is responsible for these puerile statements? Professor Chambers discharges the members of the Committee, certainly one must discharge the Secretary, who is the mere servant of the Committee. The only explanation, therefore, is sheer ignorance coupled with a patriotic desire to make English teachers repudiate all teaching that may possibly savour of Germanism. Such a policy would be childish in any event, but by a strange piece of ill luck the Committee in fact praise the Germanists such as Kemble, and condemn the purely English scholars in the belief that they were German-bred.

This unpleasant business will have one good result. It will make the English-speaking world realise once more in full measure what the English language owes to two specific groups of teachers. In the earlier part of the nineteenth century "Kemble and Thorpe between them edited and interpreted almost the whole body of

extant Anglo-Saxon poetry. This made it possible for a race of scholars to arise who were not compelled to go abroad to learn the philology of their own tongue." It is true that Thorpe had learned a great deal from Rask, the great Danish scholar, who was the first to enunciate what is known as Grimm's law, while Kemble had learnt much in Germany from James Grimm. Why not? Do the Germans complain because most of their science is based ultimately on English thinking? Do English scientists complain because Dr. Einstein has made a great and independent departure in human conception of space? Surely not.

Professor Chambers's tribute to Henry Morley, who at University College covered the whole range of English literature is deserved indeed. It was he who gave to the English people a new outlook on English literature as a concrete whole. Skeat largely reconstructed in his notes to *Piers Plowman* mediæval life, and yet he and Walter Besant were the prize-winners in the famous test set by Calverley for knowledge of the *Pickwick Papers*. The Committee did not know, apparently, that Earle's edition of the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* is an historian's edition. To them these three great humanists were merely philologists. They have defined their terms and cannot adopt the Humpty-Dumpty argument. Professor Chambers has no trouble in showing that of the great English teachers and examiners after the days of Kemble and Thorpe, only one, Professor Napier, was pre-eminently a German-trained comparative philologist.

The one question that remains is whether it was worth Professor Chambers's while to expose this reckless and absurd caricature of the facts. Such caricature is no new process in official reports, and the fact is so disquieting that specialists must ignore these full-dress reports except in relation to statements that carry their own evidence with them. But this brilliant essay will perhaps do something to create a wise method in the selection of committees and secretaries. The first condition of an effective report is to have a committee of experts with a man or woman of a judicial mind as chairman. The chairman should select his secretary, and may be trusted, where historical questions are involved, to select a trained historian who will go to first-hand material. This lecture, however, will have answered another purpose. It will draw the attention of all teachers of English to the work of the great English teachers of the nineteenth century, and will act as a counterblast to a report which in some respects has brought ridicule on its authors.

SHORTER REVIEWS.

To-day the education of women is on an equal footing with that of men; and that great body of women who go up to the Universities year by year are no longer looked upon as blue-stockings. Yet it is interesting to remember the enormous difficulties that the pioneers of women's university education had to overcome forty and fifty years ago. This history of one of the earliest Oxford colleges ("Lady Margaret Hall: a short history issued on behalf of the Lady Margaret Hall Appeal Fund," edited by Miss Gemma Bailey)* for women gives an extraordinary insight into the enthusiasm and thirst for knowledge felt by those women, both married and single, who lived in Oxford at that time; and how from their lectures and readings the idea of a place of residence for women not living in Oxford gradually developed into a hall and a college, which now, together with the other women's colleges in Oxford, have become an actual part of that University. One of the most interesting features in the history of Lady Margaret Hall, and of Somerville College, which was founded at the same time, are the names of the many great Oxford scholars who threw themselves heart and soul into this pioneer work for the further education of women; men such as Bishop Talbot, who together with Mrs. Talbot was one of the actual founders, Bishop King, Dr. Mark Pattison, Dr. Harper, Dr. Bradley, Canon Ince, the Rev. W. A. Spooner, the Rev. A. C. Butler, and many others. The assistance of such men must have been of untold value in reconciling the public to such an unheard-of scheme. Yet even some of these men were fearful lest a university education should make the women unwomanly; for Mrs. Arthur Johnson tells us how Dr. Pattison begged her to do all she "could to induce our students to dress carefully and have gentle manners." It is improbable that the famous Rector of Lincoln was alone in this feeling. The history, which is written by seven ardent lovers of Lady Margaret Hall, including Bishop Talbot, a founder and now Warden of the Hall, and Miss Wordsworth, the first Principal, should be of real interest to all those who are anxious to promote the education of women, and to give them the same opportunities as are given to their brothers. The work offers most interesting reading and a fine example of how much can grow out of little. Those who appreciate the history should support the fund which it is written to popularise.

* * *

In this book Mrs. C. Colliver Rice describes "Persian Women and their Ways."† The book contains "the experiences and impressions of a long sojourn amongst the women of the land of the Shah, with an intimate description of their characteristics, customs, and manner of living." The story is a sad one. The women of the upper and perhaps all classes are "attractive and courteous, lovable, and responsive to those who take the trouble to know them," but the life is aimless, without ideals and without real love. The account rather recalls the life of a class (which grows smaller day by day) of women in English fashionable life. There is no home life, nor, indeed, any word for "home." "Eating, drinking, smoking, sleeping, and gossiping very largely fill the horizon for the rich." A reform is, however, possible, as it has become possible for the daughters of rich people here. "When women join openly in the affairs of men a great change will take place in society."

* Oxford University Press. 6s. 6d. net.

† Seeley, Service & Co. 21s. net.

But the men's attitude to women must also change. "Enlightenment of mind and heart is needed for both men and women if Persia is again to take her rightful place among the nations of the Middle East." This book should show the way, as Mrs. Rice has written an account which should reveal the Persians to themselves. It is to be hoped that the book will be translated into Persian. In England it should be studied closely, for there is a charm about Persia which would attract many English travellers.

* * *

Far away in the Arctic, a climate wild and bitter beyond our ken, live the Eskimo, a race which spends its life fighting those climatic conditions among which it has its being. The Eskimo are a people who can have no knowledge of the word "fear" as we know it; for if they did they could not face their terrible winter, with its almost interminable night added to the difficulties of finding sufficient food in an ice-bound land. Yet in spite of everything they are a bright and happy race of people; and hardened by centuries of hardship they are indomitable weather fighters and have the courage of which heroes are made. Mr. Julian W. Bilby, in his book "Among Unknown Eskimo: an account of twelve years' intimate relations with the primitive Eskimo of ice-bound Baffin Land, with a description of their ways of living, hunting, customs, and beliefs,"* gives a most lucid and interesting account of these people. As in other primitive lands, the Eskimo has handed down the history and beliefs of his tribe by word of mouth from one generation to another; and Mr. Bilby gives an account of the story of the coming of Frobisher as told to him by a native; and of the first coming of strangers "speaking an unknown tongue and having hairy faces!" told him by an old hunter. The Eskimo do not appear to have that love of fighting each other, so dominant in many Southern tribal races; they prefer to live peaceably with their neighbours and to reserve their physical strength for the ice. "Continued quarrelling . . . is punishable by death. So also is murder. A thief is banished from the village, but petty pilferers are merely sent to Coventry." They have a great love for their families and tribe; and will die, as in the case of the old or infirm, rather than become a burden to either. Perhaps their most interesting custom is the Sedna ceremony, or the exchanging of wives for a day or so, which takes place at the end of the summer. The book is complete with an Appendix of Eskimo Deities; many excellent illustrations, a map, and an index.

* * *

We must record the publication of Professor W. Alison Phillips's important volume on "The Revolution in Ireland, 1906-1923."† It was most desirable that a trained historian with a sense of perspective and historical values should set down the facts of the seventeen tragic years that preceded the establishment of a Colonial Dominion in Southern Ireland. The sections on Ireland "Before the Union" and "Under the Union," give the back and middle ground necessary for the due perspective of the whole picture, the record of the history of clansmen. Ireland has never really emerged from the tribal, from indeed the Goidelic stage. The efforts of Henry VIII., of the judges of James I., of experiments in Parliamentary government, of actual political and economic union with England, have never transformed the dominant tribal element in the Irishman. The same may be said of the ancient

* Seeley Service & Co. 21s. net.

† Longmans. 12s. 6d. net.

Greek politics, and perhaps that led to the disappearance of those politics. But Ireland to-day has a new chance. With the coming of the Free State there has "dawned for Ireland a new hope." There is a promise of the time "when in Ireland there would be no longer Protestants and Catholics, but only Irishmen. . . . Thus in time may Ireland be healed of her grievous wounds, and recover the prosperity that she ultimately enjoyed under the Union." All will join in this hope.

* * *

Mr. Laurence Binyon and Mr. J. J. O'Brien Sexton in "Japanese Colour Prints"* have produced what can only be called a lordly work, which with its wonderful coloured reproductions is well worth the four and a-half guineas that is modestly asked for it. The subject is dealt with period by period, not by schools or masters. "Only by such a treatment can the true relation of one master to another be understood, or the whole movement of Ukiyo-ye through its many shifting phases, which affect all the artists at once, be appreciated." The history of the Ukiyo-ye print starts at Yedo with a work published in 1658, dealing with the writings of a Buddhist recluse of the twelfth century. "The book is illustrated with woodcuts after drawings by Moronobu, the first print designer of the Ukiyo-ye school." Moronobu died about the year 1695. Much of his work survives, and though it is not certain that the colouring is contemporary, it is practically certain that some colouring was in use from the first, though it was not till after 1750 that colour-block printing began in Japan. Moronobu's work is full of life, and the results, as in all great line drawing, is produced by the simplest means. He made the woodcut a medium of human thought, and therefore something more than a *genre* or mode of art. His death ended the first period. It is not possible here to trace the evolution of the ten following successive phases of this fascinating art ending with the year 1881, but all students will use the book and study at the hands of two great authorities the processes and artistic high plane of an evolution of a form of art under insulated conditions now destroyed by Western influence.

* * *

Students of history will extend a cordial welcome to "The Cambridge Historical Journal,"† of which the first number has recently appeared. The name of Mr. Temperley, the editor, is a guarantee of sound scholarship, and the editorial committee includes such well-known authorities as Professor Holland Rose and Dr. Clapham. The new journal competes neither with the "English Historical Review," nor with "History," both of which devote a large part of their space to reviews. Its object is to promote and publish researches over the whole field of history. In the present number we find a learned disquisition on "A Lost Caesarea" by Professor Bury, a convenient summary of recent work on Italian Mediaeval history by Mr. Previté-Orton, and a study of Holstein, "Mystery Man" of the German Foreign Office, by Dr. Gooch. The longest of the four articles, "Peacemaking, Old and New," by the veteran diplomat Sir Ernest Satow, sketches the Congress of Vienna and its successors, and compares with them the settlement of 1919. The volume closes with a series of six "Notes and Communications," each of which contains information of interest and value. If succeeding volumes maintain the high standard of the first, the Cambridge Historical School will add new laurels to those which it has earned by decades of faithful work.

* Ernest Benn, 8, Bouverie Street. £4 14s. 6d.
† Cambridge University Press. 6s. net.

NOTICES OF BOOKS.

M. Jean Capart's little book on the tomb of Tutankhamen ("The Tomb of Tutankhamen," by Jean Capart, translated from the French by Warren R. Dawson),* consists of articles on the great archaeological discovery made in 1923 by Lord Carnarvon and Mr. Howard Carter. The book is not, to quote M. Capart in his preface, "a systematic treatment of the sensational 'find' at Thebes," for, as he goes on to say, "the time has not yet come for giving such a work to the public." The real interest of the book lies in the fact of it being the impressions of an eye-witness at the official opening of the tomb on February 18th, 1923; and the author has given a most realistic account of the general appearance of the tomb, its contents, and surroundings. Two of the articles have been published in the "Flambeau" of Brussels; and the letters written from Luxor were published in the "Times," "La Nation Belge," and in the Arabic journal "Al Syassa" of Cairo. The opening chapter of the book (already published in the "Flambeau") gives a short sketch of the times of Tutankhamen, and of earlier work done by excavators in the Valley of the Kings. A special epilogue on the death of Lord Carnarvon has been written for the English edition. The book contains many excellent photographs.

* * *

Professor F. J. C. Hearnshaw's book on "Newcastle-on-Tyne" is a valuable addition to the S.P.C.K. series of "The Story of English Towns."† The ordinary public is too prone to think of Newcastle as a great up-to-date manufacturing city only, and does not realise that it is a city of real historical interest, dating from Roman times. During the years of the Border Wars, and later during the intrigues of Tudor and Stuart times, Newcastle played an important part, for she was situated in the very path of the march north, and was almost a gateway between England and Scotland. Then, apart from the actual historical interest, there are her commercial history, her municipal developments, her borough charters, her Guilds and Companies, her local government, and her great economic development. Professor Hearnshaw makes the whole story one of great interest and full of life. The book is well illustrated, and is complete with a short bibliography and index at the end.

* * *

We must draw the attention of students of Roman-Dutch law to the interesting and valuable "Corrigenda and Addenda 1923,"‡ to Professor R. W. Lee's well-known work, "An Introduction to Roman-Dutch Law," published in 1915. In eight years there have been, of course, some changes as the result of legislation and legal decisions. For instance, the *Civil Law of British Guiana Ordinance*, 1916, has substituted English Common Law and Principles of Equity for the Roman-Dutch Common Law in British Guiana. Ancient laws are disappearing; the Insolvency Act, No. 32, of 1916, has withdrawn from operation in the Union of South Africa the Sixth Article of the Placaat of the Emperor Charles V., dated October 4th, 1540. The student, in studying the various changes, will once again refresh his mind with the careful work of Professor Lee.

* Allen & Unwin. 4s. 6d. net.
† The Sheldon Press. 4s. net.
‡ Oxford: at the Clarendon Press. 2s. net.

In "The Art of Terence" * Professor Gilbert Norwood discusses the nobility and originality of this great Latin playwright who was essentially a humanist, a thinker, whose chief interest was not in problems, but "in people." Those who had the privilege of witnessing the fine performance of the "Adelphoe" at Westminster School in December last must have realised that it is in the study of character that Terence excels. Professor Norwood declines even to compare his Attic excellence with the farces of Plautus. The truth is that the excellencies of each are incomparable, and it is useless to belittle Plautus because he had a different mind to that of Terence. The farces of Plautus are alive, and that is evidence of excellence. But Terence thinks in action, and that is a superb achievement.

* * *

"The Year's Work in Classical Studies, 1922-1923" † (the sixteenth year of issue), has been edited for the Council of the Classical Association by Mr. D. S. Robertson. There are ten articles, all of importance. Greek literature is dealt with by Professor J. F. Dobson, who notes the great task that F. Jacoby has set himself of re-editing the fragments of the historians. The first of six parts has now appeared, and contains the names of sixty-three authors. Mr. A. D. Nock treats of Latin literature, and notes the amount of careful, enthusiastic work that is being done in the field of antiquity. Greek and Roman history, Greek and Roman religion, ancient philosophy (by Miss Dorothy Tarrant), Greek and Latin palæography and textual criticism, all showed considerable literary activity during the year under review. Mr. A. M. Woodward, the Director of the British School at Athens, deals with some of the results of excavation in Greek lands since the last summary in 1914. Much work has been done since the war. Dr. Thomas Ashby, the Director of the British School at Rome, examines the work done in Italian archaeology and excavation, and notes much progress. The discoveries have been numerous and valuable. At Anzio (the ancient Antium) the remains of the only Roman Calendar known to us before the reforms of Julius Cæsar have been found. It was painted black and red on a white wall. There was an additional month, called Merkedonius, of twenty-seven days intercalated in alternate years to bring up the lunar year of 355 days to the length of the solar year, four or five days at the same time being taken off February to make the adjustment still more accurate. The calendar also notes market days and various religious festivals. It has generally been believed that Merkedonius was inserted every year. The new discovery should solve various doubtful problems as to dates.

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The Department of the Interior of Canada have issued a well-printed volume entitled "Canada: Natural Resources and Commerce," ‡ prepared by the Department. Full particulars are given of modern commercial developments, of international trade, of the resources and industries signified by the words agriculture, forests, minerals, water-power, fisheries, furs. There are chapters on transport, banking, manufacture, government, and education. The Federal Union reserves to the provincial governments the control of the system of free education from the primary schools to the University. More than \$102,000,000 were spent on education in 1920-21. Great efforts are being made to develop all forms of technical education.

* Basil Blackwood, Oxford. 7s. 6d. net.

† J. W. Arrowsmith, Bristol. 3s. 6d. net.

‡ Natural Resources Intelligence Service, Ottawa.

INDIAN REFORM : THE SECOND STAGE.

WHEN the history of our generation comes to be written, the future Gibbon will devote an instructive chapter to the comparative development of the democratic principle in three great Eastern countries, Russia, China, and India. We are too near the movement to-day to see it in its right proportion; and indeed we know extraordinarily little of what is happening either in China or in Russia. But that there is a poignant difference between their story and that of India, we do know. For whereas they are trudging the weary road from absolutism to democracy through struggle and suffering, blood and tears, India is being led along it by gradual and easy stages. Too gradual, cries the restless Home-ruler; too easy, say some philosophers; and both objections are arguable. It may be that a nation cannot acquire the fibre and the toleration which democracy demands unless it has first passed through tribulation. Thus it might have been kinder to India in the long run to have plunged her at once into the whirlpool of internecine conflict through which she would have to battle unaided to the calm waters of constitutional government. Our justification for taking a different course is that India has already had her meed of suffering, that we are committed to ensure the happiness of her people, and that we believe in the possibility at last, in this twentieth century, of instilling a new political ideal without a revolution. In this belief, rightly or wrongly, we laid down in 1919 a plan of advance which we conceived would, in time and with the minimum of distress, carry India into the promised land of responsible government. The first phase of the advance is now over, and the opening of the second phase gives an opportunity for reviewing the situation.

Far from propitious was the start of the Indian reforms. Before the new constitution was approved by Parliament, it had been scornfully rejected in those strongholds of extremism, the National Congress and the Moslem League. The die-hards of both the Hindu and the Mussulman communities were thus pledged to oppose it from its birth, and they began by a noisy boycott of the first general election. The time was one of economic depression and unrest. There had been violent disturbances in the Punjab and a war on the frontier. The Moderates who entered the legislatures were poorly organised as a party. They had no definite social programme, and little grip on the electorate. Coming into office with a depleted treasury, their Ministers lacked scope for the popular projects in education and the like, with which they had hoped to signalise their advent to power. Taxes they dared not increase, and the temptation was strong to encroach on the finance

of departments in which they had no official concern. Hence the friction which a suspicion of meddling often generates, and which complicated the initial delicacies of harmonising the permanent services and their new masters. It needed all the skill and patience of the best of the British officials and the wisest of the Indian leaders to keep the machinery going. Meanwhile a roaring, tearing campaign was afoot outside. Mr. Gandhi with his non-co-operation and the Ali brothers with their pro-Turk agitation were stirring the masses, already restless under rising prices, into an excitement which in India has no outlet except sporadic lawlessness. The Moderates were scared, and many of them sought safety in the uncongenial surroundings of professed Extremism. The patience of the Government was widely mistaken for weakness. It was little wonder that numbers of the harassed British officials asked for what pensions they could get, and abandoned a career in which it seemed that the Englishman's traditions of public duty would no longer be acceptable.

Nevertheless, as the triennium wore on, which began with the inauguration of the new régime and ended at the close of 1923, much useful work was accomplished. Legislation was not neglected. Drastic economies were made; and with the help of Lord Inchcape's committee the course was cleared for a return to India's former financial stability. Trade improved; so did the rupee exchange, which is no bad gauge of the country's well-being. In most of the provinces, under capable governors, disorder was gradually reduced, leaving behind it that salutary fear of excess which steadies the people against further seduction. Steps were taken to remove certain racial privileges, on which Europeans had formerly insisted in self-preservation, but which (like the Capitulations elsewhere) could no longer be defended. In this and in other ways the foundations were strengthened for a healthier co-operation between Englishmen and Indians in building up a national government. Simultaneously the non-co-operation movement exhausted itself. The bulk of the people saw no results from it except to their own detriment. The millennium, though twice promised for specific dates, had not come; and their enthusiasm had grown as rusty as the spinning-wheels they had bought at Mr. Gandhi's bidding to be the symbols of a new industrial golden age. Among the Moslems there was a similar waning of excitement. The treaty of Lausanne had given the lie to the stories of England's schemes for destroying Turkey; and the expulsion of the Sultan by his own generals caused a sharp revulsion of feeling. Meanwhile, the best of the Indian Ministers had stuck to their work, learned something of the toils of administration, and got on terms of better understanding with their British subor-

dinates. Several of the English officials who had applied for pension were returning to their posts. Not a bad record, when we recall the handicaps under which the experiment started.

With the second general election last autumn there opened the second stage of the ten-year programme laid down by Parliament in 1919. The burning question at the election was not, as it would be with us, any change of public opinion on the Government's policy, or even any change of opinion among the relatively narrow electorate. There are no such blossoms as yet on the tender plant of Indian democracy. The issue, and the only issue, was whether the Extremists would seek election or would remain, as before, outside the Councils and continue their trade of general disturbance. After the usual stagey battle among themselves with wooden swords, they decided to do both. One section continues to "non-co-operate" and spread disaffection. The members of the other section have come into the Councils and taken their seats as representatives of the people. But there is no change of purpose: *lupus pilum mutat, non mentem*. They have sworn the oath of allegiance, but it will be their endeavour to wreck the Constitution from within, while their colleagues are similarly engaged outside. In one of the provinces they have an absolute majority; in others they can usually reckon on the so-called Independents; and the weaker Moderates will not always refuse their whip. Their position is one of great, and not infrequently commanding, strength. Acting on constitutional precedent, the Governors in Bengal and the Central Provinces invited their leaders to accept office as Ministers; in both cases the offer was declined as incompatible with their policy of permanent opposition and obstruction. In the all-India Assembly they have carried a motion for a conference to settle, in effect, the earliest possible establishment of home-rule. The British Army will remain for the defence of the country and the maintenance of order, until a purely Indian Army can be organised and trained; and presumably the British Navy will still be responsible for guarding the coasts; otherwise British rule will cease. There are details of the scheme on which we have as yet no information; perhaps they have not yet been considered.

Nor are we fully advised of the attitude which the Moderates have taken up. This much however they have announced, that they will not wait till 1929 for an extension of self-government. They support the demand for a conference, and as proof of our good faith they would like to see the provinces at least emancipated without delay. If this correctly states their orientation, it comes strangely from some who gratefully welcomed the Montagu-Chelmsford scheme five years ago; but it is not inconsistent with Eastern tradition. "It is naught, it is naught, saith the buyer; but when he is gone his way, then he boasteth."

To be perturbed at these developments is not necessarily to look with purely selfish eyes on the situation. One cannot, it is true, be blind to some consequences that would follow if we abandoned control of either the central or the provincial administrations to-morrow: the closed careers of the many Englishmen who are loyally serving India now, the difficulties attending the removal of business connections and capital, the future of our trade relations. Of such matters it is not unnatural that we should think when we reflect on the vehement racial animosity which some of Mr. Gandhi's lieutenants have been preaching. But these are not the only or even the chief considerations which challenge the wisdom of concession to the intransigent element in the new Legislatures. There are weightier matters at stake than the British services or British trade. Too obvious to need elaboration, they are wrapped up with the happiness of a vast and somewhat helpless populace, and with the danger of handing over the reins of government to men who have deliberately refrained from any experience in managing their fellow men otherwise than by the arts of the demagogue. That danger, however, Mr. Ramsay MacDonald's Government has refused to incur. Sir Malcolm Hailey, speaking for the Government of India in the recent debate at Delhi, rejected the idea of a conference directed at radical alterations in the programme which Parliament determined in 1919, though he was ready to examine any amendments of method or detail which experience may have shown that the Constitution requires. Sir Malcolm spoke under the instructions of the Cabinet; and his announcement was endorsed by the Secretary of State in the House of Lords on February 26th. The extremists are incensed accordingly. They have already countered by deciding to throw out the Budget; and they will presumably carry out their threats of obstruction all along the line, employing their practised ingenuity to make the work of the administration impossible. If they do so, how is an *impasse* to be evaded? How is the government to be carried on?

The answer is that the Viceroy in his sphere, and the Governors of provinces in theirs, will continue to discharge their duties by constitutional means which were placed at their command by Parliament. It is sometimes said that the present situation discredits the optimism of the Montagu-Chelmsford scheme and its supporters. This criticism ignores the facts. During the whole of the anxious study of the problem which preceded the passing of the 1919 Act, such a contingency as the present was fully envisaged and provided against. A complete series of safeguards was drawn up by the Committee of both Houses, over which Lord Selborne presided, and was incorporated in the Act and its statutory rules. There is power for a Governor to take over a department which he cannot get Ministers to accept, to make laws which his Legislature

rejects, to procure supply which it refuses, to veto legislation which he considers harmful, to dissolve a council with which he cannot work. In his wider sphere the Viceroy has similar authority; he remains, in the words of Lord Selborne's report, "in undisturbed responsibility to Parliament and fully equipped with the necessary powers to fulfil that responsibility." During the first triennium those emergency powers lay dormant, save on the rarest occasions, because there was a reasonable opposition with a sense of responsibility. In the changed conditions to-day there is no possible objection to their being employed, as Parliament intended, whenever they are required. With their aid it should be practicable to keep the machinery of government running until such time as the extremists recognise defeat, or the electorate tires of them, or another party plucks up the courage to take office. Such a course may certainly amount to an interruption of the reforms. That is inevitable; but it has the great merit of not being a suspension of the Constitution, as might in similar circumstances be necessary in other countries; and it brings home to India what was emphasised in the Prime Minister's recent message, that "if progress is to be well-rooted, it can only be carried on by what is called political or constitutional ways."

There is thus no obstacle to effective action by the Government against all attempts to paralyse the administration from within; but what of the revolutionary campaign outside? Before Mr. Gandhi's arrest, the gaols were full, imprisonment had lost its social stigma, and the whole business of the country was impeded by swarms of nationalist "volunteers." Frantic efforts will be made to whistle up the storm again. Will the masses of the people respond? There are reasons to hope that they will not. Non-co-operation was a failure, with its schools and its spinning-wheels and its no-rent manifestos. The Caliphate movement was an even more ludicrous fiasco; and the expulsion last month of the Caliph by his spiritual followers in Turkey ought to give it its *coup de grâce*. Dead enthusiasms are hard to revive, especially in India; and the common folk have a shrewd sense of charlatanry which has been once exposed. Even however if trouble is renewed, the Government can now afford to be more prompt in checking it than they could in 1921 and 1922; for the issue is now clear. A party can have no general licence to upset the peace of the land under the guise of pursuing an aim which they were invited, and refused, to secure by constitutional methods.

In all this argument there lurks the danger of a possible insincerity. We have given India the elective principle, the right of managing certain of her own affairs in her own way, most of the paraphernalia of party government. If in effect we withdraw those privileges, even temporarily, because the dominant party adopts

a policy which we disapprove, are we not stultifying our professions of reform? If we prevent the same party from carrying on a popular agitation, are we not interfering with the political education of the people? Are we not thwarting the growth of the democratic spirit by definite partisanship? These are questions which we cannot lightly brush aside. It is only human that we should doubt whether India will always manage her affairs as well as we have managed them for her; and we have constantly to be searching our hearts to see that we are not, however unwittingly, allowing the doubt to influence our action. In this case our conscience is surely clear. If the extremists were busy with an agitation for secondary education in the vernaculars instead of in English, or for prohibiting vaccination, or for many other things which we dislike and they advocate, we should be seriously wrong in campaigning against them. These are questions within the sphere of the electorate, and questions which the electorate can be trusted to rectify, by pressure on their representatives, if an error is made now. The grant of autonomy to India as a whole, or to its provinces, stands on a different footing. It is not a matter within the sphere of the electorate. They certainly could not correct a mistake once made. And our criterion in this crucial issue, as Parliament has formally recorded, is not the strength of the demands made by the electorate or their representatives, but the manner in which they accept responsibility and carry its burdens. For using all legitimate weapons against the *Swaraj* movement, as conducted, the logical justification is ample.

But deeper down there is a moral justification, with a broader basis than logic or legitimacy. And here we come to the true domicile of the crisis: it is not in India, but in public opinion in England, in the danger of failing to apprehend the real motive of the *Swaraj* movement. The late Lord Morley had a favourite jibe about Indian problems; they could never be stated, he said, without going back to Noah's Ark and Lord William Bentinck. In sober truth, extremism has an ancestry hardly less remote. To understand it, we have to carry the mind back through the thousands of years during which Brahmanism has struggled to retain the rule over the life of India which it acquired after the Indo-Aryan penetration. For centuries both before and after the Christian era, it had to fight the ethos of the Buddhist revival,—an ethos which, for want of a better term, we should now call democratic rather than theocratic,—and it ultimately won the day. When Islam invaded and settled in India, Brahmanism had again to fight a democratic theory. Though badly scarred, it held most of its ground, and now remains enthroned in the hearts of three-fourths of the Indian race. To-day for the third time it is girding itself for

the same battle, though on another field, against a political ideal instead of a religious rival. To Brahmanism the polity which we are offering for India's acceptance is just as repugnant as the creeds of Buddha or Mahomed. That true Hindus should have a free choice in the ruling of their lives without priestly intervention is unthinkable; the ballot-box would destroy the whole discipline of the social system; it is the voice, not of the people but of the Brahman, which is the voice of God. Just as Buddhism was absorbed and Islam was stayed, so must this Western heresy of representative government be arrested at its birth.

The term Brahmanism has been employed above in default of any better expression for the strange complex of social and religious dogma which governs the existence of the orthodox Hindu. Its use does not suggest that every Brahman is an extremist, or every extremist a Brahman; there are many Brahmans with a wider patriotism and a readiness to assimilate the best that England can give. Nor does the argument imply that the extremist movement is wholly the offspring of sacerdotal selfishness; there are Swarajists who earnestly believe that Western institutions are bad for India and at all costs to be resisted. These reservations, however, do not obscure the fundamental character of the extremist creed. It is a protest against the principles in which representative government is rooted, against the application to India of the democratic conception of political liberty. In its reactionary features Mr. Gandhi frankly gloried; if he got rid of British rule, India would revert to the simplicity of the patriarchal ages, with no industrialism and no wealth and no poverty. Not having the same sturdy faith in Utopias, his supporters have not committed themselves to any picture of the future when they shall have refashioned India to their hearts' desire. Sufficient for them that the British should withdraw, leaving them free to devise a substitute for all that we have tried to bring to India,—a substitute which would certainly not aim at political freedom for the masses.

Sufficient this may be for them; but is it sufficient for us? Before India there lies a gigantic task of social reform and reconstruction. It is hardly conceivable that she can accomplish it without our aid. It is wholly inconceivable that she can even start upon it unless she has a political machine capable of ascertaining and expressing the wishes of the people. The beginnings of such a machine we have tried, in all good faith, to provide in the Constitution of 1919. Representative institutions may prove to be feasible in India, or they may not; experience alone will show. But the Swarajists offer no alternative; and we have a perfect right, both for our own credit and still more for India's welfare, to insist on gaining experience, and refusing to allow our endeavour to be wrecked.

MESTON.

CAN LABOUR PACIFY EUROPE?

"YOUR politix are from more to more a poozle," said that distinguished Communist, Comrade Smorltork, at Mrs. Leo Hunter's party to meet the Premier. And he went on to complain that none of us could explain why we were so confident that the Labour Government could give Europe peace. His argument was that a Government which proclaimed itself Labour, whose proceedings were Conservative, whose policy was Liberal, and whose principles were democratic, could not maintain party government through Parliament with a minority. "You may be able to rule England that way," said he, "but you certainly cannot regulate Europe." To which the best reply seems to be that Labour Governments need not be more logical than others, and that a majority in this more or less United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, in the now happily United States of America, and in the sadly disunited States of Europe seem to be united in the opinion that we can.

If we English only were concerned, that answer would be quite enough. For we have reached the stage of political education when we can confidently rely on reaching our results through our intuitions uncontrolled by our intelligences. But other European peoples are still in an earlier stage in which they find it difficult to believe that the effort of recovering their balance, to say nothing of restoring their balances, can safely be left to unconscious reactions. And as the first duty of the Labour Government will be to convince Europe of the reasons for the faith that is in us, it may be worth while to try and put them on paper.

At first sight, our faith that this Labour Government can pacify Europe might seem rather to be a hope, or even a charity. Mr. Lloyd George tells us that Mr. MacDonald "has spent his life showing his skill among the great white clouds of Socialist ideals." Obviously this amateur can never deliver the goods when an experienced stunter, with the latest model in Coalitions, crashed catastrophically; or that expert ace, Lord Curzon, with his reliable old Conservative machine, crawled lamentably from one forced landing to another.

Moreover, it is clear that Mr. MacDonald takes over the King's Arms with neither a long lease nor a full licence. Yet obviously a Government that is to restore peace abroad must be secured in power at home. The Labour Party has office without, apparently, having power. For it has a very different programme and very distinct principles from other parties; but, depending as it does on Liberal support or Conservative sufferance, it cannot practise—it cannot even preach—the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but

the truth. It must now recognise that it has "too much respect for the truth to drag it in on every paltry little occasion." And ordinarily a party so subordinating its programme to the censorship of its opponents, whether on the ground of a durable coalition or in the guise of daily co-operation, would form neither a strong nor a stable Government. The Continental Labour Governments that followed this course not only shattered their party solidarity, but seriously shook their Parliamentary systems. For the first result was the gradual defection of the more radical intellectuals; and the final result was the general desertion of the rank and file. The Socialist Left and the Nationalist Right having thus successively or simultaneously taken refuge in unconstitutional organisations, Constitutional Labour found itself a chimera bombinating in a vacuum. This is about what has happened in Germany, the European country least unlike our own. And though it is a far cry from the gulf dividing German Socialism and Communism to the little rift in the British Labour lute, the two are obviously one in origin. Already Mr. Maclean has warned his fellow Scot that it is "measures, not men, that matter." Already two score Labour Members have voted against the Government on an Imperial issue—the Sudan loan.

Why, then, do we feel confident that Mr. MacDonald can succeed in holding us all together and in lining us up with our political opponents? In the first place, because the British Labour Party has had a longer training and has a more loyal tradition than the German. In the second place, because our leaders in general, and our intellectuals in particular, recognise that the Government has not been given such a mandate—whether by election or insurrection—as would enable it to carry its party programme. The democratic mandate that it has got is mainly that of a diplomatic mission for the pacification of Europe. It has been given this mandate by a sort of public acclamation. There has been, so to say, no division; the ayes are taken as having it. Thus, just as in order to meet the needs of a war, a Liberal Government by an assumed general consent became a Conservative Coalition, so now, to meet the necessity of peace, a Conservative Government gives way to a combination of progressive parties.

One might even go further and say that the real business of the Labour Government at home is not so much reconstruction as reconciliation. In order to secure the peace of this country and to ensure itself a future term of real power, it has to remove the panic prejudice against Labour that has been excited in a semi-illiterate public by a wholly irresponsible Press. It has to dispel the illusion among its own supporters that the installation of Labour Ministers in the Government Departments will have any revolutionary

results. This we believe the Government can do—has, indeed, already pretty well done. On learning that Lord Chelmsford, that distinguished Blue, was in the Cabinet, the Stock Exchange rallied and the pound sterling went up points in New York. On learning that dear Mr. Asquith would support Labour the old ladies stopped drawing out their deposits. Every day the mass mind of the country and Mr. MacDonald move nearer to one another.

We believe, then, that for its function in foreign affairs the Government has the strength without the weakness of a Coalition. That Labour should have given this political combination its name and should nominate the Ministry is natural enough. For the foreign policy it will follow can only be that which Labour has consistently advocated for years and has at last got generally accepted. Moreover, Labour has two advantages for making peace that the other parties have not. It has a cleaner record in the eyes of foreign peoples and a closer relationship with them. Europe sees Liberalism with a grimy watermark round its neck of half washed-out secret entanglements and treaties. It sees the Conservatives with a bad brown aura of bloody interventions and oily intrigues. It sees Labour in a beautiful pink halo of moral appeals. The road to Versailles is paved with the good resolutions of Labour Congresses. In fine, Europe distrusts Lord Grey and Lord Curzon, Mr. Lloyd George and Mr. Asquith, while Mr. MacDonald has caught its eye and captivated its ear. It will trust him for a time and "up to a certain point. It is now sweeping him along on a full flood. It is up to him to bring his ship to port before the turn of the tide will leave him poking about in the ebbs and shallows of the "diplomatic channels."

Mr. MacDonald is at present learning the ropes and rigs of foreign relations; but we need not assume he has forgotten that Labour has foreign relationships of its own. Labour has effected, and can make effective, international organisations of those moral instincts to which Mr. MacDonald is appealing. Though these organisations are unfortunately not as developed as is supposed by those who were recently attacking him for being under the orders of Hamburg or Moscow, yet the Internationals do secure some support for peace proposals and a sort of sanction for peace provisions in countries that might otherwise be altogether unresponsive and recalcitrant. The Labour Government knows that the Law of Nations cannot be restored—the League of Nations cannot be reconstructed—without the help both of the Second International centred in London and of the Third centred in Moscow. It knows also that only a Labour Government can get that help.

Another Labour asset is the acclamation at home and abroad of its adventurous acceptance of office. So good a Press must

have already restored to our Government much of the prestige lost by its predecessors. Indeed, the pæans of praise uplifted daily to the Labour Government may perhaps even have done some harm among the more cynical and Communistic foreign critics. These will not have overlooked how a few weeks ago these same papers were abusing Labour leaders like pickpockets. A few years ago they were denouncing them as traitors. To-day we have *The Times* lecturing Mr. Asquith for trying to trip the infant steps of "our Mac," and the *Westminster* leathering Lord Birkenhead for throwing squibs at "Uncle Arthur." While every week "M.P." in *The Nation* praises Labour with none too faint damns.

The foreign critic will no doubt attribute this acclamation in part to the belief that Labour has swallowed the biggest bribe of all—Office. Labour's opponents, he will argue, believe that the Party as a whole has sold its policy and sacrificed its position for place; and that it will succumb, as so many Labour politicians have already individually done. He may think that Labour is hanging itself rapidly, even in the little bit of rope that has been given it. And it may well be that such calculations are not quite absent from the minds of the more cynical of those opponents now supporting Labour. For the function of an Opposition is to oppose; and both the tradition of the constitution as well as the training of the Commons centres on the turning out of a Government that cannot command an absolute party majority. How is it, then, that the moves that have been made towards upsetting or splitting the Government—by setting their Right wing against their Left, as over Poplar, or their Left against their Right, as over the five cruisers—have met with little success in Parliament, and still less sympathy from the Press?

The answer is that both Press and Parliament recognise that, though Labour has only a minority in Parliament, it can count on a majority among the people. When the Premier decided that Labour would not let office be snatched from it on a snap division—thereby taking the strongest step he has yet taken—he did this knowing that he was as strong outside Parliament as he was weak within it. He was not only asking Parliament to make his own position possible, he was also securing Parliament against a collision with public opinion.

The last, but not the least, Labour asset is the personality of the Premier himself. For it is clear that Europe can only be given peace by personality. In all countries we find the determination to put a personality in power, even at the cost of giving him autocratic authority. And here in the United Kingdom we find a distinct disposition toward accepting a moral dictatorship. As usual we do not define this desire—we should probably deny it—

but it is there. Countries that have suffered severely from political corruption and incompetence—like Russia, Italy, and Spain—have gone into definite revolt against Parliamentary Government. The two extremes of Communism and Fascism meet in a common insurrection against these evils. We, too, have suffered in this way, and if Mr. MacDonald is not a recognised autocrat like Mussolini or Mustapha Kemal, he has more real authority than a Millerand or an Ebert. His position as Premier is pretty nearly presidential. A general election to-day would be little more than a presidential plebiscite. The Burnley election was a triumph for Mr. Henderson, but it was a tribute to Mr. MacDonald. Our popular cry of fair play for labour is only our way of saying what everyone is shouting abroad—that a free hand must be given to the man who can get things done. The popular chorus, "When it's midnight in Italy it's Wednesday over here," may owe its devastating popularity to a subconscious appreciation of its esoteric significance.

The question whether Labour can give Europe peace depends largely on whether the Premier realises in time his real position and power. Mr. MacDonald is by temperament and training diplomatic and not dictatorial. He respects good form even when fighting against the fiercest of his foes. He requires good fellowship even from the most fanatical of his followers. His life has been spent in Parliament. He has learnt its peculiar points of view as few have done, and his own have been correspondingly affected. We are confident that by a happy combination of native caution and natural charm he can successfully deal with a Parliamentary position of unprecedented difficulty. But we fear lest his labours in the House may take up more of his time and put a greater tax on his energies than his responsibilities in foreign affairs allow. Much will depend on whether he can find a short way with dissenters, a short cut through difficulties, whether he can cut a knot with a phrase of Dantonesque audacity or a gesture of Cromwellian authority.

Every Government has two legs to stand on or move with. One is the Commons, the other the Civil Service. Labour is at present fighting on its stumps. For just as it has only a minority in Parliament, so it has hardly any Minister who has ever before been in a Government Department. And if Mr. MacDonald's difficulty with respect to Parliament is that he has seen too much of it, with Officialdom his difficulty will be that he has seen too little of it. Nevertheless, perhaps all the more, it is solely among the regulars of Officialdom that he has sought his assistants.

The Foreign Office has long been looked on by Labour with suspicion. Labour has seen how Lord Grey, who was entirely in the hands of his officials, lost his character over the pre-war agree-

ments and the Secret Treaties. It has seen how Mr. Lloyd George, who cold-stored the Foreign Office and conducted his foreign policy through his own experts, came to grief over foreign affairs. How Lord Curzon, who ruled Officialdom with a rod of iron, and broke in pieces its weaker vessels, is now one of the unemployed; while the unemployables breathe again. It observes that Mr. MacDonald has won the heart of Officialdom, and that it really seems anxious to do its best for him. But it still has doubts whether that best will be good enough. Can Mr. MacDonald raise such a head of steam as to get his sort of work done by that sort of machinery? If the Labour Government can count on remaining in power for a year at least, the old machine may get through with the work. But there still remains, even so, the risk of the stresses that it will set up in the party structure and the strain that it will put on Mr. MacDonald himself. For his present task is to create a new moral atmosphere. He has to alter the moral forces that are causing the difficulties and deadlocks with which he has to deal. But the Foreign Office machine was constructed before moral factors counted in foreign affairs. It takes no cognisance of them and carries on accordingly. Thus, its recent mechanical movements have carried certain policies forward to certain points and have brought certain persons into certain positions in a way that has considerably complicated the task of Labour. Mr. MacDonald will have to rectify this by personal interventions.

For example, he has had himself to take command of the Russian Commissions. Lord Curzon had also to take command of the Turkish Conference, but found the Turks so intractable that the terms he got were lamentable. I was in Turkey at the opening of the Lausanne Conference, and know that the peculiar psychology of the Turkish Delegation that cost us so dear was largely due to the official composition of the British Delegation. Though Mr. MacDonald is much better equipped than Lord Curzon for dealing with this sort of distrust, it will impose on him an unnecessary expenditure of effort. And such expenditure, even after full allowance for Mr. Ponsonby's expert assistance, is limited. It is limited, above all, by the Premier's physical capacities. He cannot heal Europe unless he can keep his own health. His authority grows daily; but he cannot succeed in his task, he cannot even survive it, unless he can create a General Staff at the Foreign Office.

In his own special responsibility for changing the atmosphere in foreign relations, Mr. MacDonald is working wonders along the lines laid down by President Wilson. Europe is suffering from French militarism and imperialism to-day somewhat as it was suffering from German militarism and imperialism when Mr.

Wilson's Notes first gave voice to the general longing for peace. Germany made peace because President Wilson first won the confidence of its pacific elements, and then convinced its militarist elements that peace must be made. But they were not convinced by the sweet reasonability of his arguments. Mr. MacDonald's Notes have gone far already towards winning the confidence of the French people. The best elements of French opinion—its clear reasoning, its business common sense—are being brought to see that even the most complete supremacy over the most supine enemy cannot be made of itself either a security for peace or a source of profit.

How much of this improvement in French opinion can be ascribed to the Labour Leader, and how much is attributable to the general political trend towards peace through which he himself came unexpectedly to power, does not much matter. A good pilot finds a favourable breeze and a flowing tide. The series of general elections which will shortly be in progress throughout the Continent are likely to be in most cases as helpful as was our own. The fall of the France to 120, and its restoration to go with the help of London, have both done good. The Belgian Government, after vainly trying to liquidate its liabilities on the Rhine, has fallen. Separatism in the Rhineland is dead. Germany has begun its recovery with a restoration of its currency, and with a general election that should render the Reichstag more representative and remove the danger of civil war. Russia is about to re-enter the comity of nations. Even Jugo-Slavia and Bulgaria are proceeding in a way that gives a real promise of peace. The new Ministries that will result from the elections will all be prepared to follow quite as fast as ours is likely to propose to lead them.

What sort of lead will our Labour Government give—what sort of line will they take? It is already obvious that our foreign policy will not embark on what old Lord Salisbury called "an abrupt curve." They find themselves faced with a little known country full of awkward fences, and they will keep their eyes open for convenient gaps and gates. They have so far taken a circumspect, if rather circuitous, line between the Singapore Docks and the Sudan dam, between non-recognition of one Labour Government in Mexico and recognition of another in Russia, between the Reparations Recovery Act and action for recovery of reparations. Yet for two months of office the Government can show quite a remarkable record of results. And if some ripe plums were left ready to drop into their mouths, some pretty rotten ones have been safely put aside. They must, no doubt, like every Parliamentary Government, follow a line of least resistance. Their lead can be no farther and faster than their new responsibili-

ties in novel surroundings allow. But they will soon have learnt what the real requirements of these new responsibilities are and how to reconcile them with their original objectives. The authority they have got in foreign affairs is far greater, the approbation given them far more general, than that which any of their predecessors have had. If the continuity of foreign policy has meant that in foreign affairs Liberal Governments have had to be Conservative, it may mean that a Labour Government can at least be Liberal. If Liberal Governments have never succeeded of late in imposing their policy on the forts of folly, Labour may make them hoist—not the red flag, but possibly the white. The Labour Government is sent into the Bastille with letters of credence, not with a *lettre de cachet*.

At the present rate of progress it may be expected that within two months the Labour Government will be in a position to make an open advance towards the pacification of Europe. In May, it will be called on to make its most definite pronouncement on home policy in preventing a crisis in the mines. About the same time it will have to make its first definite declaration as to its proposals for disarmament. For it is in this rather than in the Reparations question that the real test of its capacity is to be sought. In Reparations it can follow the line laid down by its predecessors; but in disarmament it will undoubtedly have to give a new lead.

The most progressive member of the last Government, Lord Cecil, has left a legacy in the draft Treaty of Mutual Assistance which he claims must be accepted as the only possible preliminary to disarmament. He and the other supporters of the draft argue that it represents important gains, and that its rejection will leave things worse than they were. They claim that the Treaty is the result of prolonged negotiations in contact with the facts, and that objections to it are only based on formulæ. It is the sort of attitude and argument that new principals taking over a negotiation find difficult to deal with.

The answer is that there are no such things as facts in foreign relations; there are only factors constantly varying in value. In the case of disarmament the French factor, the principal minus quantity at present, seems to be becoming daily less of a difficulty. The British plus factor is daily increasing in value with the growing influence of the Labour Government. The other conditions of the problem have also very greatly improved since the negotiation of the Treaty. In short, what might have been worth having yesterday may not be so to-morrow. No doubt, it is always a pity to have to scrap the products of industry and ingenuity; but it may be necessary if what was laid down as a lifeboat is eventually launched as a destroyer. The draft Treaty is altogether too

characteristic of what may well be the worst and weakest epoch of the League. Had its negotiators been in touch with the public opinion that created the League, as under a proper League Constitution they would have been, they could not have been drawn into such a derogation from its essential principles. For the draft really centres round the special agreements it allows, and, by drawing us into conceding the principle of these agreements, Colonel Requin has driven Lord Cecil right away from the principles of a League that is a bond of forces making for peace back to the pre-war principle of a balance of forces making for war. The Treaty would give the sanction of the League to just such defensive alliances and automatic *déclanchements* as made it impossible to stop the outbreak of the Great War and such as the League has been instituted to prevent. So far from being a first step towards disarmament the Treaty would be a false start that it would be difficult to correct.

I have developed this matter somewhat disproportionately here, because I am confident that the Government will be able to deal with it without departing from their policy of building on every sound foundation that they may find. And because I think the decision in this question will show that Labour leaders cannot be so easily led away into contradictions of essential principles by a process of concessions in detail. They have already shown that they can deal with a comparatively simple matter like the Singapore base when they have the support of a strong public sentiment. If they can deal with this much more complicated and crucial question of the proper approach to disarmament in which they can get little or no help from public opinion, then I think we may feel certain that they will be competent to deal with such dangers and difficulties as I have indicated above.

Our belief that this Government can pacify Europe is not merely blind optimism. We know the hidden reefs and treacherous currents through which it is laying its course, and we know the reasons of earlier wrecks. If we can talk frankly about such dangers it is a sign of confidence in our captain and crew.

GEORGE YOUNG.

THE UNEMPLOYED PROBLEM TO-DAY.

IT is now twenty years since, as Honorary Secretary of the Guildhall Conference on Unemployment, I pleaded that adequate preparation should be made long beforehand in order to meet periods of depression in trade. At that conference it was recognised that unemployment was a national question, and that the remedies can only be supplied by the Government. On the other hand, it was felt that the responsibility for finding work in each district was a matter to be undertaken jointly by the Local Authorities and the Central Government. Other resolutions urged the appointment of a Minister of Labour, "one of whose duties shall be to organise a special department of his office to deal with recurring periods of depression and distress, to watch for and notify indications of approaching lack of employment, to supplement the Board of Trade statistics, to obtain and disseminate information as to places where work can be had, to help in distributing labour where it is most needed, and, above all, to devise and promote measures for the temporary and permanent utilisation of the unemployed labour of the nation." This and many other of the suggestions of that conference have already been carried out, and amongst them Insurance against Unemployment, to which the war gave an immense impetus. Notwithstanding all that has been said and written since that time, we have not yet been able to ascertain with any degree of accuracy the causes of cyclical unemployment, and we have certainly not yet found remedies for the abnormal unemployment which has followed the great upheaval in Europe. Apart from the war, unemployment generally seems to be due to two main causes:—

(1) The lack of organisation in industry, and the failure to adjust the supply of and demand for labour.

(2) The maldistribution or the unequal distribution of wealth which creates a class whose surplus incomes are reinvested in industries to such an extent that the consumption of commodities fails to keep pace with the increasing power of production.

As to the first cause, the problem of adjusting the supply of labour to the demand for labour in a highly industrialised country and a complex civilisation is too obvious to require argument. The millions of separate demands for labour fluctuate with the calculations and judgments of thousands of employers. Since industry rests on a competitive basis, and the competition is world-wide, it is necessary to add to your own national difficulties the international problem. If, for example, the franc were to resume its downward course it

would affect our own industries, as well as those of the U.S.A. Hence the desire of both countries to come to the rescue. Unemployment is a problem of modern civilisation, not epidemic but endemic, for even in times of normal prosperity the unemployed are still with us, although on a smaller scale.

As to the second point, I will only say that Mr. Hobson, who holds the view that it is the main cause of unemployment, considers that the remedy is to make *effective* the demand of large bodies of consumers for the goods which cannot otherwise be fully utilised. That is to say, he considers that under-consumption is at the root of the evil. He regards as the solution an organic change in the distribution of wealth, taxing the surplus wealth of the rich, and so increasing the share of the workers. His aim is to raise the general standard of life in the community, and thus enable the goods which glut the markets to be purchased and consumed. If we admit that these are the two main causes of unemployment we still have to remember that the difficulties in England have been intensified by the breakdown of the financial and economic system of a large part of Europe. The war has dislocated trade to such an extent that we cannot hope for many years to recover fully. Our overseas market has not disappeared, but it has sensibly diminished, and in order to pay our way it should have increased. So long as European politics are in their present disturbed condition, and while national enmities and animosities prevail which result in increased armaments, there is no prospect of relief from the phenomenal trade depression which we are experiencing to-day. We shall have no permanent recovery until peace in the full sense is restored and a settlement arrived at of such outstanding problems as reparations and inter-allied debts.

Before considering the steps that are being taken by the State, one or two figures are essential. The first point to note is that the numbers of unemployed have decreased. In June, 1921, there were 2,200,000. Last month there were 1,120,000. We must add, of course, nearly another 1,000,000 who are casually employed or on short time if we would understand the full measure of our distress. The situation is also worsened because a large proportion of these people have been out of work for some years, and are therefore less able to bear the strain. We must also remember the increase of population since 1914, which means that we have more men to employ than we had at that time. A rather sad feature of the whole problem is that something like one-third of the unemployed to-day are young men under thirty, or in the early thirties. Bearing these facts in mind, we may proceed to examine the various remedies which have been suggested for the evil, and first, perhaps, it would be as well to deal with insurance against unemployment. Under

present circumstances insurance is essential since it is clear that suitable and productive work cannot always be found, and may not be forthcoming for years to come. In fact, we may say that insurance against unemployment will always be required, and the only thing left is to make that insurance as effective and as economic as possible. The Act of 1920 laid the foundation for a national compulsory scheme on the basis of a flat rate of contributions and a flat rate of benefits with certain insurance safeguards. The industrial depression following the war caused these safeguards to be overridden by a series of emergency measures which permitted of benefits being drawn by the insured person for 110 weeks irrespective of what contributions he may have paid, and even though he may not have paid any contributions. The benefits paid out in the two and a-half years of emergency measures amounted to £128,000,000, of which emergency measures would account for £75,000,000. During the same period the Poor Law Authorities paid out to insured workers and their dependents in outdoor relief about £25,000,000. The 1923 Act would abolish the emergency provisions as from October, 1924, and it was hoped that the present high rates of contribution would be reduced. During this Parliament a Bill has been introduced by the Ministry of Labour and passed into law which is designed to repeal the proviso (2) to section 2 of the Unemployment Insurance Act of 1923, which imposed a gap of three weeks without benefit on insured persons who have drawn uncovenanted benefit for twelve weeks. Uncovenanted benefit is benefit beyond that due in respect of contributions, and the Act repeals the proviso as from February 21st, 1924. Mr. Shaw, the Minister of Labour, in moving the second reading stated that the industries bear three-quarters of a burden that ought to be purely national, and that hundreds of thousands of working men who suddenly fell out of benefits altogether were too proud to go to the Guardians for assistance. "The nation itself," he said, "is escaping a liability that ought to fall on it." Mr. Shaw estimated that the proposals of the Act would cost about £500,000 up to October, 1924, and that not more than one-fourth would in any case come from the State contributions, that this £500,000 would be paid to people who in most cases lack the actual necessities of life. The estimated cost of the new administrative action in connection with insurance is between £2,000,000 and £4,000,000, the money to come from the Insurance Fund. Generally speaking, this new Act received the endorsement of all sections of the House, and there is little doubt that it will do much to relieve the situation. On the wider subject of Insurance Law a Bill is shortly to be introduced by Mr. Shaw, one clause of which will extend the scheme to juvenile workers down to the age of fourteen

(the present school leaving age) as contributors and beneficiaries. At present unemployment insurance applies only to workers of sixteen years and over. The new proposal would enable the Minister of Labour to keep in touch with large numbers of juveniles at a difficult age, and ensure their attendance at the Juvenile Training Centres when out of work. Miss Margaret Bondfield, in referring to Juvenile Employment Centres, said that 100 per cent. of the cost in connection with these Juvenile Employment Centres would be paid in necessitous areas to the local Education Authorities provided that it was an addition to the normal expenditure. The Government has also under consideration the insurance of farm workers against unemployment, and is endeavouring to find a formula for the extension of benefit to workers who are unemployed through a dispute in which they are not participating.

We have, however, constantly to bear in mind that insurance does not solve the problem, and what we have therefore to consider is what definite steps have been taken and are being taken to find the necessary employment since the one cure for unemployment is work of a useful and productive nature. The speeches that have been delivered in the House of Commons afford a somewhat sombre background to all the hopes that have been held out with regard to revived trade. It is true the numbers of the unemployed have been reduced, but he would be a good deal of an optimist who saw much hope in the present situation, the percentage of unemployed being on the average over 11 per cent., while ship-building with 34 per cent. unemployed, marine engineering with 22 per cent., shipping with 21 per cent., engineering with 18 per cent., iron and steel with 17 per cent., emphasise the immense difficulty of finding suitable work for those who lack work in these trades. The present Government, and the late Government, in endeavouring to find work that was both useful and productive, have called upon the various departments of State to accelerate any work that required to be carried out, and the result is that something like £2,700,000 of work in these various departments is being pushed on. It is not a large matter, but it is a help, and it points to the fact that Government Departments might do something to mitigate the degree of unemployment in times of trade depression by holding back unnecessary work when trade is prosperous, and accelerating it when the numbers of the unemployed are on the increase. Another method which suggested itself to the Government was to approach the big companies and large employers of labour such as the railways. In this connection we may quote the £15,000,000 which it is estimated will be spent on Tube extension, the Government standing behind and guaranteeing the companies. Of this £15,000,000, £7,500,000 was the

estimated expenditure for the financial year 1923-4 on the work approved by the Government up to that date. Sir Montague Barlow's estimate however has proved too optimistic, and the expenditure during this period will not exceed £5,500,000, the reduction being due to lower estimates or contracts delayed. The tube extension to Hendon was opened in November last, the Camden Town Junction line is to be opened this month, the Edgware extension during the summer, while the Morden and Kennington extension is to be completed during next year. The electrification of the South Eastern and Chatham section is proceeding as far as Sutton during the present year, and the South Western section as far as Guildford and Dorking to be completed by the end of next year. In addition, the Electricity Commissioners have sanctioned loans to local authorities and electricity undertakings to the amount of £44,000,000.

Indirectly the Housing problem may help the Government to find work for some of those who are at present unemployed. A big programme of housing (and over 1,400,000 dwellings are required) implies two things: (1) An adequate supply of materials in the shape of bricks, timber, slates, tiles, &c., and (2) an increase in the number of skilled men. There are certain of the building trades not fully employed, just because building is not proceeding as rapidly as it might. Not only will these men be employed if the Government is successful in its schemes, but very large numbers will be trained and fitted for the same work. At the moment, Mr. Wheatley and Mr. Shaw are engaged in endeavouring to come to terms with the Trade Unions with regard to dilution, and if they are successful in their efforts, and housing schemes can be set on foot rapidly, something like 85,000 more men could be employed in the respective trades, that is an increase of 25 per cent. on the number of skilled men engaged in the building trades in February, 1923. Of these men over 31,000 would be carpenters and joiners, over 30,000 bricklayers.

We now come to unemployment schemes in general, viz., the work that can be set on foot by Local Authorities with the help of the Government. The sum available for distribution in unemployment grants is £20,000,000 in all, and help can be rendered in three ways:—

(1) Schemes put forward by the Local Authorities can be assisted to the extent of 60 per cent. of the wages bill. Such schemes, however, would be revenue-producing schemes and therefore a distinct advantage to the Local Authorities concerned.

(2) Grants are also made to Local Authorities for non-revenue-producing work, such, for example, as the laying out of waste land for Recreation Grounds and Parks.

(3) Grants can be made to private companies and Public Utility Companies for work that is revenue-producing.

In all, a sum of £50,000,000 was to be made available for work this winter, much of it to finance municipalities in connection with relief works. It is not anticipated, however, that this will be spent, since the Local Authorities feel that the burden of the local rates is becoming too heavy for them to bear. It was not so long ago that representatives of seventeen great municipalities stated that they were no longer able to qualify for assistance from the State by raising money on their own account.

The late Government promised £250,000 to agriculture and land drainage, and the present Government has authorised the further expenditure of £60,000 for England and Wales, and £15,000 for Scotland, the totals being £310,000 and £80,000 respectively. A further expenditure of £40,000 has been sanctioned for afforestation in addition to the £50,000 originally granted both in respect of land reclamation and afforestation. Considering that the afforestation question has been before the country for twenty or thirty years, and has been discussed and rediscussed by Commissions and Committees, it is rather surprising that at a time of great trade depression more has not been done in this direction. Though not immediately productive, it is in the end a revenue-producing industry. We are the largest importers of timber in the world, and there are vast areas suitable for afforestation, but owing to the inertia of Governments in the past, very few areas are being afforested, and little relief is given therefore to the unemployed.

We must not forget one very important department of work, viz., the making of new roads and the repair of old ones, especially of arterial roads. This work is specially valuable, because it employs either on road or bridge work both skilled and unskilled men. The sum of £7,500,000 was provided out of the Road Fund in the first instance to assist municipalities on the pound for pound basis. Since then another £14,000,000 has been set aside for new roads and bridge work. In all, about £37,000,000 have been promised or allocated by the Government and Local Authorities for this work, and of this amount the Government has contributed £22,000,000. The Manchester and Liverpool new road, which is to cost £3,000,000 has not yet been begun. The Glasgow-Edinburgh road, which is a £2,000,000 scheme, has also not yet been begun, but the negotiations are on the point of completion, and it will be possible in a short time to invite tenders. Out of the total sum just mentioned, £1,737,044 has been allocated to other road works, and £2,750,000 to bridge work.

Under the Trade Facilities Act, £50,000,000 was originally set aside. That sum has now been raised to £65,000,000, but the

money is only slowly taken up, and although in the end it does find employment, both directly and indirectly, the process is not rapid, and we must not anticipate that any large number of unemployed will be absorbed in this way, at all events for the present.

In the Empire Settlement Act, beginning June 1st, 1923, provision was made for the rest of the financial year 1922-23 to the amount of £1,500,000 together with £3,000,000 for each succeeding fourteen years. During the last twenty months, however, only £411,000 has been spent and 47,495 men have gone overseas. All this does not seem very hopeful for the forthcoming spring and summer. Probably out of the vast sums of money that have been promised, pledged, or actually given, not more than a tithe of it will be spent. With regard to the Export Credit scheme, money was set aside to the extent of £26,000,000, and out of this £15,000,000 is actually in use, but we see little or no reflection of the effect of these figures in our home trade. The probability is that not more than 200,000 men at the outside have been given work as the result of direct Government action, and a safer estimate would be nearer 100,000. We must wait for the new Bills on Housing and Unemployment and must hope that the promises which have been made will be carried out. No one doubts the fact that there is an enormous amount of work to be done in many directions, for example, the improvement of old school buildings and the erection of new buildings, the laying out of parks and recreation grounds, construction of new roads, and the improvement of old roads, bridge building, extension of docks, wharves and harbours, land drainage, foreshore reclamation, afforestation, and housing. In all these directions we can give useful work. This is our fourth winter of serious unemployment. We are suffering from the cumulative effect of the last three winters. We most profoundly hope that when the new proposals are placed before Parliament they will lay down a strong constructive programme which will aid the recovery of the economic and industrial prosperity of the country, shattered as it is by the great war and a somewhat disastrous peace.

PERCY ALDEN.

THE FASCIST RULE.

THE general political elections in Italy will take place on April 6th. They will send to the Chamber about 300 Fascist deputies; nearly 200 deputies not labelled as Fascists but sympathising with Fascism and more or less openly pledged to support Mussolini; and perhaps 30 or 40 independent deputies who should form the Opposition. With the new electoral law and the Fascist methods, the forecast is easy enough.

The new law is a very complicated one, but its fundamental points are as follows. There is to be only one national constituency with 15 divisions including the different provinces. Every party may present one list with different names in the 15 different divisions. The list of that party which polls more votes than any other *single* list will automatically obtain two-thirds of the seats in Parliament (356), provided that it secures a total exceeding 25 per cent. of the national poll. The remaining third of the seats (179) will be distributed, by applying the principles of Proportional Representation, among the other lists. The list which obtains more votes than any other *single* list, although it may have considerably less votes than the total number of votes polled by the other lists put together, will nevertheless be considered the victorious list. A practical example will better explain the working of the new electoral law. If this had been applied in England at the last election, the results would have been as follows:—410 seats Conservative, 90 Liberals, 110 Labour. Signor Turati very wittily remarked in a recent speech, "The new law makes its reckoning on the basis of 25 equalling 167, one-fourth equalling two-thirds, 130 equalling 356—and let Pythagoras hang himself from the first tree he comes across in the Elysian Plains!" The 356 candidates of the Fascist list, once they have been chosen by the special committee charged with their nomination, may consider themselves already elected, because there is no doubt that the Fascist list, that is, the list of the Government, will have the majority over all the other single lists, even if it will be in a minority against the total votes polled by all the other lists put together. The law has been made just to ensure the Fascists an enormous majority in the new Chamber. As to the means of obtaining it, this will be a matter for the Black Shirts.

The spectacle is a most painful one. There is not, and practically there will not be, any electoral fight. The Fascists are making, and will continue to make, a great noise. The other parties might have combined to form a "bloc for liberty." In that case their combination would have been a serious threat to

the Government, as their list might have secured for itself the privileges devised for the Fascist list. There was for a time talk of such a *bloc*, but personal ambitions and old antagonisms proved stronger than the love of liberty. So the old parties, divided, partly wrecked, disorganised, terrorised, and disheartened, will go to the elections in a hopeless condition. Propaganda work, which Mussolini says will be unhampered, is in fact impossible. The first Socialist electoral meeting, fixed to be held in Genoa on January 27th (of course a private meeting, to which admission was only to be obtained by special tickets), could not even be begun, because the Fascists broke in upon it with their cudgels, injuring about 30 persons, among them two ex-Socialist deputies, and a gallant naval officer decorated for bravery with the Italian V.C., but hated because he is not a Fascist. A second electoral meeting, also private, called in Naples on February 4th, was at the last moment prohibited by the police. In the cities it is probable that voting will be comparatively free, but in the country the peasants are bound to be lined up and escorted to the polling stations, holding on high the printed ballot paper of the Fascists. Should they not vote, or vote for another list, they will not be sure the day after of their daily bread.

This is what is about to happen in the present atmosphere. One commonly hears it said that Fascism has re-established order, discipline, respect for the law, and that it has pacified the country. It would be nearer the truth to say that Fascism has dominated, and actually dominates, Italy by the use of violence. One must not forget that Mussolini, besides controlling the police and the Army, has at his command 300,000 Black Shirts, a voluntary army of a political party which is maintained with the money of all the tax-payers. Nor must it be forgotten that bodily violence is always the creed and the practice of the mass of the Fascists. What then Fascists call order is simply the result of a system of intimidation and of repression of all liberties. There is no liberty of the Press. Newspapers, great and small, have been bought up by the Fascists; and those which could not be bought live under permanent menaces. The ex-Minister, Signor Amendola, now able editor of the *Mondo*, was brutally assaulted in broad daylight in one of the main thoroughfares of Rome. Bombs have been thrown at the offices of the *Corriere della Sera*. There is no liberty for the holding of meetings. For the last two years neither Socialists, Democrats, nor Liberals have held a *public* meeting. Such a thing would have meant blows and revolver shots.

If such is the state of things in the cities, one may imagine what happens in the countryside. The rural districts in the North are dominated by certain chieftains for whom exist neither the law,

nor Mussolini, nor Fascism. They are true Abyssinian "rasses," and they are popularly called "rasses." The peasants of Lower Piedmont, Lombardy, and the whole of the Po valley, are at the mercy of these "rasses," who represent the agrarian interests. Very little is known in Italy, and absolutely nothing abroad, of the political and economic tyranny enforced in the North. All the peasants' leagues have been dissolved, their co-operatives and labour exchanges destroyed. The peasants are obliged to enter the Fascist organisations. Their fortunes, accumulated over twenty or thirty years of labour, were seized. The case of Molinella (province of Ferrara) is typical. There the cattle, carts, ploughs, and all sorts of modern agricultural implements have passed from the stables and stores of the local co-operatives into the stables and stores of the Agrarians and heads of the cudgel-gangs. These properties were altogether valued at several million *lire*. The books belonging to the libraries of the co-operatives of Molinella were burnt, and the schools closed. The story of Molinella deserves to be written; but it is not an easy task. It is known how the Fascists treated an English lady, correspondent of a London Sunday newspaper, who had gone there to make inquiries. Even to-day many chiefs of the Socialist leagues are banned from their homes, and are obliged to live far away in the city. They cannot even go abroad, because the Fascist Government has no wish that its opponents should pass the frontier. That is the reason why, beginning from Signor Nitti and Professor Salvemini, it has denied passports to all those who were suspected of not being enthusiastic admirers of Fascist methods.

No wonder that these methods keep up a secret irritation, and provoke acts of vengeance. In the province of Mantua recently, outbreaks of fire have been so frequent that the insurance companies collectively have invited the Government to make an inquiry as to their causes. Mussolini, in his speech in the Palazzo Venezia on January 28th, quoted, in order to justify his determination not to dissolve the National Militia, a list of fifteen outrages against Fascists or Fascist emblems during the month of January. But this list seems trifling compared with the number and nature of the outrages committed by the Fascists. During the month of January alone there were on various occasions and in various cities and villages of Italy, as reported by the Press:—

"Twenty-six cases of raids by Fascists into private houses, athletic-clubs, cafés, town-halls, with consequent devastation of property valued altogether at about 50,000 *lire*, and with hundreds of people beaten."

"Twenty-five cases of assaults in the streets by Fascists against individuals supposed to be opponents—chiefly Catholic youths or old priests."

"Four cases in which Fascist violence has resulted in the death of their victims, one of them a woman."

"Six cases of reprisals by Fascists with arson, devastation, &c."

"Two cases of provincial newspaper offices assaulted and wrecked, and two journalists wounded."

Rarely are the authors of these outrages brought to justice. In the countryside particularly the police are singularly inept at arresting the perpetrators of political crimes. If tried and sent to prison, rarely do these criminals finish their sentences. A decree of amnesty (which will remain memorable) discriminated between condemned Fascists and Socialists, favouring only the former.

All this is a true picture of the order and pacification of Italy under the Fascist Government. A good many Italians are quite content with it. On the surface all is quiet and satisfactory. Trams and railways are running: there are no strikes, and there is the cudgel for the Socialists. What more could be desired? But Italians who are not shortsighted know what this order and this pacification mean, and they are afraid of the possible consequences of this compression of all liberties. Mussolini makes light of this chronic state of lawlessness. He speaks of negligible Sunday rows, and says that the task of restraining his hot-headed followers is not easy. Probably it would be easier if Mussolini himself, instead of using threatening language as he did at Milan in November, and Rome in January, gave the example of moderation and respect for opponents. It is useless to expect a real improvement in the situation while the head speaks of "killing and dying."

But has Fascism at least obtained better results in other fields? In financial matters the Government has naturally failed to fulfil the lightly made promise of balancing the Budget. Although the Minister de Stefani has notably reduced the deficit, he has but continued in this respect the work of his predecessors who, it must not be forgotten, *had already reduced it from 16 to 4 milliard lire*. As to the future, in spite of the optimistic previsions of de Stefani, there are not a few disquieting elements. The receipts for the financial year 1921-1922 had reached 19½ milliards, but in 1922-1923 they went down to 18 milliards, a notable decrease. If economies have been made on one side, on the other big expenses have been incurred, and further commitments are announced in other directions. Two hundred million *lire* were added last September to the sum that was estimated for the Army in June. The Navy has growing exigencies. The ambitious and expensive aerial programme of the Government is known. The endless guerilla warfare in Tripoli is bound to weigh not indifferently on the Budget. Signor de Stefani has announced considerable

reductions in the Budget estimates for public works, but on the other hand Mussolini, when in Sardinia, promised the help of the State in building aqueducts, &c., and Signor Giunta, political secretary of the Party, officially announced in January in his Naples speech that the Fascist Government will spend altogether for the South in hydraulic-works, land reclamation, ports, &c., about 3½ milliard *lire*. Where will all this money come from? Is it not bound to weigh heavily on the forthcoming budgets? It is true that the profits of the capitalists increase, but such profits are exonerated from taxation. Death duties payable by the immediate descendants have been abolished. Profits have increased, but the wages of workmen and salaries of clerks have diminished, and these sections of the people, together with the professional classes, pay taxes which they did not pay before. Traders, shopkeepers, and speculators make good money, but this comes out of the pockets of the proletariat and the lower middle-class, who have been deprived of the advantages of co-operation. The gates of Italy are open to foreign capital, but they are open also to the poor peasants going abroad in search of their daily bread. In 1923 Italian emigration went up to 178,000 persons, with an increase of over 56,000 compared with 1922. Unemployment in 1923 was less than in 1922, but more than in 1920.

With that *naïveté* with which the Fascists believe in their mission of renewing the world, just as in Alessandria they called one night a meeting of thieves and then announced that Fascism intended to abolish theft, so one day Mussolini in Rome convoked a gathering of the representatives of manufacturers and agrarians, and of the so-called representatives of Labour, and announced to them his intention of abolishing class war. The notion that Fascism has done away with strikes and established a new harmony between Capital and Labour is much exploited by the Fascist propagandists. Yet it is hardly possible to give credit for it to the Fascists when one thinks that the gradual cessation or diminution of strikes (which are a social fact dominated by the ups and downs of production) has been common lately to all countries on account of the generally aggravated economic crisis. In Great Britain, in 1921, 86,000,000 working days were lost by strikes, but in 1922 there were only 20,000,000, and in 1923 only 10,000,000, and Great Britain was not during this period under the reign of the cudgel. No doubt the present economic peace may partly be ascribed also to the atmosphere of intimidation which permeates in Italy the social and political world. Workmen and peasants have been forced to leave the Federation of Labour (which from 1½ million members has decreased to only 50,000), and have been reorganised into the Fascist trade unions, called by the medieval

word "corporations." Manufacturers and agrarians have revised their conventions with the representatives of these Fascist syndicates, and naturally have succeeded in making the best conditions for themselves. Yet the heads of these organisations, in order to show that they have really at heart the interests of the workmen and peasants, in certain cases came into conflict with the employers and have even threatened strikes (Fiat, the metallurgical industries, *Agraria* of Bologna). It is noteworthy that in almost all these cases, Mussolini has shown his sympathy for the workmen and the peasants. It would be interesting to speculate as to what will happen when, as a consequence of the improvement of the general economic conditions, workmen and peasants once more demand better conditions. In the disputes that will inevitably arise, what position will the Government take up? Many believe that the future of Mussolini and his party may be bound up with this question. One will see then to what extent the manufacturers and agrarians of the North are masters of the situation, and what eventually Mussolini will be able to do without them, or against them.

Meanwhile, what can be said is that the fact that Mussolini has abandoned the plenary powers and has called the general elections (which *apparently* are to demonstrate to the world that he is governing not only with force, but also with the consent of the great majority of Italians), does not mean that Italy has returned, or is on the way to a return, to normal conditions of social and political life. Some people believe that the destinies of the country will depend upon the self-restraint and the restraining influence of Mussolini. If so, one may sadly, but safely, affirm that there are not yet signs of such self-restraint or restraining influences. Indeed, one might be tempted to believe that both Mussolini and Fascism keep up, and have to keep up, an abnormal state of things for the sake of their own existence. Outside such abnormality, both are equally inconceivable. Yet, out of it the country must come some day. How, then? The past is past. None of the Italian statesmen and politicians of yesterday will ever return again. None of the old parties will reform and make their voices heard. And that is well. But not even Mussolini with his henchmen, nor Fascism with its crudities, its stupidities, and its vanities, will be the Italy of to-morrow. New men and new energies will spring up. New visions will open on the moral, social and political horizon. One can perhaps already glimpse something of the new light dawning. The rise will be slow, but not till then will the country return to normal and better conditions.

"ONE WHO KNOWS."

NEW LIGHT ON THE DRINK PROBLEM.

TWO volumes on the Drink Problem have recently appeared, one* written by Professor E. A. Starling, a distinguished physiologist, and the other† by Dr. Arthur Shadwell, an experienced social investigator with an accurately balanced mind; and these volumes will enable students of this supremely important social problem conveniently to review its practical issues with additional information.

Neither author doubts the seriousness of the evils of alcoholism, and we need not therefore waste space in demonstrating the acknowledged social injury resulting from the present alcoholic habits of a large section of the community. Thus Professor Starling, while unable to find evidence that the moderate use of alcohol is itself harmful, adds:—

There is no question that its excessive use is the cause of a large amount of disease, crime, misery, and inefficiency;

and Dr. Shadwell states that while

The war proved to demonstration that, although the nation is more sober than it used to be and more sober than some others, the habit of excessive drinking prevails to such an extent as to constitute a serious national disability.

The evil has doubtless diminished, and it is now less than in the years immediately preceding the Great War. Thus in the year 1922 the convictions for drunkenness among men were less than half, and in women were less than one-third of their number in 1913. Correspondingly, if we take two only of the many pointers to excessive drinking, attempts to commit suicide were only one-third, and deaths of infants from overlaying—commonly a Saturday night tragedy—were also only one-third of the ante-bellum number.

One conclusion at once emerges from the war and post-bellum experience of alcoholism in this country, a conclusion which is brought into relief by Dr. Shadwell. We learn to appreciate at its full value the importance of alcoholic liquor as an element in national life. During the war special legislation followed by drastic administrative control was adopted in various directions, as, for instance, in regard to transport and shipping, and especially as to food supplies. The consumption of alcoholic liquors was even more drastically controlled; but not positively to assist in promoting success in warfare, but because alcohol “interfered with the war

* *The Action of Alcohol on Man*. By E. H. Starling, C.M.G., M.D., &c. With Supplementary Essays.

† *Drink in 1914-22. A Lesson in Control*. By A. Shadwell, M.D., &c.

and its restriction was necessary in the interest of national welfare.” This truly “constitutes a tremendous indictment” against the drink trade.

Nor was the war-time control of the drink trade novel, except in the extent to which it was carried. For many centuries the retail sale of alcoholic drinks has been made the object of unique restrictions. It came under control as early as 1495, and was placed under a system of licensing in 1551, no sale being allowed except under a licence granted by local justices. Unless, therefore, an attempt be made to support the absurd proposition that the control increasingly exercised during several centuries has been an unnecessary interference with the freedom of sale and purchase accorded in all other industries, we may take it as axiomatic that control is needed over the sale of alcoholic drinks and that the sole question is as to the extent to which such control should be exercised.

It may, of course, be argued that the diminution of the evils of alcoholism, which was experienced during the war contemporaneously with the restrictive measures mentioned below, was due not to these but rather to the patriotic desire of those concerned to serve their country, and to the gradually changing habits of the community in regard to drink. Without discussing the evidence, as detailed in full in Dr. Shadwell's work, it may be stated categorically that neither the enrolment of several million soldiers in war-work, nor the cyclical influence of changes in national prosperity, adequately explained the vast improvement in national sobriety which took place. As the war progressed, higher wages of men left in civilian life, of boys, and of women, created a monetary prosperity which must have gone far to compensate for the higher price of alcoholic drinks. Doubtless a large share of the increased wages went in better furniture and clothing, in cinemas and other forms of pleasure, and in a higher standard of living which even now has not been completely lost. Doubtless also the excitement of the changing fortunes of war and of life in times of unexampled interest tended to diminish the frequency with which toilers found in drink the “shortest way out of” their prosaic home and industrial life. But these circumstances are quite incompetent to explain the changes in alcoholic consumption which varied, as shown in a striking chart on page 94 of *Drink in 1914-22*, in close sympathy with changes in the available supply of liquor.

It must be confessed also that moral suasion failed to exert a national influence, backed though it was by Lord Kitchener's letter, by similar appeals of Lord Roberts and of the Archbishop of Canterbury, and by the personal example of King George. “Treating” was only stopped when it became illegal; and as Dr. Shadwell puts it, in speaking of the general situation:—

Again and again voluntary action failed and compulsion had to be applied, proving once more that men themselves create their own social ills, and that they cannot be trusted to do the right thing even in their own interest (p. 9).

We may unhesitatingly conclude that the favourable national experience during the War was not due to the "general tendency of the nation towards increased sobriety," which has undoubtedly been operating for several decades, but was the combined effect of the various measures taken to impede and diminish drinking.

Reference has already been made to the increased cost of alcoholic drinks during the War. Pre-war beer cost 3d. a pint, and paid one-fourth of this amount in taxation; its price rose to 7d., of which one-half was taxable. Similarly, the price of a glass of spirits increased approximately from 4d. to 1s. 2d. These facts explain the anomalous result that although the estimated national consumption of alcoholic drinks *per capita* (measured as proof spirit) in 1922 was 38 per cent. lower than in 1914, the estimated expenditure per person (including men, women, and children) increased in the same period from £3 10s. 10d. to £7 9s. per annum, or from over 1s. 4d. a week in 1914 to 2s. 10½d. a week in 1922. This increase in cost must have influenced the consumption of alcoholic drinks, notwithstanding the greater abundance of money among non-enlisted men; but the course of events made it clear that restriction of the supply of alcoholic drinks was a more important factor.

This restriction of supply was brought about gradually. The first restrictions were military and naval in origin. Restriction of facilities for drinking had a similar origin; restriction of liberty being overridden only "on proved necessity." As early as November, 1914, an increased war-tax on beer was imposed; but it was in February, 1915, that the inadequate output of munitions and reports, possibly exaggerated, from naval and military sources as to the effect of alcoholic indulgence in diminishing output, led to more drastic action. There was some see-sawing; the possibility of total prohibition was entertained but rejected, State purchase of the liquor interests was contemplated, but happily not pursued, and—following on the prohibition of "treating" members of the fighting forces, and curtailment of hours of sale in public-houses and clubs in certain areas, and the higher price of beer,—the Defence of the Realm Amendment Act became law in May, 1915. This transferred the control of the trade from local authorities to the central Government acting through the Control Board. It gave powers which were competent to secure local prohibition to any decided extent, or to secure local State ownership of licensed premises.

The passing of this Act clearly differentiated the Liquor Trade

from all other industries. The Act constituted in effect a three-fold national confession that excessive drinking prevailed, that national efficiency was receiving serious injury as the result of this drinking, and that compulsory restrictive measures were required. The facts that in the issue the folly of non-interference did not prevail, and that on the contrary entire prohibition was not enforced, illustrate the governing principle of British legislation, which always advances stage by stage in the direction of desired reform.

The most important lines of action subsequently adopted by the Control Board were as follows:—

1. Drastic reduction of the hours of sale in public-houses.
2. The application of public-house rules to clubs.
3. The dilution of spirits.
4. The restriction of the sale of spirits to the hours between 12 and 2.30 p.m. and the prohibition of their sale on Saturdays and Sundays.
5. The prohibition of "treating" for civilians as well as for sailors and soldiers, except in conjunction with meals.

It is unnecessary for our present purpose to follow the experiments in State ownership and control at Carlisle and elsewhere. The results are judicially analysed by Dr. Shadwell, whose general summing up is not altogether favourable to its efficiency. In this view he is supported by Lord D'Abernon, the Chairman of the Control Board (*Times*, November 23rd, 1923), who regards the present system as a variant of the State purchase system, in which the liquor trade monopoly is sublet in sections, and administered by the trade on behalf of the Government. Lord D'Abernon points out that the increased revenue from the sale of drink amounts to 150 million pounds sterling annually, an amount nearly equalling the total revenue from taxation prior to the war; and he gives the warning that if there were direct State control, a public demand for cheapened beer and spirits might be pressed, with results equally bad for the Exchequer and for the people themselves.

Apart from the disputed results of local experiments in State control, the influences making for increased sobriety during the war were the restriction of hours of sale of beer and of spirits, the dilution of alcoholic drinks, the prohibition of "treating"; and, probably more important than any of these, the reduction of the total supply of alcohol available for consumption, which occurred independently of the Control Board, as the result of direct State action and of the intervention of the Food Controller. Along with this restriction of supply went the increased price of such liquor as was obtainable.

The two last-named measures became effective independently of

the Control Board set up under the Act of May, 1915, and they must, I think, be held to have had a chief share in producing the increased national sobriety of the war period. But the restriction of hours of sale, which led to a limitation of sales to not more than 5½ hours daily throughout the country, was also an immense aid to efficiency of work and to domestic prosperity. The hours of sale were fewer than they were on Sundays prior to the war; and the carefully devised distribution of hours of sale meant the cessation of forenoon drinking, while the afternoon closure and the earlier evening closure diminished the temptation and opportunities for the chronic toper. The prohibition of "treating" also bore a part in the general beneficent result.

It will be scarcely possible for the dispassionate reader of Dr. Shadwell's study of control of the liquor trade during the war to avoid the conclusion that a nation, notwithstanding the current dogmatic statement to the contrary, can be made relatively sober by Act of Parliament. The record of events during the war, in Dr. Shadwell's words, "furnishes fresh proofs of the need of control in the public interest." It also gives valuable guidance as to the possibilities of control, and indicates its limitation by the force of predominant public opinion.

After-war experience furnishes corroborative evidence of the soundness of the general conclusion stated in the preceding paragraph. Gradually some of the war restrictions on sale have been relaxed; unhappily, the Licensing Act of 1921 has materially increased on a statutory basis the hours of sale; and, probably owing in the main to this factor, and to the removal of limitations of supply, the curve of drunkenness is rising, and the Registrar General's figures show that deaths referable to alcoholism are also on the up-grade, though these evils have not reached the pre-war level.

In view of the acknowledged fact that drink to the extent now consumed is a source of a large amount of industrial inefficiency, that it causes a vast amount of poverty, that it is a common source of vice and crime, of cruelty to wives and children, and of excessive mortality; in view also of the demonstrated fact that restrictions on the supply and the sale of alcoholic drinks, as applied during the war, are competent to produce a large reduction in these evils, we are justified in regretting the diminution of these restrictions recently sanctioned by the British legislature, and in calling upon social workers, including all who are interested in public health and order, to endeavour to re-establish more efficient control over the sale of these drinks.

If it could be shown that great national benefits are secured for all truly moderate drinkers, which largely if not entirely com-

pensate for the admitted evils of alcoholic excess, the position might be modified; and it is at this point that we search for light and leading from Professor Starling. There must be hearty agreement with his statement (p. 153) that

the benefits and disadvantages of alcohol must be finally judged by its significance for the welfare of the community as a whole:

and Professor Starling appears to base his opinion that moderate drinking is in the permanent interest of the race on the fact that, unlike other narcotic drugs, which "are distinctly anti-social," . . . the effect of

alcohol, at any rate in moderate doses, is to strengthen man's sense of membership of the society in which he is for the time being, and to make him more subject to the influence of his human environment (p. 153).

He accepts the well-ascertained facts as to alcohol, and his statement of the general physiological position is admirably lucid. Thus as to its food value:—

For full efficiency alcohol will always have some detrimental effect. A man may do hard work on alcohol, but he will do it in spite of the alcohol and not in virtue of it (p. 67). . . . Alcohol should be taken, not before or during work, but when the labours of the day are over, and its main justification will then be not its food value but the effects which it has on the different functions of the body (p. 69).

The main and almost the only point made in favour of alcohol is its influence on a man's conduct and on his feeling of well-being. Under the influence of alcohol he becomes more susceptible "to the operation of the spirit of charity, with its fruits of love, joy, or pity." Thus he is less able to resist, for instance, an after-dinner appeal for a hospital charity, and "past troubles cease to repeat themselves and to reverberate in his mind." This result is caused, be it noted, by the essentially paralysant action of alcohol on the highest parts of the brain concerned in conduct; and it is but fair to remember that this inhibition of the higher control when carried a short stage further is a direct excitant to sexual promiscuity, that when chronic it is a cause of neglect of wife and children, and that it facilitates acts of violence against the victim's own or some other life.

The defence of daily moderate indulgence in alcohol—much greater moderation than is usually described under this name—substantially consists, then, in the contention that under its influence "the worries of the day fall off like a garment" and alcohol thus "contributes to a happy and healthy existence." But the case made for alcohol as stated above is very shaky. Its statement

assumes an accurate and exhaustive knowledge of the factors leading to an evening's enjoyment and peace which is not defensible scientifically. Many variables are involved in cheerfulness at dinner, too many to justify the assumption that alcohol is a sovereign, though only temporary, remedy for the cares of the world.

In short, the physiological and allied data given in Professor Starling's book give us no evidence of material compensation for the terrible national evils still associated with the drink trade. The facts dispassionately considered indicate the need for rigid restriction of this trade; they call upon men of moderate views to show their willingness to suffer some personal inconvenience, to undergo some limitation of their personal liberty, in order that by so doing they may help those still enchained in the bondage of alcoholism to regain the liberty which freedom from temptation to drink will give them. In thus acting, the moderate man cannot truly be said to suffer from restricted liberty; he is living in the higher liberty which characterises Christian idealism.

ARTHUR NEWSHOLME.

THE MACEDONIAN TANGLE.

WHEN the Treaty of Lausanne was signed last summer European diplomatists and politicians expected to be granted a respite from Near Eastern affairs. But their expectations are unlikely to be realised. In the country commonly called Macedonia there exists material capable of starting a conflagration the results of which cannot be foreseen. After the Great War Macedonia was divided up amongst Yugoslavia, Greece and Bulgaria. The lion's share went to Yugoslavia, Greece obtained a large slice along the Ægean Sea, Bulgaria a few hundred square miles round Petrich. This partition of territory was almost identical with that specified by the Treaty of Bucharest (1913).

No useful purpose can be served by enumerating the claims which various Balkan countries lay to Macedonia, as nothing leads more easily to a long-drawn-out polemic than ethnographical statements. Here it will suffice to say that there are considerable numbers of Bulgarians, Serbians, Greeks, Turks, Moldo Vlacks, and Albanians living in Macedonia. If all these races were governed like the States of America their different nationalities would matter little. Unfortunately they are not, and this is where the trouble starts. For it is generally admitted that one of the greatest problems bequeathed to Europe by the Great War was that of minorities. In 1919 millions of persons found themselves under fresh rulers. In many cases these rulers have not been broadminded in their treatment of their new nationals. In Macedonia, complaints have been continually levied against the Yugoslav authorities. It is alleged that the official policy has been to Serbianise the people and exterminate all other races. A certain amount of truth is unfortunately contained in these allegations. The Yugoslavs, or rather Serbs, had the memory of Bulgarian cruelties fresh in their minds, and they have not hesitated to adopt harsh and unjust measures.

It must, however, be said that there were grave difficulties in the way of administering Macedonia. For years the population had been used to a struggling existence against the Turk. War was as second nature to them, and they were always ready to adopt violent means. But at heart the average citizen did not and does not greatly mind by whom he is governed provided that he is allowed to make a living and retain his liberty of speech, religion, and education. Unfortunately the rulers of Macedonia have had in view political aspirations rather than the contentment of the local population. At present the Yugoslavs are determined that come what may Macedonia shall remain their property, for they realise the extreme importance of this stretch of land which leads to the

Ægean Sea. By the recently concluded Adriatic Pact Yugoslavia has ceded to Italy all claims to the port of Fiume. She has, it is true, obtained Porto Barras, but this can never be a real outlet for Serbian commerce. Firstly, it will require enormous expenditure, and, secondly, its geographical position renders it vulnerable in case of war. It is thus to the Ægean port of Salonika that Yugoslavia's eyes are turning. Salonika is in Macedonia, and is, indeed, the capital to which Macedonian autonomists aspire. It belongs to Greece, but the frontier is less than forty miles away. The approach to it is by the Vardar valley running through Macedonia, and before making a move towards Salonika the Yugoslavs desire to stamp out all signs of unrest in Macedonia.

Meanwhile, let us consider the influences that are at work against Yugoslavia in and outside of Macedonia. Foremost amongst these is the Supreme Macedonian Revolutionary Organisation. Founded in 1893 as a weapon against the Turks, the Revolutionary Organisation is increasingly active. Its chief, a former schoolmaster, Todor Alexandroff, possesses all the qualities which go to make a leader of an outlawed and violent society. He is clever and is working hard to increase the Organisation's power. In this he is being attended by a certain measure of success, for the Organisation, besides covering Macedonia, stretches into Bulgaria, and to a certain extent into Albania. Having as its watchword "Death or Autonomy," it employs all the means at its disposal to make the lives of the occupying authorities untenable. Ultimately it intends to plan a general revolt, but for the time being its *Komitadji* bands wage incessant guerilla warfare. What the actual strength of the Organisation is can never be accurately known, but Alexandroff stated to the writer that he could raise 150,000 men. It is probable that this is an exaggerated figure, but, even if it is halved, it presents to Yugoslavia a problem which cannot be lightly cast aside.

In constant touch with the Revolutionaries is Stefan Raditch, the peasant leader from Croatia. Raditch, who is at present living in Vienna, is also seeking autonomy, but so far he has preferred to use legal rather than illegal methods. Todor Alexandroff is endeavouring to make him change his tactics, but as the Croats are by nature a peaceful people it is doubtful if Alexandroff's endeavours will succeed. A rising by the Macedonian Revolutionaries would, however, receive moral support in Croatia and Slovenia.

Yet another fact working against Yugoslavia is the Macedonian Brotherhood in Bulgaria, an ostensibly peaceful organisation, but one which has nevertheless prepared a careful and clever scheme of propaganda. There are also certain Irredentist elements in Hun-

gary and Turkey who are in close sympathy with the Macedonian Revolutionaries, but whose support is unlikely to be very effectual.

The so-to-speak Yugoslavia-Macedonian Revolutionary quarrel is considerably complicated by the position of Bulgaria. There are to-day upwards of a quarter of a million Macedonian *émigrés* in Bulgaria. Most of them crossed the frontier after 1919, and left their homes because their existence was jeopardised by the Yugoslav authorities. Many of them are members of the Revolutionary Organisation or the Brotherhood, and, once in Bulgaria, they started to intrigue with the object of eventually regaining their homesteads—a perfectly natural proceeding. But in doing so, they have greatly embarrassed the relations of Bulgaria with the Yugoslavs. The latter accuse Bulgaria of being in *liaison* with the revolutionaries. They say that Bulgaria is in sympathy with Macedonian aspirations and allows the Macedonians more or less to direct her foreign policy. The Bulgarian Government, at present a bourgeois *cum* military one, presided over by Professor Zankoff, thus finds itself in a most difficult position. It wants to live on good terms with Yugoslavia, but is frankly afraid of the Macedonians. Undoubtedly it secretly shares some of the latter's aspirations, but its policy so far has been to try and exercise a moderating influence on the revolutionaries, pointing out the manifest dangers which threaten Bulgaria. But of late the revolutionaries seem to have tired of minding Sofia's advice, and have come out into the limelight, as is proved by the way they are levying taxes on all branches of the Bulgarian community. These taxes are devoted to the strengthening of the Organisation, and the Jews have been extensively bled. In addition to the levying of taxes, there is a general effervescence in Macedonian circles which is apt to be interpreted as a sign that a movement is being prepared for the spring.

A section of Zankoff's Government is beginning to realise that Bulgaria cannot continue her impassive attitude, and that with Yugoslavia free from any troubles with Italy, there may soon be important developments. But the Government at large seems unwilling, or more properly speaking, afraid, to adopt a definite attitude *vis à vis* the Macedonians. The Peace Treaty deprived Bulgaria of a conscript army, and the 33,000 volunteers she is allowed to maintain are neither sufficient nor capable of subduing the Macedonians. Faced with these difficulties, M. Zankoff and his friends are hoping against hope that nothing will happen and console themselves with the thought that, if it does, the Great European Powers will not stand idly by but will act as arbiters of justice. It is, however, useless to deny that a grave danger is now threatening Balkan peace. Everything points to the conclusion that Yugoslavia has definitely decided to concentrate on the ques-

tion of Macedonia. Public opinion demands that the Macedonian movement shall be dealt with once and for all. Broadly speaking, two methods are open to Yugoslavia. The first is to institute an inquiry into actual conditions with a view to pacifying the population. The second is to declare war on the revolutionaries. It is as certain as anything can be that it is the second method which will be adopted. What does this entail? The Yugoslavs consider that Bulgaria is intimately connected with the revolutionaries, and that the south-western part of Bulgaria, that is to say the country around Petrich and Kustendil, is a centre for the *Komitadji* bands. Briefly stated, the Yugoslav point of view is that they cannot effectively crush the revolutionaries on Yugoslavian soil. They must be able either to count on the loyal collaboration of Bulgaria, or, failing that, they must cross the frontier themselves.

Bulgarian collaboration is extremely unlikely. The late Prime Minister Stamboulisky tried it, and he and several of his henchmen were indirectly, if not directly, killed for their pains. The average Bulgarian has an admiration for the Macedonians, and it would be almost impossible to arouse any enthusiasm against the revolutionaries. There thus remains but one issue. Cross the frontier. All necessary plans are believed to have been made. The Neuilly Peace Treaty put Yugoslavia at a few miles from Sofia. At the frontier town of Pirot and the important town of Nish are large bodies of Yugoslav troops. In twenty-four hours these troops could cross the frontier and occupy various strategic points. Resistance would be futile, as there would be an enormous disparity in the strength of the opposing forces.

The only reason deterring Yugoslavia from crossing the frontier is uncertainty as to what would be the attitude of the Great Powers. The Corfu affair brought widespread discredit to Italy, but, as none of the Great Powers were willing to risk complications, it resulted in a prompt indemnity from Greece. Yugoslavia is not a great Power, but she has concluded a pact of friendship with Italy. As a member of the Little Entente she is on good terms with France, and has recently received from the French a loan for armaments. Germany and Russia for the time being are out of the running, and there only remains England. Speculation as to our attitude is rife in Yugoslavia, and there is a strong current of opinion which believes that we might actively intervene in the event of any violation of the Bulgarian frontier. On the other hand, there is an equally strong current of opinion which points to our present lethargy in European affairs and says, "Present England with an accomplished fact and she will do nothing."

What attitude the British Government would take up is not within the competence of the writer to discuss. But it is well to

mention the fact that Bulgaria, rightly or wrongly, expects protection from all the Great Powers, and especially from England. Her thesis is that the Great Powers disarmed her and that, having loyally carried out the Peace Treaty, she places herself unreservedly in their hands.

It is barely necessary to dilate on the harm which an infraction of her western frontier would cause Bulgaria. The occupation of Pernik coal mine, the only important one of its kind in the country, would paralyse her railways. The tobacco industry, which is centred around Gorna Djumaya, would be incapacitated. Internal complications with the Communists might easily follow, and Bulgaria, which has had enough catastrophes in the last few years, might find herself overwhelmed. The position of Yugoslavia would also not be very enviable. Success might at first attend her venture, but ultimately many complications would occur. Once having embarked on such an enterprise she could hardly retire unless she was certain that the Macedonian menace was forever extinguished. But the Macedonian menace, or, more properly, the Macedonian question, can never be settled by force of arms. The only way to deal with it is to accord freedom to the population.

This brings one back again to the treatment of minorities, which is the key to this Balkan tangle. Yugoslavia is desirous of obtaining her own seaboard on the *Ægean*. She is aiming at Salonika. Bulgaria would not suffer if Yugoslavia's desires were realised. Quite the contrary. If Yugoslavia owned Salonika and a certain part of surrounding country, the position of the Greeks in Western Thrace would become impossible. They would be isolated and might just as well renounce their claims right away. To Bulgaria would come the natural right of stretching down to the sea and obtaining an outlet which the Peace Treaty promised her. Yugoslavia would not oppose such a move by Bulgaria if she were assured that the latter's aspirations towards Macedonia would cease. She would encourage it, and would at the same time be likely to consider important concessions to Bulgaria regarding the strength of her army and the payment of reparations. For if an agreement were come to concerning Macedonia, it would be in the interests of Yugoslavia for Bulgaria to be strong.

It is true that the above takes no account of Greece. But if one looks at a map and examines the Macedonian and Western Thracian seaboard one is struck by the absurdity of the present division of territory. Yugoslavia and Bulgaria, two large countries, are separated from the Southern Sea by a narrow strip of land belonging to a country which has no geographical claims

to it. Although general European policy may in some respects favour such a situation, the lack of logic is a factor which, in the long run, is bound to tell.

In brief résumé, the actual Balkan situation is that Yugoslavia must have a peaceful Macedonia. Her disregard of minorities has caused a powerful opposition both in Macedonia itself and in Bulgaria. To finish with this opposition, Yugoslavia contemplates an invasion of western Bulgaria. Such a step might be disastrous to Bulgaria and would bring grave complications to Yugoslavia. The only real way out is to better the treatment of minorities and perhaps ultimately to bring about a compromise between Yugoslavs and Bulgarians by which the former could keep Macedonia and the latter direct themselves towards western Thrace.

J. WALTER COLLINS.

Note.—Since writing the above, the Balkan situation has become more serious. Yugoslavia has threatened Bulgaria, who has become much alarmed, whilst the Great Powers have drawn the attention of the Sofia Government to the necessity of doing everything possible to keep the peace. As a result, over three hundred Macedonians living in Bulgaria were arrested. They were believed either to belong to or work with the Revolutionary Organisation, and the Government justified its action by declaring that national security was threatened. This step on the part of Professor Tzankoff's Government may bring about an improvement in Yugoslav-Bulgarian relations. On the other hand it may cause trouble, because no Bulgarian Government has ever yet dared to be openly anti-Macedonian.

Another important event is that the Croats are negotiating with a view to entering the Serbian Skuptshina. If they do so, Pashitch's Government might be put in a minority. It is possibly because of this that the Yugoslavs are concentrating on Macedonia. They are considered to be acting on the old principle of "when you are embarrassed at home, create a diversion abroad." In any case, the situation is full of dangers, and it is to be hoped that Great Britain and France will act together in order to maintain peace. Unless they do so, the Balkans can easily become the theatre of irregular warfare which may last for a considerable time.

THE SIFTING AND SORTING OF THE POOR : A MUCH-NEEDED & LONG-DELAYED REFORM

ALREADY fifteen years ago, the members of a Royal Commission united in condemning our Poor Relief system root and branch: they, majority and minority alike, had found in it no good thing, diligently as they had sought. Workhouses in which the poor of all sorts and conditions are herded together, and have the same treatment meted to them, they singled out for special attack. For, as they had proof and to spare, in such places it is only the worthless who find comfort; the worthy live there in misery, losing the best in them the while, unless they fight very hard. "Pauper Factory" the head of the most efficient Poor Law Department in Europe dubbed one of our model workhouses, after inspecting it carefully. According to him, the decent folk who go there must almost inevitably be demoralised, sooner or later, turned into paupers, in fact; and, in his country, the term pauper is reserved exclusively for those who wish to batten on their fellows. When I told this foreign Poor Law expert what the working of that Factory cost, he stood aghast. Why a common sense nation, such as he held us to be, should spend so much money on spreading demoralisation around, was, he confessed, quite beyond his comprehension.

Evidently it was also beyond the comprehension of the Royal Commissioners; for it was on the score of economy, as well as humanity, that in their Reports they insisted that a clean sweep must be made of omnium gatherum workhouses, and with them of everything that smacks of clubbing together. Clubbing together entails great expense, as well as great suffering, they decided, after hearing many witnesses on the subject: the poor must be sifted and sorted if fair treatment is to be secured either for them, or for the rate-payers and tax-payers who support them. And the great majority of the said payers agreed with the Royal Commissioners cordially; nay more, they were anxious that the sifting and sorting should begin forthwith.

Now the Royal Commissioners' Reports were published in February, 1909, that is, fifteen years ago. None the less, clubbing together still goes on, our workhouses are still as omnium gatherum as ever. "Prostitutes and saints are all on a par here," I was informed jauntily, when paying a visit to a workhouse, only the other day. And many of the poor, good, bad and speckled, must betake themselves there; must live there side by side when evil days come, when too old, or too feeble, to live alone, or when they cannot find shelter elsewhere. Only the other day, I found a fine strong lad of fifteen in an able-bodied ward. He was one of a gang

of as bad-looking men as I have ever seen in a prison, and with them he had been living and working for some four months. For he had come into the House with his father, mother, and seven brothers and sisters, because they had been turned out of their lodgings. Children are still living in workhouses, lunatics, too, sometimes. A few months ago, in a large workhouse, I came across a woman whom the police had brought there, at the request of a doctor, some days before, as she had shown marked signs of insanity. She was in the Maternity Ward, too, of all places; in a bed quite near a maternity case. And the sister-in-charge had never been told that she must be kept under observation.

Then, while the condition of the respectable poor in workhouses is no better now than it was before the Reports were published, the condition of the ratepayers is infinitely worse; for the cost of poor relief has gone up by leaps and bounds since 1909. So high is it, indeed, now, that it is taking the very bread out of some of their mouths and driving them into the workhouse, so woefully does it cripple trade. The year before the War, it was £12,078,000; and by 1918 it had risen to £15,760,000. In 1921-22 it was £36,250,000; for 1922-23 it is estimated at £38,100,000; and Mr. Geoffrey Drage has strong evidence that it will prove to be much higher, £40,000,000, at least. Still £38,100,000 is the estimated cost of poor relief for the year ending March, 1923, or rather of the portion of it that is defrayed out of the Poor Rates, exclusive, therefore, of the cost of lunatics, casuals, &c., exclusive too, of course, of the cost of old-age pensions, unemployment doles, housing grants, and other indirect forms of relief.

This year it will, no doubt, be higher still; for the Pauper Factories are still hard at work, merrily too. There are workhouses in which the weekly cost per head is 35s. and more, in which the cost per head is, in fact, higher than in the average ratepayer's own house. There are workhouse infirmaries, indeed, where every inmate costs the ratepayers 68s. a week; schools where every child costs them 34s. 4d. For workhouse officials have increased and multiplied since 1909. Not very long ago a *Times* correspondent came across a workhouse in which there were twenty-seven officials and only eighty-two inmates. And officials are expensive luxuries, we must not forget. One official costs as much, sometimes, as half a dozen inmates; while, as often as not, it is the inmates, not the officials, who do most of the work.

So long as the poor of all degrees, unemployed and unemployables, drunken, vagabonds, ex-criminals, and decent men and women, are housed together, and treated in the same way, it is sheer waste of time trying either to reduce the expenditure on workhouses, or to better the condition of the more worthy of the inmates.

The condition of the less worthy does not require bettering. On the contrary, it might be made worse without any injustice being done; and, as they far outnumber the worthy, by making it worse great savings might be effected. As things are, even in the average workhouse, they are very comfortable; some of them indeed very happy. One of them, the veriest old scoundrel unless his face belied him, once assured me that he had found a real home in the workhouse; and again and again I have been told, by other workhouse inmates of his kind, that they were quite content with their lot; they had really nothing to complain of, barring, perhaps, a shortage of tobacco, or lack of beer. Meanwhile, in those same Houses, the respectable inmates were just about as miserable as miserable could be.

So far as I can judge, among workhouse inmates, happiness varies in inverse proportion to merit; the more worthless they are, the more happy; the more worthy, the more miserable. And they who are miserable, are miserable, as a rule, because they are worthy. Very few of the respectable inmates ever complain of the food or clothing provided for them. What they do complain of, and very bitterly, is being forced to pass their days and nights shut up with the vicious and degraded; forced to listen, as they sometimes must, to language that would put Billingsgate to shame. That is a terrible trial to folk who have always led decent lives, always had the decent around them; and who have, perhaps, come down in the world, have lost through sheer bad luck what little they ever had. A single worthless man or woman can, if plausible enough, turn even the most comfortable of wards into a miniature Inferno. I once found a wicked old harridan making life a burden to a dozen respectable old women, chuckling with delight as she did so; while more than once I have found poor old men cowering before a fellow-inmate with a taste for playing the tyrant. Little wonder that, for the deserving poor, the very poor who ought to be well cared for, workhouse life is almost more than they can bear. "Why did you ever come here?" I once asked a very worthy old woman whom I met with in a workhouse. "I had to choose between the workhouse and starvation, you see; and—well, I chose badly," was her reply.

Many women are already very old, we must not forget, much too old to work, years before they are seventy and can claim an Old Age pension. And even when they can claim a pension, it is not of much use to them unless they have, and very few of them have, some relative with whom they can live. For they are at seventy too feeble, as a rule, to live alone. Moreover, even if fairly strong, with lodging at the price it is, an alone-standing old woman cannot provide herself with bare necessities, let her pinch and save as she will.

Our workhouses are to-day packed with those who have been, or might be if they chose, old-age pensioners; and, as one of them, an old man, said to me quite recently: "What 'ud be the good of a pension to me? Nobody 'ud take me in for less than six bob a week; and then I'd 'ave my food and clothes to buy, shoes too. Now, if the Government 'ud give us a bit o' a cottage to live in, that 'ud be summat like."

Our whole Poor Relief system will, no doubt, be reformed as soon as Parliament has the time in which to reform it. It may, however, be years before it has the time in which to reform it; for it is face to face with the terrible unemployment problem, and must find a solution for that, before it can tackle the poor relief problem with any great chance of success. Any attempt to combine the two problems and deal with them together would, so far at least as I can judge, be foredoomed. And, meanwhile, unless something be done, many decent old people will live in misery, and many ratepayers will wax poorer and poorer. Fortunately, something can be done, and at once, something that would not only bring joy to many of the deserving poor, but would in some small degree lighten the burden the ratepayer has to bear. All that is needed is that three out of the many "Recommendations" made by the Royal Commission, fifteen years ago, should be carried out at once.

In the Majority Report, it stands recorded, in the Minority too, although in different words, that—

(1) "In every institution for the aged and for the able-bodied a system of classification should be adopted on the basis of conduct before and after admission."

(2) "The aged should have accommodation and treatment apart from the able-bodied, and be housed on a separate site, and be further subdivided into classes as far as practicable with reference to their physical condition and their moral character."

(3) "The system of small homes such as has been instituted at Kingston-on-Hull and Woolwich should be promoted and extended, both on the ground of economy to the ratepayer and increased happiness to the recipients" (*i.e.* of the relief).

Now there is no reason why the classification of the poor which the Royal Commissioners recommended should not be begun at once; there is every reason, indeed, why it should be, especially as they recommended it on the score of economy, as well as humanity. The experiences of Eastbourne, Whyteleafe, and other places, afford ample proof that the deserving aged poor can be maintained at much less expense, as well as in much greater comfort, in little cottage homes than in large workhouses. Nor is that all; in some of the foreign institutions where the able-bodied

poor alone are housed, the cost of maintenance is practically nil, every inmate defraying by his labour the expense he entails. Moreover, the sifting and sorting will have to be done when our Poor Law is reformed; for no Parliament could, with the Royal Commissioners' Reports before it, frame a new Poor Law that was not founded on classification. The work could be done just as easily now as then; for no change in the Poor Law is required for the doing of it; all that is required is that the Minister of Health's hand should be strengthened. And strengthened it will, in any case, have to be before long; as otherwise the Poplar problem will remain unsolved; and the difficulties in the way of dealing with the unemployed will multiply.

As the Law stands, every Board of Guardians in England might, if it chose, begin its sifting and sorting to-morrow; and, as soon as that was done, and the poor under its care were classified, it might, so far as space allowed, lodge the worthy among them apart from the worthless, and such of them as were both worthy and aged, in the most comfortable ward in the workhouse, until the time came when it could provide them with little homes of their own. Several Boards of Guardians have already classified their charges and lodged each class separately, with most satisfactory results. Many more would do so, no doubt, if the Minister of Health brought pressure to bear on them. Still considerably more would not, let the Minister do what he would; and as things are, he cannot do much. For in no country in Europe are the Central Poor Law Authorities quite so helpless in their dealings with the local Poor Law Authorities, as in England. They have, it is true, the power if they would but use it to prevent Poor Law Guardians from doing many things, but they have practically no power to force them to do anything. They cannot even force them to remove children from workhouses.

A rural Guardian once boasted to me of the way in which he and his Board had set their Higher Authority openly at defiance. The Local Government Board had condemned their workhouse as unfit for human habitation some twenty years before, he said; and had ordered them to build another. That, however, they had stoutly refused to do. "And the old place is still here, you see," he added gleefully. "It will last for many a long year yet." There it certainly was, still more unfit for human habitation, no doubt, than it had been twenty years before. None the less all the poor of a fairly large district, children included, were housed there; and in a pitiable condition they were.

Such a state of things is intolerable, and would be impossible, if the Ministry of Health had the power to force the local Poor Law Authorities to do what they ought to do, the power to force the

niggardly among them to spend, while keeping the extravagant from spending. That power it ought, of course, to have, and will have, no doubt, when the new Poor Law comes into force. But that may be years hence, and meanwhile many wrongs will be left unrighted. Quite unnecessarily, too; for it certainly does not pass the wit of man to frame a non-contentious measure that would give the Ministry the power it needs, without waiting for the whole Poor Relief system to be reformed. Armed with that power, it would be able to compel all Boards of Guardians to set to work at once to bring about the three reforms the Royal Commissioners recommended. It is not the Higher Authorities that bar the way to reforms, it must be remembered; it is the local Authorities and their officials. It is with them that the real difficulty lies, and will lie, until the hands of the Ministry are strengthened.

To many Poor Law Guardians, and still more Poor Law officials, the mere mention of classification is as a red rag to a bull. No sooner did the Royal Commission decide that the poor must be sifted and sorted, as without classification no real reforms could be made in our Poor Law system, than hundreds of them rose up in their wrath and swore that the poor could not, and should not, be sifted, sorted, or classified. That they should do so was not, perhaps, unnatural; for classification must necessarily entail on them both worry and work. It is, of course, more easy to club together a crowd of men and women, and deal with them *en masse*, than it is to sift, sort, and classify each of them according to his, or her, past conduct and moral character. Had the aim of the Royal Commissioners been to devise means of lessening the work and increasing the comfort of Guardians and their officials, never would they have suggested that the poor should be classified. Little wonder, therefore, that so many Guardians and officials should rail against the proposed reform; and rail against it they certainly do: they dub it impracticable, nay absurd. To hear some of them talk, indeed, one might think that the poor never had been classified, that no one had ever suggested the possibility of classifying them, yet, as a point of fact, not only are there several districts, whole countries, too, where the poor are already classified, but our first real Poor Law was founded on classification.

By the Poor Law of 1602, it was decreed that persons requiring relief should be divided into two classes, *i.e.*, the Idle who will not work, and the Impotent who cannot work; and that quite different treatment should be meted out to the "Poore by Impotence and the Poore by Casualtie, from that meted out to the Rioter that consumeth all, the Vagabond that will bide in no place, and the Idle Person." Had that law been administered as wisely as it was framed, it might still be in force, and with advantage all round.

The scandals that led to the passing of the 1834 Poor Law were due for the most part to defects not in the law itself, but in its administration.

Nor is it only in England that the poor were classified centuries ago. In Austria, the Empress Maria Theresa made a clean sweep of the Spitals, when she discovered that the poor, young and old, good, bad, and indifferent, were housed there together. That she pronounced a scandalous arrangement nearly 180 years ago. She issued a decree that children must not be allowed to live in the same house as worthless persons, lest they should be perverted; nor idiots or insane persons in the same house as the sick, lest they should cause them annoyance. And she called upon her Ministers to see to it that, in all institutions, the worthy were lodged quite apart from the worthless, and that special care was taken of the aged. Her son, Joseph II., drew up a Poor Relief system which, with a few alterations, might serve us as a model even to-day. His system, indeed, compared with ours, seems quite oddly up-to-date. He insisted that a marked distinction must be made between those destitute through no fault of their own and those destitute through laziness, folly, or vice: the former must be treated with kindly consideration, the latter with severity. He ordered that worn-out workers should be either lodged in old-age homes, or be given pensions equal to one-third of their former average earnings; while persons with the strength to work but not the will, should be kept as prisoners, where they could be forced to work. Classification was, in fact, the keynote of his system, just as it is the keynote of the relief system that has been in force in Denmark, since 1892.

Up to that time the Poor Law in Denmark was practically the same as in England; clubbing together was the order of the day there, just as it is still here; and the results were the same there as they are here. The cost of poor relief rose steadily, year by year, and so did the bitter complaints of those who must pay the cost, the bitter complaints, too, of those to whom the relief was given. At length, in the late 'eighties, the Danes woke up to the fact that there was something wrong somewhere; and, being a practical race, thrifty to boot, they promptly set to work to try to right it. A Committee of Poor Law experts, financiers, social reformers, and officials was appointed to see what could be done; and the members, after many inquiries, much weighing of pros and cons, decided that their whole Poor Relief system—it was the same as ours still is, we must not forget—was wrong, wantonly extravagant, stupid too, as well as cruel and unjust. To put all the poor on a par was every whit as iniquitous, as well as wasteful, as to put all criminals on a par, and inflict the same punishment on petty pilferers as on murderers. Treatment must vary according to merit if justice is to

be done, they maintained; and their Poor Law and Old Age Relief Law were framed for the express purpose of ensuring that justice should be done to the poor, and at the least possible cost to the ratepayers.

Under the new system, all who apply for help are carefully sorted and classified according to their past lives, present circumstances, and characters. In the first class are persons above sixty who are thoroughly respectable, and whose poverty is not due to their own fault. They come under the Old-Age Relief Law; pensions are given to them unless they are too feeble to live alone and have no relative with whom they can live. In that case they are lodged in Old-Age Homes, where they are made extremely comfortable. There they enjoy all their rights as citizens; and, as one of them informed me proudly: "We need never even see a pauper unless we choose."

In the second class are respectable persons under sixty who require help temporarily, owing to illness, or undeserved bad luck. The relief given to them is Preventive Relief, not Poor Relief, and comes out of the Free Fund, *i.e.*, the yield of old foundations supplemented by voluntary subscriptions; and, by accepting it, they forfeit none of their rights as citizens.

In the third class are the respectable poor who, owing to bad health or misfortune, require help for a lengthened time, perhaps permanently. To them out-relief is given out of the yield of the poor rate; and, so long as they receive it, they are deprived of their votes, and, to a certain extent, of their freedom. They are under the surveillance of the Poor Law Authorities, who require them to work according to their strength, to lead sober, respectable lives, and to bring up their children properly, if children they have.

In the fourth class are the speckled poor, they who are neither good, nor bad, but who, being weak, lazy, thriftless or drunken, must be kept out of temptation's way, if they are not to drift into preying upon their fellows. In all countries alike the bulk of the poor are speckled; and in Denmark, when such people need relief, they are at once sent into an institution. If they are over sixty, or too feeble to work, they are lodged either in a Poor House, or in a workhouse, in a wing apart from the able-bodied inmates. There they are well cared for and kindly treated; and if they choose to do a little housework, they are paid a few pence for what they do. Those under sixty are also well fed and kindly treated, so long as they behave themselves and work hard, hard enough to defray if possible the cost of their maintenance. If they choose to work harder still, they are paid for what they do extra, and may thus earn money wherewith to make a fresh start in life. If they belong to the first division—even the able-bodied are subdivided—they are allowed to go out one day a week to look for work. Should they,

however, behave badly and shirk their work, they are transferred to a Penal Workhouse, where the fifth-class poor of a whole county are lodged, and where they are in the keeping not of the Poor Law officials, but of the police.

The Penal Workhouse is the place reserved for the professional loafer tribe; for trying to live on other folk's earnings is held to be a crime in Denmark and is punished accordingly. Life there is as hard as in any prison, although the place is essentially a reformatory. All who go there are required to work to the full extent of their strength; and so long as they do so they are well fed, and, if unskilled, are taught a skilled calling. Should they, however, resort to their old tricks, and try to loaf, solitary confinement on short commons is speedily their lot. For the place is organised for the express purpose of bringing home to them the fact that loafing does not pay whereas hard work does.

Now, in Denmark, all classes alike are proud of their Poor Relief system, and well content with the way it works. I have hardly ever met a Dane, indeed, who has not told me that it is an excellent system, one that ensures justice being done alike to the poor and to those who support them. Its great merit lies, they all agree, in the fact that under it the poor, instead of being clubbed together, are carefully classified; and can, therefore, be dealt with according to their merits. The deserving poor are treated more generously in Denmark than in any other country; the undeserving, more sternly; while those in-between are treated both more wisely and more economically. And as the undeserving and the in-betweeners far outnumber the deserving, the cost of the relief of the poor as a whole is actually much lower than it would be were they all treated alike.

When the new system had been in force in Denmark for some nine years, the cost of poor relief, together with old age relief and medical relief, together also with the cost of the administration of the relief, was only 5s. 8d. per head of the population, or 2s. 2½d. less than the cost of poor relief alone in England per head of the population at that time; and considerably less than one-third of what it is here now. Thus, thanks to classification, not only are the deserving poor the happier, but the ratepayers are the richer. Surely then it would be well were we to set to work at once to classify our poor without waiting for the reform of the Poor Law? Every Danish Poor Law official I have ever met is firmly convinced that they could be classified here, just as they have been classified there, providing, of course, enough trouble were taken in the doing of the work; firmly convinced, too, that, until it is done, the deserving poor can never be fairly dealt with, and the ratepayers' money will always be wasted.

EDITH SELLERS.

BYRON AS POLITICIAN.

"A THOUSAND years scarce serve to form a State; an hour may lay it in the dust." . . . These words are from the pen of Lord Byron, the centenary of whose death falls on April 19th.

Byron possessed the philosophy of a politician, even if his Parliamentary career was a brief one. Had he pursued it he might have been a great statesman instead of a noted poet.

Byron took his seat in the House of Lords on March 13th, 1809, at the age of twenty-one. "When I came of age, some delays, on account of some birth and marriage-certificates from Cornwall, occasioned me not to take my seat for several weeks," related Byron. "When these were over, and I had taken the oaths, the Chancellor apologised to me for the delay, observing 'that these forms were a part of his duty.' I begged him to make no apology, and added (as he certainly had shown no violent hurry), 'Your lordship was exactly like Tom Thumb—(which was then being acted)—you did your *duty*, and you did *no more*.' "

Among the Byron letters offered in the Morrison Collection, in December, 1917, was one dated from Newstead Abbey, January 15th, 1809. In part it read:

"I shall take my seat as soon as circumstances will admit. I have not yet chosen my side in politics, nor shall I hastily commit myself with professions, or pledge my support to any men or measures, but though I shall not run headlong into opposition, I will studiously avoid a connection with Ministry. I cannot say that my opinion is strongly in favour of either party; on the one side we have all the underlings of Pitt, possessing all his ill-fortune, without his talents, this may render their failure more excusable, but will not diminish the public contempt; on the other we have the ill-assorted fragments of a worn-out minority. Mr. Windham, with his coat twice turned, and my Lord Grenville, who perhaps has more sense than he can make a good use of; between the two, and the *shuttlecock* of both, a Sidmouth, and the general *football* Sir F. Burnett, kicked at by all and owned by none." . . .

When Byron took his seat in the House of Lords he was accompanied to the Bar of the House by Mr. Dallas, who gave an account of his lordship's attitude on his first appearance:

"His countenance, paler than usual, showed that his mind was agitated, and that he was thinking of the nobleman to whom he had once looked for a hand and countenance in his introduction. There were few persons in the House. Lord Eldon was going

through some ordinary business. When Lord Byron had taken the oaths, the Chancellor quitted his seat, and went towards him with a smile, putting out his hand warmly to welcome him; and, though I did not catch the words, I saw that he paid him some compliment. This was all thrown away upon Lord Byron, who made a stiff bow, and put the tips of his fingers into the Chancellor's hand. The Chancellor did not press a welcome so received, but resumed his seat; while Lord Byron carelessly seated himself for a few minutes on one of the empty benches to the left of the throne, usually occupied by the lords in Opposition. When, on his joining me, I expressed what I felt, he said: 'If I had shaken hands heartily, he would have set me down for one of his party; but I will have nothing to do with them on either side. I have taken my seat, and now I will go abroad.' "

The first occasion upon which he took any part in the deliberations of the House was in a generous and humane appeal for men in his own county engaged in lawless strike against the use of machinery in Nottingham industries. It was an attitude that could not be defended to-day, but in those times the introduction of mechanical devices was considered to be detrimental to the interests of the British workman.

Byron's first speech in the House of Lords was made on February 27th, 1812, and the reception he met with was most flattering. He was complimented by the Speaker and by his own party very warmly, and was hailed as a most promising orator.

Apropos of this, Byron once said:

"Sheridan's liking for me was founded upon *English Bards and Scotch Reviewers*. He told me that he did not care about poetry (or about *mine*—at least, any but *that* poem of mine), but he was sure, from *that*, and other symptoms, I should make an orator, if I would but take to speaking, and grow a parliament man. He never ceased harping upon this to me to the last; and I remember my old tutor, Dr. Drury, had the same notion when I was a *boy*; but it never was my turn of inclination to try. I spoke once or twice, as all young peers do, as a kind of introduction into public life; but dissipation, shyness, haughty and reserved opinions, together with the short time I lived in England after my majority (only about five years in all) prevented me from resuming the experiment. As far as it went, it was not discouraging, particularly my *first* speech (I spoke three or four times in all); but, just after it, my poem of *Childe Harold* was published, and nobody ever thought about my *prose* afterwards, nor indeed did I; it came to me as a secondary and neglected object, though I sometimes wonder to myself if I should have succeeded."

Byron might have made a name for himself as a politician, but the politics of his period and of his class—even the Liberals of his own class—were "impossible" for him. I quote from Matthew Arnold: "Nature had not formed him for a Liberal peer, proper to move the Address in the House of Lords, to pay compliments to

When pressed to leave the marshy and deleterious air of Missolonghi, he replied forcibly: "I cannot quit Greece while there is a chance of my being of (even supposed) utility. There is a stake worth millions such as I am, and while I can stand at all I must stand by the cause."

Byron's *Song of a Greek* will be remembered:

'Tis something, in the dearth of fame,
Though link'd among a fetter'd race,
To feel at least a patriot's shame
Even as I sing suffuse my face;
For what is left the poet here?
For Greeks a blush—for Greece a tear.

He excused the Greeks elsewhere: "I am aware of the difficulties, and dissensions, and defects of the Greeks themselves; but allowance must be made for them by all reasonable people."

His poem *On this day I complete my thirty-sixth year* breathed the spirit that was in him when he took over the commandship of the expedition.

Glory and Greece, around me see!

These were optimistic words; and the last verse was strangely prophetic:

Seek out—less often sought than found—
A soldier's grave, for thee the best;
Then look around, and choose thy ground,
And take thy rest.

His friend Tom Moore, the Irish poet, commenting on these lines, said:

"Taking into consideration every thing connected with these verses—the last tender aspirations of a loving spirit which they breathe, the self-devotion to a noble cause which they so nobly express, and that consciousness of a near grave glimmering sadly through the whole,—there is perhaps no production within the range of mere human composition, round which the circumstances and feelings under which it was written cast so touching an interest."

Byron passed from poesy to heroism. It is true that he did not die in battle, but he died as a soldier of Greece—striving in the attempt to restore her to her former independence and glory. His death was felt by all Greece as a national calamity. A proclamation was issued by the Provisional Government of Western Greece, which included these words:

"The loss of this illustrious individual is undoubtedly to be deplored by all Greeks; but it must be more especially a subject of lamentation at Missolonghi, where his generosity has been so conspicuously displayed, and of which he had become a citizen with the ulterior determination of participating in all the dangers

of the war. Everybody is acquainted with the beneficent acts of his Lordship, and none can cease to hail his name as that of a real benefactor."

Had Byron lived he might have been King! Although he had in the past acclaimed the idea that a Republic was an ideal state for any nation, yet when hints were brought to him that the Greeks wanted a King, he is reported to have said, "If they make me the offer, I will perhaps not reject it." Who can say what might have resulted for Greece had the poet lived to add lustre to the Crown?

But his name still lives in the hearts of the Greek people, although a hundred years have passed since his death.

* * * * *

Speaking at a meeting convened to consider the question of a Byron memorial, Disraeli—another politician!—said:

"He died in the fulness of his fame, having enjoyed in his lifetime a degree of celebrity which has never fallen to the lot of any other literary man—not only admired in his own country, but revered and adored in Europe. No one who has travelled in Greece can ever question for a moment the place of Byron as a poet of the highest class. He has impressed his mind on that country more than any poet who has existed since Homer. There is not a cape, a promontory, or a column that he has not touched with fire or suffused with the sweetness of his song. . . ."

Yet, in Greece itself, they revere his name more as a patriot and politician than as a poet.

WALTER A. BRISCOE.

the energy and self-reliance of British middle-class Liberalism, and to adapt his politics to suit it. Unfitted for such politics, he threw himself upon poetry as his organ."

Of course, circumstances may have contributed to his departure from the political world. It must be remembered that two days after Byron made his maiden speech he awoke and found himself famous! This was not because of his Parliamentary success but because *Childe Harold* had startled the world of literature on its publication. One recalls the words of Tom Moore: "The effect was electric: his fame had not to wait for any of the ordinary gradations, but seemed to spring up like the palace of a fairy tale—in a night." Byron was besieged with congratulations, and he was soon the idol of London society. The Prince Regent desired that he might be presented to him, and so his fame as a poet increased; and the poet thus overshadowed the politician.

Certain it was that Byron took little part in British politics as far as the House itself was concerned, but he had much to say out of it. He was invariably in opposition to the ruling class: persistently "against the Government." He hated the misgovernment and oppression to which the people were subjected. What he called the "cant" of the great middle part of the nation revolted him; but the cant of his own class revolted him even more. "Come what may," he said, "I will never flatter the million's canting in any shape."

Byron was among the very first to meet Madame de Staël, whom he tried to put right on the subject of the glorious British Constitution. Lieutenant-Colonel Andrew Haggard, her latest biographer, records that he explained to her that it was not really half so fine a thing as she painted it. She would not, however, listen to him for a moment, and continued to thrust it down the throats of the misguided English that they did not really in the least understand or appreciate their own happiness. Byron was not specially complimentary to the distinguished Frenchwoman. It is recorded that he wrote to Tom Moore: "I am to travel sixty miles to meet Madame de Staël. I once travelled three thousand to get among silent people, and this same lady writes octavos and talks folios!" On another occasion he wrote to the Irish poet: "She is for the Lord of Israel and the Lord of Liverpool—a vile antithesis of a Methodist and a Tory—talks of nothing but devotion to the Ministry, and, I presume, expects that God and the Government will help her to a pension." At a later date Byron wrote of this same lady: "Madame de Staël made very long speeches to those only accustomed to hear them in the Houses of Parliament. She interrupted Whitbread, she declaimed to Lord Liverpool, she misunderstood Sheridan's jokes for assent; she harangued, she

lectured, she preached English politics to the first of our Whig politicians, and, if I am not very much misinformed, preached politics no less to our Tory politicians the day after."

Byron himself "preached" politics with no uncertain voice: declaiming the narrow and false system under which the nation allowed itself to be ruled, and condemning the upholders of the old order in no uncertain manner. "I have simplified my politics," he said, "into an utter detestation of all existing Governments." So he became a satirist and wrote verses about it.

In *Don Juan* Byron has numerous references of one kind and another to politics, as, for example, in Canto XII, stanza 24:

What with a small diversity of climate,
Of hot or cold, mercurial or sedate,
I could send forth my mandate, like a primate,
Upon the rest of Europe's social state;
But thou art the most difficult to rhyme at,
Great Britain, which the muse may penetrate.
All countries have their "lions," but in thee
There is but one superb menagerie.
But I am sick of politics. . . .

The beginning of stanza 25, quoted above, showed his attitude at the moment. After a passing allusion in Canto XIII, stanza 43, we note that:

The politicians, in a nook apart,
Discuss'd the world, and settled all the spheres:
The wits watch'd every loophole for their art,
To introduce a *bon-mot*, head and ears.
Small is the rest of those who would be smart:
A moment's good thing may have cost them years
Before they find an hour to introduce it.
And then, even then, some bore may make them lose it.
(XII. 109.)

It is chronicled that when at Newstead Byron and his merry friends used to sit up to all hours "talking politics, philosophy, and poetry." In Canto XV, stanza 93, we read:

But politics, and policy, and piety,
Are topics which I sometimes introduce,
Not only for the sake of their variety,
But as subservient to a moral use. . . .

In *The Vision of Judgment*, verse 26, he writes:

The very cherubs huddled all together,
Like birds where soars the falcon; and they felt
A tingling to the tip of every feather,
And form'd a circle like Orion's belt
Around their poor old charge; who scarce knew whither
His guards had led him, though they gently dealt
With royal manes (for by many stories,
And true, we learn the angels all are Tories).

In *Beppo*, verse 49, we find another allusion to the Tories:

Our standing army, and disbanded seamen,
 Poor rate, Reform, my own, the nation's debt,
 Our little riots just to show we are free men,
 Our trifling bankruptcies in the "Gazette,"
 Our cloudy climate, and our chilly women,
 All these I can forgive, and those forget,
 And greatly venerate our recent glories,
 And wish they were not owing to the Tories.

In *The Age of Bronze* there are various references which opponents of the Government of that period might have found useful to hang an argument upon; and elsewhere in Byron's verses are lines which, though written a hundred years ago, appear applicable to the political situation in this age of paper. Critics of Byron—and these are many—will assert that had the young lord been living to-day he would have been "against the Government"—whatever party was in power. It is conceivable that he even might have been the accepted Leader of the Opposition!

But Byron had a *flair* for international politics, as well as for the internal politics of nations—whether those of England, Italy, or Greece. Professor Nichol avers that "amid the inconsistencies of his political sentiment, he had been consistent in so much love of liberty as led him to denounce oppression, even when he had no great faith in the oppressed."

Byron turned his thoughts to Italy. In his *Ode on Venice* one gathers his general principles when he speaks of "a heritage of servitude and woes," and of those "who owe The name of Freedom to her glorious struggles." But Italy sadly disappointed him; and in April, 1823, his sympathies were directed towards Greece—suffering under the Turkish yoke. Writing to Captain Blaquière, he said:

"I cannot express how much I feel interested in the cause, and nothing but the hopes I entertained of witnessing the liberation of Italy itself prevented me long ago from returning to do what little I could as an individual in that land which it is an honour to have visited."

Byron's sigh for Greece is heard in his lines:

Climé of the unforgotten brave!
 Whose land, from plain to mountain-cave,
 Was Freedom's home, or Glory's grave;
 Shrine of the mighty! Can it be
 That this is all remains of thee?

On July 14th, 1823, he sailed for Greece.

Various parties were anxious to attract Byron to each of their respective sides, but he was no party-politician: in his own phrase, he had "come to join not a *faction*, but a *nation*." He had received

a communication from the Greek Committee then sitting in London, and his advent was the occasion for much optimism in the various camps. Prince Alexander Mavrocordatos, the principal patriotic leader, deposed from the Presidency, had great faith in Byron's powers of inspiration. In a message which he sent him, the Prince said: "I need not tell you to what pitch your presence is desired by everybody, or what a prosperous direction it will give to all our affairs. Your counsels will be listened to like oracles."

Byron's first aim was to obtain unity among the patriots. He exhorted the General Government of Greece to compose their differences, and become one united whole against the oppressors—thereby showing that he was a true Coalitionist of his day. The Greek war of liberation opened a new field for the exercise of his indomitable energy, and he entered into the fray with his heart and soul. He determined to spare himself naught on behalf of the Greeks who were, he said,

Trembling beneath the scourge of Turkish hand from birth till
 death enslaved,
 In word, in deed unmanned. . .

It was at the end of January, 1824, that Byron was appointed Commander-in-Chief of an expedition against Lepanto. Many difficulties beset him in this project, and one great obstacle to progress was his indifferent health. "I still hope better things, and will stand by the cause as long as my health and circumstances will permit me to be supposed useful," he declared.

Many will recall his lines:

The mountains look on Marathon,
 And Marathon looks on the sea;
 And musing there an hour alone
 I dream'd that Greece might still be free.

Byron went on dreaming, but he dealt in realities. He gave ten thousand pounds to help on this fight for Freedom. He declared:

"My future intentions as to Greece may be explained in a few words. I will remain here until she is secure against the Turks, or till she has fallen under their power. All my income shall be spent in her service. Whatever I can accomplish with my income, and my personal exertions, shall be cheerfully done. When Greece is secure against external enemies, I will leave the Greeks to settle their government as they like. One service more, and an eminent service it will be, I think I may perform for them. The Greeks shall invest me with the character of their ambassador, or agent: I will go to the United States, and procure that free and enlightened government to set the example of recognising the federation of Greece as an independent State. This done, England must follow the example, and then the fate of Greece will be permanently fixed, and she will enter into all her rights as a member of the great commonwealth of Christian Europe."

SOME ASPECTS OF THE LONDON TRAFFIC QUESTION.

THERE is a disposition in many quarters to regard the London traffic problem as susceptible of a solution, provided some person, conveniently epitomised as a Traffic Authority, is invested with Draconian powers. It is assumed that a *deus ex machinâ*, or in modern guise a Mussolini, can weave order out of the tangled skein of London traffic. The *Times* has even suggested that a traffic Dictator would be acceptable.

Last year the Minister of Transport had a Bill in preparation: the new Minister has announced that he is considering the matter afresh. Lord Ashfield has made his usual annual pronouncement to the shareholders of the Underground Group, which can be compared, from a somewhat different angle, with that of an eminent banker unburdening his mind on trade, currency, and Reparations. Meanwhile, all and sundry express their views, or proclaim their sufferings from the immobility and confusion of London traffic. Visions arise of a new London striving to raise itself by strange devices from its congested streets or to burrow yet deeper into its own foundations already honeycombed with the equipment and apparatus of modern civilisation. It is characteristic of English methods that we bear our ills with good-humoured impatience until at last we turn in desperation to experts for a remedy which they are expected to provide at short notice and in full perfection.

If such extravagant hopes are entertained they are doomed to be disappointed. Moreover, there is a danger that the actual conditions on which the problem is based may be wrongly estimated if it is assumed that they are capable of so simple and so drastic a solution. Probably the average Londoner measures the problem by his personal experiences—loss of time, temper, business, even of life: the police measure it by the increasing burden of responsibility and control which they daily have to endure: while Lord Ashfield to some extent measures it by its effects upon the Combine of which he is the powerful head, and the degree of insolence exhibited by "Pirates" of various shades who endeavour to encroach upon his monopoly.

If the problem were solely one of eliminating these modern corsairs it would be a simple one, both for Lord Ashfield and for the public. If it were a case of "powers," whether executive or administrative, it would again be comparatively simple. Unhappily for a suffering public, it is none of these things. It is a complicated problem of Local Government in which both Lord Ashfield and the police are big and essential elements for consideration, but nothing more.

In mere terms the London traffic problem is easily described. No other city offers a problem similar in quality and character. Both its technical and its municipal aspects are dissimilar to those of any other city, whether provincial or foreign. Nowhere is Local Government more complex, nowhere have the Local Authorities less control over the streets and the traffic that passes through them. Lord Ashfield has tersely described one aspect of the present situation: "London from being perhaps the fastest traffic city in the world is now about the slowest. Street speeds which before the war were on the average at the rate of 8 or 9 miles per hour have fallen to 4 or 5 or even 3 miles per hour where congestion is acute." Nearly four thousand 'buses are operating upon the streets of London, and it is proposed to add thereto at the rate of twenty-five per week in preparation for the coming summer, and, it might be added, for "a fight to a finish" with the "Pirate" 'bus. Londoners may well be appalled at the prospect which awaits them.

No one is more conscious than Lord Ashfield both of the mischief which he helps to create and of the need for a remedy. "In all the great cities of the world," he tells us, "there is effective control. In London there is nothing." In fact, Lord Ashfield is prepared to acquiesce in control of some kind provided it conforms to certain principles which he has laid down. With admirable correctness he has refrained from touching on matters of Local Government or of political principle. Nevertheless, his views appear to be largely in agreement with the proposals adumbrated by the Minister of Transport in the late Government. It is no secret that they embody the views of Sir Henry Maybury, the Director-General of Roads under the Ministry of Transport, and that they are based upon his evidence before the Royal Commission on London Government. They raise in an acute form a vital question of principle, viz., whether a primary function of Local Government should be transferred to a Government Department.

In the first place, the Minister is to consider traffic questions within a radius of twenty-five miles from Charing Cross. He is to cast his all-embracing vision as far as Hertford, Tilbury, Gravesend, Sevenoaks, Edenbridge, Dorking, Chertsey, Windsor, Beaconsfield, and St. Albans. Among the valuable services to be rendered are the following: the making of necessary surveys and the preparation of schemes for the improvement of London traffic facilities and the submission of such projects to the competent executive authorities; the study of all town-planning and housing schemes, which must be submitted to him for consideration on traffic grounds; the preparation of an authoritative general development plan to which all new London transit schemes should conform; the co-ordination in the public interest of all passenger transport

agencies; the selection and prescription of routes to be followed by all or any forms and classes of traffic.

All this makes admirable reading, and, if London had no special interest in its own system of local government nor any prospect of reforming it in the future, hopes might be entertained that the day would dawn when London's traffic could circulate with healthy facility through its many arteries.

To enable the Minister, through his experts, to achieve these desirable objects without offence to those who still entertain a prejudice in favour of Municipal Government an Advisory Committee is to place its wisdom at his disposal. Its composition is to be peculiar, so widely variegated, indeed, as to invite the comment that the Minister would scarcely benefit by its advice or have much difficulty in ignoring its views. This so-called London Traffic Committee—a somewhat misleading title—is to comprise representatives of the following:

- (a) The Ministry of Transport.
- (b) The Home Office.
- (c) The London County Council.
- (d) The City Corporation.
- (e) The Metropolitan Boroughs.
- (f) The County Councils of Essex, Kent, Herts, Middlesex, Surrey, and Bucks.
- (g) The County Boroughs within the Committee's area.
- (h) Labour.
- (i) The London Underground and L.G.O.C. Group.
- (j) Other Railways.
- (k) Users of horse and mechanical road traffic.

The Committee would have no executive power: its function would be to advise the Minister, who would necessarily seek statutory powers to enable him to implement the scheme and the powers which have been outlined.

To many these proposals will appear to be a travesty of Local Government. In no sense is this Committee representative of London. Even if the three representatives of the London County Council, the City Corporation, and the Metropolitan Boroughs were gifted with exceptional capacity and acted with unexampled solidarity, it is hard to see how they could effectively express the views of London on the manifold questions which would arise. In other words, the solution of London's traffic problem is to be entrusted, not to London's representatives, aided by the expert advice of the Ministry of Transport, but to a Government Department, acting or not, as it deems expedient, upon the advice of a heterogeneous Advisory Committee.

By selecting a radius of twenty-five miles from Charing Cross, the author of the scheme creates a dilemma which he challenges his critics to avoid. How, he asks in effect, can you establish municipal

control where so many interests and outside areas are affected? It may be not unfairly retorted that if London's traffic problem already extends to Dorking there seems to be no valid reason why it should not before long embrace Brighton.

Again, it is proposed to make an apportionment upon the various Authorities interested of the cost of improvement schemes or projects traversing or affecting several areas, in cases where agreement cannot otherwise be reached. Briefly, London may be charged with the cost of schemes outside its area, despite the opposition of its municipal representatives.

Such criticism does not question the value of Government aid through the Ministry of Transport in the execution of improvements whether within or without the area of the County of London. Financial help has been generously given, and there can be no desire to depreciate the functions exercised by the Ministry through its able expert advisers. Nor has the County Council failed to respond thereto, for it has contributed freely to road schemes outside the county in co-operation with the Ministry. But there is evidence of a growing assumption that because traffic has become largely the concern of the expert, the municipal aspects of it are becoming relatively less important. There is necessarily scope for differences of opinion as to the ideal relations between expert advisers and public authorities; but no believer in municipal government on English lines will welcome encroachments which, even though supported by American or French practice, are inconsistent with English ideas and methods.

Traffic becomes increasingly a social service, blended with questions of Housing, Town Planning, Improvements, Parks and Open Spaces, and other branches of municipal activity. For that reason, among many, the co-ordination in the public interest of all passenger transport agencies has become of vital importance. But though the Minister, in form at any rate, seeks powers to achieve this, he ignores an integral part of London's traffic system, that part, too, which is mainly in public ownership, viz., the tramways. The proposals hardly recognise the existence of the trams at all save in one particular, which is wholly illusory in its promise, viz., the abolition of the veto at present exercisable by Borough Councils against tramway schemes under the standing order of the House of Commons.

There is no desire to claim a privileged position for the trams, nor is it necessary to prove that they are a more efficient traffic instrument than buses. Both have their merits and their drawbacks. All sections of traffic opinion, from Lord Ashfield to the London County Council, admit that bus, tube, and tram, each in its proper sphere, are essential elements in any complete and satis-

factory local transport system for London. Indeed, the facts show that the trams cannot be ignored.

In 1923, the County Council's trams carried over 733,000,000 passengers, and over £16,000,000 of capital has been invested in them by the public. To ignore them, and at the same time to confer a quasi-monopoly on the Combine as regards buses, by using power of licensing against its competitors, would leave the roots of the traffic problem untouched. If there is to be control it must be such as will eliminate all forms of wasteful competition and all redundant services, whether of bus or tram.

To eliminate competition between bus and bus, and to leave that of tram and bus untouched, would be not only unjust but disastrous. Any such result by official action would for the first time confer upon the Combine, as regards the street surface, a quasi-monopoly which it would be difficult to repudiate in the future, and would establish a vested interest of incalculable value to its holders if and when a proposal for the purchase of their undertaking should become practicable. However efficient the Combine may be any such claim must be carefully watched.

Despite its ownership of the trams it cannot be suggested that the County Council has taken a narrow view of its responsibilities in seeking a remedy for the present difficulties. Indeed, during 1920-21, long discussions took place between representatives of the Ministry of Transport, the Council, and the London Underground Group, at which various aspects of the question were exhaustively considered. Though the results were disappointing there was a fairly general agreement on the principles which should prevail. The Council expressed its views on May 3rd, 1921, when it urged the Government to introduce legislation to make provision for the unified operation of local passenger transport undertakings in Greater London and for the setting up for such area of a Municipal Control Authority, it being understood that the establishment of such an Authority should be regarded as a temporary expedient pending the settlement of the question of the reorganisation of Local Government.

It remains to examine the attitude of the Royal Commission on London Government towards London traffic. While the Main Report, signed by Lord Ullswater and three other members, accepted in substance the proposals of Sir Henry Maybury, two other members, Mr. Donald and Mr. Walsh, expressed the view that an Advisory Committee, or a Government-appointed Authority with executive powers, would fatally undermine local self-government. Compromise between views so widely divergent is clearly impossible.

A review of the experience not only of London but of other great

cities, whether provincial or foreign, shows that local passenger service in great urban centres throughout the world is becoming more and more a social service, and that the need for cheap and rapid transit is becoming more imperative. Admittedly the present competitive system has failed to justify itself. On that point the Ministry of Transport, the London County Council, and Lord Ashfield are all agreed. Abstract theories as to the merits of Socialism or private enterprise should not affect a decision in this matter. Competition means constant changes of policy and frequent adjustments of fares, resulting in loss to the undertakings without permanent gain to the travelling public.

In America, perhaps the most individualistic of the great industrial communities, the trend towards public control is general, though there is considerable variety of practice. In Paris the Municipality owns the Underground, tramways, and omnibuses, and leases them to operating companies, though retaining ample powers of control over fares and services, finance, and administration. It will be strange indeed if London, baffled by the complexity of its problem, accepts Government control instead of affirming the municipal principle.

Undeniably public ownership involves a transaction of enormous magnitude, fraught with difficulties financial, administrative, and political. Nevertheless it is an ultimate step which has been contemplated by different schools of thought, provided the difficult corollary of operation can be satisfactorily settled. In any event it must be recognised that Parliament would be the tribunal to determine on what conditions, if at all, public ownership could be effected, and to decide whether the Authority should work the undertakings directly, or grant a concession for a term of years to an operating company. Whatever the ultimate solution may be, no palliatives in the form of an Advisory Committee or by the partial exercise of the power of licensing can furnish a remedy.

For that reason the Reform of London Government grows in urgency. At the best, the London traffic problem is one which can only be partially solved over a long period of years, and its solution should rest with those who are called upon to administer the government of London. Those who have given close study to the question are the least ready to give an easy and comforting answer to its various dilemmas. But the irreducible minimum of their demands should be that London should control its own streets, *mutatis mutandis*, like any other great municipality throughout the world, and that the essentially municipal character of the problem should be definitely recognised in any new legislation.

H. ARTHUR BAKER.

THE CZAR NICHOLAS II.

I WISH to record here some recollections of my meetings with the late Czar, whom I endeavoured to serve for the good of my country. Unfortunately, however, my wishes were never realised to the extent that I hoped. I only saw him five or six times in my life, and only once did I have the privilege of a long conversation with him on the most important topics of the day concerning Russia. This was just after the Russo-Japanese war.

The future historian of the reign of Nicholas II. will find ample material at his disposal to describe the characteristics of this unfortunate sovereign. The hereditary traits, his childhood, the influence of his father, Alexander III., the principles with which this latter inspired his son with regard to the Church, autocracy, the peasantry, and the family,—all these details will have to be mentioned, if light is to be thrown on the dismal period, which followed his reign. It is not my purpose to dilate here upon the character and mentality of the late Czar, which remained constant throughout, except perhaps towards the end of his life, when it was influenced by the trend of events.

My first glimpse of Nicholas Romanoff was when I was a student at Moscow. At that period, he was young, jovial, and free from cares. He was undertaking a tour to the East by way of Eastern Russia and Siberia. At the time of his passage through the Volga and Ural steppes no railways existed. My brother George and I were then stopping at our country estate at Bouzoulouk. It was in the height of summer when the sensational news spread through this secluded part of the world that the future Czar was passing through the town of Oural'sk. I was seized with a passion to catch a glimpse of him, and even entertained hopes of being presented to him, through our friend Prince Ouchtomsky, a member of his suite. We accordingly decided to drive to a large neighbouring village, where the Czarevitch and his companions would make a few hours' halt. The morning after our arrival, we saw a large column of dust in the distance, from which a long line of carriages gradually emerged. The travellers were to draw up before the little wooden church, recently painted over for the great event, around which a large crowd of peasants had collected. We took up our stand along with the rest. The heir-apparent's carriage was the first to pull up. Covered from head to foot in black dust, as the result of the journey, he jumped nimbly out, and almost at a run ascended the stone steps of the little church. He greeted the crowd warmly and then approached the aged pope, who bestowed his blessing on him. He thereupon kissed the cross and disappeared behind the door, followed by his suite.

As, after service, the heir-apparent appeared once more, suddenly he glanced in my direction. I happened to be alone and was dressed in my student's uniform, covered with gold buttons, and looked somewhat conspicuous among the crowd of *moujiks*, who stared at the Czarevitch with intense curiosity written over their simple countenances. I caught Nicholas's gaze of surprise and anxiety as he looked at me, after which, bowing to the people, he made for his carriage. Later in the day Prince Ouchtomsky informed us that the Czarevitch was fatigued and that he could not yet tell him of our presence. That very evening the travellers went on their way.

It was with feelings of mingled sorrow and disappointment that I left the village. "At any rate, I have seen the future Czar," I said to myself by way of consolation. I would, indeed, have given anything to have been among those princes who accompanied him and who later had it in their power to ameliorate the condition of the wretched Russian folk. For was it not through the medium of the Czar, one of the greatest autocrats of all the world's great nations, that our country could be reformed? Illusions departed to-day, lost for ever! But at that time these dreams were strongly cherished not only by me in my youthful innocence but by every soul accustomed to swear allegiance to a king. Recall to mind the admiration and love that Count Nicholas Rostoff had for his Emperor in my father's *War and Peace*. These feelings of loyal devotion still continue to stir the hearts of Russians after four generations of Czardom. I gazed at the silent steppes that stretched around, and in their solitude they looked for all the world like some desert, devoid of life and hope.

The second time that I cast my eyes on Nicholas II. was just after his coronation at Moscow. This ceremony, however, did not pass off without being marred by a mournful presage for the young Emperor, whom ill-luck seemed to dog at every turn. I had just purchased a beautiful little saddle-horse and used to ride through the streets of Moscow. That spring, the Emperor and Empress used to visit the different quarters of the former capital, driving in an open carriage. One day on their return to the Kremlin, the imperial coach passed within a few paces of my mount, and I doffed my hat by way of salutation. The Czar, with a surprised look, paid but little attention to me, as his gaze was riveted on my handsome half-bred pony, a mixture of Arab and English. He seemed to me to be preoccupied and had a far-away look in his eyes, and was more fidgety than on the last occasion I had seen him. He was no longer the gay young man making a pleasant tour to the East. He was now a young Emperor, with grave responsibilities weighing heavily on his shoulders. I caught an expression of disquiet

and confusion that his eyes and face betrayed, which hitherto had been absent. Was it the fact of his being Czar that disconcerted him? For it is a well-known fact that had he been able to have his own way, he would have willingly forgone the honour of so exalted a position. Perhaps it was the terrible accident that occurred at Chodinka that troubled his mind, that unfortunate catastrophe in which a large number of people were crushed during a *fête* that had been arranged there.

Some years later, I again met Nicholas II. for the third time at a concert at St. Petersburg before the Russo-Japanese war. All the nobility had foregathered in the magnificent hall. The Czar sat in the Imperial box, looking pale, sad, and indifferent, and was continually placing his hand on the collar of his uniform, which seemed to be tight for him. He looked genuinely bored, and did not even attempt to conceal the fact. I watched him closely from the stalls and wondered to myself what was the fate in store for my poor country. I dared not, like the rest at that time, find an answer to my own thoughts. However, I realised that things were going from bad to worse, and that it was futile to hope for anything in the way of sweeping changes and energetic initiative to proceed from him who occupied the throne. The thought occurred to me of the possibility of still awakening sufficient interest in our sovereign, from whom a wave of the hand or a nod of the head would have sufficed to revive our great country and would have placed her on the road to prosperity.

The consensus of opinion in Russia was that the Czar was surrounded with too big a halo to permit of the existence of revolutionary ideas, that would be likely to be detrimental to his interests. He was far too popular for such methods to have been adopted. It was my firm belief that a few reforms were all that were needed, without having recourse to a general upheaval such as would inevitably have followed in the wake of a revolution. Everybody hoped for and expected a miracle to be wrought. Every right-thinking Russian, everyone who could see a little ahead of the times, wished nothing more than to approach the Czar and succour him by his own personal efforts by laying before him the reforms most needed. I was of this number. During the years that followed, everything on the surface seemed to pass off smoothly in Russia, with the result that the people were lulled into a false sense of security and held their peace.

In 1900, I took up my residence in St. Petersburg and used to write for the papers, while taking part in all the most important political questions of the day. I was an admirer of the Scandinavian countries, and in particular of Sweden. The "Vareges," as the Scandinavians were formerly known, were the first to found

the State of Russia, so that they were well qualified to furnish us with exemplary methods. Through the medium of Prince Ouchtomsky, I submitted my book, *Sweden To-day*, to the Czar in the hope that he would read it. In this book, I discussed the various institutions of that country as well as of the five Swedish liberties. I likewise mentioned the influence that the Swedes exercised on Russian life dating back some centuries, and I maintained that Russia could not do better than study and imitate the Swedish system of organisation.

Nicholas read my book attentively. Later on, when he issued his famous manifesto in the month of October, it contained promises to Russia, which were couched in terms practically identical with those mentioned in my book, *Sweden To-day*, with regard to the five liberties.

The audience that I had with the Czar in 1905 at the commencement of the first revolution was extremely interesting, and one which I shall never forget. It took place under the following conditions. The spirit of Russia was already beginning to revolt at the time that war with Japan was being waged. The working-classes, the peasantry, the Jews, the army, and all the discontented elements of society were dead against the Government and gave vent to their feelings accordingly. The task of stilling the storm devolved on the Minister, Witte. At the time, I was writing regularly for the Conservative paper, *Novoie Vremya*, which paper was read by the Czar daily. As I wrote in a strain quite different from the rest, I naturally attracted public attention by my articles. I did not adopt reactionary methods, but I emphasised the fact that society was to blame in general for our misfortunes, and I endeavoured to awaken the national spirit of the people by explaining the way from a historical standpoint. It was then that I addressed a letter to the Czar in which I pointed out that Russia was in need of a National Assembly and that it was impossible for her to do without one. I mentioned that the *Zemsky Sobor* (States General) with a similar assembly of representatives was the only form of government that was expedient in the circumstances, in view of the fact that Russia was divided into so many classes, and that the *Sobor* must be convened to cope with the situation. About a hundred copies of my letter were distributed among leaders of society as well as among the members of the Imperial Court. My father also read and approved it. "I do not profess to be a politician," he said, "but your letter is quite right, and I am of opinion that the institution of a *Zemsky Sobor* would rectify matters considerably."

On the receipt of my letter I received an invitation a few days later to proceed to Tsarskoie Selo, where I was to be granted an

audience. On the appointed day I took the train from St. Petersburg for the little town, situated about thirty miles away. A closed Imperial coach awaited me at the station. On arrival at the palace, the officer on duty led me into the Czar's private study, a small room containing a writing-table on which was lying a bundle of papers scattered about in confusion. A few books ranged the wall, and but for these the room was quite bare. I had hardly time to take stock of my surroundings when the door opposite me opened softly, revealing the Emperor on the threshold. He was dressed in a white uniform, which he always wore at home, even during the winter. He was unadorned and was no different from an ordinary person or non-commissioned officer as far as his outward appearance was concerned. I shall never forget the impression that his simplicity and modesty made on me. He smiled amiably on me, as he stretched out his hand and sat down in the arm-chair, while he bade me be seated.

"The honour of Your Majesty's consenting to see me," I began, "affords me great pleasure. I have seen you on many occasions, but this is the first time I have had the good fortune of conversing with Your Majesty. Before you ascended the throne I was so fortunate as to see you on one occasion at Samara."

"Oh, was it you?" was the rejoinder. "Yes, now I remember, were you not still a student at that time?"

"Yes, Your Majesty," I replied, "and I was hoping to have the honour of being presented to you at the time. I saw you for the second time at Moscow, after your coronation. I was on horseback."

"Yes, I remember that too," said the Emperor. He smiled faintly, and after a short silence passed to the object of the interview. "I read your letter, for which I thank you. And you think that the convocation of a *Zemsky Sobor* would be of great benefit to Russia?"

"Most certainly, Your Majesty. It would be representative of all classes that constitute the country, and for this very reason would be the best means of obtaining the will and desires of our people. Your Majesty will doubtless find men among the members of the *Sobor* who could help you rule the land. The time has now come in which you have no alternative."

"It is my wish to give Russia a parliament, but only in the Russian sense of the word." The Czar laid special emphasis on these words, as if he wished to show thereby his absolute independence in arriving at decisions and his characteristic Russian nature.

"The *Zemsky Sobor*," I rejoined, "is a form of parliament that is essentially Russian. Moreover, it is by way of being a historical

and traditional form of government, and that is exactly what is needed at the present moment."

"I am thinking of the peasantry," continued the Czar, without appearing to take notice of what I had said. "My whole life has been preoccupied in trying to ameliorate the condition of the peasantry. They represent the majority of the population. All my thoughts are for ever centred on them."

A silence intervened, and he seemed to be absorbed in thought. The Czar looked at me and then lowered his eyes. I resumed the conversation to develop my ideas on the object of the interview.

"The *Zemsky* should be composed of from two to three thousand people, whereby all classes in Russia would be proportionately represented, *viz.*, the nobles, men of business, the middle class, the working classes, the peasants, and the priests. Every year they would have to reunite for a certain number of months on business, Your Majesty, and you would be the President of the *Sobor*. You could control it and dictate your will. In this manner you would, I think, influence the will of the people. Furthermore, the members constituting the *Sobor* would be able to work in unison and better than is the case with the representatives of the various political parties, who are at present engaged in struggling against each other throughout the country. You will never receive support from all these socialists who have nothing in common with the real life of the people, nor from the jealous band of political theorists, if you allow them any power."

"Yes, what I should like to have is a *Duma* in the Russian interpretation of the word," replied the Czar, who for the first time uttered the word *Duma* without paying any heed to my idea of the *Sobor*. Probably the *Duma* meant was the one that came into being during the Ministry of Bouliguine, that wretched abortion copied from abroad, which soon after was sanctioned by the Emperor and ended by leading Russia into a formidable catastrophe.

I had often heard it said by well-known personages in Russian society, who were personal friends of the Emperor, that he could never abide by a fixed opinion. Advice used to be showered upon him from all quarters, and it was thought that he took the counsels of those that came first, and was in absolute agreement with them. A few minutes later, he would appear to lend a willing ear to someone else who proposed something altogether different. I am, however, unable to say up to what point this alleged behaviour of his was true. All I can say is that when speaking with the Czar I felt certain beforehand that he would turn down my proposals. His mind had already been made up, and seemed to me unalterable. Nevertheless, he did follow some of the counsels I tendered later

on in more than one instance, but they happened to be the least important of them, the reason being perhaps that they were of a kind which I alone could have given. There were far too many self-seeking and ambitious folk surrounding the Czar, the majority of whom were unable to see further than their noses. The idea of convoking a *Zemsky Sobor*, which would have been Russia's salvation at the time, was far beyond their vision. But to return to the interview.

I spoke about the practical measures to be adopted for convening the assembly referred to. I urged that it was absolutely necessary to consult the *Zemstvos* in the first place. The leading members of the *Zemstvos*, notably the brothers Troubetskoi, princes, and others, should be invited personally by him to discuss matters. For it was these very people who could satisfactorily elaborate the basic principles on which the *Sobor* should be founded. The Czar followed me at times with rapt attention, and at others the expression on his face changed abruptly. His gaze was a mixture of kindness and obstinacy. He pulled out his cigarette case and started to smoke. "Don't you smoke?" he asked. "No," I replied, "I have given it up."

"Don't you eat meat? Your father is a vegetarian, is he not?"

"I did try to become one, and abstained from meat for four years, but I was obliged to return to it owing to an illness."

"As for me," replied the Czar, "I can no longer do without it. I feel weak as soon as I stop eating meat." He spoke with great interest over the meat question; in fact, he seemed to enthuse over it more than over the *Sobor*. This was no doubt due to the feeble state of his health at the time, and the fact that he was anxious to regain his strength by observing a meat diet. At that time, as I happened to be devoting myself to matters of hygiene, I felt it my duty to give the Czar some useful hints. I was of opinion that they would make him stronger and more energetic. Among other things, I mentioned my book on *Hygiene*. He listened with apathy and suddenly interrupted me. "You like Sweden exceedingly? I have already read your book. Yes, the Swedes are a highly cultured nation."

"I consider their culture second to none," was my response.

I thereupon warmly praised the Swedish constitution, their schools, &c. "Fifty years ago," I continued, "Sweden had a peasant population similar to ours, and the Swedish Government divided the farms among them and made over the land to the peasants, giving them sole possession. Thus a powerful class of rich agriculturists came into being, forming a solid base for the peace and quiet of the country. But with us it is this very peasant class that is the cause of our country's misery. I have written

several articles touching this question, which Your Majesty may have read."

The Emperor now paid more attention to me, and appeared a little less distracted. "I have the matter in mind. It is an important reform that I shall introduce." This reform was later begun by Stolypin.

At that instant I heard a noise behind the door leading to the inner rooms; whereupon the Czar turned round in his chair and smiled. I thought it might have been one of the children in quest of their father. The Emperor arose and the interview was brought to an end. "Write to me, if you have anything more to say," he said, stretching out his hand. "I want to know the truth. You strike me as being sincere."

The whole way to St. Petersburg, I was a prey to sad and troubling thoughts, and on my return home I was literally besieged by an army of Russian and foreign journalists. My interview with the Czar had already appeared in the papers. I did my best to give as little information as I could to my would-be interviewers. Later on I was told that the Emperor was displeased on hearing what some of the journalists had written regarding the audience.

I wrote fairly often to the Czar after that on a number of different subjects. I noticed afterwards that some of my suggestions were put into practice, while others were omitted. For example, my impressions with regard to Sweden and the Protestantism of that country were taken to heart. In one letter I proposed the reformation of the Russian Orthodox Church. Not, however, in the Lutheran sense nor in any definite Christian form, but merely to simplify and rationalise the Orthodox service and ceremonies. I suggested the translation of all the prayers from ancient Slav into the Russian language; that pews should be placed in all the churches, and the service be curtailed, at the same time preserving the spirit of the Orthodox Church. The magnificent anthems and the cadre, however, were to be left intact. One of the Ministers of the Interior told me that the Emperor totally disapproved my ideas regarding the religious reforms, and seemed to be rather indignant about them. The Czar was religious to the point of fanaticism, and held ideas diametrically opposed to mine as regards religion. He regarded the old Church as the basis of Russia's great strength, a sacred institution that brooked no interference.

In another letter I begged and prayed the Emperor to give Rasputin a wide berth. Rasputin at that moment was continuing to shock the opinion of all classes, except a small clique who rallied round this monster. Some good came of my counsel, for, shortly after, he was actually sent back to Siberia, much to everybody's surprise and satisfaction. But, alas! after a few weeks had elapsed,

the Court favourite was recalled to Tsarskoie, and from that time up to the day of his murder he never once left Petrograd and its vicinity.

The last time that I saw Nicholas II. was during the Great War. The Czar was at the time at the head of his troops in the town of Mokileff, which was the headquarters of the Russian front (*à propos* of the name of this town, which in Russian means "the town of the tomb," the fact that the Czar stayed there was regarded as an ill omen for Russia).

On replacing the Grand Duke Nicholas in the responsible position of Commander-in-chief, the Czar marched steadily towards his doom. At the moment, the internal situation of Russia was going from bad to worse, and the all-absorbing question of the day centred round the bread supply, which was a veritable nightmare to every Russian. Bread was daily getting scarcer and dearer consequent on the revictualling of the army, which had been mobilised on a gigantic scale, and everyone felt the necessity of finding and awakening an extraordinary energy to save the situation. It was then that Sturmer was appointed Prime Minister and Count Bobrinsky Minister of Agriculture. Public opinion was openly dead against these two nominations. Not a single soul, not even the most conservative class of the community, was content. I was then at our country estate, Iasnaia Poliana. It seemed to me that the solution of the problem was not to be found in fixing the prices, which measure had been adopted at the time by the Government. Above all, a revision of all the stocks in Russia and Siberia ought to have been made, after which they should have been requisitioned and distributed in the necessary proportion among the population and the army. Many other measures, too, should have been taken, such as the prohibition of Russian flour being exported abroad. Thousands of sacks of flour were being transported from all over the country, and there is little doubt that they ultimately found their way into Germany. Not a single person in Russia tried to put a stop to this crying shame, until I published an article in the *Novoie Vremya* under the title "Bread," which appeared in large block capitals. Despite my exposure of the state of things, large sacks of flour in considerable quantities continued to flow into Germany.

As neither my articles nor my letters succeeded in producing the desired effect, I immediately determined to leave Iasnaia Poliana for Mokileff to interview the Czar personally on the question, if it were possible. I regarded this last resource as my bounden duty, and after setting down my views on paper in connection with the revictualling question, which I intended to submit to the Czar, in the event of my being unsuccessful in obtaining an

interview, I left for Mokileff. Here I ran up against one of my former school friends, Count Scheremetieff, of whose good offices I wished to avail myself, as he was attached to the Czar's staff. My friend assured me that he would mention my presence there and the reason of my wanting to visit the Czar to him that very afternoon. The following day he informed me that he had been as good as his word. "I spoke about you to the Emperor," he said, "who is pleased that you have come, but he regrets that he is unable to receive you. He repeated his regrets several times. He seemed really put out at not being able to give you an audience. But you must bear in mind that the entire front is engaging his immediate attention, and all his Ministers are at present here. Moreover, the Japanese Crown Prince, Ito, is also here on a State visit. However, I have been commanded by the Czar to take over your scheme, which I am to lay before him this evening." Hence there was nothing else to be done than to hand over to Scheremetieff my views that had been committed to writing and take my departure. I was terribly disappointed at the failure to obtain the cherished interview, and was in the depths of despair over Russia's fate.

I decided to leave Mokileff that very day, and while waiting for the train I took a stroll in the town. Imagine my astonishment on seeing the Czar, just as I had left the station. He was in an open coach which was being driven to the station. A long string of carriages followed in his wake. At his side was the youthful heir-apparent, Alexej Nicolajevitch, who at the time was about thirteen years of age. The young prince seemed to be in the best of health and spirits, and a pleasant smile lurked about his delicately moulded face. The Emperor, on the other hand, looked pale, exhausted, and restless, despite which he smiled as he whispered something in the ear of his son and heir. This was the last occasion on which I set eyes upon Nicholas II.

On my return to Iasnaia Poliana, I addressed a letter—my last letter—to the Czar, in which I begged him to consider my entire services and life as being at his disposal. However, Nicholas did not deign a reply.

Some months later, I left Russia on a protracted tour to the East, visiting Japan, China, and India. I had a presentiment that a terrible future lay in store for my country and that nothing could have averted the impending catastrophe. The very soldiers on their return from the front used to say openly that they were all ready to overthrow the Government and were awaiting the opportune moment to carry out their intentions. Once the war ended they were all determined to rise against the Government and against those who attempted to support it. The peasants were at one with

the soldiers on this point. The Liberals redoubled their efforts in spreading dissensions and strife, as they felt their turn approaching nearer daily. The war had demanded heavy toll from the ranks of the aristocrats, whose number had by then dwindled down to half by the death of officers and generals of the Guards, and their power of resistance was rapidly waning. Anguish and despair now stalked the land, even visiting the outlying corners of the enormous stretch of country that had been abandoned and deprived of its necessary resources.

In the middle of the Pacific, at Honolulu, I heard the incredible news that the Czar had abdicated. The other passengers aboard surrounded me and bombarded me with questions. They all seemed merry on hearing the sad news. "What is the reason of your joy?" I asked, somewhat annoyed at their frivolity. "Why, there is Kerensky! At last Russia will be a free country and be rid of the despotism of Czardom!" "Believe me," I answered, "the evils will now be multiplied instead of diminishing and the consequences will be terrible. I assure you the Czar's abdication augurs ill." Kerensky's name was on everyone's lips. I did not know him personally, and I regarded him as a nonentity.

All that I have just narrated appeared that day in the Honolulu papers, and my opinions came as a surprise to many of their readers. Imagine Tolstoi, son of the great Tolstoi, expressing such retrograde ideas! Be that as it may, I spoke as a man who knew what he was saying and one who loved his country, and I am sure that my father, had he been in my place, would have done and said the same. As a patriot and statesman, no right-minded Russian could at the time have had other ideas than these.

Conditions in Russia will improve not through revolutionary methods nor from exterior changes that she has undergone, but only through a new mode of legislation that will be brought into being after she has passed through all the stages of misery that a revolution brings in its train. It is this new system of law and order that we are waiting for. It will come from within and not from without, yea, from the very heart of Russia, from the Russians themselves. If the nation could have come into direct contact with Nicholas II. and linked its heart with that of the Czar, whose sole wish was the well-being of the peasantry, and if he on his part could have united with his people morally, he would perhaps have gone down to posterity as the most beloved and blessed of his kind. But these ancient, historical links so necessary even for the existence of Russia were severed and lost for ever, and this fact is the chief cause of the *débâcle* of the mighty Russian Empire.

LEO L. TOLSTOY.

PSYCHOLOGY AND SPIRITUAL MIRACLES.

I.

THE controversy between science and religion is not due to a contradiction in which one side has the monopoly of truth and the other is the victim of error, and which therefore may be resolved once for all, with the growth of enlightenment, in favour of one or other of the protagonists. It is rather an antithesis inherent in the constitution of the human mind, and like other oppositions, such as that between the spirit of conservatism and the urge of progress, or the social order and individual liberty, is a phase of process and development. Hence it comes to pass that the conflict is composed from time to time, only to break out again in new ways. The echoes of one skirmish have barely died down before another begins. A past generation witnessed the battle between religion and natural science in the realms of geology and biology, around the question of physical miracles. There are corners of the world where mutterings of this controversy still linger, but it belongs now to the sphere of history rather than of living issues. In our time we are faced with another phase of the same warfare. The battle of to-day seems likely to be between religion and mental science, and to range round the question of the supernatural in psychic experience and the possibility of spiritual miracles.

Whilst it is natural that the defendants of the cause of religion against the new assaults of science should feel that the issue is a matter of life and death to much that they cherish, those who have most clearly discerned the significance of previous aspects of the controversy will be the least likely to be unduly alarmed. The duel of the moment is probably no more *à la mort* than that which our fathers witnessed. Science and religion are twin activities of the human mind, born of the same mother-wonder, urged on by the same home-sickness of the soul, "moving about in worlds not realised." Each has some contribution to make in the search for reality—contributions seemingly antithetical until they have revealed themselves as complementary; and not the least important contributions have been made as the result of the very difference between the two. The unrest of mind caused by the dispute has been "the sting that bids nor sit nor stand, but go." The mutual criticism born of the contrast between the scientific temper and the spirit of religious faith has hindered science and religion alike from taking that which is only characteristic of their respective points of view as a limiting characteristic of reality itself. The *contentio veritatis* has been the auxiliary of progress against dogmatism, and

the safeguard of catholicity of mind against prejudice, whether the dogmatism has been on the part of science or of religion. It has been well said that religion has played the part of devil's advocate in the trial of the findings of science,* thus securing the careful sifting of claims and of evidence. It might be added that the trial has not infrequently ended in the canonisation by religious thought of the views at first resisted. The controversy is one in which defeat may not mean loss, and through which the conquered may give laws to the conquerors.

This expectation is encouraged by a retrospective survey of the battle between natural science and religion. Had no resistance been offered to the claims made on behalf of science by some of its exponents that it could provide by itself a complete *Weltanschauung*, much of supreme worth in human culture would have been submerged in the tide of a materialistic monism. The contribution to the understanding of the world and of human life made not only by sacred literature, but by all poetic vision and spiritual insight, would have been not merely defined but obliterated. To many, doubtless, the triumph of the scientific view of the order of Nature would seem to exclude the supernatural, bowing God out of the universe and enthroning mechanical law in His place, but the religious spirit that instinctively resisted dogmatic and self-sufficient naturalism has itself been directed in the course of the struggle into broader channels. The general effect of scientific criticism has been to lead faith to seek the vision of God not in the narrow sphere of the extraordinary and inexplicable, but in the reinterpretation of an orderly universe in the light of moral purpose, and the filling in of the outline drawn by science with the colours of æsthetic and spiritual values. To the mind stimulated by the antithesis to seek the wider synthesis science has become the unfolding of an order within an ever-widening miracle.

But to be optimistic about the issue of the present conflict is not to treat it as unimportant or unreal. In the first place, there is a fundamental difference between the instinctive basis of the scientific temper, and that of religious faith. The scientific view is more abstract, and therefore simpler. It abhors contradictions. Religion is more concrete, and therefore more complex. Its realm is the realm of paradox. Science is born of the instinct of pure curiosity. Religion combines curiosity with the instinct for dependence.† Science is at war with the unknown. Religion wrestles with the unknown, but, thwarted, seeks a blessing from it. It seeks to know, yet needs that which is "beyond all knowledge and all thought"—the greater than the mind or self. It finds a satis-

* Mr. Wilfred Ward, *Ideals of Science and Faith*, p. 318.

† Corresponding with what McDougall calls "negative self-feeling."

faction which no logically complete system of knowledge can afford in the confession of mystical agnosticism: "Such knowledge is too wonderful for me; it is high, I cannot attain unto it." It is content rather "by not discovering to discover God, than by discovering not to discover Him."*

Moreover, in the present controversy between mental science and religion the interests of religion would seem to be more nearly threatened in proportion as the inner courts of personality are penetrated. The irruption of science into the world of the mind is an invasion of territory hitherto regarded as peculiarly the possession of the soul, and the refuge of the supernatural, and now a science which is not merely physical, but psychological, assaults this citadel. We may yield much to natural law, leaving the soul's instrument, body and even brain, to the tender mercies of scientific analysis, but the scientific evisceration of spiritual experience, the vivisection of the soul, is anathema! And, for those who welcomed the advent of the psychology of religion, hoping by its aid to verify the findings of faith, to this natural repulsion is added the intensifying emotion of disappointment. We have long abandoned the effort to find the soul in the pineal gland, or detect it by weighing the body before and after death, but we may have clung to the hope of demonstrating spiritual realities by the dissection of the mind. But the only effect of mental dissection seems to be similar to that of physical dissection—it leaves us with a dead body and a vanished soul. Religion seeks personal causation and reaction—human freedom and divine fellowship—new beginnings, at least in the spiritual world, having their origin in the creative energy of the moral will, and the grace of God. For these psychology seems, at any rate in the first stages of the argument, to substitute the mechanical causation of determinism. This, then, is the *casus belli*.

II.

There has been manifest from time to time a tendency, in the defence of the religious position, to shorten the front by retiring upon entrenched positions, thereby sacrificing the interests of those who dwell in the evacuated territory. Much of the religion of ordinary men is explicable in terms of acquired belief and conduct of a certain moral type, and is so obviously continuous with the rest of mental process and the organisation of character that it presents no new problem or extraordinary material for psychological analysis. The sources of their ideas and virtues can be traced and catalogued, and require no special form of personal

* St. Augustine, *Confessions*, VI.10.

experience to explain them. In like manner their emotions are explicable by reference to the stimulation of natural instincts in contact with ideas acquired from religious tradition, or by sympathetic transference, through association with the religious life of other individuals or organised groups. It is tempting to leave these to the mercy of the psychologist, and concentrate upon those which show greater originality, and seem to afford evidence of something beyond the range of ordinary experience, viz., upon cases of conversion in which forces seemingly outside the subject's own mental constitution or social environment have played a decisive part, and upon mystical types of experience. Can we not assume that here at least we are in the realm of spiritual miracle? Let the gentiles tread the outer courts of religion, but this is the inviolate holy of holies! But this view, whatever security it may seem at first to offer, involves a subtle recrudescence of the idea of miracle abandoned in the realm of physical science, viz., that a miracle is the irruption of alien forces from the realm of the supernatural, breaking the ordered system of the natural. It relies upon gaps in the system, upon the failure of science to explain phenomena even from its own limited point of view. It seeks evidence of divine action in occasional causation, invading the ordinary mental and moral life of man.

This method of treating religious experience has not been adopted by the theologian alone. Psychologists have exhibited the same tendency in their approach to the subject. William James dismisses somewhat summarily what he calls "second-hand" religious experience, and concentrates for the most part on more extraordinary types, inclining to the belief that some *rapprochement* between the divine and the human may be established in the subliminal region of the mind. This interest in the abnormal, however natural it may be on the part of the psychologist, does less than justice to the religious value and significance of the inner life of the commonplace majority of believers. It involves a dualistic view of the universe, bringing back the old schism of natural and supernatural within the life of the spirit itself. It has placed a weapon in the hands of those inimical to the claims of religion. Murisier and others, for example, identify religious experience with the more extreme types of mysticism, and then dismiss it as a form of mental disease. Moreover, the tide of psychological inquiry cannot be stayed even at the feet of the saint by merely saying, "Thus far and no further shalt thou come." We may hold that many of the views which attempt to reduce religious experience to the lowest common denominator of some one psychological principle are exaggerations due to intellectual prejudice—as, for instance, the identification of religious sentiment, by some psycho-analysts, with

disguised sex instinct, having its energy-source in the *libido*, or of sudden conversion as simply a type of hysteria—but the method of explanation by integrating the experience into a system of mental mechanisms is typical of the attitude of psychology towards religious phenomena equally with other types of behaviour.

Modern psychology, face to face with spiritual miracles, perpetually attempts to resolve the extraordinary element and explain everything according to general laws of mental process. It regards the difference between ordinary experience and the experiences of the mystic, not as generic, but as a difference of mode due to certain psychophysical conditions in the experient. For example, from this point of view, extraordinary types of conversion are not to be distinguished from normal moral and spiritual growth and conscious decisions and acts of will by assigning the one to natural causes and the other to supernatural. The history of both types may with equal propriety be made the subject of analysis, and their divergence explained by the degree of dissociation in the mind of the experient between the different and possibly conflicting complexes or "selves," the more extraordinary type possibly possessing a broader fringe of consciousness, or representing the effect of a repressed complex more or less completely cut off from the normal pre-conversion consciousness. Professor Coe considers that the typical mystical process, formally considered, is nothing else than partial or complete hypnosis.*

Thus the visions and auditions of the mystic state derive their content from the same sources as ordinary beliefs and judgments, their special intensity and seeming objectivity being due to quasi-hypnotic dissociation within the mystic's consciousness. "The mystic brings his theological beliefs to his mystical experience, he does not derive them from it."† Psychological analysis thus seems to indicate that the content of mystical experience is acquired in a manner analogous to that of the rest of our experience, and that the apparently miraculous element is due to degrees of dissociation ranging from a possible zero in ordinary reflective judgment, through the various degrees of "intellectual" and "imaginary" visions and auditions, to ecstasy and pseudo-hallucination, and the maximum in trance or complete hallucination. The details of the "revelation" are either present beforehand and apperceived into a new context, receiving a new emotional charge through the mystical experience, or are added *à posteriori* as the mystic's explanation. Thus from the scientific point of view the abnormal is no proof of the supernatural. Dr. Thouless draws attention to a difference between religious experience and pathological neuroses

* *Hibbert Journal*, January, 1908.

† *Loc. cit.*

which it is wise to notice. The religious redirection of the *libido*, he says, unlike the neurotic symptom, provides a permanent and satisfactory solution of the erotic conflict.* Dr. Brown also draws attention to the close connection between religion and mental health.†

But that religion is a factor in mental health is no sufficient proof of its supernatural basis or the objective truth of its content. There may be, and as a matter of present fact there are considerable gaps in the explanation which psychology can offer for the facts of religious experience, but Professor Pratt's permission to the philosopher and theologian to fill them in, if they like, with supernatural explanations is hardly wise counsel, and, indeed, he himself, as a psychologist, is too wary to commit himself to that line of argument.‡ To try and pilot the religious explanation through the gaps in the scientific explanation is like steering a ship through the lanes in an ice-floe. The constant pressure of the floe is closing now this avenue, now that, and the craft is in continual danger of being crushed in the pack. Dr. Thouless points out the peril of this method. "It seems perilous," he says, "to found an argument for the reality of divine action on our ignorance of the mechanism of conversion. . . . It repeats in mental science an error of which theologians have already repented in biology."§

It would seem to be the safer course, whilst observing a duly cautious attitude towards the details of any particular psychological explanation, to allow the legitimacy of the scientific attempt to explain the formal nature of religious experience, and fall back upon a valuation of its content as a test of its religious truth and contact with supernatural reality. The psychologist, *qua* scientist, may say at the conclusion of his analysis, like the astronomer after sweeping the heavens with his telescope, "I see no God." The retort is that, *qua* psychologist he is not expected to. Once he ceases to set in order the bare facts considered from the abstract point of view of science he has ceased, *ipso facto*, to be a psychologist. Professor Leuba seems to have expected more than this from the psychology of religion, and meeting with disappointment in that direction, to have assumed that the search was ended. "If there were extra-human sources of knowledge and super-human sources of power," he writes, "their existence should, it seems, have become increasingly evident. Yet the converse is apparently true.|| But faith does not look for fresh facts to establish itself, it looks for a deeper meaning in the same facts, viewed

* *Psychology of Religion*.

† *Suggestion and Mental Analysis*, p. 125.

‡ *The Religious Consciousness*, p. 36.

§ *Op. cit.*, p. 204. Cf. *Study of Nature and Vision of God* (Blewett). p. 53.

|| *Psychological Study of Religion*, p. 272.

from another standpoint. The task of poetry and art, philosophy and theology alike is to interpret and re-value the facts which science sets in order. This explanation and valuation is, in the nature of the case, super-scientific, and cannot be achieved by scientific methods. "Starting in this way from the facts of religious experience, the religious man becomes involved in the same problems, concerning the relation of nature and values to one another and of both to the ultimate ground of reality, which meets the philosopher in his attempt to arrive at an interpretation of the universe."*

For the moment, we must leave this question of the objectivity of religious values, noticing only that faith does not argue as to their objectivity—it perceives them as objective. The "ontological judgment," as Professor Ladd calls it, is a part of spiritual perception.† This alternative line of argument has the advantage of being applicable to the wider field of more commonplace moral and religious experience. It brings the ordinary man, equally with the ecstatic, into the focus of interest. It survives the scientific investigation which strips away the covering of abnormality. The loss of the doubtful defence of the inexplicable does not involve any necessary sacrifice of religious value. It is unwise for religion to permit itself to be driven into the misty realm of the abnormal or the sub-conscious to seek the point of contact of the soul with God. Professor Pratt says: "It is difficult to see why God should choose to communicate with a split-off complex or brain cell rather than with the man himself. What is highest in the religious genius is to be sought in his conscious states rather than in some form of insensibility."‡ The road to spiritual reality that the soul may tread most surely and safely is not through the vagueness of the subliminal, or of unanalysable feeling, eluding alike criticism and understanding. "The pathway rises from the moral bed-rock of humility, purity, love: and passes up the ascent of reason, conscience, strenuous waking thought, to the gateway of spiritual vision which lies at the summit of moral and rational activity."§

III.

The value test of the worth of spiritual experience, transferring the burden of the proof of its reality from the mode of apprehension to the nature of its content, is advocated by William James. He reiterates, from the pragmatist point of view, the Scriptural standard of judgment, "By their fruits shall ye know them." It

* W. R. Sorley, *Moral Values of the Idea of God*, p. 478.

† G. T. Ladd, *Philosophy of Religion*.

‡ *Op. cit.*, p. 63.

§ J. A. Robertson, *Spiritual Pilgrimage of Jesus*, p. 54.

is true that in applying this test he has ceased to be merely a psychologist, but the test is none the less valid because it is ethical rather than psychological. The verdict of the highest form of religious consciousness is the same. The greater saints have based their assurance upon the practical, ethical value of their experience, rather than upon any marvellous elements attaching thereto. There have been those at every period of religious history who have based claims to special sanctity on the esoteric nature of their experience, and there are others who because of an inherent love of the marvellous and reverence for the unintelligible have conceded their claims. Indeed, popular imagination soon adds a legendary wonder-element to the ethical and spiritual worth of true sainthood. But when the lives of the spoilt children of God are examined in colder light, they exhibit little of special spiritual worth. The extraordinary may as often be a source of spiritual pride and frothiness as of moral strength. The men of loftier spiritual growth show a greater caution in their valuation of the abnormal. St. Paul ranks the esoteric *gnosis* below the moral *agape*, "Knowledge puffeth up, but love edifieth" (1 Cor. viii. 1). In the matter of visions and revelations he boasts unwillingly, lest any man should account him above what he sees him to be or hears from him (2 Cor. xii. 1-9). He seems to connect the ecstatic experiences referred to in this passage with some physical weakness. ("Wherefore, lest I should be exalted over much," etc.) This thorn in the flesh was the occasion of Satanic temptation, and he met it by falling back on the proven effects of the divine grace in his life. It seems reasonable to suppose that the extraordinary experience was connected with some abnormal mental condition, and that the weakness was the consequent reaction, this reaction tempting him, as it did St. Teresa, to doubt the nature of the revelation ("A messenger of Satan to buffet me"), and that he found the answer to this temptation and solace in the depression in the more normal experience of the continual strengthening of divine grace. St. Teresa seems to have had a shrewd suspicion that the extraordinary element in her case was not unconnected with her physical condition. She also knew the reaction of doubt, that led her to question whether her visions were of divine origin or Satanic counterfeit. She frequently consulted her spiritual advisers on this point, and only reached assurance by applying the test of moral and spiritual value.

St. Paul's attitude towards the special *charisms* in the Corinthian community is also significant. For his own part he would balance emotion and ecstasy in prayer and praise with understanding (1 Cor. xiv. 15), and in fellowship with others he would rather speak five words with his understanding that he might instruct,

than ten thousand words in incoherent ecstasy (1 Cor. xiv. 19). This point of view is the more significant in that his own rebirth was of the marvellous order. Yet he, least of all men, builds his faith upon the specific character of a past event. The event is only the beginning of the cumulative experimental proof of faith through continual ethical fellowship and moral renewal and its fruits in character and conduct. For him the event on the road to Damascus was contact with spiritual reality, but with a reality that had still to be realised progressively in his inward life. "I press on, if so be that I may apprehend that for which also I was apprehended by Christ Jesus" (Phil. iii. 12). St. Teresa exhibits the same careful balance of judgment. Like St. Paul she believes the abnormal experience to be objective and supernatural in origin, but she is never blind to the possibility of delusion. She never completely accepted her visions as divine revelation until she had submitted them to further tests. She obeyed superior authority in spite of them, and is reputed to have said that she could not be sure of the character of her visions, but she could of the duty of obedience. The physical symptoms attendant upon ecstasy troubled her, especially when manifested in public, and extraordinary visions and auditions seem to have become rarer as time went on. At least, she placed less emphasis upon them in later life, and often prescribed physical treatment when these symptoms were manifested in the nuns under her charge.

Thus these and other great souls found their assurance through the exercise of moral and spiritual judgment, carefully submitting their abnormal experiences to these tests. The highest type of Christian consciousness has been at one with the mind of Christ in this matter. An examination of the gospel record makes abundantly clear His own dislike of the evidential use of the marvellous. "An evil and adulterous generation seeketh after a sign."* Whether, then, we approach the question of the supernatural in spiritual experience from the point of view of the negative conclusions of psychology or of the positive affirmation of religious faith, we are led to the conclusion that contact with spiritual reality in the diverse types of religious experience is to be measured not by their extraordinary character, but by the moral and spiritual value of their content and results.

IV.

Negatively, the result of our discussion has been to indicate the danger and futility of the attempt to establish supernatural causation and the possibility of spiritual miracles within the life of the

* Following the version in Lk. xi., which appeals from the marvellous to the moral power of the preaching of the truth.

soul by seeking gaps and faults in the psychological explanation of the mental processes involved. Positively, the conclusion is that contact with divine reality is mediated through these processes, which, though unexplained as yet in many instances, cannot be assumed to be inexplicable. The test of the actual contact of thought and feeling with reality is to be applied to the content and not to the mode of experience. But whilst the abandonment of the argument from scientific inexplicability to supernatural causation may lead us back to a truer and safer standard of spiritual significance, the application of this standard leaves certain outstanding problems which must be faced.

Foremost amongst these problems is the question of the objectivity of religious values. The subjectivity of the value judgment is regarded by some as a stumbling-block in the way of accepting the conclusions of faith. Professor Ladd says that amongst savages every vivid experience especially connected with emotions or practical interests is taken as guaranteeing a more or less faithful mental representation of real beings and actual transactions.* Feuerbach, fixing on these and similar facts in the genesis of faith, regards it as wish-fulfilment, and on that ground denies it objective validity. But to base such a conclusion on these premises is to treat the needs and wishes of human nature, even in a developed and educated form, as purely arbitrary and unconditioned. Viewed even from the subjective side our value judgments are the product of what we are and what we have become. The biologist explains our original physical and mental equipment and the course of our development as a practical adaptation to environment, *i.e.*, as conditioned by contact with an objective reality. To suggest the analogous conclusion that our spiritual nature and its needs have some purpose and correspondence with reality is irresistible. It may be urged that our standards are acquired from tradition, and that the moral self is a social creation, and that therefore faith is a human inheritance and not the result of an immediate experience of God. But corporate experience may be less arbitrary than individual. It is wrought out in wider contact with life. It may be subject to artificial modification, but its origin is experimental, and the individual successors to its inheritance submit it continually to the practical test of their own spiritual needs. That which no longer serves to explain life or equip them for it tends to be either summarily rejected or gradually abandoned. Standards of beauty, truth, and goodness are no more arbitrarily established than the data with which science deals, and the religious explanation of them is not necessarily more subjective than scientific hypothesis.

* *Op. cit.*, p. 518.

But if the objectivity of religious values be admitted, consequences of the utmost importance follow. Religion is not a mere revaluation of the processes systematically described by science. It explains them by relating them to new postulates. It can never be the mere deification of natural laws. "The world interpreted religiously is not the materialistic world over again with an altered expression."* Even if we are looking at the old facts in a rosier light, the light is a new fact. Truth, beauty, and goodness are qualities inherent in thought, and emotion, and will, not in abstract law. Either they are subjective and exist only in the mind of the percipient, or they are objective and postulate a supreme Personality as their ground, of whose thought and purpose they may be predicated. This is the new fact, postulated on other than scientific grounds, as the explanation of experience. Law, reinterpreted as the method of God's operation, and psychological processes, regarded as His way of working in the soul, may be the appropriate objects for faith's consideration, but they only acquire a religious value in virtue of this relationship to a divine purpose. This relationship between law and purpose is the crucial problem for religion, face to face with the findings of science. The apotheosis of mechanical law or logic can never provide a religion. It may provide a pantheistic philosophy, but it issues either in absolutism or in materialistic monism, a Scylla and Charybdis either equally fatal to personal religion. The poet may cry, "All's love, yet all's law," but for prosaic judgment a universe of abstract law is hopelessly determinate and terribly impersonal; "Stern as fate, absolute as tyranny, merciless as death; too vast to praise, too inexorable to propitiate; it has no ear for prayer, no heart for sympathy, no arm to save." "It is only transcendentalist metaphysicians who think," says James, "that . . . by simply calling it the expression of absolute spirit, you make nature more divine as it stands."†

It is this that provokes the instinctive resistance of faith to the idea of the absolute reign of law. Men want a God "who makes a difference."‡ The plea for miracles and the love of the extraordinary is at heart a claim for the supremacy of personal causation. Can this supremacy be conceded without the invasion of the realm of law? Neither the physicist, nor the biologist, nor the psychologist can find room for it within their proper sphere. There they are of necessity determinists. Science follows an ideal of abstract completeness, and the theologian, as we have seen, makes use of gaps at his peril. But science cannot argue from

* *Varieties of Religious Experience*, p. 570.

† *Loc. cit.*

‡ Pratt, *Religious Consciousness*, p. 38.

abstract completeness to the claim to be an exhaustive account of reality. There is room for a wider view that must include but may transcend the scientific view. Day by day human activity is organising natural resources, and, by obedience to natural laws, using them for personal ends, thus creating new facts. This freedom is not a violation of law, but it is more than obedience.

Here is an analogy that suggests the way to a synthesis of the claims of psychology and of faith. Personal causation can use natural processes in conformity with natural laws to personal ends. In our religious life the ideal content of faith makes a difference. "Impulses and emotional disturbances do not of themselves furnish the ideas of religious experience, much less do they create the ideals of the higher forms of this experience."* Faith thinking its own thoughts of God, and acting upon them with certain results, claims that what God is and does within experience is the cause of these effects. Faith's act of acceptance, directing the attention to an ideal, construed as a manifestation of Divine purpose and command, touches something which directs instinctive energy to new ends, and thus achieves a new fact, a new beginning in time, a veritable spiritual miracle, the cause of which transcends, without violating, the psychological mechanism by which it is achieved. To call this causation merely subjective is to charge the soul with creating itself, and the mind with inventing the truth of its thoughts. The power of truth must ever be construed as a contact through thought with reality. Miracle thus understood, satisfies the claims of faith without violating natural laws; for faith can acknowledge, in the mind as in the world outside, law within a universe of moral purpose and order in the counsels of God.

A. N. ROSE.

LATVIA OF TO-DAY.

THE term "Succession States" has been freely and somewhat loosely used since the provisions of the Versailles Treaty ratified the rights of a number of ancient nationalities to develop once more unhampered by the dominance of an alien Power, whether Hapsburg or Muscovite; and in one sense the phrase is a just, as it is a convenient one, though it is doubtful whether the States thus designated enjoy the appellation of "Succession" when the territory thus described was their own some three thousand years ago!

Latvia, the "Amber Land" of the ancients, enjoying a flourishing trade with the Phœnicians in that precious commodity as far back as that period, was a prosperous country, free and independent until the twelfth century, when the return of the Teuton Knights from the Crusades, and their consequent transference of activities to the shores of the Baltic, plunged her into a conflict which, lasting over three centuries until the dissolution of this quasi-religious, quasi-military Order (by this time become more political and commercial than religious) left her so weakened that division was her inevitable fate. In 1710 the Muscovite Power came on the scene, and Livonia, one of the provinces of Latvia, was seized for the Czar. By this time the German elements remaining in the country had sunk into comparative insignificance, overcome by a policy of peaceful economic development, but the Letts now found themselves again in the grip of the Teuton by the granting from Russia of the infamous "Privilegia Sigismundi," a charter of feudal liberties for the benefit of the descendants of the Teuton Knights, which practically removed the Lett from any share in the ownership of his own country. Peasant risings which followed for the next century were stamped out ruthlessly, but the strength of the Lettish nation focussed itself in the cultural awakening of the 'sixties, and, after a long struggle, a concession was made with regard to education which, though afterwards revoked by Russia, had a marvellous effect upon the national consciousness of the people. But progress, save in municipal affairs, was slow, and the political rights of the Letts were as scanty as those of any serf in the Dark Ages. Until 1863 no Lett was even permitted to purchase land in his own country, and the liberation of the serfs was only accompanied by what was ironically termed "birds' freedom," that is, no corresponding grant of land was made at the same time.

By their ownership of the land the German Barons were able to maintain a stranglehold over the commerce of the country, while

Russia, on her part, made every effort to Russify the Letts—through the proscription of their language and the closing of their schools, a process familiar to anyone who has studied the very similar conditions prevailing before the war in Bessarabia, and with precisely similar results. The Lettish peasant, ably led by his “intelligentsia,” stubborn and tenacious, resisted the double pressure, political and economic, from Russia and Germany alike, and through the medium of various educational and co-operative societies continued to build up a national reserve of character and political ideals. The Russo-Japanese war caused revolution to break out along the Baltic, and the Czar was obliged to grant a Constitution within the Empire, and pledged himself to respect the autonomy of Latvia—a promise broken the moment the insurgents had laid down their arms. The throne of autocracy was not yet ready to fall, and when the Great War broke out Latvia was in the difficult position of having to choose whether she would support the Russia which denied her liberties, or the Germany whose avowed aim was the annexation of the Baltic lands and the command of that sea which would in her hands become “a German lake.”

Unhesitatingly Latvia threw in her lot with the Allies, and was rewarded by the repeal of the Privilegia Sigismundi. The rest is known: the heroic struggle of this people on the Riga front; the intrigues of Germany with the Soviet which, under the Treaty of Brest-Litovsk, led to the handing over of Latvia from Russian to German mastery; the refusal of the Letts to acquiesce in this high-handed proposal; the long fight with the troops of Germany, released like a flood from the Russian front and swamping the country in the darkest hour Latvia had known during the whole five years of war. Even when help came and the troops of Von Der Goltz were ordered to leave the country by the Supreme Council (it is an ironic truth that they had been permitted to remain there to “protect the Bolshevists”), it took six months’ hard fighting before Latvia was cleared of her enemies of the Iron Division and of the Bolshevik army which had concurrently invaded her territories.

Free at last to organise a National Government, the Letts set to work with a determination one must admire and respect to establish themselves in lands which were after the lapse of centuries once more their own. The new Republic was accorded diplomatic recognition by the Allies, and after the Constituent Assembly had been created and could begin its onerous duties the work of reconstruction started in earnest. Among the first measures voted by the Lettish Parliament was a drastic Agrarian Law, which broke up the huge estates of the *Junkers* and gave to the landless peasant

a portion of the soil for which he had fought. Critics of these agrarian reforms, which practically all the “Succession States” have found it essential to pass, should remember that without such measures the plague of Bolshevism (at that period passing through its worst phase) would never have been stemmed. The work of these Border States along the Baltic in keeping a *cordon sanitaire*, despite the avowed intent of the Reds to unite themselves with their “comrades in Germany and the West,” has never yet been recognised to the full; and it must be emphasised that had the peasants, who in the majority of cases had lost the little all they had once possessed, not been granted the land for which they had fought nothing could have saved Latvia and Esthonia from sharing the fate of Northern Russia.* One thing or the other lay before the rulers of Latvia, annexation to Russia under Soviet rule in the event of their failing to satisfy their land-hungry peasants, or a fresh falling into the hands of Germany. The Lettish Government did wisely, and if the *Junkers* will recognise that they are living in the Lettish Republic and not under German suzerainty there may yet be a possibility of peaceful co-operation between Letts and their former masters. Ill-feeling there may be for a time, but the Letts are not a vindictive people, and the matter rests in the hands of the late landowners themselves. Compensation is to be paid, but it will not be high, the Letts considering with reason that the *Junkers* must take their share of the war losses—losses in any case much increased by the perpetual and dishonouring intrigues carried on to the last by the Baltic Barons.

The problems of reconstruction which faced Latvia at the close of hostilities were the more serious, in that she confronted them with an exhausted treasury. The banks had evacuated their securities to Russia at the beginning of hostilities, and when the time came for them to take their place in schemes of reconstruction, they had no reserves with which to begin operations. Before the war Latvia was a land “flowing with milk and honey,” rich in cattle and horses, with prosperous farms and modern dairying establishments; exporting vast quantities of flax and timber, her ports full of vessels, a fourth of the trade of Russia passing through her hands, her industrial areas hives of activity. War and invasion destroyed commerce and agriculture; fully half a million refugees had to be repatriated; a population of 2,552,000 in 1914 had dwindled to 1,813,000 in 1922; Riga alone had lost more than half its inhabitants, and the male population of the country between the age of twenty and thirty had diminished by 40 per cent. Sixty per cent. of all industry was destroyed and the plant carried off to Russia or Germany; half the rural districts were covered with

*In 1920, 73 per cent. of the rural population possessed no land at all.

500 THE CONTEMPORARY REVIEW.

dug-outs and wire entanglements, the farms burnt, the cattle slain, the cultivated lands lying fallow.

It can be seen, therefore, what a problem confronted the new Government of the country, and to that Government and to the heroic backing it received from the rank and file of the Lettish people is due the marvellous success which has already attended the efforts of the country to put its house in order. By a stable, conservative policy, and by the absence of political upheavals, the new State has gained the confidence of Europe, and in consequence foreign credit has been forthcoming to a considerable extent. Close relations have been maintained with the Allied and Associated Powers, and Latvia initiated the first Baltic Conference, which, held at Riga in 1920, brought the States bordering on that Sea into amicable and intimate relationships which may in the future have far-reaching results. It is a curious turn in the wheel of fortune that, after a lapse of centuries, the Baltic Sea is once more proving a focus for important developments in commerce and government, and Latvia, occupying a peculiarly advantageous geographical position on its shores, and providing one of the most direct routes between the commerce of Russia and the West, will play an important part therein. At present she is watching, with deep interest, like all the Northern countries, the policy of the new British Cabinet regarding the recognition of Russia, a matter which is of vital importance to her.

It would be a mistake to regard Latvian commerce as merely tributary to Russia, although prior to the war, as we have said, fully one-fourth of the imports and exports of the Empire passed through her ports, and the greater part of the metal industry of Russia was concentrated in Riga, by reason of the greater productivity of the Lettish workman over the Russian. Russia was, and will be, the most valuable customer of Latvia, but in the past there were such serious hindrances to the economic development of the smaller State by reason of the centralised protectionism of the larger, that Latvia has no intention of being drawn ever again into the economic or political orbit of the Russian Government in whatever form that may eventually crystallise. But it is natural that she should look hopefully on the prospects of Russian and Western trade routes being opened again since she is the great transit factor between the two regions.

With this possibility in view the Letts, once the most urgent problems of reconstruction, administration, and reorganisation of agriculture and industry were solved, have begun to develop their railways, improve their ports, and instal adequate machinery for the reception of an increased volume of traffic against the time when Russia and the West would be again in close contact. Latvia is

fortunate in possessing three magnificent harbours, of which Riga is ice-bound for about four weeks only in the year, and Libau and Ventspils for perhaps four days. Plans are being matured for the linking of the three ports by a new railway, to allow of continuous transport all the year round, and the utilisation of the splendid warehouse, cold storage, and elevator facilities of Riga, which is ice-bound, for the other two ports. Dredging operations at Ventspils (Ventspils) are being carried out to make that harbour available for the largest ocean-going vessels, and as the port is directly linked with Moscow its future importance may be considered to be material.

Agriculture is the primary occupation of the Letts, together with the kindred industries of cattle-breeding, dairying, bee-keeping, and fishing, and it has been necessary for large sums to be spent on the reconstruction of the devastated areas before the land could be brought back into any degree of its former productivity, and the stock be renewed in even such numbers as would meet the pressing needs of transport. The export of flax, once the primary one of the country, was sadly diminished during the war years, but the fields are gradually being put into cultivation again, and the export of flax, fibre, and linseed will soon reach their former figures.

The timber wealth of Latvia is very great, and with more intensive methods the revenues therefrom should benefit the exchequer greatly. At present the scarcity of transport animals, the needs of the devastated areas for timber and the use of wood as fuel on the railways, has hampered the export trade. By the Peace Treaty with Soviet Russia Latvia was granted a concession on 25,000 acres of timber for repairing the devastated areas, but the chaotic state of Russian transport—if not the chronic bad faith of the Soviets—has rendered the delivery of this impracticable. When the Russian timber comes into Latvia the latter country will be able to supply her own needs from it and use her own valuable wood for export. Not only in the matter of sawn timber, but in furniture, paper, and match making, wood distilling and the agricultural machinery industry, the Latvian export trade will directly benefit from the opening of Russia to the West. To obviate the shortage of coal Latvia has in view a scheme for harnessing the waters of the Dvina for generating electricity, but for this as for many other sound plans for future industrial development her greatest need is credit. This is hardly the place in which to urge the claims of Latvia upon the British investor, but it can be said that she is prepared to offer sound securities for such money; as far as her railways are concerned, being able to point to her unrivalled position as regards the transit trade between Russia and the West, and as regards her

ports, being able to offer the revenue from customs as security for investors.

The Letts are a cautious, practical people, not likely to be led away by chimerical ideas; and Latvia has been sacrificed to the interests of other nations too often in the past not to look with certain suspicion on any suggestions which might involve the ultimate loss of the independence so hardly won, so jealously prized. The Letts have paid too heavy a price for their liberty ever to misuse it, and, wrapped up in the welfare of their country, from statesman down to the humblest peasant, they are resolved to preserve her from political faction and those internal disputes which might undermine the national spirit. Their glorious motto, "I prefer the risks of liberty to the stillness of servitude," is a fine one on which to build up a fresh national life, but peace is too recent a boon to be lightly thrown away; and the stable, conservative, yet progressive, government of Latvia is bound to have a favourable repercussion on its eastern neighbours.

Temperate, thrifty, plodding, and tenacious, the Lett maintained his national ideals through the darkest period of serfdom by means of his treasury of song and folklore. Stoic in philosophy, he endured the exactions of *Junker* landlord and Russian official alike, solacing his poverty with the hope of a future which his children might know, keeping his love for the earth on which he toiled without prospect of reward save that expressed in his favourite proverb, "He who cares for the land will be fed by the land." Until recent years even the children lived hard joyless lives: cattle herds at seven: little farmers at fourteen, with poor food, meagre clothing, and few games their lot; learning the lessons of endurance which were to stand them in good stead during the past decade. But each year things are brighter, and the dark days of Latvia are gone, we hope for ever.

Education is highly prized in Latvia, and there are no illiterates. The system of primary and secondary schools is well organised, and the secondary and technical schools are well attended. The University is at Riga, having taken the place of the one at Dorpat which formerly served the Baltic lands, and the Riga registers show a total of 5,000 students of both sexes. Between the upper and nether millstones of Russian and German influences Latvia has managed to preserve her national culture undisturbed, and, if one may prophesy, her contribution to the literary, artistic, and scientific worlds will in the near future be not inconsiderable. Certain names are already known to Europe—the music of Darzin and Vitol; the pictures of Purvits and Rosenburg; the ceramics of Peter Steinberg; and so soon as the dramas of Rainas, the leading playwright of Latvia, are accessible to the critics of Europe in trans-

lation, they will be found to be as full of interest, and their ideas as controversial, as those of the Czech brothers Capek, with whom we have recently become acquainted as a new force in the drama.

On the part which Latvia will play in any future Confederation of the Baltic States there is no space now to dwell. Closely allied with her neighbour Esthonia, she watches the Russian frontiers with an eye keen to observe certain inimical features gradually developing. There are points of difference in the policy of all these Baltic States; wider gulfs still between some of them and their Scandinavian neighbours, and Russia is the root of all these from some aspect or another. The formation of the permanent Inter-Baltic Committee, which had its origin in that first Riga Conference, called at the initiative of Latvia in 1920, is a solid step forward in mutual understanding: the alliance between Latvia and Esthonia concluded, in November, 1923, is another; and though the day has not yet come for the actual formation of a League of Baltic States—which if it included, in addition to Finland, the Scandinavian countries, would be a very powerful force in Northern Europe—when that day does come Latvia, by reason of her geographical position and her internal security, will occupy a prominent position therein.

E. C. DAVIES.

ALBANIA'S PAST AND PRESENT.

AN Albanian proverb says: "If God came back to visit Albania, He would find it just as He made it." That is as true as most proverbs, for the country has certainly not changed since the thirteenth century.

Years ago, coming from Corfu, the faery island set like a jewel in the blue Ionian Sea, I visited Albania for the first time, landing at Valona. Barren, rocky, full of deep fissures and declivities, protected by a chain of limestone rocks overhanging the shore—thus Albania appeared to me. All is of a dazzling whiteness, especially when the sun shines. Yet arid, formidable looking, the shore resembles a high fortress set here to defend invisible countries.

And Albania has had to defend herself. After being by turn the prey of the Pelasgians, the Romans, and the Venetians, it fell into the hands of the Turks, who remained masters here until 1913. The two races lived harmoniously side by side, and you often see a Turkish minaret close to a Christian church. From this race of agriculturists and warriors the Sultan drew his best troops, his personal guard. Abdul Hamid only felt secure among Albanians, and when they threatened for any reason to revolt, he hastened to satisfy them. Thus, until 1908-1909 they were not taxed, and when Young Turkey tried to impose taxation, they sought the aid of Montenegro. Austria and Italy, who both coveted the stretch of coastline, were also ready to help, and thus, for the first time, Albania played a rôle in European politics.

Albania's position on the map has always roused other nations' cupidity. The Adriatic bathes its coasts, the mountains of Montenegro and Epirus surround it. It is the only door open on Salonica. From the time when Caesar and Pompey fought at Durazzo, war has taken up its abode in Albania. It is here that the West first stemmed the torrent of the Eastern invasion. Scanderbeg, the national hero, fought thirty years against the Turks who only after his death vanquished these ardent mountaineers.

In 1913, six Powers declared it an independent State, but took away half of its territory and gave it a German king, who fled in 1914, whilst the villages and townlets in the south were aflame. During the Great War, it became a passage for successive armies. The Serbian retreat took place through Albania, though the Serbs came back later and seized the Eastern part, which was already overrun by Greeks, Montenegrins, Bulgarians, Austrians, and Italians. The only disinterested occupation was that of France. The French detachments which settled down in Coritza drove back the Bulgarians and gave the border-lands autonomy under French control, so that the inhabitants might have a free hand to protect

their frontiers against the Italians. French and Albanians fought side by side along the craggy mountain ranges which dominate the plateau of Lake Ochrida and Coritza. Here, in the French cemetery, Albanians and French lie side by side, their number telling that the fighting was bitter. In 1920, Albania was declared a republic, with a stable government whose sole ambition was to recover the old frontiers given to it by the Treaty of London in 1913, which were contested in the north by the Serbians and by the Greeks in the south.

Oh, those Albanian frontiers which have caused so much bloodshed during these last ten years and are now covered by a heap of ruins from north to south! After the departure of the French in 1920, the Greeks occupied by force a large strip of land to the north-east of Coritza with twenty-six villages and hamlets beyond the limits fixed by the Treaty of London. The Council of Ambassadors gave back to Albania twenty-one of those villages, leaving the Greeks a large part of the beautiful Lake Presba, whose shores are peopled by Albanians. The Council then sent an Italian Commission to determine the boundaries of the *caza* of Coritza, and it was at Janina, in the south of the region of Argyrocastro, that this mission was murdered.

The Commission began its task successfully. The natural fortress of the Tarabosh, which protects Scutari, was bristling with the Serbian guns. Night after night, the Mallisores and Mirdites, those valiant mountaineers, rifle in hand, were watching or fighting in the ruins of their villages. They appealed to Europe, especially to France, whom the Albanian Christians considered to have moral obligations towards them. The Commission pacified the country, the Serbians left, and the handsome Mallisores returned to their eyries. Greece, however, in the south, unwillingly accepted the verdict of the Council of Ambassadors.

In the desert of stones which surrounds it, the town of Argyrocastro seems almost a miracle. Something grave and austere hovers around it, the distinctive feature of every Albanian town. From the height of the fortress you see the shaded streets covered by vines; the houses are high, as if defying an enemy. There is life in this town, which is one of the great wool markets—the wool being brought in by a caravan of small donkeys. In the streets you see many women, unveiled—Christians, of course.

The valley of Argyrocastro is to-day as the Greeks left it in 1914, a mass of ruins. Before retreating, they burned every village, making of the valley a desert. It stretches out between high mountain passes, where on horseback, or seated on a diminutive donkey, which is the great carrier of this country, you wander along the most precipitous paths. Above you a few villages are to

be seen, hanging as it were on the sides of those rocky mountains, with no visible path leading to them. Beneath you, grilling under the rays of the blazing sun, extends a vast plain of broken stones. Sometimes you see a green patch, stubbornly holding its own; some of the villagers have made here a field. You see them working; the women in long dark dresses which cling to their hips, wearing silver ornaments even in the fields. Their high girdles sparkle with encrusted metal. A kerchief is tied round their heads. They wear the *opings*, the leather footgear with the end bent upwards, which forms part of the mountaineer's array, and which you see everywhere in the Balkans. The women marry young and grow old quickly through premature maternity.

The men are superb, very tall, the Illyrian type in all its beauty. Their everyday costume consists of white woollen garments braided in black, with a short fringed coat of the same colours. They are people of few words. From thin, tanned, aquiline faces, their black or dark blue eyes look out serenely, and it seems as if they had stepped from an old master's canvas. On great days their costume is splendid; they wear woven chains of silver threads, and their brilliant belts hold an array of pistols with embossed handles. The expression on these primitive faces tells us that the owners have escaped the wear and tear of our restless modern life.

But this expression changes when they dwell on their country's misfortune. Then the faces darken and, though they repress their natural violence, their words are bitter and full of irony: "We are ignorant people, but we love our country and are ready to die. . . . We do not know what the powerful ones of the world have decided, but we were told at the time of the War that the nations were fighting to ensure the liberty of the small nations. Have we no right to be free? . . . we who have suffered for the last ten years? Is there no one among the great who decide our lot who wishes to work for the good of humanity? Surely he might interest himself in Albania! And France in whom we have trusted . . . what is she doing for us?" This is the gist of an Albanian's conversation when he gets on the subject of his country.

Leaning against the low, bare hills, overshadowed from afar by the undulations of gigantic mountains, lies Durazzo. Everything here is grave, desolate; the minarets, the big clock tower, the Musulman houses enclosed in large gardens—everything has an air of mystery, and you wonder what figure the German princelet must have cut here! Close to the shore you see some high walls in ruins. It is the *Mpret's* former palace which the Austrian shells have riddled.

In its amphitheatre of deserted mountains surrounded by minarets and cypresses, stands Tirana, the capital of Albania.

Two rivers flow through it. You might be in Venice, but for the chaste, discreet atmosphere of the town itself. What strikes us most is the silence of the thoroughfares. In Italy you hear loud voices and shouting; here the white houses are hidden by a wall, or seem to retreat into a courtyard. Guardians of the mystery and peace of the home, the numerous windows so close together have each a *moucharaby*, the wooden lattice through which you can be seen, but which jealously guards the intimacy of the interior.

In the covered stalls along the sides of the houses, in Eastern fashion, the artisans work. They are artists, both Christians and Musulmans, these Albanian workmen. Fortunately time is of no object to them, and they lavish it in painting their miniatures, chiselling the lovely ewer, the filigree work, making the golden embroidery on the bolero which both men and women wear on great days. For all those who admire their work they have a grave smile, the same courteous grace they display when on the market you buy their goods. Thick woollen cloth, rugs of sheep wool, transparent silk tissues, old costumes with gold lace, the sleeves braided and embroidered with gold—all this is displayed on a market day. And when from the tower there comes the song of the *muezzin*, the Musulman washes his feet and goes into the mosque. Such is the harmony between Christians and Musulmans that the Bazaar is closed both on a Friday and on a Sunday afternoon; Tirana, which comprises 15,000 Mahometans and 2,000 Christians, evidently knows how to guard every susceptibility.

The whole of Albania gives the impression of a country stowed away, forgotten under the darkness of the Ottoman Government, closed during centuries, and which suddenly opens out to the light and appears yet unknown with its archaic customs, its untouched character. This one feels at Scutari, which is the largest town of Albania, the only one which is really European, because it was the only one which, under Musulman rule, the European could enter. But as soon as you leave the thoroughfares, you find again high walls behind which the houses hide, and you feel very far away from Europe. The past surrounds Scutari like a shroud.

At the other end of the burning plain, set against the first steps of the solid mass of the Tomor which dominates central Albania, Berat stands astride the River Ossum. To cross the river, bullocks are harnessed before the motor-car. A citadel, seen from afar, crosses the barren proclivity against which the town leans. The Mahometan quarter has a newly built hospital, water is laid on, there is a talk of rebuilding the bridge which the Serbians destroyed, and, contrary to general impressions of Musulman cities, one has the feeling that Berat is a living place. It is the only Albanian city where Musulmans and Christians have separate quarters. This

townlet of seven hundred Christian inhabitants possesses not less than twenty-five churches. They date from the Byzantine occupation and vouch for the leniency of the Turks. Churches are to be found everywhere. One enters a dark stable, a door opens, and you see pictures of saints surrounded by an aureole on a golden background, as in old missals. Frescoes cover the walls. The pictures are numerous and wonderful, painted on wood, showing dark faces, mysterious fading smiles, the pure profile of virgins; there are handsomely bound old books, hidden away during centuries and only shown to the stranger if he seems trustworthy. The metropolitan church of St. Mary once treasured, so they say, a manuscript of St. Jerome—but it was stolen!

If the Christian quarter possesses all these art treasures, it has no water supply; water is brought on the backs of small donkeys. Set on a height, this quarter looks down on the modern town and over the arid plain which the *massif* of the Tomor cuts in two.

Ten hours on horseback across the plain and along the high escarpments covered with red bearberry and Judas trees round which the virginia creeper twines, and then the gigantic brow of the mountain, 2,400 *metres* high, and the fresh wind which dispels all fatigue. . . . Suddenly the light of the *bektachi* convent, this spark of fire which recalls the St. Gothard surrounded by snow. And then the arrival, which takes one back to one of those Buddhist convents built against the Himalayas. Only here there are the white figures of dervishes standing in a row on the steps of the staircase, and Baba Hiaz, their head, who salutes us with words grave and austere.

The ascent continues. Once a year, in August, the very top of the mountain is covered with pilgrims, and to propitiate the "jealous god Tomor," the dervishes sacrifice a ram. Doubtless the Pelasgians thus propitiated their gods, as Abraham was ready to offer his son in sacrifice.

Valona shelters its white houses and mosques at the foot of hills covered with olive trees. The orange and lemon trees one sees everywhere denote that this is the most fertile part of Albania. On the market square of Valona, the peasants dance the national dance, the Pyrrhic; it is their favourite pastime. The men hold each other by the hand, and one of them leads the file, all the time shaking his handkerchief. They execute a slow treading movement, as if they flung down and crushed an invisible enemy. At times the rhythm is accentuated, the song becomes a cry of joy and victory, or bitterly ironical. It always speaks of love or war—the two eternal themes!

MARIE E. DE PERROT.

FOREIGN AFFAIRS.

THE three R's—Reparations, Rhine, Ruhr—remained in their quiescent phase longer than had been expected. At the beginning of March the expectation was that the report of the expert committee would be available by the middle of the month; it was known that Mr. Ramsay MacDonald was waiting for this report before attempting any detailed policy on Reparations, and in the second half of March, therefore, it was expected that the active phase of his diplomacy would begin. Unfortunately, the experts, although they readily reached agreement about the proper methods of stabilising the mark, about the extent of German capital and the earmarking of German assets and special resources, such as the railways, for the service of reparations, found it more difficult to agree on the best method of transferring the yield of such reparation measures from Germany to the Allied countries; and the report was delayed. It seemed hardly likely that the report would be available before the end of March. Similarly the Anglo-Russian Conference could hardly be expected to get to work before the end of the month; Belgium had another of her internal crises involving the resignation of M. Theunis on February 27th, and a consequent survey of Belgium's general position; the French franc broke loose and started skidding down the slippery slope until arrested by London and New York; and the month of March became an indeterminate period of waiting for big diplomacy to restart its work. The vagueness of the outlook was the more marked because elections were approaching in Germany, France, and Italy.

Mr. MacDonald is a Scotchman. He is typically Scotch in the thoroughness with which he does things. An illustration of this is the contrast between the way in which he has prepared the ground for an understanding with France and the way in which his predecessors have attempted the same thing. Mr. Baldwin, it will be recalled, tried to recreate the "psychological" entente by the simple process of seeing M. Poincaré in Paris one day last September and then issuing the now notorious *communiqué*; Mr. MacDonald, by contrast, and benefiting perhaps by his predecessor's mistake, took more than two months in an attempt to achieve what is substantially the same object. When the first exchange of correspondence which passed between the Prime Ministers was published on February 4th, most people perhaps naturally assumed that the foundations of the Entente had been fully and duly relaid, and proceeded to wonder what the new building would be like. Mr. MacDonald had proceeded slowly

and had made a favourable impression by his caution. Some weeks later we were most of us surprised to learn that the foundations were not finished. A second series of letters, designed for the further consolidation of Franco-British confidence, was published on March 3rd.

When the present British Government first appeared on the Treasury Bench in the House of Commons, the old campaigners, Mr. Baldwin, Mr. Lloyd George, Mr. Asquith, all indulged in gentle cynicism about Mr. MacDonald's initial idealism and optimism, and all predicted that his idealism would in time be toned down by the stress of real affairs. They hardly knew their man. Mr. MacDonald has spent a life of struggling for ideals which have always been apparently unattainable; he has never given in, and has never lost his idealism. He has travelled widely, is well read, well informed, knows what he wants, and has behind him a body of Ministers, who, though inexperienced in office, are the type of intellectuals who do not readily acquiesce in defeat.

The publication of the second batch of MacDonald-Poincaré letters induced the French Press somewhat abruptly to discuss the question: Is the British Government prepared to revive the offer of a guarantee made by Mr. Lloyd George to M. Briand at Cannes, with or without modifications; or is the British Government prepared to enter into a defensive alliance with France on the model of the Franco-Czechoslovak alliance? Although the British Government does not appear as yet to have formulated any definite ideas on the point, it is possible to indicate the general trend of its thought. Those who in France or Czechoslovakia—and there are such—entertain the hope that there can be any question of a Franco-British treaty of alliance are bound to be disillusioned; it is extremely unlikely that the end can be achieved by a Franco-British treaty on the Cannes, or any, pattern. The British Government recognises that the League of Nations in its present form can hardly satisfy French requirements; but is likely to argue that in its present form the League is not what it was meant to be, nor what the British Government hopes it will become. The path to security lies through a completed League of Nations. An important sentence in M. Poincaré's letter (February 25th) gave rise at the time to the hope of a settlement of the question of security through the League of Nations: "Apart from Alsace" (he wrote) "we have never claimed the Rhine as a frontier. We have only asked that Germany should no longer be in a position to use the Rhine as a military base in fresh attacks against France." Speculation, therefore, centred on such a possibility as the neutralisation of the Rhineland under the supervision of the League.

Mr. MacDonald himself gave a hint that he was favourable to

this in his letter to M. Poincaré of February 21st. It is important to recall his exact words:—

"When I consider our relations in their wider aspect I do not feel that our essential objects are so divergent. The French people desire security, the British people cherish an identical ideal. But whereas France conceives of security as security against Germany alone, the British Empire attributes to the word a far wider significance. What we desire is security against war. To my mind the problem of security is not merely a French problem; it is a European problem, and one which interests alike England and Germany, Poland and Czechoslovakia, Hungary and Jugoslavia, Russia and Rumania, Italy and Greece.

"It may well be that some later decade may see the coming of universal disarmament and universal arbitration. Our task, meanwhile, must be to establish confidence, and this task can only be achieved by realising and allaying the international suspicions and anxieties which exist to-day. Whether this can be partially achieved by processes of local demilitarisation and neutralisation, by the creation between certain States of bands of neutralised territory under mutual or even collective guarantee and supervision, or by some other means, is a matter, I believe, in which the League of Nations, both by discussion and eventual action, might play an important part."

To succeed, the scheme would need German support and German membership of the League. Much water, it is to be feared, will flow down the Rhine before German opinion will agree to any scheme for neutralising the Rhineland.

M. Theunis resigned on February 27th. His difficulties were sympathetically understood in those British official quarters which had come into contact with him during the last two and a-half years. Ever since the London Reparation Conference of August, 1922, he had exercised a moderating influence on M. Poincaré and had tried to keep London and Paris together. The various public statements he had made since the occupation of the Ruhr had shown that he was an unwilling partner in that enterprise, but that, owing to Belgium's geographical position and her diplomatic position as a small Power, he held the view that Belgium had no alternative but to stand by France. At a series of four conferences which he held with M. Poincaré, either in Paris or in Brussels, during the early months of the occupation, he more than once drove his opposition to M. Poincaré almost to breaking-point.

Those Belgians who were in closest touch with the Theunis Government always explained that the absence of a British positive policy as an alternative to the occupation of the Ruhr was a contributing factor to M. Theunis's remaining by M. Poincaré's side

in the Ruhr policy. The point was always made by those Belgian interpreters of M. Theunis that the Belgian Government did everything possible to assert its independence and to retain British friendship. One of the most striking examples was the Belgian answer to the British White Paper of last August. M. Poincaré had insisted that the French and Belgian Governments should return a joint answer to the White Paper. M. Theunis stood out against this, and sent a separate Belgian answer, which, although shown to Paris beforehand, was not altered even to the extent of a single word from the text as drafted in Brussels. Moreover, the Belgian Note afforded a sharp contrast in tone, though not perhaps in substance, to the French Note. It appears that M. Theunis had delayed too long after the accession of the MacDonald Ministry to office in London before reasserting Belgian independence, and his political opponents stole his thunder.

Now that he has formed another Government the hope is that he will have learnt his lesson, and will adopt a less compromising and bolder policy.

GERMANY AND THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS.

What will Germany do in 1924? is likely to become a big question. Throughout 1923 the diplomatic initiative rested with Paris, and it was French policy that called the tune in Europe; during 1924 the course of events will more probably depend on German policy.

It is commonly said by representative Germans that the impending elections are likely to produce a Conservative and Nationalist Government in Germany. The hint has been conveyed to British official quarters as a warning, almost as a threat, against the adoption by the British Government of a too friendly policy towards France. It appears that considerable surprise has been created in German quarters by the discovery that a reactionary German Government would by no means at the present time be unwelcome to the British Government. The reason for this is somewhat as follows. During the past few years (largely, according to British opinion, as a result of French policy) the German Moderates, such as Herren Wirth, Cuno, and Stresemann, have failed, and have always been in danger of being swept out of power by a Conservative wave. The moderate and reasonable elements in Germany have, at the present moment, been so weakened and so discredited that any agreement reached with them by the Allies would necessarily be precarious. Could anybody, for instance, imagine that by any such agreement? On the other hand, if the Allies succeeded in reaching some agreement with a German Government

of the Right it might reasonably be expected that the settlement could be counted upon as solid. Hence it is that the possibility of a Conservative German Government causes no concern to the British Labour Government.

What causes the concern is the threatened difficulty of reaching an agreement with any German Government about the League of Nations. The policy of the MacDonald Government has not fully been understood in Berlin. It is the conviction of Mr. MacDonald, and the experience of the past five years seems to justify him, that the quickest way to European settlement is through Franco-British agreement. It has, at any rate, been proved that Germany can never become a member of the League of Nations so long as France objects. For various reasons there is now a prospect of some measure of agreement being achieved between France and Great Britain. In the official British view, so far as an official view has yet been formed, the incipient prospect of diplomatic peace in Europe will be confirmed or destroyed according as Berlin decides to play up to or not to play up to the British policy in its relation to the League. That is the critical issue at the present time.

It is fully recognised that neither the German Government nor the German people are Robots who can be depended on to act in a given way in given circumstances; in other words, that there is such a factor as German public opinion which has to be reckoned with by the German Government. It seems clear, both from the nature of the Press comment in Germany and from conversation with Germans who are in a position to estimate the practical possibilities which are at present open to a German Government, that Berlin is going to afford a serious problem for the MacDonald policy to solve. It is felt in London that the German Government, by immediately applying for membership of the League of Nations, could perform the greatest service both to Europe and to herself. It is the policy of the British Government to make the League of Nations the chief instrument of the peace settlement; but it is clearly impossible for the League in its present form to become anything of the kind. It is ineffective and unsatisfactory precisely because it does not include Germany or Russia. The moment Germany and Russia become members it will automatically become what it ought to be. During the past few years the enemies of Germany have been delighted that she should have been kept out of the League of Nations, which is perhaps the best proof that it is in Germany's interests to be included in the League. It would, therefore, be a perversity of common sense on the part of Germany to refuse to enter the League of Nations now, when a real opportunity is

presented to her. The timidity which makes German diplomatists argue that Germany cannot now enter the League of Nations except on conditions is deplorable. The conditions generally given by representative Germans are that Germany shall be assured in advance of a permanent seat on the Council of the League, and that Russia shall join the League of Nations at the same time. Both these conditions are in themselves eminently sound and in accord with British ideas; but it is certain that both Germany and Russia, if they became members of the League, with or without conditions, would soon achieve the importance and consideration which is due to their prestige as great Powers. The difficulty is that of tactics. It may conceivably prove unpractical for Germany's conditions to be conceded in advance, and the question will then be raised: Will Germany apply for membership of the League of Nations or not?

It is clearly of no use to lecture Germany for her timidity, her lack of diplomatic *flair*, her well-known inability to recognise or understand alien psychology; and no doubt also there is something in German psychology which needs to be understood from our own side before we can throw stones. Even granting, however, Germany's present difficulties, it would be incredible if it were not a historic fact that in the early months of 1924 Germany should have hesitated to apply for membership of the League of Nations except on her own terms, no matter how desirable those terms be from the general point of view. What has Germany to lose? It is said in Germany that unconditional membership of the League at the present time would be tantamount to a second German signature of the Treaty of Versailles, to an endorsement of the League's decision over Upper Silesia; and to other ponderously mathematical implications. I have even heard it argued by a highly placed German diplomatist that if Germany entered the League before Russia, she might be ordered by Geneva to undertake measures against Russia, on behalf of the League, which would conflict with Germany's desire to be on good terms with Russia! It is a too common German defect not to see the wood for the trees.

A MEMEL SETTLEMENT.

The damaged prestige of the League of Nations has been mended somewhat by the success with which the Memel problem has been handled. In some ways the League had an easy job, because no comment could exaggerate the fatuity with which the Ambassadors' Conference had previously blundered over Memel; in other ways it was difficult, and the League deserves all the credit it will get.

The way in which the Ambassadors' Conference muddled this problem has been recorded in some detail in these pages (see

CONTEMPORARY REVIEW, January, 1923, page 113, foll., February, 1923, page 251, foll.). Towards the end of last year the Ambassadors' Conference did a wise thing, one of the few wise things recorded in the annals of that lamentable institution. Having fozzled Memel for four years, reduced the Lithuanians to despair, and the Memelers, once to open revolt, later to a state of unconcealed and rigid contempt, the Ambassadors suddenly diagnosed a danger of war. Whether or not they diagnosed the danger as resulting from their own handiwork cannot be known, but they took the wise and correct course of invoking the Covenant of the League under Article XI., paragraph 2; and dumped the whole thing on to the League. At a meeting of the Council held on December 17th, 1923, the League courageously decided to take over the affair in the condition in which it then was. What the League was given the task of doing was to discover a way of preparing as quickly as possible a draft convention for the future administration of Memel port and territory, such as should conform with the decision of the Ambassadors' Conference of February 16th, 1923. That decision was that Memel should be handed over on certain conditions to Lithuanian sovereignty. It may be recalled that the same Ambassadors' Conference had made precisely the same decision about Memel some three-and-a-half years earlier, namely, on June 16th, 1919; that the Memelers, who are a patient people, waited during those long years for the Ambassadors to carry out their decision; that in January, 1923, hope deferred made the Memelers take matters into their own hands, and that thereupon the Ambassadors egregiously reaffirmed their former decision. Having done the maximum of harm for four years by inaction the Ambassadors proceeded to do as much further harm as possible by action. Throughout 1923 they attempted the impossible task of drawing up a convention for Memel which on the one hand (in accordance with their twice affirmed principle) should establish Lithuanian sovereignty over the port and territory, and on the other hand (in accordance with a diametrically opposite principle) should enable Poland to stultify the said Lithuanian sovereignty. Negotiations were begun in Paris on March 24th between the Conference of Ambassadors and a Lithuanian delegation and an elaborate draft convention was drawn up which, starting from the preamble that Memel was to be handed over to Lithuanian sovereignty, proceeded to ordain that Lithuania should have no sovereign control over Memel. Lithuania naturally but patiently refused the convention, and later refused a revised version of it, in which the revision was one of form and not of substance; she was bullied and browbeaten by the Ambassadors, but stuck to her case, which was unanswerably sound; she was presented by the

Ambassadors with an ultimatum which she ignored, and which the Ambassadors on its expiry equally decided to ignore. On and off these unprofitable negotiations lasted from March 24th to September 25th. On the latter date the Ambassadors' Conference transferred their tangle to Geneva.

At its December meeting the Council decided to set up a Commission of investigation under the chairmanship of the American Under-Secretary of State, Mr. Norman Davis, which was asked to report its conclusions to the next meeting of the Council, which took place on March 10th, 1924. The Commission started with an extensive examination of the history of the controversy and discovered that, according to the Treaty of Versailles, as confirmed by the Ambassadors' Conference, the Allies had cut off the Memel district from Germany for the definitive purpose of handing it over to Lithuania to serve as a sea outlet for Lithuania and for the riparian territory of the Niemen basin. The Commission decided at once that its business was to reconcile Lithuanian sovereignty with the reasonable interests of the hinterland, that is, of Poland. Some embarrassment was created by the League's former failure to solve a Lithuanian-Polish question, the reason for that failure being the preponderant Franco-Polish influence which made itself felt as much in the affairs of the League at Geneva as in those of the Ambassadors' Conference in Paris. It is perhaps a measure of the growth of the League during the last few months that a Lithuanian-Polish question has now been settled by the League. Such a settlement, however, would have been impossible if Lithuania, who had suffered by the League's past misdeeds, had not decided to save the League from the Nemesis of those misdeeds.

There was this much connection between Memel and Vilna, that the privileges which it was desired should be given to the hinterland for the use of the port of Memel, were designed for the exclusive benefit of Poland. The diplomatic situation therefore had a dramatic element. Poland and the League, who together shared the responsibility for the crude annexation of Vilna, were now in danger of being hoist with their own petard because Lithuanian agreement had to be obtained for the granting of concessions to Poland. The force of the Lithuanian argument, which was made repeatedly during the negotiations, was overwhelming. Not only was Lithuania in a "state of war" with Poland, and would necessarily continue to be so until Poland evacuated Lithuanian territory; and not only therefore must Lithuanian frontiers be shut against Poland; but also the port of Memel, if thrown open to Poland in existing conditions, would in effect be handling on behalf of Poland certain Lithuanian commodities which were being exported from the stolen Lithuanian terri-

tories. Could Lithuania be expected to go to such lengths? Yet she has. By saying yes on March 14th Mr. Galvanauskas rescued the League from its past and made the Memel settlement possible. Lithuania had often enough shown her goodwill in this matter of the Niemen. During direct negotiations with Poland at Brussels she had offered voluntarily to Poland the use of her railways and waterways for the transport of goods; she inserted a clause to this effect in her counter-proposals to the Hymans scheme for Vilna; and she signed the Barcelona Convention.

Mr. Norman Davis arrived in Geneva on January 28th to begin his duties as chairman of the inquiry commission. He called the first formal public meeting of the commission on February 5th when he read a statement which incorporated his first impressions of the work in hand. While warning the commission that the task was "not an easy one," he indulged in optimism on the ground that the European tension was relaxing all along the line, and that war-weariness in the diplomatic sense held out renewed hopes of peace. Mr. Davis's methods, his enthusiasm and his freshness were watched with all the more interest because it was realised that his acceptance of the chairmanship might by success or failure determine to some measure the extent to which America might be induced to take an interest in the League and in Europe for the future. Mr. Davis himself, in fact, at a later stage of the negotiations, remarked that if the Memel dispute were not settled the American advocates of a rapprochement with Europe might suffer.

The Commission set out for the spot with little delay, and arrived in Memel on the morning of Monday, February 11th. That afternoon, the whole of the next day and the morning of Wednesday (the 13th) were spent by the Commission in the Rathaus and offices of the Directorate, where deputations were received from the various groups representative of the Memel inhabitants. The Commission left Memel in the evening of the 13th and went to Kovno, where on the following day a meeting took place between Mr. Davis and the Lithuanian Prime Minister, Mr. Galvanauskas. Friday, the 15th, was spent in Warsaw, where Mr. Davis discussed Polish interests in the Niemen traffic with Count Zamoyski, the Polish Minister of Foreign Affairs, and with the President of the Republic. By Monday, the 18th, the Commission was back in Geneva. Again no time was lost, and on the following day negotiations were opened with a Lithuanian delegation consisting of Messrs. Sidzikauskas and Balutis, who were later joined by Mr. Klimas. Mr. Galvanauskas arrived in Geneva on February 27th. It was quickly agreed that it would be better to split up the long sixty-articled draft convention of the Ambassadors.

sadors' Conference and to deal with the problem in its three separate aspects and to draft (1) a short general Convention describing the contractual relations between the Allied Powers and Lithuania, (2) an Annex on the autonomous government of the Memel territory, and (3) an Annex on the arrangements for the freedom of transit. This rearrangement in method had the double advantage of wiping the Ambassadors and their muddles from the slate and of keeping the political problem distinct from the economic.

The important articles of the three conventions signed in Geneva on March 14th by Great Britain, France, Italy, Japan, and Lithuania, may be thus summarised:—

A. *The Convention.*

Article 1 transfers to Lithuania "subject to the conditions contained in this convention, all the rights and titles ceded to them [the Allies] by Germany in virtue of Article 99 of the Treaty of Versailles" over the Memel territory.

Article 2 prescribes that "the Memel territory shall constitute, under the sovereignty of Lithuania, a unit enjoying legislative, judicial, administrative, and financial autonomy."

Article 4 makes arrangements for the inevitable reparations question which follows all territorial settlements arising out of the war. Difficulty had arisen over the fact that neither the Allied Governments nor the Reparation Commission had definitely assessed the charges that should be accepted by Lithuania as a condition of the transfer of sovereignty over the Memel territory. The League Commission formed the opinion that the Lithuanian Government had every right to refuse the demand of the Ambassadors' Conference to pay the expenses of Allied occupation and the usual obligations incurred by Powers to which German territory is ceded, because no definite sum had been demanded, the time specified for payment was too short, and the pledging of the Lithuanian customs for the purpose was too severe a measure. The League had to leave this point for future arrangement between Lithuania and the Reparation Commission, but the Davis Commission "felt at liberty to express to the Lithuanian Delegation the opinion that the Reparations Commission would undoubtedly follow, in respect of Lithuania, the same general policy which under the same or similar circumstances has been applied towards the other nations to whom ex-German territory and property has been ceded, and that Lithuania need not apprehend unreasonable demands for payment."

It would be clearly unpardonable if the Reparation Commission

were to create any difficulty on this head. Lithuania has just created a new currency on a gold basis; if she were to be faced with indeterminate obligations towards the Reparation Commission the problem of stabilising finances and balancing the budget would at once assume a grave aspect. When one considers the chaotic condition of most countries in Europe to-day one is loth to believe that the Reparation Commission will drag down one of the exceptions to the level of the majority. It is perhaps worth recalling, in passing, exactly what the Lithuanian Government has done in this respect, which in itself is a remarkable achievement. Lithuania has succeeded in reaching a condition as near stability as possible. In October, 1922, she decided to cut out the German mark, with all its disastrous vagaries, from Lithuania. The new Bank of Issue which opened in October, 1922, decided on the bedrock principle of financial policy by keeping the note circulation below the level of the gold reserve. At this moment the Lithuanian litas stands higher than the £ in the international exchange. The Lithuanian Government collected 1,800,000 dollars from America, and a certain amount of gold roubles from Russia, and issued the first notes on that reserve. It has since accumulated its reserve by storing all dollars received in the country and issuing litai at par in exchange, so that at the present moment there are 62,119,000 litai in circulation and a gold and silver reserve of over 67,000,000 litai. Dollars circulate in Lithuanian shops at a par with litai, there being some 8,000,000 dollars circulating in this way.

This financial achievement had some political consequence. It was partly responsible for frustrating the attempt of the Ambassadors' Conference to cheat Lithuania of Memel, for the Memelers naturally preferred a Lithuanian litas to a German mark, and took no trouble to conceal their preference; and the Polish hold over Vilna began to look anaemic, the Polish mark being in the same boat as the German. Thus it came about that Polish soldiers, helped by French 75's and French francs (before the collapse) had swaggered with drums into Vilna and lorded it over the Lithuanian population; but no extravagance of military panoply could avail to make the Polish mark look anything else but the ridiculous scrap of paper it was by comparison with the Lithuanian litas.

Very properly the League Commission was loth to jeopardise the financial health of Lithuania, and therefore the League scheme stipulates that the ruinous vagueness of obligations shall be banished, and "The exact amount of such expenses properly chargeable to Lithuania, as well as the methods and periods of payment, shall be determined by a Commission composed of one representative appointed by the Powers and one by Lithuania. In case such Commission cannot reach an agreement, they shall apply

to the President of the Economic and Financial Committee of the League of Nations to designate an arbitrator."

By Article 12 Lithuania agrees to a recognition of the rights of foreigners in Memel port to the fullest possible degree; it was not an easy concession for her to make, and it was made only after protracted discussion with the League Commission. "The Nationals of Foreign Powers (runs this Article)—both private and corporate—shall have the same rights and receive the same treatment in the Memel Territory as the citizens or corporations of Memel and Lithuania in all that concerns the use of the port and its facilities and the purchase, lease or use of property for legitimate business purposes. Lithuania retains, however, the right to reserve for her own flag the coasting trade and fisheries in her territorial waters."

Article 13 incorporates one of the legacies of the Ambassadors' Conference, which, under Franco-Polish influence, tried to ordain that persons who acquire the status of citizens of Memel under the new scheme shall be exempt from military service till January 1st, 1930. As the Poles were in military occupation of Lithuanian territory and intended to remain there indefinitely, they naturally wanted to reduce if possible Lithuania's fighting strength. When the League of Nations, feeling that it ought to accept this Polish idea ready made at the hands of the Ambassadors, decided to incorporate it in the League convention, Lithuania naturally protested energetically, not because she wanted to mobilise such men for war, but because the stipulation was calculated (as it demonstrably had been) to diminish Lithuanian sovereignty. In the end, however, she made the concession in the interests of a settlement.

Article 18 is perhaps the most surprising and shows the cloven hoof of the old diplomacy and of the influence of the Ambassadors' Conference. It says: "Immediately on ratifying the Convention and pending its ratification by the other Parties thereto, Lithuania shall, without delay, commence and continue to give effect to all the provisions of the Convention and its Annexes. The British Empire, France, Italy and Japan declare that on the ratification of this Convention by Lithuania they will recognise as lawful such acts of sovereignty on the part of the Lithuanian Government in the Memel Territory as are necessary to put into effect the engagements of this Convention and to preserve public order." In other words, Lithuania is asked to put into operation at once all the concessions which she has made, and is asked to wait indefinitely for her own part of the bargain. In the Commission's report appears the sentence "The Commission is advised that it would be exceeding its competence if it should attempt to lay down the terms which the Allies should set as a condition for ratification."

This is odd. The French Government, for instance, by refusing to ratify the convention could indefinitely hold up the transfer of sovereignty to Lithuania even though every other clause were in force. Perhaps it is not the League's fault; perhaps the League can never be blamed for anything, on the argument that it is not an instrument but a mirror of the state of the world; but throughout the work of the League one is always coming up against the recurrent flaw of moral cowardice and a dishonesty which is all the more deplorable because it is committed in the name of the League and to the accompaniment of high-sounding principle.

In the present case, the argument made by the Commission in its report which accompanies the draft convention, and which was read at Geneva in the second week of March, was that although normally no part of a convention comes into force until it is ratified by all the signatory powers, yet in this case it was highly desirable that the port of Memel should begin to function at once on the lines laid down in the annexes. That was a sound enough argument so far as it went: but when the Commission proceeded to argue that every clause should come into immediate operation except the very clause which transferred the sovereignty to Lithuania, and that this clause should be "automatically reserved until the Treaty has been consummated by the ratification of all parties," then the Commission was arguing something that was palpably disingenuous. Why should not the whole treaty, both sides of the bargain, have come into immediate provisional execution pending ratification? Why only half? It is known well enough in Paris and Warsaw why the other half—the Lithuanian half—has been suspended over Lithuania's devoted head. Mr. Norman Davis and his colleagues of the Commission are intelligent men, and they know what they do. They took advantage of Lithuania's remarkable keenness for a settlement, her generosity and readiness to make sacrifices. This is the blot on what would otherwise have been a singularly good piece of work. Perhaps Paris and Warsaw will refrain from their congenial vendettas against Lithuania, and not spike the convention after the event; but the news which came from Warsaw at the time was hardly encouraging. On March 13th the Polish Chamber unanimously passed the following resolution:—

"The Diet, alarmed by the news that the report of the League of Nations Special Commission under Mr. Norman Davis tends to diminish the rights assigned to Poland by the Conference of Ambassadors on February 16th, 1923, urges the Government to take every step to ensure that at any rate this minimum of rights should be maintained in a definitive manner."

[At this point the resolution gives a recapitulation of the clauses

of the decision of the Conference of Ambassadors, and then goes on to say :—]

"The Diet observes that the principal Powers, by the decision of the Conference of Ambassadors, recognised conditionally the sovereignty of Lithuania over Memel, by making it depend on the acceptance by Lithuania of the statute guaranteeing the economic rights of Poland. The Diet declares that any infringement of the above-mentioned rights impairs the vital economic needs of Poland, which possesses two-thirds of the Niemen basin and supplies 70 per cent. of the exports from the port of Memel. The Diet recalls that the Conference of Ambassadors referred the Memel affair to the Council of the League of Nations by virtue of Article 11 of the League Covenant, on the ground that peace had been threatened by the recalcitrant attitude of Lithuania towards the decision of the Conference of Ambassadors. The Diet further points out that, contrary to the attitude of Poland, which tends to ensure peace and good relations with its neighbours, the Lithuanian Government in this affair, and in its entire policy, by its official declarations regarding the so-called state of war with Poland, is introducing elements of constant anxiety into the affairs of Eastern Europe."

The Poles presumably deceive themselves.

The point about Vilna is worth examining. It was well put in a memorandum addressed by the Lithuanian League of Nations Union to the British League of Nations Union :—

"Lithuania, recognising the importance of international communication, signed the Barcelona and Geneva Conventions on transit and communications, and by virtue thereof has promised freedom of transit equally to all States with which she is in peaceful relations. Poland, who violated the Suvalki Agreement of October 7th, 1920, treacherously seized Lithuanian soil, continues to hold the Lithuanian capital Vilna and other regions of the Niemen . . . in order to exploit those regions demands the right to convey by Lithuanian railways and rivers through Memel Port commodities taken from unlawfully occupied Lithuanian territories."

B. ANNEX I. STATUTE OF THE MEMEL TERRITORY.

This Annex, which contains thirty-eight Articles, provides for the autonomy of the territory and lays down in detail the exact degree of autonomy that shall be conferred on the territory by the Lithuanian Government.

C. ANNEX II. PORT OF MEMEL.

This Annex makes full provision for the administration of Memel as a "port of international concern," the chief interest in it being that a Harbour Board is to be created consisting of three

members appointed for three years and eligible for reappointment, one representing Lithuania's economic interests to be appointed by the Lithuanian Government, one representing the economic interests of the Memel territory and to be appointed by the Memel Directorate, and one to be appointed by the President of the Advisory and Technical Committee for Communications and Transit of the League of Nations. A third annex on transit traffic arranges for free transit "by sea, by water, and by rail," of hinterland traffic through Lithuania to Memel.

One of the curious features of the debates which took place at Geneva about the Memel settlement was the attitude of Mr. Skirmunt, the Polish representative. It would have been natural if he had felt himself to be in a difficult and embarrassing position, especially when the Lithuanian delegation raised the question of Vilna. Not at all; on the contrary, he was full of alleged grievance and showed no appreciation of the generosity with which the Lithuanian delegation agreed to drop the question of Vilna and to let the Memel statutes go through with all their advantages to Poland. He went so far as to complain that in those parts of the statutes where Polish interests were involved, Poland was not mentioned by name and, therefore, he argued, she was placed in the same category as, say, China or Egypt. A surprising argument which would not be recalled here except as an indication of the Polish attitude; for, as Mr. Davis pointed out, the clauses to which Mr. Skirmunt referred, although they did not mention Poland, could not have been drafted for any other purpose but to confer benefits upon Poland. Neither China nor Egypt is directly interested in the traffic of the Niemen. Mr. Skirmunt did not give his agreement to the scheme, and Mr. Davis had to point out that the scheme embodied the very limit of concession which Lithuania would grant or would be asked to grant.

AMENDMENT TO CZECHOSLOVAK CAPITAL LEVY.

An account has been given here (THE CONTEMPORARY REVIEW, June, 1923, p. 788-792) of the capital levy which has been operative in Czechoslovakia for the last few years. Certain amendments have now been introduced into the scheme which have led hasty critics to allege the "failure" of the Capital Levy in Czechoslovakia. When the Capital Levy Act was passed by the Czechoslovak National Assembly in 1919, its object was to levy a tax on capital and on increases of capital made during the war. The yield of the tax was designed to form the basis of the new Czechoslovak currency and to mobilise individual wealth for an immediate discharge of big State liabilities.

In 1921 the Czechoslovak crown began to rise in the international exchanges, and more normal trade conditions were established. A continued improvement in the exchange value of the crown culminating in its stabilisation at about sixteen Swiss centimes very naturally led those persons who had to pay the tax to appeal against the amounts at which their liability had been assessed when the crown was worth only half as much. An agitation began, first among the Agrarian parties (the farmers being particularly hard hit during the transition period after the war), then among the representatives of trades and industries, for the modification of the terms of the Capital Levy in accordance with the new conditions. As the demand was a natural one, it was readily conceded, and the National Assembly passed the necessary amendments, the chief among them being the following:—

The Tax on Property and the Tax on the Increase of Property will be reduced by 50 per cent., if the final value of the property (the basic value in the case of the former tax) does not exceed 50,000 crowns. The Tax on the Increase of Property will be reduced by 50 per cent. where the initial value of the property does not exceed 50,000 crowns, by 45 per cent. where the initial value is between 50,001 and 100,000 crowns, by 40 per cent. where it is between 100,001 and 200,000 crowns, by 35 per cent. between 200,001 and 300,000, by 30 per cent. between 300,001 and 400,000, by 25 per cent. between 400,001 and 500,000, by 20 per cent. between 500,001 and 600,000, by 15 per cent. between 600,001 and 700,000, by 10 per cent. between 700,001 and 800,000, and by 5 per cent. between 800,001 and 1,000,000 crowns. No reductions will be made where the increase of property subject to the tax amounts to more than 200 per cent. of the initial value of the property.

The financial authorities of the Government may, in exceptional cases, and on the application of the persons concerned, grant partial reduction in either or both of the taxes in question, if it is likely that the payment of the tax would seriously damage the tax-payer.

GEORGE GLASGOW.

LITERARY SUPPLEMENT.

LIST OF CONTENTS.

	PAGE
1. REVIEWS	525
ENGLAND IN THE AGE OF REFORM; ETERNAL POETRY; CHINA AT HOME; ENGLISH MURAL PAINTINGS; IN THE DAYS OF THE MUTINY; MATTHEW PRIOR; FRANCO-GERMAN RELATIONS, 1871-1914.	
2. SHORTER REVIEWS: "The Influence of the Classics on the Poetry of Matthew Arnold"; "The Common Weal"; "New Idyllia: Sketches of a Stream"; "The Present Tendencies and the Future Compass of Physiological Science" ...	541
3. NOTICES OF BOOKS: "Reminiscences"; "Jesus, the Carpenter of Nazareth"; "A Short History of International Intercourse."	544

REVIEWS.

ENGLAND IN THE AGE OF REFORM.*

Since the end of the war there has been an exceptionally large output of German books about England, but none so important, none so well worth the attention of the English reader as Herr Bernhard Guttman's "England im Zeitalter der bürgerlichen Reform." The writer was formerly London Correspondent of the *Frankfurter Zeitung*, and it is evident from his book that he took his journalistic duties very seriously, that he did not confine them merely to chronicling current events, opinions, and political developments, but took great pains to get down to and thoroughly understand the foundations of the society in which he was living. The result is a scholarly history, written throughout in an engaging style, giving evidence on every page of intimate acquaintance with the literature of the subject, and yet not overloaded with references. In a word, Herr Guttman has absorbed the best authorities and has produced an original work of considerable distinction.

The achievement is all the more to be welcomed since England, in the age of parliamentary and social reform, attracted comparatively little attention from foreign, and especially German, historians. German writers, such as Ernst Moritz Arndt, knew this country well, and spread accurate knowledge about it at the time of our association with Prussia against Napoleon; historians such as Gentz were well acquainted with the age of Burke. But after this was past it was France—above all, France of the 'thirties, as shown in Heine—that occupied the middle of the stage. Europe was familiar with Pitt as a war minister, with Wellington as a soldier;

* Johnson (Stuttgart: Deutscho Verlags-Anstalt).

but the political and social transformation which was being effected behind the screen, so to speak, of these two men and their successors, took place in obscurity. Even when we come to Carlyle, and England and Germany draw closer together, it was rather England that was being educated to appreciate Goethe and Schiller, than Germany that was learning the significance of Chartism and the reaction against utilitarianism and *laissez-faire*.

Herr Guttman has, therefore, we feel, filled a gap in his country's histories of Great Britain. His first two chapters are a preliminary survey, an account of the English aristocratic hierarchy as it existed at the time of the French Revolution and of the new conditions which the Industrial Revolution was bringing about. The vain stand of reaction under George III. and the Regent is admirably discussed, and the writer reaches the dramatic climax of his narrative, also his best chapter from the literary point of view, with the account of Canning, "embodiment of that tendency, which exists in England, and is moreover a reality, whose ideal is a government above the parties." Another portrait to which Herr Guttman has devoted his obvious talent for this department of writing is Daniel O'Connell, and towards the end of his book he presents a stimulating parallel between Disraeli and Heine. "In Germany we may suppose that Disraeli would have become an embittered Radical; in England Heine would perhaps have become the great poet of the national idea." The history ends with the triumph of Free Trade and the beginning of modern Liberal "Reformism." It is to be hoped that an English translation will make this book accessible to a wide circle of readers; we do not know of a better single-volume history of English domestic politics from 1820 to 1880.

A. W. R.

* * *

ETERNAL POETRY.*

Poetry, like law, remains, the professions and the professors of both arts depart. But the professors, and even the professions, leave their mark, sometimes their abiding mark, on the themes for which they exist. A great Professor of Poetry has passed away with the sudden, but we dare not say sad, death of W. P. Ker, and it is almost certain, nothing is absolutely certain except Death and William Shakespeare in the history of literature, that his influence

* *The Art of Poetry: Seven Lectures, 1920-1922.* By William Paton Ker. (Oxford: At the Clarendon Press.) 6s. net.

* *The Profession of Poetry: An Inaugural Lecture delivered before the University of Oxford on February 13th, 1924.* By H. W. Garrod. (Oxford: At the Clarendon Press.) 1s. 6d. net.

on right thinking about poetry will be an abiding one. His successor, Mr. Garrod, has yet to prove his steel as a Professor, but his inaugural lecture at Oxford gives promise of noble things. In that pleasing essay he lays down certain doctrines and at least one certain negative. He clearly does not believe that "literature is either made, or made better, by the operation of great wars. . . . I mistrust in literary history that temper which awaits, from the issues of battle, with equal complacency economic distress and spiritual affluence, worse homes and better poetry." The question is one that, perhaps, cannot be settled by an epigram. The popular belief that a great war is related to great literary outbursts or revivals has something to be said for it. We entirely agree that it is not the war that makes the poetry, but it may be that a combination of agonies which make war may also be such a turning point in human history as also to make poetry. The same forces in their play on human souls may produce those very diverse results. A great crisis in the affairs of men may not only set armies in motion, but set great souls in emotion. The Rig Veda Hymns belong to the movement that sent the devastating Aryan hosts into Babylonia. Professor Ker, in his opening essay or lecture on "The Art of Poetry," asks, "Is it true, or not, that the great triumphs of the poetical art often come suddenly? Art like that of Pindar would seem to be impossible without long preparation; but the Drama in Athens, England, or Spain, does it not seem to come very suddenly by its own, and attain its full proportion almost at once when once it has begun?" Surely the answer to this sudden speed is not that it is related to war or rumours of war, but that it is related to change, fundamental change, of human conceptions as to human progress. We can trace the slow and secret growth of the seed, a growth as slow and secret as the preparation for the change, but the change and the poetry seem both to come suddenly and almost altogether. The Romantic Revival in a sense came suddenly, but its seeds were germinating in Italy more than a century before the revival came with apparent suddenness. The world had been preparing, and Italy especially had been preparing for Shakespeare almost from the days of Dante, and the world had been preparing for Dante from the days of Virgil. There is nothing sudden in the unexpected except in the hearts and minds of the ignorant.

Professor Ker, while he wonders at the sudden speed at which the plant of poetry flowers at special moments, admits, on the other hand, that "there may be convention and long tradition leading to a sudden stroke of genius," and that in the old songs "you will come upon something new, independent, a miracle." The truth is that the miracle is always waiting to be revealed, but that in fact

only great emotions, emotions which attend great human changes, can draw back the curtain.

It is on this point that we find something to criticise in Professor Garrod's admirable and helpful address. He rightly declares that poetry is hard to make. He rightly declares that one of the purposes of poetry is pleasure, and that "there is very little, in literature or art, that affords permanent pleasure which has not some hold on ethics;" that indeed, poetry, like life, is essentially didactic. But when he goes on to declare that poetry is harder than it was because the world of humanity is an older world than when poets began to sing, then we believe that he is wholly wrong. It is true that a stale sophisticated society ceases to sing in the true sense, though it may produce admirable verse and heart-tearing epigrams. But the beauty of human society is that it cannot be for long stale and sophisticated. Something happens. A new orientation comes. Autumn and the winter of our discontent are swept away by a new spring. Human society is transformed, perhaps transformed by the discovery of the new world, as in the fifteenth century, by a new method of communicating thought such as the same century provided in the printing press, by a vast religious revival, by the striking away of some age-long human fetter, by the emergence of some great personality. A sudden—not really sudden—renewal comes, and staleness and sophistication flee away, and the singers suddenly—not really suddenly—find the old magic, the old songs, the old Drama of Life, and they celebrate in perennial monuments this glad new world. Professor Garrod says that the world of to-day is "big with omens of defeat for poetry." We should have said the very reverse. And why? Because behind all the staleness and the talk and the sophistries and pettinesses, and apparently ignoble pleasure-seeking of human life, as reflected in the newspaper, in the novel, in the new poetry, there are moving new and eternal facts: the freeing of a whole sex, the uprising into intellectual life of the hitherto submerged nine-tenths of humanity, the upgrowth of a science that can weigh and analyse the remotest stars and peer into the inner and what one must now call the spiritual structure of what we once thought material things. The world is passing through a crisis of knowledge and self-revelation that only seers and the greatest poets have ever dimly dreamed of. The late war was—in the widest sense—but one of the myriad spasms that is turning an old, stale, *fin-de-siècle* world into a world that has found a new spring time, a new hope.

The poets are always here, the miracle is always waiting to be revealed. But in the history of mankind it is only in such times as these—times when all eyes are fixed upon the glowing horizon—

that the poet can find his theme, can reveal to the eyes of men the perpetual miracle of things. It was so in the Homeric age, when the discovery of the horse and of iron had revolutionised the world; it was so in the Virgilian age, when the Roman polity had proved its capacity for imposing peace upon the world; it was so in the age of Dante, when Christian mysticism and theocracy seemed to open new visions for the human race; it was so when a new geography and the printing press revealed the vast range of human possibilities; it was so when little less than a century ago the romanticists saw the coming of democracy; it is so to-day, when new knowledge, new faith in God and man, new conceptions of the range of human achievement have seized the human soul. It is impossible to believe, with Professor Garrod, that the springs of human consciousness are less elastic as the world gets older. We prefer his *dicta* that "the glory of poetry is in proportion to the greatness of its strife," that "the poet is . . . the prophet of the world's final causes," "is a being essentially mysterious" who sees things "as they matter." The poet will find his form, and it will be poetic form. Both Professor Ker and Professor Garrod lay stress on the necessity of form. Indeed, Professor Ker writes in the last of his seven admirable lectures, "There is nothing more important for the understanding of poetry than the study of form," but he adds, "The poet who puts all his heart into his plot will find his work done for him: the story provides him with the right words and the right proportions." If this is true, then what poetry should our new age produce, an age which supplies a plot and a story more wonderful than any that have yet awakened the poet as he dreams of eternal things!

J. E. G. DE M.

* * *

CHINA AT HOME.*

The Western conception of Eastern life consists mainly of three things: a tyrannical master and husband, many housebound wives, and ancestor-worship. This neglects the fact that peoples of the East vary in thought and customs perhaps as much as those of the West. It has been Lady Hosie's privilege to be on unusually intimate terms, for an Englishwoman, with "two patrician Chinese families," and here she reveals much of Chinese private life.

After all we have been taught by onlookers of the almost fearful decorum of young Chinese, it is good to find that they are as fond

* *Two Gentlemen of China*. An intimate description of the private life of two patrician Chinese families, their homes, loves, religion, mirth, sorrow, and many other aspects of sheer family life. By Lady Hosie. (Seeley, Service.) 21s. net.

of fun and nonsense as any young English children; and that brothers badinage their sisters in between their studies like any English boys. Perhaps the most interesting side of Chinese life, and one which other nations might well copy, is the almost worshipful reverence in which the young are taught to hold their parents and the old or elderly. It is the daughters who assist the mother with her toilet, however young they may be, and not the other way round, as in the West. "It was odd," Lady Hosie tells us, "to find that even Small Six, aged twelve, was helping to do her mother's hair, and not, as in England, her mother doing Small Six's. In the same way, Small Six helped to wash and dress her mother. This is probably why," Lady Hosie adds, "young Chinese girls, with the trimmest of mothers, often have a tide-mark round their own necks." At night the daughters see their mothers in bed before retiring themselves. "Are you not going to bed?" Lady Hosie once asked Small Six, who was yawning, yet showed no signs of making preparations for sleep. "Presently," she replied casually, "when we have seen mother to bed!" It is difficult to imagine many Western mothers accepting these arrangements. The Chinese women must have less of worry in their temperaments than we have, for few English parents would feel that children were capable of seeing to their own toilets without help.

The cinematograph appears to be as great an attraction to the Chinese, both old and young, and of all classes, as it is for great masses of Western people. It is, therefore, a most terrible mistake for the very lurid and often disgusting films shown in the West to find their way out East. Why they should be produced at all is always a puzzle; and their production in the East has the effect of giving an utterly false impression of the lives of white peoples. Lady Hosie, speaking of a visit to a cinema, says:—

"I greatly wondered what could be the attraction in it to the Chinese there, for I was the only adult foreigner. They could only have understood the films very imperfectly. I came to the conclusion that they went because they were genuinely interested in the picture given, not only of foreign customs, but of foreign mentality, which made me doubly wish the themes had been more flattering to us, and had not invariably turned on murder and cheating."

These films must be a hindrance to those white men and women who try to teach the Chinese and other Eastern peoples the British code of conduct and habits.

This book of Chinese life from the inside cannot fail to interest all who read it; the actual characters awake the reader's interest and keep it awake (not always an easy task) from beginning to end. Professor Soothill, in his Introduction, says that Lady Hosie's

"real qualifications for writing this book are that she has lived in Chinese homes, rich and poor; she has been on terms of beautiful intimacy with their mothers, wives and daughters, has learnt the secrets of their lives, entered into their joys and sorrows, and won her easy way into their hearts." This assurance is hardly necessary, for no one can read the book without realising that it is the work of one who has actually heard and done all she recounts. The book is complete with many illustrations, and an explanatory table of the "principal persons" mentioned.

G. S. M. DE M.

ENGLISH MURAL PAINTINGS.*

This Essay on English Mural Painting by Mr. Frank H. Kendon throws light on the religious art of the Middle Ages, but it is not so much the art which the author discusses as the beliefs which inspired the art. The sub-title, "Folk Influence in Religious Art," best describes the work. The Preface takes the form of an apologia or justification for embodying the author's ideas in book form, since he feels that remote religious art in this country could provide little material of interest to a twentieth-century reader. "The art of the Middle Ages about which so much has been said and written, has really nothing to do with the subject in hand." It was the symbolism that mattered, not the art, which was merely the medium through which the Church instructed her children in doctrine and creed. Reading and writing were the accomplishments of the few and the mural paintings in the churches became the Bibles of the people. Thus the principal events in the life of our Lord, The Annunciation, The Nativity, The Adoration of the Magi, The Last Supper, The Agony in the Garden, The Crucifixion, The Resurrection, were all depicted on the walls of the churches, and were intended to appeal in a special manner to the folk. The artists who painted these mural pictures were much of the same type as the masons who produced much of the sculpture of the French Cathedrals, working according to order, and not troubling themselves as to fame or recognition.

"The decorative sense of the artists is good; their colour was strong, and their sense of colour sure; this is mainly due to the apprenticeship, a gild system, which ensured a certain standard. Their drawing is crude, their technique limiting; their imagination naïve rather than subtle; and their intellect more of the type we associate with craftsmen to-day than of creative artists with idiosyncrasies. Their attitude to their art was entirely objective. Their expression is the expression of a class, not of individuals, and

* *Mural Paintings in English Churches during the Middle Ages.* By Frank H. Kendon. (John Lane.) 10s 6d. net.

though it is true that artists came in the beginning from monasteries, the class to which they belonged, during the whole time of the production of the pictures that we have studied, was undoubtedly non-clerical—the class of artisans.”

Mr. Kendon takes Keyser's Catalogue of the mural paintings which have been discovered in the British Isles, as the basis of his work, as “some three thousand churches are instanced in this book, and a comparison with other records of manuscript and early illustrated books, and, in general, the multifarious sculptures of French cathedrals, shows that the subject treated in the mural paintings may be considered alone and be representative.” With this view in mind Mr. Kenyon set to work, and spared no pains in research, or in the endeavour to make his book of interest to his twentieth-century reader, of whom, at the outset he had great doubts; he writes without enthusiasm and lacks sympathy, and as one who, standing five hundred years or more apart, reviews the religious attitude of the period from his own level, one feels he would treat Dante in much the same way. The Laodicean spirit fails to inspire.

The imagination of the folk of the Middle Ages demanded to be fed, or provided for, and the Church had to go half way to meet it. The ordinary had to be clothed with the extraordinary. It was a miracle, or at least, a legend-loving age. Signs and wonders, loaves and fishes were necessary to their belief, and the Church finding justification in necessity adjusted herself to the taste of the people, and so legend, or tradition, became the religion of the folk of the Middle Ages. The twentieth century is dominated by science, and thus the craving for marvel is satisfied in another direction. But it must be remembered that whether in art or drama or music the English people of the Middle Ages had a very high standard of ideal to which it adjusted its achievement.

Mr. Kenyon hardly appreciates the fact, but he has produced an interesting if somewhat lukewarm work and tells the story of the religion of the Middle Ages as it is revealed by the mural paintings and by the growth of legend. These things were by no means fruitless, though it is difficult for an age of inchoate science to realise all that mysticism meant to the people. There is perhaps a certain sadness in looking back on the centuries of the Middle Age of the Church which seemed to modern eyes to have lost its first youth, and to have had recourse to the outward show of things demanded by popular influence. “Democracy as a factor in English life seems to have been potent long before it found a name or became a creed.” Democracy in the days of mediæval art had a beauty all its own. We of to-day should learn of the past and follow its love of beauty while avoiding its errors; and if Mr.

Kendon, by bringing this phase of English religion into prominence, has helped towards a wider knowledge of the period, he will have achieved his reward. His appendices contain valuable notes on the illustrations, also a list of Biblical subjects and of Saints mentioned by Keyser.

* * *

IN THE DAYS OF THE MUTINY.*

These are simple letters written by Lord Roberts in early days, to his mother, father, and sister. They speak of his personal experiences during the days of the Indian Mutiny. Fred Roberts on entering Addiscombe had been promised by his father, “a hundred pounds and a gold watch, if he passed into the Engineers, and fifty pounds with the watch if he succeeded in getting into the Artillery.” The boy became a gunner and duly received from his father fifty pounds and the gold watch, and in 1852 as a young subaltern he sailed for India.

The farewell letter from Southampton to his mother was characteristic. He wrote: “I am now indeed away from your kind care, and entirely depending on myself for all my future actions, a fact which I can hardly realise, but I will ever remember your few last words to me, and when in any difficulty think of you, and with God's blessing I shall succeed.” He kept his mother well informed of what went on around him, and described the people he met. Fred Roberts's great desire was to succeed, and when success came, he turned to his parents and thanked them for it.

The Army at the outbreak of the Mutiny was to a great extent in the pay of the Honourable East India Company. A small proportion were white soldiers called Europeans, the rest were natives of India serving under British officers. Fred Roberts inherited from his father the instincts of a soldier. His letters were written with fire and spirit, giving vivid pictures of those stirring times of the Indian Mutiny.

We next hear of him in a letter written to his mother from Peshawur, on May 21st, 1857, as the earliest news of the disturbance at Delhi and Meerut reached him. “I am in high glee at the thoughts of service, but most sincerely wish it were in a better cause, and not against our own soldiers. All confidence in the native army is at an end, and the most decided measures, and strenuous exertions will only save India now. We have some good men on this frontier, Edwardes, Nicholson, Cotton, Chamberlain, &c. Old Reed I don't think much of—he has one good quality,

* *Letters written during the Indian Mutiny.* By Fred Roberts, afterwards Field-Marshal Earl Roberts, V.C., K.G. (The Macmillan Company.) 10s. 6d. net.

namely: listening to reason—which is better than being obstinate, when ability is not combined. . . . I would anticipate no very great calamity were every Division of the Army as well off for sensible heads as this is, but some of our older officers are perfect children—quite unable to take care of themselves.” He frequently touched, apparently with reason, on the want of efficiency among some of the officers of the East India Company.

In a letter to his father, May 22nd, he tells of the mutiny of the Sepoys:—

“all thought so faithful and true, nasty scoundrels. They have shewn themselves at heart to be worse than even our enemies. . . . The 19th N.J. even disbanded, as you will have read, for gross mutiny, but our imbecile Government instead of treating the men as mutineers, paid them up, let them keep their uniforms!! and saw them safely across the river. The General Officer, poor fellow!! on reading the order to dismiss them shed tears!! The cartridges have been, I believe, at the bottom of the whole affair, and that a general rise was anticipated and preconcerted by the Native Army there is little doubt of, the 19th being too precipitous in commencing.”

He describes how paralysed everything was, and that he had not received a letter from England for nearly two months. He is against having more native Artillery, and says none but Europeans for guns should be allowed.

His graphic description of the action in which he was wounded near the City Walls shows the stuff he was made of. Fred Roberts, seeing a howitzer almost disabled for want of men, dismounted and set to work. They were ordered to retire, and the order “to limber up” was given:—

“I got on my horse again, and turning round to look after the horses in the limbers, who were very unsteady from the firing, I got shot in the back just where my waistbelt goes. Most fortunately, thro’ God’s mercy, I had a small leather pouch on my belt. The bullet went just thro’ the middle of this, thro’ my trousers and shirt, and made a small hole in my back. . . . I quite forgot about the chance of being hit, and when I got this awful crack on my back, for a second did not know what it was. Feeling a little faint I dismounted. Wriford of the Fusiliers, thinking I was mortally wounded, sent a couple of men to take hold of me. However, after getting a glass of water, I thought I could ride, and was not so very much hurt after all, so I mounted and rode alongside of the guns to the rear. There is little doubt what the result would have been had I not had the pouch on.”

In September his joy is great, it is in camp before Delhi that he writes: “On the morning of the 1st at the latest Delhi will with God’s help be ours. . . . Once we are in, a column starts in pursuit, and with this I am going as Quartermaster-General!! Am I not lucky, mother dear, altho’ only officiating, I am sent before

the others in the same Department.” His shrewd common sense showed him how to manage his servants. “Without being severe,” he tells his mother, “I have always kept my servants well in order, once they trip, I give it them well. Yet all this time, when whole sets have gone off and many officers are without one, I have only lost a syce, and he must have been murdered, as he left all his traps behind him, and I really believe that my fellows will accompany me anywhere.”

Interesting as all his letters are, the one from Cawnpore is most pathetic; he describes, in a letter to his mother, how he arrived there, and adds:—

“Such a sight as Cawnpore is, you would never know it, mother. The place where Sir H. Wheeler defended himself is the most perfect ruin from round shot that I have ever seen—two small barracks, with an apology for a ditch, not eno’ to keep a bullet out—such lamentable infatuation. They say poor Wheeler was afraid to build himself a strong position for fear of exciting suspicion amongst the natives, and in this wretched place, our poor women were exposed for three weeks to the fearful sun of June at Cawnpore, and the shot of the enemy, whose batteries were erected about 200 yards off. Many ladies were killed, others wounded. The survivors were kept in a miserable house, not fit for dogs, until the evening before our troops reached Cawnpore, when they were all murdered. God only knows how. The natives say the children were hanged before their mothers, and that when all had been wounded by shots from the Sepoys, butchers were sent in to finish the bloody business. There were about two hundred altogether, women and children. The floor now is strewn with clothes, shoes, &c., and the ground from the house to the well, where the remains were thrown down, is covered with locks of hair. Oh, mother, looking at these horrible sights makes one feel very, very sad. No wonder we all feel g’ad to kill these Sepoys. What the unfortunate women and children must have suffered. . . . We shall have some work but I have great faith in the Delhi troops. They are steady, at least the Artillery and Cavalry are, and we have one or two good men. It is so odd the way fellows turn out. Many who in a station appeared great swells, do nothing on service and vice versa.”

“Advancing on Lucknow,” he says, in a letter to his father,

“We shall have a force of 1800 European Infantry, 900 Native ditto, about 300 European Cavalry, and 350 ditto, 16 light and 4 heavy guns, and with this we ought, and will, please God, lick Pandey well, altho’ I believe they are immense numbers, and are joined by some 40,000 fanatic Musalmans, chiefly retainers of the ex-King, whose wife we hear English ladies go to see in crowds, and actually kneel to kiss her hands.”

He records the marches with graphic descriptions of successful engagements. In a delightful letter (February 11th, 1858) to his mother, he tells her he has been recommended for the V.C. He quotes the official letter which says that the award is for, “repeated

gallantry on the field, more especially on the 2nd January, 1858, when Lieutenant Fred Roberts captured a rebel standard, killing the Standard Bearer, and on the same day saved the life of an Irregular Cavalryman by cutting down a Sepoy who was attacking him with a musket and Bayonet." The following April he returned home on leave. The Mutiny was over. This book will find many readers; its letters are full of historic interest, and written with indescribable charm. The present days in India are days of unrest, and it is almost impossible not to look back to the great and terrible days of more than sixty years ago.

M. DE H.

* * *

MATTHEW PRIOR.

The late Mr. Thomas Seccombe in the Cambridge History of English Literature gave great praise to the work of Matthew Prior (1664-1721), and declared that,

"as a whole 'Prior's Shorter Poems' . . . mark him as the earliest, as he was one of the most consummate, masters of English verse. In his own age, he had no rival in this kind of composition but Swift; that his success in it was more rapid and more widespread than Swift's, may be attributed to his greater sympathy with the ordinary moods of the human mind, though it was primarily due to his more diversified skill in the management of metre and to his originality in the use of it. In his *History of English Prosody*, Saintsbury has entered very fully into this aspect of Prior's poetic genius, which, though it had, of course, not escaped the attention of critics, had hardly before received full consideration."

Such praise is the justification for this collection of Prior's shorter poems, though one may doubt if they will ever gain the popular ear in the sense that many song writers of the seventeenth century have gained and retained it. Of Prior's ability there can be no doubt. Of humble origin, sent, by chance almost, to Westminster School, a king's scholar there under the immediate care of the great Busby, he became a brilliant scholar, made his mark at Cambridge, and secured later an entrance into the close diplomatic world and made a name for himself in an age when the negotiations with Holland and France needed not only careful handling, but statesmanship and resource. He was a very fine linguist, as classical scholars often are, and had a natural literary sense based on his very thorough knowledge of the classics. He knew human nature well, and not only the bad side of it. He had a true love of children and in some respects a real tenderness of nature and a faith that

* *The Shorter Poems of Matthew Prior*. With an Introduction by Francis Bickley. Ornamented by Martin Travers. (Chapman & Dodd.) 3s. 6d. net.

most diplomatists of that age lacked. He was not a great man, and was not always treated seriously by the great, but he was a very competent man, with some of the time-serving qualities of a bad age. Yet he earned the confidence of kings, and in dark days his friends did not forget him; they published in the noblest fashion his verse, and gave him a home and the means of dignified life.

In a sense a tragic fate dogged him so far as literature was concerned. Chance and real ability made him a diplomatist, love of letters and a sense of metre made him a poet, and with his knowledge of human nature and ultimate seriousness of mind he might well in another epoch have been a great poet. But he was just too late to inherit the indefinable music of the Elizabethan epoch which had lingered on into his childhood. Born half a century earlier and he might have been a wielder of magic. Yet he was not late enough to belong to the great era that Pope adorned, and he can hardly have been said to have promoted, though in some fashion he belonged to, that era. A contemporary of Dryden and Swift, he had neither the solidity of the one nor the biting passion of the other. If he was not taken altogether seriously as a diplomatist it was due to a fault of character which also appears in his verses. No doubt the French models, perhaps Boileau himself, influenced him. In France he lost what he might have developed in England. Yet he has a tenderness that is very real. He could write in the Ode to Chloe:

"Then shun the ill, and know, my dear,
Kindness and constancy will prove
The only pillars fit to bear
So vast a weight as that of love.
If thou canst wish to make my flames endure,
Thine must be very fierce and very pure."

Again, there is almost a lilt of the great age in:

"How can I see you, and not love;
While you as op'ning east are fair?
While cold as northern blasts you prove;
How can I love and not despair?"

Yet the balance and the epigram are not of the mid-seventeenth century and do not belong to the eighteenth. In another Ode we see the same success, but the same failure:

"Deeper to wound, she shuns the fight:
She drops her arms, to gain the field:
Secures her conquest by her flight:
And triumphs when she seems to yield."

His own "Epitaph, Extempore," is, in its way, perfect, for in four lines it sums up his philosophy, his career, the great stage on which walked the great kings with whom he was familiar:

" Nobles and heralds, by your leave,
Here lies what once was Matthew Prior;
The son of Adam and of Eve,
Can Bourbon or Nassau go higher? "

It is a remarkable example of the epigrammatical epitaph, and has the suggested touch of depth of thought which is more real than those who, like Dr. Johnson, regard Prior as a " lady's poet," ever know. He had the makings of a great poet, though he never achieved the heights. In an occasional passage he suggests the mystic depth of Donne. His early Cambridge " Exercise " had promise that was never fulfilled. Few poets of riper years have written lines as pregnant as these:—

" Let cunning Earth her fruitful wonders hide;
And only lift thy staggering reason up
To trembling Calvary's astonish'd top;
Then mock thy knowledge, and confound thy pride,
Explaining how Perfection suffer'd pain,
Almighty languished and Eternal died:
How by her patient victor Death was slain;
And earth profan'd, yet blessed with deicide."

Again, turn to " the Second Hymn of Calémachus " addressed to Apollo:—

" The yellow crocus there, and fair narcissus
Reserve the honours of their winter-store,
To deck thy temple; till returning spring
Diffuses nature's various pride; and flowers
Innumerable, by the soft south-west
Open'd, and gathered by religious hands,
Rebound their sweets from th' odoriferous pavement.
Perpetual fires shine hallow'd on thy altars,
When annual the Carnean feast is held:
The warlike Libyans, clad in armour, lead
The dance, with clanging swords and shields they beat
The dreadful measure: in the chorus join
Their women, brown but beautiful: such rites
To thee well pleasing."

In this poem there are lines of superb poetry, lines that Milton or Donne might have fathered. Yet there is a sense of something that cannot be taken seriously in it all. There is lack of proportion, there is bathos, carelessness. The ironic poems are good in their fashion, but not superlatively good. The blank verse is uneven. Some of the lyrics are gross beyond the fashion of a gross age. The sense of humour is very limited and very conscious. At an age of transition Prior never did full justice to his opportunities. He did not take himself seriously as a poet, though probably poetry and not diplomacy was his proper goal. In his work as a singer there is every hope of greatness, without, at any rate, the full achievement of greatness. Yet somehow behind the

dull humour of the man of the world, behind the formal poems of the courtier and diplomatist, behind the too careful and epigrammatic lyrics there lurks a graver and fuller outlook, a phase of fearless faith, a certain poetic humour as of one who is watching eternity as well as time, that makes the reader of Prior suspect that perhaps the something lacking is in the reader and not in the poet, in the critical kings and courtiers and not in the diplomatist. He writes:—

" Democritus, dear droll, revisit earth,
And with our follies glut our heightened mirth:
Sad Heraclitus, serious wretch, return,
In louder grief our greater crimes to mourn.
Between you both I unconcern'd stand by;
Hurt, can I laugh? and honest, need I cry? "

That is the detached attitude of the spectator of eternity. Matthew Prior lies not unfittingly in that famous Abbey where as a boy he worshipped under the eye of Dr. Busby. He lies among his peers, among singers who achieved a greatness that he might (for such were his gifts) have surpassed.

J. E. G. DE M.

* * *

FRANCO-GERMAN RELATIONS, 1871-1914.*

Historians as well as younger historical students will be glad to have this impartial and careful record of the relations of France and Germany between the wars of 1870 and 1914. Dr. Gooch has brought into small compass an amazing mass of material, and has presented it with a lucidity of method and a charm of narrative that commands the continuous attention of the reader. No doubt some historians of modern times will find some grounds for criticising the beginning and the end of this record of a " moving and passionate drama." There is quite a serious school of historians who believe that France did not really want war in 1870, and that Bismarck not only wanted it, as a logical conclusion of a series of triumphs, but actually trapped Napoleon III. into war. There is, indeed, something to be said for this view of the facts, but Dr. Gooch is content to say that " the war of 1870, though welcomed by Bismarck, was begun by Louis Napoleon, and France, like other nations in similar circumstances, had to pay the debts of the Imperial Gambler. . . . The story of Franco-German relations since 1871 is the record of France's endeavour to regain her lost territory and of Germany's attempt to retain it. The one

* *Franco-German Relations, 1871-1914: the Creighton Lectures for 1923.* By G. P. Gooch. (Longmans.) 2s. 6d. net.

remembered the aggression of 1870, the other the settlement of 1871." This assumes that the "aggression" of 1870 was resented by Germany, when in fact it was welcomed and, as some historians think, precipitated by Germany.

The other statement which will be criticised is that in the half-year before the war of 1914, "though the desire for war with France, or anybody else, was confined to a minute section of the German population, which did not include the Kaiser, the Chancellor, or the Foreign Secretary, there was no general shrinking from a conflict and but little anxiety as to its result." That certainly is not the general view in England among those who had business relations in Germany, and were living in Germany in the months before the war, but if it is the correct view—and Dr. Gooch weighs evidence with a meticulous mind—it certainly is important that it should be established beyond all question. The respective responsibility of France and Germany for a disordered world turns on these two questions of fact, the responsibility of Bismarck for the war of 1870, and the responsibility of public opinion in Germany for the war of 1914. Surely these questions can receive an agreed settlement at the hands of historians.

Dr. Gooch in this dispassionate narrative brings out certain governing points in the record of these restless, and indeed terrible, four and forty years. Bismarck always believed that the peace of 1871 was not a durable one. He expected France to attack "directly she feels strong enough, alone or with allies." On the other hand, from the days of Thiers to the days of Poincaré the greatest Frenchmen declared that France would never initiate a war of liberation. *La Revanche* was never the policy of any French Government. Yet every Frenchman believed, from first to last, in the words of Gambetta, that France would again become necessary to Europe, and would resume in the inevitableness of things the lost provinces. The French thinkers were right and Bismarck was wrong. The French did not attack. It was their enemies of 1870 who attacked again, and attacked with absolute certainty of conquest. The Germans themselves destroyed the Empire that Bismarck created and justified Gambetta's cry in 1871: "The annexation of Alsace-Lorraine is the death-germ of his work." Yet it is plain enough that the German and French statesmen tried hard to create an entente, and even an alliance, between their countries. Crisis after crisis was evaded. The crisis of 1875 was followed by a period of apparent cordiality. The crisis of 1885-6, produced by the ambitions of the rather grotesque but very dangerous General Boulanger, was successfully overcome. The crisis of 1891, following the death of Bismarck and the visit of the Empress Frederick, was not so easily forgotten, but was

wiped out by the Franco-Russian alliance in which France resumed her European rôle. A strong France received German approaches in silence, while the idea of a united Germany, Russia, and France filled the Kaiser's mind. But the lost provinces made that impossible, and France, after apparent quarrels with England, entered into the *Entente Cordiale*. From 1903 Germany began to be nervous, and from 1905 she challenged the French African policy. The first and second Morocco crises, 1906 and 1911, really showed that France was indeed a new France, while by 1913 Germany felt herself isolated, conscious of her peril, but "arrogantly conscious of her strength." The impression that the narrative gives to the reader is that if, contrary to Bismarck's wise policy, Germany was to strike at all she ought to have struck before 1914. But it is easy to be wise after the event. Dr. Gooch is wise in respect to future events. Two lessons emerge from the tragic story. "The first is that dictated settlements have short lives. The second is that the Franco-German feud, which began centuries before Bismarck and involves not only Alsace-Lorraine, but the country of the Rhineland, is likely to continue till both nations, weary of their costly struggles, seek and find security and self-realisation in a world-wide League of Peace."

SHORTER REVIEWS.

Mr. Ralph E. C. Houghton in "The Influence of the Classics on the Poetry of Matthew Arnold,"* prints his excellent Matthew Arnold Memorial Prize Essay for 1923. He describes the main line of cleavage between classicism and romanticism: "The common quality of all great literature, whether classic or romantic, is Beauty. But in seeking Beauty classicism looks more to Truth, Simplicity, and Perfection of Form, romanticism to Colour, Suggestion, Mystery. The former cares more for the whole, the latter for the part; or rather while classicism is not prepared to sacrifice the balance of the whole to the interest of the part, romanticism in 'loading every rift with ore' hardly pauses to consider the effect on the whole." This is very interesting, but we may doubt if it will bear the test of individual cases. Shakespeare, Spenser, Shelley, Browning, and Swinburne were all romanticists, and none of these sacrifices the whole to the part with the exception of Spenser. Mr. Houghton rightly says that "only our greatest minds, Shakespeare or Browning, can still see life steadily and whole." Scott was a great romanticist, and though the "whole" fails occasionally this was not because he was romanticist, but because he was writing for his living against time. Yet the first part of Mr. Houghton's distinction is true, the differing outlook on Beauty of the classicist and the romanticist. We cannot admit that the great classical writers limited their output.

* Oxford: Basil Blackwell. 2s. 6d. net.

Time has limited the output that remains to us. The cares of this world and much other work limited Matthew Arnold's output. Sheer laziness limited Gray's output. But certainly Arnold was never satisfied with less than his best. His work has indeed "that perfection of form which is most uniformly found in the great writers of Greece and Rome," and these writers moulded his style and suffused his noble ironic spirit. The fashion of this influence Mr. Houghton tells in attractive detail. Homer, Sophocles, Virgil, Theocritus all played their part, as indeed did Wordsworth, Goethe, and the Bible. Under the apparent quietude of this really great poet lie depths of passion as well as nobility of ideal.

* * *

Mr. Herbert Fisher's Glasgow lectures on "The Common Weal" form a worthy sequel to those delivered in the previous year by Sir Henry Hadow. The late Minister of Education brings to his task a rare combination of qualities—profound knowledge of the past, six years' Cabinet experience during the World War and the first years of peace, a singularly balanced judgment, a grave enthusiasm for lofty principles, and a mastery of English prose. He does not aim at purple patches; but there is not a slipshod sentence in the book. Great problems of theory and practice are handled with such skill that these twelve addresses can be read without an effort. They should not be overlooked on the next occasion when school prizes are being selected. His main themes are the authority of the State, the duties of the individual citizen, and the relation of States to one another. At a time when home affairs are dominated by international relationships, it is in the lectures on the latter that many readers will find the chief interest. The discussion of Patriotism is particularly admirable, while the reflections on International Law and the Reduction of Armaments deal with topics which concern every citizen. Mr. Fisher wins the confidence of the reader at the beginning of his book and keeps it to the end. He steers a middle course between optimism and pessimism, between the realism which recognizes nothing but force and the idealism which trusts to the inherent value of ideas. Peace, progress, and prosperity, he points out, depend not only on a change of mind, but on improvements of international machinery, which will erect backwaters against the flood tides of national and racial passion.

* * *

Mr. Morton Luce, in "New Idyllia: Sketches of a Stream,"† reprints some striking poems originally published in the "Nineteenth Century." It was a good idea to produce comparatively long poems devoted to the seasonal appearances of flowing water. The stream is described in Spring, Summer, and Autumn with a charm of diction that will attract every lover of nature:—

"My utmost reach of childhood memory
Is bounded by a stream—the stream that runs
Athwart my birthplace; even this should claim
A brief remembrance in my song. To me
Who strain my weary sight across the years
It flows between the living and the dead."

The music of the verse is throughout the music of the stream. There is a sort of hypnotism as the reader goes on, the feeling begotten by the

* Clarendon Press. 7s. 6d.
† T. Fisher Unwin. 5s. net.

sound of running waters between the green and lovely banks, tree-clad and moon-struck or sun-gilded, that cherish flowers and birds and buds. The naturalist will love the book, for it figures the flowers and the green things of the earth in delightful language:—

"Soon our April has to smile
With many a gleam of pink and white, or glow
With deep-hued bell-flowers of the sweet mid-May;
Then with the myriad flame of kingcups fired,
To spread beneath June skies a cloth of gold
More royal, more rich than in the storied page
Of fame; then later in the fierce July
To roll in waves of living emerald
O'er half the jubilant acres of our land."

* * *

To say that there is something of Wordsworth in it all and perhaps most in the "The Stream in Autumn" is no disparagement to the originality of Mr. Luce's work. The same passionate love of nature and the same calm philosophy of life are the notes of the two poets.

Professor A. V. Hill, in his inaugural lecture last October as Jodrell Professor of Physiology at University College, London, took for his subject "The Present Tendencies and the Future Compass of Physiological Science," and the striking address is now published.* Physiology "is fundamentally the science of how the living creature works. . . . The future compass of our subject . . . is the study of the mechanism of life in any form and by every means and device which science offers." It will call in aid bio-chemistry, which is to-day "studying the events which occur in the living cell while it actually lives," and "is becoming, and will probably remain, our chief high road in the analysis of the behaviour of the living mechanism." But there will also be the application of purely physical technique to biological problems and the persistent use of the old "experimental method" to secure progress in the conception of the working of the body of complex animals. Professor Hill pleads for the study of the normal man in order to build up a sound body of trained scientific opinion "likely to prove of the greatest service, not merely to medicine, but in our ordinary social and industrial life. . . . A great future awaits the conscious and deliberate attempt to build up a sound body of human physiology round the knowledge gained in other branches." On the other hand, it is "urgently desirable that physiology should be in close touch with zoology" for the benefit of both groups of studies. Professor Hill also dwells on the value of recognition of the animal as a complete organised whole, and pleads for re-synthesis. "The physical and the chemical analyses of a painting reveal nothing but paint and canvas: yet it is obvious that something besides paint and canvas go to make a picture." So the new physiology may be said to look towards personality and the soul, and for this he claims freedom "to research on things because they are of interest, because their study and investigation are an adventure of the human spirit, because they would seem to lead towards a solution of those fundamental problems which man, in his intellectual impudence, believes to be soluble." This indeed is the note of the highest modern scientific thought, and perhaps it has never been better put than in this brilliant lecture.

* University of London Press. 1s. net.

NOTICES OF BOOKS.

Dr. Sayce's "Reminiscences" * make a volume of exceptional interest, not only to scholars who can appreciate his learning but to readers of average cultivation who enjoy hearing about foreign countries and famous people. Despite an exceptionally delicate constitution he began in early life the arduous study of ancient and modern languages which has made him one of the greatest philologists of our time. His special field has been Assyriology; but his services as the virtual discoverer of the widely spread Hittite civilisation and his pioneering efforts to unlock the secrets of the Hittite script are of no less historic importance. There seems no limit to the difficult tongues, including Basque with its six dialects, which he takes in his stride. Next to its value as a record of the progress of comparative philology during half a century the book is a portrait gallery of scholars, embracing not only the familiar names of Victorian Oxford, but foreign celebrities such as Schliemann. We travel in delightful company from Continent to Continent, and our journey is enlivened by the humour and vivacity which keep the veteran scholar eternally young.

* * *

Mr. Robert Bird's "Jesus, the Carpenter of Nazareth," † is a book which will always be welcomed by parents and others for Sunday reading to children. "This life is written in short realistic pictures, endeavouring to avoid theology and sectarianism, that mothers of all creeds may read it to their children, and children in later life may read it for themselves." The proper setting which has been given to each story makes the book peculiarly suited for those children who always want to be told the smallest details of a story. Story-telling of any kind is a fine art, and biblical stories are the most difficult kind to tell, for children quickly become bored and inattentive unless their interest is aroused, and it is a great pity that the life of our Lord, which is full of drama, should not be told with the same force that is given to ordinary tales of adventure. Mr. Bird's book will satisfy the most exacting questions, and at the same time rouse and hold the attention of any child.

* * *

Mr. C. Delisle Burns in "A Short History of International Inter-course" ‡ aims at showing "how far civilised life has arisen out of the peaceful co-operation between different peoples." He declares that "the history of peace is the history of the intercourse of nations, and, therefore, it is the history of the arts and the sciences and the interchange of goods and services called commerce, none of which can be explained by a history which deals mainly with war and opposition between peoples." Mr. Burns, therefore, gives to the student an account of the beginning of peace in Europe after the Dark Ages, of the art, learning, and commerce of the Middle Ages, of the peaceful side of the Renaissance, of the age of "Enlightenment," of the industrial revolution, and of the days before and since the Five Years' War. He declares that we are now at the beginning and not at the end of civilisation.

* Macmillan. 18s. net.

† Thomas Nelson & Sons. 2s. net.

‡ George Allen & Unwin. 3s. 6d. net.

THE POLITICAL SITUATION.

THE session has now lasted long enough to enable us to form provisional judgments upon several questions of real political and constitutional interest. How is the "Three-Party System" working in practice? Is it leading to confusion and futility, or is it proving itself a workable system? How is the Labour Government doing its work? Is it reasonably competent? Has it a coherent and intelligible policy? Is its enforced moderation putting a strain upon the allegiance of its followers? How are the other parties adapting themselves to the new conditions? Are there any indications of a return to a two-party grouping? In particular, what is happening to the Liberal Party? Has it been reduced to impotence, as some newspapers represent, or is it making good its claim to represent a distinctive attitude, clearly differentiated from those of the other parties, and capable of appealing to the imagination of the electorate?

It was perhaps fortunate that the first business of the first British Parliament wherein the Government has not been able to count upon some sort of majority should have been the comparatively straightforward business of dealing with the estimates—and with estimates framed, in the main, by the outgoing Government. If we had started with big controversial issues and large projects of legislation, we might at once have been plunged into confusion. As it is, the House has had time to adjust itself to the new conditions; the acrimonies of the election, and of the debate which preceded Mr. Baldwin's defeat, have been forgotten; and the Three-Party system has been tested under favourable conditions.

On the whole, and thus far, it has worked pretty well. A good deal of time has been wasted, but this has been mainly due to the inexperience and timidity of the Government. Nevertheless, the necessary business has been got through. And certain anticipated advantages of the Three-Party system have been realised. For one thing, public interest in the proceedings of Parliament has been intensified: there has not been such a continuous demand for gallery-orders for many years. For another thing, the non-Governmental parties have shown a real sense of responsibility for ensuring that "the King's Government is carried on": there has been very little mere pin-pricking, and the old doctrine that it is the duty of the Opposition to oppose has gone by the board. For a third thing, the private member has counted for more than at any time during the last thirty years, in spite of the fact that there are now three Front Benches, all claiming priority in debate. It must be a long time since Private Members' Bills have assumed so much importance as during this session; and the crack of the party whip is much less insistent than it used to be.

All this is to the good. So far as we have gone, it has been demonstrated that a minority Government can carry on, because it can count upon receiving fair play from the other parties. The most admirable feature of this Parliament has been the manifest determination of both the older parties to give an absolutely fair chance to the Labour Government, and to make every allowance for its difficulties. But for this determination, the weakness of the Treasury Bench would have been made more apparent. If the Government had been in a majority, it would have been far more hardly pressed, and might by now have been seriously discredited in the eyes of the country.

But it is still too early to say that minority government has been proved to be workable—or, at any rate, that the present holders of office will be able to work it. We must wait for the real test until the Government's programme of serious legislation is put forward, after the Easter recess.

How has the Labour Government acquitted itself? There is a widespread popular impression that, on the whole, it has done well. This is mainly due to reaction from the absurd alarms that were aroused by the Stunt Press. But it is very far indeed from being the impression of the House of Commons. In the House the Government has fallen into contempt; so much so that, although nobody wants a fresh crisis, and both the other parties are anxious to keep the Government in power as long as possible, everybody is wondering whether it can last much longer. No Government can long survive such continuous displays of weakness, vacillation, and incompetence as this Government has exhibited.

The weakness of the Government is due to several factors: to its *personnel*; to manifest differences which divide its members, and the difficulties which it is experiencing with its followers; to its incompetent conduct of business, which arises partly from inexperience and timidity, and partly from its refusal to co-operate with the Liberals, by whose support it is kept alive; and, finally, to its lack of any clear and coherent policy, whether in the sphere of home affairs, or in that of foreign policy and defence.

No Government has ever faced the House of Commons with a weaker Front Bench. Mr. MacDonald himself is, indeed, a very able Parliamentarian, but he is too astucious and too uncertain of temper to attain complete success. Some of his recent speeches have been bad failures, notably that on the Rents Bill, which aroused so much anger by its disingenuousness that it was the direct cause of the Government's defeat. He is obviously over-strained. The double burden of the Premiership and the Foreign Secretaryship (which ought never to be combined, because foreign affairs,

not being open to free discussion, ought always to be under the review of more than one mind) would be too much for anybody, but Mr. MacDonald adds to it the unnecessary burden of delivering frequent public orations. His very considerable powers are thus dissipated; and the work of Government lacks the co-ordination which it is the duty of the Prime Minister to give.

Mr. Clynes is confessedly a failure as Deputy-Leader of the House. Mr. Snowden is almost silent, but he did very badly on Reparations, the only subject upon which he has been seriously engaged; and he also has shown serious faults of temper. Mr. Thomas has an ingenuous manner and a readiness of resource which are often helpful. Mr. William Graham is probably the most competent person on the Front Bench, and Miss Bondfield has done well whenever she has had a chance; but these two occupy minor offices, and are not in the Cabinet. Mr. Wheatley has been the storm-centre of the Government. He has shown both adroitness and eloquence in defending grave blunders of his own which have on two occasions almost wrecked the Government; but there are limits to the extent to which "sob-stuff" can be used in Parliament as a substitute for serious argument upon practical issues. Mr. Buxton has a disarming dullness. The rest—is silence.

There is evidently a sharp division between those Ministers who would like to co-operate frankly with the Liberals in a constructive policy for which the Labour Party would reap the major part of the credit, and those who are determined to have no dealings with the Liberals, to appeal whenever possible for Conservative votes, and to use the magnanimity of the Liberals first as a means of retaining office, and then as a means of destroying the Liberal party. The latter group, led by Mr. MacDonald, has triumphed; and the result is that the Government follows a vacillating course, has a precarious existence, and concentrates its thoughts mainly upon electioneering rather than upon getting useful work done. A great part of its proceedings is vitiated by this taint. Meanwhile, there is discomfort and discontent on the back benches, who are only kept in hand with difficulty.

In these circumstances, it is not surprising that the business of the House has been badly managed. Formal business fell seriously into arrears, because long-winded debates on unimportant subjects were allowed to ramble on without being closed, though the other parties would have been ready to help. In one sitting five hours were wasted on a futile motion to abolish the British army, which was supported by only thirteen Labour-Pacifists. In another the business allotted was so trivial that the House broke up at 8.15 because it had nothing more to do. The time devoted to the Rents

Bill was mere waste, due to the stupidity with which the Bill had been drafted. Yet Mr. MacDonald refused to find time for a discussion on India, or even for a statement on the situation there, though it has reached a highly critical stage; and the Treaty of Lausanne, which commits this country to a permanent liability more perilous than it has ever undertaken before, was hurried through with indecent haste.

But the most serious failure of the Government is its failure to put forward any coherent and intelligible policy. The Treasury Bench presents the aspect of a row of bewildered men, accustomed to the vague generalities, the sweeping denunciations and the facile promises of the platform, but wholly at sea when they have to face the practical problem of what should be done next, and how it should be done. Overweighted with their new responsibilities, they fall back with relief upon the proposals of their predecessors, which they were denouncing only a few months ago; the advantage of this method is that it enables them to depend upon Tory rather than Liberal votes. One example was afforded by the London Traffic Bill, introduced during the Tramway Strike. A thoroughly bad Bill, it practically reproduced the scheme drawn up by the last Conservative Government, and then strongly condemned by the London Labour members. Another example is Mr. Shaw's failure to produce any plans for providing work for the unemployed other than the schemes initiated by the last Government, which were deservedly condemned as inadequate, when they were introduced, not only by the Labour Party, but by leading employers. This failure is the more notable because the Labour Party fought the last election mainly on unemployment, claimed to be the only party which knew how to deal with the problem, and loudly insisted that it could and would provide work instead of doles. Its actual proposals turn out to be an increase of the "dole" but no increase of work.

Mr. Wheatley, indeed, makes floundering attempts to produce something bold and dashing which may serve as a "gesture" to the electors: it is a Government of "gestures," if we may use the significant catch-word of the moment. One such "gesture" was his action on Poplar. Another was his preposterous Evictions Bill, which in its first form imposed the whole burden of housing the unemployed upon their landlords—often as poor as themselves; whilst in its second form it did absolutely nothing to help those who are in distress, but was, as Sir John Simon justly put it, "a fraud on the unemployed"—a mere gesture, in short. Mr. Wheatley is a man of energy. We all await with interest and hope his promised housing scheme, trusting that it, at least, will be something better than an electioneering gesture.

No doubt we shall have to wait until after the Budget for any full development of the Government's social policy, if it has one; and we must not condemn it until then. But it ought to have been possible, in the last three months, to give some indication of what that policy is to be. All the indications have been profoundly disappointing, especially to Liberals, who had hoped to be able to give their whole-hearted support to a series of much needed reforms.

In foreign policy we have had clearer indications of the Government's attitude; but it is hard to discern any departure from the attitude of their predecessors. This is particularly notable in regard to the Treaty of Lausanne, which was Lord Curzon's work, taken over and ratified by Mr. MacDonald. Everybody acknowledges that the Treaty is unsatisfactory, but that it must nevertheless be ratified because there is no other way of ending the state of war in the Near East. What is not so clearly recognised is that the conditions established by the Treaty cannot possibly be permanent, but must sooner or later be modified, probably by war. The continued presence of the Turks in Europe; the absence of any adequate provisions for dealing with the Armenians, among whom (when they revive) a nationalist movement will inevitably arise, and inevitably win the support of Russia; above all, the giving of control over the Straits to Turkey, who can, in war-time, close the only access of Russia, Roumania, and Bulgaria to open water—these are provisions which must lead to future trouble, and probably to war. We may reasonably accept these conditions, as the best that can at the moment be obtained; but we ought to recognise that they cannot be permanent. Yet, under Article 18 of the Straits Convention, we have accepted an obligation in conjunction with France, Italy, and Japan, to maintain for ever the *régime* now established on the Straits. If this obligation has no meaning, as some of the defenders of the Treaty contend, it ought to be cancelled as dishonouring to ourselves and unfair to Turkey. If it has a meaning (and Lord Curzon told Ismet Pasha that it was an "absolute assurance" to Turkey) it represents a liability of the most dangerous kind, such as we have never undertaken before, and never ought to undertake. The Treaty ought to have been ratified with a reservation of this clause, or of the Straits Convention as a whole: at the very least an attempt ought to have been made to discover whether Turkey would be satisfied with a ratification of this kind. But Mr. MacDonald has swallowed this vicious arrangement whole; and the Labour Party must share with the Conservative Party the responsibility for tying about our necks a millstone of liability for which our sons or our grandsons will curse us.

The Lausanne Treaty, vitally important as it is, has attracted curiously little attention; and it is upon his handling of the vexed problems of reparations and security that Mr. MacDonald's reputa-

tion as a Foreign Minister will depend, in the eyes of this generation. He gained, and deserved, credit for the tone of his despatch to M. Poincaré; but the reply was as unyielding as ever. The extreme vagueness of his later statement on foreign policy greatly weakened this favourable impression. In that statement he seemed to postpone all consideration of the vital question of security until the question of reparations had been cleared out of the way, thus basing his policy upon the dangerous assumption that these two problems can be separately considered. No doubt he was building upon the hope that the Reports of the Experts would provide the basis of a satisfactory reparations-settlement; but even now that we have the Experts' Reports before us, we may well doubt whether France will accept a solution that is just to Germany unless and until she is satisfied upon the question of security. In any case, the discussion of security and disarmament would seem to have been postponed to an indefinite date in the future, when Mr. MacDonald apparently hopes to deal with it in a general conference. Meanwhile, he throws out vague suggestions, but gives no clear information, about negotiations which are supposed to be taking place regarding disarmament. It is, in truth, impossible to say what course his policy is pursuing, or whether it consists of anything more than vague aspirations and "gestures." It is too early yet to express any definite opinion upon it, whether of approbation or distrust; we are, at a very critical moment, in the hands of Mr. MacDonald, who is, in this sphere, very much of an autocrat, because he is not subject to the control of even a Prime Minister of his own way of thinking. All that we yet know about his aims is a haze of virtuous sentiments; and he is perturbingly unwilling to give any definite assurances even upon points of vital British interest, such as the Franco-German trade agreements.

In regard to defence-policy there is an equal absence of definiteness. We have had no opportunity of discussing our defence-policy as a whole. Is it designed on the assumption that we shall attain a real pacification and a general disarmament? Or does it assume that we must play our part in a new competition of armaments? On this vital issue the Government seems to have no decided view: it wavers from the one attitude to the other.

Thus the construction of the Singapore base was held up on the ground that we must do nothing to create an atmosphere unfavourable to disarmament. Yet there was not an argument used on Singapore which would not have been equally applicable against the construction of the Five Cruisers. This was recommended in the first instance as a slight anticipation of routine reconstruction undertaken in order to supply work at the dockyards; but at the second stage of the discussion, the plea of relieving unemployment

was dropped. It emerged that no mere "replacement" was involved, but the construction of five formidable "pocket dreadnoughts" of 10,000 tons, with big guns, just under the limit defined by the Washington agreement; and the only serious argument by which this programme was supported was the statement that Japan was constructing one vessel of this class, and that others were designed. It appears, therefore, that we are rushing into a new naval rivalry, just below the Washington limit; and the breakdown of the naval conference at Rome was (whether rightly or wrongly) attributed in part to our action. If Mr. MacDonald is actually initiating a discussion on disarmament, as he has hinted, and if he was right in postponing the construction of a naval base at Singapore because it would prejudice this discussion, it must surely be obvious that the construction of the cruisers must prejudice the discussion yet more seriously. We may well ask whether the action of the Government in this sphere is determined by any intelligible principles, and whether there is any adequate correlation between foreign policy and defence policy.

In face of the vague and vacillating policy of Government, what has been the attitude of the two other parties?

Beyond any doubt, the circumstances have been far more favourable to the Conservatives than to the Liberals, and this in two ways. In the first place, the Conservatives have been free to take up the attitude of definite opposition, losing no opportunity to weaken or discredit the Government; whereas the Liberals, having put the Government into office, have felt it their duty to support it so far as possible, and to lighten its difficulties rather than to add to them. This is no easy task; and it is inevitable that there should be differences in the party as to the point at which support becomes impossible. No such perplexities beset the Conservative Party. In the second place, the Government, in its bewilderment, has so often been content to adopt the policy of its predecessors—on unemployment, for example, or on London traffic, or on Lausanne—that it has seemed to justify these predecessors at the very points upon which they were most open to criticism, to the unconcealed delight of the Conservatives. In all these fields the business of criticism has been almost wholly left to the Liberals, who have been hampered by their desire not to embarrass the Government; their position has been by no means an easy one. And there seems to be no doubt that the dominant elements in the Government rejoice in this situation, hoping that it may tend towards the disintegration of the Liberal Party, which it is their supreme desire to destroy. This is, perhaps, one main reason why the Government has been so ready to adopt Conservative policies: it is always glad to rest upon Conservative rather than Liberal support.

The consequence is that the Conservative Party has appeared to be strengthened rather than weakened by the events of the present session: its internal differences have been superficially healed over, though they still survive. Like the Labour Party, the Conservative Party hopes to grow at the expense of the Liberals. It hopes to return to power as the only possible alternative to a discredited Labour Party. With that end in view, some Conservatives are striving to work out a "constructive social policy," largely borrowed from the Liberal programme. It remains to be seen whether they will be able to win for such a programme the support of the vested interests upon which they principally rest. Mr. Joseph Chamberlain discovered in the 'nineties how difficult it is to foist any element of Radicalism into the Conservative Party.

Judged by the division lists, the Liberal Party has, time and again, appeared to be deeply divided. But this has been appearance only, arising from the peculiar difficulty of the situation. It has not implied any real division in the party. After three months of this Parliament, the Parliamentary Liberal Party is, indeed, more united than it was when Parliament met. It has gained a greater clearness as to its difference from the Labour Party than before; and it is less likely to-day than it ever was that any of the Liberals sitting in Parliament will transfer themselves to the Labour Party. There are, indeed, a few nominal Liberals who will probably ultimately join the Conservative Party. Nobody will regret their departure. But the fact that the points upon which the Liberals have most sharply differed from the Government have been precisely those upon which the Government has chosen to pursue a Conservative policy has tended to draw more sharply than ever the line between Liberalism and Conservatism.

Despite all appearances, therefore, the result of this Parliament has, in fact, been to clarify the Liberal position, and to give greater definition to the Three-Party system. This process of clarification would have been more obvious to the public if the leadership of the party had been more vigorous. But there is no sort of doubt about it; and the work that has been carried on in several groups of Liberal members in the definition of the constructive policy which the party desires to pursue has greatly aided it. Had the Labour Government offered (as we had expected) a constructive policy which could have won the support of the more advanced Radicals the result might have been different. As things are, Liberals in the House are more convinced than ever that it is only along Liberal lines that the constructive policy which the country needs and desires can ever be wrought out.

RAMSAY MUIR.

HOUSING :

THE RENTS OF WORKING CLASS HOUSES.

THE whole country is anxiously waiting to see what policy the new Government will adopt as regards the building of working class houses.

It is generally recognised that in spite of all the efforts that have been made the shortage of houses to-day is even more acute than it was at the time of the Armistice. The Labour Government has made it clear that it intends to make a vigorous effort towards clearing off the shortage by a programme extending over a period of years. Such a programme, if based on reasonable lines, would have the sympathy and support of all sections of the community. A very controversial point has, however, been raised by the Prime Minister. He has stated that he hopes to build houses at an average cost of £500, and to let them at an average rent of 9s. per week inclusive of rates. This raises in an acute form the fundamental question on which the success of any building scheme must depend, namely, at what level ought the rents of working class houses to be fixed?

In the old days before the war upset everything this was settled by the law of supply and demand. Soon after the war began, workers crowded into towns where munitions were being made and landlords at once began to demand excessive rents. The first Rent Restriction Act of 1915 was devised to protect tenants and check profiteering by landlords. Later the complete cessation of house building and the growing shortage made it necessary to continue restriction, but subsequent Acts were unfair to landlords because in spite of enormously increased prices they were not allowed to raise rents. It was not until 1920 when landlords were found to be suffering serious hardships that an increase of 30 per cent. was permitted, and the full 40 per cent. increase now in force was not permitted until July 2nd, 1921. The Act of 1923, on the other hand, inflicted hardships on tenants by enlarging the grounds on which a landlord could claim possession, and by gradually decontrolling some of the protected houses. The present position is therefore regulated by a complicated series of Rent Restriction Acts (which worked adversely towards landlords and tenants in turn) resulting from a succession of compromises. The law of supply and demand having broken down, legislation attempted to mete out rough justice to both landlord and tenant in accordance with the varying tides of public opinion.

Although houses built since the war are not controlled, yet in practice they are let at rents equivalent to the rents at which pre-war houses are let. Almost all the houses built for letting since the war have been built by municipalities who have naturally not

wished to take advantage of the possibility of securing unduly high rents. It is now urged by many people that the time has come to do away with control and to get back to the free play of the law of supply and demand. In pre-war days 95 per cent. of working class houses were built by private enterprise, and many people hold that the housing problem will never be solved until private enterprise gets to work again effectively. The Government at the beginning of 1923 seemed inclined to take this view and to wish to repeal the Rent Restriction Acts. There was, however, an immediate outcry in the country, and the Government was badly beaten on this point in three successive by-elections. The policy was therefore promptly abandoned for the time being.

Mr. MacDonald has gone to the other extreme. His statement that he proposes to build houses costing on an average £500, and to let them at an average rent of 9s., has created an entirely new situation. A scheme of this sort would mean that the new houses would be let, not at 40 per cent. above pre-war rents, but actually at lower rents than the same houses would have been let at in pre-war days. At the present time, the £500 house in Manchester is being let at an inclusive rent of about 15s. a week. Even at this rent there is a heavy deficit which requires a subsidy of about £10 per annum from the rates and taxes spread over a period of twenty years. If the rent is to be reduced to 9s. inclusive of rates, the subsidy required would amount to not less than £36 per annum.

The Minister of Health has stated that what he wants to do is to house not the skilled artisan or the clerk, but rather the labourer who most needs help. He has made it clear that he regards the method of municipal building with the aid of subsidies as a permanent thing, and does not expect private enterprise ever again to build working class houses, nor does he intend to take any steps to enable them to do so.

There are now three rent policies before the country :—

- (a) the continuance of the present Rent Restriction Acts, with or without slight modifications;
- (b) the repeal of the Acts to allow free play to economic forces;
- (c) the MacDonald scheme of reducing the rents of new houses to something less than the pre-war level.

Before dealing with the respective merits of these three policies, it would be useful to clear up two matters which lie at the root of the whole matter. The first is the question of subsidies.

Is a subsidy to housing in itself an evil thing? Englishmen have a healthy instinct in favour of private enterprise and against State subsidies. There is a strong general belief that it is a mistake for the State to interfere in such things as the provision of houses, and that they will, on the whole, be much more satisfactorily and economically provided by private enterprise. But experience

during the last fifty years has shown that private enterprise cannot and will not provide adequately many things which are needed for the wellbeing of the present day community. A hundred years ago the roads were provided by private enterprise and their upkeep paid for by tolls levied on the users. Now the roads are managed and paid for entirely by the State. Nobody wants to go back to private enterprise in this matter. Take education as another outstanding example. Private enterprise schools were the rule fifty years ago, but private enterprise never made any attempt to provide education on the scale which public opinion demands to-day. More and more the State has been forced to subsidise education and, as regards elementary education, not only to give a subsidy but actually to bear the whole of the cost, and nobody would dream of suggesting that we should go back to unaided private enterprise in education.

Professor Pigou stated ten years ago that in his opinion there was no fundamental difference between such a service as education on the one hand and housing on the other. Housing is, after all, one of the most important public health services. The surviving prejudice against a subsidy to housing is an interesting illustration of the way in which public opinion is formed in these matters. Once a service has been taken over by the State or a municipality and the public have become accustomed to the idea, all objections cease. For instance, in any town where the gas and electricity undertakings have for some years been owned by the municipality, nobody thinks of going back to private enterprise and nobody talks about municipal gas being Socialism. But in any town where the gas undertaking belongs to a private company the suggestion to municipalise it is resented as an attack on private enterprise, and is regarded as municipal Socialism. It has been gradually realised that many services needed by the great mass of people can only be satisfactorily rendered by State aid, and during the last six years there has been general consent that under present conditions the housing of the working classes can only be carried on by means of a State subsidy; such subsidies have, in fact, been given with the unanimous consent of all political parties.

The question of subsidising housing has ceased to be a matter of principle, and has become a question of expediency and necessity. So long as economic conditions remain as they are now, houses to be let to members of the working classes can only be built by municipalities with the aid of a State subsidy. It cannot be doubted that the system must be continued for the present. On the other hand, in view of the rapid and violent changes in economic conditions to which we have now become accustomed, it is impossible to foresee what the position may be five or ten years hence, and it would

be a mistake to make up our minds that State subsidies for housing are necessarily a permanent condition of affairs.

The position as regards subsidies may be summed up thus: that there is no more objection to the principle of subsidising houses than to subsidising education; that subsidies for housing are for the next few years incontestably necessary; that, as regards the distant future, an open mind should be preserved and the whole matter reconsidered as economic conditions change.

WHO ARE THE WORKING CLASSES?

There is a widespread feeling that the municipal houses which have been built under the Addison and Chamberlain schemes are not actually occupied by the working classes. This feeling is shared by the present Government, and is being brought out strongly both by the Prime Minister and the Minister of Health. It was on account of this that the Prime Minister announced that the MacDonald house, which was to cost £500, was to be let at not more than 9s. per week, inclusive of rates. It is important to note that the £500 house is approximately the non-parlour house with three bedrooms which is being built generally at the present time. This is a far better house than the average artisan occupied in pre-war days, so that what Mr. MacDonald is aiming at is to provide for the labourer a better house than the artisan could afford in pre-war days.

Mr. MacDonald is certainly right in one thing, that is, in demanding the £500 house with three bedrooms. In Manchester, 80 per cent. of the existing working class houses have only two bedrooms. This is far too big a proportion. Every family which has children of both sexes requires, as those children are growing up, at least three bedrooms if they are to live under conditions of elementary decency. It is certainly safe to say that at least 50 per cent. of all houses ought to have a minimum of three bedrooms. To secure this we ought to build nothing but three bedroom houses for the next fifteen years.

As regards the standard of housing, the Government scheme is reasonable. But the suggestion that the new houses should be occupied by labourers rather than artisans is a very different matter. Mr. Wheatley has made a mistake in suggesting that the tenants of the new houses are not members of the working classes at all. This is entirely contradicted by the figures which have just been taken out for the whole of the tenants in the Manchester municipal houses. These are as follows:—

(a) Manual workers number	...	...	1,643	or	48.85%
(b) Clerks, &c.	...	...	1,577	or	46.89%
Number who cannot be included					
under the heading "Working					
Classes "					
...	...	...	143	or	4.25%

Surely nobody will deny that the clerk on weekly wages, often earning less than the bricklayer, is a member of the working class.

This means that over 95 per cent. of Manchester houses are actually being occupied by the working classes. The position is then as follows—that we are building houses which are better generally speaking than any working class houses that existed in the country prior to the war. For a long time to come these new houses will only be a small minority of the whole of the working class houses. Is it common sense to suggest that the newest and best houses should be occupied by the poorer sections of the working class? Surely it is obvious that they *must* and ought to be occupied by those among the working classes who have worked hardest, have been most successful and have the larger incomes—that is to say, the artisan and clerk class. Even so, the new houses will be of real benefit to the unskilled labouring class and even to the slum dweller, because every time an artisan moves out of a crowded old house into one of the new houses, he leaves the old house available for somebody else, and so there is a gradual move up and improvement all round. If we could suddenly produce a million new houses, and move a million artisan and clerk families out of existing houses into these new ones, we should have very nearly solved the housing problem, not only for the artisan, but for everybody except those living in houses unfit for human habitation. It must be borne in mind that it has never been the case in any country or at any time in the history of the world that new houses of good type were occupied by the poorest classes. It never will be the case.

THE THREE ALTERNATIVES.

We are now in a position to examine the three alternatives which are before the country.

The first is the proposal that the Rent Restriction Act should be abolished altogether, and that the law of supply and demand should be allowed free play in the hope that private enterprise would then solve the housing problem, with the exception of slum clearance and of rural areas where it is admitted by all that subsidies would still be required. Lord Eustace Percy, in moving an amendment to Mr. Gardner's Rent Restriction Bill in Committee, recently argued that even if the better working class houses were decontrolled rents would not rise appreciably. In spite of this he seemed to imagine that in some mysterious way the mere fact of decontrol would enable enterprise to build these houses for letting. He failed entirely to explain how decontrol would stimulate private enterprise unless rents were increased. The fact is, of course, that rents would immediately be put up. This is proved as regards Manchester by a return recently made by the Comptroller to the

Overseers of what he calls "specimen cases of decontrolled rents." He quotes seven cases of houses which, on a change of tenants, have come out of control, and shows that the net rents which are now being paid for these houses vary from 84 per cent. to 195 per cent. above the pre-war rent, as against the permitted increase of 40 per cent. for controlled houses. The average increase over the whole seven houses is 136 per cent., or more than three times the increase allowed under the Rent Restriction Act. In one case the pre-war net rent was 10s. 2d., the controlled rent 14s. 2d., and when it came out of control the house was let for 30s.

In view of such facts it is surely disingenuous to claim that rents would not be increased if houses were decontrolled. The inexorable law of supply and demand would continue to function in the case of houses in just the same way as it always has functioned in the past and always will function in the future.

Another objection to the removal of the Rent Restriction Act is due to the proportion of old and new houses in the country. At the present time there are about eight million pre-war houses in the country, and about two hundred thousand post-war houses, or more than forty old houses built at cheap rates for one new house. Under present conditions a subsidy is required for each new house, whereas a reasonable return on his investment is obtained by the landlord of each old house. If the Rent Restriction Act were removed, it is true that the taxpayer would be relieved of the burden of a subsidy on each new house; but, on the other hand, rents would go up all round, and for each case where the taxpayer obtained such relief, the tenants of no less than forty old houses would have to pay a similar amount of their wages to their landlords. This ratio of new houses to old is a fundamental factor in deciding the expediency of allowing rents to rise and the relative degrees of hardship or injustice involved in pursuing the one course or the other. As the number of new houses increases so will the advantage to the tenants of the country as a whole in maintaining the Rent Restriction Act gradually decrease.

It is impossible to estimate how far average rents would be increased if the Rent Restriction Act were removed at the present time. Possibly they might only go up very little in the slums, but the 10s. house would certainly go up several shillings a week. This would mean a transfer from the tenants, which include the whole of the poorest class in the community, to landlords—a much richer class on the whole—of a sum which might easily amount to £50,000,000 per annum. This might be justifiable if the landlords were suffering real hardship through the Rent Restriction Act. The conclusion of the Departmental Committee which considered this matter eighteen months ago was that results varied from case

to case and from one part of the country to another, but that on the whole the landlord was about as well off as in pre-war days. This means that landlords of pre-war houses are in the same position as owners of Consols, who get the same return on their capital to-day as before the war. If the Rent Restriction Act were removed, they would be getting a considerably greater return.

It would, then, create far more injustice than it would remove to repeal the Rent Restriction Act. But the final argument against such repeal is that public opinion would not stand it, and that it is politically out of the question. The first method of dealing with the rent problem, complete freedom to landlords to charge what rent they like, and an immediate return to private enterprise housing, can be at once dismissed as unfair, and impracticable.

The second scheme is that which has been put before the country by Mr. MacDonald. This involves, as we have shown, a subsidy three times as great as that which is now being paid, and means that the building of two million houses would result in a burden on the taxpayer of no less than 70 million pounds per annum. This is a financial burden so stupendous that the taxpayer and ratepayer would certainly revolt, and the result would be that the houses simply would not be built. The scheme is impracticable on financial grounds alone.

But there is a further very serious objection to the MacDonald scheme. At the present time there is one level of rent for all classes of working class houses, that is to say, in any given area a certain class of accommodation is worth approximately a given rent. The rents of the Addison houses and the Chamberlain houses were deliberately fixed on this basis. There is, therefore, no privileged class of tenant. Although a subsidy is given to the Chamberlain house, the tenant, in fact, pays approximately the same as a tenant of a pre-war house pays for the same accommodation. Under the MacDonald scheme this will be completely altered. The tenant of a MacDonald house in Manchester will pay 9s., where the tenant of an Addison or a Chamberlain house is paying 15s., though the houses may be of exactly the same type. They may both be built by the municipality on the same estate, and yet the tenant of the new house is to pay 6s. less owing to an increased subsidy from the taxpayer and the ratepayer. It is interesting to consider what would happen if on an estate where a number of tenants were already paying 15s. a week the municipality suddenly began letting similar houses for 9s. How long would it be before the 15s. tenants would refuse to pay more than 9s.? Surely the proposal is so unjust as to be politically not only undesirable but impossible.

There is only one way under Mr. MacDonald's scheme of avoiding this injustice, namely, by giving subsidies to all existing

houses, to bring them down to a rent corresponding to the MacDonald houses. That would mean something like £20 per annum for every house in the country, and is such a fantastic sum as to be utterly out of the question. The MacDonald scheme must accordingly be dismissed as impracticable, both because it would impose an intolerable financial burden on the community and because it would create a small privileged class of tenants receiving a heavy subsidy at the expense of their fellow citizens.

THE SOLUTION.

The position is, then, that the only politically practicable course at the present time is to continue the Rent Restriction Act, and to keep the level of the rents somewhere about where it is now. Mr. Gardner's Bill proposed to reduce the permitted increase from 40 per cent. to 25 per cent. above pre-war, but no evidence has been produced to show either that there is a widespread demand for this, or that the owners of pre-war property are getting an unduly large return on their capital at the present time. The general consensus of opinion, and of such evidence as is available, is that if the landlord is carrying out repairs properly, a 40 per cent. increase on pre-war rents is not more than a reasonable return on his investment. What is required is a strengthening of the law to ensure that repairs are properly and effectively carried out.

But the fact that the Rent Restriction Act must be continued, say, for another three years is no reason for agreeing with the Minister of Health that the building of working class houses must be regarded permanently as a service to be rendered by the State. All one can definitely say is that with the present level of prices, and with the present acute shortage of housing accommodation, it is desirable that the protection of the tenant should be continued. But prices and economic conditions have been so unstable since the war that he would indeed be a bold man who prophesied what the conditions would be five or ten years hence.

There is one matter which should be carefully considered regarding the rents of the new houses. There has been a tendency in some districts to fix these rents rather higher than those of equivalent pre-war houses. Where this has been done, the houses have been rated on this basis, with the result that the new houses are, in fact, costing the tenant more than they ought to do. This is a matter for the Rents Tribunals. Under present conditions it is exceedingly difficult even for artisans to pay the rents of the new houses, and municipalities should be very careful to see that they are not rented or rated at more than their fair value in relation to existing property; in fact, there is much to be said for rating these houses at a much lower level.*

* See *Houses for All*. By E. D. Simon. 6d. Published by the *Daily News, Ltd.*

The best practical policy under the extraordinarily difficult conditions that exist to-day would seem to be as follows: to encourage private enterprise in every possible way to build houses for sale, and especially to encourage the occupier-owner. This is effectively done under the Chamberlain Act, and is a matter of administration rather than of fresh legislation. The erection of houses for sale is at the present time being vigorously dealt with by private enterprise. Large numbers of houses are being built, and it is probable that in the course of the next two years the demand for houses of this sort may be satisfied. The labour which is now occupied on these houses will then be available for building houses to let.

The crux of the problem is the building of houses to let. Here, again, the Chamberlain Act is on the right lines as regards the large cities, but has failed entirely as regards the country. The principal modification that is required is a moderate increase in the subsidy for large cities, and a much larger increase for rural areas. The principle that should be adopted is to measure the subsidy in each case in such a way that the houses can be let at the equivalent of a pre-war rent plus 40 per cent., or whatever other percentage may be included in the Rent Restriction Act for the time being. It will be very difficult to determine what is a fair subsidy in each case, and machinery will have to be set up for that purpose. But the principle is a simple one, and the difficulties can be overcome.

The necessary modifications in the law are slight. The real difficulty is, of course, the supply of labour. This has throughout limited the number of houses that could be built since the war. In Manchester to-day there are 1,000 men on the Corporation schemes, and another 1,000 are wanted and cannot be obtained. That is the real problem with which the Government has to deal.

The crux of the whole thing is that nothing should be done by legislation that would decrease the chance of getting houses. There is no reason to suppose that more houses would be built if the Rent Restriction Act were repealed. There is every reason to suppose that fewer houses would be built, owing to the revolt of the taxpayer, if a serious attempt were made to let the new houses at 9s. The wise policy would seem almost certainly to be the middle course of continuing rents of working class houses at approximately the present level, of giving the necessary subsidies to stimulate building in rural areas, and of devoting all the energy and goodwill that is available in the country to the task of increasing the supply of labour necessary to the solution of this great problem.

E. D. SIMON.

RUSSIA AND HER NEIGHBOURS.

THE recognition by Great Britain and by Italy of the Soviet Republics in the early days of February, and therefore the new position of Russia, have a particular interest for the smaller Continental States, especially for those of North Eastern, Central, and South Eastern Europe. The peoples of these countries are nearer, often closer akin or more directly connected with the Russians than are either the British or the Italians. Moreover, once the fateful step has been taken by two of the leading Great Powers, it appears, where they have not already done so, that these countries must follow an example, the advantages or disadvantages of which are generally recognised by those concerned. Thus, whilst it is declared that, in some ways, propaganda by unaccepted authorities is comparatively more dangerous in small than in large countries, it is admitted that the existence of diplomatic and economic relations is much more important to the lesser than to the greater European States; that, however bad is or was the Bolshevik *régime*, its recognition, and therefore to some extent its control by the outside world, is likely to be an advantage; and that anything which tends to stabilise Russia and therefore Europe in general is of advantage to peoples who depend so largely for their existence and prosperity upon the doings of their greater neighbours.

In addition, it is argued in circles where the recent developments in Russia have been closely watched, that recognition is coming at an opportune moment, since conditions in that country are changing in that the period of actual destruction or subsistence upon accumulated wealth is being replaced by one in which proprietorship and vested interest are once more accepted if not actually recognised. For these reasons, it is felt that free intercourse with Russia may be advantageous not only to that country, but to the other parties concerned, and that, even if there is an increased danger of Bolshevik propaganda abroad, there will also be opportunities of proving to the Russians themselves that a destructive policy cannot be permanently satisfactory. It is in this connection that the Czecho-Slovak Government has performed and is performing a valuable service to civilisation by the foundation and maintenance of a University for Muscovite students, since, as it is apparent that the pre-war type of Russian, who has made his voice heard in the countries in which he is a refugee, is unlikely to have an early influence at home, it is highly desirable to create among the younger generation a nucleus of democratic but well-educated people who can explain to their compatriots the advantages of stability and good government.

With these preliminary observations it may be said that the lesser States possess widely divergent interests in regard to the Soviet question, and that it is convenient to group them, for the purposes of the present discussion, into countries which have been in direct relations with Russia for some time, into those which fought on the side of the enemy during the war, and into those which now go to make up what is generally known as the Little Entente. So far as the first of these groups is concerned, Finland, Esthonia, Latvia, Lithuania and Poland all signed Treaties with the Soviet on various dates during the year 1920, and since then those States have been upon more or less normal terms with Moscow. The positions of those countries in relation to the London Conference and to Russia generally are therefore clear, because that country herself has accepted their existence; because they are clearly excluded from discussion by the terms of the British Note, which recognises the Soviets as the "rulers of those territories of the old Russian Empire which acknowledge their authority," and because, in the Treaty of Versailles and corresponding documents, the ex-enemies were called upon to agree to and to respect the independence of all the territories, which were part of the Russian Empire on August 1st, 1914. Consequently, with regard to this group, so long as the existing international agreements are adhered to, its members have practically everything to gain by the admission of Russia to the comity of nations. Indeed, a return to normal conditions with and within the vast area lying beyond the Eastern frontiers will tend towards enabling them to reduce their present military expenditure; with the possible exception of Finland, it will improve their advantages as routes of transportation from West to East and *vice versa*, and it will add to the general stability and prosperity of national units, all of which only came into existence as a result of the war.

Although Turkey, or more correctly the Government of Angora, has been in relations with Russia for more than three years, the position in regard to that country is entirely different from those of the States already mentioned. On the one side, the Nationalist *régime* of Mustapha Kemal Pasha is bound by the Treaties of Moscow and of Kars and by its agreement with the Ukraine.* But on the other hand, these treaties were arranged at a moment when Turkey was in dire need of outside assistance, and therefore, although still opera-

* The Treaty of Moscow was signed on March 16th, 1921. It promised general support for Turkey and in return secured the recognition of Russian rights in the Caucasus. The Treaty of Kars, signed on October 13th, 1921, regulated the relations between Turkey and the Caucasian Republics, with the approval and consent of the Bolshevik authorities. The Treaty of Angora, signed January 2nd, 1922, established friendly relations between Turkey and the Ukraine.

tive, the principal incentive leading to their conclusion has now disappeared. For this reason, it would appear that, whereas the politicians and inhabitants of Turkey are undoubtedly divided in their attitudes towards Moscow, it cannot be in the ultimate interest of an Angora or a Constantinople Government that either an autocratic or a Bolshevist Russia should again become sufficiently strong to enable her once more to threaten the safety of Turkey in Europe or in Asia. With regard to our recognition of the Soviet this would not seem to raise any questions of direct or immediate importance to Turkey, for whereas the British Note speaks of the bringing into force of "all the treaties concluded between the two countries previous to the Russian Revolution, except where these have been denounced or have otherwise judicially lapsed," the various arrangements made between the Allies and the Tzarist Government during the war were repudiated by the Bolsheviks after their advent to power. Moreover, by their participation in the Lausanne Conference, the whole object of which was to avoid the disintegration of Turkey, and particularly by their consent given to the Straits Convention by M. Jordan-sky in Rome on August 4th, 1923, the Soviet authorities have undoubtedly recognised the existing *status quo* in Turkey. Beyond a sort of watching brief, therefore, the Government of Mustapha Kemal Pasha has no direct concern in developments the ultimate results of which may be of the greatest importance to the civilised world as well as to his compatriots.

We now come to the States—Bulgaria, Austria and Hungary—who fought against Russia during the war. Judicially speaking, their present positions are peculiar, because, together with Germany, they were parties to the Treaty of Brest-Litovsk of March, 1918, and because, in the year 1919 or 1920, they each signed treaties with the Allies. Whilst the first of these documents put Bulgaria and the former Austro-Hungarian Empire into official relations with Moscow, under the Treaties of Neuilly, St. Germain and Trianon, Bulgaria, Austria and Hungary agreed to the abrogation of the Brest-Litovsk Treaties and of all conventions and agreements entered into with the Maximalist Government in Russia. This contradictory situation has already had an echo, for, a few weeks ago, when the Austrian Government informed Chicherin that it had decided upon the *de jure* recognition of the Soviet, it received the reply that this was unnecessary as that recognition existed in the Treaty of Brest-Litovsk, and the subsequent Austrian claim to have nothing in common with the Dual Monarchy drew a further response that Russia does not recognise the Treaties of Versailles and St. Germain. In the end, the difficulty appears to have been bridged by the appointment of an

Austrian *Chargé d'Affaires* at Moscow, but the fact remains that, should the question arise again, it may not be so easy of adjustment, since in Austria material and commercial considerations undoubtedly helped to override political difficulties.

The relations between Bulgaria and Russia are complicated, and the recognition of the Soviet authorities is beset by certain difficulties. The two countries have little to gain from the commercial standpoint by the re-establishment of diplomatic intercourse, and, with free intercommunication, there will be little to prevent the appearance of a large number of Soviet Agents, who, as Russians, would be acceptable to the average Bulgarian, who still looks upon Russia as the country so largely responsible for his original liberation from the Turkish yoke. Moreover, from the time of the downfall of the Agrarian Government and the death of M. Stambolisky in June, relations between Bulgaria and Russia have been extremely strained. Thus, immediately after M. Zankoff took over the reins of Government, the Bulgarian workmen were called upon to oppose that leader with all their power, this appeal being countered at the end of July by the expulsion of the Russian Red Cross Mission sent to Bulgaria to supervise the repatriation of refugees, but proved to be implicated in political intrigues. Again, about six weeks later, the Bulgarian Communists, encouraged and no doubt provided with arms by Russia, brought about a series of revolutions which broke out in various and widely separated parts of the country. That revolution was quickly and severely suppressed, but the events of only a week cost material loss of life and damage to property, and, together with a fear of the Bulgarian Communist Party and of the activities of the Third International, these developments no doubt constitute a heavy stumbling block in the way of the establishment of friendly relations between Sofia and Moscow. Nevertheless, with the recognition of the Soviet by Western and particularly by other Balkan States, it seems probable that, although the dissolution of the Communist and Labour Parties was ordered on April 3rd, Bulgaria will feel obliged to choose a convenient moment to adopt a foreign policy which is suitable to present day conditions and which is destined at the same time to strengthen the position of her home Government. By so doing, and by agreeing, as she is apparently prepared to agree, to recognise her financial obligation to Russia, undertaken in connection with the declaration of independence in 1908, Bulgaria will stand to gain the advantages of bringing herself into line with Western Europe and of securing the repatriation of, I believe, about 50,000 of her subjects, who are still in Russia.

The positions of Austria and of Hungary are in some directions similar but in most ways dissimilar. Both countries have come

into their new states of being as heirs of the Dual Monarchy, which was intimately connected with or opposed to the Tzarist Empire, and both countries, particularly Hungary, are dissatisfied with their present lots. This said, however, it must be remembered that before the war Austria-Hungary did a very material export trade to and import business from Russia. Moreover, whilst Czecho-Slovakia is now in possession of the major share of the industrial assets of the former Empire, Austria is still in a position to supply Russia with a considerable number of her requirements. And on the other side of the picture, as the new Republic is far from self-supporting in food and in raw materials for its manufactures, Russia can supply many of her requirements, this being demonstrated by the fact that, at the Vienna Fair held in March, a special pavilion was filled with representative samples of a wide range of goods available from that country. In view of these material conditions and of the fact that Vienna is now the headquarters of a distinctly democratic form of Government, it is hardly surprising that for some time Austria has been on friendly commercial terms with Russia, and that, as already mentioned, she took the earliest available opportunity to extend her existing arrangements to fuller diplomatic relations.

Commercially and politically the situation of and in Hungary is very different. Commercially, her requirements from and her supplies available for Russia are relatively immaterial. Politically, too, the atmosphere is and must remain cold, since Hungary is still an autocratic country, possessed of clear monarchical sympathies. Moreover, and this is apparent to those who have been to Budapest in the interval, the Communist intrigues of early in the year 1919, and the period of local Soviet Government, which lasted a few weeks, left such an impression of horror upon the people, that all except the most extreme elements of the population are desirous of avoiding the provision of any opportunity for Bolshevist propaganda. Although sooner or later, therefore, Hungary may be compelled to recognise Russia, it will not be surprising to the present writer if Admiral Horthy, the Regent, who is a strong and fearless man, uses his influence against the taking of early steps in this direction—steps which would inevitably be distasteful to him and to his supporters in the National Army, who were responsible for the downfall of Bela Kun after the events of almost exactly five years ago.

The interests of the countries belonging to the Little Entente, namely the Kingdom of the Serbs, Croats and Slovenes, Roumania and Czecho-Slovakia, are so divergent that at the Conference between the representatives of those States, held in Belgrade during January, it was decided that each of the parties should be

free in regard to Russia. The position of Jugo-Slavia is a special one, because, whereas she is made up to a very considerable extent of territory which formerly constituted a part of the Dual Monarchy, her home and foreign policies have been and are largely directed from the pre-war Serbian standpoint. With the termination of the Austro-Hungarian danger, therefore, the admiration of the Serbs for Russia and their gratitude to that country for her friendly attitude during the Bosnian crisis and during the Balkan campaigns, and for her support in the earlier stages of the world war, have increased. But these feelings, so to speak, revolve round the idea of Tzardom, and both the Government and the people seem to be divided into two factions. There are those who disapprove of Bolshevism because of its conduct towards the Royal House and because of the destruction which it has brought about. Among this section were or are M. Pashitch, the leader of the old Radicals, and if any proof of this statement be required, it can be found in the fact that, before the delivery of the British Note, *Samaprouva*, the organ of that veteran statesman, published one or more articles by M. Spalaikovitch, a former Serbian Minister in Petrograd, in which that diplomatist condemned the idea of political relations with the Soviet Government. On the other hand, there are those who feel that if the Bolsheviks constitute the actual authority, they ought to be accepted by the admirers of that nationality. As this group, which includes M. Ninchitch, the able Minister for Foreign Affairs, seems to be representative of the younger and more far-seeing members of the community, and as a large number of Croats, especially of those belonging to the party of M. Raditch, are likely to favour intercourse with Russia, there appears little doubt that Jugo-Slavia will employ the time available as a result of our preliminary recognition, which method is approved of in that State, in order to take the necessary measures at a moment when her Cabinet is not passing through a political crisis.

The relations between Roumania and Russia and the attitude of the former country towards the recognition of the Soviet in particular are perhaps the most important and the most immediate questions under discussion in the present article. This is the case because, with the exception of certain above-mentioned States who are already in diplomatic intercourse with Moscow, Roumania is the only State which has a contiguous frontier with Russia, because these countries have definite and outstanding questions for discussion, and because the Western Powers and Japan are already bound by Treaty obligations in regard to the ownership of Bessarabia. For more than a hundred years that question has constituted a feature in the International politics of this part of Europe,

and, between 1914 and 1916, Roumania's delay in entering the theatre of hostilities on the Allied side depended almost entirely upon the disastrous attitude of Russia towards the various claims of her smaller neighbour. Prior to the advent of the Bolsheviks, therefore, it seemed entirely unlikely that Bessarabia would change hands as a result of the world upheaval. However, about a year after the Roumanian defeat, in November, 1917, the Bessarabians demanded autonomy, and a month later declared themselves an independent Republic. Subsequent to this the position became very involved, and the various accounts do not agree as to what took place, but when this Republic had, I believe, been recognised by the Ukraine; when Roumania, at the wish of the inhabitants, had sent a division to Bessarabia to protect its people against the retreating Bolshevik troops, and after the signature of the Treaty of Brest-Litovsk, a Bessarabian Assembly voted by a large majority in favour of a qualified form of union with Roumania. This union was re-voted, now unconditionally, directly after the world armistice. Whilst the Roumanians contend that these votes represented the unhindered and unhampered wishes of the people, and whilst others argue that they were taken under the influence and control of the Roumanian forces, matters stood thus until October 28th, 1920, when Great Britain, France, Italy and Japan signed a Treaty* with Roumania by which the contracting parties recognised the sovereignty of that country over Bessarabia, and undertook to invite Russia to adhere to that document as soon as a Russian Government recognised by them should be in existence. It was further stipulated that Roumania should assume her share of the Russian Public Debt allotted to Bessarabia, that she should observe the conditions of the Treaty† signed in Paris in December, 1919, for the protection of minorities, and that the Allied Powers reserved the right to submit all detailed questions raised by Russia in regard to the Treaty of October, 1922, to the Council of the League for arbitration, it being understood that the sovereignty of Roumania over Bessarabia could not be called into question.

For several years nothing of importance occurred in connection with this problem, but, with the settlement of certain questions connected with the navigation of the Dniester, which now forms the frontier, and with the raising of other commercial matters, it was decided to hold a Russo-Roumanian Conference for the settlement of various problems. Although the intended scope of that meeting seems never to have been agreed upon, it is clear

* Treaties Series, No. 15 (1922). Cmd. 1747. Price 3d. net. This Treaty was ratified by Roumania and by Great Britain in 1922, and by France on April 10th, 1924.

† Treaty Series, 1920. No. 6. Cmd. 588. Price 1d. net.

that Roumania was desirous of securing a Russian admission as to the responsibility for her gold, taken to Petrograd for safe keeping during the war, and that she wished, either not to raise or to secure the recognition of the present Bessarabian frontier. After some delay, and when the Russians had already objected to the appointment of M. Inculetz (the representative of Bessarabia in the Roumanian Government) as a Roumanian delegate because they claimed him still to be a Russian subject, that Conference held its first meeting in Vienna at the end of March. As might have been expected, the status of Bessarabia immediately presented itself, the Soviet delegates declaring that they had relinquished the rights of Tzarist Russia, but that, whereas they were prepared to accept a new expression of the will of the inhabitants, they would never recognise either the Bessarabian resolutions or the international Treaty already referred to. This declaration created an immediate deadlock, for the Roumanians refused a plebiscite and claimed either a recognition of the non-existence of the Bessarabian question, or the termination of the Conference, which came to a conclusion on April 2nd. Although there is reason to suppose that the Allies are prepared to stand by their obligations assumed in 1920, and although it is natural for Roumania to have objected to any controversy as to the ownership of an area recognised as hers by the Western Powers and Japan, unless the Bessarabians are known to be unfavourable to incorporation within that country, it seems regrettable that the Roumanian delegates felt obliged to decline even to discuss a plebiscite, the conduct of which might perhaps have been supervised by the League of Nations. By that action, the settlement of a question, which is bound to arise again, has been postponed, and the chance of what might otherwise have been at least a compromise in regard to their national treasure, has been lost.

Commercially and politically, Czecho-Slovakia, who has been in trade relations with Russia for some time and who has a Commercial Treaty with her, has much to gain from the fuller recognition of that country. Economically, and as the successor of a great part of the manufacturing wealth of the Dual Monarchy, she is in a position to carry on a big trade in an area which has been practically closed since the birth of the new Republic. And then, as a creation of the war, whilst many Czecho-Slovak subjects may have Russian debtors, the country has practically no outstanding financial questions with Russia. Politically, therefore, in the case of an industrial State, where there are many Communist workmen and where there are already a limited number of Communists in the Chamber, Dr. Benés seems to have been wise in endeavouring to meet the danger of Bolshevik propaganda by sound argu-

ments rather than by repressive measures, and by favouring the resumption of normal relations with the Soviet. On the other hand, from the international standpoint, the position is delicate and difficult, since, even if Czecho-Slovakia is not bound to support Roumania, her sympathies would undoubtedly lie on the side of that country in case of serious difficulties with Russia. And then, whereas the Government of M. Masaryk may not be tied to a policy dictated from Paris, the existence of the Franco-Czecho-Slovak Treaty is likely to constitute an element in the development of future relations between Prague and Moscow. But if the population is divided between those who think that a general acceptance of the Soviet has been too long delayed, and those who believe that present time recognition will have the effect of rejuvenating a disastrous but tottering *régime*, there is no reason to doubt that, even if Czecho-Slovakia can afford to await the propitious moment, she will not unduly delay the taking of measures which would be approved by a large proportion of her inhabitants.

Reverting to the Balkan Peninsula, Albania has no immediate nor direct concern in Russian affairs. Greece, primarily interested from the economic standpoint, is now to be Republican, and, with the disappearance of Russian and Roumanian Royal influences, it is hardly surprising that she has reopened negotiations with the Soviet and that she is endeavouring to frame a policy suitable to the existence of her co-national colonies and to her maritime trade with certain ports in Russia. Consequently, it only remains to repeat that, if most of the smaller States have resumed or favour the resumption of relations with Moscow, each and all of them realise, perhaps more acutely than do our present Government, that the dangers of Bolshevik propaganda cannot be met by the formal expressions of agreement contained in the Russian Note published on February 9th or by the mere acceptance of promises on the part of that country. Czecho-Slovakia and Jugo-Slavia may be more disposed to bridge the gap than some of their neighbours, and Bulgaria and Roumania, particularly the latter, may have before them special obstacles, but if the London Conference, upon which so much depends, overcomes its countless difficulties and achieves its wider objects, then, unless they have already done so, each of the countries herein discussed is likely to take a favourable opportunity of bringing her policy into line with what would then be that of Western Europe. The British Government has admitted "The Union of Socialist Soviet Republics" to a circle of qualified acquaintanceship. The world, and particularly the smaller States, are now awaiting the nature and the quality of the Bolshevik passport required to change that position into one of friendly relations with Russia.

H. CHARLES WOODS.

"COPEC" AND AFTER.

COPEC has come and gone; but the impression remains, and the influence will grow. The brightest hopes of those who thought, laboured, and prayed for the success of the Conference have been more than fulfilled. God has indeed blessed the endeavour; and those who were present went away with hearts thankful to Him for His goodness and grace.

The organisation was thoroughly efficient; the preparation had been most careful. The Reports which were the basis of the discussions have had so much knowledge and judgment put into them that they will not only serve this temporary purpose, but have a permanent value. The visitors from America and the Continent expressed very warmly their admiration for what had been achieved. In these Reports there is a courageous and consistent application of Christian principles to the whole life of man, but they are not visionary; and the proposals, although not all immediately practicable, are, the Christian Churches being so resolved, capable of realisation, and must be realised if disaster is to be avoided. For the present industrial, social, political, and international situation stands condemned, when brought to the judgment of Christ. "Practical" men are being forced to admit that the maxims of worldly wisdom have not led to material security and prosperity, to say nothing of the higher interests of mankind. These Reports offer an informed and intelligent guide to "a more excellent way," the way of Jesus Christ.

Reliance for the success of the Conference was not placed on this preparation alone. There was a contrite, and humble, trustful and hopeful waiting on God. The Conference may sometimes have lapsed from the highest spiritual level, and have run the risk of becoming an ordinary public meeting; but on the whole there was the consciousness of being gathered together in the Name above every other name, in the presence of God Himself, in dependence on the guidance and guardianship of His Spirit. There was not only a clearer vision of the truth, but also a deeper experience of the grace of Jesus Christ. Not only was the mind enlightened, but devotion was also deepened, and consecration strengthened. All denominations were represented, but throughout there was "the unity of the spirit in the bond of peace." The Conference was a foretaste of that reunion of the Christian Churches, to which many Christians believe that Christ is calling His one Church. One does not find it easy to write of these things at the very heart of religion, but they cannot be passed over without grateful mention.

The first discussion on Education was disappointing, but the

second showed a great improvement; and all the others were interesting and stimulating. There were many of the recognised leaders of the Churches present, but they did not monopolise the speaking. It may even be said that most of the speaking was done by "the rank and file," and in some respects the discussion was all the more valuable on that account. There were a few speeches which without any loss might have remained unspoken; but most of the speakers did contribute to an understanding of the subject. What was said showed not only how widespread is the interest in the problems discussed, but also how varied are the services which are being rendered to human society in the name of Christ. Mention must be made of the worthy way in which women sustained their part, and also the younger men. There were some striking speeches. A young woman, who had enjoyed all the educational privileges which the country offers to those who have the means to claim them, pleaded for the consecration of all culture to the common good. A middle-aged man, who had known all the bitterness of unemployment, testified to what the Adult School movement had done for him, and his speech was a convincing evidence. With great simplicity of language, and humility of bearing, a young man pleaded for those who, hating war, had felt it their duty to fight, and would fight again, did like occasion arise. One was not surprised to learn afterwards that he had won the V.C. Not a few of the speeches for one reason or another will not be forgotten. It can confidently be said that on the whole the discussions were altogether worthy of the high moral and religious aim that had been set before the Conference in the Reports, and the speeches in which these were introduced.

It is quite impossible to go over all the ground which was covered; but some of the outstanding features may be briefly described. It may be stated that generally the Conference acted most wisely when it followed the course proposed in the resolutions based on the Reports. How broad and deep was the foundation on which the whole structure of the consideration of all these problems of the life of man was reared is seen in the First Report on the Nature of God and His Purpose for the World, which was presented, without any subsequent discussion, in speeches which, different as they were, all made a profound impression. Here it was shown that the plea for a Christian order of society does not rest on single texts, not even on the teaching of Jesus alone, but on the distinctive revelation of God and redemption of man in Christ the Lord. A few speakers indulged in subsequent discussions in foolish sneers at theology; but the appreciation shown of some later speeches which sought to get to the roots in theology for the solution of practical problems showed that the Conference as a whole desired that

Christian duty amid temporal affairs should rest on the Christian faith in eternal reality.

In the discussion of the Education question three convictions seemed to be generally held: that there should be equal opportunity or the best education which any person was capable of receiving from the nursery school to the University; that no education was worthy the name which was not religious in spirit and purpose throughout; that the Biblical instruction should be given only by persons who by adequate training were competent to give it. Although one woman speaker put in a plea for denominational differences in education, and even pronounced our divisions as happy, she had no support from the Conference. So far as one could judge, the Conference was not concerned about the old controversy between Church and Nonconformity, and was opposed to any sacrifice of educational to sectarian interests. The better spirit which happily prevails among the Churches should make it possible to realise in some measure the ideal of education presented in the Report.

The Housing question received a great deal of attention, and was approached from the Christian standpoint, the conservation of the Home. One speaker challenged the affirmation in the Report that "all souls are equal in the sight of God"; but setting aside any theological difficulties the phrase might involve the Conference insisted on retaining the phrase as asserting an essentially Christian principle, which should guide action in these and all other matters.

In dealing with the relation of the sexes the Conference was on delicate and difficult ground. The discussion, it may be said, was maintained throughout, with one unhappy lapse into bad taste, on a high level of Christian idealism. The Report, while asserting the Christian ideal, offered no definite guidance to the Conference in regard to the urgent question of Conception Control. Some who desired that the Conference should at least affirm that no condemnation was to be pronounced on those who, with a full sense of moral responsibility, approved the practice, however, insisted on raising the issue. The difficulty of the question was shown by the confidence with which speakers contradicted one another. The Conference would not commit itself even to an apparent condonation, and agreed only to recommend to the Churches an inquiry, so that they might be able to offer guidance to distressed consciences. The discussion was quite inadequate to justify any more definite decision; and many regretted that the issue had been raised.

On the Temperance question the policy of the Bill introduced into the House of Lords by the Bishop of Oxford was endorsed; but the option of restriction was added to the options of the *status quo*,

prohibition and reorganisation. An attempt to exclude the third option was defeated by a large majority. If the principle of local option is a sound principle, then it seems reasonable to allow as wide a range of options as in the circumstances appears practicable. On a subsequent discussion a speaker from America gave a number of statistics to show how great an advantage prohibition had been there, and his statement was most enthusiastically received. But the Conference showed by its vote that the time for prohibition in this country is not yet, and that the goal can be approached best by the path of fully trusting the people.

One of the most encouraging meetings of the Conference was that which dealt with International Relations. A number of visitors from the Continent of Europe were present, and were invited to occupy the platform on this occasion. Two of them spoke; Dr. Richter, a German, on foreign missions as the common task of the Christian Churches, and thus a common bond; Dr. Zilka, a Czech, on Christian fellowship among the nations. The reception given to both showed that the Conference desired the spirit of Christian reconciliation to be spread among all the nations, whether allies or foes in the last war. Next day a German student of theology pleaded for an end to the harsh things said in this country, against Germany, and promised that, though he had been a combatant in the war, he would always say only what was best about England. The way in which an ill-advised interruption of this most moving speech was received showed that the Conference was ready to respond to such an appeal for Christian love. The unfavourable reception given to a defence of imperialism showed that what Christian universalism involves as a check on nationalism, and a spur to internationalism, was generally accepted. In this respect the spirit of the Conference was all that could be desired.

The Commission on the relation of Christianity to War in its Report did not pronounce a judgment on the pacifist position for or against, but was content with presenting both sides, on the ground that it was a mistake to divide the Christian forces on this issue, when all Christians might do so much together to prevent war, and to promote peace. A motion was, however, submitted that "all war is contrary to the teaching and spirit of Christ," which it was declared was not a statement of the pacifist position, but which was moved, seconded, and supported by strongly pacifist speeches. The Conference was bewildered; and many who voted for the motion did not intend to support the pacifist position by so doing, and were distressed when they discovered that the motion was being understood in a pacifist sense. The Chairman had to explain next day that such an interpretation was not justified by the terms of the motion. The bringing forward of the motion at

all must be regarded as a mistake. A discussion which might have dealt with what all Christians can do in common to advance the cause of peace was diverted to an inconclusive debate on an issue which divides Christians. The tendency of any section, however convinced, to push its views in these matters to be deprecated. It would be well if some pacifists would learn to cherish the spirit of Christian reconciliation.

A few of the supporters of the Report on Industry and Property "damned with faint praise" some of its recommendations as not altogether practical, at least at present. What those to whom the present system has been kind generally fail to recognise is that some change is imperative, lest worse befall. The Christian way seems to be the only way out of our present discontents. The Report on Politics and Citizenship, in the judgment of many in the Conference, had overstressed the authority of the State, but a *via media* between the conflicting views was found.

These, very briefly stated, are the main decisions of the Conference where difference of opinion emerged; on most of the recommendations in the Reports there was usually agreement.

The desire repeatedly expressed in the discussions on the Social Functions of the Church that some organ should be found to carry on the work of Copec was satisfied by the decision at the last meeting to appoint a Continuation Committee, which should not only carry out such tasks as the Conference entrusted to it, but should try at the fit time to bring into existence a permanent organisation, representative of all the Churches, through which they might express their social testimony, exercise their social influence, and render their social service. This is not the only outcome of the Conference. Informal meetings were held during the week by different groups, and local or denominational action was decided upon which would spread the message of Copec, and help others who had not been present to see the same heavenly vision of an earth renewed by Christ, and make the same resolve not to be disobedient to it. There may be opposition, as we cannot assume that all Christians are prepared to be instructed and influenced, or even that all Church organisations will be prepared to follow this lead. It will demand wisdom and love, courage and patience so to present this human lead that it shall be recognised as what those present believe it is, a divine call. As one who for many years has laboured to secure the fullest recognition and exercise of the social functions of the Christian Church, I gladly confess that it was good to be there, and that I can confidently hope that the Conference was a prophecy God will fulfil that "the best is yet to be."

ALFRED E. GARVIE.

THE NEW TURKEY.

THE modernisation of Turkey under the impulsion of Mustapha Kemal and the Turkish Nationalists raises many interesting questions. One of these, and certainly one of the most important, is the absolute incompatibility that exists between the old and new capitals, and the fact that the reformers of Turkey are incurring the gravest risks in breaking so drastically and with such rapidity from tradition and time-honoured custom. To omit whole phases of normal evolution, and to advance at one leap from darkness to clarity, is as daring an experiment as can be made, and the Nationalists should exercise a little more caution and moderation when setting out to reform a country that has hitherto gloried in its allegiance to old Islamic ideals. During their short tenure of power the Turkish Nationalists have made away with every practice that we were used to associate with the Ottoman Empire; Turkey has, in the space of a few years, definitely broken with the past, and imposed European ideals on her people which are calculated to make them rapidly lose all that archaic charm and latent mystery that are inseparable from the East.

In the course of a few months the National Assembly has made as drastic an attack on the institutions of Turkey as was made in several years by the French Convention on the institutions of the *Ancien Régime*. They have abolished the Caliphate, expelled every member of the old Imperial dynasty and suppressed all titles and privileges, secularised the Church and taken away its temporal power. Hitherto, religion had controlled every aspect of national life, and a national sense only existed in so far as it was religious, Turkey and Islam being inseparable terms. Thus we find that the only tribunals were religious, and that the code of laws that they enforced was based on Mohammedan Law—an anomaly that had undoubtedly been the cause of the Capitulations. Religious, too, were the schools—the *maktab* (primary school) and the *madrassa* (secondary school), the principal teaching being the study of the Koran and its interpretation. In the *maktab* every Turkish boy from the age of seven was taught passages of the Koran, and the elements of religious history, Arab grammar, and arithmetic. In the *madrassa* he perfected his knowledge of the Koran, and was taught Moslem tradition and jurisprudence, grammar, literature, and rhetoric. The Government has closed these schools and secularised education. The control of Government schools is now exercised by the Ministry of Public Instruction, the Government aiming at making their system of education more complete and efficient, and less wasteful of good material. The suppression of the *Cheri* Commissioner has also been a move in the same

direction; for this religious official there has been substituted a lay President of Religious Affairs, whose first official act was to limit all preaching in the mosques to those priests who obtained the necessary permit as preachers. Meanwhile, the *Medjellé*, or secular tribunal, has superseded the religious tribunal, divorces being now pronounced by this lay body.

The Turkish Government's reforms, moreover, have embraced every phase of national life. Women can now wear the veil or discard it as they please, sit in trams or trains with their husbands, and attend theatres or dances, while it is even contemplated to grant them full civil and electoral rights. Railways, long controlled by the foreigner, are being nationalised, and for a religious policy is being substituted a purely national one. All these drastic reforms have been accomplished without apparent risk of revolution, so great is the present power of Kemal and the battalions that he controls, and so Oriental the passivity that the assumed opponents of his policy are displaying to the world.

Yet that many difficulties confront the *Ghazi* and his party no close observer of Turkish affairs can doubt for a moment. Vast, overshadowing possibilities of reaction obscure the horizon, and bold would be the man who would hazard the judgment that the further path of the innovators who are endeavouring to blot out whole pages of a past with a sweep of their pen will be smooth and devoid of pitfalls. For the present, Mustapha Kemal has the tide of a rising movement with him. Behind him are the men who, constituting the backbone of the Nationalist movement, strove might and main to rebuild a new Turkey on the ruins of the old and, by renewing their ideals, managed to turn a new Nationalism to the most successful ends. Conscious of fresh energies, the modern Turk who claims allegiance to Kemal aspires to dominate by destroying what were once his most cherished ideals, and, as he realises that Nationalism is the safest antidote against internal chaos, he is feeding it with dreams that contemplate the restoration of the old glories of the Ottoman Empire, of an Empire that, purged of mediævalism, will take an honoured place in the councils of Europe.

The National movement of which this feeling is the expression is, in a sense, the product of the Young Turk movement that came into being in the latter half of the nineteenth century, and which was fostered and developed by the Committee of Union and Progress. It was born in defeat, yet grew and prospered because its objects were identical with those of the Committee that it superseded, and it has now become the rallying point for all those patriots who refused to despair or to acknowledge defeat. The touch of

its supreme audacity lies in the fact, moreover, that it has deliberately renounced whatever spiritual and political prestige was inherent in the Caliphate—a sweeping away of super-secular authority that has awakened an opposition as formidable as it is subterranean in its activities. In short, the National movement is confronted to-day with an opposition that is daily growing in importance, and which is constituted of the following elements.

There are, in the first place, the religious orders whose vested interests are being threatened by the new *régime*. I am alluding to the *hodjas*, who are naturally furious at the wholesale confiscation that has been decreed of the lands belonging to the mosques and sacred places. Their influence is considerable, especially in Anatolia, where the uneducated peasant is still priest-led and oblivious of any other considerations, and they are mostly solid in their opposition to the religious revolution that has robbed them of considerable power and, above all, of enormous wealth. Then, secondly, there are the Young Turks and Intellectuals, and all those numerous officials who by tradition or interest were supporters of the Caliph, the *Entente liberale* party which, though formerly opposed to the Young Turk movement, have now rallied to the opposition. And, lastly, the cosmopolitan population of Constantinople, who see with dismay the day approaching when their city will revert to the rank of a provincial capital.

What do all these reactionary forces involve? Are they strong enough to overpower the Kemalists, or are the arbitrary methods that are to be employed against them likely to bring them to heel? The odds are, of course, at least for the time being, on the Kemalists retaining their power. The army is on their side and no longer a factor in political life, the Assembly having decided that in future the Chief of the General Staff will not have a seat in the Cabinet (Assembly of Commissioners). That this measure will strengthen the Kemalists is evident, for not only will the army remain in the background but it will tend more and more to become a docile instrument in the hands of the great Party leader. This being the case, there seems little prospect for the moment of a strong, counter-reactionary movement breaking out in Turkey, the stringent measures by which the Government is endeavouring to suppress any manifestation of disapproval being more than sufficient to quell any attempt on the part of the discontented to give voice to their grievances. Like all opponents of a despotic Government, however, they are biding their time, and waiting for the occasion that sooner or later, they think, will enable them to overthrow the Kemalist *régime*, oblivious of the fact that every day will strengthen the Nationalist forces and weaken the *hodjas*, whose

present influence with the masses is sure to disappear when the latter have been subjected to a more European culture and the *hodjas* themselves deprived of all economic power by the confiscation of their vast possessions.

The present policy of the Nationalists, however, is not calculated to bring about that prosperity which alone can ensure that the existing *régime* will remain unchallenged. Its difficulties are many, and of such a nature that a more conciliatory policy would tend to bring alleviation; yet so suspicious is the temper that governs the Nationalists that they are alienating instead of winning foreign opinion to their side.

There is, first of all, the question of the finances, which, as all Turks must agree, are in a highly precarious condition, the economic state of Turkey being unsound in the extreme. It is evident that in spite of the conclusion of peace she is confronted by enemies on all sides, for not only are the Greeks out for revenge and Russia seeking to reconquer Ardahan, but there is the further prospect of Arab States in the south combining against her. The fact, moreover, that King Hussein has now been acknowledged as Caliph by the Palestine Arabs and the countries over which he and his sons rule is another circumstance that makes for discord, so that it is evident, as the *Ghazi* has pointed out, that the principal consideration is to provide adequate forces to defend the country. This necessitates an expenditure that the present revenues of the Turkish Empire are unable to meet, if unaided from abroad. Prior to 1914 the revenue of the Turkish Government amounted to over £30,000,000 gold for a population of twenty-one millions, there being a debit balance of £3,200,000 annually, while imports exceeded exports by about £7,000,000. To-day, if we take last year's figures, the exports amounted to approximately four million pounds and the imports to some eleven millions, the population of the Empire having dwindled from twenty-one to eight millions, all very impoverished and war-weary, while the revenues of the Angora Government amount to £10,000,000 pounds, the budgetary deficit, according to the latest figures available, being somewhere in the neighbourhood of ten millions sterling.

The Turks would be well advised, therefore, if they sought to conciliate the foreigner instead of irritating him by their arbitrary measures, for they need help badly and cannot afford to do without it. Yet the undoubted victory that they gained at Lausanne, coupled with the sense of humiliation that they still retain from the day when Constantinople was occupied by the Allies, has combined to make the modern Turk the most intolerant and suspicious of mortals, and one withal who is convinced that his armies

are strong enough to defeat any attack. Of this temper an incident that I well remember taking place shortly after the departure of the Allied troops from Constantinople is characteristic.

On the night preceding the entry of the Turkish troops into Constantinople, shortly after our withdrawal, a crowd of Turkish roughs broke into the British Crimean cemetery and imperatively demanded green stuff to decorate the streets of Pera for the return of the Turks. The guardian sought to pacify them, and promised to give them what they required if only they would leave peacefully and without damaging the cemetery, but they threw him aside and, after helping themselves to as much greenery as they could conveniently carry, proceeded to break a number of the crosses in various parts of the cemetery, and left the scene of their vandalism singing anti-British and Nationalist songs. The guardian duly reported the incident to our Legation but, although our Commissioner demanded an apology from the Turkish Government and sent in a bill for repairing the damaged crosses, no notice was taken of his protests, and the matter dropped because there was no hope of obtaining any satisfaction from the Turk.

Not less significant is another incident that happened about the same time with regard to the Bridge tolls. Across the Bridge of Galata a toll has from time immemorial been levied which, during our occupation, was definitely allotted as part of the guarantee of payment of a loan made by the Allies to the Municipality of Constantinople. This toll was collected by the National Bank of Turkey on behalf of the lenders, and was held by them until such time as the lenders would require the money. On two occasions, however, the Turkish authorities seized the Bridge tolls. On the first, they restored the money when the demand was made for its return because, the troops of occupation being still in Constantinople, the Allies could have enforced their demands. On the second, nothing that was urged could induce the Turkish Government to make restitution of the money. Ismet Pasha, when approached on the matter, replied much in the following terms:—"I grant you that we have a moral obligation to return the money, but we are terribly hard up, and are therefore compelled to appropriate the bridge tolls. What is, after all, the importance of a moral obligation compared with the necessity of meeting one's financial requirements?"

If the Turks do need loans, therefore, they are not prepared to give adequate guarantees, so that it can hardly be wondered at if the foreigner who understands their curious mentality fights a little shy of lending further money to a race that very often does not realise that a guarantee is a necessity.

This aversion to and distrust of Europeans to which I have alluded is also manifested in many other ways. Foreigners are bled whenever possible, and the Greeks more especially are being made to pay heavily for the privilege of remaining in Constantinople. The present writer holds no brief for the Greeks, but the fact remains that there have been and still are many cases of undoubted persecution of this unfortunate race, whom we certainly enticed to attack the Turks, only to leave them in the lurch, in spite of very definite promises, when the Turks launched the famous offensive that threw back the attacking Greeks in headlong rout towards Smyrna. Against this thrifty population, who follow many useful trades and vocations for which the Turk has so far shown little predilection, a series of measures have been passed that aim at forcing them to leave the country. Forced subscriptions are being imposed, and life is being made so obnoxious that the great majority of the Greek population of Constantinople have abandoned their homes and returned to Greece. Among the many anti-Greek measures devised by the Assembly is one that at first sight would seem to have been dictated by religious considerations, for it is clear that if any country adopts Prohibition it should be Turkey, with all the moral force of the Koran behind her. Yet the Turkish Government, after making their country dry for six months, are now contemplating revoking this measure for the simple reason that the Dry Bill has succeeded in its object, *i.e.*, in driving away the Greek merchants who had hitherto monopolised the wine-growing industry, on the coasts of the Bosphorus. But many other equally drastic restrictive proposals are being contemplated where foreigners are concerned, the Ministry of the Interior having just introduced a new Bill by which it is intended to get rid of all possibility of any foreign element disturbing the country's security. The chief clauses in this Bill are to the effect that foreigners will be severely restricted in their movements. Thus Arabs will not be permitted to live in the frontier *vilayets* of Syria or Iraq; Greeks will be confined to the Constantinople area, and Georgians will be forbidden to settle in the *vilayets* of Kars, Ardahan, or Riza. Non-Turkish elements are not to exceed 10 per cent. in any district except Constantinople, and foreigners will only be permitted to visit the zones forbidden to them when armed with permits.

There is much that is reasonable in all this, of course, for one of the chief scourges of Constantinople has been the presence of many undesirables, whose licence and moral degradation have done much to contaminate their Turkish fellow-residents, while the old capital has suffered through being surcharged with undigested foreigners.

But there is a happy medium in all things, and the Turks, in guarding themselves against these invaders, are running the grave risk of depriving themselves of every element that might help to restore their economic efficiency.

Among the many questions now demanding a solution one of the most pressing, if we except the financial one, is that of the exchange of populations. This is no light problem, for it entails transporting over four hundred thousand Musulmans from Europe to Asia Minor or Turkey. The greater part of this population consists of small agricultural farmers, who will at a given notice be compelled to desert their ancestral holdings, collect their belongings, and make tracks for a homeland that the war has in most districts left deserted and bare of all necessities. The new settlers are leaving in two contingents; the first half hail from Eastern Macedonia, Thessaly, Crete, and the Islands, and are leaving their homes in the spring; the second half come from central Macedonia and are to follow in the summer, it having been arranged that 150,000 Greeks take their places in the lands that they vacate. Every emigrant is allowed to take away his household effects, and receives before departure a document which states the exact amount of real property that he is leaving behind. Neither the Greeks of Constantinople nor the Turks of Western Thrace are included in this transfer of population.

The National Assembly claims to have devised a plan for dealing with these new colonists that will give every satisfaction. Certain zones have been selected where the immigrants will find the best available facilities for carrying on their respective avocations. The 400,000 colonists include 150,000 peasants, 50,000 urban workers, 100,000 tobacco growers and about 100,000 gardeners, fishermen, &c. All these will be settled in the districts that are the most appropriate to their respective callings. The Turks hailing from Mitylene, specialists in olive-growing, are to be transferred to Aivalik, where olive growing is the most prosperous. The tobacco-growers of Drama and Cavalla are being sent to Samsoun and the Turks from Salonika are proceeding to Smyrna.

But there is another even graver problem that the Turks have to tackle and one that will nullify all their efforts at reconstruction if left unsolved. It is the question of the future of the country, a future that is being imperilled every day by the hideous scourge that is draining the lifeblood of the nation. In 1800 the population of Anatolia exceeded fifteen millions; to-day it stands at five,—a result that is largely due to the frightful inroads made in the national physique by venereal diseases. Over 93 per cent. of the total population is affected, the application of conscription in

1880 having done much to spread the contagion throughout the country. How is the situation to be saved? For it is evident that if the most energetic measures are not immediately taken, the Turkish nation will ultimately disappear. The question is a difficult one, for the root of the matter is connected with morality, and no Government measure, however stringent, can achieve any permanent result so long as the moral standard of the nation is not radically improved, or more modern methods of curing the disease are adopted. Like its predecessors, the Angora Government has sought to find remedies for this vitally important evil. They have passed ordinances enforcing compulsory marriages, and have even provided for the application of penalties if couples produce no children within a certain period after their marriage, but up to the present they have achieved nothing. The question will remain unsolved until some statesman, more provident than his fellows, will provide a more efficient remedy by linking up the devitalised Turks of to-day with their more vital brothers who live beyond the Caucasus.

Of the earnest desire of the present Turkish Government to reform *à tout prix*, however, there can be little doubt. Corruption is and will probably remain a feature in Governmental methods, yet there is hope that even in this respect the Kemalists will carry out reforms that will tend to make their administration more up to date. On May 1st their judicial reforms will come into force, and a Commission has been appointed to revise the list of the existing 2,500 judges, an attempt being made to establish a younger judiciary. Equally significant are such measures as the introduction of the Latin alphabet proposed by Hussein Djahed Bey. Turkey, however, has still to travel a long way before she can hope to attain the indispensable complement to her political freedom, and it is essential that her statesmen should invite the co-operation of the West if they wish to solve the many problems demanding an instant settlement. As political principles devised in the ardour of a nascent Nationalism are apt to remain mere ideas revolving in a void, real statesmanship consists in bringing to such ideas the corrective of reality and making them conform to facts. Let the Angora Government bear these considerations in mind and be content for the time being to reorganise their administration and to develop their resources so that their value in the economic structure of Europe may become more apparent and lasting. The day of radical experiments and blind gropings is over. Turkey must now prune and tone down her demands and realise that success can only be achieved by moderating one's demands on life and in compromising with it.

DUDLEY HEATHCOTE.

THE CONTINUITY OF CHRIST.

THE rediscovery of Aristotle by the Christian thinkers of the West has had momentous consequences. Its effect upon the mind of St. Thomas Aquinas, due not merely to the substance and method of Aristotelianism but to its transmission through the Arab philosophers, has profoundly affected Christian Theology from the end of the thirteenth century to the present time. The great Christian thinkers of the early centuries had been Platonists. Their philosophic outlook led them to seize upon the Prologue to the Fourth Gospel, the Epistle to the Colossians, and the opening verses of the Epistle to the Hebrews as furnishing the key, not only to the nature and meaning of Christ, but to the interpretation of the Universe as organically related to Christ. For them the eternal Son, the Logos, the Incarnation, and the incarnate Christ formed a coherent and inseparable whole which threw as much light upon the nature of the Universe as it did upon the Nature of God Himself. They discovered and exhibited Continuity, not only between all the parts and all the processes of the Universe, but between nature and grace, between God and His world as organically knit together in the eternal and creative Son, Who is alike the Beginning and the End of the whole creation. Hence their interpretation of Christ supplied an objective, universal and rational spirituality to the Universe as the basis of the spiritual life conveyed to men through the faith and knowledge of the historic Christ. That is to say that these Platonist thinkers conceived Christ not merely as a transcendent personality, who stands in immanent spiritual relations to His Church and its true members, but in such interpenetrative relations both to God and to the Universe as to hold both together in Himself. The nature of things in all its parts and all its processes was seen to be a unity, because springing from the Son as its source and reaching out to the Son as its consummation. Hence the highest spiritual values were firmly rooted in the very nature of things, and their final manifestation and fulfilment was seen to be the goal of a historic process in which all things, according to their measure, take part owing to their participation in the eternal, and now incarnate, Son. Christianity explained the Universe because it consummated it by the revelation of the highest truth and the bestowal of the fullest life.

Now where Christian Platonism had emphasised continuity Aristotelian Christianity hardened and insisted upon discontinuity. While carrying over into his interpretation and use of Aristotle much that had come down to him through the Platonic tradition, Aquinas fastened upon the distinctive qualities of Christianity and exhibited it as in effect a self-enclosed order which was miraculously superimposed upon what had existed before and what

still existed around. He drew a sharp distinction, which has persisted ever since, between Natural and Revealed Religion. Broadly speaking, each was complete within its own sphere; each was governed by its own principles, apprehended by faculties that were appropriate to it, and verified upon its own special terms. Nature, reason, knowledge prevailed in the wider and lower sphere: grace, revelation and faith in the narrower and higher sphere of the Church.

The transformation is easily explained. The early Christian thinkers had either imbibed their Platonism before they became Christian, or had breathed it as the intellectual atmosphere of their times and as most congenial to their faith. From the first, therefore, "noster Plato" had supplied the light of their theoretic vision. But Aristotle broke in upon a scheme of thought and life that had been fashioned in complete independence of him. Moreover, as interpreted, he supplied the material and the justification of a speculative theism, which was drawn upon by Jew, Mohammedan and Christian alike. Hence his pre-Christian philosophy and the non-Christian acceptance of it revealed a natural religion which was or might be common to all men, just as the Romans had discovered a *jus gentium* that might be treated as a universal preparation for their own Codes of Laws. The intellectual method both of Aristotle and of his disciples appeared to prove that this natural religion, as it was unfolded and justified by reason, owed or might owe its origin also to reason. On the other hand, there was the vast system of Christian belief and practice, which embodied facts, doctrines, rites and regulations that had not been arrived at by reason, and were above, though not contrary to, reason. Hence the two realms were distinct and independent of one another, though revelation might condescend to supply the place and convey the conclusions of reason to common men, and reason might play a subordinate part in explaining and in defending the *data* of revelation. Add to all this the characteristic Aristotelian attitude and approach to reality,—its emphasis on the concrete, its precision, its analytic—and the sharp distinctions, the sense of discontinuity, that marked the Thomist Theology, and have been bequeathed by it to almost all later Christian thought, are sufficiently explained.

The way of this ultimate transformation had been prepared, however, by St. Augustine, himself an inheritor, through Latin teachers, of the Platonic tradition and outlook. His interpretation of the Idea of God in terms of sovereign will, and not of Fatherhood, went far to create the sense of discontinuity. For creation and redemption, nature and man, life and history, were to be explained in terms of Divine volitions rather than as the progressive manifestations of the nature and life of God. Not only so, but

also the analogy and contrast between the two Empires—that of Rome and that of God—wrought out in his “City of God” made St. Augustine virtually the creator of the governing conception of the two orders, which ruled the entire political and ecclesiastical life of the Middle Ages and supplied the ground-work, on the more secular side, for the thought of Aquinas.

The results of this transformation of thought were far-reaching, and affected the entire outlook upon and attitude towards Reality. All attempts to gather together the manifold contents of life into a coherent whole broke down, even when they were made with the valiant thoroughness of the *Summa Theologiae*. The juncture between the two realms of Nature and Grace, of Reason and Revelation, must needs appear artificial and imperfect. The continuity of life was destroyed by the philosophy that shattered the continuity of thought. Though much of the substance and temper of Platonism was carried over into the new Aristotelianism and into the interpretation of Christianity in its terms, yet the sense of the organic relationship of Christ to the universe and to the whole of human life was damaged, at least for less philosophic minds, who accepted the form of the new systematic thought without appreciating its underlying assumptions and its wider implications. The sovereign hold of Christ upon Reality was weakened, and He appeared in human history rather as a gracious sojourner than as its heir. His work appeared rather as a redemptive expedient, a miraculous intervention, than as the culmination of a consistent Divine method, a consummation which, just because it was a consummation, brought an effective remedy for the sins of men and the evils of the world. The Augustinian and mediaeval doctrine of God with its over-emphasis on His will had always made it difficult to find a complete adjustment between the absolute sovereignty of God, the work of Christ and the salvation of men. Was the work of Christ, and particularly His Cross, inherently necessary to the accomplishment of man’s salvation, or did its necessity simply mean that God had so ordained it, either in the bare exercise of a will for which no reason should be sought, or because He judged it to be expedient? Anselm had devised the doctrine of the satisfaction to injured majesty as his answer to the question. Aquinas gave the answer that, while it depended upon the will of God whether satisfaction should be made for the sin of the world, yet, though not necessary, it was “more suitable” that men should be liberated through the Passion of Christ, because greater benefits had been conveyed to men through redemption thus achieved than could have been the case through the exercise of the bare will of God. The very fact that this answer was given showed that the question had been misconceived, that Christ strikes deeper into the very heart of Reality and human nature than any treatment of

His presence and work as a mere expedient, however gracious and becoming, can explain.

The answer thus given challenged, or at least invited, the fundamental reconsideration of what is meant by the sovereignty of God; it showed that the way in which salvation was brought within reach and the nature of the salvation to be enjoyed were more vitally related to one another than either the solutions of mediaeval thought or the practice of mediaeval religion could suggest. There is intellectual as well as spiritual significance in the fact that the *Summa Theologiae* was left unfinished because such an indescribably mystic experience came to Aquinas, as he celebrated Mass some time before his death, as led him to put his inkhorn and writing materials upon a shelf and to say, “My writing days are over, for such things have been revealed to me that all I have written and taught seems of but small account to me, wherefore I hope that as the end has come to my teaching, so it may soon come to my life.” Yet while this higher and deeper experience revealed to Aquinas, as it has done to all who have shared it, the inadequacy, not only in form but in substance, of all such explanations as find in the *Summa* their masterpiece, yet this greatest of systematic teachers left his governing conceptions of nature and grace, of natural and revealed religion, of reason and faith, as his legacy to all subsequent theologies down to the present day.

Both the philosophical difficulties and the spiritual inadequacy of this great theological construction compel the endeavour to revise its governing conceptions in order to substitute continuity for discontinuity—to restore the seamless vesture of Christ, and to recover, in full measure, the sense and significance of His organic relationship to mankind. After all, it is impossible, from the standpoint of reason, to offer a complete explanation of the universe, if Christ and all He stands for be left out of account. To begin with, the subject to be explained is artificially limited by leaving out both the most significant historic facts and the far-reaching psychological factors to which those facts make their appeal. And, further, since any rational explanation of the universe must be discovered within the universe itself and not imported into it from without; since also the provincial boundaries that particular sciences set up for their practical purposes, and the concepts that are employed for such provincial uses are in the last resort truncated fragments of Reality, it follows that any explanations of Reality that shut out the fact and spiritual import of Christ can only be partial and provisional. They must be revised eventually in the light of the larger whole. And, on the other hand, no interpretation of Christ—His Personality, His meaning, His work—can be satisfactory or final for thought that seeks to construe Him without reference to the entire content and texture of the world in which He appeared. If,

in order to a complete synthesis, the provincial boundaries of Science must be thrown down, equally is this needful in the case of the provincial boundaries of Theology. In both instances what may be practically serviceable must not be made rigidly exclusive, or stretched beyond its legitimate range. Happily this essential condition of arriving at the truth is dawning upon the representatives of Science and of Theology alike.

Upon what lines can the effort after unification proceed with hope of ultimate success? As to this, I will venture to make the following tentative suggestions.

1. The most significant thing in the development of the world as we know it, is the emergence of spiritual values. These values include all that we mean or can mean when we speak of the True, the Beautiful, and the Good. These three may be said to form a trinity. That is to say, they stand not for separate classes of objects or for separate qualities of objects, but for the distinctive impressions that are made upon us by our experience in its relation to the outstanding interests of our spiritual nature. Our powers of appreciation are the organs by which certain qualities of existence in ourselves, in others, and in the world, are apprehended and pursued. The existence of these values is, first of all, gradually discovered in the world as our psychological development proceeds. They are suggested by our environment, fostered or provoked by it, fashioned by the conditions it imposes upon us. They connect prosaic beginnings with inexhaustible possibilities. While grounded in the actual they reach out to the infinite. They unite the elementary necessities with the highest satisfactions of our existence. As apprehended by us they blend together the real and the ideal in an inseparable and vital whole. They are alike starting-point, course, and goal. Their beginnings are irradiated by boundless promise; their soaring aspirations are ballasted by their elementary utility.

Take, for example, the quality of Love, which is of the essence of the value of Goodness, to say nothing of its equally real relations to Truth and Beauty. The dawn of love is to be found in the primitive instincts which we share with the animal creation. Life without love, in this earliest manifestation, is clearly impossible. It creates and preserves the nest as truly as the home. In even its humblest manifestations it is capable of foreshadowing not merely the strength of appetite and instinct, but the higher possibilities of self-giving and self-sacrifice. Yet by inheriting this primary gift men are set on the way of an apparently endless quest and pilgrimage, in which love becomes an end in itself, ennobling all thought, desire and effort, organising life upon a completely spiritual basis, triumphing over all the physical limitations and the material utilities amid which and in behalf of which it took its

rise. Hence in the end life is construed in terms, not of brute necessity, but of ideal values, which, however spiritual, and to the ordinary man unpractical, they may have become are felt to be grounded in the primitive actuality of man's nature, to be the true and indispensable consummation of the original endowment that made us men.

All attempts to get at a world denuded of values are as irrational as they are futile. Such a world is not the real world of which we either have had or could possibly have experience. What is left, however it may be represented in swaying terms of matter and force, or their most recently adopted equivalents, is but a torso,—an abstraction, that is at least as unreal and, in the last resort, as clearly subjective, as are the values, when they have been cut off from the surrounding and underlying universe which conditioned their rise in the consciousness of mankind. The real world is neither the world of the physical sciences nor that of abstract metaphysics, but the entire content of the world as experienced by us,—a world that is completed and made intelligible to us by the revelation of values, and that can only satisfy our reason, as well as our aspirations, through appreciation and pursuit of the values that give to it intrinsic worth as well as instrumental usefulness.

Hence it is no exaggeration to say that the values are the makers of the world as men know it and can live in it. They held it together at the start; they shape, or at the least reveal the course of its development; they foreshadow the harvest of which it is the seed-bed. They set up the standards by which the world is judged, the patterns by which it is continually fashioned, not by any ultimate collision between men and nature, treated as mutually exclusive, but by co-operation between both. Hence the manifestation and achievement of values is the key to the meaning of evolution. And since they become eventually in deed what they have been from the beginning in promise, the makers of the world, so they are both its legitimate and its indispensable interpreters. Nothing in their final development can negate the fact of their origin, or can break off their connection with their source. And that source is immediately, though not ultimately, in the nature of things,—in the universe of which man, both in his dependence upon it and in his transcendence of it, is part. Hence the nature and meaning of the universe itself are revealed in the values by which alone man has come, or is coming, into his manhood, by which alone his reason can be satisfied, not merely because of the demands it sets up looked at in themselves, but because those demands have been created by the action upon him of the universe itself, and have been continuously fostered by it as the indispensable condition of his life and well-being in it.

2. Yet spiritual values only exist in and for personalities. The

valuation of existence is the specific quality by which personality is made manifest and comes to its own. It is the activity by means of which personality and its environment come into fruitful relationship. The True, the Beautiful and the Good are there where we see them with our spiritual vision. Yet without that spiritual vision they are not there. It is hardly an exaggeration to say that by the act of recognition personality creates the values that it recognises. Still more truly is this the case when personality comes to recognise these values as binding upon itself, as the only satisfying objects of pursuit, the standards by which conduct and character are to be tried, the custodians, because the ideals, of life. Hence while values and personality stand or fall together, the priority is with personality. It has been by the rise and growth of the personal power of spiritual valuation that man has come to subordinate the claims of mere animal existence and to transcend the narrow limitations that such existence imposes. Hence valuation performs a vital service to evolution; yet not an impersonal service, but one that accompanies the rise of personalities and that varies in direct proportion to the worth and influence of these personalities. Manhood, both individual and collective, comes to its own, the history of man is made, according as personalities come to discern and appreciate values, then to appropriate and personify them, and finally to bring other men to recognise and pursue them. For it is a peculiarity of the personal recognition of values that they should be apprehended as universal; dependent upon intimate personal experience, yet offering themselves to all who will seek such personal experience of them. Herein lies the supremacy of the three-fold graces, Faith, Hope, and Love. Faith discerns, trusts and appropriates spiritual values; hope anticipates their complete realisation; while love receives and shares them in the community of spiritual life.

3. This, however, is not all. While spiritual values are progressively recognised and, in a sense, created by finite personalities, yet they are apprehended as *given*, and are pursued as both insistent in their reality and infinite in their promise. In these three—the sense of givenness, of spiritual reality and of infinite promise—the secret of human personality, its place and meaning in the universe, is disclosed. It is true to say that the spiritual values are discovered as revealed, are real though unfulfilled, have sure and infinite promise, though for the present their claims remain unsatisfied. Thus it becomes manifest that while spiritual values are dependent upon personalities, and are suggested and fostered by the universe itself, yet they dawn upon men as authoritative guides without which reason is stultified, aspiration is stifled, affections are blighted, and moral sense is outraged. What is the suggestion contained in all this, the inference to be drawn from it? Surely

that the spiritual values which are thus revealed to and in finite individuals and secular societies are the revelation of the sovereign Personality—God, that they are the partial manifestation of His eternal perfection, that they are the means by which He communicates Himself to the world, and express, in growing fullness, the Divine purposes it has been constituted to serve.

4. This conclusion, however, carries another in its train. The Divine purpose, thus conceived, can only be fulfilled in mankind by the appearance in human history of personalities that are adequate to the experience and realisation of spiritual values. Upon the presence and influence of such personalities must the revelation of the mind and the accomplishment of the will of God depend. Such personalities are of outstanding importance; yet their importance varies directly according to the degree in which they reveal the highest and inmost nature of reality by giving expression to what comes eventually to be recognised, not as the idiosyncrasy of genius, but as universal truth for mankind.

And of all such revealing personalities Christ is supreme; supreme in respect of every consideration that matters; supreme in the combined satisfaction of all such considerations; supreme in the influence of His Personality upon the spiritual life of man. Christ is unique in His consciousness of God and of union with God; unique also in the sense of His union with men, not so much because He is a sharer of their nature, as because of His relationship to God, in and for Whom men have their being. Equally unique is the vision of the values of the Divine perfection that was enjoyed by Christ and the personal expression that He gave to them. His very concentration upon the supreme relationship to God and upon the experience contained in it made His Personality and message essentially hospitable to the entire range and the full content of all spiritual values. He sanctions and inspires the activity and reaction of all human powers upon them. The Personality of Christ, while unspeakably highest, is so universal, all-embracing and inexhaustible that it can never become out of date. The cry "Back to Christ!" is always the sign of rejuvenescence, and not of old age. In His consciousness the three qualities of spiritual values stand out pre-eminent—their Givenness, their Reality, their infinite meaning and promise. By Him this three-fold consciousness has been continuously imparted to multitudes throughout the ages, and with such effect that, however disappointing may be the past history and the present condition of the world, Christ has effected such an uplifting and transvaluation of all values as affords the only means of human reconciliation and fellowship, the only hope of the peace and progress of mankind. And Christ is not merely a lay-figure, clothed with the hopes and aspirations of mankind, but the living Personality in Whom all these awake to

full consciousness and through Whom the faith and hope and love of them have been imparted to men.

5. The doctrine of the Fatherhood of God, given by Christ as the expression of His own spiritual consciousness, sums up and explains the whole content of spiritual life. That doctrine is as important for the Reason, both theoretic and practical, as for the religious sentiments and aspirations. The restatement of Theology and the reordering of life by means of His consciousness of the Fatherhood of God constituted the originality of Christ. And this new and higher apprehension of God contained within itself the *rationale* of the place and influence of spiritual values in the order of the universe. They appear and grow, survive and prevail, interpret and transform by reason of the immanent relationship between God, the universe and man, that comes of His self-giving; that is to say because of His eternal and essential Fatherhood. That they are given and appear to man speaks of the transcendence of God; that they are discovered and made good by man speaks of His immanence. That they are suggested by and developed through man's environment and its reactions upon his spiritual nature is the witness of the wholeness of the universe as conditioned by and effectuated through the Fatherhood of God. If this be true, the contrasts between Natural and Revealed Religion, between Revelation and Reason, and between the spiritual and the secular fall to the ground, or at most represent subordinate distinctions. All values are originally given by Revelation that they may be appropriated, formulated, and set in consistent relations to the whole texture of reality by Reason. The entire realm of Reality belongs both to Faith and to Reason, because both are indivisible though distinctive activities of personality as conditioned by the Fatherhood of God. Nay, more, there is underlying unity and therefore complete continuity between Revelation and Redemption. It is beyond the scope of this article to discuss the problem of evil, whether spiritual or physical. But this, at least, may be said, that redemption from sin and deliverance from evil can only be brought about by the sacrificial fulfilment of spiritual values and by their application to the renewing of sinful and imperfect men through the sacrificial ministry of Divinely energetic love. Hence revelation, in its fullest sense, is at the heart of redemption.

To conclude. The Lordship of Christ is misconceived if He be represented as standing over against either the order of the universe or the universal life of men. He stands out in His transcendence because He consummates the whole, revealing its meaning by fulfilling it, and fulfilling it because all the values that give it worth live for ever in the Divinely-human and humanly-Divine Personality that gives complete revelation of the Fatherhood of God in the sonship of man.

J. SCOTT LIDGETT.

SOCIAL INSURANCE: EXTENDED AND UNIFIED

THE working man's fear of the emergencies that might happen to him or his dependents is one of the most terrible features of modern industrial civilisation. From birth to death he is at the mercy of economic forces beyond his control that may diminish or destroy his means of livelihood. His normal standard of life leaves so small a margin for provision against emergencies, that not only accidents and misfortunes, but the common and foreseeable occurrences of life, such as old age or the birth of a child, threaten to destroy the well-being of his family.

The cost of burial of a child may involve a man in serious debt from which he may not recover after months of saving, whilst the illness of a breadwinner will constitute a grave blow at the solvency of the family. Resort to the pawnshop or serious indebtedness to neighbours and relatives over a continuous period, and in some cases breaking into savings, are the means employed by the working class to save themselves from pauperisation. This pervasion of fear resulting from lack of security is at the bottom of much of the industrial unrest, the *ca-canny*, opposition to dilution and to new processes, which in turn affect the cost of labour and the power of the country to compete in the world markets.

Variability of income, the uncertainty of this variability, and the fear of destitution constitute an evil in themselves as great as the material evils of poverty, and one of which the worker is no less conscious. His education—both the formal one of school and the deeper one of home, of workshop and factory, of trade union, co-operative society or workers' educational organisation, of political parties, of the Press, of his own experience, of his environment, and of his leaders—helps him to realise the evil and seek to remove it. Only someone ignorant of the modern workman can write: "Workers are dull, sodden, fatalistic. Why talk about what they should fear? They tread accustomed paths and are indifferent to accustomed hazards."

Let us analyse the chief emergencies that cause fluctuations in the income of a workman. They may be due to diminished earning power, or to increased need, or to both operating together. Classified according to their duration, they may be (A) temporary, (B) permanent and due to impairment of the workman's capacity to earn, (C) permanent and due to the death of the breadwinner.

Temporary emergencies may be due either to lack of demand for the workman's labour, or to temporary incapacity of the workman or his wife for work. The sum total of the emergencies are:—

- i. Unemployment.
- ii. Industrial accident.
- iii. Industrial disease.
- iv. Non-industrial accident.
- v. Non-industrial disease.
- vi. Maternity.
- vii. Invalidity or disablement.
- viii. Blindness (a special case of vii.).
- ix. Old age.
- x. Burial.
- xi. Unprovided widowhood.
- xii. Unprovided orphanhood.

It should be noted that the loss to the workman is the same whether he must provide against his own illness or that of his wife. Similarly, a non-industrial accident and burial of other members of the family must be provided for. In short, for purposes of social insurance, the family should be regarded as the unit.

These emergencies have been regarded as unfortunate but probably unpreventable. On the other hand, the idea of a national minimum below which society shall not allow any of its members to fall has gradually been gaining ground in public opinion. This has resulted in the establishment of a minimum wage in one industry after another, but chiefly in those in which wages were very low and organisation was non-existent, or weak. Unfortunately this applies only to men in work. What is to be done in the case of those unable to work, or of those who, able to work, yet cannot find it; or of the widows and orphans of workers? How can the conception of a national minimum be applied to these categories of persons?

By providing adequately against social emergencies we shall at the same time be establishing a completed system of minimum wages.

THE MEANING OF SOCIAL INSURANCE.

What then is meant by social insurance? It may be defined as an agreement which is *legally enforceable* to pay a certain sum of money or goods and services in kind, as compensation against the loss resulting from certain given emergencies which lead to a diminished capacity to earn, or to an increase of expenditure. Its aim is to enable the insured man and his family to maintain even during periods of economic stress and strain a given standard of living. It thus meets the problem of the economic insecurity of the labourer's family. Its essence is to substitute for an uncertain but heavy loss to some, the loss of a smaller certain sum to all who are insured. It involves the device of distribution of risks amongst all subject to it.

Social insurance differs from the two other methods of providing against losses resulting from these emergencies, *i.e.*, from saving and from public relief. Saving is a form of provision in advance against all undesired emergencies in the workman's life and against destitution. The chief objection to it arises from the fact that the workman is not as a rule able or willing to save enough, because his earnings are insufficient to enable him to save enough to give some real measure of security without the lowering of his conventional standard of living. Public relief is not provided until the workman is already destitute. What he receives is conditional on his reaching a certain point of destitution, and what is given is affected by his fitness of character. The amount received therefore is uncertain and liable to change. Social insurance, on the other hand, implies a definite right to a certain sum. A revised and completed system of social insurance, a coherent and adequate system covering the whole field, is the most effective device we know for giving effect to the desire for economic security by labour, and it is an essential supplement to the minimum wage if it is desired to establish a national minimum of income.

Of course, much has already been done to insure the workman against the main hazards in his life. Very few people indeed realise what colossal sums are being spent on all forms of social insurance in this country annually. Let us briefly note these:—

Old Age Pensions	...	...	...	£22,500,000
Health, Maternity, and Disablement	...	...	...	£29,000,000
Unemployment	...	...	...	£60,000,000
Workmen's Compensation	...	...	...	£12,000,000
Burial Insurance	...	...	...	£35,000,000
				£158,500,000

THE CASE FOR EXTENSION AND UNIFICATION.

But the existing systems of insurance are unsatisfactory because they do not cover all the emergencies and because there are no clear underlying principles on which they have been built up or which attach them to one another to-day. Two main ideas underlie the wiser of the many schemes which are now being propounded. There is a demand for the extension of the scope of social insurance. There is an urgent need for its unification. Extension may take the form of increasing the number of emergencies covered. Provision against widowhood and orphanhood may be made. Non-industrial accidents may become insurable; burial might be included in a comprehensive system. Again, social insurance may be extended to cover workpeople and others with an income, say, below £300 per annum. It is powerfully urged that social insur-

ance should provide against the hazards not only of an insured workman, but also of his dependents. Lastly, it is contended that the rate of benefits to-day is so small as to make them of little value, merely enough to whet the appetite for a full-grown scheme with adequate benefits. "What is the use," workmen complain, "of a benefit of 15s. a week during illness when 9s. has to be paid in rent?"

Moreover, there are numerous anomalies underlying the existing system. History alone can explain why provision is made for the workman who suffers an industrial accident, and not the workman who suffers a non-industrial accident, why a workman who suffers an accident whilst on an errand for his employer may obtain 30s. a week for life, whilst if he is on his way to a restaurant he may become a pauper for life. The plight of the unprovided widow and orphan is worse than that of the workman temporarily unemployed, but no provision is made for the former, and considerable sums are spent on the latter. Why should the workman be insured against the costs of illness and not against burial? Is it not the same in effect if the family income is to be spent on the sick father, the sick mother or the sick child? But only the father is insured against ill-health unless the wife goes out to work. Again, it may be asked why should the employer be expected to bear unaided the burden of industrial accident insurance and the workman of burial insurance? Why should the State provide the costs of old age pensions whilst it shares with employers and workpeople the costs of unemployment insurance and health insurance? Or again, why are old age, ill-health, and unemployment treated as national problems and widowhood and orphanhood as problems for the local authorities? Compulsion is applied to some hazards and not to others.

It is, however, when we come to examine the administrative machinery that the confusion seems greatest. Social insurance measures are administered by a variety of organisations, State, workers' associations, employers' societies, and private insurance companies. Health insurance, which covers ill health, invalidity and maternity is administered by "approved societies." These consist of friendly societies, trade unions, collecting societies, industrial insurance companies and employers' funds. A special group known as deposit contributors claim benefits from the Post Office. Unemployment insurance is administered through employment exchanges, trade unions and employers' funds. Old Age Pensions are administered by the Customs and Excise Department and payments are made through the Post Office. Burial insurance is organised by insurance companies, friendly societies and collecting societies. Workmen's compensation is administered by insurance

companies, employers' mutual insurance companies, and by establishment funds. Necessitous widows and orphans and all who exhaust their right to insurance benefits fall back upon the out-of-date and objectionable machinery of the Poor Law.

No wonder that the workman having to claim his benefit from such a medley of organisations, each of which has its own peculiarities, is frequently ignorant of how to effect it. The situation to-day might be summarised as follows: the methods of administration, the nature of the machinery, who pays the premiums, the scale of benefits, and how to obtain benefits—these vary from one scheme to another. Against some emergencies insurance is compulsory, against others it is voluntary. Against some emergencies insurance can be effected, against others the ultimate prop of those that suffer them is the Poor Law. The present arrangements produce the maximum of anomalies. It is easy to understand why our system of social insurance finds itself in its present state of confusion. It is put clearly in a report on public assistance administration, by a recent inter-departmental committee:—

"The various schemes as they stand to-day have grown up piecemeal in a long period of years, and plainly bear the marks of their historical development. . . . The various services have for the most part been instituted at different times, and have developed on a number of different lines. They have been designed to provide for special contingencies as the need or demand became apparent, frequently by different methods and in different measure. Different principles have entered into the conception of services providing for closely related forms of need, and different forms of administrative machinery have been set up for services broadly similar in purpose."

What then should be our policy for the future? We must pursue a course that will give us both an extension of social insurance and a growing unification. The former is merely a matter of money. Workmen, employers, and the State, by providing greater contributions, can achieve it. But the latter, the policy of unification, necessitates careful planning over a period of years. It is clearly impossible politically to achieve it to-day. But steps can be taken towards it. Thus benefits can be unified, and more and more of the administration transferred to the employment exchanges. Above all, some scheme should be contrived which will enable all employers and workmen who desire it to pay all their contributions to one body which will provide all the social insurance benefits.

OUTLINES OF A PROPOSED SCHEME.

Such a scheme may be regarded as being in the realm of practical politics. Its main features are briefly as follows: It will have two

sections, one dealing with compulsory and the other with voluntary insurance. The monopolistic control of certain schemes of compulsory insurance should be effected through the employment exchanges converted into social insurance offices, with the necessary appropriate machinery for testing the *bona fides* of all applicants for each emergency covered. These are to include unemployment, old age, widowhood and orphanhood. The voluntary insurance department will cover industrial accidents and diseases, the ill-health of those who wish to insure through the State machinery, and burial insurance. The whole system should be supervised by advisory committees of employers and workpeople. A special section should be instituted for preventing hazards and rehabilitating those who suffer accidents. Employers and workpeople, when they are agreed, will then be able to obtain all their social insurance through one organisation. One contribution on one card could then be developed for all these emergencies. Unity of administration and unity of contribution should be accompanied by a greater unity of benefits. The financial suffering, the exhaustion of saving, and the terror of destitution confront the workman's family, whether the immediate emergency is unemployment, the burial of a member of the family, widowhood, old age, an industrial accident, or illness, so the principle of compulsory insurance should be applied to all these social emergencies. The sliding scale of benefits according to the number in the family now introduced into our unemployment and industrial accident insurance should run through the whole system. Benefits should be proportionate to the number of dependents the breadwinner has to maintain. They should be paid during the whole period of the emergency so that the Poor Law provisions as we now have them can be eliminated. Benefits and contributions should be graded later according to the wage groups into which all workpeople would be placed, so that benefits would be nearly as great as normal wages. Contributions should be made in the following ratios: one half by the State, one quarter by the insured people, and one quarter by the employer.

THE NEED FOR A ROYAL COMMISSION.

Other schemes are now being advocated. Indeed, all political parties are committed to great extensions of social insurance. But there are many grave problems which the specialists have not yet solved. A thoroughly exhaustive enquiry is therefore called for to go into the whole question. Even those closest to one branch do not, as a rule, grasp the significance of these problems and their underlying unity. The principal provisions and questions requiring attention are the following:—

- (1) The scope of existing laws.
- (2) How to improve our data giving knowledge of the extent of these emergencies.
- (3) Can all the schemes of social insurance be unified administratively and financially?
- (4) Can a new system be built up which will give the working class family security in the case of all recognised social emergencies, it being understood that the necessary measures are taken against malingering?
- (5) An exact definition of each of the emergencies to be embraced by the new system.
- (6) The nature of the benefits (in money or kind) to be provided.
- (7) The length of period of this provision if it is to be limited, and the nature of the organisation, if any, to deal with those who exhaust their right to benefit. Can the Poor Law Guardians be entirely eliminated in this way?
- (8) Should a waiting period be provided for all emergencies?
- (9) What would be the best form of administrative machinery? Could the employment exchanges be adapted for this purpose?
- (10) Shall benefits bear any relation to (a) the normal wage of the workman, (b) his needs, (c) to some conception of a national minimum?
- (11) Powers of enforcement of claims or revision of rights, suits for damages.
- (12) Compulsory or elective insurance.
- (13) State fund, Mutual fund, or Private Joint Stock Companies.
- (14) What are the best means of preventing these emergencies and what is the best machinery for giving them effect?
- (15) What measure for rehabilitating those who have suffered from these emergencies should be attempted?
- (16) What is meant by adequate maintenance? What will adequate maintenance of these emergencies cost per annum? How ought the costs to be borne? What machinery for collection should be instituted?

It is self-evident that a thorough enquiry into all these questions and the development of suitable concrete proposals would best come as the result of the studies and investigations instituted by a Royal Commission.

JOSEPH L. COHEN.

THE CONTEMPORARY REVIEW.

grandchildren is, regarded from this angle, far from being an improvident investment.

It is not, however, the purpose of this article to paint the German agriculturist either great or small as a spotless being. There are many incidents in the recent story of German agriculture, even if we only take the period following the War, which are deeply discreditable. Such incidents are the consistent boycott and sabotage practised against the Government's efforts in the matter of the *Umlage-Getreide*, or low-priced State grain levies. In some cases the co-operative granaries refused to store this grain, which their own districts had delivered, on the ground that it was spoiled and would corrupt the other grain. Highly discreditable, too, is the persistent falsifying of the harvest returns (and probably also the cattle returns), which are estimated not by foreign but by German agricultural experts to be between 10 and 25 per cent. below the true figures.

The charges of holding back produce, often made side by side with the profiteering charges, are on the whole well-founded, though the purpose of such holding back does not appear to have been an artificial raising of the prices. In some cases the motive has been political, and on more than one occasion the extreme "Right Radicals" have openly professed their intention of starving out Berlin, and afterwards flooding the city with produce, when a Government more suited to their own taste had been installed there. But the principal reason for their holding back was simply that the mark during the greater part of 1923 had become valueless as a medium of payment. The evidence of the holding back of produce is particularly strong in the case of butter, which was unobtainable in Berlin during November except by a lucky chance, but can now be obtained in any quantities the purchaser may desire.

The vexed question of the milk supply has been further obscured by certain statements which appeared from time to time in the semi-official Press to the effect that the agriculturist could not afford to purchase albuminous foods, in particular oilcake. This statement was in such flat contradiction to the obvious facts that it was generally laughed out of court. It is also virtually contradicted by the express statement in the annual report of the "Raffeißen banks" to the effect that they were able to supply the agriculturist with "all requisite credit." The truth is that the production of milk for human consumption had during 1923 ceased to be a paying proposition, owing to the perishable nature of the commodity. It was impossible to wait till market prices had reached the gold level, as was done in the case of less perishable produce. There was during 1923 plenty of oilcake in the country, and nearly

RURAL GERMANY AND THE TOWNS.

200,000 tons of this commodity were exported during the first ten months of that year. (These statements are not intended to minimise the fact that the milk supply has undoubtedly been damaged by the cattle confiscation under the peace treaty and by the loss of the eastern provinces.)

But it is possible that yet deeper and more personal causes have been at work in widening the cleavage between land and town to its present astonishing extent. During the whole of the inflation boom the agriculturist knew perfectly well that his prosperity could not last for ever. Some day, normal conditions would return and the door left open by the Treaty of Versailles would admit, in the shape of foreign grain, the enemy, that would in many cases wreck the foundations of his existence. When this day came, what would the Government do? Would it, despite the horrified cries of "dearer bread" on the part of Socialist deputies, despite the possible, nay almost certain, attempts at interposition on the part of the French Government (for the question of a protective tariff against Russia and America turns on a very ticklish and ambiguous paragraph of the Treaty) impose a tariff to protect the agriculturist, or would it abandon him to his fate? The prospects of a statesman coming into power, capable of carrying the former alternative into effect, have been so remote, that many agriculturists had given up the battle before it had begun.

The day on which this issue has to be decided is now at hand. The inflation boom is over, a stable currency in circulation, and, by a coincidence which has about it something of fatality, Russia has turned herself from a famine-wrecked country into an exporter of grain. During 1923 Russia exported into Germany some 600,000 tons of rye, 300,000 of which were exported during the last three months of that year, and 100,000 during the month of December. The situation at present is being rendered particularly acute by certain factors, some of which may in time disappear. In the first place, American wheat has been shipped to Germany at prices which are in many cases admittedly unremunerative to the American farmer. In the second place, an extreme tightness of money, caused largely by the new fiscal schemes, prevails at the time of writing. Interest for loans at present varies between 18 and 24 per cent., farm after farm is being mortgaged, and the pre-war condition of indebtedness is returning with a rapidity which a few months ago would have been deemed incredible.

In addition to the above, the harvest has been plentiful, while the rate of consumption has very considerably decreased. The harvest of bread cereals on paper is nearly 10 million tons, and in reality is probably nearer 11 millions, nearly enough to supply Germany for a year at the British rate of consumption. The consumption

THE CONTEMPORARY REVIEW.

solution. But is it to be expected that Parliament will indefinitely give its confidence to him if he adopts a policy so different from that which he has hitherto pursued?

Meanwhile, the parties of the Left are continuing their general attack upon the Poincaré Government. Not the least effective part of their campaign is the deliberate attempt to discredit the record of the Government in repairing the devastated districts, by denouncing a whole series of scandals connected with their reconstruction. Day after day and week after week for some time past the Press of the Left has been publishing the result of its own investigations into the expenditure in the north-east. It is far from surprising that scandals have arisen during the desperate rush to get the factories and the houses rebuilt. One notable case is, I believe, due to be tried before long, which will have to explain how it was that a certain individual who claimed compensation for a factory which was apparently valued before the war at 250,000 francs succeeded in obtaining 8,000,000 francs compensation, which he has not even spent on constructing a new factory. There have been many minor instances recently in which lawyers and architects employed in the assessment of claims and in the expenditure of compensation awards have been implicated. There were scandals of the same kind in England during and after the war in connection with the Ministry of Munitions. They are inevitable when immense programmes of construction have to be carried through at top speed and regardless of cost. But in France they are just now being exploited with relentless skill by the enemies of M. Poincaré's Government. They have even adopted the practice of reporting such scandals under the general heading "The Panama of the Devastated Districts."

At the same time, M. Poincaré is very seriously embarrassed by the continued rise in the cost of living, and also by the depreciation of the franc, which is largely responsible for part of that rise. The franc is likely to fall still further if public confidence in France is shaken, by a realisation of the fact that Germany can no longer be counted upon to repay within any near time the enormous loans which have been floated in France for reconstruction. And if the franc does continue to fall, as it has always fallen hitherto when the Government has been obliged to borrow from the Bank of France, M. Poincaré stands to lose credit in two ways: first by the increasing discontent at the high cost of living, and secondly because French people resent the depreciation of the franc as a national humiliation. M. de Lasteyrie was obliged to return hurriedly to Paris from his constituency when the franc dropped suddenly to over 88 to the pound almost immediately after the elections, and there was a distinct clamour for his resignation

RURAL GERMANY AND THE TOWNS.

from the Ministry of Finance. Such problems, however, will always arise as the time for the next budget draws near, and hitherto one Finance Minister after another has had to give place to some deputy who has made a reputation for financial insight by being particularly eloquent about the imminence of national bankruptcy.

Not many weeks ago, I was astonished to hear a very important Conservative in the north-west assure me solemnly that he believed M. Caillaux would come back to power as Prime Minister within the next two years. Certainly it would be difficult to deduce any such probability from the results of the elections for the Senate. But there is little doubt that the combined effect of attacks from many quarters upon M. Poincaré will before long bring him down. Not least significant has been the bold return to the political arena of the French Radical Ministers who were condemned for treason during the war. M. Caillaux now makes speeches frequently, besides contributing articles to the various newspapers which welcome his contributions. M. Malvy, whose term of ostracism has now come to an end, has announced his intention not only of contesting his old constituency at the forthcoming elections, but also of stumping the country to vindicate the patriotism of the Radicals who were condemned during the war. What is more astonishing is that M. Malvy actually unveiled a war memorial in his own constituency not long ago, at the request of the local people. It is true that he was publicly struck in the face by a young Royalist of the *Action Française*. M. Caillaux also has suffered frequently from such personal violence at the hands of M. Daudet's supporters. But whereas twelve months ago M. Daudet and M. Maurras were among the most influential publicists who provided the driving force behind the move into the Ruhr, M. Maurras has since been put in prison for instigating outrageous violence against a number of unoffending deputies who were merely going to address a public meeting of which he disapproved. And as for M. Daudet, there is the amazing verdict of the jury in Paris which the other day acquitted, on a plea of political provocation, a disreputable girl anarchist who had been arrested red-handed after she had shot dead the General Secretary of the *Action Française*. The verdict was made all the more staggering by the fact that it was delivered in the very week when Paris was full of speculation as to whether anarchists were also responsible for shooting M. Daudet's schoolboy son. That in itself is an extraordinary sign of the times.

A year ago the *Action Française* was still so strong that Caillaux and Malvy seldom dared to venture into print. Now the Radical Ministers are posing everywhere as the only men in France who

RURAL GERMANY AND THE TOWNS.

TO travel from Berlin on to one of the large estates is to pass a frontier as real as that between Germany and France. Not only does one travel from what is still a place of intense and perceptible want to a land of plenty—for the effects of the present agricultural depression have scarcely had time to alter the standard of life—but one passes among people who, since this war, appear to have become as completely severed from the rest of the population as though the bond of a common language no longer existed between the two groups.

Rural Germany to-day forms a political and sentimental entity, astonishing in its isolation and compactness. The tie between the small farmer and the large, although a close one (since a large estate which can afford the expenses of soil testing and other forms of scientific help acts as guide and adviser to the small), has been further strengthened by the common front made by both parties against the grain levies and other measures of the Government. The relations between Capital and Labour, despite numerous but desultory lightning strikes (mostly, it appears, organised by agitators dispatched from the towns), have on the whole been good; for through the increase of the system of payment in kind (grain, butter, milk, and, in the case of higher operatives, young sucking pigs, which could be fattened at home), the rural labourer has enjoyed the benefits of payment in what amounted to a stable and easily negotiable currency, even though his wages have fallen below the peace-time level. The more advanced employer of agricultural labour, moreover, cares for his labourers in a manner which contrasts favourably with his achievements in this respect some ten years ago. On a large sugar beetseed plantation which the writer visited, female labour was employed in considerable quantities. The housing, cooking, and feeding arrangements were exemplary. The owners had during the last year built at their own expense a doctor's house, complete with operating theatre, and a well-equipped bath-house, the latter containing even Turkish and steam baths. Cinemas are not uncommon on the large plantations, and are used for purposes of instructing and interesting the higher operatives in scientific agriculture.

Close-knit inwardly, rural Germany presents a united front to the towns. Of the intense hostility of the German country towards the towns, in particular towards Berlin, its Government and all its works, some accounts have already appeared in the Press, and, though none of these accounts have done even faint justice to the quality of this sentiment, the subject need not be unduly expatiated on. Suffice it to say that Berlin is looked upon, if not as the exclusive habitat, then at least as being so completely under the

control of traitors, Jews and Bolsheviki (the words were used to the writer without intention of hyperbole), that a respectable person cannot be seen there. In point of fact, unless he is compelled to do so, the German agriculturist does not now go near the place; for the city, with its empty barracks, presents too many dismal contrasts between then and now. This altogether is unfortunate, for not only does the agriculturist know nothing of the life of the towns, but any legendmonger and trailer of journalistic red herrings can impose on him. Stories were repeated to the writer on the German countryside concerning the luxury and sybaritism of the youth of Berlin (the implication being that the average young Berliner had nothing to worry about but the pursuit of his pleasures), which were quite as misleading as anything that has appeared on this subject in the Northcliffe Press.

Yet before recklessly condemning the narrow nationalism which is the root of this hostility, it must be remembered that, after the German Army, German agriculture represents the greatest continuity of sustained effort that Germany has to show. From the huge and successful efforts of Frederick the Great—his drainages and canals, his reclamations of the Oder-Bruch, his fertilisation of the district around Berlin, done largely with ordure gathered from the streets of the city, and his remarkable achievements in rural colonisation—to the triumphs of intensive culture, the story of German agriculture is an epic of patience, toil, and sacrifice, not unworthy to rank beside that of the Western pioneers. Land has been brought under the plough in Germany which probably would have been left untouched in any other country of the world, and, though the land brought under cultivation during this period has mostly been inferior, the increase in the average yield during the last half-century has been enormous. The increase in the yield per acre of wheat in Germany from the average of the years 1885 to 1889, to the average of the years 1910 to 1914, has been 58 per cent. the corresponding increase in Great Britain and Ireland being 6.8 per cent., and in France 8.9 per cent. The corn that grows in Germany is more than a mere source of food supply; it is a monument, gigantic as the pyramids, and in so far as the agriculturist has had it driven into his head from the days of Frederick the Great that he and his work were the very life blood of the nation, it is not surprising that men who for generations have taken part in this work, should have a keen and living sense of national continuity.

To represent this cleavage between town and land, however, as due entirely to the inevitable conflict between liberal light and reactionary darkness would be shallow in the extreme. Beside political and sentimental divergences we have to deal with a number of minor and major sources of friction, the cumulative effect of

of flour has, however, owing to the general impoverishment, decreased alarmingly during the last twelve months. There are no official figures, but it is understood from grain and flour merchants that 25 per cent. would not be an exaggerated estimate of the decrease. With the imports during the last months of 1923, Germany has probably more grain in the country than her population can afford to buy.

How far Russia will be able to increase her production during, say, the next five years, and at what price she will be able to offer her grain, is a question which at present nobody can answer; but that the expectations of her capacity in this respect are considerable is proved by the growing movement among German agriculturists to become colonists in Russia. It is fortunate for Germany that the transport of Russian grain up the Danube route is costly and difficult. This is chiefly due to the excessively high freights between Odessa (where, by the way, tenders for new grain elevators are being considered) and Sulina, and to the failure of the Bolshevik Government to come to an agreement with Roumania concerning storage loading facilities at the last named port. It is, however, only a matter of time before these conditions are, at any rate, considerably modified, and Russian rye will soon have free access to Southern Germany as it now has to Hamburg.

A protective tariff on grain might well be detrimental to Germany's interests as a whole, and it is far from the writer's intention to advocate such a measure on her behalf; but it is certain that, in the absence of such a tariff, it would be impossible for moderately inferior land to grow cereals any longer. Much land that now grows cereals will be given to the sugar-beet, with the products of which Germany may perhaps pay for a part of the grain which she will in the near future be compelled to import; other land will be given over to pasture. But large numbers of farmers who, for one reason or another, will be unable to adapt themselves to the altered circumstances, will be driven from their farms.

It is possible that we are on the eve of an event of immense and in a sense tragic significance, nothing less than the death of the heritage of Frederic the Great, the collapse of the effort to realise the physiocratic ideal, an effort which is visible in the tariff legislation of the last Hohenzollern and his Chancellors, restricted and, from the rural point of view, inadequate as those tariffs were. The strategic significance of this collapse is sufficiently obvious to need no comment, and this alone will embitter those classes in whom the nationalist tradition is strong beyond the hope of a reconciliation. But, above all, and outweighing any personal disaster, will be the sense of a mighty work gone to ruin, at which the great and humble of four generations have laboured.

J. L. BENVENISTI.

THE NEW CRITICISM: ALBERT THIBAUDET.

READERS of the *Nouvelle Revue Française* are well aware that at the present moment there is in France no keener critic than M. Thibaudet: none more acute, none more human. The younger minds, still in the stages of self-analysis, not yet quite sure which path to follow, look for guidance in his monthly Essays in the Montaigne manner; the riper minds, with a temperament canalised into a definite existence, look forward no less each month to these studies which contain so much poetry that the sure, stubborn work of the *bouquiniste* is hidden from the reader's eyes.

M. Thibaudet presides over a kind of debating society within himself between the forces of freedom and spontaneity, and the forces of order and precision which have now long been the governors of the French nation. He does it with so sincere a love of truth that he compels comparison with the master critic of the nineteenth century.

Man is so constituted that, however powerful his own originality may be, he loves to model himself upon some hero with all that hero's idiosyncrasies, likes, and dislikes. Every Plato has his Socrates. A man's life may comprise a thousand stages, but in the beginning someone gave the initial push. The question then arises with M. Thibaudet, "Who is the writer who after having created him is created by him in his turn?" *Natura naturans et natura naturata*. Which is the philosopher M. Thibaudet sets out to study, and in so studying proves his own creative gift? (for M. Thibaudet has always been well aware that all true criticism is creation). The answer is easy: it is M. Bergson. M. Thibaudet studies present-day problems in the light of Bergson's philosophy. One ventures to believe that M. Thibaudet was impelled to write his volumes of criticism by the passion with which his master inspired him for the depths and innermost recesses of our nature, for those profundities of feeling which are pure spontaneous life, the true musical rhythm of life. At times he makes us think of Sir Thomas Browne with his famous page about the music of the spheres.

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M. Thibaudet says in one of his articles in the *Nouvelle Revue Française* that hitherto Bergson's philosophy has had no influence upon criticism. But really there is nothing very astonishing in that, and at first sight M. Thibaudet's own effort appears of the nature of an enterprise undertaken for a wager. Anyone who knows M. Bergson's system must really wonder if there can exist a criticism inspired by his philosophy. For the staple food of criticism is the study of individualities, concrete persons differing

from one another in temper and mind, and although Sainte Beuve talked one day of connecting, grouping, and comparing writers in order to compile a Natural History of Authors, he was far too acute to venture far down this blind alley of criticism. The basis of M. Bergson's philosophy is a mysterious force, the vital impulse which animates the whole universe, but which may perfectly well be conceived without individuals. "Strictly speaking, there is nothing to prevent our imagining that the evolution of life might have taken place in one single individual by means of a series of transformations spread over thousands of ages."* Life traverses our personalities but is absolutely distinct from them: there have always been poets to hymn the disdain with which it treats poor individuals ever falling and perishing thick as the leaves in Vallombrosa. According to Bergson, what is real is the current itself which animates us all, and his enemies go so far as to say that according to the Bergsonian doctrine, an animal, my dog watching me as he lies at my feet, knows more of liberty than man does. Individuality then is an illusion.

If this be so, is not all up with criticism? Such a state of things may produce a great outburst of poetry: and it would be easy to find in nineteenth-century and contemporary poets passages celebrating the death of the individual and the triumph of nature. The individual, said Comte, is a social abstraction. The positivist poet, therefore, might take humanity for his theme. The way had been paved for him by all those writers who had contemplated their own nothingness, and who, by contact with this universal absence, reached celestial heights of poetry.

How then shall criticism solve this dilemma? M. Bergson knows the outer world, and the world of science too well to lead us astray into cold abstractions. His vital impetus has met with matter, or rather matter and the vital impetus are one, inseparable. Both are movements of a single movement, just as the falling shower of a fountain is part of the impetus which produces it—which is the closing image of Berkeley's Third Dialogue between Hylas and Philonous. A picturesque metaphor, which serves well to show that the movement of spiritual creation which is impetus becomes matter when the movement ceases. Thus matter is extinguished spirit.

But this is not the place to enter into a long dissertation upon the world looked upon as duration. What interests us for the moment is to realise that the vital impetus in each one of us comprises a complex of infinitely varied tendencies.

"Each of us glancing back over his history will find that his child-personality, though indivisible, united in itself divers persons,

* *Creative Evolution*, p. 58.

which could remain blended just because they were in their nascent state; this indecision, so charged with promise, is one of the greatest charms of childhood. But these interwoven personalities become incompatible in course of growth, and, as each of us can live but one life, a choice must be made. We choose in reality, without ceasing; without ceasing, we also abandon many things. The route we pursue in time is strewn with the remains of all that we began to be, of all that we might have become. But nature which has at command an incalculable number of lives, is in no wise bound to make such sacrifices. She preserves the different tendencies that have bifurcated in their growth. She creates with them diverging series of species that will evolve separately."*

If, then, we admit the reality of this infinite variety of persons, if we feel within us a confused mixture of personalities each seeking the light, it is easy to see that the art of criticism becomes thereby infinitely richer and more varied.

We live in duration, says Bergson. So long as we do not fall into the automatism of habit, we seek to modify ourselves. That is why great writers, ceaselessly struggling against those multiple personalities they feel within themselves, change as they grow older. One consequence of this theory is already apparent. Any literary criticism which studies a writer as though he were all of a piece, unchanging, is wrong, radically wrong. All the great classical writers whom we are too often shown in one fixed attitude were ceaselessly creating themselves at every moment of their life.

In this connection a passage from *La Perception du Changement* will help us to understand Bergson aright—the whole passage should be quoted:—

"The artist is, in the proper sense of the word, an absent-minded man. Why, being more detached from reality, does he succeed in seeing in it more things than the ordinary man? One could not understand it, if the Vision that we take generally of exterior objects and of ourselves were not a vision which our attachment to reality, our need of living and of acting has led us to narrow and to empty."†

For M. Bergson the universe is like the submerged town of Is, whose marvellous bells poets alone can hear. And there we perceive a second consequence of this theory from the point of view with which we are concerned. The critic—herein like the novelist—will reveal to us states of soul. We admire in novelist or poet that creative faculty which makes him set his heroes amidst endless peripeties and vicissitudes in order to discover thereby unexplored regions of our feelings. But the critic goes one better, for instead of setting up states of soul which sometimes rest upon nothing solid, the critic chooses the lives of persons who appear

* *Creative Evolution*, p. 109.

† *Op. cit.*, p. 11.

to him representative, he shows us the maturity of a state of soul where we could but dimly perceive the childhood, he gives us a more direct vision of reality.

But is that the whole of the critic's business? As M. Thibaudet puts it so well:

"History (by history we must understand the highest form of criticism) does not appeal only to pragmatic intellect and utility. It has, like the novel and the drama, been treated by men in profound communication with life, men of genius. It has attempted to free itself from the rational and utilitarian character which it naturally takes on. . . . It is certain that the intellect which strives to foresee—to know, that is, in order to foresee and hence to be able to act—isolates points of similarity from the history of the past, and reunites these points in plans. 'The irreducible and irreversible which exists in certain moments of a history elude it.' (Bergson, *Evol. Creat.* p. 32.) But is it precisely history meditated on in its profoundest nature that can supply us with this sense of the irreducible and the irreversible which is an essential characteristic of it, and which our intellect always tends to obscure?"*

And so we arrive at a third consequence of the Bergsonian theory. History has a bearing upon social life. The task of the true critic is to study social life. The Bergsonian critic will not study it solely from the point of view of intention and finality: he will not submit to the conventional idea of an historian plan-maker, order-maker, preoccupied with finding plans and connected designs, but "distrusting those theories which are created and brought into the world simply and solely to suffer by the facts put into them, he will understand all the irreducible, irreversible elements—the moments of history."†

"The universe contains an internal life which we cannot grasp, which we see dimly through veils and which probably is the genius of a Plato, a Leonardo da Vinci, or a Goethe multiplied to the power of infinity. Supraconsciousness may have had like genius its magic moments. Perhaps the great tragedies of the stage and of history, the great dramas of spiritual life, enable us to communicate with this cosmic supraconsciousness from which worlds have fallen like dead leaves from a tree."

Anatole France says somewhere that life is a kind of mouldiness or accidental malady peculiar to our planet. And in the hands of certain critics, criticism too is only a kind of mouldiness, a parasitic lichen which grows upon certain authors, lives on them till it kills them and dies itself.

M. France's non-moral plan is well known, but with M. Bergson

* *Bergsonisme*. Vol. II., p. 171. It is rather significant that M. Thibaudet, though at present on leave, is in reality Professor of History and Geography, and describes himself as an "amateur" rather than a scholar in things literary.

† *Bergsonisme*. Vol. I., p. 222.

we are on a different plane, and it is enough to read between the lines of some of his speeches to know that the real foundation of his thought is the idea of a universal republic of intellects governed by what used to be called the humanities. For him, humanities does not merely mean a knowledge of Greek and Latin but rather the knowledge of that philosophy as Rabelais and Montaigne understood it, and which is made up of the noblest feelings of antiquity, having a strong hold upon time and thereby influencing human life, a kind of vast continuous poem made up of the combined efforts of the human mind throughout the ages. All those who have commerce with young minds and are called upon to form them, who desire them to be part of a future intellectual *élite*, must necessarily hold very dear the wish to create a lofty criticism: a kind of powerful tradition which shall determine the way in which things should be understood, a harmony so true that whosoever has once mastered its rhythm will never consent to be deprived of it.

Bergson spoke brave words on the joy of creation.* Well, true criticism is just that which truly creates and, as M. Thibaudet himself tells us, it will imitate Montaigne who preferred to "engendrer un enfant de l'accointance des Muses que de l'accointance de sa femme." True criticism is that which leads the student into the invisible society of inspired souls whose concordant views have had for interpreter the accredited masters of humanity. That is why M. Thibaudet is so right to say, "In philosophy everything is refutable and nothing is refutable," and a little further on, "The destiny of M. Bergson's work will be like that of the philosophers of the past. It will leave an *impulsion* rather than a fixed truth, a movement rather than a monument." We shall return to it as we come back to Descartes, or Leibnitz, or Spinoza. If time modifies everything, it also remembers. That is why we always come back to the great classics. Is it to discover that they stole such or such an idea from such or such a contemporary? What on earth does that matter? In the universe we are but wisps of straw, and we know it, and that is why we cling to what lasts, to any permanent protest against the flight of time, or a perpetual thinking about the beyond, to everything which gives the categorical no to those who see in the great world but a simple, mechanical, disillusioning theory.

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The first book to bring M. Thibaudet before the public was his study of Mallarmé—and the last but one of his books also deals with a poet, M. Paul Valéry. The choice of these two poets is in

* Dr. Ernest Barker has written eloquent pages on the joys of the mind. See *The Uses of Leisure*, p. 8.

itself an indication to M. Thibaudet's type of mind. For both have the cult of the rare, the taste for inner things, are haunted by the desire of the *fin du fin*, the search for a poetry where the nature of the mind appears in her purity. M. Thibaudet, indeed, makes himself free of every province of French—and even foreign—literature, and it is clear in all that he knows what he is talking about: but the very fact that for preference he seeks out difficult authors must give us pause for a moment. As a matter of fact he has explained himself very frankly on this point. "Mallarmé and Valéry have pressed to their furthest limits and combined these two apparent contradictions, the innermost and most intuitive being of poetry, and the most technical, most imperious exigencies of poetical form." (Was I wrong to evoke quietly here the name and the similar philosophical system of Bergson?) And then M. Thibaudet adds these lines which are a veritable profession of faith:—

"The most eminent function of professional criticism consists in mobilising into a single picture, in grouping into a single scene, in thinking into an Organic Idea, a literary whole, and in particular a national literature. Indeed, this whole exists only in the logical and æsthetic idea which is constructed by criticism. Criticism is authorised to love far more than the public does, those writers who help it in this task, who can be well placed in its series, who furnish it with fair stones for its edifices. Account must also be taken of a far more selfish criticism, a criticism which cares little for helping writers but cares a great deal for using them. The world of writers is to the critic what the world of real men and women is to the novelist."

That could not have been better said.

M. Thibaudet, then, has used, with an egoism tempered by courtesy, sympathy, and love, those writers who seemed to him not only fitted to enrich his self, but most suitable for the edifice he wished to raise for the French literature of his age. We may use an image of which he is fond and say that if he places Mallarmé and Valéry on the top of the spire of his cathedral in guise of guardian angels, he puts Bergson himself in the centre of the tympanum over the main door, and grouped around him the prophets of the cosmogony of his preference, and above them Plato, with benedictory gesture and a smile on his lips as the Spirit from whom all things flow. The lateral doors would be consecrated to local saints, to Barrès or Maurras, because they, whether they will or no, in spite of themselves even, are a part of this modern cathedral whatever its name, which is built of our modern sorrows and joys, and even of *galéjades*, like those mediæval churches where the demons grimace at you, aye, and the monks too.

But I think there is a deep reason for Thibaudet's studying

such writers at the same time as Bergson, and that is that all these writers (Maurras as well as Barrès, Mallarmé as well as Valéry) seek to realise an existence which shall be as *complete* as possible, a life made up not so much of varied sensations as of exquisitely refined sensations. (M. Thibaudet shows very clearly how Maurras was led to his passion for order through love of æsthetic images). The most direct instrument and the safest is the inner vision of the self, painful though it may be, and a passionate search for order at all costs, for man cannot live without it.

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In the nineteenth century there is one great poet who, more than any other, sought to subtilise all the instruments of inward and outward intuition, who suffered on account of his failure through physiological causes into which all have not to enter here: a poet who may serve as link between all these writers, whether you like him or no, for he ever sought to pass through the flaming ramparts of the world—*flammanitia moenia mundi*—a poet whom M. Thibaudet treats in one of his best critical studies*—Baudelaire.

M. Thibaudet, supporting himself on Bergson's philosophy, and also on that unconsciousness revealed by Freud, and with which Bergson is as well acquainted as Freud, is, I think, the first to show that Baudelaire carried within him a living duration in the perpetual flux of things, that the first postulate of his philosophy was to appeal from his confused sensations to his analysed sensations, and that it was this living duration, this very movement of universal life which was the strength and originality of his poetry. "And," he adds, "not only the poet, but that Paris of which he sings knows duration." A little sentence thrown out carelessly from his generous pen which shows us that the poet philosopher saw the consequences of his doctrine—that duration, or the universal movement of things in nature, is but a special measure of that incessant activity which pushes the world on. M. Thibaudet was inspired to write this profound study of Baudelaire by the Bergsonian philosophy which taught him that all great art consists in well-ordered rhythm, in a feeling which gains ceaselessly in profundity.

From this point of view, surely it is no exaggeration to say that these two talents, that of the philosopher and that of the critic who is his pupil, have given a new lease of life to criticism, which seemed in some danger of losing its way in the gossip of scandal-mongers, or the meticulousness of pedants. "Baudelaire's poetry," says M. Thibaudet, "transposes the scenery of Paris into humanity." But it does more than that: by certain reactions

* *Revue de Paris*. April, 1921.

which it necessarily provokes, it enriches that fertile complexity of intellectual life, and strikes the reader's mind with the thought that the universe is vaster in its possibilities than anything imagination can invent.*

Let us be precise: Bergson's idea of *duration* is not the same thing as Hegel's idea of *becoming*. M. Thibaudet is always very careful to tell us that Bergson is not Hegel. However, we need not discuss this point here. Just as one may say that Bergson's philosophy is as much the production of an epoch as of his own work, just as one must insist that, in order to understand his system, you must go down to the very well-springs of a movement controlled by a real *Zeitgeist* or Time-Spirit, in the same manner we may say that M. Thibaudet believes that this idea of *becoming*, by placing us in the very stream of reality, makes us participate in the lives of great writers, and in the creative intelligence itself.

In this way criticism becomes a poetic evocation of psychological states appealing more to our feeling than to our reason, a delicately graduated measuring of sensations or emotions, beginning from the ever-moving world of childhood and ending with the inertia of old age. This is the new criticism developing in conscious opposition to the old, for the latter gives a false impression of permanence and fixity. Formerly criticism showed you a man built all of a piece, set in a mould, and attached to him one all-sufficing label; the new criticism aims at bringing out all the differences and subtle changes which the various adventures of life—illness, travelling, or inaction—bring about, as each plays upon our tastes and being. When you open one of those text-books compiled for the use of students, you are in a static world which never allows its due weight to this element of uncertainty in the condition of a man's life.

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Of course, it was inevitable that M. Thibaudet should be reproached with seeing all literature through Bergsonian spectacles. "Qui voit tout en Bergson n'y voit pas qu'il est fou."

The answer that at once occurs to us is that (as I have tried to show elsewhere) certain ideas are common to the philosophers of the nineteenth century and to those of ancient Greece, and that among these ideas is this particular one that a well-defined world, finite once for all, is a dead world, and that the true world is an eternal becoming, or, as Goethe puts it, a "living garment in which God appears weaving at the loom of Time." M. Thibaudet is very well aware of this: he says that all nineteenth-century philosophy rests upon the idea of Time. Leaving aside his two volumes on Bergsonism, if we turn to the April number of

* See close of Péguy's *Chad Gadya*.

the *Nouvelle Revue Française* for 1923, we see that, when studying Taine and Renan, he is very careful to tell us that the nineteenth century is the century of philosophies of duration. "Renan," he adds, "will hold his place therein by his keen fluid sense of historic duration; far more than with Taine is his world a world which lasts."

If M. Thibaudet's Bergsonism had dulled his vision with the authors he studies, or led him to misjudge them, we should be right to reproach him. But no one who has read his *Maurice Barrès* and his *Charles Maurras* or his astonishing *Mallarmé* can honestly say that he has distorted these writers' thought, that he has shown them in an unfavourable light or caricatured them, nor, indeed, deny that he has treated them with the true critical spirit and generous sympathy.

M. Thibaudet is the realisation of the ideal critical figure, always open to every idea and examining each newcomer, moderate and intelligent in the highest sense of the terms, and contributing those shares of feeling, that temperament which are part of the literary luggage of every real lover of truth for truth's sake, devoting himself passionately to culture and the disinterested diffusion of knowledge. Of course, Bergsonian philosophy is not the golden key which opens every door, nor is the world the cave of Ali-Baba and his treasures—any more than it is solely the cave of Plato with its shadows. M. Bergson has taught us that.

Naturally, every critic, by the very fact that he is human, that he exists in time and breaks up a part of reality, is bound to be incomplete. What matter? The main thing is to seek truth and feel beneath one's hand the quivering of "Le tas humain comme une glaise vivante."

GLADYS TURQUET-MILNES.

SPAIN AND HISPANO-AMERICANISM.

THE ceremonial speech addressed to the Pope by King Alfonso XIII, when the latter paid his respects at the Vatican during his recent official visit to the Italian Government, has attracted considerable attention by its unconventional character and by the nature of some of the subjects with which it dealt. In asking for an increase in the number of Hispano-American Cardinals King Alfonso assumed the rôle of spokesman for all Hispano-America, and thereby recalled to public memory the campaign which reached its culminating point almost three years ago in favour of the policy of union, under the ægis of the Spanish Crown, of all Spanish-speaking countries for purposes of joint protection against the alleged all-absorbing tendencies of the English-speaking nations. Many persons will be interested to know what progress has been made in Spain itself by the doctrine of Hispano-Americanism.

Although the republican form of government is universal throughout Hispano-America, the advocates of a closer union between those republics and Spain are fully conscious of the immense advantage derived from the existence of some more personal and substantial symbol of union than written words, and they firmly believe that the cohesion shown by the component parts of the British Empire is due to the nominal concentration into the single figure of the monarch, of the sum of the authority of all the separate States which compose that Empire. Acting on the assumption that human nature is much the same all the world over and that in these days there is no great difference between the deference shown to a king and that enjoyed by a president of a Republic, Hispano-Americans of all kinds and classes firmly believe that nobody is as well placed and qualified as the King of Spain himself to lead the campaign for union of the Spanish-speaking peoples and to be the symbol or proof of that union. For that purpose it would be necessary for King Alfonso XIII to make a tour round Hispano-America in order that the desire for union may be manifested and confirmed by the loud and sincere demonstrations of friendship and adherence which such a journey with such an aim could not fail to evoke on both sides of the Atlantic Ocean.

A very strong effort was made at the beginning of 1921 to secure for that plan the support of the Conservative Cabinet under the late Señor Dato, because a Pan-American Congress was to be held in Buenos Aires in the month of June or July of that year and it was argued that a visit at that time could be described as a visit to representatives of all the Hispano-American republics. This would

remove the greatest difficulties connected with the proposed journey, which were the length of time required for King Alfonso to visit every country, and, if any were omitted, the danger of jealousy between the countries favoured and those omitted. It may be mentioned here that the wealth, culture, and development of the Argentine Republic have placed it in the forefront of all the Hispano-American nations, and its geographical situation and frequent communications with Europe have given it a natural pre-eminence amongst its sister republics. To many people in both countries it is to be feared that Hispano-Americanism means merely an alliance between Spain and Argentina, but the Englishman who treated the matter as one of no importance on that account would make a great mistake.

Spain's rule over her colonies had never been a particularly benevolent one in an age when colonies were looked upon as estates to be exploited in benefit of the mother country, and when most of their European inhabitants were people who had no reason to feel special love or affection for their native land. The rupture between mother and daughters took place in circumstances which frequently increased the already existing mutual detestation, and it seemed as if Spain and what her writers now like to call her daughter-republics would drift gradually further and further apart. For several generations this belief appeared to be justified, and in neither the Spanish nor the Hispano-American newspapers was it possible to find, save as the rarest exception, any friendly or favourable reference to the other party.

Like certain other countries, however, Spain and the Hispano-American republics had noted with envious eyes the unequalled progress made throughout the world by the Anglo-Saxon race, including the inhabitants of the United States of North America who are still invariably described in that way by writers in Spanish. Spain's jealousy of Great Britain was based on the recollection of her own past greatness and of her failure to remain great, and it was kept at the proper pitch by the ever rankling thorn of the British occupation of Gibraltar. On the other hand, her former American colonies had very friendly feelings towards Great Britain, whose wealth and adventurers had been amongst the chief factors of their successful development whilst never interfering in local politics, but those colonies feared beyond measure the colossus which had already engulfed Florida, Texas, and other parts of Mexico in the North, and even set foot on the southern half of the Continent through the forced creation of the Republic of Panama. The Hispano-Americans have never accepted the assurance that the Monroe doctrine was altruistic in principle and very advantageous to them. Especially in this twentieth century they have

shown great suspicion of the ultimate aims perhaps concealed behind the declaration and reiteration of that doctrine, and they have asserted on every opportunity that they were both willing and able to look after their own safety and general interest, and neither required nor wished for any help from North America in so doing.

Amongst the causes which contributed to the awakening and development of Hispano-Americanism must be counted a marked renaissance of Spanish national self-consciousness after the disasters of the Spanish-American war in 1898, and the instinctive conviction felt by Hispano-Americans that they were exposed to similar disasters from the same source. These feelings naturally led to a greater realisation than before of the community of the interests of all Spanish peoples. It was noticeable that propaganda in favour of Hispano-American aspirations was stronger and more persistent amongst Spaniards living in Hispano-America than in Spain itself, where the very air seemed so saturated with the tradition of "to-morrow," that even the greatest causes and the most sacred crusades failed to arouse one-hundredth part of the enthusiasm and determination which are often found in countries considered stolid and unimpressible by comparison.

The official Mission under the leadership of the Infante Don Fernando, which was sent round South America in the battleship "España" and returned to Spain early in 1921, was in general well and enthusiastically received in the places which it visited in Hispano-America, but it must be admitted that the cheering crowds were largely composed of Spanish residents. The mission was successful enough for Señor J. Francos Rodriguez, an ex-Minister and President of the Spanish Press Association, who accompanied the Mission as Official Speaker and Chronicler, to publish in a Madrid daily paper *A.B.C.*, soon after his return, an article declaring his opinion that the proposed visit by the King was "necessary," but only on condition that it took place immediately, that is to say, during 1921, and that the King took with him the right kind of suite to achieve the purpose of the visit. Señor Francos Rodriguez told his fellow-countrymen a few home truths which it is to be feared would fall mostly on deaf ears. He spoke of the intensity of the feeling for Spain in Chile, but pointed out that the two countries had no direct communication with each other, and that the little nitrate of soda received in Spain from Chile was carried in foreign ships as were the Spanish products sent in exchange. As regards the Argentine Republic, in spite of the country's solicitation by other nations, great sympathy was felt there for Spain, but he added the significant warning that if Spain wished her spirit to float supreme in the River Plate republics she must herself attain to their state of culture and progress.

Advantage was taken of the presence of delegates to the International Postal Conference held in Madrid at the end of 1920, to arrange a special Convention between Spain and the American Republics, and although it included the United States and a considerable time elapsed as usual before the Convention was ratified and put into force by any of the parties to it, the arrangement was hailed by the whole Spanish Press as indicating the solidarity of Hispano-America with Spain. Attention was called to the very great importance of that solidarity in international affairs.

But in spite of journalistic propaganda, and of all the efforts made by Hispano-Americans to rouse Spaniards in general to take an interest in the matter, and to induce the Spanish Government to formulate a policy for the attainment of Hispano-American ideals, nothing definite or concrete was achieved, and the national pessimism which is so soon manifest when any project of reform fails to find immediate acceptance was again apparent in many of the articles published. The well-known Catalan writer and journalist, Señor José Escofet, published in his newspaper an article headed "Without a Programme," in which he pointed out that so far nothing had been done in Spain corresponding to the sentiments expressed in Hispano-America: as usual, Spain had nothing but a fraction of the general outline of a plan of action, and the absence of any plan is characteristic of all Spanish undertakings. Señor Rafael Vehils, in the *Vanguardia* of Barcelona, emphasised the absolute need of direct communication under the national flag between Spain and all Hispano-American republics. Señor Francos Rodriguez published an article admitting that the question of Spain's relations with Hispano-America aroused no particular interest amongst either Spanish politicians or other elements whose duty it was to note, direct, and even form public opinion. He added:

"It is true that there is no problem more important to Spain's future than that of a rapprochement with America . . . but such things are not really what we call politics. By that word we mean excitement, noisy persistence, the fight between mutually opposing personal ambitions. . . . It must be confessed that the delay in accomplishing this historic mission is the fault of us Spaniards, for our brothers beyond the seas could not give us better or more effusive proofs of their own excellent inclination."

The majority of writers see only too plainly the impossibility of erecting a great and noble edifice of Hispano-Americanism on the rotten and insecure foundation offered by the political and social conditions of Spain. Señor Roberto Castrovido asked in the *Tiempo* where Spain's future was really to be found, and he pointed out that she offered little inducement to her former colonies

to draw nearer to her. Her tobacco monopoly then about to be renewed for twenty years interfered with trade in tobacco; her laws for assisting the beetroot industry and her local sugar mills hindered trade in sugar; the national stock-breeders were opposed to the importation of cattle, chilled meat, hides, &c., and all these goods were the chief products of Hispano-America. Señor Castrovído added significantly:—

“The most important thing of all is still lacking, namely, the improvement of Spain. Spain's future is in Spain. . . . It is good to send books, but indispensable that they should be printed and published in Spain: paper and other materials must be cheapened, but the contents of the book, the culture, knowledge, thought, science, and art of the writer must be enriched.”

For reasons which are obvious to all persons who keep in the slightest degree in touch with American affairs, the reaction in favour of a rapprochement with the mother country is perhaps stronger in Mexico than anywhere else in Hispano-America. A very significant indication of that fact was a circular issued by the Mexican Board of Education in March, 1921, to all teachers employed by it, which urged them not to inculcate in the minds of their pupils the erroneous ideas formerly held in Mexico regarding the period during which the country was a Spanish Dominion, ideas which presented Spain in a false light, but to describe the mother country to them as she really was in the high mission she fulfilled in Hispano-America, in order that the “hatred, antipathy, and resentment,” which were based on the most complete ignorance even more than on ill-will, might disappear for ever, and things be seen in their true light and not as some persons desired to make them appear. There are several daily newspapers in the larger cities of Hispano-America which compare favourably with the best newspapers of Europe and North America. Most of these journals had always had correspondents in Spain as in other and politically more important countries of Europe, and for the last twenty years, but especially since the European war, it has become more and more general—one might almost write essential—for important Hispano-American periodicals to contain frequent articles written by Spaniards in Spain, exclusively for the periodical concerned. The publication of those articles tended to maintain the favourable atmosphere to which they owed their appearance, and not only did the articles increase in number and improve in quality, but notable Spaniards themselves were encouraged and often invited to visit the Hispano-American republics. Hispano-Americanism is not yet, however, a matter of absorbing interest to the ordinary Spanish citizen. He is too painfully aware of the backwardness of his own country, from almost every point of view,

to be easily persuaded that there is the slightest possibility that it may ever serve as a nexus between the mostly progressive and flourishing nations in the Western Hemisphere which were founded by her, but which he knows have left Spain far behind in development and culture.

It is impossible to deny that great anxiety regarding the future is felt in most of the Hispano-American republics over the growing political and financial influence, and military and naval power, of the United States. That anxiety is naturally most noticeable amongst the weakest peoples and those geographically nearest to the object of their fear. Englishmen who are, or have been, students of Spanish-American politics and have had opportunities for knowing a little of what goes on behind the screen which hides diplomatic or private movements from the public eye, are well aware that many of those small countries have more faith in British respect for other nations' rights, or a firmer conviction that the British Empire has reached its maximum expansion—if we must put it no higher than that—than they have in the numerous Yankee protests of goodwill and protection, and they would willingly offer substantial advantages to Britain in return for her support against her North American cousins. Such a policy naturally finds few advocates in this country, where the ever-closer union of the two great English-speaking nations is considered the best guarantee for the peace and prosperity of the whole world. But in spite of all rebuffs it still has adherents in Hispano-America amongst those inhabitants who are as bitterly anti-Spanish as certain Yankee elements are consistently anti-English. The consistent manner in which Great Britain's representatives invariably reject any attempt even to discuss a policy tending to make Britain appear as a protector or guardian of Hispano-American rights against the alleged encroachments of the United States has, however, discouraged many of the advocates of that policy in Spanish-speaking countries, and compelled them to turn towards Spain in the hope that racial bonds will make possible a union or understanding which they would have preferred to base on the reciprocal commercial interests of Great Britain and Hispano-America.

Innumerable quotations from articles and speeches by eminent Spaniards during the last three years might be adduced to prove that the real reason why Hispano-American propaganda has not accomplished greater results up to now consists, as usual, in the backward political and educational condition of Spain. I have attempted to set down, in a book on the general state of social and political affairs in Spain, which has just been published, some of the factors which have produced the present abnormal and unconstitutional *régime* set up by General Primo de Rivera,

and must refer to that volume such of my readers who may wish to have further and more detailed information on the subject. Spain has fallen so far behind other Western nations in the onward march of civilisation, that many years must inevitably elapse before she can have any claim to cultural equality with the nations of North-Western Europe, or even with most of the republics in Hispano-America. It is evident, therefore, that Anglo-Saxons have very little to fear in the immediate future from the campaign in favour of Hispano-Americanism, but that does not mean we can afford to neglect it.

Spain's new foreign policy is not the work of the military Directorate alone, but it none the less implies a complete *volte-face* in Spain's attitude towards Italy during the last three years. Great bitterness was aroused in Madrid at the end of 1920 by Italian opposition to the inclusion of Spanish amongst the official languages of the League of Nations. The Spanish Press declared that Italy had no direct interest in the matter, but was allowing herself to be used as a cat's-paw of the United States, in order that she might have their support against the common enemies France and England, "especially England." A leading article in the *Socialista* referring to this question contained the following words:—

"Monroeism, as already said a hundred times, means America for the Americans—who speak English! The ideal of the United States is to constitute one enormous nation or make one immense colony as far south as Cape Horn, so that the territory under the Government in Washington may reach from Alaska to Patagonia. The one formidable obstacle to the realisation of that ideal is the fundamental ethical difference between the two Americas. . . . North American opposition to the Spanish language in the League of Nations is due to the same causes as would produce English opposition to the use of Hindustani or French opposition to Arabic. . . . Meanwhile, we forget that proud reply to Dumas's injurious remark: 'No! It is *not* Africa but *America* which begins at the Pyrenees.'"

It is early yet to attempt any forecast of the events which may follow the passing of the present autocratic form of Government, but even though General Primo de Rivera and his coadjutors should be able to plan, prepare and set in motion a brand new installation of governmental and administrative machinery without any disturbance of the present state of unnatural quiescence on the part of all their opponents, it would be foolish to expect a complete regeneration of the national character with its deep-rooted and inveterate habits of procrastination and *laissez-faire*. Meanwhile it appears equally certain that the idea at the back of the doctrine of Hispano-Americanism will persist and grow in almost exact ratio to Spain's own development, because that doctrine, already

initiated and preached chiefly in the Spanish-speaking republics of America, is a direct result of Spain's efforts to modernise her institutions and her methods, and a proof that those efforts have been sympathetically noticed by the peoples of those republics. No changes in the *régime* of government in Spain will prevent the spread of that doctrine until its enforcement becomes the main aspiration of the Spanish nation as a whole, as it is already the chief ideal of many patriotic thinkers and writers.

Whilst Spain, laboriously and in spite of many reactionary forces both visible and occult, is working out a scheme for her own salvation, her former colonies are progressing at a much faster rate, and some of them may have become by natural evolution or through the force of circumstances perhaps even more worthy than Spain herself to unite and lead the proud Castilian race and its fellow-Spaniards. In spite of the enormous spiritual, financial, and military power of the United States to-day, and of the influence which that power exercises on the Spanish republics of South and Central America, it is unbelievable that the great Northern republic will succeed in absorbing, or even in dominating very long, the smaller nations of the Western Hemisphere, even though the latter be left to depend entirely on their own resources when joined for defence. It is not likely that they will be so left, because Germany cast covetous eyes on South America before the Great War and still has enormous interests there. The only real obstacle to the realisation of German ambitions in America would be the force contained in a Hispano-American combination which had taken seriously to heart the organisation of Spanish America for self-defence, and had hastened to accomplish that task in time. Nevertheless it is Spain's own fault if, for practical purposes in an early future, Hispano-Americanism is of no more importance than the probably unrealisable dream of free trade within the British Empire.

FRANK B. DEAKIN.

THE LIFE OF OLIVE SCHREINER.*

THIS is a singular biography of a very singular human being. It is written by a lover and not by a writer; and it both suffers and gains from this romantic handling. Mr. Cron Cronwright-Schreiner shows both courage and understanding in the drawing of his wife's character; and, like the successes of amateur photography, he has caught a likeness which might have escaped the professional, but the handling of much of the material is naturally faulty. There are redundancies and a lack of discrimination between what is important and unimportant in his story. In fact, he lacks the selective quality which presents material in line rather than in mass, and his reader has to do some of the work for him. But Mr. Cronwright-Schreiner has the courage of his deep affection, and dares to say of the inequalities and eccentricities of his wife's character what no other writer would have ventured to express.

Olive Schreiner was never really an inhabitant of this world. She was a visitant and a messenger of the gods. Our ways of life astonished and almost deranged her. It is difficult to say whether she found the spiritual conditions here too hard for her task, and gave it up in a kind of despair after she had accomplished her prelude, or whether she was cramped by physical infirmity (she was a martyr all her life to asthma) and, with her message striving to break free through every hour, carried it to her grave unsaid. Something she expressed in her few exquisite brief allegories, and in her one long novel; and she gave unconsciously to the world the rare spectacle of a soul perfectly disinterested and passionately dedicated to the cause of the weak. There are a few human beings who have no price—who yield nothing of their inner selves or the principles by which they live—and Olive Schreiner was one of these souls. She was wholly indifferent to money. Fame, which lifted her in the early twenties from complete insignificance to notoriety, never influenced her judgment; and though she had an extraordinarily sensitive spirit, vulnerable to suffering, that last bait—popularity and the love of her kind—left her unmoved in all moments of spiritual crisis. She said only what she believed; and what she believed she acted upon. She was ready to be crucified for any cause which helped the weak against the strong; nor would any reward of God or man have kept her in Heaven itself while one weak erring soul suffered in Hell. She passes at length into history, a lover, a fighter, an immense force, and, when she expressed in words the burden of her life—a great artist.

Her few writings show the maturity and weight of style, the simple and exquisite precision of a finished workman. But no great artist, not cut short by death, has ever expressed so little out

of such vast stores. In reading the sincere and faithful account of her life written by her devoted husband, this great secret presses on the reader at the turn of every page: "How could she be so great, and consent to produce so little?"

Few writers could have surmounted greater difficulties than Olive Schreiner surmounted in her only prolific years. Her young life is a pitiful story of intellectual isolation, religious persecution, intense poverty, and unsuitable tasks. The daughter of an impractical German missionary, Gottlob Schreiner, and a cultured brilliant Englishwoman, Rebekah Lyndall, pioneers in the new world of South Africa, Olive grew up in the most primitive surroundings. Her father, after his childhood in a little German town, went to London, fell in love with Rebekah Lyndall; and was sent out to South Africa by the London Missionary Society with his bride. His young heart was fairly divided between his wife and his visions, and quite unsuited to deal with the conditions of a raw, brutal, uncultivated land, and the primitive vagaries of the natives.

Gottlob Schreiner landed at the Cape in 1838, and proceeded by ox-wagon to the Kat River valley; here the young couple lived in a daub and wattle mud hut, among yellow, spindle-legged, Hottentot half-castes. Later with a young baby they entered the wilderness in earnest. "One evening, it was almost sunset, the 'Woa-ha' sounded and the wagon stood still. Rebekah looked out. Before her was dry sandy plain, no house or tree upon it, and the little hills were covered with stones. 'Why have you stopped now?' she asked. 'This is the new place,' her husband explained. Little Rebekah wept." As Rebekah had lived her previous life in London, a good deal of her time taken up with literature and the harp, her tears seem natural. She dried them, however, produced twelve children, kept her wits and her charm; and we are delighted to find had plenty of books to read in her old age. Three of the children died in infancy, and three, besides Olive, grew up to make their mark in the world. "Ellie," a beautiful little girl passionately beloved by her elder sister Olive, died at two years of age. Gottlob Schreiner was a most tenderhearted father and a singularly attractive character; but he was not a good missionary. He was known as the *Verlosser* (saviour), but it was not certain what he saved the people from; and it was perhaps suspected that it was more from the results of their sins than from their sins themselves. He was at length turned out of the Missionary Society for breaking a rule, which, with his enormous family and slender salary, it must have been practically impossible for him to keep. He was found to have "traded," and ceasing to be a missionary he continued to trade, until the elder members of his family took the upkeep of themselves and their parents upon their own shoulders. The insolvency of her father was a disastrous event for the little

* By her husband, Cron Cronwright-Schreiner. (T. Fisher Unwin.)

Olive, as it left her from 1866 for four years in the hands of a deeply religious and exceedingly trying elder brother and sister. Olive developed with so great a rapidity that one feels she must have foreshortened her maturity.

She was born at the Wittebergen Mission Station on March 24th, 1855. She is described as

"a lively intelligent child, physically powerful and healthy, unusually bright, very shy and sensitive, and absorbed almost uncannily in her own thoughts. She rode on her father's pigs, made little stone kraals on the flat rocks of the krantz, and imbibed, as with her untamed spirit she was bound to do, that love of nature and solitude that was so marked in her."

Two incidents of her childhood stand out. Once when she was just able to read she came upon the Sermon on the Mount. She rushed off to her mother who was sitting with some friends. "Look what I've found! Look what I've found!" she cried. "It's what I've known all along! Now we can live like this!" She never got over the shock of discovering that the Beatitudes have altered nothing. When she received her first experience of corporal punishment, inflicted by her mother for some childish act of disobedience, a passion of terrible rage and shame possessed her; but she did not, as most children might have done, indulge in petty or revengeful thoughts; she set her teeth and vowed that never should any weak creature suffer violence or tyranny from any act of hers. Unlike most early vows, this one was carried out.

When Olive was ten years old, she wrote (the original is without punctuation or the slightest attention to spelling):

"Moses learnt truth from the time when he wandered in the lonely wilderness of Sinai. From the days when Martin Luther wept and prayed in the convent cells and cloisters of Aube down to this nineteenth century, all great truths have first seen the light, and the foundations of all great works have been laid, in solitude and silence; whether it were in the heart of great cities or the solitude of everlasting mountains, all the greatest truths and works the world has known have first been laid, or had their power laid, in hours of solitude and quiet."

This is a discriminating generality for any child of ten years old to produce, but it is even more remarkable when one remembers that the child who produced it had had no regular education, no access to a library, no cultured friends, but had lived on the veld, inhabited by natives and wild animals.

The death of little Ellie when Olive was nine years old altered her whole life. She had taken a passionate love for the child from its birth. "She slept beside the little cold body all night after its death, not at all afraid, and hardly left it until it was buried, and she used to spend much of her time sitting at the grave and talking to the child." It was this child's death which made Olive Schreiner

once and for ever a free-thinker. Her family gave her what education she possessed; at first her father and mother, and later the elder brother Theo took her in charge, but she left his rather tyrannical hands when she was fifteen years old, and from that early, unformed age shifted for herself. She taught and companioned children younger than herself, at first in English families known to her, and, later, on Boer farms far out on the veld. Any life more unsuitable for this unbalanced, excitable, brilliant being could probably not have been found. She had the added disadvantage of quite unusual beauty.

Two events of Olive's inner life stand out during these years. She had a great friend, a Mrs. Cawood, who seems to have been at first very kind to her; and then ruthlessly and wickedly cruel. It is a little difficult to know whether it was jealousy or panic which led Mrs. Cawood to write the letter (on page 136) to the friendless girl, telling her she no longer loved her, and considered her free-thinking opinions so venomous that she wished to break off all intercourse between her and the family of Cawood. But whatever Mrs. Cawood's motives may have been it is doubtful if in the annals of youth any such perfect answer as Olive Schreiner's has ever been made by a soul in anguish. Olive replied with a mixture of dignity and tenderness difficult to read without tears. She was, as her husband writes of her later on, "defenceless" against personal attack. But, unlike many defenceless people, she neither complained nor desired to retaliate.* A happier incident is that of the mysterious stranger whom she met twice, and was to see no more, but who left her *First Principles* to read, and a brilliant memory of two half-hours of real conversation. Olive wrote: "I always think that when Christianity burst on the dark Roman world, it was what that book was to me." She read it and returned it in three days. She was sixteen years old when the event took place, and it was the seed of her creative work. For from that time on until she landed in England with the MS. of *The Story of an African Farm* under her arm—in little rough stone rooms in Boer kitchens, on the wide veld by dawn and moonlight—she wrote and rewrote this strange passionate story out of her heart.

This great first novel is difficult to place in literature. In some ways it takes the place for South Africa that Harriet Beecher Stowe's *Uncle Tom's Cabin* took for the Southern States; but it is artistically a much greater book than *Uncle Tom's Cabin* and a far greater departure from all conventional law. It was the work of a first-rate, if ignorant mind, at work upon a second-rate and mature world.

Olive Schreiner does not appear to have thought of writing as a profession; she went to England to satisfy the hunger of her

* The friendship with the Cawoods was resumed later.

heart for culture, and intending to take up a medical career. She was more unsuited for this than she was for teaching Boer children. At no time in her life did she show either the patience or continuity of the scholar's mind. At the age of sixteen or seventeen she had already begun to suffer from the asthma which helped to force upon her a broken, wandering life; but it is doubtful if the disease would have fixed itself in her splendid constitution if she had not spent the next few winters in England.

She remained in Europe from 1881 to 1889, published *The Story of an African Farm* with Messrs. Chapman and Hall, and made many interesting friendships. During this time she met, and, it is believed, routed Mr. Gladstone; at any rate she stirred him into a tremendous conversation lasting two hours and a half, in defence of a postage rate. The great friendship of her life was that with Havelock Ellis. They wrote frequently to each other, and his appreciation of her is one of the most vivid and interesting pictures we get of Olive Schreiner in this biography. Arthur Symonds writes of her also most picturesquely, and with great effect. We seem to see her large, thoughtful, burning eyes, and hear the quick impassioned music of her voice. Even when her beauty waned, the power of her dynamic personality made her instantly observed. People in the same room with her faded as the light of a fire turns ghostly before the force of the sun.

Late in 1889 Olive Schreiner returned to South Africa, and we get curious glimpses of her abortive relationship with Cecil Rhodes. Perhaps it would be impossible for any South African to deal with this historical figure without prejudice. Certainly we feel that Mr. Cronwright-Schreiner has been unable to let the facts speak sufficiently for themselves. Olive Schreiner's own words are a safer guide; not only to her own feelings, but towards any understanding of Cecil Rhodes. The relationship began with an intense personal sympathy. She says that when she first sees him she feels as if he "belonged to her," then swiftly on the heels of this appreciation came the subsequent estrangement and passionate despair over what she believed to be the moral wreck of a great idealist. You feel that Rhodes was like the young man with great possessions—he felt drawn towards Olive's generous personality and exalted views, with a kindred zeal. But she went too far for him—her city was one not built with hands—her South Africa was not a jewel to put into the crown of the British Empire—and so he turned away at last, like his great predecessor, "sorrowful."

Even after Olive attacked him in her terrible story, *Trooper Peter Halkett*, Rhodes refused to prosecute her. "Never," he said to his outraged friends, "I could not prosecute the writer of *An African Farm* whatever she chose to say of me." After she had refused to shake hands with him on the station of Matjesfontein,

he made three separate, determined attempts to renew their friendship, each of which Olive firmly refused, but as she points out to her mother "for purely political reasons." That she still kept an admiration for his singular personality is apparent from her writing at his death: "We heard this morning that Cecil Rhodes died the day before yesterday. It was a greater shock to me than I could have believed possible. He was so full of life. When death comes one forgets all the faults of a life and remembers only the awful tragedy of the individual soul, a great 'might have been.'" These two great human beings, so passionately divided in aim and method, were near together at least in this—they both had vision and the force which goes to project vision into fact. No one will forget the visions of Olive Schreiner and Cecil Rhodes; though one belonged to Immortality and the Soul, and the other to Time and the British Empire. They might have been called the Apostles of the Seen and the Unseen; and each had his reward. Cecil Rhodes, the child of this world, added a great country to his Empire, and Olive Schreiner, the child of Light, helped to breathe into this new country a living soul.

Her life in Europe was one of perpetual illness and travels in pursuit of peace. Alassio was the place in which she had as much rest as her strange personality could take, and here she wrote many of her most beautiful *Dreams*. On her return to South Africa, she first visited her family and friends, and then settled, as much as she ever settled, for about two years at the small station of Matjesfontein, where she lived in the utmost simplicity and solitude, fighting (later, when at Kimberley) with every weapon in her power to prevent the catastrophe which took place after the Jameson Raid.

At the age of thirty-eight she married Samuel Cron Cronwright, the author of her biography. He was some years younger than Olive, and it is obvious that she entered into marriage with great hesitation. From the first she seems to have loved her husband with the same quick, intense ardour which characterised the passion which swept over him for her. Without doubt this relationship gave her perfect emotional rest and satisfaction, but she felt it extremely hazardous to enter into the state of marriage; her bad health, her restless, excitable temperament, her love of freedom, and her inability to adapt herself to ordinary human beings, were reasons enough to give her pause, but at last his quiet, firm insistence won her consent. He gave her a self-sacrificing and complete affection which was the main comfort of her life. On the other hand, her ill-health and erratic habits broke up his career twice over, once as a most successful farmer and later as an equally successful lawyer. In fact, she continually pulled their lives up by the roots; and it was not until she made a visit to England, and the separation was

accidentally prolonged by the war of 1914, that Mr. Cronwright was able to win the fortune which he wished to make, in order to ensure comfort for their old age.

To the end of her life Olive Schreiner remained a mystery. She was more than satisfied with her husband and his love for her, their minds on all great subjects were in agreement, her health was occasionally good, and seldom such as wholly to preclude writing; and yet she did not write! She spoke of books as finished which had never left her teeming brain. Her talk, her personality, her judgment of public questions, always gave the impression of a first-class intellect in first-class working power; but the intellect did not work. It existed, it absorbed her life, it astonished and at times it awed her friends, but it consented to publish nothing at all, except a few political pamphlets. Perhaps the letters which are to follow this *Life* may hold the key to this great riddle, but, if they do not, we shall be destined never to find it out. Olive Schreiner was a genius. Rhodes bowed to her intellect, Havelock Ellis acknowledged her to be, in the words of her friend Mr. Lloyd, "the most brilliant genius of the nineteenth century." And yet all she produced was one brave, crude authentic piece of South African history, at the age of twenty-one, in *The Story of an African Farm*; a scarcely veiled attack on Rhodes in *Trooper Peter Halkett*; a clear and excellent study on *Woman and Labour*, and two wonderful short volumes of *Dreams* which should take a permanent place in English literature; and the memory of a great soul who lived upon its own inner wisdom with absolute integrity.

Olive Schreiner had a consuming pity for the sufferings of the weak, and fought public tyranny with undaunted independence. She was for the native against the Boer, for the Boer against the Briton; and would have been if necessary for Hell against Heaven. She lived through a time of great moral isolation and misunderstanding both during the Boer war and later during the great European war, and must have suffered intensely from the protracted separation from her husband enforced upon her by this last. In 1920 he came over to take her back to their home, but they were only together for one brief month. Olive's health and the approach of an English winter made her husband send her ahead of him to South Africa, and on December 13th, 1920, he suffered the shock of opening his newspaper to find the Press telegram announcing her sudden death from heart failure. She passed swiftly and peacefully into the unseen world with her great personality unexplained, her message half told, as if this world had been too small a place to receive more than a fragment of that which filled her soul.

PHYLLIS BOTTOME.

THE TROUBLES OF SWITZERLAND.

FOR a very long time the Swiss have been accustomed to look to English observers for the most kindly and just account of their institutions. Since George Grote, Augustus Freeman, and others, the late Lord Bryce's book, *Modern Democracies*, with its excellent, though perhaps too rosy, description of Swiss political affairs, has been published, and Switzerland has proved a very valuable study to all these political students in spite of her small size. They hoped to find there the true characteristics of the confederate State or, may be, democracy. When reading these books nowadays, one is astonished at the purely formal, political treatment of the subject. However painstaking their study and observation, these writers have one common failing. Not one of them touches on Switzerland's abnormal economic construction. This reticence may be due to a general lack of understanding of the economic relations, or perhaps the fact that economic conditions were less critical in those days may excuse their having practically ignored the material basis of the Swiss Federation. However that may be, it is no longer possible to ignore the economic substructure of Switzerland, and every account of the country must, of necessity, begin with it.

If in former days Switzerland could be regarded as the type of a consistently democratic State, it must be studied to-day as the type of a modern industrial country, depending for its support on the export of its manufactured goods, suffering, therefore, from many of the difficulties of similarly organised countries, and especially the United Kingdom—unemployment in particular. In addition, Switzerland is oppressed by cares of her own, and has to reckon with economic hypotheses such as occur in no other modern industrial country. Of the two chief factors which determine the economic structure of the modern industrial State—over-population, and the necessity for supporting the superfluous population by manufacturing goods for export—the former exhibits few unusual characteristics. Again, the discrepancy between the population and the yield of the soil is as much a cause as a consequence of the "Industrial Revolution." Even in the Middle Ages, when the figures of Switzerland's population did not reach a seventh part of the present-day total, she was unable to support her population. Modern manufacture was introduced as a substitute for the provision of mercenaries and the situation was temporarily eased, only to be succeeded by a renewed increase of the population which, during economic crises and periods of depression in the foreign market, brought the country face to face with still greater food difficulties.

Between 1820-1920 the population increased by 112 per cent. It

consists at present of about 3.9 millions to 41,300 sq. kilometres, or 94.6 to the sq. kilometre. These do not appear very high figures at first sight, nor exceed, for instance, the density of France. They are, however, misleading, since at least 25 per cent. of Swiss territory is uninhabitable. When this is deducted, the density of the population amounts to 121 inhabitants per sq. kilometre, which means that Switzerland is as densely populated as Germany and Italy, only Belgium, the Netherlands, and the British Isles reaching a higher figure. How largely this increase is due to industrial development is best illustrated by the fact that this growth of population is only partially attributable to natural increase and the decrease in mortality. An equally important factor is the influx of foreign workers. The purely Swiss part of the population has only increased threefold during the last sixty years, while the number of foreigners is five times as large. In 1912 every seventh resident was a foreigner. Between 1900-1910 the population (Swiss citizens residing in Switzerland) increased by 9 per cent. while the foreign population increased by 43.9 per cent.

Most of these foreigners are factory workers, though there are, of course, a great many in other trades. The bricklayers, for instance, are almost entirely Italians. Most of the waiters are Germans or Austrians, as were formerly the musicians, and a very large proportion of the artisans have come from Germany. But it is industry which has attracted the majority of these immigrants, as is proved by the fact that 81 per cent. of them live in cities. Although numberless foreign workers have been naturalised, the fourth part of the industrial workers is of foreign nationality. This is all the more significant when one realises that all other genuinely Swiss trade groups show a decrease in their membership. In agriculture—an occupation in which practically no foreigners participate—in 1860, 508,000 persons were employed, in 1910, 483,000, proving that the influx of foreign industrial workers went hand in hand with the emigration of native peasant families. This movement has not yet ended, it is at present expressing itself in the colonisation of devastated French areas and has aroused much discussion on the question of the large number of Swiss peasant settlers in Canada.

Although these great numbers of foreign workers in Switzerland alone constitute a peculiarity of the Swiss industrial system (the Confederation perhaps comes second only to the U.S.A. in this respect), there is another and still more peculiar factor. Switzerland is without a single one of those assets which have helped industrial development elsewhere. She possesses neither treasures in the earth (coal, metals), nor a favourable position for traffic, nor a very extensive home market, nor, finally, political military power with

which she could enforce advantageous trade agreements. That Switzerland has occupied a prominent position in world industry for a considerable time in spite of these drawbacks, and that 45.3 per cent. of her population is employed in trade and industry, is entirely due to the capital which she was able to accumulate with the assistance of her former mercenaries (from the direct gain which accrued to her from the permission for enrolment of Swiss mercenaries for foreign service, and, more especially, from the trade privileges which foreign Governments had to grant in return for such permits), and, in a lesser degree, from milk and cheese—the only raw material which is at her disposal in large quantities for export. That she was able to maintain this favourable position is, however, due, in part, to her unfavourable situation. Swiss manufacturers could never hope to undersell, through cheap manufacture, their competitors, whose position with regard to raw materials, situation near the sea, wage rates, &c., was so much more advantageous than their own. If Switzerland was to maintain her place it could only be done by specialisation and the superior quality of her goods. This, then, was the method successfully adopted by Swiss industry. A very significant fact is that the average value of a hundredweight of Swiss goods before the war was 158 francs, while the average value of German goods, for instance, only amounted to 14 francs.

Nothing could hit such an industry harder than the diminished purchasing power from which most countries are suffering since the war. To enable Switzerland to export, very large foreign areas must be in a position to purchase costly goods and even luxury articles. A mere change of fashions, new competitive factories in other countries, are evils which can, after all, be overcome, and which can cause serious injury or enforce costly alterations in isolated branches only of Swiss industry. The failure of foreign purchasing power, however, spread over many sections of foreign consumers, is a catastrophe against which it is indeed difficult to fight. The British reader is well aware how largely the war is responsible for this, for English industry is suffering from the same evil. Vast markets have been wiped out because their economic life and purchasing power have been crippled for a long time to come. Nearly 5 per cent. (4.27, about 60 million francs) of Switzerland's export went to Russia. At the present moment her export to the Soviet Republic is practically *nil*, and the political trade boycott which the Bolsheviks raised, under some indifferent pretext in order to enhance their political prestige at home, merely "kills a corpse," indeed, may even be of some use to Russia, as all possibility of attempting costly experiments in establishing trade connections with Russia has been stopped by it.

The exchange in other countries has rendered the purchasing of Swiss goods impossible, and, in cases where these countries have themselves developed the manufacture of such goods, the deterioration of their money enables them to undersell Swiss merchants. In consequence, Switzerland has to struggle against the competition of those States whose exchanges are very low, in countries whose own finances are sound. This applies especially to Great Britain, which has become more than ever since the war Switzerland's best market. The English merchant is able to appreciate the high quality of Swiss manufactures, and is, moreover, in a position to pay the proper price for them. Both Italy and France are, however, able to sell silks at a lower price than the Swiss industrials. If this state of affairs were merely transitory it would not be worth mentioning. This crisis would pass, after a little while, like other crises. And many of the obstacles in the path of Swiss export *are* obviously of a temporary character. The exchange muddle—that is to say, the enormous difference which exists at present in many countries between the purchasing power of their money at home and its value in the world's industrial money market—will have to give way to normal conditions in the course of time. Moreover, Switzerland is not the only sufferer from these abnormal conditions. The uncertainty of Germany's position, for instance ("valuta-dumping" might most naturally be expected from her), has made her export so unstable, especially with regard to delay in the delivery of goods, that Switzerland is in many ways able to offer better conditions. Again, the surplus capital which is at Switzerland's disposal, thanks to the industrial crisis, can be employed in her export, *i.e.*, in grants of money to those impoverished countries which are forced to appeal for loans from foreign countries, on the condition that Switzerland shall not be sent empty away when orders are going. A compact of this sort seems to have been made when Switzerland granted a loan to the French railway company "Paris-Orleans" in 1922.

Thus, the crisis in the export industry has improved momentarily. The number of unemployed, which reached its height in February, 1922, and amounted then to about 150,000 (about 100,000 totally unemployed and 50,000 partially unemployed in a population of 3.8 millions), dropped by the end of July, 1923, to 35,314 (22,722 and 12,592). The degree of employment in individual Swiss industries has risen latterly. In the first half of 1923, for instance, 5,518,255 watches and clocks were turned out, as compared with 4,171,238 in the same period during 1922. This export represents for the current year 78 million francs, or about 9 millions more than last year. Other industrial branches were at least able to increase their sale at home, partly because import

restrictions and prohibitions were set up against Germany's so-called "valuta-dumping." The increased import of raw materials—especially cotton—proves plainly that there is an increased activity. On the Stock Exchange it was reflected in the rise of industrial securities. The forty-four leading securities showed in July, 1923, an average of 98.5 per cent., while in January of that year it amounted to 87.4, and in January, 1922, only to 70. The money rate, too, is rising, a sign that industry is able to demand greater credits. Nevertheless, it must be admitted that an average of less than 100 per cent. shows a relative improvement only. And it is a fact that the crisis has in many ways assumed a milder form only to become more insidious.

Up to the present Switzerland has been able to count on selling her goods wherever her specialisation in technical goods and goods of quality is of value to certain indispensable articles, as, for instance, in electric machines for silk bag cloths, or wherever she can use her inherited capital to force impoverished countries to buy them. But even if these favourable circumstances continue for some time to come, they cannot affect the production of articles of luxury which are threatened by fiscal measures abroad and a diminished purchasing power of very important markets. This export crisis has an extraordinarily far-reaching effect. That embroidery, once one of the principal industries in one part of East Switzerland, has lost vast numbers of customers is perhaps not unaccountable, and is even put down by some optimists to the change in fashions. But the export of chocolate has been equally hard hit, and even that of a necessary article of food like cheese. This proves that a large section of Europe is incapable of buying. The goods are welcome, people are willing to pay a higher price for superior quality, but the home-made inferior article is purchased because the means for obtaining foreign goods are not available.

The circumstance is very noticeable in the tourist industry. Here, too, the current year has been an improvement on last year, and just as England has become Switzerland's best customer, so too has the British public found its way back to the Swiss mountains (probably having had unfortunate experiences in other countries). But tourists are no longer such a wonderful source of income for Switzerland as is imagined. They were only so during the time when Switzerland did not find it necessary to procure costly attractions for the comfort and amusement of her visitors. When her invested capital consisted mainly in her Alps, nature, and the good old inns, the income from her tourist traffic was clear gain. Since, however, capital was sunk in an ever greater degree in huge hotels and mountain railways, and the "palaces"

began, foolishly enough, to compete, the gain has ceased to be considerable. Even before the war the hotel industry was greatly over-capitalised. In 1894, 520 million francs were invested in it, and in 1912 1.14 milliard francs. But the interest on the invested capital depreciated from 3.30 per cent. in 1894 to 2.67 per cent. in 1912. The hotels became more and more luxurious without raising their prices in proportion. The cost rose to such a degree that only a particularly good season could bring about a normal return. Swiss hotels were only profitable even then for those who were not actually connected with the hotel industry—coachmen, guides, shopkeepers, &c., who would often have found it difficult to earn their living without the tourists.

Imagine, then, how the war must have hit this trade, which was already in a precarious position, interrupting as it did all tourist traffic for years, and excluding many visitors from neighbouring States through the exchange difficulties which followed it. Only special measures of assistance could prevent the bankruptcy of many hotels and mountain railways, and even if a lasting improvement sets in, it is out of the question that those who are directly connected with, no less than the many capitalists who have invested their money in, mountain railways will ever make good their losses. The prohibition to build new hotels has been maintained up to the present day, and is strictly enforced even in cases where building has begun. But even if we leave out of the question the losses which have been sustained, it is improbable that the tourist industry will ever attain its former glory. Swiss capitalists have learnt their lesson, and credits will not be so easy to obtain as before. Prices will have to be raised, and, if one takes into consideration the fact that large parts of Europe will be too impoverished for a long time to come to undertake luxurious holiday trips in Switzerland, it does not appear likely that the number of tourists will ever reach pre-war figures.

Many of these conditions seem beyond help, and it is probable that Switzerland will adapt herself to the new state of things, perhaps by letting some branches of industry leave the country, in which case only the founders' capital would be left in Swiss hands. What would happen to the superfluous population is an unsolved question, unless, indeed, they too left the country. The position is aggravated by the fact that even where sufferings from the economic crisis would be alleviated, action may be prevented by political reasons.

A foreign student of affairs once observed that he could not understand the interest which the Swiss public took in Mussolini. Had not Switzerland got her own dictator, who only ruled in a slightly less open manner? He was talking of the peasants' leader,

the "peasant secretary," Professor Laur. There is a good deal in it. The peasants, whose influence was steadily increasing before the war, have become the most representative party. The world-war brought to them, as to the peasants of other countries, great advantages. The increased price of agricultural products strengthened their economic position, and the Bolshevik influence which attacked a part of the Swiss Socialists forced the *bourgeoisie* to look more than ever for support against the common enemy to the peasants. Thus it became impossible to form a party of urban consumers which would have defended the interests of the *bourgeois* middle class. At the moment the peasants are experiencing many economic difficulties, and are therefore less than ever inclined to make sacrifices for other classes. The poor-taxes weigh heavily on the peasants, as they are responsible for those of their local community who are in distress in the cities. Ground rents have risen under the influence of the war, and are at present in some cases no longer proportionate to the value of agricultural results. Many agricultural products, like cheese and fruit, can no longer be sold to neighbouring States on account of the exchange. The high railway rates hit the export of the farmers.

And yet the most effective means of putting new life into export, that is, into Swiss industry in general, would be a decrease in the cost of living, which is being made increasingly difficult by the laws for the protection of agricultural products. As long as the most necessary articles of food are as dear as they are at present it is impossible to reduce wages in industry and the railways (the Swiss railways are probably the dearest in the world at the moment) to a level which would bring about normal competitive conditions for us abroad. But every attempt to take energetic steps in this direction is wrecked by the peasants' party, and therefore hopeless.

From the point of view of stability much can be said for this peasants' Government. Switzerland has as little to fear from Bolshevik ideas as France. There are no large private estates, there is no section of the country population where socialistic tendencies could take root. But the question arises whether this advantage is not too dearly bought if the peasants' rule renders the existence of the other classes, who after all have to live, so difficult that it becomes impossible for them to maintain the export industry necessary for their support.

Be this as it may, the Swiss people are sitting still with folded hands. Their optimism may be difficult to justify theoretically, but the man who wants to live is right not to bother his head with economic theories which have often proved wrong in practice. Why, after all, should not a new way out of the difficulties be

found, which, like the old mercenary system, would cancel the deficit on home production? Take electric power, for example, which is being eagerly developed in Switzerland, and which is taking the place of coal on the railways. While it must be admitted that it is unable to satisfy the primary needs of man, and that, should Switzerland have to do without a part of her industry, her electric power would not help her greatly, yet it cannot be denied that it constitutes a possession which originates from our soil, and can even now be given to other countries as one of our few raw materials.

It must also be admitted that much has been done. Although Switzerland was not actually in the war, the costs of mobilisation weighed and still weigh heavily on her shoulders, and in many public budgets deficits are the rule. But for some time energetic economic measures have been adopted in the Confederation; the cantons, and most parishes, and more than one town community have been able to settle their reckoning with something to spare—have, indeed, been able to reduce their taxes. They have grasped the fact that the relatively opulent pre-war conditions are past and that the State can only be burdened with absolutely necessary expenses. It may be mentioned here that England has often been quoted, and that her good example has more than once had a wholesome effect.

E. FUETER.

A PRIVATE SECRETARY TO WILLIAM III.

CLIO, turning from the more prominent personages of history, has in these recent years thrown her light on homely yet typical figures—the country squire, the housewife, the parson. Yet so far no one seems to have investigated that important though self-effacing being—the private secretary. Nevertheless his growing importance in an increasingly bureaucratic State demands more scientific treatment. During the Great War he became a familiar figure in our midst. We all remember his immaculate exterior; the nicely graduated tact by which he manifests respect for superiors, geniality for equals, and firmness for inferiors; and his highly developed faculty for shifting trouble on to other people's shoulders. We may regard him, as he would fain regard himself, as the power behind the throne; or we may lean to the jaundiced view of some "chiefs" that he is their thorn in the flesh.

But these are merely romantic perversions of a well-known type. The man born to be a private secretary must have flourished in all civilised ages and countries (how else could mankind have coped with the invention of writing?), and it is amusing and interesting to see a good specimen in a two-hundred-year-old dress. The difference of setting only throws up in stronger relief the underlying similarities of temperament, career, and work. In the person of William Blathwayt, who lived from 1649 to 1717, we have the typical private secretary, as is proved by the description of him given by his master—William III.—"dull, but has a good method." In this pregnant phrase we have a picture of the private secretary that most busy and competent men of affairs would like to possess; of the man who does not profess to be the head of the firm, but acts as a buffer between his chief and the minor but harassing worries of official life.

William Blathwayt was acting-Secretary of State to William III. during that monarch's absences on the Continent from 1692 to 1701 inclusive. He was a methodical man and very careful of his papers and correspondence, which remained undisturbed at his seat, Dyrham Park in Gloucestershire, for nearly two hundred years after his death. Many of these papers have been acquired by the British Museum, and have been of considerable use to students of English and American history. For Blathwayt was among other things Secretary to the Plantations Committee, and so played a considerable part in early colonial history.

This unwitting benefactor of history was the son of a member of the Middle Temple, and was probably born in 1649. He early adopted a diplomatic career: became personal secretary to Sir

William Temple, our Ambassador at The Hague, in 1668; was afterwards stationed at Rome, Copenhagen, and Stockholm; and later was made secretary to the Earl of Conway, then Secretary of State. He was an industrious young man, and worked hard to acquire a knowledge of foreign languages and countries, thus qualifying himself as an ideal secretary for a Foreign Minister. After this Blathwayt rose rapidly in the world: became secretary at war in 1683, and clerk of the council in 1686. In the same year he married the heiress of Dyrham, a prudent match. At this time Blathwayt was a zealous courtier, and not only accompanied James II. against the Prince of Orange in 1688, but was an important witness against the Seven Bishops in 1687. Readers of Macaulay's vivid account may be surprised to recognise our hero in the "shuffling witness" who made on that occasion a rather ignominious and very public appearance.

It might be thought that the Revolution of 1688 would have been fatal to a man with his record. But Blathwayt was the kind of man who generally falls on his feet. His abilities were not sufficiently brilliant to arouse envy, and he always took care to keep on the sunny side of important people. So far from losing his posts he was advanced to the clerkship of the Privy Council in 1689. His various duties brought him into close association with the new king, William III., whose tastes were military and whose first task it was to find useful servants among subjects whom he scarcely knew. It is possible that he had already known Blathwayt twenty years before as secretary to Sir William Temple at The Hague, when they were both very young men. At any rate, so early as 1689 the King expressed the favourable, though not flattering, verdict on Blathwayt's capabilities already quoted. It was this power of succinct characterisation which made William III. so unpopular with his courtiers. It is more flattering to one's self-esteem to be the object of a philippic than to be summed up in two or three half-scornful words. But certainly in this description the King seized on his secretary's "essential soul."

In 1692 William III. recommenced as King of England his warfare in Flanders against Louis XIV. of France. Some responsible Minister he was obliged to have with him. But such an exalted personage as a Secretary of State was out of place in a camp. The King might like a soldier's life, but his Ministers did not take so kindly to it. In 1692, therefore, the King appointed Blathwayt acting-Secretary of State. But although he held that office and enjoyed the emoluments thereof, he was nothing more nor less than the King's private secretary. What the overworked King-Stadtholder needed was not an adviser, but someone to write

letters for him, keep his papers in order and be at hand when wanted, and Blathwayt could do this admirably.

No man probably ever enjoyed such a position more than did Blathwayt: for he loved office, and his thirst for knowledge (or curiosity) was unbounded. Not that his career was one unblemished success; like other people, he met with some little unpleasantnesses. His *début* was particularly unlucky: the whole of his equipage, official and personal, being captured by a French privateer, so that he was obliged to return and get a new outfit. This must have seemed to him carrying the freedom of the seas rather too far. It also appears as if the King was not entirely satisfied with his work in the earlier years: the slowness of his apprehension was possibly more apparent than the excellence of his organisation. But by 1694 he was firm in the saddle. In the spring of that year he was able to tell his *protégé* Stepney that the King had definitely confirmed his appointment, and with it all the "advantages" enjoyed by other Secretaries of State. There are the usual protestations that he was not very keen on getting the office; and in fact the whole letter radiates satisfaction.

Satisfaction he might well feel; for he made a great fortune, and, what he enjoyed almost as much, had a finger in most of the diplomatic pies of the period. In imitation of the King, who was very fond of building and planting, he built for himself a fine new house at Dyrham Park. The house was constructed in the most fashionable method of architecture, and the garden laid out in the style of Le Nôtre, the famous gardener of Louis XIV. There is no suggestion that his money came from unlawful sources, or that he abused his powers. It is true that the poet-diplomatist Prior insinuated that a present of his favourite wine was the best stimulant to Blathwayt's official diligence; but this is the breath of scandal. The only present that we hear of his receiving from a subordinate is that of "500 deals for flooring," from our envoy in Sweden, and this only after a great deal of wrangling. They were probably intended for the house at Dyrham.

Blathwayt was not one of those men of restless ambition who never know when they are well off. Safe in his little niche close to the King, well paid, free from political ups and downs, he firmly refused to change his lot with that of Minister or ambassador. In 1695 Stepney could say that Blathwayt declined the office of Secretary of State "because without Envy he is warmer as he is." For the same gratifying reason he evaded the post of ambassador at the Treaty of Ryswick. During the peace William's annual sojourns in Holland were shorter, but Blathwayt still accompanied him and even went with him on his visit to the Duke of Zell in 1698, so that he may be looked upon as a very successful courtier

as well as a confidential servant. A further proof of this is to be found in the fact that he brought his son, a lad of about thirteen, with him in 1700 to Loo, William III.'s favourite residence in Holland. There the boy distinguished himself by winning a race "against Mr. Rich the page" "with a great deal of applause, for he ran it perfectly well." It was evidently the event of the season.

In 1700 it was rumoured that Blathwayt would be rewarded for his services with the title of Earl of Bristol. This rumour remained a rumour, perhaps because of his timidity in asking favours of the King.

Blathwayt had a staff of clerks. The office of his head assistant was no sinecure, for Blathwayt was something of a slave-driver, as chief secretaries should be. In his department diligence and business-like methods were enforced, and he had a hawk's eye for any "whitewashes" or excuses proffered him by his underlings. He worked hard himself at times, till "three in the morning" when his assistant was ill, and expected others to do the same. Those who knew him therefore gracefully evaded his invitations to work under him. Stepney remarked, "I would chuse to be his servant at a distance," instancing his treatment of Vernon and "ye slavery in which he keeps poor Cardonnell." Nor was Prior less emphatic in preferring any office in the diplomatic body at home or abroad to attendance on Blathwayt. Probably Blathwayt meant no harm, and only treated his subordinates as he had been treated himself. He must certainly either have trained them or chosen them well, for both Vernon and Cardonnell survived their ill-treatment and rose to high office.

It is only fair to say that though Blathwayt was not expansive ("cold Mr. Blathwayt," Prior calls him), he seems to have been animated by a real desire to help some of the clever young men who appealed for his support. But as the tonics he proposed were hard work and little money they were seldom popular. To Stepney he was certainly a good friend. Although he knew nothing about him before he read his "ingenious letters" (i.e., his despatches), yet he spent a great deal of time and trouble in helping him on in his diplomatic career at the German courts. The wariness of an old hand and perhaps a touch of his natural caution are to be seen in his advice to the younger man to try to gain useful experience rather than to aim at high-sounding but expensive posts.

In spite of some tetchiness and readiness to take offence, Blathwayt got on quite well with his colleagues and subordinates. The "good Angell," as Stepney calls him, had a strong yet discriminating appetite for flattery, but he never expected servility. But as a patron he had one fatal defect. In spite of his favour with the King, Blathwayt stood in great awe of him, as was the case with

most of those who had much to do with William III. In consequence, he was chary of asking favours for his friends, a characteristic which must have been as pleasing to William as it was disconcerting to Blathwayt's *protégés*. In truth, William III. was not easy to manage. His inconveniently good memory made it difficult to get round him, and after one or two half-hearted attempts Blathwayt refused to try.

Blathwayt had always been noted for industry rather than for talent, and towards the close of William's reign his industry seems to have weakened under the glow of prosperity. Prior, writing to Secretary Vernon in 1698, complained bitterly that Blathwayt made him look a fool by not sending him any notice of the King's whereabouts and doings. "Any consul in Italy would be informed but not the Secretary at Paris, for *Lacrimae Christi* and *White Florence* are very good wines," he grumbled. With bluff humour Vernon replied that Blathwayt was not generally "wanting in writing either short or long letters" (a most true observation), and charitably suggested that he was silent because he was aware that his letters had nothing in them. "What reputation would it give you for intelligence to be able to tell which way the stag ran such a day and how long the chase lasted!" quoth he. Another Minister speaks of Blathwayt's letters as "stuff." The official despatches signed by him were of course dictated by the King, and are interesting enough. But it must be confessed that when left to himself his correspondence is jejune and empty to the last degree. Discretion, that crowning virtue of private secretaries but the foe of the epistolary art, was at the root of it. Brilliance was never his, and heavy-footed prudence forbade him to retail spicy gossip or personal news. Information that everyone may hear is of little interest to anybody.

Although not witty himself he liked the quality in others, provided it was combined with due respect for one's elders and betters. He greatly appreciated the humour and rather elaborate metaphors with which some of our young and light-hearted diplomatists adorned their correspondence, and even did them the honour occasionally of adopting them himself. He was also a passionate lover of music. Chance, in the shape of an over-zealous Customs official, has given us a curious glimpse into his private tastes. On his return from Holland in 1695, the Customs illegally detained one of his trunks and made an inventory of the contents. Among other items we note:—

- 2 rich flowered cuttances.
- 10 silk flowered cuttances.
- 10 pairs pelongs of silk or printed stuff.
- Crimson velvet.
- Tea.
- 2 dozen china cups and saucers.

Such were the really fashionable luxuries of a successful courtier at the close of the seventeenth century. It is soothing and cheering to think of the King's secretary, after a day well spent in writing a few letters and superintending his subordinates, sitting down in a rich flowered cuttance to drink the fragrant and extremely expensive China tea from a real china cup and saucer. Not so very different, after all, from A.D. 1924.

This halcyon period of Blathwayt's life was abruptly ended by the death of William III. in 1702. The new Government had no use for its predecessor's dependents. Two years later St. John (afterwards the famous Lord Bolingbroke) succeeded in turning him out of the post of secretary at war. A good riddance, too, he declared, for Blathwayt had never been anything but a clog and a hindrance. Truth compels us to confess that Blathwayt was not a genius: an ideal secretary is by no means always an ideal Minister of State. But St. John was just one of those brilliant young men who frequently think themselves more clever and other people more stupid than is actually the case. On the Board of Plantations, at any rate, where he played a part comparable with that of the permanent Under-Secretary at the Colonial Office nowadays, Blathwayt did good work. But one by one his other offices, including his colonial business, were stripped from him. One sphere of activity, however, remained in which his long experience and orderly mind qualified him to shine. He was, of course, a Member of Parliament—his solidity, his prosperity, his love of business marked him out for the distinction. We are told that in his later years (he retired from public life in 1710) the Whigs looked upon him as their authority on Parliamentary procedure and precedent, and put him forward as their champion against the Tory Harley.

So ended the career of a remarkably prosperous member of an honourable but retiring profession. His success in pushing himself into "cushy" jobs without outside help; his skill in extracting work from his subordinates; his industry; his expertness in avoiding the unpleasantnesses of life rouse our admiration. If William III. sometimes found his secretary a trifle heavy in hand, his irritation was allayed by the sight of orderly pigeon-holes and diligent clerks. When our fancy is tickled by the difference between Mr. Blathwayt's opinion of himself and other people's opinion of Mr. Blathwayt, we remember that he laughs best who laughs last. In this case the laugh certainly goes to Blathwayt.

M. LANE.

FOREIGN AFFAIRS.

THE Ambassadors' Conference, which for several years has fulfilled the function of an appendix in the body politic of Europe, has again been giving trouble. So long as the Ambassadors do nothing, there is no need to worry about them. When they make themselves felt, it is a serious question whether they ought not to be dealt with after the manner of appendices, and be extracted, uprooted, abolished. Why in 1924 the Ambassadors' Conference is still allowed to exist is not an easy question. A different answer would be given in each Allied capital. In London we are so much the victims of habit, and all British Governments, including the present, are so essentially conservative, that it never occurs to us to put an end to an institution to which we are accustomed. The Supreme Council, which was the executive body of the Allied nations after the war, was disbanded, rightly enough, when it had done its work, whether the work had been done well or badly. It was part of the arrangement made in Paris in 1919 that the problems arising out of the Treaty of Versailles should be dealt with by the League of Nations, which was, ingeniously enough, integrally incorporated in the treaty. There was little sense and less honesty in the further arrangement that the Ambassadors of the several Allies in Paris should constitute themselves into a Conference for an indefinite duration of time to continue in a vague fashion the sort of work that had been done by the Supreme Council. In practice the Ambassadors' Conference has been mainly used as an instrument for suppressing the League of Nations whenever some Great Power has wanted to carry out some shady piece of backstairs diplomacy. The honourable men who occupy the various Embassies in Paris are to this extent unfairly used by their respective Governments, and their unholy record as an Ambassadors' Conference is not primarily their fault. The good deeds that are nowadays done in European diplomacy, the deeds of which their authors are not ashamed, are done through the League of Nations, the rest through the Ambassadors' Conference. When Signor Mussolini wanted to snatch Corfu and pilfer gold from an impoverished Greek Government, it was essential to his plan that he should act through the Ambassadors' Conference and gag the League of Nations. This he succeeded in doing with the help of M. Poincaré, who had his own reasons for becoming an accomplice. It was to the initial honour of the British Government that it tried to do the honest thing in those crooked circumstances; although it has to be confessed that Mr. Baldwin's Government lacked the courage of its honesty and ended by siding with the conspirators.

There is now a further and only too typical illustration of the way in which the Ambassadors' Conference succeeds in blocking, or at any rate holding up, any prospect of a decent settlement anywhere in Europe. It was recorded in this section last month that the Council of the League of Nations, acting on the recommendations of the Davis Commission, had found a solution for the problem of Memel, a problem which, after four years of legerdemain at the hands of the Ambassadors' Conference, was in a well-nigh insoluble state. The Ambassadors themselves with unconscious irony had last autumn referred the question to the League under Article XI of the Covenant, thereby implicitly recording their opinion that they had brought Memel within the category of affairs which were likely to lead to war. The Davis Commission, set up by the League, worked well against odds and succeeded in drawing up a scheme which was accepted by the Council on March 14th. Universal relief and approbation greeted the League's achievement. The achievement was reached just as the April CONTEMPORARY REVIEW was going to press, and on the strength of the information which by that time had reached London it was recorded here that the Memel conventions had been "signed" by Lithuania on the one side and by Great Britain, France, Italy, and Japan on the other. That unfortunately proved to be not quite correct. The conventions had been signed by Mr. Galvanauskas for Lithuania and by Lord Parmoor for Great Britain—Great Britain was again on the right side—but had been only "accepted" by France, Italy, and Japan. The distinction in form proved to be important. It is clear that no deep reasoning underlies the Japanese reservation of signature, for Japan is not interested in Memel. In the case of France and Italy, however, there was only too much reason for "accepting" the conventions without "signing" them. Those two Powers decided to reserve the formality of signing to be carried out by the Ambassadors' Conference; in other words, to keep open the backstairs in case of emergency. The diplomatic argument on which they based their action was a little cavalier. It was the Ambassadors' Conference, they argued, which had referred the matter of Memel to the League, and therefore it was for the Ambassadors' Conference to accept or reject the *proposed* solution of the League. This attitude on their part raises an issue which strikes at the root of the League of Nations. The challenge has never before been thrown down in so crude or direct a form.

In the case of Corfu the competence and authority of the League were brushed aside by an elaborate plot. In the present case the League has been simply and openly relegated to the position of an advisory body to the Ambassadors' Conference. Mr. MacDonald

has his hands full, and Lord Parmoor is of a gentle and accommodating nature. Those two facts perhaps explain the odd spectacle of a British Labour Government on the one hand basing its whole foreign policy on the League of Nations, and on the other hand quietly acquiescing in what may prove to be the most effective sabotage of the League that has yet been undertaken. So far as the League was concerned, its consent to refer the matter back to the Ambassadors was apparently decided by the argument that the League is an instrument of the Treaty, that the Treaty is the work of the Allies, and that the spokesmen of the Allies are the Ambassadors in conference. League apologists are no doubt right in representing the League's action as proper; but it would have done the League a thousand times more good if it had taken the improper course of accepting the Ambassadors' challenge. To adopt a proper and respectful attitude in face of an attempt to murder one is a caricature of good behaviour. It is true that the French and Italian members of the Council had their instructions from Paris and Rome; but in that case, if the League has no objective competence of its own as a judicial body, what is the good of it? Sooner or later the League will have to take its life in its hands and the danger is that it may delay too long.

When the League conventions were referred from Geneva to Paris, the Ambassadors proceeded to sit on them, and were still sitting on them a month later, when this article went to press. It transpired after a fortnight that the Ambassadors were dissatisfied with the grammar of the English text and wanted to deal drastically with two commas. The problem was solemnly referred from Paris to the respective Governments. The British Ambassador was instructed to agree to any measures that his French and Italian colleagues proposed to take with those commas, provided they did not alter the sense of the League scheme, which was clear enough. Another fortnight elapsed, and presumably the Ambassadors were still worrying over their grammar. There is this much excuse for them, that they have in the past abundantly proved the genuineness of their difficulty about composition, whether in English or in French. The Notes they sent to Athens last summer about the Corfu episode would have earned any schoolboy a flogging, so far as the grammar was concerned. The disquieting thing is that in the meantime certain courtesies ~~are~~ passing between Paris and Warsaw and between Rome and Warsaw, which are made possible only by the delay of the Ambassadors' Conference. If the League is content to stand idly by while the Ambassadors trifle with their scheme, it will deserve to lose all the kudos it won by drawing up the conventions and inducing Lithuania to accept them. It is fair to recall that on the plea of urgency Lithuania was asked by the

League, and agreed, to carry out her own side of the bargain—the throwing open of Memel—at once, before the scheme was ratified. She therefore undertook to wait indefinitely for the *de jure* recognition which was to be her reward at the hands of the Powers. While the League was able on the score of urgency to obtain this concession from Lithuania, it was not foreseen that the Ambassadors would care as little for the urgency as they did for any other consideration in the scheme. We see strange things in Europe in these days. The attempt of the Ambassadors' Conference to stultify the League settlement of the Memel problem, carried out under the somewhat comic cloak of grammatical fastidiousness, is a challenge which the League cannot afford to ignore. It is not a case for sweet reasonableness. What is wanted in Geneva is courage.

GREECE AND MR. VENISELOS.

Again Mr. Veniselos has left Greece and again Greece has added to her existing troubles by doing herself a gratuitous disservice. It is easy to understand the exasperation felt by the Greek people against the Glucksburg dynasty; it is less easy for more cold-blooded British people to understand the impetuosity which made the Greeks again sacrifice Veniselos rather than take a constitutional method of dethroning King George. It is not a new, but it is as pronounced a Greek characteristic to-day as it ever was, that Greek hearts must in a crisis govern their heads. This national characteristic has its value and even its charm, and it does more good than harm except when a leader arises of outstanding ability. When, however, a really great man arises, he is apt to appear to Greek opinion to be essentially "barbarian" in the Greek sense of the word, and for the simple reason that he differs from themselves. It is an inborn quality or defect—whether quality or defect be the correct description depends on one's point of view—which no adversity will ever eradicate. The Greek repudiation of Veniselos in 1920 has been paid for and is still being paid for by one of the greatest examples of nemesis in the world's history, and every Greek, with his traditional sense of tragedy, understands the relation between the cause and the effect. Yet even that perfect sense of tragedy cannot save a Greek from repeating the same cycle of tragedy and putting it all down to fate. In the present instance, the understanding of the tragic course of events between 1920 and 1923 was so general and so profound that Veniselos was brought back to Greece on a wave of repentance and of necessity such as gave him all his old power in Athens. Yet the Æschylean cycle of wrong and counter wrong, each automatically punished, is again being enacted in Athens. It was the Glucksburg dynasty which

leep down was the cause of the Greek undoing and of the wrong to Veniselos. "Punish the Glucksburgs, out with them, without delay!" was therefore the cry at the beginning of 1924. Veniselos, who combined his Greek enthusiasm with the vision of the old Greek chorus, saw that this precipitate course would, in its turn, bring a further nemesis, and cautioned his countrymen against it. Even he was unable to stem the tide. He stuck to his convictions although he knew it would be the end for himself. Twice in five years Veniselos has sacrificed himself on the altar of patriotism and been unhappily misunderstood by the Greek people. After 1920 he defended the Greek people against the universal criticism passed on them for their treatment of himself. In 1924 he defended the constitution and appeared to his short-sighted critics to be defending his traditional enemy, the King. In both cases the Greek people did the headstrong thing and forgot their Veniselos. It was to no purpose that on January 19th he pronounced himself a Republican, and asked only that Republicanism should be achieved through the available method of the constitution. The end could have been attained equally by the right or by the wrong method. He stood for the right, they for the wrong, method. With their hereditary impulsiveness the Greek people swept Veniselos aside and on March 10th he again left Greece and resumed his exile.

THE EXPERTS' REPORT.

The triangular game of reparations, as played by Berlin, Paris, and London, was restarted on April 9th when the experts presented their report to the Reparation Commission. The report had been delayed for the transparent reason that the French experts were attempting the difficult problem of reconciling the political principles of M. Poincaré with the practical economics of making Germany pay. During the week-end of March 22nd to 24th the British experts, Mr. R. McKenna, Sir Robert Kindersley and Sir Josiah Stamp came to London to explain the reasons for the delay, and on Monday the 25th the French Ambassador in London called on Mr. MacDonald. That week-end was the beginning of the practical phase of MacDonald-Poincaré diplomacy. The phase of polite letter writing designed to create an atmosphere was gone.

The British experts had brought a report which called for immediate action. In deference to the diplomatic forms which are so scrupulously observed in these matters, even though the spirit of them be departed from, it should be recorded that officially the visit of the three British experts was a private affair and had nothing to do with reparations; for the experts had been appointed by

the Reparation Commission, and it was to the Reparation Commission that they had to report. Privately, however, they did as much while in London as ever they could have done officially. They were mainly responsible for the visit of the French Ambassador to the British Prime Minister which took place on March 24th. Most of the talking on that day was done by the French Ambassador. The result was so far satisfactory that the British experts returned to Paris that same evening, and the experts proceeded to draft their report. What passed between Mr. MacDonald and the Comte de St. Aulaire on that occasion is of course an official secret; but it is known that what they discussed was the question: supposing the experts were able to draw up an agreed scheme on technical grounds and within the narrow limits of the terms of reference that had been given them by the Reparation Commission, would their scheme be reasonably likely to make any difference to the major political problems which for so long had divided France and Great Britain? They began by complimenting each other on the success with which the Palatinate problem and that of the Cologne railways had already been settled (see CONTEMPORARY REVIEW, March, 1924, pp. 386-388) and explored the prospect of the remaining problems of the Ruhr, reparations and security being similarly settled. The French Ambassador had received his instructions from M. Poincaré and therefore had to repeat what he had been saying since January, 1922, except that he raised in a more categorical fashion than before the suggestion that the problem of French security could be solved only by the conclusion of an Anglo-French defensive treaty made for perpetuity to replace the Anglo-American-French pact of guarantee which had fallen through for lack of American ratification. He was, however, enabled to learn that the British plan was of a wholly different kind. In his letter of February 21st to M. Poincaré, Mr. MacDonald strongly hinted that the way to security lay through the League of Nations, possibly through the Draft Treaty of Mutual Assistance, possibly through a special scheme of demilitarisation and neutralisation of the Rhinelands under a League guarantee. The French Ambassador was also enabled to report to M. Poincaré that in the British view a new factor had entered into the situation. The present British Government makes a cardinal point of the necessity of German and Russian membership of the League as a preliminary to any possibility of settlement. Since Mr. MacDonald wrote his letter of February 21st to M. Poincaré he has had it impressed on him by the competent German quarters in London that no German Government will ever accept any arrangement for the Rhinelands which goes beyond the stipulations of the Treaty of Versailles, and

that Germany will not at present join the League unless some definite prospect of a seat on the Council is held out to her.

While, therefore, the French Ambassador agreed that the experts might as well finish their job, for lack of an adequate French argument against such a step, he had a despatch to send to the Quai d'Orsay of such importance that M. Poincaré indulged in one of his periodic resignations. He resigned on a side issue on March 26th, two days after the MacDonald-St. Aulaire conversation. As the British Government affected to take no interest in the event, he was quickly induced to form another Government, which, though it included M. Loucheur, had in no way changed its complexion. It is apparently as hard for Paris as for Berlin to understand a British Labour Government. If French opinion is reactionary, let M. Poincaré's reactionary *régime* carry on, for only so can a permanent understanding be hoped for with France; if German opinion is reactionary, whatever the cause, let a reactionary German Government take charge. M. Poincaré's only contact of agreement with Chancellor Marx was in finding such sentiments a little original, when entertained in British Labour quarters. As had been the case when M. Poincaré last resigned (on May 24th, 1923), his sojourn in the wilderness was a matter of a few hours only.

On April 9th the Experts delivered their report to the Reparation Commission. Improperly enough copies were presented that morning to the Quai d'Orsay and to the French Press and three sacks full were sent over to London and similarly distributed to the Government and to the Press. It was published the next morning and the Allied Governments were studying it before the Reparation Commission had officially brought it to their notice. The diplomatists had lost their heads. The report was a long and complicated plan for balancing Germany's budget, stabilising the mark, recovering the capital that had left Germany, and in short putting Germany into a position where she could reasonably be expected to pay, and could be made to pay, reparations. That was all. Committee No. 1, which had been presided over by General Dawes, and on which had sat Sir Robert Kindersley and Sir Josiah Stamp, expressly stated that its business had been "business" in the technical sense and not politics, and that the questions of political as opposed to economic guarantees, as well as of military sanctions, were outside its competence. The report of that committee, which was the more important of the two, was a double document of 124 foolscap pages of print in English and French. The second committee's report, which was concerned only with the means of estimating the amount of Germany's exported capital and bringing it back to Germany, was a document of only fifteen pages. Committee No. 2 had been presided over by Mr. McKenna.

It was the Dawes Committee's report which naturally monopolised attention. Unlike previous expert schemes it not only prescribed a schedule of annual payments, but indicated in detail the sources from which the money should be raised and the method by which it should be handed over. A thumb-nail sketch of what the two Committees advised may be given thus:—

(1) Germany should revert to the position of an economic unit (in other words the Ruhr should be evacuated);

(2) she should pledge certain revenues as security for payment, the standard annuities being paid partly from Budget revenues, partly from (a) railway bonds, (b) industrial debentures, (c) taxes on tobacco, alcohol, sugar, beer, and customs duties;

(3) there should be a partial moratorium for the four years to 1928-29 during which Germany should pay annuities rising from £50 millions to £87½ millions; by the end of that period the payments should reach the standard rate of £125 millions (2½ milliard gold marks) with a variable addition calculated on an "index of prosperity";

(4) there should be a reparations loan of 800 million gold marks (£40 millions);

(5) a new Bank of Issue, or a reorganised Reichsbank, should create a gold currency and withdraw the paper circulation;

(6) Germany's wealth abroad is estimated at £400 millions.

The important question is how far can the scheme be made the starting-point for renewed negotiations between the Allies and Germany. It has already been made clear that the British Government will do its utmost to back up whatever influence towards peace may prove to have been started by the report; but it is equally clear that the report in itself cannot lead far. The experts were ruled out from considering the political issues, and it is precisely those issues that matter most.

For instance: (1) The First Committee of Experts declare that although political and military conditions are outside their scope, yet if and when their economic plan comes into operation two conditions must be observed by the Allied Governments—namely, (a) if any military organisation exists it must not impede the free exercise of economic activities; (b) there shall be no foreign economic control or interference other than that proposed by the plan. Now the question is what happens to M. Poincaré's oft-reiterated protestation that the French will never let go of the Ruhr "pledge" except in proportion as Germany pays reparations?

(2) Another question is, How can the condition of stability and confidence, as stipulated for in the report, be achieved unless and until Germany's total indebtedness is fixed? The experts have not considered the question of Germany's total liability, and therefore

the assumption on which the report is based is that the May, 1921, total still stands as the amount of the Allied demand. Yet that figure has been condemned as an impossible one by both American and British experts, and even French experts have admitted it to be too high.

(3) Next there is the question of French demands. M. Poincaré has never abandoned his claim that France must receive a net total of 26 milliard gold marks (£1,300 millions); that is to say, that if she has to pay her debts to Great Britain and America the total of 26 milliards must be increased accordingly. Now the British White Paper of last August conclusively showed that this French demand is considerably in excess of her share of 52 per cent. of the May, 1921, schedule. What, therefore, is to be done? The Spa percentages were, of course, based on the assumption that France would pay her own debts.

(4) The Experts' plan involves an international loan of 800 million gold marks (£40 millions). It goes without saying that this loan would have to be largely raised in London. The Experts further confirm the principle that the loan would be used partly to help Germany to meet essential treaty purposes during the years 1924 and 1925; in other words, 52 per cent. of that portion of it earmarked for such a purpose would go through Berlin to Paris. Now, unless there is some satisfactory settlement of the question of the French debt there can be little prospect of British money becoming available for an international loan for Germany, which in the circumstances would be tantamount to a further British loan to France.

(5) Assuming the satisfactory arrangement of the political problems above mentioned, there would have to be some assurance that France would not again in any contingency take separate measures against Germany, such as the occupation of the Ruhr.

(6) Finally, there is the question of the Ruhr expenses and proceeds, if any. Are the proceeds, which are now represented in Paris as being abundant, to be credited to the Reparation Commission's account?

In a word, the Experts' work was the least important part of the problem, although the fact of America's participation, unofficial as it was, in that work had the effect of adding moral weight to the argument for a reasonable settlement. How important and how delicate were the political as contrasted with the expert difficulties was shown within forty-eight hours of the presentation of the report. The French Press, on the obvious inspiration of the Quai d'Orsay, began to speculate on the introduction of modifications into the Experts' scheme and on the elaboration of additional measures of control. The anxiety which was thereby created in

British and American quarters was due to the reflection that as matters stand, and as a result of America's withdrawal from official participation in Allied affairs, a Franco-Belgian *bloc* on the Reparation Commission, backed by the French chairman's casting vote, can carry anything it likes. The withdrawal of America has left France with the whip hand in the Reparation Commission. The remaining delegates are four—the British, the French, the Belgian, and the Italian. Even assuming that the Italian delegate votes with the British, there is an equal *bloc* on the other side, for Belgium always takes her cue from France; and the matter is therefore decided by the casting vote of the chairman, who happens to be the French delegate. Why the chairman should always be the French delegate is again America's fault. It was provided by the Treaty that at the first meeting of the Reparation Commission a chairman should be appointed. As the Commission sat in Paris, it was a matter of courtesy that the first chairman elected should be the French delegate. The chairman is appointed for a year, after which his successor is appointed, but the actual chairman is eligible for re-election. For an alternative chairman now to be proposed, having regard to Anglo-French tension, would inevitably create a diplomatic situation of some delicacy, for in the absence of American membership the obvious alternative would be a British chairman. Moreover, it would be useless to make any such proposal. There would still be the Franco-Belgian *bloc* in favour of retaining the French chairman, and there would still be the outgoing French chairman's casting vote in favour of his own re-election. In the philosophy of French diplomacy there is no place for self-elimination. It is obvious, therefore, why any French move towards tampering with the Experts' recommendations was a cause for anxiety. When the Experts drew up their report, there was some friction over an important point which finally the British and American experts succeeded in carrying. It was that the Experts' recommendations should either be accepted and applied as a whole by the Reparation Commission, or should be rejected as a whole. It is regarded as of essential importance in British official quarters—American official quarters being unfortunately unconcerned in the matter—that there should be no tampering with or whittling down of the report. The French experts in the end agreed to the incorporation of the following clause which duly appeared in the text of the report—"In the first place, we regard our report as an indivisible whole. It is not possible, in our opinion, to achieve any success by selecting certain of our recommendations for adoption and rejecting the others, and we would desire to accept no responsibility for the results of such a procedure, nor for any undue delay in giving execution to our plan."

That was a perfectly clear observation, as clear in the French as in the British text. None the less, within forty-eight hours of the presentation of the report, French quarters began to explore the prospect of modifications of the scheme in two important directions. They raised the novel cry of a progressive economic evacuation of the Ruhr. This was palpably designed as a challenge to that clause of the report which declared: "It is our duty to point out clearly that our forecasts are based on the assumption that [Germany's] economic activity will be unhampered and unaffected by any foreign organisation other than the controls here provided." That clause clearly implied the necessity of an evacuation of the Ruhr by the French. "Yes," in effect answered the French, "we will put an end to the military occupation of the Ruhr, but we shall not evacuate economically except in proportion as Germany pays," thereby adapting the notorious formula. As a further refinement French semi-official quarters exercised their well-known flair for a bargain by suggesting that the French military evacuation of the Ruhr should be paid for by a British cancellation of the French debt! There was no harm in such a suggestion being made, and British generosity is proverbial, even though it will not go to the extent of indemnifying France against the results of actions taken against our advice. It may also be recalled that in drawing up their scheme the experts assumed that the May, 1921 total, the Spa percentages and the inter-Allied debts all stood as binding on all parties concerned; in other words, that the French percentage was fixed as high as 52 per cent. precisely because of her outstanding obligations, including the payment of the British debt. The main point, however, was that the major French suggestion, that of substituting a formula of progressive economic evacuation for one of military evacuation, was directly opposed to the recommendations of the experts. At the same time the same French quarters speculated on the devising of additional measures of control over and above those enumerated in the Experts' scheme, therein again violating the express recommendation of the Experts.

A CANARD OF THE "BERLINER TAGEBLATT."

One of the most interesting of the early results of the emergence of a Labour administration in London was the almost complete abandonment of British interest in the relations between France and the Little Entente. When last December it was learnt in London that Dr. Benesh and M. Poincaré had formally concluded a treaty of alliance, British opinion, which at that time was more than usually exasperated over M. Poincaré's unchanging foreign policy, was unfavourably impressed by the step taken by Dr. Benesh, and

some severe comment was made (see CONTEMPORARY REVIEW, February, 1924, pp. 249-252). The attempt made by Mr. MacDonald to restore friendly relations with M. Poincaré, accompanied as it was by a change of method in British foreign policy which, if successful, would make separate alliances of no importance, led to a sudden change in British opinion. When in March certain "revelations" were made by the *Berliner Tageblatt* about the existence of secret understandings between France, Czechoslovakia and Yugoslavia, they passed almost unnoticed except cursorily by the Berlin correspondents of our newspapers. Yet the "revelations" were interesting enough in themselves. It was on March 19th that the *Berliner Tageblatt* began the serial publication of the alleged text of secret treaties concluded between the three countries. The Wolff Agency did its best to give the publication the fullest publicity throughout the world, and succeeded almost everywhere except in Great Britain, where a blissful ignorance persisted against all attacks. Formal denials of the truth of the allegations were immediately made in Paris, Prague and Belgrade. Dr. Benesh made a statement before the Foreign Affairs Committee of the Czechoslovak Parliament in answer to a question of a German deputy, Herr Kafka, and not only categorically denied the whole "absurd" story, but proceeded to express his surprise at "so clumsy a forgery." "For five years," he said, "there has been no misunderstanding between Germany and Czechoslovakia. What then is the purpose of this false publication?" At the same time the *Prager Presse* did some interesting research work, in the course of which it discovered that the alleged secret compacts published by the *Berliner Tageblatt* corresponded with only slight verbal alterations, and, of course, the alteration of names, to the text of certain protocols forty years old. One example will be enough. The *Berliner Tageblatt* published the alleged text of a protocol signed on January 10th, 1924, between France and the Little Entente. The *Prager Presse* compared this text verbatim with that of the protocol signed by Bismarck and Andrassy on September 24th, 1879.

BISMARCK-ANDRASSY PROTOCOL.

Count Andrassy has expressed his agreement with the idea underlying this proposal, but as an argument against the conclusion of an agreement in the form and to the extent proposed by the German Chancellor he has submitted doubts which he cannot pass over, and which would not permit him

Berliner-Tageblatt FORGERY.

Minister Ninichich has expressed his agreement with the idea underlying this proposal and the copy which has been submitted, but, on the other hand, he has submitted doubts, which he cannot pass over, against the acceptance of the new agreement in the form and to the extent proposed by Mr.

to recommend to his supreme sovereign the acceptance of the proposal in the wording mentioned.

Benesh, and which do not permit him to recommend to his supreme ruler, the King of the United Kingdoms of the S.H.S. [sic!] the acceptance of the proposal in the wording mentioned.

The *Prager Presse*'s exposure of the forgery led the *Vorwärts* to comment that the *Berliner Tageblatt* had been swindled. The incident recalls in some of its features the 1909 forgeries published by Professor Freidjung and concocted by the Austro-Hungarian Legation in Belgrade under Count Forgách. The difference is that Count Forgách had the definite object of incriminating certain Croats in Zagreb (Agram) of an attempt to foment a Serbo-Croat revolt against the Dual Monarchy, whereas the object of the forger who imposed on the *Berliner Tageblatt*, if he had any but a pecuniary object, was of a more vague and general kind.

THE ANGLO-RUSSIAN CONFERENCE.

The second stage in the attempt made by the British Labour Government to straighten out Anglo-Russian relations was begun on April 14th when a Soviet delegation met a British delegation in the Foreign Office in London, and the momentous Anglo-Russian Conference was opened. The conference was the direct result of the British *de jure* recognition of Russia which had been conferred on February 1st (see CONTEMPORARY REVIEW, March, 1924, pp. 382-386). Russia had been recognised; it now remained to settle the outstanding issues which held up the resumption of normal conditions of full friendly relations and commercial intercourse. It was a pleasant illustration of the abiding continuity of human nature that Mr. Rakovsky and his fellow Russian delegates were as far above the clock in London as they had been at Genoa, at The Hague and at Lausanne. The conference was fixed on the opening day for 11 o'clock, and Mr. MacDonald and the British delegation were in their places some minutes in advance. The Russian delegation arrived good-humouredly and, as it were, inevitably twenty minutes late. The official report of Mr. MacDonald's speech was issued from the Foreign Office at 5 p.m., Mr. Rakovsky's at 8.45 p.m., the latter having waited for its author's approval for some four hours.

Mr. MacDonald's opening speech made the Conservative Die-Hards open their eyes wide. Before the Conference opened, he had been attacked in Russia, as he recalled in his speech, as a renegade to Socialism. The stiffness of his speech that morning made a deep impression in Russian quarters, and confirmed what Mr. Rakovsky knew before—namely, that for the purposes of the present confer-

ence with Russia the British Labour Government is a capitalist Government in the full sense.

"I had better say at the outset," said Mr. MacDonald, "that a feeling of mutual security is essential. . . . Unless people know that contractual agreements will be honoured to the last letter they will risk nothing. Upon that all credit, however it is given and whoever gives it, must depend."

It was at once realised on both sides that the keynote to the Conference was going to be "credits." Mr. Rakovsky himself declared that Russia "requires for its development large quantities of industrial products and credits." It was, therefore, confidently expected that the subsidiary points about pre-Revolution treaties, hostile propaganda, and State debts would be quickly dealt with. The crux was expected to be the question how Russian credit was so far to be repaired in the eyes of the City of London as to make it possible for British credits to be raised. It is common ground that the U.S.S.R. is ready to pay the Tsarist debts on condition that Great Britain pays for her share of the damage of the Wrangel, Denikin, and Koltchak campaigns. As it will be impossible to check the Russian estimates of the latter, it was at once speculated on as a possibility that the State obligations of the one country to the other would be regarded as mutually cancelling each other.

The real difficulty is expected to be the satisfying of private British traders who have lost capital or property in Russia. A curious hint of the difficulty of this from the Russian side is given by a consideration of those private Russian concerns which have equally been confiscated by the Soviet authorities. There are cases where the capital was jointly British and Russian. If the British part of the capital is to be the subject of compensation from the Russian Government, will the Russian part have to go without compensation?

Russian citizens are human, and the discrepancy between the British and Russian theories of economics will bring a severe test to the Conference on this point. It was taken for granted on the British side that the satisfaction of the British private traders would necessarily precede the floating of a Russian loan in London. A complication was introduced by a manifesto issued by British bankers on the eve of the Conference. The bankers made six demands:—

- (1) That a recognition of debts, public and private, should be agreed upon, acceptable to both countries.
- (2) That an equitable arrangement for restitution of private property to foreigners should be made.
- (3) That a proper civil code should be brought into effective

operation, independent courts of law created, and the sanctity of private contract again firmly established.

(4) That the Russian Government should definitely guarantee that in future private property shall in all circumstances be free from danger of confiscation by the State.

(5) That bankers, industrialists, and traders in this country should be able to deal freely without interference by Government authorities, with similar private institutions in Russia controlled by men of whom they have personal knowledge, and in whose character, word, and resources they have confidence.

(6) That the Russian Government should abandon their propaganda against the institutions of other countries, and particularly against all those from whom they propose to request financial assistance.

The manifesto was important because the banks represented on the "big five" joint stock companies have an almost decisive voice in the question whether or not credits are to be raised in London for any given purpose. The real difficulty raised by the manifesto was that the bankers' demand for the restoration of private freedom of trade was an interference in Russia's internal affairs and therefore an infringement of the rule of procedure laid down in Mr. MacDonald's opening speech on April 14th.

It appears that the composition of the Russian Delegation was the subject of prolonged anxiety before it was finally decided on. The point is that, on the one hand, the R.S.F.S.R. (Russian Socialist Federative Soviet Republic) is only one out of fifteen Republics which constitute the U.S.S.R. (the Union of Socialist Soviet Republics), and that it is the latter body, not the former, with which the treaty with Great Britain has to be concluded; and, on the other hand, the U.S.S.R. is known to be in a very immediate way at the mercy of public opinion as now organised throughout the fifteen Republics by means of trade unions, executive committees, and the like. It was important, therefore, that no risk should be run of any arrangement concluded in London being repudiated by the U.S.S.R. after the event. The Delegation, as formed, embraced the maximum number of interests regional, industrial, and political in Russia, and included, as Mr. Rakovsky said in his opening speech, "members of the Central Executive Committee and members of its Praesidium, representatives of the chief commissariats, the head of the State bank, representatives of the various Republics, as well as representatives of all the most important branches of industry and the trade unions in the person of the President of the All-Russian Central Council of Trade Unions and the presidents or members

of the various central committees of the trade unions." A striking difference observed between the two opening speeches was that Mr. MacDonald was as practical as a Scotsman and Mr. Rakovsky as all-embracing as a Russian. Mr. Rakovsky even hinted that the conference now begun would cover in its scope "the fundamental problems of the political life of the whole world," and more precisely advocated the integral revision of the Treaties of Versailles, Trianon, St. Germain, Neuilly, and Lausanne, as well as of the League of Nations. That would be an alarming prospect if realised, but the view was firmly held in British quarters that the Conference would be confined within the more modest limits laid down by the British Note to the U.S.S.R. of February 1st.

The question was raised in Paris on the eve of the Conference whether French participation might be invited. So far as the British Government is concerned, the Anglo-Russian Conference is a private affair between Britain and Russia, and there is no question of extending its scope to include other nations. The diplomatic position is that joint Allied action in the Russian question was put an end to by the failure of The Hague Conference, which followed the Genoa Conference in the early summer of 1922. At Genoa and at The Hague the British Government of Mr. Lloyd George made determined attempts to induce France to participate in a joint Allied settlement of the Russian question. Historically, it is a commonplace that the Genoa and Hague Conferences of 1922 failed precisely because France refused her co-operation, and the present position, in which the several allies make their own individual arrangements with Russia, is primarily the result of French diplomacy. On the other hand, if the French Government at a later date wishes to participate in an Allied Conference with Russia on the lines of the abortive Hague Conference, or on any other lines, the British Government no doubt will be delighted in her turn to take part, without, of course, calling into question any of the arrangements exclusively concerning Russia and Great Britain which may be made at the Conference now sitting in London.

GEORGE GLASGOW.

LITERARY SUPPLEMENT.

LIST OF CONTENTS.

	PAGE
1. REVIEWS	661
ART AND FAITH; LORD PALMERSTON; PLAYS AND CONTROVERSIES; THE NATIONAL GALLERY; THE BAGESU; A HISTORY OF ENGLISH LAW; LAW IN CHINA	
2. SHORTER REVIEWS: "Brian Piers Lascelles: A Memoir edited by Sir Arthur Fenton Hort, Bart."; "A Short History of Birkbeck College"; "The Westminster City Fathers"; "The Journal of Henry Edward Fox, Fourth and Last Lord Holland"; "Democracy and Labour"; "Studies in Pharisaism and the Gospels"...	675
3. NOTICES OF BOOKS: "A Defence of Liberty against Tyrants"; "Everybody's Theatre and how to make it"; "Marionettes and how to make them"; "Some Ballad-Legends of Somerset"; "Factory Inspection"; "Social Development," &c.	678

REVIEWS.

ART AND FAITH.

In the volume entitled *The Necessity of Art*,* are gathered together essays by the late Mr. A. Clutton Brock, and by Dr. Percy Dearmer, Mr. A. S. Duncan-Jones, Mr. J. Middleton Murry, Prof. A. W. Pollard, and Mr. Malcolm Spencer, emphasising the theme that "Art is not only delightful; it is necessary," and insisting that "the main obstacle to the complete revival of art is a theoretical one which is due to misunderstandings" which it is the aim of this book to remove. Art "cannot be understood unless it is realised as part of life as a whole, and especially of religion, which is itself an expression of an intense interest in life." The book opens with a tribute to Mr. Clutton Brock, who died on January 8th, 1924. It was in his house that the contributors to this striking volume met, and he was to have written the chapter on the Doctrine of Values, his working philosophy of life. "The best presentment of that foundation upon which we all have tried to build, is his masterly little outline, *The Ultimate Belief*; and for our part we are convinced that in the writing which he has left behind him lies the clue by which the world may escape from its long compression and come into the light." This tribute is well deserved, and there is little doubt that Mr. Clutton Brock has played a great part in the building up of a new philosophy of life based upon the profound principles of Christianity. The first

* (Student Christian Movement, 32, Russell Square, London, W.C.1.) 7s. 6d. net.

662 THE CONTEMPORARY REVIEW.

essay in this book on "Art and the Escape from Banality" is from his pen. He writes:—

"The war has not cured us of our banality, and the peace has not cured us; but we still long to escape from it. . . . What is suppressed in us is not the sexual or any other instinct, but the desire for expression, not the flesh but the spirit. . . . The reality for us is not in the past or in our origins, but in the future and in our aims. . . . We must not subject ourselves to the tyranny of sources of knowledge; we must assert, as being more real and even more true, the fact of effort, and we must see knowledge itself as subsidiary to that. . . . There must be in men's minds a pattern, as it were, of a city, of the whole life they wish to make, and a pattern which grows clearer in the making. This pattern is not in our minds at present, because we make no effort to realise it; but the desire, in most of us unconscious, is there. . . . So, if only we can become aware that we have a strong and permanent though hitherto suppressed and concealed desire for art; if we can see that the desire is not trivial but a demand of our whole being; then the effort to produce art, now half-hearted and confused, will become clear and passionate; and if at last art is admired by that effort, it will be far more secure than ever in the past, for it will be protected by a knowledge of its enemies and its dangers."

This is a noble and, we believe, a wholly true outlook which abolishes the gross materialism that is the curse of many aspects of art and of much psychology and pseudo-psychology to-day. Man is a spiritual being immersed in flesh, but he is essentially spiritual, and flesh (as Browning taught) can help spirit perhaps as much as spirit can help flesh, if man only realises his spiritual nature and determines to make it reveal itself in things of goodness and things of beauty. If man is spiritual he must produce not only Art, but noble Art, and in the workshop and the study and the music room as well as in the studio.

The various aspects of the doctrines laid down by Mr. Clutton Brock are dealt with in this volume. Mr. Dearmer deals with Christianity and Art as well as with the Doctrine of Values. Mr. H. S. Duncan-Jones deals with "the Art of Movement." He takes the point that "the Christian idea of God is itself imaged in the form of a great Drama. A divine action on the human stage shows us what God is and what He has done for us." Mr. Spencer deals with "the Puritan Objection to Art." He feels that the Puritan is right in two, at least, of his main contentions. "He is right to insist upon the illusion which lurks in all attempts to represent the highest in sense forms, and he is right to insist upon the snare which may lie in every form of sense satisfaction," but Mr. Spencer does not, of course, admit the Puritan assumption—but was it an assumption?—that the world can do without the arts of representation. "The truth is that if you are going to

share your vision with your brother, you are bound to employ the arts of representation and incur the inherent danger." But was this really the Puritan attitude? The Puritan had to fight certain evils, religious and political, and for the purposes of that battle he objected (*pro hac vice*) to the arts of representation. But broadly he had no such view. The greatest of Puritans, John Milton, had no doubts as to his religious, moral and intellectual right to use in literature the art of representation. The subject of literature and religion is dealt with at length by Mr. Middleton Murry.

The volume is much enriched by Professor Pollard's paper on "the Artist and the Saint." He insists that all the reality of Religion, Art, and Science comes from the interaction of the ideals expressed "in the six words—Beauty, Truth, Goodness, and Life, Light, Love." These two triplets "not only cover the ground of human exploration but recall also the physical basis from which it springs, and on the health of which our progress largely depends."

"Alike in religion and science and art, because the subjects are varied and complex, there are aspects which are real as aspects, and though they may rightly be challenged, when they seem to have become stereotyped, they may yet rightly be valued. Giotto challenged the Byzantines because their pictures lacked life, and Velasquez challenged the Italians because their pictures lacked truth, and yet the art both of the Byzantines and the Italians at its best was great art. In religion those who live by the sacraments and those who live by the spirit challenge each other, and yet both may truly find what they rightly seek. Art, science and religion are ever incomplete, imperfect. In religion we believe that God is Beauty and Life, that God is Truth and Light, that God is Goodness and Love, and that because He is all these they are all one and the Trinity in Unity and Unity in Trinity is to be worshipped; but we believe also that we can only realise an infinitesimal fraction of what God is and yet that He accepts any least bit of reality in our worship."

This noble statement is perhaps one of the most striking features of a remarkable and inspiring book.

* * *

LORD PALMERSTON.*

Mr. Kingsley Martin's *The Triumph of Lord Palmerston* describes British policy and British opinion during the fatal months in which England was drifting into the Crimean War. Among his sources are unpublished letters of Lord Aberdeen and Queen Victoria, and he has made an exhaustive study of newspapers,

* *The Triumph of Lord Palmerston*. By Kingsley Martin. (Allen & Unwin.) 10s. 6d. net.

pamphlets, and broadsides. He has done his work with great skill and insight, and has presented his conclusions with power and distinction. Though the period which he covers is brief, we feel throughout that in painting his darkly shadowed picture he is at the same time laying bare the weaknesses and revealing the passions of the modern State. Neither Aberdeen nor any of his colleagues wished for war. The Tsar repeatedly showed his desire to avoid a conflict, above all by accepting the Vienna Note drawn up by the Four Powers as embodying a fair settlement both of Russian claims and Turkish rights. Yet we went to war on behalf of Turkey, who refused to accept the Vienna Note, and who declared war against Russia in spite of our advice. There is nothing more tragic or more deplorable in modern English history than this surrender of high-minded and experienced statesmen to the credulous clamour of the Press for a war which was only desired by Turkey, by Louis Napoleon, and perhaps by Stratford Canning, and which, as Aberdeen confessed, might have been avoided by more firmness at one moment or by greater moderation at another. Among the most interesting features of this brilliant and suggestive volume are the discussion of Palmerston's brief resignation in December, 1853, and the description of the neurotic fury with which the baser papers fell upon the Prince Consort, in whom they believed themselves to have discovered the obstacle to the conflict for which they screamed. The depressing moral of the book is that the approach and the course of every great struggle bring with them pathological phenomena of credulity, bombast, and hate which drive all but the strongest statesmen like chaff before the wind. A brief appendix deals pungently with some of the results of a war which ought never to have taken place, which failed to regenerate Turkey or to limit the expansion of Russia, and which enthroned Palmerston as the ruler of England for the rest of his life.

* * *

PLAYS AND CONTROVERSIES.*

Mr. Yeats has published these notes in the hope that the foundation of an Irish State Theatre is not far distant. It is a matter near and dear to his heart, and he feels that by imparting his knowledge and ideas on the subject he may kindle others, and thus hasten on the desired end. These notes are mostly taken from an occasional publication called *Samhain*, which was started to defend "The Irish Dramatic Movement," but is now out of print.

* *Plays and Controversies*. By W. B. Yeats. (Macmillan & Co., Ltd., London.) 2s. 6d. net.

Lady Gregory, Mr. George Martyn, and Mr. Yeats planned the Irish Literary Theatre with the intention of running it for three years, thinking that period long enough to ascertain whether the country desired to take up the project and make it a national enterprise. Response in the desired direction is doubtful, but, at any rate, the publication set the ball of the Irish Dramatic Society rolling.

At first it seemed impossible to get a play in Gaelic; that was in 1901 or thereabout; now there are excellent Gaelic plays by Dr. Douglas Hyde, by Father O'Leary, by Father Dineen, and by Mr. MacGinlay, and they have been successfully performed in Gaelic at Dublin and other places. The Irish are an imaginative race, and they desire, above all things, to give their imagination dramatic expression. The main idea of the Irish Dramatic Movement is to bring together a small Irish Company, trained by well-trained actors, Irish if possible, and to ask the Dublin Corporation to give a small subsidy, as they do to the Academy of Music, and also to ask the Technical Board to give a small annual sum of money to a school of acting which would teach fencing and declamation and gesture and the like. The subsidies would also enable the stock Company to perform in Dublin three weeks in the spring and three weeks in the autumn and go on tour the rest of the time through Ireland, and also in English towns where there is a large Irish population. The plays would be performed both in Irish and English, and it is proposed to include the masterpieces of other nations. It is contended that there is no reason to doubt of the success of the venture both commercially and intellectually. Mr. Yeats will not express his opinion as to these projects. His work, he feels, is to put old stories into dramatic verse, and so supply the material which will appeal to the Irish imagination, and his aim is, we gather, to recreate the imaginative tradition of Ireland and to put "our heroic age into verse, and to solve some problems of the speaking of verse to musical notes."

On the reform of the theatre as it is at present, Mr. Yeats is most scathing. "Reform it altogether" is his keynote; go back to the Greeks, who knew what they were about, is his panacea. "An art is always at its greatest when it is most human. Greek acting was great because it did all but everything with the voice, and modern acting may be great when it does everything with voice and movement, but an art which smothers these things with bad painting, with innumerable, garish colours, with continual restless mimics of the surface of life, is an art of fading humanity, a decaying art." With this we heartily agree.

Mr. Yeats contends that Ireland suffers from the loss of her Gaelic, and appears to think that by revival of the language she

can regain the lost confidence of her heroic days. Is that possible? Renaissance is one thing, Revival is another. "Ye must be born again." Every moment of life is a beginning. Resuscitation will work no miracle. Abundant humanity is always at hand, as much now as in Shakespeare's or Calderon's time, and "The Great Collaborator" that Blake speaks of has not left himself without witness in any age or language. Would the Greece of to-day be a greater nation if she revived her original tongue?

The vivid speech of the Irish peasant is that which appeals to Mr. Yeats. Language, he says, was as alive in Shakespeare's time "as it is in Gaelic to-day, and as it is in English-speaking Ireland where the schoolmaster or the newspaper have not corrupted it." He finds that the only language that lives is the language of the poet or the poor. Reality is banished from the language of the educated classes, and is used only in the diplomatic significance, namely, to cover or conceal thought: persiflage, Mr. Yeats calls it, and he asks if it is possible to produce a real work of art from such an ailing and dying language? It is from the common life, the natural life, that man finds true expression of self; it is this, both in speech and gesture, that Mr. Yeats is striving to revive. The folklore and legend of a country are their birthright, and woe to the nation which sells it for a mess of pottage!

Mr. Yeats writes with all the enthusiasm of his nationality, and deplores the unreality and conventionality of the present-day drama. He longs to go back to the rudiments of life, where fashion plays no part, where tragedy and comedy, those basic elements of life, still hold their own. May not such an art, he asks, "be the medicine of great cities, where no one is ever alone in his own strength?"

Passing on from these notes and suggestions, Mr. Yeats concludes this interesting volume with several of his plays, "The Countess Cathleen" and "The Land of Heart's Desire," both so well known that they need no comment. They are constantly acted in England, especially in schools and private drawing-rooms, being easy of representation, and full of faery and folklore, the love of which is not confined to Ireland. Children can always be held breathless under their spell, and their elders become children again for the nonce. The book closes with "Four Plays for Dancers," "At the Hawk's Well," "Only Jealousy of Emer," "The Dreaming of the Bones," and "Calvary"—all four being *masked* plays. Mr. Edmund Dulac has designed the masks, illustrations of which are given, and though they are no doubt beautiful works of art in themselves, nevertheless it will take a long time before English playgoers become accustomed to such representations, for surely facial expression is part of gesture, and the mask

which conceals it can hardly be called "the most human" art which Mr. Yeats so extols. Notes on music for "At the Hawk's Well," by Mr. Edmund Dulac, and music for "The Dreaming of the Bones," by Mr. Walter Morse Rummel, and a note on "Calvary" conclude the volume. Mr. Yeats has spared no pains in instructing his readers in his methods and manner of interpretation.

* * *

THE NATIONAL GALLERY.*

The Centenary of the National Gallery occurs this year, and a very valuable pamphlet by the Director, Sir Charles Holmes, and C. H. Collins Baker, the Keeper, entitled "The Making of the National Gallery," has been issued. It is a record of the vicissitudes through which the Gallery has passed during the last hundred years, compiled mostly from Parliamentary papers and reports. It is a long story told in an unbiased fashion; its blunders and its triumphs are set out without malice or boastfulness. The glory of the Gallery shines forth from these pages in spite of self-criticism, and after careful perusal of its history, its very mistakes seem but stepping stones to higher things. Nothing but experience teaches either in life or art.

On April 2nd, 1824, Parliament, under Lord Liverpool's Government, voted £60,000 for the purchase, preservation, and exhibition of the Angerstein Collection of pictures. Sir George Beaumont, early in 1823, offered his famous Collection of pictures to the nation as soon as the Government would provide proper house room for them. In the July of that year George Agar Ellis (afterwards Lord Dover), himself a friend of the arts, warned Parliament that the Angerstein Collection would be sold in the following year, and that it should on no account be allowed to leave this country. The Prime Minister was largely influenced by Sir George Beaumont's promised gift of his Collection, and although the country was at this time much impoverished by the exhausting war through which it had lately passed, nevertheless Lord Liverpool had the sagacity and insight to recognise that such an opportunity must on no account be missed. The Rev. W. Holwell Carr had also expressed his intention of presenting his Collection to the nation. Therefore, Sir George Beaumont, Lord Dover, the Rev. W. Holwell Carr, and Lord Liverpool share the honour of

* *The Making of the National Gallery, 1824 to 1924. An Historical Sketch* by Sir Charles Holmes and C. H. Collins Baker. (The University Press, Glasgow.) 1s. 6d.

668 THE CONTEMPORARY REVIEW.

being the founders of the National Gallery. The thirty-eight pictures from the Angerstein Collection were acquired for the sum of £57,000, and the charge of them devolved on the Treasury, which has remained in control of the department ever since. Mr. William Sequier was appointed the first Keeper of the Gallery on March 30th, 1824, and was given charge of the Collection and building, and was directed "to value and negotiate (if called upon) the purchase of any pictures that may in future be added to the Collection." On May 10th, 1824, the Angerstein Collection was opened to the public, in the late owner's house, 100, Pall Mall, on certain days of the week.

The Angerstein pictures, for the Centenary celebration, are being exhibited by the authorities of the Gallery in the manner they were originally hung in 100, Pall Mall, and all are labelled, so that visitors can judge of the nucleus of the superb gathering of nearly four thousand pictures which to-day form our National Collection. It is one, though late in time as far as galleries go, of which England may be justly proud, thanks to the generous benefactions which have enriched it. Other Continental Galleries mostly derive their origin or foundation from Kings and royalty, who were great patrons and lovers of art, but not so the National Gallery of England. Private individuals gave of their best in their lifetime, and by bequest, and the action of the National Art Collections Fund helped to bring the Gallery to its present noble status.

The large *Raising of Lazarus*, by Sebastian del Piombo, and the *Venus and Adonis* by Titian, and the small *Bacchus and Silenus* by Annibale Carracci, were the principal Italian works in the Angerstein Collection. There are fine examples of Claude, *The Queen of Sheba*; Rubens, *Rape of the Sabines*; Rembrandt and Cuyp are well represented; Sir Joshua Reynolds by the famous *Lord Heathfield*; and Hogarth by the well known *Marriage-à-la-Mode*.

On April 9th, 1838, the National Collection was opened to the public at Trafalgar Square, its new home. During the fourteen years that had elapsed since its inauguration, while it was housed at 100, Pall Mall, many purchases had been made, and two very important gifts, promised at the beginning by Sir George Beaumont and the Rev. W. Holwell Carr included Rubens's famous landscape, *The Chateau de Steen*, and many other notable pictures. The first Raphael acquired by the Gallery was the *S. Catharine of Alexandria*, purchased by the Chancellor of the Exchequer in 1839 for £7,350.

Of "The Evolution of the Building" in Trafalgar Square there is a full and interesting account, as well as of Directors and Keepers of the Gallery, who overcame many difficulties, and

brought the National Collection through much dirt, varnish, muddle and inefficiency to its present noble condition. It was an amazing fact, considering the small endowment of £5,000 per annum (it was at first £10,000) and a fund from bequests bringing in another £5,000, that such a magnificent collection could have been formed. The generosity of private donors has never been lacking. When funds were sorely needed to prevent Holbein's *Duchess of Milan* from leaving the country, and subscriptions failed to meet the deficit, and there seemed little hope of retaining "Christina," "at the eleventh hour the £40,000 was presented by a lady who has remained anonymous." The Government had already made a special grant of £10,000, and thus this great portrait was saved for the nation. Time would fail to tell of the treasures of the Gallery such as the *Ansidei Madonna* by Raphael, for which £70,000 was paid, and the *Rokeby Venus* by Velazquez, presented by the National Arts Collection Fund, and over which a storm of anger broke in 1905. It was not till 1903 that the National Art Collections Fund was founded, and bravely it faced the transatlantic peril. The magnificent Turners are the glory of the Gallery, and the rediscovery in store of the unfinished water-colours by Turner was a find indeed. They are well cared for, and well shown in the Gallery now.

With the help of this pamphlet no one need be ignorant of our great possessions which at all costs must grow year by year, held by the nation in trust for the education and delight of the people. The pamphlet closes with an account of the National Gallery, Millbank (British Art), founded by Sir Henry Tate, which was opened in 1897, and is known as the Tate Gallery. Sir Henry presented his own collection of English pictures. The Chantry Collection of pictures are hung in this gallery, also many works by Mr. G. F. Watts, and others; and a goodly number of pictures from Trafalgar Square find a home there. Many valuable bequests have been received. Modern foreign art is being provided for by a gallery now in course of erection on the vacant site reserved by the Government for extension. A long-felt want will thus be met by the generous offer of Sir Joseph Duveen to defray the cost. The princely offer of Mr. Samuel Courtauld of £50,000 for the acquisition of modern foreign pictures, especially those by the great French artists of the nineteenth century, is an example of the national determination to make the Gallery entirely representative. The illustrations of the book are good and well chosen, but even in such a small book as this, with its mass of information, an index would have been a welcome addition.

THE BAGESU.*

Canon Roscoe, with commendable speed, has now issued the third and final part of his report on the Central African tribes. We noticed the first two volumes in our issue of December last. The first volume dealt with the Bakitari tribe, a highly organised pastoral but to some extent nomadic people, who possessed the country of Bunyoro, in the Lake Region of Central Africa. About a century ago the Bagondo, an agricultural and progressive race, descended on these people and largely occupied the land, which in 1890 became subject to Great Britain. Canon Roscoe shows us in full detail these totemic peoples, among whom milk-drinking is not only universal but religious. In the second volume we are shown the people of Ankola, in the Uganda Protectorate, a people of the same stock as but belonging to an earlier wave of the Bakitari. The third volume is of special importance, as it contains a detailed account of other Uganda tribes, sometimes of obscure origin, and it is to be remembered that these less notable tribes often give hints of origin that have been lost in the imposition of highly organised tyrannic rule.

Canon Roscoe dwells on the mystery that underlies the origin of these pastoral people of the Lake Region:—

"We may hope that in due time it will be possible to piece together items of knowledge thus gathered from different sources and to make from them a complete story. The student of these matters can no longer doubt that these pastoral people entered the Lake Region as immigrants from the north-east, and that they were associated with the people who in remote ages made Egypt so interesting. There remains still to be accomplished the more difficult, and, I venture to think, the more interesting task of procuring information from the tribes along the frontier of Abyssinia. Such an investigation will supply much that is missing and might possibly give some reliable indication of the dates at which migrations took place. To those tribes we must look for the solution of what is still overshadowed by mystery, and the necessary investigation is rendered very difficult by the suspicions of these people and their desire to remain free from the intrusions of man."

But much can be done now by the comparative method. There are certain outstanding features that can be compared with Asiatic, Australian, and American material that almost certainly point to some very remote Aryan dispersal on a very large scale. It is, of course, true enough that similar customs may arise under similar conditions, and do not indicate a common origin. But the value of the comparative method is that it can take account of this fact

* *The Bagesu and other Tribes of the Uganda Protectorate: the third part of the Report of the Mackie Ethnological Expedition to Central Africa.* By John Roscoe. (Cambridge: at the University Press.) 20s. net

and show that the similarities are too complex and too little related to environment for the student to assume independent origins. Right across Africa from the North-East to the Gold Coast the tribes have persistent traditions pointing to migration from Egypt and the North-East. Those traditions may refer to comparatively modern movements, but when they are linked up with customs that belong to ancient Egypt the tradition seems to have an older origin. No one doubts that ancient Asia overflowed into Africa by way of Egypt. Indeed, the fact has been fully demonstrated. The question of date or dates is the crux. The extraordinary combination of stages of culture in the Lake Region is in itself very valuable evidence. Those people described by Canon Roscoe have stamped on them marks of the successive civilisations through which they passed while retaining their palæolithic or at most neolithic characteristics. We find underlying all the phenomena the Australian palæolithic culture, the stage when there were no chiefs despite the existence of tribes; when there were no gods, in the fullest sense, despite the existence of an acute sense of the after life; of the stage when the ancestor is continually reborn or the succeeding stage when the ancestor had become holy and almost godlike. These people are still in the grip of magic, are the slaves of *tabu*, are still terribly fearful of women, have the vaguest idea of creation and a creator. On the other hand, they bear the stamp of the successive peoples or civilisations through which they have wandered. They still make knives from fish bones, but, all the same, they are an iron-age people, and the trade of a smith is a hereditary trade. Some tribes work in iron, some have never reached that stage.

Many apparently negligible facts, recorded so wisely by Canon Roscoe, are immensely significant. The chief work of the smiths of the Basabei people is to make "crude iron bracelets, anklets, and rings for fingers and toes, which all the people wore." The fact is most important from the point of view of date, for when iron was first introduced, long before it displaced bronze, the use for it was purely ornamental, and ornamental in the shape of rings. It looks as if the race which the Basabei represents passed into and through Egypt at the moment of transition from the bronze to the iron age, say about 2500 B.C.

Consider the case of the Bagesu tribe on Mount Elgon, "one of the most primitive of the negro tribes of Africa." They seem not to be totemic, but clans and divisions and clan exogamy abound and there is clan land-settlement. They wear iron bracelets, earrings, and anklets of the crudest kind. But brass and copper earrings are also worn. There is no tribal government; there is the vaguest idea about religion; there is a keen belief in

spirits; rain-making is a ceremonial business. There are few smiths, and these buy their iron ready for use. The processes of initiation and entrance to clan membership are elaborate but very primitive. They do not (or did not till the British rule began) bury their dead, but cast the bodies into waste places. The cult of twins is highly developed. But with all this, there is the inheritance of the eldest son. Traces of such inheritance occur even in Australia. The customs of the Basabei are similar in many ways. The Batwa on the higher peaks of Mount Elgon claim to be of the Basabei race, but they seem more intellectual in appearance, and seem, indeed, of a very fine type. Again, the Nilotic tribe, called the Bateso, have much in common with the other tribes described. There are no chiefs in the real sense. Iron rings are worn by the women on their chests and in their ears. The Busoga are of the ancient Bunyoro or Bakitara type, and show the influence of their conquerors. But beneath this influence we see very early traits. They have sacred places, as in the case of the Australian tribes. There may be women priests, and there is fear of women. There is ancestor worship, and the new moon is specially welcomed.

All these rather obscure tribes and the now recorded customs require the closest consideration. They seem to represent a drift of palæolithic peoples from Asia that have picked up without assimilating customs all the way for very many centuries. It would be difficult to exaggerate the value of the customs that Canon Roscoe has collected, and perhaps the last volume is the richest in significant material.

* * *

A HISTORY OF ENGLISH LAW.*

Professor Holdsworth's admirable and detailed History of English Law grows apace. He has now passed the stage of the first three volumes, which have replaced, in a greatly revised edition, the volumes published more than twenty years ago. Students should keep the old and new edition of those volumes side by side, for there is no better evidence of the growth in the past quarter of a century of our knowledge of the history of English law. Many workers have contributed to this growth, and perhaps not the least Dr. Bolland, who has, from his detailed knowledge of the Year Book Manuscripts, thrown many beams of light into the mysterious history of the Common Law in its

* *A History of English Law.* By W. S. Holdsworth. Volumes IV. and V. (Methuen.) 25s. net each volume.

+ *Chief Justice Sir William Bereford.* By William Craddock Bolland, with an Introduction by the Right Honourable Sir Henry Duke. (Cambridge: at the University Press.) 2s. 6d. net.

formative period. The history of equity in his hands has been carried to a far earlier date than was hitherto suspected, to a date when it was administered by the Common Law Courts. We note here the publication of his interesting lecture on Sir William Bereford, Chief Justice of the Common Bench early in the fourteenth century,† when the mediæval Common Law may be said to have reached its complete form. His material is mainly drawn from the Year Books, and he shows us in sprightly form something of the career of a man who carried Royal Justice into various parts of the Kingdom and administered it at Westminster with an unerring yet kindly hand. The lecture gives a reality to mediæval law and mediæval lawyers in something of the fashion in which the late Professor Maitland set mediæval themes before his pupils.

The new volumes of Professor Holdsworth's work deal with the growth of public law in the sixteenth century, and provide most valuable material for a consideration of the rivals of the Common Law and of the new ideas that flowed in from the Continent in the days of the Tudors, affecting but not controlling constitutional developments in England. We managed for the most part to keep free of the Continental system of administrative law, though some traces of the influence perhaps survive, and to-day there are certain tendencies towards the imposition of a bureaucratic régime on this land. On the Continent "the mediæval system of local government gave place to a highly centralised bureaucratic régime." This was not the case in England, and indeed was not universally the case in France. Down to the Revolution there was considerable local power not wholly dependent on the central bureaucratic system. But England retained its local freedom to an extent unknown elsewhere, and it is interesting to note that modern local government legislation has revived the ancient local freedom of action.

It is impossible in a brief notice to lay stress on even the broad phases of the detailed work in which Professor Holdsworth revels. The chapter on the enacted law of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries will open up new fields to many students, and enlarge their outlook on the legal activities of that period. The scope of the theme is indeed unlimited, and to have the material brought within scholarly compass is an achievement that will not be forgotten.

The fifth volume shows first the developments that stand outside the sphere of the Common Law. We see the Civil Law at work in the hands of the civilians. We have practically a treatise on the origins of the law of Nations, on the history of Commercial and Maritime law with particular reference to developments in England. The available material is brought together in most

convenient and learned form, and the volume will prove a treasure-house of reference. The section dealing with the law administered by the Council and the Star Chamber will be closely studied, while the story of the equitable jurisdiction of the Chancellor is made almost dramatic by the account of Francis Bacon. The treatment of the development of the mediæval Common Law under the hands of the Judges in the Tudor period is a most important theme, and here it is dealt with at length with some considerable account of Sir Edward Coke. These volumes, in fact, teem with interest and bring forward in new form the juridical problems, the solution of which has formed a great part of the inner history of the English people.

* * *

LAW IN CHINA.*

The unrest of China, the unstable social and political conditions have been much emphasised in the West during the past year. It is, therefore, only proper that the evidence which points in the direction of better and more stable conditions should also be emphasised. It is not an unfamiliar phenomenon in history for a dominant system of law to be growing up in the midst of a very disordered society. Even in England the King's Court won control in very unstable days and dislodged many other and conflicting jurisdictions. Possibly this is the process now at work in China, and certainly the volume just received in England of Supreme Court Decisions during the very time of unrest points to better days. This volume deals with cases relating to general principles of civil law, obligations and commercial law, and Dr. F. T. Cheng, a distinguished Chinese lawyer who is well recognised in England as an authority on private international law, has produced in admirable English the result of these decisions in what is practically code form. The President of the Supreme Court in his Foreword (in English) points out that since the establishment of the Chinese Republic Supreme Court cases have multiplied tenfold, "and we are able to-day to offer to the world a work comprising all the case law in a codified form." This work has been done and the Supreme Court Regulations have been amended since Mr. Tao Tseng became President in 1918. Dr. Cheng points out that this unwritten law is really a product of the Republican age. The principles laid down by the Court bear the traces of Western jurisprudence, though it is rightly claimed that "those principles of law which are fundamental to the notion of justice have really no nationality." The broad rule enunciated by the Supreme Court,

* *The Chinese Supreme Court Decisions*. Translated by F. T. Cheng. The Commission of Extra-Territoriality, Peking.

"Civil cases are decided first according to express provisions of law, in the absence of express provisions, then according to customs, and in the absence of customs, then according to legal principles," has given the Court its opportunity. The Civil Code in China has not yet been promulgated, customs have proved of little help in dealing with problems arising out of new conditions of life, and, therefore, the application of legal principles has provided what, as Dr. Cheng admits, is really "judicial legislation." This was the process that moulded the common law of England. The principles of the Roman law in fact provided the King's judges in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries with a guide in all cases where it was not possible to draw from customary or central law the means of deciding a case.

The Supreme Court has been strong enough to face and, in effect, defy the tyrannical administrative rulers of China. For instance, President Yuan in the fourth year of the Republic found fault with a judgment which dismissed a charge against a provincial governor. He instructed the Administrative Court to inquire into the conduct of the offending judge, and, as this failed, he reprimanded the judge for being "subservient to the law," a phrase that has now "become historic and will ever be written in golden letters in books that deal with the history of the reformed judiciary of China." Another incident of equal significance occurred in the fifth year of the Republic:—

"The Supreme Court came into collision with Parliament over the question of appeal in election cases. It was contended by Parliament that the Supreme Court had no jurisdiction over such appeals as the law was silent on the point, while the Supreme Court replied that according to its interpretation of the law, a function that it alone lawfully possesses, it had such jurisdiction. This led Parliament to pass resolutions denouncing its decisions and declaring them to be null and void. The then Government, too, was on the side of Parliament, but the Supreme Court was as fearless as it was right, pointing out that though Parliament could make laws, its resolutions had not the character of law. Reason in the end prevailed and Parliament gave in."

The constitutional cases show the spirit of the Supreme Court, and also the determination of the finest minds in China to make the Rule of Law prevail in that great but troubled land.

SHORTER REVIEWS.

In "Brian Piers Lascelles: A Memoir edited by Sir Arthur Fenton Hort, Bart," the world is given an account of one of the most charming of men whose influence for good both at Magdalen College, Oxford, and

* Basil Blackwood, Oxford. 5s. net.

Harrow School, must prove a permanent force in the history of those famous institutions. Mr. Lascelles' great height—he was over six feet ten inches in his boots—gave him the name of the "Magdalen Giant" and the "Harrow Giant," but, despite this, his height was perhaps the least remarkable fact about him, though in a sense the self-schooling against a fear of being remarkable and of foolish jokes helped to form his character. His height was a handicap in another way. He was never of a strong constitution, and had no regular schooling. Throughout his life he needed an abnormal amount of sleep, and his height was really the measure of his physical weakness. There was no other weakness in the man. He was, to one of those who write of him in this charming book, "that very perfect gentleman," to another "a great gentleman." Science, art, literature, music, were all adorned by his touch. A wonderful teacher, he was a still more wonderful friend. Few men have been better loved, and perhaps none have better deserved love, for love was the essence of his being, and reverence for all things good and beautiful the atmosphere of his life. Lascelles was born at Norley, Cheshire, on August 31st, 1859. He had rather a disjointed but inspiring education with various tutors, and in 1879 he went to Magdalen College. He was at Oxford till 1885, where he made troops of friends and became, with his musical gift, the soul of the "Magdalen Vagabonds," and toured the country with them for charitable ends. He went to Harrow as science master in 1885, and despite the fact that he was not a public schoolboy found his way to the hearts and brains of the boys. As librarian of the Vaughan School library he opened a new field of school interest. He was as much loved by his colleagues as by his pupils. But he had friends everywhere at home and abroad (he was a persistent traveller), and his acute sense of kindly humour was the human counterpoise of the essential gravity of his noble nature. He died very suddenly on January 13th, 1922, and the world is bleaker for his loss.

Mr. C. Delisle Burns, in "A Short History of Birkbeck College,"* provides an excellent centenary record of the remarkable institution which represents in its origin, on December 2nd, 1823, as the London Mechanics' Institution, one of the most remarkable movements for part-time adult education that the history of the world affords, and which still represents in its new University form the same ideal. In 1856 the Institution became the Birkbeck College, and in 1920, after a long and successful struggle, it was duly admitted as a School of the University of London for evening and part-time students. It provides for what Lord Haldane, in his Foreword to the attractive book, calls "a new class of University student." That class of student has come to stay. Since the war the College has more than doubled its numbers, and its post-graduate work is remarkable. Adult education has in colleges of this type a new opportunity which fulfils the ideals of the men who strove to provide adult teaching for workers in dark days a century ago.

Mr. W. H. Manchée has written a substantial illustrated volume entitled "The Westminster City Fathers (The Burgess Court of Westminster), 1585-1901, being some account of their powers and domestic rule of the City prior to its incorporation in 1901,"† which is a useful piece of research in the Burgess Court Records of Westminster,

* University of London.
† John Lane. 16s.

documents which "were apparently inaccessible to the public during the existence of the Court." Mr. Walter G. Bell in his Foreword points out that the book throws "some light upon the government of a City that grew up side by side with the City of London, far apart in its origins, under different conditions, and with dissimilar institutions, yet owing much to the experience of its great neighbour; a City that must always enjoy a foremost place in the regard of men of our race—Westminster." It is and was a City because it had a Bishop—if only for a decade. "Till the Reformation, the Abbot of Westminster autocratically ruled the hamlet grouped close about the great houses, ecclesiastical and royal." The Dean inherited his authority, and until 1901 he was the head officer in all Westminster's civic affairs. Mr. Manchée has therefore found a vacant field of research, and it is unfortunate that the volumes of records from 1585 to 1610 have disappeared. They are possibly hidden in some London library still. It is a little curious that the name of Dr. Busby does not occur in the index of names, since the City helped him as an undergraduate, and he helped the City when headmaster of Westminster School. The City was interested in education, and in 1712 gave one Butler full licence to teach a grammar school "within the City and liberty." Such licences were only issued by a Bishop or a nominee of a Bishop, and here we see the hand of the Dean of Westminster acting in the vacancy of the diocese. Mr. Manchée is wrong in thinking that such a licence was " quaint." It was usual.

Lord Ilchester continues to earn the gratitude of historical students by revealing the treasures of Holland House. "The Journal of Henry Edward Fox, Fourth and Last Lord Holland,"* begins in 1818, when its author was only sixteen, and ends in 1830, though he lived till 1859. A brief but excellent Introduction sketches the Holland family and circle, and characterises the precocious and sceptical young man who saw much of the best society at home and abroad, without ever deriving much real pleasure from his life and without maintaining the great traditions of his name. His formidable and sharp-tongued mother loved her son as little as he loved her, and though his father was the soul of kindness he was never happy at home. He pretended to feel no interest in politics, but he shared to the full the extravagant family admiration for Napoleon, and some of the most valuable pages of his Journal describe the members of the Emperor's family whom he met in Italy and elsewhere. His career as a diplomat was undistinguished, and the interest of this handsome and well-edited volume lies rather in the society and scenes which it describes than in the personality and achievements of its author.

Professor Hearnshaw's new book, "Democracy and Labour,"† is a sequel to his earlier work "Democracy at the Crossways." It is the result of a course of lectures given twice last summer by him "to select audiences of Trade Unionists and others." The work is divided into four parts, Democracy, Labour, The False Lights of Democracy and Labour, and The True Way of Progress. In his Preface Professor Hearnshaw considers that "Socialism and its offshoots have no real hold on the English working man, and no very strong hold on the working man of Scotland and Wales." The main questions dealt with in this work are democratic procedure and democratic policy.

* Thornton Butterworth. 25s.
† Macmillan & Co., Ltd. 10s. 6d. net.

Mr. I. Abrahams, the Reader in Talmudic in the University of Cambridge, has issued a second series of "Studies in Pharisaism and the Gospels,"* in which he presses the point that "what is needed by students of the New Testament, be they Christian or Jewish students, is not polemics but exposition, not controversy but balanced discussion. The Gospels should no more be used as a foil to Pharisaism than the Talmud as a foil to the Gospels. Jesus, in His teaching, was not always thinking of the Pharisees. . . . Amidst the weeds of Pharisaism are flowers, amidst the evangelic flowers are weeds." Students of the New Testament will find much of interest, though possibly some "unsuspected apologetics," in these essays on subjects such as "Whited Sepulchres," "Some Rabbinic Ideas of Prayer," "Pharisaic Delicacies," and so forth. New light on New Testament phrases is always welcome, and some at least proceeds from this painstaking book.

NOTICES OF BOOKS.

Mr. Laski's edition of "A Defence of Liberty Against Tyrants,"† brilliantly inaugurates a series entitled "Classics of Social and Political Science." The *Vindiciae*, usually attributed to Duplessis Mornay the trusted counsellor of Henri IV., ranks among the earliest and most authoritative expositions of democratic theory; but, like many books once celebrated and influential, it is now very difficult to procure. Henceforth the student will be able to read it in the English translation published in 1689. Of still greater importance for him is the fact that the editor has prefixed a masterly Introduction of sixty pages, which prepares us not only for the treatise itself, but for the comprehension of the main lines of political thinking from the end of the Middle Ages. Since the lamented death of Figgis, none of our scholars can compete with Mr. Laski in knowledge of the whole range of English and French political ideas, or in his ability both to analyse and to criticise the doctrines for and against which men have fought and still fight with pen or sword.

In "Everybody's Theatre and How to Make it,"‡ Mr. H. W. Whanslaw shows how a puppet theatre can be made, a theatre, as Mr. Edward Shanks points out in his pleasing introduction, which will stage "a great store of romantic and poetic plays which, handled with a little tact, will adapt themselves to the needs of the lay theatre." This is a practical book with practical illustrations and plans, and a good boy or girl or adult carpenter could, by its means, produce a real lay theatre which may be made the means of real literary and romantic enjoyment.

"Marionettes and How to Make Them: a Book for Boys and Girls"§ is a delightful book for those children who like using their fingers. Many children have toy theatres, and enjoy them until the puppets are broken, and then they lose their former interest; the object of this little book is to teach the art of making life-like dolls, and how to make them

* Cambridge University Press. 10s. net.
† Bell & Son. 8s. 6d.
‡ Wells, Gardner, Darton & Co. 5s. net.
§ Stanley Paul & Co., Ltd. 2s. 6d. net.

perform in a life-like fashion. "It aims to acquaint you with the lovable and unique personality of Tony Sarg, illustrator, cartoonist, and creator of marionettes; and to tell you about puppet shows, a little of their long and varied history, and of certain matters connected with modern puppets." Mr. Sarg, besides illustrating this book, has also told the author a great deal about his own puppets; how he came to be interested in them; the improvements he made, and even "revealed some of the mysteries which make his marionette productions so different from ordinary puppet shows." The two fairy plays at the end, "Snow White and the Dwarfs," and "Little Red Riding Hood," by Miss Anne Stoddard, for home-made marionettes, together with "an introduction which tells how to give marionette entertainments at home," greatly enhance the value of the book for children, and indeed adults. It might well be studied together with Mr. Whanslaw's book on a similar theme.

"Some Ballad-Legends of Somerset,"* compiled by D. M. Cary, is the fourteenth number of "The Somerset Folk Series." This is a most delightful collection of legendary song, and serves the double duty of collecting local Somerset ballads and legends which otherwise might become lost and forgotten, the fate which so often overtakes local legend. It is interesting to find that old friends, such as "The Mistletoe Bough" and "The Lady's Walk," are legends of Somerset; or, rather, that the former is attributed to that county, for the compiler's note reads: "Much controversy has raged round the origin of this ballad, which has been attributed to various other parts of the country. But the historical foundations for it, if these be needed, are to be found in Somerset. . . ." The frontispiece, a remarkable photograph of a rock fissure shaped like a witch, is by Mr. Harry Savory, of Bristol. The one criticism of the book applies to its cover; such a series as "The Somerset Folk Series" deserves more lasting covers than those made of paper.

We must record the publication by the International Labour Office at Geneva of a series of very useful monographs dealing with the conditions of industry. There is a substantial volume on "Factory Inspection: Historical Development and Present Organisation in Certain Countries," which, in fact, include most of the countries that make up modern civilisation. Other valuable papers deal with the employment of disabled men, with the protection of eyesight in industry, with industrial hygiene and safety, with methods of statistics of industrial accidents and of wages and hours of labour. Other papers deal with hours of labour in Switzerland, Italy, and the Netherlands. There is also a report of the International Conference of Labour Statisticians. In these monographs masses of information are gathered and collated, and the material will prove of the greatest value to all those who are working at local or special industrial problems.

We must welcome the publication of Professor L. T. Hobhouse's substantial work on "Social Development: its Nature and Conditions,"† which deals with the growth of communities, society and the community, the basis of the community, social development and the

* Somerset Folk Press. 2s. net.
† George Allen & Unwin. 12s. 6d. net.

psychological and intellectual conditions of development. The theme is one of great scientific interest, and Professor Hobhouse brings the reader into the presence of processes of growth that need for their interpretation many other sciences and much philosophical thinking. Social Development is regarded as being conditioned by the growth of Rational Will. We are warned that social development is still incomplete, "and in the present state of the world in danger of arrest." But in fact that is always a condition of development and the effort, conscious and unconscious, to throw off inhibitions is part of the process of growth.

* * *

In "Christianity and Social Science: A Challenge to the Church,"* Dr. Charles A. Ellwood, the Professor of Sociology in the University of Missouri, issues a sequel to his volume "The Reconstruction of Religion." He argues that "a social intelligence which is high social vision, growing out of scientific social knowledge, may be made to do team work without religious aspirations," and in this way will "turn back the flood of barbarism that now threatens our civilisation, and put a fresh impetus of faith in all our work for human progress." This is the view and the policy that have been preached for years by the English Broad Church through the mouths of men like Canon Barnett and the Rev. Brooks Lambert and their successors in Church Social Service. The successive chapters of this attractive book deal with Social Evolution and Christianity, the Principles of Socialisation, Service, Love, Reconciliation, and the problems of Religious Education and Religious Leadership.

* * *

Mr. S. J. Adair Fitzgerald gives a very timely version of "The Story of the Savoy Opera: A Record of Events in Productions."† The immense interest taken to-day in the joint work of Gilbert and Sullivan is a sign, and a notable sign, of the times. While a nation loves good clean music it is alive. Mr. Fitzgerald's book has the touch of reality, and all will like to read something of the evolution of these delightful operas. Mr. T. P. O'Connor writes an introduction to his old friend's book. He is "one of the survivors of those who were present at the first night of 'The Mikado'—to my taste the best thing they ever did." The book should be widely read, and it will stimulate the revivals of Gilbert and Sullivan's work.

* * *

Miss Aelfrida Tillyard in "Messages to be received and considered by boys and girls in their teens"‡ sends real messages of hope and faith and effort, and appreciation of things good and beautiful to the rising generation. The spiritual side of beautiful things is emphasised: "the most exquisite of all beauties is the Beauty of Holiness." She suggests that those who can should read the Bible in Latin, an excellent idea, and the Latin Hymn are not forgotten. Teachers should study the inspiring little book which touches all sides of adolescent life.

* The Macmillan Company. 8s. net.

† Stanley Paul & Co. 5s. net.

‡ The Faith Press, 22, Buckingham Street, W.C. 2. 2s. 6d.

THE BUDGET.

SIX months ago the mere thought of a Labour Budget would have caused consternation in the City and disquietude amongst millions of our people. To-day Mr. Snowden's Liberal and Free Trade Budget has found acceptance in the City and brought relief to millions. Good fortune awaited the introduction of the first Labour Budget. Thanks to the driving force of public opinion, the rate of national expenditure year by year has been steadily reduced. The Chancellor inherited a surplus for last year of £48,000,000 in addition to the Statutory Sinking Fund of £40,000,000, a total of £88,000,000. In the present financial year, after providing a Sinking Fund of £45,000,000 and meeting the expenditure which will arise during the year, he was in the happy possession of a surplus of £38,000,000. *Punch* strikingly and truthfully portrayed the position in their cartoon of May 7th: Mr. Asquith, Mr. Baldwin, and Mr. Snowden are depicted upon a stage; Mr. Asquith is shown as remarking, "My ideas," while Mr. Baldwin adds, "My money," and Mr. Snowden, facing the footlights, laden with the favours he has received, smilingly adds, "But my bouquets."

The disposal of this surplus raises questions of political and financial consequences. When the Budget was first introduced the concessions to the indirect taxpayer were loudly cheered. They appeared to be the sole recipients of the Chancellor's surplus, but in a full financial year, as a result of the Chancellor's proposals, £14,500,000 is remitted to the direct taxpayer and £31,943,000 to the indirect taxpayer; or to state the facts in another way, for every 20s. of reduced taxation granted to the indirect taxpayer a further 9s. is granted to the direct taxpayer. During the last two years the direct taxpayer has received considerable reductions in taxation. This year the indirect taxpayer rightly receives the larger slice. The lower rates of taxation may bring home to the vast electorate the value of a reduced national expenditure.

One by one the new taxes imposed during the war are being repealed. From 1914 to 1920, when the country was forced to borrow large sums of money, Mr. McKenna and Mr. Austen Chamberlain, while acting as Chancellors of the Exchequer, introduced three new taxes to secure increased revenue. The Excess Profits Duty, repealed three years ago, in spite of certain grave imperfections, was the most effective method yet devised in a modern State to raise revenue. During the period in which the Excess Profits Tax was levied, the net revenue received by the Exchequer was upwards of £1,132,000,000, a truly astonishing figure; an amount equal to the total revenue of Great Britain from

the years 1908 to 1913 inclusive. Another new tax, however—the Corporation Profits Duty, imposed for the first time during the post-war period—has disappointed its authors and has now been repealed by the present Chancellor of the Exchequer at a loss of 12½ millions in the full year. Its glaring inequalities have been freely and frankly admitted. Last year, while Mr. Baldwin was Chancellor of the Exchequer, he reduced the tax by one-half, after which its early demise was to be expected.

The following table shows the main changes in taxation, the rate of duty in pre-war days and the yearly cost of the concessions which have been granted.

ARTICLE.	PRE-WAR DUTY	OLD DUTY	NEW DUTY	COST OF CONCESSION PER YEAR
Tea	3d. per lb.	8d. per lb.	4d. per lb.	£5,400,000
Sugar	About ½d. per lb.	2½d. per lb.	1½d. per lb.	£17,880,000
Cocoa, Coffee, and Chicory	—	—	50% reduction	£843,000
Motor Cars, Clocks, Watches & Musical Instruments ...	nil	33½%	nil	£2,750,000
Entertainment Tax: Seats not exceeding 6d. ...	nil	½d. to 2d.	nil	£4,000,000
Seats between 6d. and 1s. 3d. ...	nil	3d. to 4d.	1d. to 4d.	
Seats over 1s. 3d. ...	nil	3d. to 4d.	no change	
Inhabited House Duty	—	—	nil	£2,000,000
Corporation Profit Tax	nil	2½%	nil	£12,500,000

To-day, therefore, the Entertainment Tax is the only new tax levied during the war which is still on the Statute Book. Many financial authorities have truly said that a tax on the simple pleasures of the public can be justified, and it could be argued that the Entertainment Tax does not violate any canon of taxation. Mr. Snowden, however, happened to be the only opponent of the tax when introduced by Mr. McKenna in 1916. During the last few years the House of Commons has been strongly pressed by the industry affected either to repeal or to modify the tax. The comparatively narrow majorities in the House of Commons when the Entertainment Tax was renewed during recent years revealed the strength of public opinion against its continuance at the present rate. The total repeal of the tax may quickly follow. The cost of collection may be high in comparison with the revenue to be received and, besides, inequalities will arise in future years. It is worth noting that the exigencies of the war and post-war finance have not revealed any new permanent method of raising revenue.

The Budget raises two contentious questions: the repeal of the so-called McKenna duties, and the decision of the Government to reject the resolutions of the 1923 Imperial Conference for a further extension of preference. With regard to the former, it is well known that the duty on motors, &c., was the original method adopted during the war to save cargo space. As the war developed, other methods, such as licences, were adopted to secure a similar result. In 1920 Mr. Austen Chamberlain, when Chancellor of the Exchequer, arranged that these duties should be imposed yearly to enable the House of Commons to decide whether the duties should be renewed or modified. Manufacturers must have been conscious that the continuance of this particular duty depended upon the vicissitudes of party politics. Free Traders welcomed the removal of these duties. Experience shows that the continued prosperity of a trade depends upon its ability to withstand successfully the competition of the world. Manufacturers strive for greater efficiency. Consumers reap the benefit. Before the war the products of our engineering shops competed successfully against foreign competition in the neutral markets of the world. A similar result will await the trades concerned to-day. The policy of free imports enables manufacturers to purchase the raw material they require at the lowest possible price, and British skill can then face successfully the products of other nations. If these duties were continued, it might well be asked why the House of Commons and the Government of the day should grant a peculiar favour to a special trade. During the last few years the revenue received by the Exchequer from these duties has steadily dwindled, with the result that the total yield from these taxes only amounts to £2,750,000. The people at the last Election decided in favour of Free Trade. When the votes at the polling booths were counted, the duties on motors, &c., were doomed. The present House of Commons is in this case also reversing another war-time fiscal expedient.

Controversy centres around the Imperial Preference Duties. At the last Imperial Conference in September, 1923, Mr. Baldwin's Government agreed with the Dominion representatives for a further development of preferential duties. The Government do not intend to implement these schemes, but propose to leave on the Statute Book the present preference, which permits Dominion produce to be imported into Great Britain at one-sixth less than the present duty. While all public men are anxious to develop British trade with our Dominions and further their development, yet the case for Imperial preference, as at present established, appears to be based on strange sentiment and questionable figures. Preference, to be effective and to confer a real economic advantage to our Dominions, must operate on the main articles of food and raw

material grown in our Dominions. Unless Great Britain levies a tax on these commodities and then grants a preference to our Dominions on such articles, no real economic advantage can be granted to our overseas Dominions. At present no political party advocates this policy. Why, then, appear to offer an advantage to our Dominions and in reality deny the substance thereof?

Are the existing Imperial Preference duties, therefore, of much value to our Dominions? They mainly affect two commodities, tea and sugar. Ninety per cent. of the tea consumed in Great Britain is grown in India and Ceylon: only 10 per cent. comes from other countries. Competition between Indian planters and the size of their crops combine to determine the price of tea in Great Britain. The amount of tea imported from China is so small that the quantity does not influence the market price. Tea planters in India do not meet foreign competition in selling their produce in Great Britain. A preference in the rate of duty cannot therefore assist the tea planter.

The case of sugar, however, differs considerably. Our main supplies are imported from foreign countries, and the present preference on sugar undoubtedly gives material advantage to the sugar grower in our Dominions. World conditions settle the price of sugar in this country, in addition to the duty. Under the preferential duties the grower of sugar in our Dominions receives for his produce in the market of Great Britain, not only the world price, but one-sixth of the import duty on sugar. With this economic advantage in his favour one would have expected an increased cultivation of sugar, especially in the West Indies, but official figures quoted in the House of Commons reveal that the Empire production of sugar in 1919, before preference was established in this country, was 3,973,000 tons, while in 1922-1923, four years later, the amount was 4,019,000 tons, a meagre increase of 46,000. In the West Indies the production of sugar had actually decreased from 191,000 tons in 1919 to 159,000 tons in 1922-23. The present preference is a concealed subsidy to the West Indian sugar grower at the expense of the taxpayer in this country. Any system of preference to be effective must have that result. At the moment the West Indian sugar grower does not appear from the above figures to value this privilege. Why should the British taxpayer be expected to increase his own burdens by granting this concealed subsidy? The pressure of life in Great Britain is great, deepened and aggravated by the load of taxation. In our Dominions numerous openings exist. Great resources are still undeveloped. They enjoy a much lower scale of taxation. The Dominions, although willing to receive, do not demand a privilege in the home market; neither should Great Britain be asked to grant this favour.

Turning to a minor question, even in matters of Post Office finance, Mr. Snowden has shown himself a purist in finance. With respect to the one trading department of the State, that is, the Post Office, there is no trace of Socialism in the Budget. Mr. Snowden based his refusal to re-establish the penny postage on the ground that it was not an economic proposition; a penny postage would involve a loss to the State, and he argued that the Post Office should not be subsidised at the expense of the general taxpayer. It is interesting to observe that in the race for first consideration between a penny postage and a penny telephone the latter has won, while telephone users also enjoy a more up-to-date service in comparison with pre-war days.

Mr. Snowden has secured his surplus of £38,000,000 through treating the cash which the Exchequer will receive from the sales of war stores (capital assets) as revenue. The special revenue received from the sales of war stores, &c., is £30,000,000, while the liquidation of war commitments absorbs £3,178,000; he has, therefore, under the headings of Special Revenue and Special Expenditure a balance of £26,822,000. The major portion of his surplus is thus obtained through the sales of war stores.

The foregoing remarks have mainly applied to the revenue side of the Budget; but what about the expenditure side? The estimated expenditure for the total Supply Services this year is £405,186,000, while the actual expenditure for last year was £405,800,000, virtually the same amount. The estimated expenditure for the Civil Services for the present year shows some decrease over last year, but Labour has increased the estimated expenditure for the Fighting Services by upwards of £9,000,000. The figures are:

The actual expenditure of the Army, Navy, and	
Air Forces in 1923-24 was	£105,800,000
The estimated expenditure for the present year is	£115,311,000

Labour's policy in office has thus led to an increased burden for armaments.

Let us now look towards the future. Has Mr. Snowden been too optimistic in his forecasts of revenue? It is not easy to judge. Who can say how the revenue will flow into the coffers of the Exchequer this year or from what sources? In addition to the annual taxation to be levied during the year, there is also a sum of upwards of £232,000,000 of unpaid taxes on April 5th, 1924, waiting to be collected. This startling figure, mentioned by the Financial Secretary to the Treasury in the House of Commons on May 1st, consists of arrears of Income Tax £20,000,000, Super Tax £42,000,000, Corporation Profits Tax £10,000,000, Excess Profits Duty (gross arrears) £160,000,000, a total of £232,000,000 in all. Repayments of the Excess Profits Duty, which have been

heavy during recent years, may materially affect these figures. To forecast the revenue to be received this year one must guess as to the amount of unpaid taxes there may be on April 5th, 1925, or in other words, whether the taxpayer will be able to pay a large share of the above-mentioned arrears in addition to his yearly taxes. The arrears of unpaid taxes, however, show a steady decrease each year.

Mr. Baldwin, speaking as Chancellor of the Exchequer in the House of Commons on April 16th, 1923, stated that in the present year he anticipated the Revenue would lose some £50,000,000 through the decreased yield on the Income Tax and from receipts of the sales of war stores in comparison with 1923-1924. Mr. Snowden, however, expects that he will receive from these two sources of revenue not £50,000,000 but only £11,000,000 less. A wide discrepancy exists between these two figures. During recent years, on the one hand, estimates of revenue submitted by the Treasury have been cautiously prepared, for the revenue actually received has exceeded expectations, while, on the other hand, the spending Departments have asked the House of Commons to vote much larger sums than they have actually required. Estimates of revenue have been understated and estimates of expenditure overstated. This policy has led to the large surpluses which have accrued at the end of the financial year.

The Labour Party has offered to the electorate increased Old Age Pensions as well as a lower age limit; pensions for widows; hundreds of thousands of houses at a low rent, and the removal of the thrift disqualifications for Old Age Pensioners. Labour has offered to bring the foregoing benefits within the reach of the electorate. Labour has gained power in Great Britain through persuading over 4,000,000 electors that Labour, and Labour alone, can cure unemployment. Without money no such benefits can be forthcoming. Increased taxation can alone provide the means for the promises made by the Labour Party to the electorate to be carried into effect.

Lastly, it may well be asked, can the nation afford a national debt which absorbs £305,000,000 in interest, with a Sinking Fund of £45,000,000, making a total of £350,000,000? Alone among European nations we started three years ago, not only to balance our Budget but to repay our National Debt. The financial position of Free Trade Britain is still the envy and admiration of the world. Great Britain has shown a financial courage unequalled in history, and our people have borne with patience a depth and length of depression hitherto unknown in an industrial State. The burden is indeed heavy, but we can stand the strain if prudence guides our actions.

GODFREY P. COLLINS.

REPARATIONS AND SECURITY.

THE Reports of the Commission of Experts were received with so general a chorus of approval, both by economists and by the public, as to give rise to very high hopes that a settlement of the problem which has kept the greater part of Europe in a state of unrest for five years was at last near. This optimism was increased by the prompt acceptance of the reports of the Reparations Commission, by the endorsement which they received from the Governments of Great Britain, Italy, Belgium, and Germany, and by an expression of approval, as nearly official as could in the circumstances be expected from Washington. Optimism gave way to almost equally pronounced pessimism as the result of the German elections, but returned with the news of the defeat of M. Poincaré. I did not at the time think the optimism was justified, nor do I now think that there is cause for some of the more gloomy forebodings which have taken its place. The reports of the experts mark a great step forward. They constitute an authoritative pronouncement on the economic aspect of the problem of reparations, but there is also the political aspect to be considered, and the two cannot be separated. The experts have, in fact, found for us a path through the wood, but we are not yet clear of the trees. The way out to the sunlight will not be found the more quickly either by minimising or exaggerating the difficulties which remain.

I have not the competence to enable me to examine critically the work of the experts, but that has been done sufficiently by those who have the necessary technical equipment. Business has taken me some dozen times into the Ruhr during the past six months, and I propose to answer the Reports in the light of impressions which I have gathered on the spot during that period. I will begin with a secondary matter, upon which I have been and still am asked many questions—the extent of the distress in Germany and the need for extraneous assistance. Upon this question the McKenna Report throws some light. It estimates that Germany as a whole has made between £300,000,000 and £400,000,000 out of the foreigners who have purchased marks. A great deal of this vast sum has gone into the pockets of individuals. There were war profiteers in Germany as in the other countries, but there have probably been more peace profiteers in that country than in any other. The simple process of exacting value out of nothing by paying off mortgages and other debts in depreciated currency has been one of which Germans have not been slow to avail themselves. Now, while the paper mark was tumbling downwards no one knew where he stood and what he would be worth to-morrow.

In such circumstances business men did not dare to take a holiday. But when the introduction of the Rentenmark stabilised the currency the situation changed. The lucky or the astute were able to sit down and count their gains and, as most of them had not been out of Germany for ten years, they, during the past winter and spring, went off in hundreds to Italy, Switzerland, and the South of France to have a good time regardless of cost. As this extravagance was displayed openly before the eyes of Europe at the very time when appeals were being made for help for the starving in Germany there was naturally much perplexity amongst those to whom the appeal was addressed.

Germany is a large country and I have no desire to generalise from what I have seen in certain parts, but, from a number of visits to the rural districts of western Germany, I should say that the farmers and small landowners are at least as well off as they were before the war, while, in the Ruhr and Rhineland generally, careful investigation has not enabled me to find more distress, save in one respect, than has existed during the same period in the industrial districts of Northern England. The one exception is the state of the children under twelve years of age. The under-feeding of the war period, prolonged by an almost continuous lack of sufficient milk and fats in the industrial districts since the war, has resulted in stunted growth, the prevalence of rickets and, worst of all, an alarming increase of tuberculosis. On the whole, however, I have not found more distress than Germany can be expected to meet herself, and she is doing a great deal. In the Ruhr certainly 90 per cent. of the relief work, which is extensive, is financed by Germany, and I know several cases in which the directors and chief officials of large concerns have been giving for a long time past 10 per cent. monthly of their salaries to help the unemployed. The difficulty in Germany as in other countries is to make the profiteers do their duty, and this is the more difficult in Germany because for a long time past she has had a more complete system of insurance than most other countries, and the practice of private charity has not been anything like as general as it has been with us.

The Reports of the experts do not make any mention of the Ruhr, partly, perhaps, because their sphere being purely economic they did not wish to raise the disputed question of the legality of its occupation, more probably because they were examining the problem of reparations as a whole. For the past eighteen months our eyes have been fixed on the Ruhr valley, but that is only a small though industrially the most important part of the occupied area. That area contains about one-sixth of the total population of Germany, and the industrial output of the remainder of the

Rhineland is at least equal to that of the Ruhr. The recommendation of the experts that control of her industries shall be restored to Germany means then much more than the economic evacuation of the Ruhr. It involves, as I have said, a number of highly important political questions which the experts have not touched on as being outside their province.

Before going into these let me describe the present situation in the Ruhr. This is very different from that which prevailed at the beginning of the year. The "invisible occupation" has now been for some time in full swing. The French garrison has been greatly reduced, and there are now no troops in any of the small towns or mining villages. The occupation, in fact, is as unobtrusive as it is possible to make it, and certainly in the greater part of the Ruhr it is now less obtrusive than is our occupation of Cologne. Except on the frontier of the Ruhr, where the French control posts remain, barbed wire barricades have disappeared, and restrictions on travel have been reduced to a minimum. The behaviour of the French troops is admirable, and there is very little friction between them and the inhabitants. Since the French abandoned their absurd attempt at a boycott of communication with the Cologne area, there has been a great improvement in railway travel. Through trains are now frequent and regular, and the supply of trucks to the mines, a matter vital to their effective working, has been much increased. The machinery of the French administration is now working with reasonable smoothness, and consequently the receipts from the Ruhr have been going up. While M. Poincaré's claims, obviously prepared for the purpose of the French elections, have to be taken with a grain of salt, it is ridiculous to pretend that the French have gained nothing material in the Ruhr. M. Poincaré's estimate that the Ruhr was producing 600,000,000 gold marks a year was apparently arrived at by the simple method of multiplying by twelve the receipts from the month of March, but, as these receipts included taxation at a rate which it is now recognised was too high and has been reduced, customs duties from a tariff which has also been reduced, and payments of arrears of taxes, most of which will be completed by the end of June, it is obvious that this valuation is too high. But even if the receipts do not come up to the expectations which General Degoutte formed on the cessation of passive resistance, they are now considerable, though, were the occupation to come to an end in the next few weeks, I doubt if there would be any large balance in favour of France, when the total costs were set off against the total receipts.

But what France has gained economically by the occupation is information as to the amount of taxation which the German industry

can stand, and doubtless this information has been placed at the disposal of the experts and has helped them to their conclusions. This information has been obtained by a rough-and-ready process of trial and error. When passive resistance came to an end last November the industrial agreement between the mines and the M.I.C.U.M. required the payment of arrears of coal taxes amounting to 17,012,700 dollars, a tax on current production amounting to 10 francs a ton, the delivery in kind of 27 per cent. of the production in coal and coke, and heavy import duties on all material required for the mines. The amount of the arrears of coal tax has been reduced to 15,000,000 dollars, the tax on current production was reduced on January 15th to 8 francs a ton, and on April 15th to 1.5 gold marks a ton, or about 5 francs, half the original tax imposed. That this is still somewhat above the limit of possible taxation is shown by the present situation in the Ruhr. When the last reduction of taxation took place the mine owners raised wages by 15 per cent., but insisted on an eight-hour day below the ground. The miners, no doubt excited by the success of the Communists in the Ruhr during the recent elections, refused to work more than seven hours, and a lock-out has resulted, which is in progress as I write.

There is much to be said from the men's point of view, for, with wages as low as they have been and the cost of living as high as it is, that is to say higher in the Ruhr than in England, they do not get sufficient nourishing food to enable them to work an eight-hour shift underground. On the other hand, the mine owners maintain with every show of reason that they cannot make greater concessions and pay the French taxes. But the net result of the experiments which the French have imposed upon the Ruhr has been an approximation to the taxable capacity of that district, and the general conclusion from the evidence so obtained is that the estimate of the experts, that Germany, given industrial freedom, can at once begin graduated payments culminating four years hence in annual instalments of £125,000,000 a year, is excessive, and she will be well advised to accept that estimate.

I do not share the view commonly expressed both here and in France that the recent elections in Germany have been a demonstration against the experts' report. I happened to be in Germany upon polling day and, though the polls were heavy, in many parts amounting to 80 per cent. of the electorate, there was remarkably little excitement. The fact that representatives of thirteen parties have been returned to the Reichstag and that no one party has gained a decisive victory, would seem to show that the German electorate as a whole is chiefly concerned with its internal difficulties and problems and that there is no very pro-

nounced national movement in existence. It was anticipated before the election that both of the extreme wings would make gains, and anticipation was to some extent justified, though neither the Communists of the extreme Left nor the People's Party, Ludendorff's diehards, of the extreme Right, did all that was expected of them. These two parties, which between them number less than a quarter of the new Reichstag, are the only out-and-out opponents of acceptance of the experts' Reports.

The National Party of moderate Conservatives, which gained most, is not prepared to act the part of wreckers. It will attempt to obtain concessions, of which the most probable appear to be the safeguarding of German sovereign rights in the application of the Dawes scheme for the control of the railways and the fixing of Germany's liability at a definite sum. There is nothing in the experts' proposal for the conversion of the German railways into a joint stock Company which need affront German sentiment, provided that the spirit of the whole Report, which explicitly requires industrial freedom for Germany, is fairly applied. Everything depends upon the interpretation which France puts upon those clauses of the Report, and that, in turn, of course depends in great measure upon the effect which the recent electoral swing to the Left in France will have on French policy. The other demand of the Nationalist Party for a precise definition of Germany's liability under the head of reparations appears on the face of it to be reasonable. There is a good deal to be said for their view, that it is not worth Germany's while to settle down to work for the liquidation of an indefinite debt or for that of a debt fixed at a fanciful figure, but the difficulties which the experts had in fixing Germany's liability are obvious and are well known to most thinking persons.

The result of the recent election is that in the new Reichstag there is a small majority in favour of the acceptance of the Reports as they stand, but not a present sufficient number of members in favour of this course to ensure the two-thirds majority which is needed. On the other hand, there is, I believe, an overwhelming majority opposed to absolute rejection. When the question comes up for discussion in the Reichstag I think it will be found that the influence of the big German industrialists, who are almost unanimous in favouring acceptance of the Reports, the desire of most Germans to keep in with Great Britain and America, the influence of the financiers, who know the urgent need for a foreign loan, and, most of all, the general knowledge that the rejection of the Reports would most certainly produce another financial crisis, will be decisive. On the whole, the situation in Germany does not seem likely to imperil the application of the proposals of the

experts, though it may, and probably will, entail further discussion and some delay.

The real difficulty remains, as it was from the first, the squaring of France's claims with the spirit of the Report, for I doubt whether the result of the French elections has done much to remove this difficulty. It seems certain that any Government which can hold office in France must insist on the application of some form of sanction to Germany in the event of default and the provision of precautions for the security of France. As to the first of these requirements, the continuance of the military occupation of the Ruhr need not, in itself, conflict with the application of the measures proposed by the experts any more than would our occupation of the Cologne area. But the continuance of the occupation of the Ruhr would involve us in a great difficulty, for, by accepting any scheme which allowed this, we should *ipso facto* be recognising the occupation, which we have hitherto refused to do. A diplomatic formula might be found which, by following the example of the experts and avoiding all mention of the Ruhr, would salve our consciences, but there remains a much graver difficulty. Whether the military occupation of the Ruhr continues or not, there will remain the troops in the areas occupied under the terms of the Treaty of Versailles to be considered. As long as there are French troops on the Rhine, France is entitled to require that her communication with the Rhine shall be made safe, and further, the vast majority of Frenchmen regard the military occupation of the Rhine not as a penalty imposed upon Germany but as providing them with an advanced guard, which guarantees their security.

The real problem before the statesmen of Europe is how to fit in this military occupation and all that it involves with the terms of the experts' Report. It is useless for us to maintain that France is unnecessarily nervous. If a solution is to be reached we must face the facts as they are and the mentality of Frenchmen as it is to-day. Most Frenchmen, I am convinced, put security before payment, and the French policy of the past years shows conclusively that this is so. The control of the railways under the railway *Régie*, which France has established on both banks of the Rhine, was not organised for the purpose of extracting more money from Germany. Anyone who has studied closely the French administration of the occupied areas knows that this organisation has seriously hampered the German industries on the Rhine and reduced their capacity to pay. The *Régie* was created in order to separate the Rhineland railways from those of the Reich, with the ultimate object of making that separation permanent so that, in the event of further war, Germany should be unable to use those

railways for purposes of mobilisation and France should be able to assemble her armies first on the Rhine. M. Poincaré has repeatedly said that the control of the Rhineland railways was essential to the security of France, and he repeated that statement after the issue of the Report of the experts. How is such control of the railways as will guarantee to France the safety of her communications with her troops on the Rhine in time of peace, and give her the certainty that she can anticipate Germany on the Rhine in the event of war, to be made compatible with the formation of the joint stock Company and the complete freedom of German industry, which are the essential preliminaries to the application of the experts' proposals?

One of the main reasons why so little progress has been made in the solution of the problem of reparations is that both we and the United States have held the view that that problem must be settled before the problems of security and of the reduction of armaments are tackled. It is said that the friction arising out of the question of reparations is the cause of the feeling of insecurity and of the maintenance of large armaments. I believe that the real cause of France's insistent demand for security is that the present actual and potential rulers of France have all of them been brought up under the fear of German invasion, and most of them have twice had experience of such invasion. In any event, the two problems of reparations and security are inextricably involved in the minds of most Frenchmen, and I do not believe that any result will be reached if an attempt is made to separate them. As far as it is possible to judge from recent statements made by Mr. MacDonald and Mr. Coolidge, they still believe that the experts' plans can be applied without settling the question of security. Possibly Mr. MacDonald's recent conversations with the Belgian Minister may have caused him to modify that view. There is much to be said for the proposal of the Belgian Prime Minister, that in place of any other sanction upon Germany we should agree, in the event of German default, to apply to Germany an economic blockade similar to that envisaged in Article 16 of the Covenant of the League of Nations. It would, however, be very inadvisable to make the League of Nations responsible for the application of this sanction, because, in the first place, the Covenant of the League never envisaged the use of sanctions for such a purpose, and, in the second place, to do so would keep Germany out of the League for an indefinite period. If France could be induced to accept such a measure in exchange for the complete evacuation of the Rhineland, Germany would almost certainly agree, and there would be no longer any difficulties about French control of railways. But unfortunately Frenchmen,

as everyone knows who had dealings with them in the war, have not the sea sense and have little faith in naval and economic sanctions. We know the tremendous power of the economic weapon, and so does Germany from bitter experience, but France believes only in the military weapon.

The experts have provided us with a practical solution of the economic problem, and in that they have rendered a great service, but they have not solved the whole problem, and that can only be done by an International Conference which will deal with the three questions of reparations, security, and armaments. There is clearly a great deal of ground to be explored before such a Conference can be held, and Mr. MacDonald is now busy exploring it. The hopeful features in the situation are that over both France and Germany hangs the shadow of an economic crisis which neither can solve without the help of Great Britain and the United States and that France appears to be much more ready to seek a permanent and peaceful solution than she has been. If we and America could agree to examine the two problems of reparations and security together a solution should not be long delayed, but there seems to be very little prospect of such agreement, and it is doubtful whether anything short of a very undesirable financial convulsion will produce very speedy results. There is still much to be done before the problem of reparations is removed from the vicious circle in which it has been involved for the past five years.

F. MAURICE.

THE GERMAN ELECTIONS.

THE Reichstag that the German voters elected on May 7th is regarded by almost everybody as a most problematical body.

With it everything is possible and nothing secure. At the time of writing it is still uncertain whether a Government with a majority of the members behind it can be formed at all, and it is more questionable still whether any such Government, if brought together, would offer a guarantee of durability.

Regarded from the point of view of Republicanism, the parties which can be taken as reliable have, with one exception, considerably lost votes and seats, whilst the Monarchists can show remarkable increases. The grouping of the new Reichstag is as follows:

				LOSSES AND GAINS	
				1920	1924
A.—REPUBLICAN PARTIES.					
Majority Social Democrats	...	...	...	113	
Independent Social Democrats	...	...	...	81	
United Social Democrats	...	...	...	194	100
German Democrats	...	...	...	45	28
Centre Party	...	...	...	67	65
					193
B.—CONSTITUTIONALISTS.					
German People's Party (Deutsche Volkspartei)	...	...	...	62	44
Bavarian People's Party (Bayerische Volkspartei)	...	...	...	21	16
Bavarian Farmers' Party	...	...	...	4	10
German Hanoverians (Separatists)	...	...	...	5	5
					75
C.—MONARCHISTS.					
German Nationalists (Deutschnationale)	...	...	...	66	96
German Socialists (Antisemites)	...	...	...	0	4
German Popular Freedom Party (Antisemites)	...	...	...	0	32
Agriculturists	...	...	...	0	9
					141
D.—BOLSHEVIKI (COMMUNISTS)				2	62

In all, 471 members, so that a coalition of at least 236 members is required to get a clear majority for any Government. This cannot be formed now by those parties alone which have recognised the Republican constitution as a political necessity for Germany and mean to abide by it. Nor can the Monarchists alone get such a majority together. With all their gains they are still more than fifty votes behind the Republicans. And even if all the Constitutionalists, *i.e.*, those parties that take the Vicar of Bray as their model and go with either the Republic or the Monarchy according to circumstances, were to join them, they would still be twenty

votes below the necessary quorum. If they claim the right to lead the nation, they do not found it on the political vote as given by the electors, but on the class interest of all the middle-class parties of the Reichstag. They preach the gospel of the middle-class *bloc* against Marxism root and branch, whether represented by Communists or by Social Democrats. Such a *bloc*, which would have to include the Centre Party—the Democrats they regard as hopeless—would be strong enough to save the country for a long time from the hydra of Socialism.

But has this *bloc* any chance of being realised? No doubt there are elements in the Centre Party which would prefer a union with the German Nationalists to one with the International Socialists. Besides the wealthy Catholic landowners and industrialists of whom this is known as a fact, it is also true of those Catholic working men who follow the lead of Herr Adam Stegerwald, once a fiery Christian Trade Union leader but for some time past rather a sullen advocate of a coalition against Social Democracy. But the mass of the Catholic working men, particularly those of the highly industrial western provinces, would be dead against it, and altogether it so much contradicts the traditional policy of the Centre Party that even its moderate leaders do not like to hear of it.

And yet the idea of a Cabinet of the German Nationalists is not absolutely hopeless. It has friends in camps where one would least of all look for it. This does not point to the Communists. Their policy is so whimsical, they are in this respect so much like the prophet Habakkuk, *capable de tout*, have so often accompanied the German Nationalists into the same lobby, that nobody would be astonished to see them once again at their side. No, it is in the Democratic and the Social Democratic camps that many would like to see the German Nationalists now at the helm of the State.

This is not for any love of them, or casual agreement with them, or because they expect anything beneficial from them. Nothing of the kind. It is in order to put them on trial, to convince the world of their demagogic dishonesty. This party, like all the parties and sections which adorn themselves with the prefixes "National" or "Populist" or—a later novelty—"Peoplish" (*völkisch*), has all these years past so shamefully deceived the nation about the possibility of rejecting impositions on the part of the Allies, in order to denounce the Republican Governments and parties as weaklings or worse, that many cannot suppress a desire to see them in the same position as the former Republican Governments and being shown up as dependent upon the Republican parties or succeeding less than these have done. It is not necessary to enlarge further on the danger of this experiment, for the Republican parties as well as for the country as a whole.

And yet one can understand the desire in a large section of the Republican masses to see it put into practice. It is explained by the dishonesty of the Nationalists, as already described. From the day when the leaders of the army, Ludendorff and his colleagues, asked the German civil Government to apply to the Allies, through President Wilson, for an armistice, and afterwards shifted on to them the responsibility for the consequences of the act, this false game has been played by the Nationalists, step by step, with even greater recklessness and cunning. The signing of the dictated Treaty of Versailles, the acceptance of the London Ultimatum of 1921, every act, in the dealings with the Allies, of putting up with the inevitable when denial would only have drawn upon the country higher charges and prevented improved relations, the only way to alleviations and abatements—all these steps were represented to the ignorant masses as acts of cowardice and treachery, and ill-informed youths were incited to the murder of men who, even from the point of view of old-fashioned patriotism, had done the very best for the country, only because they had resisted the frivolous shedding of streams of blood. It is a very dark chapter in the history of Germany, this poisoning of men's spirits with high-sounding catchwords which have lost any sense in our days. This pernicious game has been shamefully played again during the electoral battle for the new Reichstag, in misrepresenting the meaning of the Report of the international experts on Reparations, otherwise called the Dawes Report.

No doubt the conditions of payment suggested by the Report would lay a very heavy burden on Germany, and it may well be that one day facts will show that, with the best intention and the most strenuous endeavour, she may prove unable to carry them out to the full. But nobody can deny that the spirit of the propositions is one of fairness and that already they signify an essential alleviation for Germany. No sooner, however, were they made known than the whole Press of the "National," "Populist," and "Peoplish" parties shouted "Inacceptable!" and would see nothing but extortion in them. It was otherwise with the leading organ of the Social Democratic Party, the *Vorwärts*, and the other papers of this party. They recognised the better spirit of the proposals compared with their forerunners, pointed out the alleviations they contained, and advised the Government to accept them in principle without delay. And, unmoved by the shoutings of the Nationalists and the wild denunciations of the Communists, who rivalled the former in inciting the workers against the Social Democrats for what they called "sacrificing the sweat of the German proletariat to the exploiting classes of the Allied countries," they maintained this attitude throughout, and

have hereby greatly encouraged the Marx Government to take that firm stand in the matter which has already improved the feeling between it and the Allies, and has increased the hope of an early peaceful understanding.

It is true that, at the election, the declaration that they would vote for the Report cost the parties that gave it heavy losses. The masses of the people are so easily deceived in these matters. It is hardly an exaggeration to value the loss in votes which the declaration caused the United Social Democrats at over a million. Yet they have, considering all the circumstances, made not at all a bad show. They have obtained a total of 5,991,547 votes, more than any other party. Now this is, in fact, four millions and a half less than the Majority Social Democrats and Independent Social Democrats together obtained at the previous election to the Reichstag in June, 1920. But at that time the party of the Independents included still more members leaning to the doctrines of the Communists than adherents of a consistent Social Democratic policy. Two years later, in 1922, when Zinovieff had come over from Moscow to keep the German Independents under the dictation of the Moscow Centre, the final split occurred. In consequence of the encounters provoked, the party was reduced to a state approaching utter dissolution, and in September, 1922, a majority of its then members resolved to unite with the Majority Social Democrats, and the United Social Democratic Party was founded. Of the former rank and file of the Independents only a minority joined the United Party. A larger number went over to the Communists, and a not inconsiderable section passed to the big army of the "non-political"—the usual effect of the splits fostered by Moscow at such enormous expense.

The increase in members which the reunion has brought to the United Party over the forces of the Majority Social Democrats cannot have been much higher than 10 per cent. The number thus obtained must be taken as the point of departure if the movement of the United Social Democrats since 1920 is to be compared with that of the Communists. Now, as we have seen, everything at the time of the election played into the hands of the latter, particularly since they—in this respect also the faithful disciples of Moscow—systematically harped on the crude Nationalistic sentiment. So sure were they of their success that, in their amiable language, they spoke and wrote already of the "stinking corpse of the United Social Democrats." This cocksureness seems to have misled not a few home and foreign newspaper correspondents. But, in fact, they obtained, with all their concessions to National prejudices, 3,728,000 votes, and the United Social Democrats 5,991,000 votes. The latter remain, in votes and seats obtained, the biggest party

of the German Republic—a proof of cohesion which was a great surprise to the average man in the street and in the club. This party has been often the object of adverse criticism, but those criticisms were again open to strong anti-criticism, and bore witness to little insight into the tasks of this party and its difficulties.

The Social Democratic Party is in Germany the only party worth speaking of which is Republican on principle. The Catholic Centre Party and the Democrats have accepted the Republic as a political necessity under the given circumstances but not as their own chosen form of Government. They will be trustworthy Republicans as long as these circumstances remain, but may one day find that they have sufficiently changed to justify a different attitude, and they show little inclination to fight for the Republic if need be. Yet the question of the Republic is in Germany not a question of a form of Government only. It is narrowly connected with material questions of government policy, for the Republic is the expression of a particular social organisation. This is exactly the reason why the Social Democrats feel and act as the party of the Republic, and regard it as their mission to watch lest, in an innocent-looking guise, institutions are restored or creep in that might one day open the door to serious reaction. This is the natural consequence of the fact that, whilst in other countries the organisation of national defence has in revolutionary times, at least in the beginning, been the protection of the progressive forces, in Germany the movement of reactionary classes and institutions. The Social Democratic Party, again, is a Parliamentary force of the Republic, not big enough to rule, but too big to enjoy the irresponsibility of a group of political free-lances.

There is in its ranks a great aversion to joining a Governmental Coalition again with the three parties of the Middle: the Centre and Democrats of the Republican group, and the German People's Party of those here called the Constitutional group. The leader of the latter party, Herr Stresemann, has during the election campaign made ambiguous speeches in regard to the Republic which provoked uneasiness even in circles generally favourable to him. But without his party the Coalition of the Middle is impossible to achieve; the Centre and Democrats insist upon it. And since this Coalition would now number only 137 members out of a total of 471, it could not possibly form a Government capable of living without an emergency force in the background.

It is hoped by many that the Social Democratic Party will serve as such a force by observing towards the Government of the Middle what is called a "benevolent neutrality." But there are reasons that make it doubtful whether this makeshift will work for any length of time. Bitter experience has taught the Social

Democrats that, by agreeing to serve as such an emergency force, they would undertake responsibilities without rights which, as things are, would tend to deprive them of their credit with the mass of the working classes and the best elements of middle-class Radicalism. The weakness of the Government and of numerous officials, face to face with the militarists and the demagogues of Nationalism, becomes unbearable as time goes on. It encourages them to a self-assertion which not only revolts the sense of equity but is also indefensible from the point of view of international policy. And if this weakness is excused by the after effects of the militaristic education of the German nation, the necessity is proved all the more for the great party of Socialism to maintain its freedom not only of verbal criticism but also of voting in Parliament according to its own judgment.

This does not mean that a Government of the Middle will find the Social Democrats at the side of its opponents. As long as, on the question of reparations, it sticks to the policy outlined by Herr Marx, the particular or, in cellor, it can be sure of their support in all measures. Social Democrats to this policy. Its demand for a *plébiscite* on regard it as the Report has been dictated by the determination of the situation in regard to the policy of the "will to fulfil." The vote demanded of the people is not, as at first was erroneously feared by many, an alternative to a vote of Parliament. The law prescribes that Parliament must pronounce its opinion on the question before the *plébiscite* is taken. Hence the Nationalists are compelled to make a definite declaration.

This puts them in a rather awkward situation: to choose between the statesman and the demagogue. Those members of the party who belong to the Conservatives of the old school would rather prove themselves statesmen and vote for the acceptance of the Report, the more so since the business world almost unanimously desires it. But the demagogues cannot and will not renounce their Nationalistic catchwords of "treacherous submission" and the like. It cannot yet be known for certain which section will prove the master, and many believe that the quarrel will end in a split of the party. However this may be, at the present instant the parties that, according to figures, are returned, beaten, to the Reichstag, are in a much better situation than the apparent victors, and this state of things may last as long as the ruling question of the hour, the acceptance of the experts' Report, is not settled. That it will be voted by an unmistakable majority seems to be already assured. The Nationalists will not dare to force a dissolution on this question. But what will become of this motley Reichstag when the principle of the Report is accepted remains the great problem.

EDUARD BERNSTEIN.

LIBERALS AND LABOUR IN THE HOUSE.

FOUR months ago Mr. Asquith made his great speech in the House which decided the fate of the Baldwin Ministry and virtually called the Labour Party into office. Speaking with ease and mastery he held the crowded House within his grasp. Every word was greedily followed, and, in the acknowledgment of his power, the distinctions of party were for the moment almost forgotten. That speech, said Mr. Ramsay MacDonald a few days later, "belonged not to a party but to the House." In particular, Mr. Asquith's luminous and generous utterance seemed, of itself, to establish cordial relationships between Liberal and Labour members. There came one of those occasional heightening moods of the House—

Friends to congratulate their friends made haste,
And long inveterate foes saluted as they passed.

The one passage in that speech which gave the keenest pleasure to Liberal members was that in which Mr. Asquith held out the prospect of fruitful co-operation "where progressive thought has grasped the same ideals, and is ready to proceed for their attainment to great lengths on common lines."

Whatever might be suggested by malicious or suspicious critics, there is no question that the great body of Liberals who cheered Mr. Asquith's speech, and went with him into the lobby in the subsequent division, were influenced by genuine progressive hopefulness and public spirit. Liberals believe in fair-play, and they read with astonishment Mr. MacDonald's suggestion that the Labour Party might somehow be "wangled" out of its rightful claim. They resented this suggestion that Labour was to be denied the opportunity which they would have claimed for themselves had the position of parties been reversed. Above all, Liberals at that time were genuinely hopeful that, with a large progressive majority in the House, sound and substantial measures of democratic reform could now be secured. They did not expect that Labour would sacrifice its independence or jeopardise its party identity; nor were they stupid enough to think that Labour would be willing to "eat out of their hands."

Liberal members did, however, look for a spirit of friendly co-operation, and they anticipated that in the ordinary course of Parliamentary business there would be consultation and reasonable give-and-take. Probably no formal assurances along these lines were either given or asked for, but these conditions were implicit in the actual situation. I hold no official position in the Liberal Party, but I am a back-bencher following pretty closely the business of the House from day to day, and whilst there were some members of our "right wing" who from the first deplored Mr.

Asquith's decision, I am, I think, interpreting roughly the views of the general body of my colleagues of the rank and file at the time when Mr. Baldwin went out and Mr. MacDonald came in. The attitude of Mr. Asquith and the forthright, generous declaration of our Chief Whip at Edinburgh, when he said the two progressive parties could, by keeping in step, make this Parliament memorable, expressed, I believe, the desire of nine-tenths of the members who sit below the gangway on the Speaker's right.

Four months have passed, and somehow the "glad confident morning" has given place to "doubt, hesitation, and pain." Disillusionment and suspicion threaten to sour the relationships between the two parties, and there is the real danger that this Parliament, seemingly big with rich possibilities, will be barren of all actual achievement. What has wrought the change? At whose door lies the responsibility? Is there any possibility of getting the engine back on the rails? Some blame might rest on the Liberals. The position they took up in the Poplar debate annoyed the Labour members, and it must be admitted that, now and then, from below the gangway come retorts and taunts which, as Sir Wilfrid Lawson used to say, have the effect of "trying to pacify a horse with a pitchfork." Admitting this, however, it would be foolish to attach too much importance to these occasional incidents which in themselves would have caused little more than a ripple on the face of the political waters.

What are, then, the factors which have contributed to the existing unpleasant situation? First of all, we have seen with surprise the evident friendliness and consideration shown by the Government towards the Tory Opposition, often in marked contrast with their bearing towards us. Quite frequently, our spokesmen have been met with acerbity, whilst for the Front Opposition bench there have been "nods and becks and wreathed smiles." Sometimes bouquets are handed across the Table, and there is often the suggestion that the business of the House can be arranged without the troublesome formality of consulting the convenience of Liberal members or their Whips. When Mr. Asquith gave his answer announcing the intention of the Admiralty to build the five cruisers, we were rather startled by his admission that he had taken some trouble to get a Tory back-bencher to put the question, the terms of which presumably he had himself prepared. Again and again there has been the frank appeal or the covert angling for Conservative support, and sometimes that assistance has been found necessary to defeat proposals which last year commanded the approval of the Labour Party when they were the official Opposition.

This opportunist accommodation with the Tories has an appearance of cynicism which does not help in stimulating the Liberals

to make efforts assisting the Government in their everyday business. A good deal of the time of the House is, of course, occupied with humdrum business when, were it not for the desire to give the Government loyal support, there is every inducement to stay away. On one occasion the Government moved the closure in the course of an uninteresting debate on the Civil Service Estimates between one and two o'clock in the morning. Nearly two-thirds of the Labour members were absent, and the vote of one hundred requisite to enforce the closure was only secured by the assistance of some thirty Liberals who, following on an all-night sitting the day before, stayed on late to give the Government a chance of getting on with their work.

If the Liberals felt they were being treated as friendly allies this inconvenience of constant attendance would be taken as "all in the day's work," but they cannot be expected to show the same devotion and sacrifice if they know that the Government will take Tory or Liberal support indifferently and just as the occasion determines. To be treated as allies one day and as opponents the next does not tend to stimulate that loyalty and comradeship upon which the Government must rely if they are to weather the heavy storms they must encounter when they attempt to do anything really challenging and worth while. "He that would have friends must show himself friendly"—so runs the proverb, and a friendlier spirit shown now would have, I think, unexpected results. The Government will have some hard roads to travel and some awkward stiles to climb, and it is for them to determine whether the Liberals are to be treated as friends or as unwelcome partners whose assistance is to be purely a matter of occasion and convenience.

The lack of consultation has already been the cause of difficulty and delay. If before the introduction of Mr. Wheatley's Prevention of Evictions Bill there had been half an hour's conference "through the usual channels," the Government would probably have been saved from the humiliating experience through which they had to pass, and some days of precious Parliamentary time would not have been wasted. Clause 1 of that ill-fated Bill has now passed into the limbo of "all monstrous, all prodigious things," but the likelihood is that after a frank conversation this half-baked proposal would never have appeared at all.

The Rents Restriction Bill, which has been dragging out a wretched existence in Grand Committee, is another illustration of the Liberal grievance. After sixteen days in Committee, where the Liberals have set an example both in constant attendance and their refusal to share in the competition of endless talk, the Bill has been put into the waste-paper basket. Had there been an informal conference immediately after the Second Reading, with a frank declaration of the Government's policy in relation to the

measure, a useful reform might, by this time, have been carried into law. As it is, the Bill has only produced irritation and waste of time and, in addition, the Bill to secure equal franchise for women has been kept waiting "on the mat" outside the Committee's door.

Although the official Opposition is exceptionally weak, sometimes, indeed, almost derisory, yet it is sufficiently strong and experienced to carry on a policy of artful obstruction which will hold up any substantial measure unless it is overborne by a determined majority. That necessary majority must gain confidence in itself by working together. A measure of coherence and comradeship ought to be possible, but this working arrangement will not be secured if Mr. MacDonald thinks he can pick and choose his majority from one side or the other, just as the wind shifts and as the occasion arises.

Beyond all this, there is the genuine disappointment felt on the Liberal benches because of the slowness and lack of enterprise on the part of the Government. The Labour Press affects to believe that there is no real difference between Liberals and Conservatives. They are both classed together as the "orthodox" parties, combining for the defence of landlords, capitalists, and what not. One would gather from the leading articles and speeches which have now become almost common form that the Liberal benches were occupied by a number of timid politicians, largely plutocratic, nervous about vested interests, and fearful of Labour experiment. To anyone who watches the House from day to day, this talk is known to be empty nonsense. The Liberal Party in the House is mainly made up of keen, progressive politicians, ardently democratic, and eager in their desire for reform. Many amongst them are comparatively young men who know very well that there are no emoluments to be had, but that their political activity must involve personal and substantial sacrifice. Most of them have fought through the hard, depressing days following upon the election of 1918, and in very many instances their victories in their several constituencies have been due to the personal confidence they have won. A succession of maiden speeches has revealed striking ability and political aptitude, and these men for the most part are in Parliament to assist in getting the right things done.

The suggestion that these Liberal members are less enterprising and progressive than the gentlemen who sit on the front Opposition bench, or are less advanced than the average Labour back-bencher is absurd to the point of derision. To adopt Mr. Henderson's words, used in another connection, the Liberals are anxious that the Government should "get on with the job." If any big fight should be made for a determined advance in the field of social reform, the Government would find amongst the Liberal members

a body of well equipped, vigilant, eager politicians whose weight would tell most heavily in the contest.

Naturally, some resentment is felt by those Liberals in whose constituencies new Labour candidatures are threatened. They recognise, this being a free country, that the Labour Party is entitled to take every step it thinks proper to enlarge its representation, but they chafe under the conditions which would keep them tied to the work of the House, hard, continuous, and often uninteresting, whilst their enforced absence enables the "enemy" to sow tares in their political field, at his leisure and almost undisturbed.

The irritation arising from these conditions is only exacerbated by the taunts flung across the gangway, and by the succession of Sunday speeches all announcing the approaching demise of the Liberal Party. The adoption of Proportional Representation appeals to many Liberals because it would tend to eliminate the bitterness often arising from contests in single-member seats, and would enable each party to devote its energies to the advocacy of its own positive and constructive proposals. It was, of course, open for the Labour Party to decline the invitation to support the Proportional Representation Bill, but the manner in which the overtures were rejected, and the tone of insufferable superiority adopted by one or two speakers in the House, tended to widen rather than heal the breach.

This is the situation in the House to-day. Is there any hope of remedy? The introduction of the Budget, fortunately, has done much to clear the air. As Mr. Snowden announced his proposals it was noticeable that the cordiality of endorsement was as marked amongst Liberals as amongst his own immediate supporters, and under the influence of his appeal the gangway as a party boundary mark almost entirely disappeared.

The fight for the Finance Bill may have important results on the relationships of the two parties. The necessity of standing together night after night, against an Opposition angered by the abolition of the McKenna duties, may bring us back again to the more hopeful and friendly atmosphere of four months ago. A common defence against a common enemy may even yet bring together the two parties whose differences have been perhaps unduly stressed during the short history of this Parliament. There is still time for common sense to exercise its healing influence. This will need goodwill and deliberate effort. If this effort is not made, the two parties will drift farther apart, and the present Parliament may come to a wretched end in the midst of disillusionment and disappointment. In that hour the reactionaries will again have their opportunity.

ISAAC FOOT.

THE GREEK REPUBLIC.

THE decisive result of the plebiscite of April 13th was a satisfaction to all friends of Greece. The worst thing that could have happened would have been a small Royalist majority, because the Royalist leaders, in the face of nearly half the country, would not have taken the grave responsibility of bringing back the King, and the military and naval section of the Republican party would probably have opposed such a decision by force. The next worst solution would have been a small Republican majority, because that would have encouraged the almost equally numerous Royalists to keep up an agitation against the new form of Government, based upon the "nicely calculated less or more."

But the actual majority—758,742 for, and 325,322 against the Republic, or about 70 per cent. in favour of the new *régime*—was so sweeping as to convince the Royalists of the futility of resistance, and yet not so absurdly unanimous, like the plebiscite for the late King Constantine's return in 1920, as to suggest the methods of the Second Empire.

While "new" Greece, as was expected, gave an overwhelming vote for the Republic, in some provinces as high as 95 per cent. and the naval vote was solidly Republican, the Royalist strongholds in the Peloponnese and the Ionian Islands were not so Royalist as had been anticipated. Besides, even in "old" Greece the two great cities of Athens and the Piræus were largely Republican and Patras was almost equally divided. The attempt at the last moment to make capital out of the superstitious dislike of the peasants to the recent assimilation of the religious to the new civil calendar, although supported by two or three "miraculous" cures effected on the vigil of the Annunciation (old style), was promptly met by the Metropolitan of Athens, and does not seem to have much affected the result. Probably what assisted the Republicans more than aught else with the great mass of the voters was the general desire for peace and the weariness of civil strife. Many doubtless voted for the Republic, not because they were enamoured of Republican principles, but because it had actually been proclaimed by the National Assembly on March 25th, and was the *de facto* Government.

Even among his own adherents George II. inspired little enthusiasm. General Metaxâs, the principal Royalist leader, a fine strategist, but with little experience of politics, never mentioned the King in his electoral discourses after his return from exile; for him the contest was rather between an oligarchy and "the people's will." The real hero of the more devoted Royalists lay in his coffin at Naples, just as in France the

followers of Charles X. and the Comte de Chambord showed slight enthusiasm for the Comte de Paris. Indeed, on neither side was there much excitement. Standing on the roof of the Parliament House as the delegates streamed out after having voted the deposition of the Glücksburg dynasty and the proclamation of the Republic, I could detect no enthusiasm in the assembled crowd outside.

For this much credit is due to the leaders of both sides. In his first speech to the people on the night of the plebiscite and in all the subsequent addresses which he made from the railway carriage on our journey to and from the celebration of the Byron centenary at Missolonghi, M. Papanastasiou constantly and judiciously harped upon the same theme—that in the plebiscite there had been neither victors nor vanquished, but that both the majority and the minority were elements of the same Hellenic people, the only winner of the day. The Republican Premier's personality added weight and gave credence to these declarations. For M. Papanastasiou is a man of moderation, not a vindictive partisan. He has shown no bitterness against the former Royalist *régime*, which imprisoned him at Aigina; indeed, in the eyes of the Royalists it is a distinct point in his favour that they have no old scores to settle with him, because he has been their prisoner while they have never been his. It may seem a paradox, but it is perfectly true to political psychology, that where a much greater man, M. Venizelos, failed to reconcile the rival Greek parties, M. Papanastasiou has succeeded. For M. Venizelos was in the eyes of the Royalists identified with a past which they loathed and of which they regarded him as the chief, indeed, the sole author. M. Papanastasiou, on the other hand, has practically no past, certainly no compromising past: he belongs rather to the present and the future. Thus the second departure of M. Venizelos, tragic as it was, has really done more than his presence to promote an "era of good feeling." Not the least service which he has rendered to his country was his leaving it at the moment when his prospects of succeeding in the work of peace-maker were clearly closed.

Both the protagonists—King Constantine and M. Venizelos—having been thus removed from the scene, bitterness immediately diminished, and a new man was able to inaugurate a new era. Nor have some of the Royalist leaders been backward in the work of reconciliation. Some irreconcilables, it is true, rejected the liberal offers made by M. Papanastasiou to the Royalists on the eve of the proclamation of the Republic, conditionally upon the voluntary abdication of the King and the formal resignation of all their rights of succession to the Crown by the members of his

family. But from the moment that the result of the plebiscite was declared, the Royalist chiefs loyally and sensibly recognised it as the expressed will of the Greek people. Not only so, but several of them accepted the Premier's tactful invitation to accompany us as his guests on the pilgrimage to "the Herôon" at Missolonghi; and at the luncheon at Patras in honour of Byron, one of them, M. Rhalles, the leader of the "Conservative" party, rose, and amidst loud applause, declared in its name that where England was concerned there was no division between Greek parties, and alluded to Byron's message to the Greeks to unite.

The happy sequence of the Byron centenary immediately after the plebiscite was, indeed, a most fortunate circumstance. For several critical days it diverted the attention of the entire Greek Press and people from politics to this historic commemoration of the poet who is the symbol of Anglo-Hellenic friendship. M. Papanastasiou with great skill interwove the names of Byron and the Republic together in his itinerant discourses, and the presence of British naval officers in uniform in his carriage on the excursion from Missolonghi to the River Achelôos was not lost upon the crowds who thronged to hear him at the stations of the North-Western Railway. The subsequent formal recognition of the Greek Republic by the British Government was a suitable termination to the celebration of the Byron centenary. The Foreign Office has throughout this matter acted with great tact and circumspection. It has shown no partiality for one form of government or the other; it has realised that that was wholly the concern of the Greeks themselves and no affair of foreigners, even if friends. Mr. Ramsay MacDonald's cautious answers to questions on the subject in the House of Commons were so framed that not even the most lynx-eyed Republican or Royalist editor at Athens could make political capital out of them.

The only thing which the British Government clearly would not have recognised was a Republic established by a *coup d'état*. All fear of that was removed by the result of the plebiscite. The Stock Exchange immediately showed how public confidence had been restored on the morrow of the popular vote. The value of the *drachma* rose and has remained almost stationary at a comparatively reasonable figure, and the prospects of obtaining a further instalment of the Refugees' loan of £6,000,000 from the Bank of England improved. Had the result been something like a tie, there would have been little chance of another advance.

The Greek Republic has been fortunately "broad based upon the people's will," and Greece's first Republican Premier is happily not a General of the familiar South American type, but a civilian of the Parliamentary character. But the Cabinet con-

tains the three leading military and naval men of the Republican party, General Kondyles as Minister of War, General Pangalos as Minister of the newly created department of "Law and Order," and Captain Hadjikyriakos, late Commander of the Fleet, as Minister of Marine.

General Kondyles is undoubtedly the strong man of contemporary Greek politics. His face greatly impressed the British delegates who met him on the pilgrimage to Missolonghi. He entered the army as a common soldier, but left it in 1905 to fight with irregulars against the Bulgarian bands in Macedonia. At the outbreak of the first Balkan war in 1912 he was a non-commissioned officer; he fought in both the Balkan wars of 1912-13 and in Macedonia during the European conflict, and subsequently in Asia Minor. To the friend who procured for me his biography he characteristically remarked that "up to date he had taken part in fifty-two engagements." Upon the return of King Constantine in December, 1920, he retired to Constantinople, but came back after the King's second dethronement in 1922, and was given the command of a division in Thrace. After the treaty of Lausanne, in 1923, he again resigned his commission to enter politics. On the eve of the reactionary insurrection against the Revolutionary Government of Colonels Plastiras and Gonaftas last October, he happened to be in Salonica; and, although then only technically a civilian, took command of a division at about twenty-four hours' notice, and seized the artillery, acting with such promptitude that he crushed the insurrection at the outset. By his dashing march across the mountains to the Isthmus, he placed a wedge between the Peloponnesian insurgent army and its headquarters at Corinth, thus justifying the nickname of "The Thunderbolt," which he shares with such historical characters as Ptolemy of Macedonia and Bayezid I.

Kondyles has made up for his lack of scholastic education by wide historical reading; he has dabbled in journalism, and, although he entered Parliament only as recently as last December, as delegate for Rhodope, he has given proof of considerable oratorical gifts; he is, indeed, a good speaker for a soldier. In his speeches on the Republican question he made no secret of his disbelief in the infallibility of "the people." Indeed, some of his remarks upon the coming plebiscite would have been appropriate in the mouth of a Scottish Tory. When he became Minister of War in the present Cabinet he entered the Assembly with a riding-whip, which he laid on the desk before him, and some see in him the future Napoleon of the Greek Republic. As he is only forty-four, he is young, as politicians are reckoned, and his political experience is small.

The second military member of the Cabinet, General Pangalos, is older, for he was born in 1868. The son of an Albanian father and a Cretan mother—a strong combination—his military ability won the admiration of Colonel Nairnes, who met him in 1919, when he was Chief of Staff to General Paraskevopoulos. A severe disciplinarian, he is not a man who "hesitates to shoot," and he is generally credited with political ambitions. During the absence of the Premier at Missolonghi, he took the opportunity to imprison the editor of the leading Royalist journal, who was promptly released as soon as the Premier learnt of the arrest. The third of the Republican military trio, Captain Hadjikyriakos, distinguished himself by his attack upon M. Venizelos in the Assembly upon the latter's first appearance after his return. The two Generals have occasioned the issue of a Cabinet communication that the Premier alone is entitled to interpret publicly the policy of the Government, while simultaneously a movement has arisen in the Assembly for the protection of Parliamentary government. Public opinion, including that of those Royalists who have "rallied," like their French prototypes thirty years ago, to the Republic, would probably support the civilian Premier were a question to arise between him and the military party in his Cabinet. As all the three military leaders are good patriots, who must be perfectly aware that what Greece above all else wants is peace and who are professionally well acquainted with the fact that she has three external enemies, eager to profit by her internal diversions, it is to be hoped that no such conflict will arise.

M. Papanastasiou's ideal is a Conservative Republic on French lines, with a President elected by the legislative body, or bodies, and a Parliamentary government. His model is Paris, not Peru, and he is no doctrinaire, but knows that the young Greek Republic will be judged both at home and abroad not by the theoretical beauty of its principles, but by how it works in practice. It was founded, like our Commonwealth and our Revolution of 1688, not upon "the rights of man" or any other phrases of political philosophy, but upon the practical fact that many Greeks had found the Glücksburg dynasty unsatisfactory and that the only alternative was a Republic. A literary and classical flavour has been very naturally given in the country of Plato and Aristotle to the title of the new Republic, baptised, like Plato's "Republic," *Politeia*. But the political career of King Constantine has contributed more than the "Republic" of Plato to the creation of the present form of government. Indeed, in a negative sense, the second King of the Glücksburg dynasty may be considered as one of its founders, just as our George III. of the United States.

How will the changed type of Government affect the international position of Greece? This is an important question for a country with national aspirations still unsatisfied and with a long and (in places) exposed frontier to defend against covetous neighbours. In the time of George I. Greece possessed in that amiable monarch, who had many relatives and paid annual visits to Copenhagen and Aix-les-Bains, an itinerant ambassador of the first order. No Republican President, however eminent, will be able to claim the valuable family connections of the first Glücksburg King of the Hellenes. There will be no Royal tours round Europe; there will be, especially at first, fewer Royal visits to Athens. But there is the reverse of the medal. King Constantine's German relationships injured Greece quite as much as his father's Danish descent benefited her. Much was expected, but little came, from George I.'s Russian marriage, for Russia espoused the cause of the Bulgarians in 1870 at the time of the creation of the Bulgarian Exarchate, and in 1877-78 at the time of the Russo-Turkish War and the treaty of San Stefano. A Republican President's foreign policy—supposing him to have a real influence in politics and not to be a mere rubber-stamp or "seal," as some Greeks desire him to be—will in no case be dictated by dynastic or family considerations, for there are no bonds of relationship between Hydra and Kalaoryta and the Courts of Europe. As regards the outward show of the State, we have already seen how well and with how much democratic dignity Admiral Paul Kountouriotis discharges the representative functions of the Presidential office—a post held by George Kountouriotis exactly a century ago. In a country like Greece lavish expenditure on representation is neither desired nor desirable. Indeed, the hard lessons of the war taught many of us who live abroad how little political advantage Great Britain reaped from the social side of some of her Embassies; for more than one foreign aristocracy ate our Ambassador's dinners and attended his receptions and then became neutralists or pro-Germans.

Nor is it probable that Republican Greece will forfeit many foreign sympathies which monarchical Greece still retained in the brief reign of George II. France obviously preferred a Greek Republic; Great Britain, intensely monarchical as she is, and rightly so, in the case of her own form of government, has long recognised that other countries may find other systems better adapted to their wants; Italy is probably indifferent to the manner in which the Greeks are governed, provided only that they are not directed by some strong and influential man who might thwart her plans of Levantine expansion. The Yugoslav Government has officially declared its neutrality in Greek internal politics; Turkey

is now a Republic; the ubiquitous Queen of Roumania has scarcely sufficient authority to effect the restoration of her son-in-law to Athens. The same Ministers direct Greek foreign policy at home, and inform and execute it abroad, as under the Monarchy—for the Republicans have wisely abstained, like our Labour Government, from sweeping changes in a department which should be above party. M. Kaklamanos in London, M. Karapanos in Rome, M. Polites (the probable successor of M. Romanos in Paris) all served diplomatically in the days of the Monarchy, while M. Roûsos, the Republican Minister of Foreign Affairs, was Minister in Washington during the war.

Both Mr. Ramsay MacDonald, on the one hand, and M. Papanastasiou on the other, plainly showed during the Byron celebrations that British Labour and Greek Republicanism have inherited the traditions of Anglo-Hellenic friendship, which have existed from the time of the War of Independence. The special mission of Sir Rennell Rodd and Lord Ernle to Athens and Missolonghi and the despatch of a British squadron to Kryoneri for the centenary of Byron's death were excellent strokes of policy, and showed a spirit of imagination not always associated with our Government in its official dealings with appreciative Southern nations. No better selection could have been made than that of an ex-diplomatist, who was also a poet and a Philhellene, as first British delegate on such an occasion.

The danger to the young Republic is not, therefore, from abroad, but from within. Will it grow up? people ask. Will the Greek people after a certain time become anxious for another change? To this it may be replied, that the Greek people, after more or less constant excitements since the Military League marched into Athens from Goudi in 1909, is at present, and is likely to be for some time, weary of changes, and that a fairly short presidential term will furnish sufficiently frequent variations. Besides, no one supposes that a Republic is going to interfere with the ordinary amusements of the people—Ministerial Crises. Cabinets will doubtless come and go as frequently under the "Hellenic Polity" as under the Kings, and "Zacharatos" and "The Dardanelles," the chief Athenian *cafés*, will continue to have the pleasure of drawing up future Ministerial combinations on their respective tables, and discussing "the situation" in the pleasant climate of the capital. At present, however, it is not obvious how suitable Presidents are to be found after the first two or three terms. Every Republican and some Monarchists would agree upon Admiral Koundouriotes and M. Zaïmes as the best men for the presidency. But no third name readily suggests itself. That question will, however, be settled by time.

The Greek Republicans do not anticipate much trouble from pretenders. They disbelieve in a Glücksburg 1715 or 1745, or in a continual agitation such as the Serbia of the Obrenovich dynasty endured from the exiled Karageorgevitch family up to the catastrophe of 1903. They point to the lack of enthusiasm inspired by the ex-King, and to the lack of ability among his uncles, with one notable exception. Nor do they consider another dynasty probable. Besides, the present Government has shown wisdom in endeavouring to conciliate the deposed dynasty's followers, and in trying to make them realise that the Republic is the common possession of all the Greeks, not the fief of a victorious party. Herein all will depend upon the actual practice of Republican Cabinets. If they make no distinction between the various classes of labourers in the Commonwealth's vineyard; if they give equal rights to a share in the administration to the Republicans of the eleventh hour and to those of the first, then they may achieve complete "reconciliation." Mr. Papanastasiou's offer to restore all Royalist officers and officials to their posts was a step in this direction. Our own history teaches the admirable effects of such a policy; for, from the accession of George III., when the Whig party no longer had the monopoly of Court favour and administrative power, no party became more loyal to the Hanoverian cause than the formerly proscribed Tories.

Already the progress of "reconciliation" may be seen in private life, in the tone of the Press, in the greater amenity of public controversy. The spirit which originated the vindictive poems of Theognis, and made him express his "full wish, to drink the very blood" of his political enemies, is making way for a more humane and normal state of feeling, such as prevailed in the milder days of Trikoupes and Deligiannes. Without being over-sanguine, without believing in the creation of a new heaven and a new earth by the plebiscite, without attaching the least magic to the new label of the Greek State, we may note a marked improvement in the way in which Greeks regard Greeks of other political persuasions and an increasing desire to have done with the "tinkering of the machinery" and to get on with such practical matters as roads, a better water-supply for the now enormously increased capital, the repair and widening of the Corinth Canal, and, above all, the solution of the refugees' problem, which would tax the energies of a far bigger and richer nation than Greece. A few years hence the Greek people may adopt the criterion of the British poet:

"For forms of government let fools contest;
Whate'er is best administered, is best"—

a saying true of most countries, with the important addition that the country be "administered" by its own people and not by even the most benevolent and beneficent of foreigners.

To us British the prosperity of Greece, under whatever "form of government," is no merely sentimental interest. It is, indeed, true that there is a large amount of sentimental regard for Great Britain in Greece, one of the not too numerous countries in which Great Britain is popular. No one who, like the writer, witnessed the pilgrimage of all that was best in Athens to the British Legation to express horror and regret at the dynamite explosion of March 12th can doubt that, and the tactful manner in which Sir Milne Cheetham, our Minister at Athens, and the Government at home, treated that incident as being in no wise directed against Great Britain, largely increased our already wide popularity here. Some other and younger countries, less sure of their international status, might, it was pointed out in the Greek Press, have acted otherwise. But wise statesmen base their policy not only upon sentiment, but upon the simultaneous bonds of common interests. Now Great Britain and Greece have common Mediterranean interests, while no question divides them. The British enjoy to a greater degree than other foreigners the trust of the Greeks; it should be our policy to show that it has not been misplaced. Critics in London will render to their own country and to Greece the best service if they abstain from either cheap and easy criticism of the young *régime* in its early stages, and also from that well-meant, but often tactless, advice, which all foreign countries resent, and rightly resent, at this time of day.

The Greek Republic has still to win its spurs; it will doubtless, not being divine, err. But its errors are not our business, whereas it is our interest that it should make Greece a permanent element of peace and civilisation in the Eastern Mediterranean and in South-Eastern Europe, where she is our natural ally, and where British capital should find a fruitful field. The best thing that all her friends can hope for Greece at this moment is that for the next few years she should enjoy that form of national happiness which consists in having no history, that she shall figure less in the columns of sensational newspapers than in those of sober economic journals, and that she may think less of the recent past and more of the near future.

WILLIAM MILLER.

A SWISS VIEW OF BRITISH FOREIGN POLICY.*

DR. HEINRICH DAVID, the author of this very readable as well as interesting volume, describes himself as "not a historian by profession"; but his experience as a leading official in an important European polity has given him a wide insight into great affairs, and has at the same time taught him the necessity of weighing their words incumbent upon those who speak with authority. His immediate purpose is to examine the foundations of the views largely taken and, there can be no doubt, very freely expressed as to the general tendencies of British foreign policy in the nineteenth century, and their continuance or reflection in the great conflict of our own day; and, apart from his personal qualifications for such a task, it will not be denied that the locality from which he dates his preface could hardly be of better augury for the value of his survey. The heroic Prussian, Ewald von Kleist, the contemporary of Klopstock and friend of Lessing, is said by Oechsli to have pronounced that Zurich harboured ten times as many persons of genius and taste as Berlin; and though so general a comparison would at the present day be audacious, there are few academical centres of our times to which modern political history is more largely indebted than the University of Professor A. Stern, to whom Dr. David's indebtedness is manifest, and Professor W. Oechsli, the author of one of the most luminous introductions to the nineteenth century history of a European State to be found in our libraries. For the rest, Dr. David may unhesitatingly appeal to the special sympathy of English readers with the political progress of his own country in the long and at times harassing period covered by his present volume.

The fall of Napoleon I. had brought about, as an inevitable consequence, the overthrow of the Federal Constitution established by his Act of Mediation, and a period of distraction had set in, which for a time seemed to leave Switzerland no choice but submission to the Federal Treaty and Cantonal Institutions imposed or permitted by the victorious Allies. She even nominally joined the Holy Alliance; but the one acquisition which she held sacred among the guarantees secured by the Second Peace of Paris was that of her own Perpetual Neutrality. In all these transactions the diplomatic support of Great Britain was at the service of the Swiss; and it is the deliberate opinion of Oechsli that "no Power enjoyed

* *England's Europäische Politik im neunzehnten Jahrhundert, von den französischen Revolutionskriegen bis zum Tode Palmerstons.* Von Dr. Heinrich David, ehem. Vizekanzler der Schweizerischen Eidgenossenschaft. Verlag Ernst Bircher. Aktiengesellschaft, Bern und Leipzig 1924.

so undisputed and universal a confidence on the part of the Cantons as Great Britain, because it was felt that all secondary ends were strange to her policy." In the "demagogic persecutions" which began in Germany after the issue of the Carlsbad Decrees Switzerland could not fail to be implicated by the refugees who sought safety among her mountains; and they were succeeded by streams of Piedmontese who, in 1821, had struck a first blow for Italian independence, and the reception of whom was formally denounced in threatening Notes by the Eastern Powers. But already Castlereagh had warned the British Chargé d'Affaires at Berne against encouraging the reactionary designs of the aristocracy of that city-canton; and with the establishment of the ascendancy of Canning the British Embassy had not been long in becoming the centre of a recognised protective influence over liberal tendencies in Swiss politics.

To these tendencies the efforts of the Revolution of 1830 secured a complete ascendancy in most of the Swiss Cantons, where the Governments assumed a popular instead of the old oligarchical form. But it was not till a few years later that the relations of Switzerland with foreign Powers were again seriously disturbed, and that the influence of the British Government, more favourably than ever disposed towards the independence of a reforming Switzerland, began to be again perceptibly influenced in her favour. Mazzini's reckless Savoy expedition of 1834 led to protests on the part of Austria and her allies which culminated in a stoppage of diplomatic intercourse only ended by the death of the Emperor Francis I.; and an ill-omened misunderstanding with the French Foreign Ministry (the so-called *Conseil* affair) might have led to a collision, had it not been for timely British intervention. The subsequent French demand, supported by the Eastern Powers, for the expulsion of Prince Louis Napoleon, then a denizen of Thurgau, threatened an even more sudden breach, though it was avoided by his own prudent withdrawal; but the peril which the Confederation and the country next had to encounter went to the very root of their being and called into question the unity that, though in some respects only semi-real, had been their pride and their boast for long centuries. When, in the words of Grote, whose *Letters concerning the Politics of Switzerland* is still not a forgotten book, "religion came to be invoked as a weapon of excitement for political purposes," a new phase of Swiss political life had set in.

Of course, this process was largely the result of the reaction of 1815, and the determination of the Conservative (and mainly Catholic) Cantons to resist the "Radical" tendency to convert the loose Federation into a real Federal State, which in Metter-

nich's eyes would be not only the solitary Republic in Europe, but the harbour of refuge to revolutionaries at large. France, under Guizot, agreed with Metternich in the desire to "protect" Switzerland against anarchy, while even Stratford Canning's friend, David Richard Morier, our Minister at Berne, was inclined to despair of an agreement between the contending parties in the country which had his friendly sympathies.

In 1839 and 1840 the conflict assumed a violent aspect in Protestant Zurich and in Catholic Luzern, and in 1844 and 1845 led to the abolition of the Monasteries in Aargau and the summons of the Jesuits in Luzern, the armed revolt of the *Freischaarenzüge* and the formation of the *Sonderbund*. But in the intervention of the Eastern Powers, in a struggle at once constitutional and religious, to which effort Guizot could only lend a half-hearted support, Great Britain, where in 1846 Palmerston had succeeded to the control of the Foreign Office, decisively refused to take part. The time—for the project of the double Spanish Marriage had called forth his passionate opposition—could not have been more adverse to co-operation; but his conciliatory bearing was only to cover a resolute goodwill towards the "Radical"—or Federal—side of the Swiss quarrel. Robert Peel the Younger, who was Chargé d'Affaires at Berne, now *Vorort* under Ochsenbein's presidency, warmly supported the new régime; and the crisis ended with the *Sonderbund* War and the *Sonderbund* itself in December, 1847, without the necessity of Stratford Canning's presenting the Mediatory Note, finally drafted by Palmerston, as it were in the teeth of Guizot and the other Great Powers, and induced them to sign. No episode in the whole history of Palmerstonian diplomacy redounds more to the honour of his firmness and his insight. The constitutional settlement which it made possible in Switzerland no doubt contributed to give to the country the sense of security which it shared with Great Britain as towards the Continental Revolutions of 1848-9; but the victory which the action of Great Britain had so materially helped the Federal cause to secure was one of principle as well as of policy, and could thus secure to the two countries an enduring basis of friendship.

To the French annexation of Savoy Switzerland had legal grounds for objecting; but British public opinion had to be satisfied with a candid avowal of its objections to the way in which the project had been accomplished.

Since it seemed desirable on this occasion, however briefly, to review the relation between British policy and the Swiss Confederation in the last century of its history, we have no space to spare for a notice of the general conclusion of Dr. David's lucid survey of British policy in the days of Intervention from Pitt to

Palmerston. Nothing could be regarded as better established than Pitt's title to remembrance as at heart a minister of Peace—though not, in Wilberforce's sense, an apostle of non-intervention; and nothing seems more certain than that Palmerston's life did not come to an end without his having been taught the lesson that the true limit of the policy of Intervention lies in the supremacy of informed public opinion.

The interval between these political experiences is here surveyed so far as possible in chronological sequence, with a notable exception, to which reference will be made immediately; and the statesmen principally concerned in the several sections of the inquiry are appreciated with what seems remarkably sound judgment. On Pitt I have already touched; the characterisation of Castlereagh's conduct of affairs, both as a diplomatist and as Minister of State, was a more difficult task, or would have been so but for the light which has been thrown latterly upon an activity which had long been imperfectly understood, or maliciously misinterpreted. His preferences and predilections were one thing; but there could be no question of an adherence on his part to the Troppau "legislation of an international police," or of his assent to a settlement of the internal affairs of a distracted land by foreign force. With Castlereagh's successor, to whose commanding action Dr. David renders full justice, though he seems to be unacquainted with at least one notable contribution to the subject of the political biography of Canning as a whole—that of Mr. H. W. V. Temperley—the case is different. Canning was a national statesman in the truest sense of the word, not that British interest—"which had to be the first object of his care in the conduct of British policy—stood isolated by itself; on the contrary . . . Great Britain's welfare must contribute to that of the other nations, and her steadfastness to the security of the world." The successors of Canning could, at the best, gradually attain to a position in which they could carry on the inheritance of such a duty; and Palmerston, the several steps of whose earlier political life had attested his prudence in management as decisively as any other personal quality, only gradually came to identify his conduct of foreign affairs with the immutable principles of his own public career. There could be no greater mistake than to regard him, consistent as was his support of Italian independence, as either the sworn foe of the House of Austria, or the servile ally of France, on whose efforts to settle the future of Europe by a Congress in the early days of Louis Napoleon's ascendancy he put a conclusive damper.

Dr. David's judgment of the political influence of particular British statesmen, such as Aberdeen and, in a later passage, Clarendon, might perhaps be more generally acceptable with

certain modifications and amplifications; but, with the exception of Palmerston, he has hardly entered into close personal characterisation. On the other hand, to his exposition of the principles and motives of British foreign policy in the principal questions engaging the attention of the European Powers in the earlier part of the century under review, it would be difficult to take well-founded exception, and the course of the Belgian difficulty and its settlement, and that of the Turco-Egyptian conflict have rarely been more adequately summarised. It is all the more to be regretted that he should have found it necessary to discuss the contentious subject of the diplomacy of the Crimean War somewhat out of the chronological order of events, and thus have not allowed their full force to the considerations which, with the support of public opinion at home, forced Great Britain into the war and, without that support, obliged her to take part in an inevitable peace.

The survey comes to a close with a chapter of special present significance in "the End of the Policy of Intervention." The policy of Palmerston, while implying the support of movements in accordance with British interests and with British public feeling, proved unequal to dealing with one at least of the problems Napoleon III. would have been glad to throw into the European melting-pot—the problem of the future of Germany, which Bismarck had determined to carry to a definitive solution. Yet the British statesman's mind was here also open to the possibilities of the future, and so early as 1849, when King Frederick William IV. refused the German Imperial Crown, he had regretted the loss of a favourable opportunity for uniting Germany under the hegemony of Prussia in alliance with Austria. But, though his insight was on this head superior to Disraeli's, whose interest in Bismarck's intentions seemed largely psychological, and though he actually suggested the best practical solution of the Schleswig territorial question—that to which in the end resort was had—he never understood, or tried to understand, the significance of the problem as a whole in the eyes and in the beliefs of the German nation. The same was, as it were in spite of his conscientious nature and his efforts to arrive at the state of facts, the shortcoming of Lord Russell; and when one remembers the situation which brought this country under the guidance of both to the brink of war, one is at times inclined to think that if the generation of statesmen which has passed away had been trained to a wider international sympathy like that which Gladstone's contemporaries entertained for Italy and things Italian some unhappy mistakes might have been avoided in our foreign policy. (Palmerston's "international" scruples against weaken-

ing Denmark seem to call for more definite illustration than they receive in this survey.) In any case, Dr. David's final observation deserves cordial assent, that the purposes of Great Britain as a member of the European body are apt to be more intimately connected with those of its other members than she herself is often aware. And we may take some satisfaction in concluding that, while the prospect which is, in this our day, opening for a European policy based on a mutual understanding between nations offers the best consolation for the sacrifices of the late War, the efforts of several phases of British statesmanship in the preceding century were, more or less consciously, tending in the same direction. A sudden evolution is neither to be recorded in the past nor looked for in the future.

A. W. WARD.

ELEONORA DUSE.

WHEN the news of Duse's death at Pittsburg reached London, warm tributes to the great Italian actress were paid in the daily Press. The dramatic critic of *The Times* voiced the feelings of "all those who care for the finer art of the stage" in accents of particularly felicitous and inspired eloquence. He expressed, as Mr. Bernard Shaw had done when Duse came to London in 1895, the features of her artistic achievement that distinguish her from all her contemporaries on the stage, namely, the spiritual beauty of her art, her capacity of ennobling and uplifting everything she touched, "from the depths of a mere predatory creature like Claude's wife up to Marguerite Gauthier at her kindest or Magda at her bravest"—to quote Mr. Shaw.* After these tributes very little remains to be said about Duse's art. Those, however, who will cherish for ever the memory of this unique and entrancing genius—the "gran Donna" whose art after nearly fifty years on the stage was as beautiful as when she was in the prime of youth—may perhaps be interested in the story of her triumphs in Russia.

If I am not mistaken, St. Petersburg was the first European capital outside Italy which fell under the spell of Duse's genius "at first sight." Since the days of Rachel and Ristori, it was a customary occurrence for Italian actors and actresses who had gained fame in their own country to visit Russia. In the last forty years, Petersburg, Moscow, and the big provincial towns in Russia have seen, among others, Salvini, Rossi, Maggi, Emmanuel Ermete Novelli, Zaccone, the Sicilians, Duse, Tina di Lorenzo, Vitaliani. It may not be altogether a paradox to say that no actor or actress could aspire to the reputation of greatness in Russia unless they achieved success in Shakespeare. Not only the Italians, but the Germans (Barnay, Possart, Agnes Sorma, &c.), and even the French must needs include at least one or two Shakespearean plays in their repertoire. Sarah Bernhardt was possibly the only exception; but then Sarah Bernhardt was the most brilliant exponent of the conventional French school, and we guessed that her attempts at Shakespeare's plays could be only grotesques. And grotesque her Hamlet certainly was—a performance that might have cooled the most fervent of her admirers.

Duse came to Russia in April, 1891. She made her *début* in the largest private theatre in St. Petersburg in *La Dame aux Camélias*. The critics were dumbfounded. The audience raved

* *Dramatic Opinions and Essays*, Vol. 1. *Two Plays* (pp. 129), &c. *Duse and Bernhardt* (pp. 134-142).

as only Italian and Russian audiences can rave. It was a revelation. On the next day—telephones were by no means common in those days—people visited one another to convey the news that the greatest artistic event since Salvini's *Othello* had taken place, that an actress had appeared beside whom (if I may borrow Mr. Shaw's expression) Sarah Bernhardt was "a mere child in the art of being beautiful." In spite of the absence of telephones, rumour spread rapidly, and in the afternoon there was not a seat left in the house. Some of Duse's most enthusiastic admirers acted as "agencies," and bought handfuls of tickets which they gave to their friends—needless to say with no commercial object. Her second appearance was in *Antony and Cleopatra*. It has been stated in *The Times* that "Duse's Cleopatra never satisfied her Italian critics, though in Germany she was invited to play it again and again." To this I may add that in Russia critics were well nigh unanimous in stating that Cleopatra was the greatest thing Duse ever did. I venture to suggest that the admiration of her performance may have been commensurate with the love of Shakespeare. As is well known, Germany and Russia are the countries that pride themselves on as fervent an admiration of Shakespeare as that which exists in his own country. In fact, I might risk the statement that Shakespearean productions in Germany and in Russia (I mean, of course, Russia in the golden era of the Russian stage, from the 'eighties till the Great War) were on a higher plane of artistic accomplishment than at the Old Vic—the recognised "home" of Shakespeare's works in England. No wonder, therefore, that Duse, after the visit of introduction in *La Dame aux Camélias*, showed herself to the Russian public in a Shakespearean part. She may have heard from some of her compatriots what it meant in Russia to achieve a triumph in such a part.

"Ei parla mormorando, 'Dove il mio serpente del vecchio Nilo'—così mi chiama," says Cleopatra to Charmian (Act I., Scene 5). My memory may betray me, but I seem to remember that Duse added the word "piccolo." And the "little serpent of old Nile" she was. There were many memorable moments in the performance, which was necessarily an adaptation of the play to the restricted means of Duse's small company. But the highest climax was the scene with the messenger. Shakespeare gives stage directions sparingly. "She spits at him" (*Richard III.*, Act I., Scene 2)—not an easy task for the actress to perform without lapsing into vulgarity. In Act II., Scene 5, of *Antony and Cleopatra*, the directions are: "strikes him down," "strikes him again," "hales him up and down," and "draws a knife." Duse played Act II., Scene 5, and Act III., Scene 3, all in one. After

the fit of rage in which she strikes the messenger, she questions him, and as the answers are satisfactory, she gradually recovers her dignity and equanimity. The final words addressed to Charmian, "Forse tutto s'aggiusterà" (All may be well enough), spoken as she paused for a moment before her exit, were like a triumphant chord of a stormy symphony of passion. To describe Duse's attitudes and intonations in that scene would be as futile as to discuss the outline of the Taj, analyse the majesty of the Himalayas or define the sublime pathos of the "Trauermarsch am Tode Siegfried's." When one reaches such heights, one's breath is taken away, and all one can do is to preserve a reverent silence.

There was yet another supreme moment in the tragedy—Cleopatra's death. I have been spared the ordeal of witnessing Sarah Bernhardt's performance of Cleopatra, but I shudder to imagine all the artifices and conventionalities she must have poured out in the finale. Duse is seated on the floor. From the first words of her conversation with the clown, till the final "What should I stay—" the whole scene is acted in tones of calm serenity, as though the grand spirit of the *Queen*—for a Queen she truly is in these moments of superhuman resolution—had already departed from the frail frame of the "piccolo serpente del vecchio Nilo." She sits upright. She bids Iras and Charmian a farewell so tender that one is amazed to hear notes of still greater tenderness when she mentions Antony. She then applies the two asps with a rapid gesture. As they sting, a slight convulsion runs through her body, and she drops back—dead, even at this last moment the embodiment of grace and beauty. I have unconsciously fallen into the very error which I deprecated a few lines above; but the memories of this scene, although thirty-three years old, are so vivid that I could not resist the temptation of this feeble effort at an accurate description.

Duse was thirty or thirty-one years old when she came to Russia in 1891. When *Roméo and Juliet* was announced, her admirers had some misgivings. Will she overcome "des ans l'irréparable outrage," will she succeed in conveying the innocence of youth, almost childhood? As she entered in the First Act, there was a moment of doubt. Then Romeo spoke. She stopped. The lines round her mouth were visible. The face was melancholy. Then suddenly, like a ray of bright sunshine, there came a smile upon her face. And all your doubts and misgivings were scattered to the four winds, and you saw something so exquisite in its naïve, childish charm, you heard a voice so truly virginal, that once again you fell under the spell and admitted never having seen anything so captivating. The scene in Capulet's orchard (Act II., Scene 2) was another exhibition of poetry incarnate; and the

short moments of Juliet's rise from the tomb and her suicide were also sublime in their restrained emotion.

Romeo and Juliet is, however, a *pièce d'ensemble*. With an indifferent Romeo and Italian caricatures of the essentially English minor characters, it could not be a success, in spite of all the marvels of Duse's own performance. I do not know what she herself thought of it, but it seems to me quite likely that she reasoned thus: "You wish to see what I can do with Shakespeare. So here is Juliet for you. But I cannot help the company being poor and the settings grotesque, so with your permission I will not repeat the effort." Duse acted Cleopatra often and at the request of the public, as in Shakespeare-loving Germany. But she only acted Juliet twice, and happy indeed are those who were privileged to see this living poem.

Apart from the two Shakespearean parts, during her first visit Duse was content to present the works of the French modern *répertoire* which were familiar to the Russian audiences from the French performances at the Imperial Theatre of French drama and from the visits of Sarah Bernhardt. In each of them she rose to great heights of inspiration, and a volume would not suffice to describe all the wonders of her impersonation of Frou-Frou, Francillon, Clotilde (in *Fernande*), &c. An outstanding success was Adrienne Lecouvreur, in which Sarah had been so much admired. There again, as in most of these futile French concoctions, Duse put her own inimitable touch of subtle grace to the part. Her recitation of the fable of the two doves was a miracle of simple charm, and her Phèdre soliloquy—at the end of which, without any of Sarah's intolerable ranting, she gazed fixedly at her rival and reduced her to dust by that look alone—was another proof of the versatility of her genius. The death scene was excruciating in its sinister horror. For Duse laid stress on the physical agony which the poison caused her. Of course, there was no trace of "over-acting," but the impression was nevertheless reminiscent of the torture chamber.

A few months later, at the end of December, 1891, Duse returned to St. Petersburg for another series of performances, repeating *Cleopatra*, *La Dame aux Camélias*, and other French plays. For six years Europe and America claimed the great actress, and she did not return till 1897, when *The Second Mrs. Tanqueray* and *Heimat* were added to her *répertoire*, as well as *Hedda Gabler*. She also performed a wonderful feat—playing *Cavalleria Rusticana* and *La Locandiera* in one evening.

On December 30th, 1891, Duse played the *Doll's House* for the first time. Accustomed as we had grown to every new part being an artistic revelation, her interpretation of Nora exceeded all our

expectations. What in the modern "well-behaved" and restrained theatre would appear a gross breach of manners—applause in the middle of a scene—occurred several times during that memorable performance. In the third act, after Nora's husband had delivered his lengthy oration, Duse, who had been standing quietly watching him, the whole tragedy of the situation dawning upon her, said calmly: "Grazie per il vostro perdono." And in that one phrase she put the entire meaning of Nora's revolt. From that moment she was transformed. From that moment you knew that she had made up her mind. And a regular storm of applause broke out in the house, so that Duse had to walk across the room and hide herself behind the curtain, waiting for it to subside. When the play ended, she was called before the curtain endlessly. And when the iron curtain was at length lowered, she was handed a telegram announcing her father's death. The engagement had to be fulfilled, the company had to be paid; so after three days' rest she resumed her performances, and she repeated *Nora*. The welcome she received may have perhaps to a slight degree mitigated the torture of her soul.

Duse returned to Russia several years later—I believe it was in 1910 or 1911—but I did not have the opportunity of seeing her, and could only judge of her triumphs from the accounts in the Russian Press. On that occasion she played, in addition to the old French and Ibsen *répertoire*, d'Annunzio's *Città Morta* and *La Gioconda*.

When Duse first appeared, my father (born in 1826) listened with robust scepticism to our enthusiastic accounts of Duse's genius. He had seen Rachel and Ristori, so how could he believe us? However, we dragged him to see *La Dame aux Camélias*, and, sitting at the back of the box, the old gentleman was surreptitiously wiping the tears that streamed down his cheeks. "You were right," he whispered.

Duse is dead. God grant that those who have seen her may some day weep over the sufferings of womankind, rendered sublime through the touch of a noble genius, and say in their turn to the younger generation: "You were right." For the moment, the loss seems irreparable.

C. NABOKOFF.

SOUTH AFRICAN RACE PROBLEMS.

IT is by no means necessary for Europeans to travel six thousand miles to South Africa and another six thousand miles up and down country in search of problems. Apart, however, from the fact that some of its problems are distinctive, a visit to the youngest Commonwealth of the Empire has the advantage that, besides being singularly instructive and stimulating, and bringing home to one, with almost oppressive force, the vastness and the complexity of the Imperial structure, it reveals a land of infinite charm and a people of very fine qualities of will, heart, and temperament.

Not least, it affords the opportunity of exchanging the depressing spectacle of moral dementia which half the peoples of Europe offer for the benefit of the other half for one of sanity and serenity, as day follows day bringing no suggestion of the unspeakable tragedies which are being enacted at the other end of the world. Lying off the main track of the recent devastating storm, though taking a gallant part in the work of salvage, South Africa was able to return to its habitual life and avocations far more readily and with far less disturbance than the Homeland. The delightful placidity of South African life, the dignity and beauty of its capitals, the charm of its quaint country towns, the gracious hospitality of its homes, the lure of its climate and much of its scenery, and the variety of its races and civilisations are moments that blot out for a time the consciousness of the chaos and bitterness into which the War and the Peace together have plunged our own less wise and less happy Continent. The satisfaction of thus "drinking joyous oblivion of anxious life" may be cowardly, and possibly immoral, but it can be very real.

The greatest of South Africa's problems, of course, is that of national development, but among its sub-divisions are three distinct race problems, and to these I wish specially to refer. Each presents aspects and difficulties peculiar to itself, and only statesmanship of a high degree both of capacity and of moral quality will succeed in discovering workable solutions. At the time of my visit public opinion, particularly in Natal and the Transvaal, was acutely exercised by the question of Asiatic rivalry, and public meetings and petitions to the Legislature calling for protective measures were the order of the day. Following the passing by the Natal Provincial Council of an Ordinance proposing to annul the municipal franchise hitherto enjoyed by Asiatics in that province, the Government had introduced in the House of Assembly the Class

Areas Bill, whose object it is to assign to the Indians resident in the two provinces named—and only in these—separate districts in which they would be free to reside, trade, live their life, and practise their native customs, without being a menace to the white man in his own country. I do not believe that the Class Areas Bill proposes the best, and it certainly does not promise a final, solution of the Asiatic problem. Its significance lies in the evidence which its introduction affords of a general conviction that something had to be done. Let there be no mistake, the feeling on this subject amongst Europeans of every class and party is very strong. It is true that the Asiatic pressure is chiefly felt in Natal and parts of the Transvaal, but the hostility evoked by it is universal. It is also noteworthy that the Indians have few friends amongst the native population.

A few figures may help the reader to enter into the feelings of the white population. In 1921 the Asiatics in the Union as a whole were estimated at 164,000, of whom—and the classification has an important bearing on certain aspects of the question—96,000 were males against only 68,000 females, while about 60 per cent. were unmarried or widowed. Of these Asiatics 141,000 (or 85 per cent.) were resident in Natal, an alien element actually exceeding in number the entire white population (138,000), already confronted by a Bantu, mixed, and other coloured population of 1,149,000. Next in the extent of its Asiatic population, both absolutely and relatively, comes the Transvaal, with a total of 15,000, still small but growing; while the Cape of Good Hope has 7,700 (excluding the Malays), and the Orange Free State province, which has resisted the invaders more resolutely than any other province, only a couple of hundred.

The problem of how to hold back this Indian invasion is no new one. All the four provinces, while still independent States, attempted to deal with it in different ways, and with partial success; while since the establishment of the Union the question has repeatedly exercised both the Central Legislature and the subordinate Provincial Councils. Four years ago a Commission was appointed to inquire into and report on the subject, with the result of a series of recommendations, to only one of which, relating to the provision of facilities for the voluntary repatriation of Asiatics, the Government has as yet given effect. Indians have, in fact, been returning to their country during the last few years at the rate of 2,000 a year, though their aggregate number has not in consequence diminished. But the mere numerical strength of this exotic and unassimilable element in the population is not the crux of the problem. The real difficulties are two—one economic, the other political. As to the first, the European traders object with

some justification that owing to his lower standard of life the Asiatic is able to underbid and undersell him in every direction, while private residents and house-owners complain that directly the Asiatic settles down in their neighbourhood property at once falls in value and tenants migrate, if they can find other places to go to. There are, in fact, districts in Natal which are already so monopolised by Indians that if the Class Areas Bill were to come into operation it would be the remaining white population and not the immigrants who would have to go.

Important and legitimate as is the economic aspect of the question, however, it is the political aspect that arouses the strongest feeling and creates most anxiety. For the Indians now demand equal rights with Europeans, basing the claim upon the entirely untenable plea that their British citizenship entitles them to complete parity of political and civic status in every part of the Empire. That demand is in flat contradiction to the constitutional rights of the community which has accepted them as guests and now has reason to regret it; and its admission would put in their hands the power, in virtue of numerical predominance, to override the voice and vote of the white population of Natal in the national Legislature, and, if the same principle were applied in provincial government, to determine and control the entire administration of that province. Let it be said in passing that justifiable comment is at times made on the fact that some of the most eloquent advocates of equal rights for Indians in South Africa are amongst the strongest supporters of the caste system which makes pariahs of millions of their own countrymen in India. Thus it would be a grave mistake to view the Asiatic problem as merely one of commercial competition, material interest, or racial prejudice. In the eyes of the European population generally it is but one phase of the struggle, carried on so long and at so great a sacrifice, to win South Africa for the white races and for Western civilisation. The fact that Briton and Dutch, divided upon some other questions, are fighting shoulder to shoulder on this is the best proof of the intensity of national feeling.

The native question is beset by difficulties far more formidable, and only the most confident of sciolists would venture to discuss it in a dogmatic spirit. Whatever aspect of South African life you attempt to survey, you find yourself confronted, sooner or later, by this tremendous question. It is the biggest factor in the economic and industrial situation; it reacts upon such problems as those of education, housing, social morality, and religious life; and it is by no means unlikely that it will at some still uncertain date develop political aspects of a very serious kind. Here is the position. With a white community of roughly one and a half million, the Union

has a native and coloured population (excluding the Asiatics) of five and a third millions. This population, standing for the most part on the border-line between semi-civilisation and a state of nature, furnishes both agriculture and industry with almost the whole of the unskilled, and a large and increasing proportion of the semi-skilled, labour which they require, and that, in the case of the overwhelming mass, at the bare cost of sustenance (as represented in the case of farm labour by a daily or weekly ration of mealies or maize) and shelter of the most primitive kind, the most noteworthy exception being the natives engaged in domestic service and the gold mines. The fact that the ratio of blacks to whites has not for some years altered to the prejudice of the latter can afford but little encouragement in view of the existing overwhelming disproportion. Moreover, the increase of the native races is only being checked for a time by a heavy preventable mortality, particularly amongst children.

That South Africa, in these circumstances, has any prospect of becoming numerically a white man's country, at least within any period which needs to be taken into account by practical statesmanship, is hardly conceivable. Nor do I believe that the white population will ever increase greatly until it rids itself of the superstition—for it is no more—that black labour is really cheap, and decides to carry out a bold policy of industrial development on a white labour basis. That, however, is another question with which there is no space to deal here. None the less, the white man may retain primacy in South Africa indefinitely in the very real sense in which it already applies, *viz.*, in virtue of the moral, intellectual, and material superiority of the European population. To this end there will have to be no slackening of effort, no weakening of the fine spirit of enterprise and adventure which inspired those great men of faith, the early pioneers, no deterioration of conduct, and no deflection from the strict, straight line of justice and fair dealing in the relations between the white and black races. Is the white man conscious of the demand upon his character and powers which this severe test will imply? It is a question that calls, on his part, for very earnest consideration.

If I may venture to criticise, with no desire to be censorious, I must confess to surprise that there seems to prevail amongst Europeans generally in South Africa, except in the more thoughtful and what may be termed "expert" circles, so little understanding of the importance of the native problem, so little evidence of any clear and definite ideas as to what the problem is, and how it is desired that it should develop, indeed, so little recognition of the fact that a native "problem" exists at all. The general disposition is to regard the native as a quite subordinate and almost

negligible fact in the social order, as a piece of mechanism existing for the sole benefit of the two master races, to be manipulated and exploited by them at will, and to assume that the relations between whites and blacks will continue indefinitely as hitherto. It is flatly inconceivable, however, that the natives can long be contented to remain the docile servitors of an economic system in which the only rights they possess are the rights to work, if they can get work, for a pitiable pittance, and live what is little better than an animal life. Whatever may be the assumed interest of agriculture and industry, the demands of morality and of any rational idea of trusteeship in the name of civilisation will alone compel the Central Government and all authorities upon which rests responsibility for the welfare of the native population to insist upon a great if gradual levelling up of the entire status of the black races, who have borne so long, and bear to-day, an inordinately heavy share of what in other undeveloped Dominions is the white man's special burden.

I do not suggest, and I do not believe, that injustice or unkindness is being done consciously to these patient, much-enduring, pathetic *protégés* of the Empire. I came across much evidence of individual solicitude for their welfare; the conditions of domestic service in particular are quite apart in their superiority to labour conditions generally; the Government Departments and officials dealing with native affairs are doing a noble work in an enthusiastic spirit, and the miscellaneous efforts of the religious and philanthropic agencies are beyond praise. Nevertheless, I was forced to the very definite conviction that the master races which "run" South Africa are not seriously trying to civilise the natives; if they were, they would not tolerate for a day longer than was necessary the degrading conditions of life in which the vast majority of them are compelled to pass their existence. Granted that a wide gulf divides the European and the native in all the essentials of civilisation, yet the fundamental characteristics of human nature are the same in each, and the needs and cravings and aspirations which are shared in common by the two races call equally for satisfaction, though in the case of the native the process must be gradual and pay due regard to the interests of the white population.

No one with whom I discussed the native question entertained the least fear of any future concerted native outbreaks in the absence of treatment in violent conflict with the black man's keen sense of justice. The real danger is lest those in whose hands the welfare of the native population mainly rests—the innumerable white employers of farm and veld, of factory and workshop—should fail to remember that justice is a progressive idea, the right of yesterday being the wrong of to-day. Even should his masters forget

that fact, the native will not. For he is being educated, and more effectually he is educating himself; he is beginning to organise; and he is gradually evolving a race consciousness which will in time express itself in political claims difficult to satisfy yet perhaps more difficult to reject. And all the time he is thinking! Often as I have looked into his stolid, impassive, cryptic, inscrutable face I have wondered—is his thought of the past, the present, or the future? Yet is it possible to doubt?

Any references to the third and most urgent of South Africa's race problems, by which I mean the relations between British and Dutch, must be marked by the reserve due to the fact that there is in progress at the present time a heated political contest which will decide whether General Smuts will retain the Premiership or be replaced by General Hertzog, the Nationalist leader. If I do not take this problem quite as tragically as do many people, it is from no lack of conviction that it is the first of South Africa's vital interests that the European races should agree to live together in peace and amity. The provision of the constitution affecting the political and civil status of the two races is contained in article 137, which enacts that "both the English and the Dutch languages shall be official languages of the Union, and shall be treated on a footing of equality, and possess and enjoy equal freedom, rights, and privileges." The stipulation and its implications are unquestionably a source of friction, though in part unreasonably; yet the language question would create no insuperable difficulty or sense of grievance, were it the only cause of division. I had the opportunity of speaking with General Hertzog on this subject, and I trust there can be no indiscretion in recalling a remark of his, since it seemed to me to put the matter at once compactly and temperately. After avowing his belief that the relations between the two European races had become much more friendly during the last five years—herein confirming what I had heard from others, both British and Dutch—he spoke of the racial friction as "the inevitable result of a backward and old-fashioned people consorting with a more progressive and more assertive race."

How to bring about a franker and more cordial *rapport* between the two is the problem. Owing to a reciprocal lack of sympathy due to a host of causes—crude prejudices, personal incompatibilities, differences of temperament, custom, and tradition, and not least many stubborn and inconvenient facts of history, those "chiels that winna ding"—the Dutch have surrounded themselves by an atmosphere of suspicious reserve, and both they and the British have chosen to go different ways, with the further result that the more the Dutch have fallen back upon old political traditions the

more the British have emphasised their own vigorous form of nationalism. If the truth were confessed it would probably be found that both races would like to be "top dog" in the community, but because the British are habituated to domination, and will never be second if they can help it, the bias in that direction is more conscious, more visible, more purposive on their side than on the other. But in a free Commonwealth, based on the complete equality of all white citizens, domination and ascendancy of any kind are entirely out of place, and the first condition of any real understanding must be the eradication of every trace of that evil spirit, wherever and in whatever form it exists.

Is there no hope that, menaced as both are by the pressure of other political problems of the utmost gravity, Britons and Dutch will recognise betimes that faction between them is not merely dangerous but suicidal? Two centuries of rivalry and struggle, maintained with untold sacrifice and heroism on both sides, and with right and justice not always on one side only, have at last brought these races together. But to what end? A union going no further than a sort of civil contract, enforceable only by the arbitrary will of the stronger party, would not be worth having, unless it paved the way for a relationship stronger, more intimate, more enduring, because based on mutual understanding, sympathy and confidence. In his essay on Politics written over eighty years ago Emerson deplored the fact that the "power of love as the basis of a State has never been tried," and his words are still true to-day. It is impossible that British and Dutch can ever be reconciled so long as they or either of them are readier to find faults than to recognise excellences in each other, to exaggerate points of difference than to emphasise points of agreement.

On the vexed question of Nationalism and Nationalist aspirations there is great need for concession on both sides. I believe the Nationalist movement to be in the main sentimental, though very passionately so, and I have no difficulty in understanding it and respecting the convictions of the better spirits behind it. Assuming the vague Dutch talk of secession and republicanism to be altogether serious, however, why should not the British quietly recognise the fact, instead of making of it a personal grievance and indulging in futile recrimination? It is childish to expect that mature men and women can be brought to a sudden change of political sentiment by the mere articles of a constitution. If the back-veld Boers of the Transvaal and the Orange Free State still cling to the old traditions, is there no good side to their dourness and fidelity to conviction? The same staunchness may one day make them and their like pillars of strength in a political system to which they have not as yet succeeded in adapting themselves. For

it does not follow that because a section of the Dutch population still continues unconvinced fourteen years after the Union came into existence, it will never come round. In any event, to meet a genuine Nationalist sentiment by the irritating arguments of defiance and opprobrium can only make it more disruptive. With their experience of Ireland and Egypt—to go no further—Englishmen of all people should try to understand that elementary fact of folk-psychology.

If, however, the British are apt to make too little allowance for the fact that the Dutch States of South Africa were reared on a republican foundation, and found their strength and popularity in the fullest expression of democratic principles, the Dutch might reasonably be asked to pay more regard for the deep-seated monarchical instincts of the British peoples, remembering also that monarchy is a Dutch tradition, and that when over two hundred years ago the English made a new dynastic start it was to Dutch William that they went. There is really no reason in the world why the Dutch republicans should needlessly excite British susceptibilities by continually "rubbing in" their favourite doctrines. All practical men among them know and admit that no change of the existing order could be seriously contemplated in the absence of a British as well as a Dutch majority in its favour. Why not, then, have their say once for all, and then leave the matter to simmer? It is neither good politics nor good sense to be for ever tilting at windmills whose present purpose is to grind corn.

On both sides there are needed a larger tolerance, a more generous trust, a greater readiness to bear and forbear, and to call oblivion on all that is dismal and regrettable in the past. Such a change of spirit might pave the way for hearty co-operation on the basis of a common South African nationhood as the ideal to be aimed after, since in that direction the finger of history and the trend of present-day tendencies clearly point. Is Empire an end in itself, or only a means to the larger purposes of civilisation? Those who hold the narrower view have the facts of history against them. If the alternative view is correct, there can be no higher, more intelligent object of Imperial policy than to evolve new nations, train them to independence, and so equip them that each may be enabled to go its own way in the world, making its own distinctive contribution to human progress. For the larger destiny that awaits South Africa it is not even now too early to prepare. To give to their country, its life, thought and institutions, not a British nor a Dutch, but a distinctively South African stamp and individuality should be the aim and ambition of the white races. Such a union need involve no sacrifice of pride or personality, no absorption or assimilation, by one race or the other. Briton would

still be Briton and Boer would remain Boer, each supplementing the best characteristics of the other, since

In true marriage lies
Nor equal nor unequal; each fulfils
Defect in each, and always thought in thought,
Purpose in purpose, will in will, they grow.

Would it be unsafe to hazard the belief that, their collective energies being thus concentrated upon the fruitful task of working out their country's development and solving its problems on specifically South African lines, the still disaffected Dutch might lose zest for uncertain political experimentation and see, not unwillingly, the republican movement die a natural death?

Certain it is that the removal of the existing *impasse* will never come about without the exercise on both sides of a sweet reasonableness now conspicuous on neither. It should not be impossible. In social intercourse the Briton and the Dutchman of normal common sense and *savoir vivre* never dream of wrangling, and trouble little about each other's angularities. What is needed is to translate the temper of private life into public relationships, the women of both races not omitting to do their part, which might be a very important part. Obviously the advances would come with most force and grace from the British. We are not, on the whole, the most accommodating of people, yet on occasion no nation can better do magnanimous things in the grand style. Here is a great opportunity for our kinsfolk in South Africa to make a supreme gesture of conciliation, giving rein to their best instincts, letting the warm-heartedness native to them have full play, stretching generosity to the fullest extent. Such a gesture would be sure to evoke sympathetic response, and even if it did not succeed at once in bringing the two races into line on constitutional principles, it would hardly fail to prepare the way by correcting in some degree that excess of suspicion, captiousness, and bitterness which now unfortunately characterises their political life. For South Africa that alone would be a great gain.

WILLIAM HARBUTT DAWSON.

POETRY AND PHILOSOPHY.

THE title of this paper is Poetry and Philosophy, but the subject of it is, rather, the poetic and the philosophic attitudes of mind. The essential spirit of philosophy is cold and analytic. It seeks truth by the unclouded light of thought, and it regards as an obstacle and hindrance any uprising of emotional feeling. The essential spirit of poetry, on the other hand, is emotional feeling. In the glow of that furnace it works and moves; when the furnace cools and its fires die, verses may still be made, but not poetry. It is, of course, easy to quarrel with this distinction, and, in particular, to point out that some philosophers have been anything but cold analysts. But the reader is asked not to take that line. What is purposed here is to contrast two points of view, which, for brevity, it is convenient to call the poetic and the philosophic, and not to insist that these names are exactly appropriate labels. For, while there is considerable interest in discussing the points of view, there is none at all in debating about names for them.

The first issue which it is proposed to raise may be ushered in with a quotation from Keats:—

Do not all bright things fly
At the mere touch of cold philosophy?
There was a splendid rainbow once in heaven:
You know her woof, her texture: she is given
In the dull catalogue of common things:
Philosophy would clip an angel's wings.

That passage may be taken to mean any one of four different things, which must be distinguished from one another and discussed separately. The first meaning asserts that the fact of possessing knowledge about perceived objects destroys, or tends to destroy, our capacity to appreciate the beauty there is in those objects. This assertion is not true. It is not true that, when a person knows a rainbow to be caused by the reflection of sunlight from drops of water, he becomes any less able to appreciate its beauty than he was before. It is not true that, when a person understands the technique of painting, he will be less able than before to appreciate the beauties of a great picture; or that, when he understands the structure of a language, he will be less able to appreciate the literature written in that language. No doubt, it may happen that somebody, who started by admiring rainbows, or great pictures, or great literature, may become degraded into a chemist, or a mixer of colours, or a philologist, who cares for none of these things. But that unfortunate development, whatever it may be due to, is certainly not due to the mere fact that he now possesses knowledge which he did not possess before.

The second meaning asserts that the process of mind through which we go in the course of acquiring knowledge about perceived objects destroys our power of appreciating the beauty that is in them. This is clearly a different meaning from the other. It is true sometimes. Continued study of the technique of literary construction or of painting or of anything else may gradually undermine our æsthetic relation to literature and pictures themselves. Medical students, who throw at one another's heads, in their haunts of gloom, the internal organs of deceased ladies and gentlemen, are apt after a time to become less fitted than Michael Angelo to realise the artistic excellence of the human body. The young lady, immortalised by Sidgwick, who, in her study of Shakespeare, was accustomed to conceal the text of his plays with blotting paper, so that her attention should not be distracted from the notes, might eventually find her sense of literary values somewhat atrophied. It must be admitted that this sort of thing may happen, and that there is here a danger against which it is desirable to guard.

The third meaning asserts that the possession of knowledge about certain aspects of outward reality causes us, when we come in contact with these things, to encounter, as it were, a different perceived object from what we were encountering before, and that this different perceived object is less beautiful than the original one. This meaning is again quite distinct from either of the two that have been spoken of so far.

About the first half of it, which asserts that what we perceive in given conditions is altered by knowledge, there can be no question. When, for example, a mountaineer looks at a snow mountain, what he actually sees is a different perceived object from what the non-mountaineer sees. For, though the impression on his retina may be the same, on account of his knowledge his mind interprets it quite differently and he gets a different picture. Thus, on the way up Mont Blanc from Chamonix—I am here plagiarising a little from an Alpine classic—there are certain black excrescences, which the tourist, studying them from below, believes to be human beings engaged in a distressingly deliberate ascent. The mountaineer knows that these excrescences are rocks some 300 feet high, on the top of which there is a small hotel. And he knows this—apart from the item of the hotel—not necessarily because he has been to that particular place, but because, through his acquaintance with other mountains, on which he has been, he can judge much better the scale on which they are built, and can interpret in the light of his experience features which the non-mountaineer very likely will not notice at all.

The second half of this meaning, however, namely the assertion that the object perceived in given conditions is made, not only

different, but also less beautiful by knowledge is much more doubtful. A mountain is not necessarily less beautiful to a mountaineer than to a non-mountaineer. Nor is a man or woman necessarily less beautiful and admirable to one who knows him or her than to one who does not. Cynics, no doubt, may hint that the lover or the enthusiastic friend creates in his early ignorance a fairy princess or a fairy prince for himself, quite different from the real Miss X. or Mr. Y.; and that afterwards, with fuller knowledge, he discovers that the real persons are very much less admirable than his dream image of them. Sometimes, of course, this is so. But to maintain that it is so always is a paradox of pessimism. There are people, who, as we get to know them better, we find always more and more admirable, and about whom disillusion never comes. To the question then whether, in this sense, knowledge is an enemy to beauty, the reply must be: in some circumstances it is, in others it is not: it is not possible to give any single answer that will apply generally.

There remains still a fourth meaning to consider. When it is said that philosophy would clip an angel's wings, this statement may mean, as has just been shown, that knowledge alters for the worse the nature of the perceived object which is presented to our eye and mind, when in contact with a given real thing. But it may also mean that the process of mind through which we go in attaining the knowledge alters for the worse the nature of the real thing itself, not merely of the perceived object to which it gives rise. This is again a quite different meaning from any of the others. Clearly, as regards real things other than our own mental states, it cannot be true, because such real things are—*pace* certain philosophers—entirely independent of our thought. But it may possibly be true of our own mental states. It is well known that certain operations in vivisection cannot be performed without involving the death of the animal operated on. It has been suggested, on this analogy, that there are certain states of mind, admirable in themselves, which, if we try to probe and analyse, we by that act destroy. If an illustration is needed, it may be recalled that George Meredith's *Egoist* tried to force Clara Middleton to analyse and expound the nature of her love for him, and that that was one of the things that brought her love to an end. Is it true in this sense that philosophy will clip an angel's wings? It may be, but it is permissible to doubt it. In Clara Middleton's case the destroying influence was not, it may be surmised, any analysis that Clara actually made, but the fact that Willoughby tried to bully her into making one. Experience does not suggest that an attempt to analyse one's feelings towards anyone tends to weaken them. Many poets, Tennyson in *In Memoriam* among them, have engaged in

such attempts. Nobody really thinks that they have thereby dried up the spring of their feelings. Of course, nobody wants to be perpetually vivisectioning his mind; for to most people there are many things a great deal more interesting than themselves. But that is not the point. I am not discussing whether, or how far, analysis of one's own feelings is a good thing: I am merely contending that this sort of analysis is not in itself destructive of admirable states of mind when it is applied to them.

Let us now turn to a different and more important issue between the spirit of poetry and the spirit of philosophy. We have been inquiring so far whether the spirit of philosophy is hostile to beauty. We ask now: Is the spirit of poetry hostile to truth? Or, to put the same thing otherwise, does the atmosphere of tense feeling, in which poetry breathes, hamper the search for truth? In this question there are mingled together two distinct issues; because the search for truth involves two distinct processes. There is, on the one side, the machinery of inference from premisses that are given to conclusions that follow logically from them: and there is, on the other side, the discovery of the premisses or other fundamental *data* from which the process of inference starts. Thus, the main body of mathematical argument consists of logical deductions from certain axioms regarded as self-evident: and the main body of non-mathematical science consists in building up a structure of laws on the basis of *data* that are given in experience. Plainly both the process of inference and the acquisition of fundamental *data* are necessary to reasoned knowledge. Logical inference is not by itself sufficient. When we ask a man, Why do you believe this or that? he will often be able to give some other belief as a reason, but there must always come a point in the regress at which he falls back on something that he believes without a reason. Thus I ask: Why do you believe that Mr. X is not at this moment in London? you answer: Because he is in Cambridge. I then ask: How do you know that he is not in London also as well as in Cambridge? and you answer: Because the same thing cannot be in two places at the same time. If I were to ask again: How do you know that the same thing cannot be in two places at the same time? the reply, in a company of young men, would probably be a personal assault. A company of professional philosophers would not, indeed, resort to violence quite at this stage, but, even for professional philosophers, *some* point must come at which they fall back on something that they see directly without being able to give a further reason for it. This distinction between processes of inference and what one may call, if one likes, direct perceptions, is important to this discussion because the presence of emotional strain is not related to the two things in the same way. Consider first the purely

mechanical processes of logical inference. There can be no real doubt that these are carried on best in a cold light, and that warmth and ardour of feeling are apt to pervert them. When we desire intensely to believe something, we are terribly apt to coquette, in various more or less veiled forms, with the thesis that, because something, if true, would be very good, *therefore* it is true. Our friend is killed, and we grasp, with Browning, at the plea for immortality, that "one so pure as thou could never die." But there is no major premiss to assure us that purity is incompatible with death. Or we suddenly feel that a world without God would be terrible and unmeaning, and evil and cruel, and we infer that *therefore* somewhere, somehow God must exist. But there is no major premiss which denies that the world may in fact be terrible and unmeaning, and evil and cruel. Or we care for somebody with a devotedness so intense that we are forced to infer: This love of mine cannot fade. But we know from the long-drawn history of human life that love, which must have seemed no less intense than ours, in fact has faded. No, it will not do. The spirit of poetry, beating her wings in passionate feeling, is not a fit manipulator of the logical machine. It is the other spirit that we need for this:—

Cold as a mountain in its star-pitched tent
Stands high philosophy, less friend than foe
Whom self-caged passion from its prison bars
Is always watching with a wondering hate.

There is an intellectual loyalty, that, with Socrates, will follow the argument whithersoever it leads. This it is that the inferential part of the search for truth demands; and this, because she cannot bear the thought that the beautiful may not, after all, be one with the true, the spirit of poetry cannot give.

But turn now to the other element in truth-building, the foundation on which it rests, direct perception and immediate knowledge. Here things are very different. Here what is needed is not to reason but to see; and here the warmth of feeling and the glow of love may open closed eyes. "Some men deny the infinite," said Victor Hugo, "some also deny the sun; they are the blind." Just as one man's physical vision is keener or his ear more fine than another's, so also one man's vision of soul outspans another man's. The mystic claims that he sees and talks with God as friend to friend. Tennyson in the garden, reading Arthur Hallam's letters, is transported into a strange communion with the dead man whose hand had penned them:—

So word by word and line by line
The dead man touched me from the past,
And all at once it seemed at last
The living soul was flashed on mine.

And mine in this was wound, and whirled
 About empyreal heights of thought,
 And came on that which is, and caught
 The deep pulsations of the world.

Or, take Browning in *Abt Vogler*:—

Sorrow is hard to bear and doubt is slow to clear,
 Each sufferer says his say, his scheme of the weal and woe;
 But God has a few of us whom He whispers in the ear;
 The rest may reason and welcome: 'tis we musicians know.

Now, for powers of vision and direct perception it is not to the cold student that we go. It is to the ardent spirit of youth, to the poet, to the lover, who, so far as he is a lover, is, thereby, also a poet, though he never writes a line. It is these who stand on the outposts of humanity with clear eyes fixed on far horizons. We need not adopt the Platonic theory behind Wordsworth's famous Ode to know that *it is the child in heart* who, because he feels, can also see, and stands out before us, never knowing it, a radiant leader to the old and blind.

Yet, although the vision and insight which the spirit of poetry contributes to the quest of truth are always elements in that quest, we need also, as has already been implied, that the material thus provided shall be analysed and ordered and worked upon by reason. Just as analysis by itself cannot build the temple of truth, so perception by itself cannot do so. Both processes are needed: and what we have now to determine, if we can, is the comparative importance of the contributions that these co-operating factors make. To this end it is desirable to distinguish between two classes of questions, referring respectively to the nature of the real and the nature of the good. Among the former group will be such issues as: is there a God, and, if so, what are His attributes: do men continue living after bodily death, and, if so, in what sense: is the will free or are all our acts predetermined, and what precisely do we mean by freedom in this connection: is the ultimate constitution of the universe material or spiritual, and what exactly do we mean by terms such as these? The latter group of questions are concerned with the meaning of good and bad, and with determining what things or what states of mind are good, and how the goodness of one thing or state compares with the goodness of another.

Now, to the former group of questions, as well as to the latter, poets frequently offer answers. Dante, for instance, faces the deep issue between a spiritual and a material view of the universe, and answers in a single memorable line: *amor che muove il sole e gli altre stelle*—love which moves the sun and the other stars.

Browning and Tennyson are prophets of human immortality. George Meredith is no less definitely a prophet of death.

The pine-tree drops its dead,
 They are quiet as under the sea;
 Overhead, overhead
 Rushes life in a race
 As the clouds the clouds chase;
 And we go,
 And we drop like the fruits of the tree,
 Even we;
 Even so.

But, in these questions about the nature of the real, the part which pure intuition can play in finding an answer, or in discovering whether there are grounds for hoping that an answer can be found, must always be small. When a poet expresses an opinion on these matters, he is usually reflecting the current scientific or philosophic view among cultivated persons—not professional philosophers—of his day. He is not contributing a truth brought back from any journey of his own to the mount of vision. *Data* for the judgment of philosophers he may give; mystic experiences such as the one quoted above from Tennyson are *data*. But the *data* lie far away from the ultimate structure in which they will be used: they are raw material in a very early stage. The process of building finished thought upon them is long and arduous; great stretches of difficult reasoning intervene, of a sort for which there is no ground for expecting special aptitude in poets. In the quest of the real, therefore, the contribution we may look for from poetic vision is very small indeed.

In the quest of the good, however, things are different. Most of the reasoning and analysis required in ethics is required—this at least is the view submitted here—simply to blow away various sorts of fallacious systems that different philosophers have built up. Good is an ultimate and unanalysable quality, much as yellow is. The only way to decide whether a particular thing or state is good or bad, or is better or worse than another thing or state, is to look at it with clear eyes and to judge directly; and, because the eyes of poets are clearer than the eyes of other men, they can, in this field, be leaders, and not merely followers and providers of raw material for philosophers. When Browning writes:

O heart, O blood that freezes,
 Blood that burns,
 Earth's returns
 For whole centuries of folly, pain and sin,
 Shut them in,
 With their triumphs and their glories and the rest:
 Love is best.

Or, again:—

There is no good in life but love, but love;
What else seems good is some shade flung from love:
Love gilds it, gives it worth,

we feel that, though, of course, there is still a good deal left for analytic reasoning to do in sifting the chaff from the wheat, there is very much less than when, for instance, he writes such lines as:—

God's in His heaven; all's right with the world;

or the magnificent:—

There shall never be one lost good! What was, shall live as before;
The evil is null, is nought, is silence implying sound,
What was good shall be good, with, for evil, so much good more;
On the earth the broken arcs, in the heaven, a perfect round.

The first pair of quotations state what, to Browning's direct vision, is the chief good thing; the second pair state his philosophic judgment that certain things are real, and that certain things will continue to endure through time and beyond it. In the first pair he may rightly claim the leadership that is due to vision, but in the second pair he must walk humbly behind men better trained than he to wield the uninspired but potent engines of logical analysis.

This completes our study of these two reactions, the reaction of the spirit of philosophy on the beautiful, and the reaction of the spirit of poetry on the true. It has been argued, first, that the spirit of philosophy in some senses is not, but in other senses is, in a measure hostile to beauty; secondly, that the spirit of poetry, though it is ill-fitted to direct the apparatus of inferential logic, can provide *data* with which philosophy may build, and that, while in the realm of the real the provision of the *data* is only a very small part of what is needed, in the realm of the good it is a large part. Even here, however, necessarily the last word lies with the philosopher.

Song is not truth nor wisdom, but the rose
Upon truth's lips, the light in wisdom's eye.

The poet, with his insight and his vision, may lead the van of thought, but he cannot organise the advance. Behind the lines, collecting the *data* that he and others bring together, disentangling the pure gold of genuine intuition from accretions of unconscious inference, cold in his bare and dimly lighted room, there sits the chief of the staff—reason, the ultimate arbiter, the philosopher king, neither optimist nor pessimist, unmoved by hope, unshaken by fear, irresponsible to love: he follows the argument and the argument alone.

Though, however, this is so, there still remains one thing for the spirit of poetry to do. The philosopher seats truth upon her

throne: the poet crowns her with beauty. He spreads round the dry bones of fact, or supposed fact, a living garment of feeling. It is not difficult to find examples. Here is Meredith on the fact of death:

Her ebbing adieu, her adieu:
The word of the world is adieu:
Her word; and the torrents are round
The jawed wolf waters of prey!
We stand upon isles who stand,
A shadow before us and back
A phantom the habited land.

Here is Swinburne in a different tone on the same fact:

From too much love of living,
From hope and fear set free
We thank with brief thanksgiving
Whatever gods may be:
That no life lives for ever,
That dead men rise up never,
That even the weariest river
Flows somewhere safe to sea.

Here is Francis Thompson on the fact of unrequited, or imperfectly required, affection:

The sweetest things have saddest end,
Their scent survives their close,
But the rose's scent is bitterness
To him that loved the rose:

She went her unremembering way,
She went and left with me
The pang of all the partings gone
And partings yet to be.

She left me marvelling why my soul
Was sad that she was glad
At all the sadness in the sweet,
The sweetness in the sad.

Nothing begins and nothing ends
That is not paid with moan,
For we are born in other's pain
And perish in our own.

And here is Housman on the fact that love is *not* triumphant over time:

The rain it streams on stone and hillock,
The boot clings to the clay,
Since all is done that's due and right
Let's home: and now, my lad, good-night,
For I must turn away.

Good-night, my lad, for nought's eternal;
 No league of ours for sure;
 To-morrow I shall miss you less,
 And ache of heart and heaviness
 Are things that time should cure.

Over the hill the highway marches
 And what's beyond is wide:
 Oh soon enough will pine to nought
 Remembrance and the faithful thought
 That sits the grave beside.

These are familiar passages, but they serve as well as others to illustrate the point to be made here—itsself also familiar enough. In the court of truth, *before* judgment is pronounced, the spirit of poetry stands in a subordinate place. But, *when* judgment is pronounced, when what we have most desired is finally denied to us, and the hopes we have cherished are become fallen leaves, then she moves forward. She carries in her hand sympathy and understanding, and she shows us, in things evil, a soul, not, indeed, of goodness, but at least of beauty.

A. C. FIGOU.

THE FOREIGN OFFICE AND LITHUANIA.

OF the three Baltic States, Esthonia, Latvia, and Lithuania, taking them in their geographical order from north to south, Lithuania, both politically and economically, has been most severely and unfairly penalised since her declaration of independence on February 16th, 1918. It is a fact by no means favourable to Allied prestige that since the war Allied practice in the treatment of Lithuania has not consistently squared with profession, and that until very recently the ever-ready verbal assurance that "Codlin's the friend, not Short," has had a decidedly slender backing in deeds.

Let us take the question of *de jure* recognition. Both Esthonia and Latvia obtained this recognition early in 1921. Lithuania, however, did not get hers until December 20th, 1922. This delay would be explicable if it could be shown that Lithuania, as compared with the more favoured Baltic Republics farther north, lacked a stable form of government such as would warrant *de jure* recognition. The theory is untenable, because as regards internal tranquillity there has been very little to choose among the three Baltic States since 1918. Conditions in Lithuania were indeed so settled that, as far back as the autumn of 1919, Great Britain recognised the Government *de facto*. An explanation of the protracted reluctance of the Allies to give Lithuania her *de jure* recognition must be sought in the predominance of Franco-Polish influence in the counsels of the Great Powers. It says a good deal for the genuine wish of the Lithuanian people for a *rapprochement* with Great Britain that the blandishments of a more far-seeing German and Russian East European policy have been powerless to wean her from her affections.

All well-informed Lithuanians understand quite well why French influence in the Conference of Ambassadors and the League of Nations should invariably have been exerted not only in postponing this *de jure* recognition, but in ratifying Polish acts of spoliation at the expense of Lithuania. It has always puzzled them, however, to understand why the British Foreign Office in the past should have been a party to unjust treatment of Lithuania. The French commitment to the conception of a Greater Poland to serve as a buffer State between Russia and Germany adequately explains the cynical scrapping of principle and international fairplay of which the Conference of Ambassadors has been guilty over the Vilna issue. In the case of Great Britain, however, passive acquiescence in this act of international filibustering is frankly inexplicable, since one fails to see what special advantages, either political or economic,

accrue to us from endorsement of so grave an injury done to Lithuania's territorial integrity. The most curious and unlovely aspect of all this depressing record of partial discrimination has been, in our case, an exasperating official inability to admit that there is anything inconsistent in our expectations, indeed our demand, that every Lithuanian Government, while well aware of our refusal to stir a finger in opposition to Franco-Polish intrigues against Lithuania, should nevertheless preserve a pro-British orientation in its foreign and economic policy.

This peculiar attitude, it need hardly be said, has hitherto been most embarrassing to successive Lithuanian administrations, since it must either presuppose complete ignorance of foreign affairs among the Lithuanian people, or else an authority on the part of the Lithuanian Government to ignore public opinion when moulding its external relations. It seems latterly to have become an inherent defect of our policy in Eastern Europe to take little or no account of psychological factors and to concern ourselves almost entirely with material and physical concepts. An official state of mind so supremely and blandly indifferent to a highly developed political consciousness which, among Lithuanians to-day, renders them far more keenly watchful of their Government's foreign policy than the majority of Englishmen are of theirs, must inevitably commit us to dangerous blunders. But now that the guidance of foreign affairs has been confided to a man of Mr. Ramsay MacDonald's calibre, it is to be hoped that the disastrous phase of pandering to Franco-Polish ambitions in Eastern Europe will give way to something like an intelligently sustained effort to pursue British economic and political interests for a change.

The moment for an unmistakable gesture of friendship and understanding *vis-à-vis* of Lithuania is opportune, and something of the sort on our part is badly needed to soften the impression created by our previous participation in the inequity of the Ambassadors' decision of March 15th, 1923, attributing Vilna and the Vilna region to Poland.

It is one of history's little ironies that the neighbourhood of Soviet Russia, the *bête noir* of the Allies, has involved Esthonia and Latvia in no such difficulties as those in which the neighbourhood of Poland, the pampered *protégé* of the Allies, has involved Lithuania. In the wake of a series of unpunished infringements of demarcation lines traced by the old Supreme Council; in unblushing violation of the Suvalki Agreement of October 7th, 1920, and in defiance of her pledges to the League of Nations, of which she herself is a member, Poland, on October 9th of the same year, seized the Lithuanian capital Vilna. This act was strongly condemned by the League of Nations itself, but has since

been approved in effect by the Conference of Ambassadors. Lithuania has never accepted the latter's decision of March 15th, 1923, but has shown no intention of resorting to force for redress. Thwarted in their legitimate aspirations as regards Vilna, the Lithuanian people turned with renewed eagerness in another direction, where they had every reason to deem themselves assured of a fairer deal. That direction was the Memel Territory, which, under Article 99 of the Versailles Treaty, was detached from Germany, and, pending the determination of Lithuania's status, provisionally transferred to Allied sovereignty. In contradistinction to the Vilna region, as to whose precise ethnographic complexion the Allies had never committed themselves, the Memel Territory has been expressly declared Lithuanian in the Allied reply of June 16th, 1919, to the German Delegation at Versailles, in these words:—

"The Allied and Associated Powers reject the suggestion that the cession of the district of Memel conflicts with the principle of nationality. The district in question has always been Lithuanian; the majority of the population is Lithuanian in origin and in speech; and the fact that the city of Memel itself is in large part German is no justification for maintaining the district under German sovereignty, particularly in view of the fact that the port of Memel is the only sea outlet for Lithuania. It has been decided that Memel and the adjoining district shall be transferred to the Allied and Associated Powers for the reason that the status of the Lithuanian territories is not yet established."

The Extraordinary Commission appointed by the Conference of Ambassadors to investigate conditions in the Memel Territory, after the national uprising of January, 1923, against the German *Landesdirektorium*, in its subsequent report to the Conference was pleased to remark that the foregoing reply of the Supreme Council "in the minds of the Lithuanians . . . represented a kind of undertaking that Memel would be united to Lithuania." Surely, every impartial reader, studying the text objectively, will admit that the Lithuanians had a perfect right to regard this reply not only as a "kind of undertaking," but as a moral obligation assumed by the Allies, the fulfilment of which would naturally follow *de jure* recognition of their country, already unconscionably delayed. Indeed, only a firm belief in the Allies' good faith in this respect could have reconciled the Lithuanian inhabitants of the Memel district to submit for nearly four years to an alien domination, nominally represented by a French High Commissioner as the delegate of the Allied and Associated Powers, but actually vested in the hands of a German minority party. When, therefore, *de jure* recognition of Lithuania did at last come, on December 20th, 1922, the Lithuanians of both the independent

Lithuanian Republic and of the Memel Territory—Lithuania Minor—felt sure that the Allied pledge of June 16th, 1919, would be forthwith redeemed.

How little justification the Ambassadors' Conference had for its subsequent pose of surprise and indignation at the unfortunate consequences of its own policy of deliberate procrastination, will be seen from the terms of the Lithuanian Foreign Minister's Note of August 4th, 1922, in reply to the Conference Note of July 13th, 1922, reporting the Allies' intention to grant Lithuania *de jure* recognition on condition of Lithuania's unreserved acceptance of the internationalisation of the River Niemen. The Lithuanian Note clearly raised the question of Memel by quoting the Allies' reply of June 16th, 1919, to the German Delegation, and pointed out that as the determination of Lithuania's status must be deemed effected by *de jure* recognition, the Lithuanian Government hoped for a decision regarding the transfer of sovereignty over Memel which the Allies held by virtue of Article 99 of the Versailles Treaty. Yet so defective was the political memory of the Conference of Ambassadors that, in his rejoinder of October 13th, 1922, M. Poincaré sagely remarked that "the question of the *de jure* recognition of the Lithuanian Government could not be confused with that of the status of Memel" (1). The Lithuanian Government, in its longer communication of November 18th, 1922, had no difficulty in demonstrating that no such confusion existed, and so effective was this demonstration that, in their subsequent Note of December 20th, 1922, finally granting *de jure* recognition, the Allied Ambassadors discreetly omitted all reference to Memel.

This not unnatural effort to "save face" could readily have been forgiven if only the Ambassadors' Conference had taken the lesson to heart, and had proceeded to redeem the pledge of June 16th, 1919. The Conference's failure to do this is all the more unpardonable seeing that, as far back as 1921, the Lithuanian population of Memel had addressed a long Memorandum to the Allied Powers calling attention to the true aim of German intrigue and to the intolerable conditions under which the Lithuanian population dwelt; and since that date up to the eve of *de jure* recognition of Lithuania, an entire series of carefully studied documents from various Lithuanian organisations had been sent to Paris, showing in detail the reasons, alike ethnographic, economic, and political, imperatively demanding the attachment of the Memel region to its natural hinterland of the Lithuanian Republic.

It was only at the last moment that, in the face of clear evidence of the French intention to promote the German plan of a Memel "Free State," the Lithuanian inhabitants lost patience and, rising *en masse* early in 1923, under the leadership of the Central

Committee for the Salvation of Lithuania Minor, overthrew the German *Direktorium*. This *coup* was accomplished almost without bloodshed, and without encountering any serious opposition save from the French troops of occupation, who, in obedience to the ill-advised orders of M. Petisné, the French High Commissioner, opened fire, unprovoked, on the approaching insurgents in a vain attempt to hold the town. Actually, the change of *régime* was joyfully welcomed by a vast majority of the inhabitants, and perfect tranquillity was almost immediately established throughout the country.

It is typical of nearly all Allied policy since the Versailles Peace Treaty that, instead of frankly accepting responsibility for its own bungling, and making a serious if belated effort to right the wrong inflicted on the Lithuanian population of the Memel region by this prolonged neglect of its own obligations, the Ambassadors' Conference sought to confuse the issue by accusing the Lithuanian Government of complicity in the Memel rising. Sundry recriminating and even menacing Notes were dispatched to Kovno, the upshot being that the Powers expressed themselves satisfied with the efforts of the Lithuanian Government to appease the Lithuanian elements in Memel. A decision, dated February 16th, 1923, formally transferred sovereignty over Memel to Lithuania, subject to certain conditions, the most important of which were the establishment of an autonomous government, organisation of freedom of sea, river, and land transit, and the setting up at Memel port of an economic administration appropriate to its development. But in the interim Polish influence, not content with its Vilna triumph, had not been idle, and here for the first time we find specific mention of Poland as directly interested in Memel as the "natural outlet" not only of Lithuanian but of "Polish districts." On Lithuania's acceptance of sovereignty on these conditions, the Conference of Ambassadors, with the assistance of representatives of Lithuania and of the Memel Territory, would draw up an organic statute and conclude a convention with Lithuania in conformity with this decision.

The Lithuanian Government, after some delay, accepted the principles of this decision, and negotiations on the organic statute and convention began in Paris during March, 1923. That they should have failed to reach an agreement is not at all surprising. Their entire course once more revealed the supremacy of Franco-Polish agencies among the Ambassadors on all questions affecting Lithuania, so that the Lithuanian and Memel delegates were speedily made aware that the real motives underlying the resolve of the Conference to guarantee so-called Polish economic interests at Memel were political. If anybody cares for first-hand evidence

he can profitably study the numerous documents reproduced in the Yellow Book of the Lithuanian Ministry for Foreign Affairs entitled "The Question of Memel," recently published in English.

The substance of the difference between the Ambassadors' Conference and the Lithuanian Government, which has culminated in the reference of the situation to the League of Nations, is that whereas Lithuania has gone to the limit of possible concessions by consenting to the rafting of Polish timber down the Niemen to Memel, and to the appointment on the proposed Economic Advisory Committee to be attached to the Memel Harbour Board of a representative of Polish economic organisations from the regions of the Niemen basin actually under Polish occupation, the Ambassadors insist that before Lithuania can exercise sovereign rights over Memel she shall restore freedom of communication by waterways navigable for vessels or rafts, and by railways, as well as freedom of postal and telegraphic communication between Memel and the Lithuanian and Polish districts; further, that a Polish diplomatic representative shall be appointed by the Polish Government on a proposed Committee of Economic Supervision to be attached to the Harbour Board. They also stipulate that the autonomous administration of Memel shall undertake to lease for ninety-nine years to the Polish Government the areas necessary for Polish shipping and commerce, those areas to be placed under the ordinary régime of the free zone, and to be reserved for goods coming from and destined for Poland, who should have lumber rights. In addition, the Ambassadors' draft of the proposed convention contains other provisions seriously prejudicing Lithuania's ostensible sovereignty over Memel. But these are really secondary to the foregoing, and capable of adjustment, whereas the objections to the foregoing are fundamental.

The contrast between the Ambassadors' attribution of Vilna to Poland, in total disregard of the League of Nations' own admission of the illegality of Poland's seizure of the Lithuanian capital, without even concerning themselves about the fate of the Lithuanian inhabitants and institutions thus submitted to the guardianship of a Polish gendarmerie, and their tender solicitude for Polish economic interests in Memel, where there is not a solitary *bona fide* Polish resident, and where Polish trade is for the most part officially created to order for political ends, is so glaring that the unpleasant shock it has given to Lithuanian public opinion is easily to be understood. But irrespective of odious comparisons between these two treatments of Lithuania and Poland by the Allied Powers, there are solid juridical reasons why Lithuania cannot be expected to give unqualified acceptance to the Ambassadors' demands. The most important of these reasons is that,

if Lithuania were so imprudent as to grant Poland free communication through Lithuania by water and rail, and to admit the presence on the Harbour Board of a Polish diplomatic representative, such a concession would undoubtedly be interpreted hereafter as final acquiescence in Poland's unlawful annexation of the Vilna region. The Note of March 13th, 1923, addressed by Chicherin to the Allied Powers also affords evidence that Lithuanian fears lest the Allied policy of conceding special privileges to Poland in Memel should involve dangerous complications in the future with Russia are far from being merely academic. It was her quite justifiable refusal to be drawn into the perilous position foreshadowed by the Conference draft, coupled with her praiseworthy desire not to obstruct the development of Memel trade, that induced Lithuania to suggest the compromise of free rafting for timber—the only serious staple of prospective Polish trade *via* Memel—and the presence of a Polish economic representative on the Committee to be attached to the Harbour Board. For the rest, she has repeatedly declared her readiness to accept the application of the provisions of the Barcelona Convention to Memel, for all States without distinction.

Weighing all these facts, one fails to understand why, if the aims hitherto pursued by the Ambassadors—more correctly France and Poland—are solely economic and not political, the draft Convention of September 21st of last year offered by the Lithuanian Government should not be acceptable. Indeed, it will be surprising if the League of Nations, to which the Ambassadors' Conference on September 28th last referred the dispute, experiences any difficulty in settling it on these lines.

A recent reference to the authority in another connection of the League of Nations by a prominent Polish official, Count Ronikier, late Polish Minister in Berlin, gives hope for a return to reasonableness and to the spirit of accommodation on the part of Poland. In an article in the *Daily News* of March 6th, 1924, the Count pleaded for a change from the old policy of the balance of power in Near Eastern Europe, with its ravaging consequences and its ultimate corollary, *viz.*, competitive armaments. He urged the formation of a new "United States," composed of Poland, Finland, Esthonia, Latvia, Lithuania, Czecho-Slovakia, Austria, Hungary, Rumania, and Jugo-Slavia, "with enough authority to ensure that minor and selfish considerations should not outweigh the main object of such a grouping," and he looked to the League of Nations in the near future to provide such an authority "guaranteeing the respective territorial integrity of all the countries," whose populations he carefully enumerated. Incidentally, he gave full recognition to the integrity of the hotly contested Lithuanian

ethnic claim, *viz.*, 4.6 millions. Meantime, Lithuania (*vide* the *Statesman's Year Book*), deprived of its capital, Vilna, and of the adjoining territories by the present wholly unauthorised Polish occupation of the same, has a population of little more than two millions! As I pointed out at the time, I do not for a moment believe that Count Ronikier was napping and unwitting when he gave the recognition referred to. I have no doubt it was a sincere acceptance of a fact hitherto scouted by official Poland. This augurs well for the healing of sores and for the settling up of old scores between Poland and Lithuania. Unreal make-believe is yielding to common sense.

In the meanwhile, it is one of the unfortunate consequences incidental to Great Britain's passive rôle in the Conference of Ambassadors, that the latter's failure to solve the Memel problem should be permitted to delay the presentation of the credentials of the Lithuanian representative in London, and also of the British representative in Kovno. A change of instructions in our Foreign Office is very desirable. The poisoned chalices of the older diplomacy are too deadly. Who will now commend their ingredients?

VALENTINE J. O'HARA.

Note.—Since the above article was written the Special Commission appointed by the League of Nations under the chairmanship of Mr. Norman Davis has drafted a Convention already accepted and subscribed to by the Lithuanian and British Delegates. It provides for a Port administration on which there is no Polish representative. This Convention still awaits signature from the French and Italian Governments.

THE NEW REFORMATION.

ONE of the favourite sayings of the hour is that the day of religion is over. Man has at last discovered that he has been the dupe of his own fancies; and the champions of Christianity are the advocates of a lost cause. The newer astronomy, the Darwinian biology, and the comparative study of man have undermined theology. One doctrine in particular has been definitely refuted by the new learning. The story of the Fall of Man as told in the Book of Genesis, which through later Jewish thought passed into the teaching of St. Paul, and through him into Augustine and so became the cornerstone of traditional theology, has now been overthrown by a sounder knowledge of the Bible and by the fact of evolution. All of the evidence goes to show that the notion of original sin, the implication of the human race in a moral catastrophe at the beginnings of the race, is a figment of primitive imagination, and that, so far from falling from a state of primitive excellence, man has through the ages been rising through slow gradations from the brute creation to such a measure of moral culture as he now possesses. To-day the problem of moral evil is attacked along psychological lines. Freudian and semi-Freudian convictions affect traditional views of human responsibility with far-reaching consequences in every region of Christian reflection. One may say that the doctrines of evolution in biology and of repressed instincts in psychology have made the Augustinian theory of the origin and propagation of moral evil quite impossible of acceptance by the modern mind. It is not too much to say that, with the fall of this cardinal doctrine, the whole Augustinian system crumbles away.

No one can question that there is widespread discontent with the condition of thought inside the Churches. Now there are those who tell us that the situation can be met by ignoring the problems of the reflective mind in the sphere of religion, and by concentrating on worship as the sole function of the Church. But we may well view this aspect of the Church's life with pained dissatisfaction. Who can deny that there is widespread indifference to public worship? The normal spectacle of half-empty churches confirms this gloomy opinion.

Would it not be well, then, for ministers of religion to face the facts frankly and, instead of blaming the people, admit that the heavy hand of an ossified phraseology and a deadening conventionality lies on the worship of most of our Churches. Worship ought to be a thing of awe and beauty. It springs out of a sense of spiritual wonder. Well has it been said that "Christian worship is not the luxury of emotional souls; it is a battle-ground."

Wherever a soul or a company of souls holds real converse with God, there rages a battle far more critical and momentous than any fought in the slums or gilded haunts of vice. Who can presume to estimate the Divine resources set in motion by one genuine prayer and the hostile powers let loose against the praying soul? "Is the outsider who enters one of our Churches conscious of this spiritual tension, and does he feel himself swept away for the time into a mystic world throbbing with strange and passionate energies? Or does he not rather complain that our services are the dead product of a petty and frigid convention? And what about our preaching? There was a time when sermons moved powerfully the minds and hearts of men. Apart from exceptional instances this is true no longer. The prophet is being pushed aside by the administrator of financial affairs or the leader in social or institutional activities, or the ministrant of sacraments and ordinances. The decay of the prophetic ministry ought to alarm us all as with a sense of impending calamity. History shows that whenever the prophet has been silenced, worship has degenerated into mechanism and superstition, and the vitalising force of the Church has perished. And the tragic character of this eclipse of the pulpit is all the more apparent in a world which to-day finds itself lost and is seeking for spiritual leadership.

And what of the Church as an institution? Our intellectuals assure us that it has outlived any useful purpose it may ever have served and that the hour of its disappearance is at hand. Those who still cherish religious feelings can have them fully satisfied by little gatherings of mystically minded persons, free from the restraint of cast-iron customs and obsolete ideas. Again and again we hear this complaint: "The Church does not give me what I need: no longer will I listen to notions that I have long since outgrown or bore myself with forms that only irritate." And Christian Science or Theosophy or New Thought gain new recruits. Some have gone the length of prophesying that within the lifetime of some now living the Church will have practically ceased to count as a force in human affairs and a new type of organisation or federation of organisations will have taken its place.

What, then, is the most clamant need of the hour? The answer is: a new Reformation. The upheaval of the sixteenth century has spent its force, and the fullness of the times demands a new and revolutionary movement, which, starting from a transformation of spiritual thought, shall penetrate with life and light the varied activities of the Church, and subdue all her machinery to the divine purpose for which she exists.

We know the permanent contribution to the spiritual life of

* E. Herman: *Christianity in the New Age*, pp. 223, 224.

man which the work of the Reformers achieved. It was indeed a new birth, born of the immense expansion of the human mind resulting from the discovery and diffusion of new knowledge. In the fine phrase of an older scholar, "Greece rose from the dead with the New Testament in her hand"—rose to create a new world in which the soul should receive its freedom from every despotism through the experience of direct access to God. This truth of the soul's freedom through dependence upon God expresses in non-technical language the supreme work of the awakened mind and conscience of the sixteenth century. It is the eternal possession of the spiritual life. Whatever changes may await us in the future, we may be sure of this, that no alteration of thought, no development of life, will avail to obscure this fundamental reality, the very corner-stone of Apostolic Christianity.

Still, three centuries have come and gone since Luther wrote his *Freedom of a Christian Man*, and it is not too much to say that the nineteenth century has witnessed an outburst of scientific enthusiasm, a revival of learning, and an application of scientific discovery to the needs of civilisation so immense that we are justified in saying that we are witnessing a veritable Renaissance. Can religion and the Church remain untouched by these mighty happenings? Is Christianity fixed on an island past which sweep the streams of cosmopolitan culture? The questions are absurd, for they imply notions that contradict the very nature of the Christian religion which is a vital organism, able, like Dante among the shades, to prove its vitality by moving things. Moreover, can we suppose that the sixteenth century movement laid down once and for all the laws along which the human spirit in its religious relations should move, quite regardless of all the vast unfoldings of other aspects of man's being? The work of the Reformers laboured under two serious handicaps which, happily, do not exist for us. One was the mediæval heritage which still darkened for them the true significance of the Bible. True, the spiritual genius of a man like Luther was able in a measure to pierce through the mass of tradition and divine by a kind of instinct the living spirit within, but the Protestant world as a whole fell back on a crude supernaturalism which modern criticism has undermined. The Bible is a new book—made new by the labour of critical scholars for almost a century. But a new Bible demands a new theology, a translation into modern terms of the fresh vision of God which our new knowledge of His revelation through prophetic spirits has given us.

The other drawback was the absence of adequate knowledge of the actual world. Modern science with its doctrine of evolution has reconstructed all our knowledge of God's revelation of Himself in

nature. The various factors and their importance in the process of organic evolution are still matters of dispute among scientific men, but in spite of the dogmatism of the "fundamentalist" the method of evolution is beyond reasonable doubt. To-day science has so dominated the minds of men that some think it has dethroned religion as a guide of life. Certainly in the past every effort to controvert its findings has only brought humiliation upon the men who raised the weapons of their despair against them. The truth is that the only cure for the imperfections of science is more and better science, and the only hope for a reconciliation between science and religion is that religion should become scientific and science should become religious. As Auguste Sabatier asks: "Why should we permit ourselves to be shut up to the alternative of choosing between an irreligious science and an ignorant or unintelligent religion?" A great authority, Professor MacDougal of Harvard University, has recently said that "one factor alone can secure our future and save us as a people from a fatal decline, and may even secure for us a continued progress in all that makes life worth while. It is an increasing knowledge of man's nature and of human society, and the conditions that make for or against the flourishing of human nature and society. Therein lies our hope for the future."

That science is one divinely intended force for the bringing in of the Kingdom of God on earth may be taken as a presupposition of serious thinking. Yet we know that if science achieved the wildest dreams of the imagination, if it could produce a cure for every disease, or protract human life to three times its allotted span, filling it in the meantime with every comfort and happiness, it would still remain true that the problem of life was without an answer. The truth is that the function of science is to deal only with the phenomena of the material world, the world of the senses, the world of masses and energies which proceed on their way regardless of what or whom they crush. But man refuses to be bound to the phenomenal world. When science pushes her work to the utmost limit she discovers that matter and motion disappear into super-sensible realities. In other words, modern science reveals the universe as an abyss of mystery, and while the sense of wonder in the presence of mystery endures religion will endure.

With our new learning and our new science it is obvious that the formulated statements of religious truth handed down to us from the distant past must bear the challenge of reason and spiritual insight. The New Reformation will demand that the Creed shall be interpreted in terms of modern knowledge. Nor is there anything here to startle the most conservative mind. The Church has always claimed the right to interpret the Creed in accordance with the science, philosophy, and knowledge of the Bible at her com-

mand at a given time. We speak to-day in terms of evolution; the early Church spoke in terms of the Greek philosophers and Ptolemaic astronomy. Their use of the terms "person" and "substance" bears the stamp of contemporary thinking, but these words do not mean to us what they meant to the men of the fourth century. Still more, the Creed has for a background an astronomy which conceived the world as the fixed centre of the universe. The sun and moon and stars were lights set in the firmament, and the firmament itself was a dome of solid substance resting on a flat surface. Above the firmament was Heaven, where God and all the angels dwelt after the manner of an oriental court. Beneath the earth was the realm of the dead, and down into this realm the Creed tells us Jesus descended after death. This mode of thought no longer represents reality to us. Whatever else the universe may be, we may be sure it is not a three-storey structure, limited, defined and measured. And the outlook upon God and man and destiny entertained by men who thought in such terms must be very different from that of the moderns, for whom our planet is an insignificant satellite of a not very important sun. If we are not to have a new Creed, it is clear that, unless all thinking men are to be estranged henceforth from the Churches, there must be liberty of interpretation in harmony with our better knowledge of divine revelation and of the growing spiritual insight of Christian men.

1. Among the facts favourable to the prospects of a New Reformation let me name first of all the new knowledge we have of the historical Christ. It is literally true to-day to say that Christ is better known than He has ever been since the days of His flesh. Historic research has disclosed to us the drama of His life, has made clear the fundamental realities of His spiritual wisdom, and some at least of the mighty motives behind His actions. The portrait of Jesus which has been subjected to the furnace fire of the most biting criticism has emerged more real and more full of life "into the eye and prospect of the soul than when He lived indeed." Once the average Christian is secure of Christ's reality, once he is assured that Christ is part and parcel of the history of this world, he can be composed in the presence of the most radical criticism. And surely it ought to be a source of encouragement to find such relentless critics of the Church as Mr. Bernard Shaw and Mr. Wells proclaiming that if the world is to be saved it must be by a return to the principles of Jesus of Nazareth. There are thousands who care nothing about the Church who would yet echo the words of Dostoevsky, written amid the horrors of a Siberian exile: "I am a child of unfaith and scepticism, and yet I believe there is nothing lovelier, deeper, more sympathetic, more rational, more manly, and more perfect than the Saviour."

I say to myself with jealous love not only is there no one else like Him, but that there could be no one else."

2. In the second place, the New Reformation will be affected by the social passion of our time. We are witnessing to-day a mighty struggle which aims at the breaking down of class barriers, the liberation of the slaves of poverty, the equalisation of the opportunities of life, and the juster distribution of its rewards. Can the Churches look on unmoved and uninterested? On the contrary, they are awakening to a sense of their vocation, which is, not to view with indifference or jealousy the efforts of the masses to equalise conditions of life, but to be themselves the inspiration of every crusade for social reform. They are rising to the height of their great commission, which is to create a redeemed environment for all humanity. They are learning that if they do not conquer the environment the environment will conquer them. It is dawning on them that their high vocation is to bring the life of God into the lives of men, to lift their voices as witnesses to the eternal order of justice and right in which man's life is rooted.

3. The third factor in the New Reformation will be our new knowledge of the soul and its powers. The discovery of the sub-conscious mind by Mr. Frederick Myers was declared by William James to be as epoch-making as the most brilliant discoveries in the physical order. This fact is of great value for the religious life. By means of it we can reach the inmost depths of man's psychic instincts, free him from distress and miseries, deliver him from the grip of sinful habits, lead him into a life strong, spiritual, and divine.

The stories of Christ's healing power which formerly were credited to religious fervour, or thought to be strange abnormal happenings, without any parallel in our own experience, and therefore without vital significance for us, now shine in their artless beauty and simplicity because our knowledge of the human soul makes them acceptable to reason. Hence, we shall witness coincident with a revival of faith a revival of the wonders of the early Church. The prayer-healing and faith-healing movements of our time are a popular revolt against the materialistic bias of a past age; but more specifically they are owing to our new knowledge of the life of Jesus and the nature of His ministry and the desire to recover the spirit and power of the Christian religion.

What we need, then, is not the "de-churching of Christianity, but the Christianising of the Church." The clergyman is tending to become more and more an ecclesiastical business man. He touches his parishioners at only one or two points, and these merely external. Along such lines no wonder the clerical office has become futile, flat, stale. Young men refuse to become candidates for the

ministry, not because of the meagre material reward it offers, but because the work does not seem worth while. It can be made worth while. Let us unite medical science, psychic power, and strong religious faith, and it would be impossible to forecast what would result in helping the sick and wretched through the removal of the ills that torment them, and in uniting the two noblest of all the professions.

Among the achievements which we may expect to be born of the new spirit in the Church will be a signal enrichment of the pastoral office. Preaching will experience a great rejuvenescence; men set free from the traditions of the past and fully surrendered to the activities of the Spirit will speak the Christian message with new and unwonted power. The prophetic ministry which is now threatened with extinction will witness a mighty resurrection, and once more the hearts of men will burn within them as they listen to the outpourings of souls touched with sacred fire and in mystic contact with the original source of love and inspiration. But preaching will not stand alone. What is needed more than ever is a ministry to the individual in his particular and special need. In all our churches men, specially equipped by the very best that science and religion can bestow, will be at all hours of the day at the disposal of the sick, the miserable, and the despairing, and the spirit of Christ will once more be glorified in a rich ministry to all the children of God.

4. The fourth motive power in the reform of religion will be a new conviction of immortality. One of the great demands made on the Church after the war was the reassurance of millions of afflicted souls as to the possibility of life after death. This demand the Church signally failed to meet. Men asked for facts tending to establish immortality; they received traditional doctrines and rhetorical phrases that had long since ceased to persuade those whom death had sorely wounded. The result was that many turned away from the Churches to other sources of consolation. Thousands of little books purporting to give proofs of continued existence after death by messages believed to come from the dead poured forth and continue to pour forth from the Press. Here is the situation in which we find ourselves to-day. Religion and philosophy have said their last word, and the most they can do is to offer us a hope about which we cannot be sure. It is significant that, except on Easter Day few sermons are ever preached about immortality, and Heaven and Hell occupy a smaller place among the materials of the preacher than they once did. Yet the two truths, apart from which there can be no living religion, are the existence of a personal God, and the fact of immortality.

Science is now coming to the help of religion. The Psychical

Research Society, which numbers among its leaders some of the most distinguished men of science and letters, is searching diligently for experimental proofs of a future life. At the present time the majority of investigators are agreed that consciousness exists after death. This is surely a conviction of tremendous moment. It is a distinct answer to the age-long question: "If a man die, will he live again?" Investigators differ as to the nature and conditions of the life beyond, but they agree that the spiritual laws which rule here obtain among those whom we call the dead. Religious teachers must set themselves to the task of gaining a new and vital conviction of immortality, a conviction that will stand the test of scientific experiment. Once a man is convinced that death is a mere episode in the onward development of life we may expect a far-reaching readjustment of our thinking, a reinvestment of spiritual values with supreme authority for thought and conduct.

The New Reform will touch so fresh power the too prosaic services of public worship. For one thing, there will be greater variety than at present obtains: various types of human nature will find satisfaction in varied types of worship. There will be services in which music will carry the soul far above the world of daily toil and struggle; and those in which the fundamental realities of religion will be presented. There will be other services of prayer and sacrament in which the deep-rooted mysticism of many a heart will be satisfied. And there will be services in which a Quaker-like stillness will prevail. The present idea which appears to govern our worship that communion with the Divine consists in our continuous speech to God or about God will disappear. Communion is fellowship, and fellowship implies that not only do we speak to God but He speaks to us. Hence silence will have a larger place in the worship of the new Christianity. Space will be provided so that the individual may breathe his special desires to God and hear the Divine response. The value of silence, which our Churches have ignored so long, will at last be recognised, and those who, for one reason or another, are unable to take part in vocal worship will be glad to enter into the worship of silence.

The development of these new impulses within organised Christianity will ensue in a sustained and vigorous effort to bring the masses of our country into contact with the power of religion. As the spirit of the Master is re-born within His followers, they will become possessed with a zeal for a new Evangelism. We are all pragmatists to-day. "The current of life which runs in at our eyes and ears is meant to run out at our hands, feet, or lips." Our new beliefs must vindicate their reality by emotional and practical

efficiency. We are too familiar with the crudities and superstitions of what has passed for the preaching of the Evangel. Can the new interpretation of Christianity be so presented that it will achieve the successes of the traditional Evangelism without its irrationalities and failures? Will it stir the emotions, and awaken the conscience, and arm the will against the forces of evil? That depends on the type of men who become its preachers. One quality they must possess whatever else may be lacking. They must have a fresh and compelling conviction of the reality of the spiritual world. This has been the mark of men like Dante and Luther and Bunyan, who have lifted their contemporaries to a higher level and left a wealth of truth and power to later generations. The spiritual world is still open to the susceptible soul. When a body of men arises for whom the objects of faith shall be as real as the physical world about them and in whom, therefore, the mystic grace of spirituality shall manifest its regenerating virtue, the average man on the street will catch the contagion of faith and will know that for himself and for society the old dream of a Divine Kingdom has at last come true.

SAMUEL MCCOMB.

PROGRESS IN SIAM.

THE country of the Yellow Robe has witnessed numerous changes and undergone sundry developments since the writer's residence in Bangkok during the blockade of the Siamese seaboard and the hostilities with France in 1893. Practically the whole of those changes and developments have been in the direction of progress and prosperity. And this is due, more than to any other factor, to a wise and enlightened policy on the part of her legislators, who, while closely and anxiously watching events in a world which suddenly turned topsy-turvy in 1914, never hesitated as to the correct path to follow with a due regard for the highest interests of their country.

When, in the spring of 1893, the Government of the French Republic put forward a claim to the *rive gauche* of the Mekong River, King Chulalongkorn I. ruled over Siam and M. Delcassé reigned at the Quai d'Orsay. These, the two principal actors in the brief drama which then unfolded itself, have both since joined the silent majority. France was already paramount over a large tract of Indo-China, and had watched with excusable uneasiness Great Britain's acquisition of Upper Burma some eight years previously. For a few weeks matters were strained as between the *chancelleries* of France and England, it being well understood that the latter Power strongly deprecated a French occupation of Bangkok. That, of course, did not take place. There was a brief but rigid blockade of the capital, during which we of the small European community happily escaped the risks of a threatened native rising. Then Siam surrendered to the French demand, and the incident terminated.

Chulalongkorn I. died in 1910, to be succeeded by his son the present King, who had represented his country at the jubilee of Queen Victoria, at her funeral, and at the coronation of Edward VII. Educated at Sandhurst and at Christ Church, Oxford, King Chowfa Maha Vajiravudh holds honorary rank as General in the British Army. At his coronation at the close of 1911, it was said that the ceremony was attended by a larger number of representatives of foreign Powers than in the case of any previous Asiatic potentate. The young King forthwith proceeded to carry into effect certain reforms and developments which his father had inaugurated. Among these were the establishment of Royal Commissions to inquire into the financial status of the country and to study the problem of land taxation; a national Savings Bank; reform of the calendar and introduction of surnames; improvements in education, games, and athletics; the inauguration of branches of the Boy Scouts and Royal Navy League; and legisla-

tion towards the abolition of public gambling and reduction of the consumption of opium.

With the outbreak of the European struggle in August, 1914, the problem of its progress and ultimate outcome necessarily became the particular obsession in Siam, where, as elsewhere, public opinion was focussed upon the distant scene. While it was obvious that there could be no mistaking the course to be followed by those having the country's truest interests at heart, any rash or precipitate action was not encouraged. It was not, in fact, until July 22nd, 1917, that Siam proclaimed war upon Germany and Austro-Hungary and proceeded to the seizure and condemnation of some five-and-twenty enemy steamers and sailing craft in Siamese waters, which were promptly renamed. An official report now before me naively says: "Of these, the *Yiam Samud* was lost on a voyage from Japan, the *Phrai Nâm* was condemned, the *Vindâ*, *Aditi*, and *Den Samud* were sold abroad, and the *Füang Sindhu* was sold to the Royal Electric Department. The *Kaeo Samud* foundered in the Gulf of Siam in December, 1920."

In further proof of their goodwill towards the Allied Powers, the Siamese Government dispatched a military mission to headquarters on the Western front, under command of Major-General Phya Bijai Janriddhi, at the beginning of 1918. On June 19th ensuing the Siamese Expeditionary Force, accompanied by an aircraft unit, set sail for France, where it rendered a very good account of itself.

Enemy aliens arrested in Siam were, by arrangement, sent to British India for internment. Further helpful signs were a welcome extension of the Siamese Red Cross Society, a sterner regulation of the sale of opium, and the promulgation of a law forbidding the issue of licences for card-playing "as a means of profit." Siam now became one of the signatories to the Treaty of Versailles, and the return of the Expeditionary Force to Bangkok in 1919 was made the scene of great public rejoicings. On October 20th of that year died the Queen-Mother, relict of Chulalongkorn I., in whose memory the King gave a sum of 250,000 *ticals* (the *tical* has usually been reckoned at 1s. 8d., or twelve to the pound sterling) towards the new Pasteur Institute at Bangkok.

In the spring of 1919, owing to the failure of the previous year's crop, it was found necessary to publish a Rice Control Act, fixing maximum prices and taking other protective steps. Happily it was possible to abolish this control in January, 1920. Railway enterprise in that year included extensions of the Eastern line to the Cambodian frontier and of the Korat line to Ubon; a through service to Penang had been in operation since the middle of 1918. In an elaborate effort at assisting the improvement of trade in the country, a Board of Commercial Development was organised, having the Minister of Finance for President, the Minister of

Commerce for Vice-President, and the Minister of Agriculture, Commissioner of State Railways, and Directors of Revenue, Customs, and Irrigation among its members.

On September 1st, 1920, one of the most important treaties ever entered into by Siam was ratified with the United States Government. It not only revised all existing agreements between the two Powers, but it had the effect of doing away with American extraterritorial rights while also conceding fiscal autonomy to Siam. Touching the vexed question of American missionaries in Siam and their rights, at the same time the United States Secretary of State received the following notification:

"As to the lands for which the Missions now possess papers of any kind, or of which the Missions are otherwise in legal occupation, they should apply to have title papers issued in the regular way. As to the lands held under lease from Government, the Siamese Government will not interrupt their possession by the Mission so long as they continue to use the land for Mission purposes. However, in Ratburi, the Mission is now occupying a house belonging to the Siamese Government: this must be returned when asked for. It should be understood that the Siamese Government is not identified with *wát* [temple] administration: that is to say, the foregoing understanding must not be construed as a promise by the Government to interfere with lands held and claimed by religious authorities, whether Buddhist or of any other faith. All Mission lands are held subject to the exercise by the Siamese Government of the right of ancient domain."

Coming to the general question of Siam's continuous record of progress and prosperity in the world's markets, I find that in a period of thirty years the country's revenue has increased by 524 per cent., and both imports and exports by almost 300 per cent. In round numbers, the revenue steadily rose from a total of 15,378,114 *ticals* in 1892-3 to nearly 100,000,000 *ticals* in 1919-20, and the corresponding expenditure from nearly 15,000,000 *ticals* in 1892-3 to 82,559,953 *ticals* in 1919-20. Taxation represented 40 per cent. of the revenue of the last year, 27. per cent. public services and other direct revenue, 24.17 opium, and fees, fines, licences, &c., 8.69 per cent.

Within a period of twenty-eight years, the area of land under cultivation increased from 2,885,000 to 5,136,000 acres, and the amount of rice exported from 8 to 19 *piculs*. The great teak forests, which are principally exploited by British concerns, exhibit a healthy upward tendency in output. In 1920-1 their yield amounted to 71,617 tons, by far the best since pre-war days. Tin is another of the country's increasingly lucrative products. The official returns of livestock in 1921-2 afford the satisfactory totals of 2,603,823 head of buffalo, 2,625,475 bullocks, 141,793 ponies, 6,818 elephants, and 864,247 pigs.

It should be emphasised that the cost of labour is higher in the

Land of the Yellow Robe than in any other quarter of the East. The population is increasing at the satisfactory rate of eleven per thousand, and in the last quarter of a century has increased 25 per cent. The approximate total of the present population may be fairly calculated at nine and a half millions, spread over an area of 200,000 square miles.

Having instanced the ever-increasing importance of the teak industry, it is worthy of note that a Forests Department in Siam dates from 1896. In that year an officer of the Indian Forest Service was entrusted with the task of reporting and investigating, after which the department was inaugurated. For fifteen years it pursued the simple task of improving and supervising the teak forests, carrying out a truly admirable work. At the end of that time, other forest woods than teak began to be included in the scheme, and in 1913-14 the King passed an Act for reserving and classifying all the more useful and valuable woods. A staff of five hundred was raised for the Department, which last year very sensibly passed under the ægis of the Ministry of Agriculture. It is estimated that at least a million trees are classified under this scheme, and the question of leases for the exploitation of these forests has been carefully readjusted and administered. In the words of the Report on forestal operations:—

"The next questions requiring attention will be fire protection and investigation and development of minor forest products, with which is closely connected the botanical survey and the preparation of a proper flora of the country. For this latter, a specialist to collect and classify the plants of the country is essential. Later, something will have to be done to bring the more distant and inaccessible forests nearer the market by the construction of roads and tram-lines. At present, the greater part of the forests are [*sic*] entirely unworked owing to the impossibility of bringing out their produce."

On the all-important problem of irrigation, and immediately following the exceptionally bad harvest of 1912-13, it was arranged to borrow the valuable services of Sir Thomas Ward from the Government of India. Sir Thomas (who was accompanied to Siam by Mr. R. C. R. Wilson of the Punjab Irrigation Department) continued his investigations and recommendations before and during the war. In order to enable Siam "to maintain, against the increasing competition of rice-growing States, the position hitherto held by her in the markets of the world," Sir T. Ward carefully delimited six separate irrigation areas, and recommended an outlay of 22,750,000 *ticals*. It is satisfactory to be able to add that huge and valuable contracts have since been placed, and that this irrigation scheme is by way of playing an increasingly big part in the future of the country's agriculture.

I have touched upon railway enterprise and development. Even

as I write, arrangements have been or are being made to convert the whole of the railway system to the same gauge, the *mètre*, so as to render it uniform with the other Indo-Chinese lines. Serious railway building was begun in the reign of Chulalongkorn I., the State line having been commenced in 1892, and that from the capital to Ayudhya five years subsequently. In 1909 a second Railway Department was formed, in 1917 the two State lines were amalgamated under the *régime* of H.R.H. Prince Purachatra, and in 1918 the Bangkok-Penang service was inaugurated. Finally, on August 15th, 1921, the all-important Law on Organisation of Railways and Highways was promulgated. This measure established a Department of State Railways "on a sound administrative and commercial basis, providing for the safety of the lives and property of the travelling public, consignment of goods, a fair and just method for the acquisition of land, and effective control of private and industrial railways." All the lines in the country are making handsome profits, and notable extensions are in active contemplation.

On the problem of education, I am advised that there are no later statistics available than those of 1911-12, which gave for the interior provinces 833,972 literate and 2,781,284 illiterate males, 88,756 literate and 3,631,225 illiterate females. The Ministry of Education is divided into the five departments of Primary and Secondary Education, Special Education, Text-book Compilation, Inspection and Examination, and University Education. There is a steady improvement in the attendance at Government schools throughout the kingdom. A very much needed scholars' dictionary for primary and secondary schools (but in Siamese only) was issued during the year before last, and there are now eight public reading-rooms established in the capital. Seminaries other than those mentioned include the King's College, Royal Pages' College at Bangkok and Chiangmai, and the Pran Luang (all under the King's patronage), the Military College, Naval College, Law School, Gendarmerie Officers' School, and Postal and Telegraph School.

The handsome Chulalongkorn University in Bangkok was founded by royal proclamation in 1917, in honour of the present monarch's father, the late King Chulalongkorn I. With it was amalgamated the existing Royal Medical College, so that it boasts a hospital of 170 beds. The courses of study in the University include medicine, political science, engineering, literature, and science.

There are some 20,000 Boy Scouts in the kingdom by this time, although the King only gave his *imprimatur* to the movement in 1911. Their organisation and equipment are almost precisely

similar to those of other countries. In Siam they have the advantage of co-operation with an older-established body known as the "Wild Tigers' Corps." The lads were especially complimented upon their good work and self-sacrifice during the harassing year of rice-scarcity.

Like the Boy Scouts, the Red Cross Society of Siam is similar in scope and purpose to those of other countries. It is a member of the International Red Cross Society. Its hospital service activities include, in the Chulalongkorn Memorial Hospital, one of the most up-to-date headquarters in the East, which necessitates no less than 250,000 *ticals* for its annual upkeep. The Society's laboratory service is responsible for conducting the Pasteur Institute, and it also contemplates a school of bacteriology. A section of sanitation service, in co-operation with the Departments of Public Health and Local Sanitation, and by arrangement with the Rockefeller Foundation, has already effected beneficial results by means of an anti-hookworm campaign and other measures towards the improved sanitation of the country. As in other Eastern lands, a certain amount of leprosy prevails, and the erection of a leprosarium near Bangkok has already, I believe, been commenced. A fourth and last section of the Red Cross Society's labours is devoted to emergency relief in peace or war; a training school for nurses, dressers, and dispensers has long been installed. It might be added here that an epidemic of influenza was responsible for 50,000 deaths in 1918-19, while upwards of 10,000 persons perished from cholera in 1919-20.

In common with the rest of the world, Siam has watched the gradual conquest of the air with intense interest, and army aeroplanes have been in use for some years. It happened during 1919-21 that a landing was effected in Siamese territory by more than one of the long-distance fliers from other countries. Captain Ross-Smith, for example, landed at Don Muang on December 1st, 1919, in course of his memorable flight from England to Australia. Major Glidden arrived at Bangkok on March 20th ensuing, on his task of organising the first round-the-world aerial "Derby." During the next few days, by a coincidence, no fewer than three distinguished airmen "called" *en route* to their destinations—Lieutenant Maserio bound from Rome to Tokio, Captain Mathews in flight for Australia, and Lieutenant Ferrarin, the ultimate winner of the Rome-Tokio race. Doubtless stimulated by these examples, Siamese military airmen indulged in longer flights than had hitherto been considered practicable, one aviator descending at Korat, about 170 miles north-east from the capital. In 1924, D'Oisy, the French aviator, called at Bangkok on his Paris-Tokio flight.

Although much has been said and written to the contrary, the amount of gold and other precious metals discoverable in Siam still remains a negligible quantity. Concessions for gold and gems have, however, frequently been granted to Europeans, and rubies and sapphires are mined by natives along the eastern coast of the Gulf of Siam. Gold and tin have been found in small quantities for centuries past, and we have mentioned that tin-mining is carried on with success in various districts.

The National Debt of the country amounted to £7,837,840 on March 31st, 1922. Siam had raised in Europe a loan of a million sterling in 1905, three millions in 1907, and in 1909 four millions (afterwards increased to £4,750,000) from the Federated Malay States for the construction of the Southern Railway. The first two loans at 4½ per cent. interest are floated in London and Paris at 95½ and 98 respectively. The sum of £1,125,000 was placed in London, a like amount in Paris, and £750,000 in Berlin; both loans are being paid off by annual instalments. The indebtedness to the Federated Malay States carries interest at 4 per cent. The National Debt is made up of the balance of loans of one and three millions (£3,357,840) and of aggregate drawings from the loan of £4,750,000 (£4,480,000).

The national currency used to be silver until in 1902 a gold standard was authorised and currency notes were first issued. This latter measure "drove the notes of the foreign Banks out of circulation." Then came the war, and at the beginning of 1919 the currency note issue was declared temporarily inconvertible, the demand for silver having led to the practical disappearance of the *tical*. In the following September a further amendment of the Gold Standard Act took place; yet all was practically well again by the summer of 1920, and Siam had triumphantly passed through the furnace of financial and commercial depression.

It is, indeed, with no small feelings of pride and thankfulness that any well-wisher of this remarkable little country may look back upon her uncommon achievement of the past couple of decades. The progress attained within that period has been little short of miraculous. A sanely practical policy has dictated a meticulous regard for treaty obligations, with the result that Siam to-day stands higher in the consideration of her fellow-nations than ever before. A corresponding improvement in the condition of the people has taken place. Siamese legislation is always glad to learn, her diplomacy has proved its sterling worth alike before, during and since the world-upheaval, and her outlook for the future is one of eager optimism and quiet anticipation of still brighter times in store.

PERCY CROSS STANDING.

THE THRESHER POET.

"O Duck! prefer'd by Bounteous Queen,
To cackle verse on Richmond Green."

BUT Stephen Duck could do better work than the rhymester suggests. *The Thresher's Labour*, one of the three "Poems on several occasions" which were "read by the Earl of Macclesfield in the Drawing Room at Windsor Castle, Friday, September 11th, 1730" and procured for their author a pension from Queen Caroline, a second wife and, presently, the living of Byfleet, has merits above most of the earliest Georgians. There is a direct simplicity about it, a sympathy with rural toils and cares, and an easy versification which come near to Crabbe and Clare. Contrast, for instance, the haymakers beset by a summer shower . . .

a low'ring sky,
Fraught with black clouds, proclaims a shower nigh;
The tattling crowd can scarce their garments gain,
Before descends the thick impetuous rain,
Their noisy prattle all at once is done,
And, to the hedge, they soon for shelter run.

with this of Clare's:—

Stopt by the storm, that long in sullen black,
From the south-west stained its encroaching track,
Haymakers, hustling from the rain to hide,
Sought the grey willows by the pasture side;
And there, while big drops bow the grassy stems,
And bleb the withering hay with pearly gems,
Dimple the brooks, and patter in the leaves,
The song or tale an hour's restraint relieves.

Duck certainly wants the sweetness, the delicacy of touch and minute observation of nature which are Clare's, but he possesses a wider sweep of observation, a directness and a firmer grip of the human element. Nor yet would he fall to the artificial line "From the south-west stained its encroaching track." But it is his realistic directness of vision and description which is his most marked characteristic. He knows what he sees and puts it down clearly before you:—

When sooty pease we thresh, you scarce can know
Our native colour as from work we go.

or,

The threshal yields but to the master's curse;

or this little picture of the toils of haymaking,

With heat and labour tir'd our scythes we quit,
Search out a shady tree, and down we sit;
From scrip and bottle hope new strength to gain,
But scrip and bottle too are try'd in vain.

It is of interest also to place Duck's description of the harvester's supper:—

Our good expecting wives who think we stay,
Got to the door, soon eye us on the way;
Then from the pot the dumplin's caught in haste,
And homely, by its side the bacon plac'd,

side by side with Crabbe's distinctly more artificial picture of a like feast:—

When one huge wooden bowl before them stood,
Filled with huge balls of farinaceous food;
With bacon, mass saline! where never lean,
Beneath the brown and bristly rind was seen.

All the advantage here lies with Duck. Absolutely without effort or imitation he gives us two little pictures, the one pleasing in its simple directness, both true and vivid. He speaks, as it were, from within, of scenes which he has assimilated by personal experience. Crabbe's realism, which is equally minute, is the result of observation rather than endurance. He writes his record as he stands without, to watch the scene which interests him.

It is the same intimacy of experience which inspires those social touches which are so distinctive of *The Thresher's Labour*. When we read

What corn each sheaf will yield, intent to hear,
And guess from thence the profits of the year;
Or else impending ruin to prevent,
By paying, timely, threat'ning landlord's rent,

we must recall that Stephen Duck's father had failed to win support for his household from a thirty acre holding and so had been driven back to wage labouring, and that but at four and sixpence a week, chosen it may be, like Parker Clare, the poet's father, for his superior strength to wield the flail within the gloomy barn.

Or we may take the complaints against the harsh insistence of the farmer:—

Rest never does but on the Sabbath show,
And barely that our Master will allow,

or, again, the end of the harvest-home:—

But the next morning soon reveals the cheat,
And the same toils we must again repeat.

The poet recurs to the same grievance in his pastoral, *Gratitude*, a few years later in date and after his reputation had been established:—

O you, Menalcas, know my abject birth,
Born to a cot, and but to till the earth,
On rigid worldlings always doom'd to wait,
Fore'd at their frugal hands my bread to get.

This sombre and resentful note, witness to a symptom, or perhaps the cause of the melancholy which brought about his unfortunate end, is the characteristic mark of the earliest and best of Duck's work. He can, it is true, paint, with due convention, the pleasures and glory of the passing seasons, when

Nature's face is with new beauties spread.
The lovely spring appears, refreshing showers
New cloath the fields with grass and deck with flowers;
Next her the ripening summer presses on,

but for the more part it is the inexorable harshness of inevitable things which fires him. A sense of beast-like endurance in a life without hope lies behind such lines as:—

When the scorching sun is mounted high,
And no kind barns with friendly shade are nigh,
Our weary scythes entangle in the grass,
And streams of sweat run trickling down apace.

And again in the weary trudge homeward after the ending of the day of toil:—

Homeward we move, but so much spent with toil;
We walk but slow, and rest at every stile.

Here there is pictured no Golden Age of the English farm-labourer, as some have found in the opening years of the eighteenth century, but the harsh, unremitting toil of an already landless man, tempered, if at all, by such boorish pleasures as the feast at Charlton:—

Tis there, my lord, induc'd by potent ale,
Swains leave their ploughs, and threshers quit the flail;
Your bounty soon provokes the bells to ring,
Clowns dance, boys hollow, and hoarse cobblers sing.

All this is a true and first-hand realism, half a century earlier than Crabbe. For Stephen Duck, then, it may be claimed that he, and not Crabbe, brought back realism into English verse. Crabbe may be the greater, for his output is larger and his field of observation much wider, but if crude naturalism be the test, Duck works with a power surpassing Crabbe's. This is the more remarkable when we consider his models. Milton, Prior, l'Estrange, the *Spectator* were, so he told Spence, not only his models but actually his schoolmasters. Clearly the inspiration of his best work came from life, not books. As he became more familiar with the popular verse of the time, so his own powers deserted him.

To continue, for a moment, the contrast between Duck and Crabbe—in both alike the line between naturalism and bathos is too often narrow, but the later poet crosses it more often than

the earlier, and is bogged more deeply. There is nothing in *The Thresher's Labour* so bad as the often quoted:—

Something had happened wrong about a Bill,
Which was not drawn with true mercantile skill,
So to amend it I was told to go
And seek the firm of Clutterbuck & Co.

Where, however, *The Thresher's Labour* fails is in the absence of landscape. There is no village scenery to provide the background for village life. Its presence has been rightly claimed as a marked beauty of Crabbe's work. Duck's vision, on the other hand, was absolutely direct, and therefore more restricted in its range. This makes also for an intense individualism in all his pictures.

These being the elements in Duck's earlier work which attract the notice of the modern critic, some wonder must arise as to the patronage and popularity achieved by verse apparently so little in keeping with the taste of his day.¹ There can be no doubt of the popularity. It was only in September, 1730, that his work was brought to the notice of Queen Caroline, but the British Museum has first, third, fifth, seventh—at sixpence—and tenth editions of that year, while in the London Library is a copy of a pirated edition, "Dublin; Printed by S. Powell, for George Ewing, at the Angel and Bible in Dame's Street, MDCCXXX." So also Spence's edition of 1736, with the account of Duck's birth at Charlton, his schooling and upbringing, went through three editions in eighteen months. Duck was apparently working at *The Thresher's Labour* while the successive editions went through the press, for careful examination discloses several variant readings. For instance, the couplet already quoted at the opening of the description of the storm in haymaking time:—

Till (unobserv'd before) a low'ring sky
Fraught with black clouds proclaims a shower nigh

appears, also in 1730, in the form:—

Meanwhile the changing sky begins to lour
And hollow winds proclaim a sudden shower.

The simpler of these couplets will be judged the earlier. The changes are indicative of the influences at work on Duck. An incidental puzzle is this. In 1734 Duck wrote that save for some verses to the Duke of Cumberland he had had no contract with the printers and that these poems, *i.e.*, the three forming the 1730 volume, "were never published with my approbation."

How Duck secured his first patronage is also a little obscure. He was not Charlton's first or greatest poet, for Dryden had

married into the Howard family and wrote his *Annus Mirabilis* at Charlton Park. Mrs. Howard, the friend of Pope and Swift and would-be patroness of Gay, was cousin by marriage of the successive Earls of Berkshire of Duck's time, and was of established position at Court. We should have expected that some memory of Dryden still lingered at Charlton or, at all events, that Duck would have heard of his former mark as poet and critic, and would have sought for Howard patronage. However we may judge Mrs. Howard's position at Court, some sort of gossip about it must have filtered through to Charlton. But we know no definite evidence that Duck ever sought for Howard patronage, while we do know that in later years Mrs. Howard wrote contemptuously of him. His earliest patron was Mr. Stanley, rector of Pewsey,

"The friend who first my lays approv'd,
Who loves the muse, and by her is below'd."

but though Pewsey is in Wiltshire, it is by no means near to Charlton, and how the patronage was obtained is obscure. To Mr. Stanley was probably due the introduction to Mr. Bathurst of Clarendon Park:—

Bathurst, my infant muse's Gen'rous friend,

after which the introduction to the more cultured of the Court circles through Mrs. Clayton, afterwards Lady Sandon, was no doubt easy. The patronage of Henry Temple, first Lord Palmerston, came after the Queen had heard his verse:—

Here child, a thresher liv'd in antient days,
Quaint songs he sung, and pleasing roundelays!
A gracious queen his sonnets did commend,
And some great lord, one Temple, was his friend.

But, when we consider the time and its taste, we must admit the probability that patronage and popularity were due not so much to *The Thresher's Labour* as to the other poems in the volume. *The Shunamite* and *Poverty*. *The Shunamite*, first written in Miltonic blank verse, but turned into rhyme from Duck's mistrust of his own powers, is a poor imitation of Prior's not very great *Solomon*. It is dedicated to Mrs. Stanley,

The dame who bade me sing Jehovah's praise,
Uncharm'd with all the flutt'ring forms of pride,
Heav'n and domestic care her time divide—

but the poem, though not a great one, is much better than the introduction. The quiet piety of its tone and the absence of the force and naturalism of *The Thresher's Labour* may have gained it popularity in certain circles. The success of Blair's *Grave* and Drelin-

court's *On Death* shows that there was a large public available for work of a religious and gloomy kind.

Popularity and imitation did not at once destroy Duck's original powers. We should anticipate that his nature would have found its best vehicle in satire, and this he made trial of in 1734 in his *Truth and Falsehood*. But he could not carry much of his naturalism to this piece, though his shrewd observation helps him to these lines on Falsehood:—

Now at the bar she play'd the lawyer's part,
And shap'd out right and wrong by rule of art.
Now in the senate rais'd her pompous tone,
Talk'd much of public good, but meant her own.
Oft to th' Olympian fields she turned her eyes,
And taught the racers how to gain the prize.

He had been a good student in the school of antithesis. His verse is sharp and concise and avoids the long, trailing thoughts which so often deface Crabbe.

His *Journey*, too, which appeared in 1736, does not always sink into bald narration. He can look back through quite a genial haze upon what had once seemed hopeless toil, as in his entertainment at Hatford, near Farringdon, by an old master:—

I long to try the curvous blade again.
As when, at Hockley Hole, old gamesters view,
Young combatants their martial sports renew,

* * * * *

So with ambition burns my daring breast,
I snatch the scythe and with the swains contest,
Behind them close, I rush the sweeping steel,
The vanquish'd mowers soon confess my skill.

You may carp, if you will, at the strange epithet "curvous," or at "swains," which were but of Duck's age, but the whole drawing of the scene is eminently firm and just. What truer and more musical rendering of the scythes' work in the lush grass than "Behind them close, I rush the sweeping steel" can be desired?

His naturalism is still dominant when he passes to the Charlton feast:—

No cares, no toils, no troubles now appear,
For troubles, toils, and cares are drown'd in beer;
Till soon the choleric fumes of liquor rise,
Flush in their face and sparkle in their eyes.
They now the rustic feats of manhood boast;
Who best could reap, or mow, or thresh the most.

That feast, so the county directory tells, is still provided in Duck's honour each thirtieth of June from the rent of some acre and a-half of land bought by Lord Palmerston for the purpose.

As fair examples of his narrative power and weakness we may take these lines on old and new Sarum:—

High on a bleak and barren tract of land;
A mount which once sustained a city's weight,
And lofty tow'rs adorned its awful height,
Till want of water forc'd the thirsty crowd,
To seek the vale, where crystal rivers flow'd.

* * * * *

Conscious of thirst they make the docile tide,
In winding currents through the city glide:
In every street the wanton Naiads play,
To every door their liquid urns convey.

Practically nothing which Duck wrote after 1736 is worthy of preservation, though some passages deserve quotation for their very badness. Among the worst are his verses on the death of Queen Caroline, "the noblest queen that ever grac'd a throne":—

The fatal day that claims a sigh,
From ev'ry heart, a tear from ev'ry eye,
E'er Albion's joys were wholly snatched away,
Or Britons for their Queen forbid to pray.

Truly ludicrous is his final address to Heaven:—

Look down, and see her duteous children's tears;
Look down, and hear the best of monarch's prayers;
See, round her bed her tender offspring kneels,
While ev'ry pang her royal consort feels.

We recall how duteous that offspring had shown itself, and the royal consort's answer to the dying woman's advice that he should marry again: "Non, non, j'aurai des maîtresses," and perhaps her retort: "Ah, mon Dieu! Ca n'empêche pas."

We are also almost driven to quote the lines from his *St. George's Hill*, showing to what depths imitation could drag him.

First chalky Wey, for rav'nous pikes renown'd,
Rolls through the meads and fruitifies the ground:
His milky waves enrich the thirsty soil,
And joyous crops reward the mower's toil.

This passage has obviously been conveyed from Pope's *Windsor Forest*:—

And chalky Wey that rolls a milky wave.

But Pope had an excuse if we assume that *Windsor Forest* was written before he knew the Westons and Sutton Place, with the Wey running through its meadows, when he may have supposed that the river breaking through the chalk hills, was—as it is not—a chalky stream. But Duck was writing at Byfleet, actually on the Wey, and was perfectly familiar with both the old stream and the seventeenth-century "navigation." The slavish imitation is

the more curious in that the word " meads " is well chosen, being the normal word for the meadows on the Wey and Thames in those parts. Perhaps, however, there is some glimmering of poetry in :—

Here, when the golden autumn's ripen'd stores,
Have plenteously enrich'd the farmer's floors;
Soon as Aurora ushers in the day,
While pearly dew embellish every spray;
The well-breath'd beagles sniff the scented air,
Before them swiftly flies the tim'rous hare.

Stephen Duck, then, must be judged by his best, but of what was his best he himself was singularly ignorant. " It is the wise choice of the subject that alone adorns and distinguishes the writer," wrote the greatest of his contemporaries, and Duck's want of wisdom has carried the inevitable penalty. For him, that patrons and public were charmed by vapid imitations of Pope, by topographical verse far after Denham, was proof that this feeble stuff was true poetry. But how poor such imitative art could be is shown whenever we set his verses and his models side by side. For excuse, we remember that, without any apprenticeship to Grub Street he had, at five and twenty, been secured from the sordid toil of his Wiltshire life and had attained a recognised position as poet—high enough, indeed, for him to be considered, in rivalry with Colley Cibber, for the succession to Lawrence Eusden's laureateship. The generosity of his patrons and the appreciation of his public inevitably blinded him to the truest channel for his powers. To please this public and these patrons became his sole philosophy.

For all this, within his better verse, in the recurrent complaints of *The Thresher's Labour*, the savage glimpses of peasant life and pleasures which break the narrative monotony of the *Journey*, the too rare attempts at satire, there lies the germ of a philosophy, not the less real because it is a philosophy of fierce despair. These harsh pictures, wrung out of his own experience, make an effective analysis of common life, but he deliberately refrained from the effort to reunite the elements in a fairer and happier whole. The trend of his mind was not constructive. Even so, these fragments with their crude force possess no inconsiderable merits, and it is a matter for real regret that Stephen Duck has passed into such forgetfulness and neglect. The rising prices of the booksellers' catalogues suggest that there is, perhaps, a small and understanding constituency to which he appeals, but the presses of our Universities find a public all too small for the minor classics, while no independent publisher has ventured to recall for our own days the notes of one who is, so far as English verse goes, the true father of the revived realism.

G. H. GODWIN.

FOREIGN AFFAIRS.

M. POINCARÉ: THE END OF A CHAPTER.

ON June 1st, 1924, M. Poincaré formally ceases to dictate the policy of France. Even if this relief be only temporary, it gives to good Europeans the opportunity of inserting the thin end of their wedge. It is largely true that in politics, as in other spheres of life, causes depend on personalities, and there is an underlying truth in the popular conception of M. Poincaré as the enemy of peace, just as there was truth in the parallel conception of the Emperor of Germany a few years ago. Both have left their mark on Europe. M. Poincaré, if he was not the exclusive author, was the willing embodiment of the phase of French policy which lasted from January, 1922, to May, 1924. The France of these two and a half years, terrified by the fear of German revenge, placed her fortunes unreservedly in the hands of one whose leading characteristic was certainly not his common sense, and who has brought suffering and devastation on other people besides the French. She chose him because she thought a " strong " man was wanted, and regarded him as such. The fascination of terror produces no more wisdom in human beings than in rabbits or in ostriches.

The French elections have not put an end to M. Poincaré, but have at any rate revealed a sense of dawning disquiet in France. It is entirely in keeping with the deplorable character of French thought at the present time that the least dependable guide to what is now happening in France is precisely that of French commentators, whether they belong to the Bloc National or to the Bloc des Gauches. A sympathetic outsider, habitually in touch with French politics and with representative French people, is perhaps better placed to understand the present phase of France than are Frenchmen themselves; for French journalists, whose expert business it is to interpret events, are hoist with the same petard as the protagonists whose actions they attempt to interpret. Such papers as the *Quotidien* and *L'Œuvre*, which have displayed a lively sense of M. Poincaré's essential poverty of intellect, have at the same time failed to evolve any constructive alternative in policy. The meticulous accuracy and detail of my friend M. André Géraud's knowledge—the well-known " Pertinax " of *L'Echo de Paris*—has been as remarkable as his complete lack of judgment. It is not surprising that his writings are misunderstood on this side of the Channel, and that the habit persists of reading him as typical of the worst animosity of France against Great Britain. Yet his genuine love of Great Britain is equalled only by his genuine misunderstanding of everything British, from A to Z; and his earnest-

ness, patriotism, intense industry, and scholarly care have had the paradoxical effect of making his work all the more unfortunate, because it has been based on a fallacy about Great Britain.

That fallacy, due largely to the temperamental difference between Frenchmen and Englishmen, which makes them as unmixable as fire and water, explains also why the *Petit Parisien*, a Liberal and well-informed organ which is still under the influence bequeathed to it by Philippe Millet, has evolved a curious policy which may be described as malevolent support of M. Poincaré. The argument of the French intellectuals has consistently been that in foreign policy France has a clear object which obliterates party divisions. After the signature of the Treaty of Versailles French security depended on the tripartite treaty of guarantee between France, Great Britain, and the United States. The American failure to ratify that and other engagements entered into by President Wilson never suggested to French opinion that the point of the treaty automatically fell through, and in response to French pressure Mr. Lloyd George repeatedly discussed the possible basis of a bilateral agreement between France and Great Britain which should take its place. As, however, French terms expanded in proportion as French nervousness increased, and finally resolved themselves into a request that Great Britain should foot the bill in advance for whatever policy might be adopted in Europe by the Quai d'Orsay, an accommodation became increasingly impossible, and was never seriously discussed after the Cannes Conference of January, 1922. The failure, however, of France to obtain such a guarantee from Great Britain has always been put forward by French apologists as the explanation of the alternative policy adopted by France after January, 1922, namely, of the continued subjection of Germany and the mobilisation of allies encircling Germany, in particular of Belgium, Poland, and Czechoslovakia.

When, therefore, M. Poincaré stepped into M. Briand's shoes he found little opposition to his unthinking cry of "Vae Victis," and even obtained the support of the Loucheur group for the occupation of the Ruhr, which was the very bankruptcy of French diplomacy. The intellectuals of every shade decided that no alternative policy was possible, and proceeded to coach the French peasant in support of M. Poincaré. On the eve of the elections we were assured by those same intellectuals that M. Poincaré's position was safe, the explanation being partly that the wish was father to the thought, partly that the intellectuals overrated their influence on the peasants. Even the election manifestoes of the candidates of the Bloc des Gauches made it clear that they approved of M. Poincaré's foreign policy.

THE PROOF OF THE PUDDING.

While therefore the Paris constituencies duly took their cue and voted in a way to ensure the continuance of M. Poincaré in office, the country at large chose to do a little thinking on its own, and to ignore the pundits. The French peasant, who saves his francs in his stocking and who is better at economy than at enterprise, argued that the Poincaré method had had certain results which he did not like. The point of high policy in international affairs did not interest him. His stocking had been virtually robbed by the fall of the franc, the cost of living was increasing, Germany was not paying, and the Government, for all its official statistics purporting to show that the economic exploitation of the Ruhr was a success, had to pay its way by the raising of loans and by postponing the job of balancing the budget. After the election the Paris pundits explained that the defeat was for M. Millerand rather than M. Poincaré, that it had been fought on domestic, not on foreign, issues. Probably the peasants who voted would agree with this, as with any theoretic explanation of their own action. As realists they were not concerned with the analysis of what they had done, but only with the fact that they had registered their protest against the results, as manifested in everyday life, of the Government's policy, domestic and foreign. In the south of France, where the population is largely anti-clerical, the discontent had been increased by the Government's resumption of relations with the Vatican.

The Bloc National, which had 433 seats in the old Chamber, will have only 274 in the new, while the Bloc des Gauches will increase its representation from 193 seats to 297. It would have been interesting if M. Poincaré himself had had to run the gauntlet of the electors, but being a member of the Senate he was saved from the necessity. The fact that both M. Tardieu and M. Léon Daudet were unseated is perhaps an indication of the feeling that was running against the reactionary leaders. M. Poincaré's majority was gone, and he resigned; but the triumph of the Bloc des Gauches failed to submerge completely the Bloc National, and it is impossible to regard the resultant position as anything but unstable and transient. It is not possible in Paris, as it is in London, to carry on a minority government. When a French government is defeated by as much as one vote in the Chamber, whether on a fundamental or on an irrelevant issue, the government resigns and all the political fever breaks out. Witness M. Poincaré's own conformity to this practice in his period of office. A French Prime Minister can be induced on such occasions—witness again M. Poincaré—to resume his job, but the formality of resignation and resumption has to be gone through every time. The spectacle

of Mr. MacDonald proclaiming his intention not to resign in case of defeat in the Lobbies unless he chooses to regard the defeat as important, makes Frenchmen throw up their hands in bewilderment. It appears to them to be another case of *perfidie Albion*, or of London mists.

It is in fact as neat an illustration as need be of the difference in temperament, of British elasticity and humour against French rigidity and brittleness. The average Frenchman has no sense of humour, only a sense of fun. For instance, the French election cartoon was typical which portrayed a candidate trying to ingratiate himself by promising to do anything that the voter asked, and the voter taking him at his word and asking him to withdraw his candidature. That is good fun; but the deadly mathematical seriousness which runs through all French affairs, which produces reactions of cynicism, ridicule, and flippancy, but never sympathetic toleration or appreciation of the true humour of life, is partly responsible for the unimaginative heaviness of the Ruhr occupation, and other ponderous evolutions of French diplomacy. When M. Theunis came to London on May 1st, he had to explain to Mr. MacDonald that M. Poincaré still insisted on a specific detailed British agreement to support France in military and economic "sanctions" against Germany in case of default in the execution of the Dawes scheme, before France would consent to give up the existing "sanction" of the Ruhr. Now no one with a sense of humour could propose in advance an elaborate system of punishment, thought out in all its details, against hypothetical contingencies of an unpleasant kind.

BRITISH ATTITUDE TO THE CHANGE.

The removal of M. Poincaré from his position of dictator in French affairs had the immediate effect of releasing the long-pent-up feeling in London. Mr. Lloyd George, Mr. Bonar Law, and Mr. Baldwin had equally failed to make any impression on the rigidity of Intransigence which invariably faced them whenever they made an attempt to approach him. During these two and a half years Europe has sunk deeper and deeper into chaos, M. Poincaré having doggedly stuck to his experiment of undermining Europe in the interests of security. Yet such is the traditional courtesy of the British Government that no word of complaint or criticism on M. Poincaré personally was ever encouraged, but rather always discouraged, in Whitehall.

Mr. MacDonald is the fourth British Prime Minister who has failed to pass M. Poincaré's flaming sword, although the concentrated efforts of the Foreign Office during Mr. MacDonald's time have been directed towards this end. In M. Briand's Prime

Ministership there were acute differences between the two countries, but never an unbending refusal on the part of France to recognise the existence of a British point of view. It was only typical that at the Paris Conference of January, 1923, when Mr. Bonar Law produced a well-thought-out British plan for discussion, M. Poincaré somewhat brusquely refused to participate in the conference except on condition that the Bonar Law plan was removed from the table and not even examined. Hence the break between the two countries, the occupation of the Ruhr, and the shutting off of the two countries from each other which has persisted ever since. The immediate practical difference made in British official quarters by the results of the French elections is that the possibility of negotiation by conference as well as by the standing diplomatic channels is again restored, and with it, inevitably, a renewed hope that the appalling muddle to which Europe has been reduced in the meantime may be grappled with. Mr. MacDonald is known to be ready to accept any means, whether by general international conference or by other methods, to bring peace to Europe. The Quai d'Orsay of M. Poincaré has during the past three months been given constant hints that the British Government would be ready to confer on the outstanding problems. Even when, on the eve of the French election, M. Poincaré agreed to see Mr. MacDonald privately—it would have been impossible for him on the eve of the election to refuse such an invitation and thus to proclaim his surly lack of goodwill—he made the proviso that it should be a purely informal exchange of view which should not lead to any binding agreement. When M. Theunis came to London his hands were tied by M. Poincaré. His visit failed to bridge the gulf, because M. Theunis, who had seen M. Poincaré just before coming here, had not been allowed to provide the necessary half of the bridge from the French side. Official quarters in London now at last can throw off their reserve, and frankly renew their hope of at any rate a human attempt to accommodate differences. Europe has had to suffer until the French people themselves made an alternative possible by repudiating M. Poincaré's disastrous policy.

It is possible, if the British Government plays its cards well, that the recent changes in Europe may be turned to the common good. The German elections, fortunately, failed to produce the expected difficulties, and for the first time since the armistice the German contribution to European affairs has been a help and not a hindrance. The Dawes scheme was not ruled out by the voting. Although the Nationalists began to play with the idea of rejecting it in the hope of obtaining better terms, particularly in the clauses relating to the railways, there was no serious danger of their carrying the government, and in itself the idea was probably more of a

bargaining manœuvre than a final bid in policy. Italy for the moment is in the throes of Fascist terrorism, and thereby incapacitated for active collaboration in the reparations problem. The position therefore after the German elections was that the Dawes scheme was safe everywhere except in France, and after the French elections there was a chance even of French obstruction being modified. Hence June 1st is a landmark. Some of the events which took place in the last gasp of the Poincaré régime are robbed of their importance. On April 26th, for instance, the answers of the Allied Governments to the Reparation Commission about the Dawes scheme were published in Paris, and a disquieting symptom of British wobbling therein revealed is no longer disquieting. The sentence in the British answer to which I refer was as follows:—

“ His Majesty's Government will, for their part, be prepared to take whatever steps may be found to be the most convenient and effectual method of attaining this object ” [*viz.*, “ The steps necessary to give binding effect to the new guarantees and controls in so far as these may not be clearly covered by the existing provisions of the Treaty of Versailles ”].

It was impossible to read that sentence except side by side with a corresponding sentence in the French answer, which was as follows:—

“ The Governments will have to consider together under what conditions the securities at present held by France and Belgium shall be merged into or exchanged for those which will be handed over as an undivided whole to all the Allies.”

Was this a prearranged attempt at a bargain? No matter. The visit of MM. Theunis and Hymans, the Belgian Prime Minister and Foreign Minister, who arrived in London on May 1st, was the direct outcome of those sentences in the French and British Notes. If it was an attempt at a bargain, it was a hopeless attempt from the first, and no surprise need have been felt that the Theunis mission left matters exactly where they were before. I had conversations with MM. Theunis and Hymans when they were in London, and found that with all the goodwill in the world they had not been able to cut the painter of the Quai d'Orsay. They were, however, entitled to the gratitude of Europe for having thus attempted to restart the pre-Ruhr practice of personal consultation between the heads of the Allied Governments. The conversations which were held at Chequers on the evening and morning of May 2nd and 3rd—our Belgian guests staying the night at Chequers—broke down on the old rock. For instance, when it was pointed out that the Dawes scheme presupposed the evacuation

of the Ruhr, Belgian official opinion was inclined to argue that such evacuation was assured as soon as effective guarantees were obtained for Germany's execution of the scheme. On that condition, there was no reason why, in the Belgian view, the Ruhr should not be evacuated, both militarily and economically, within a few weeks of the beginning of the operation of the Dawes scheme—that is, within such time-limit as was physically necessary for the evacuation. The hopes raised by such a view being held in Brussels became somewhat illusory when one was told in a supplementary explanation that, of course, the French Government would need some definite assurance of support from Great Britain in some prearranged scheme of sanctions.

Undaunted by the failure of the Theunis visit, Mr. MacDonald took a step, two days before the French elections, which puzzled many people who had learnt to count on his Scotch caution. On the afternoon of May 9th he apparently decided to jump the results of the French elections and to invite M. Poincaré to come and see him at Chequers on May 19th. On the point of form it is an unusual thing for the Prime Minister of one country to proclaim his assumption, on the eve of an election in another country, that such and such a person will be Prime Minister after the event. On the point of prudence the upshot was a sufficient exposure of Mr. MacDonald's rashness. Whether the step was Mr. MacDonald's personally or another's, the responsibility was his as fully as the famous communiqué of September 19th, issued after the Poincaré-Baldwin meeting, was Mr. Baldwin's, no matter whose the hand that wrote it.

RUSSIA AND GREAT BRITAIN.

The Anglo-Russian Conference has moved slowly. As recorded here a month ago, it was opened at the Foreign Office on April 14th. It met again on April 16th for the discussion of method and for the usual manœuvring for position, which is a normal preliminary at such conferences, then adjourned for a long Easter recess, and was resumed on April 24th. On that day the plan of action was completed, and the various aspects of the problem were referred to a series of committees, it being announced in an official communiqué issued on that evening that the next meeting of the Conference would be held as soon as one of the committees was ready to report. For exactly three weeks after that the various committees were engaged in marshalling facts, figures, claims and counter-claims, and a series of voluminous memoranda passed from side to side. When the next plenary meeting was held, on May 15th, the report of the Treaty Committee was presented and adopted, but little progress had as yet been made in the other

committees. There were four committees at work, the first of them dealing with the treaties concluded between the former Russian Empire and Great Britain; the second with debts, claims, counter-claims, and means for the restoration of Russian credit in Great Britain; the third with the drafting of a treaty of commerce and navigation; the fourth with the question of territorial waters. The slogging work of the Conference is being done in the committees to a far larger extent than was the case in the score of conferences which have preceded it since 1918.

The Treaty Committee had before it the full dossier of treaties contracted between Great Britain and Russia up to November 7th, 1917, when the Bolshevik Government dropped the past into the waste-paper basket. It divided those treaties into two main categories, namely, those which ought to be regarded as obsolete and those which ought to be accepted as still operative but as requiring modification. Many of the treaties dealing with Eastern questions had been clearly left high and dry by the tide of events, and easily went into the first category. The bulk of the second category was made up of treaties dealing with such technical questions as the position of joint stock companies, tonnage measurement, and extradition. Certain modifications of a technical kind were called for in the case of these latter treaties, and on May 16th the committee proceeded to revise them and to bring them into conformity with modern conditions.

There are many multilateral treaties concerning other Powers in addition to Great Britain and Russia which have created difficulties in the committee. The British view is that the political implications of such treaties cannot be discussed without the consent and participation of all the co-signatories, but that the practical clauses of certain of them, concerning such subjects as telegraphs, cables, submarine cables, radio telegraphy, postal facilities, in so far as they exclusively concern British and Russian interests, might be brought into operation by means of a simple formula to this effect. This principle was accepted by the Russian delegation on May 15th.

There remains the question of treaties arising out of the peace settlement after the war, which has produced an unfortunate conflict of opinion. The British view naturally is that there could be no question of bringing these treaties within the scope of the Conference, but Mr. Rakovsky has never shaken off the dream in which he opened the Conference on April 14th, when he vaguely aspired towards the resettling of the fundamental political problems of the entire world. In particular he has lost no opportunity of contesting the validity and the justice of the assignation of Bessarabia to Rumania, and although the British Delegation has steadily refused

to agree that this question comes within the scope of the Conference, all those who have had experience of Russian waywardness and Russian inability to recognise any limit in anything will readily understand that British stolidity had precisely no effect on Mr. Rakovsky. On May 15th he persisted in his suggestion that even multilateral treaties, if they affected the relations of Great Britain and the U.S.S.R., should be a proper subject for discussion at the Conference.

The committee which has to draft a treaty of commerce and navigation has necessarily marked time while the other committees grappled with the important disputes; for this treaty will merely constitute the normal putting into effect of the major treaty in so far as the routine of consular and commercial relations is affected.

FISH AND THE THREE-MILE LIMIT.

The committee on territorial waters has had some interesting discussions. The somewhat violent controversy which raged between Lord Curzon and the Russian Government last spring, and which was dealt with in Part V. of the British White Paper then published (see CONTEMPORARY REVIEW, June, 1923, pp. 777-779), was used as the starting point. Certain British trawlers had been seized by the Russian authorities outside the three-mile limit, one in January, 1923, about nine miles from the Murmansk coast, one in March, twelve miles from the coast. The first case was made worse by the fact that the trawler, while under Soviet compulsion, was wrecked and the crew drowned. There is not the slightest doubt in international law that the Russian authorities had no competence to interfere with any shipping outside the three-mile limit, for the three-mile limit was an operative principle in those waters. At the present Conference the British Delegation has based its case on the principle that there is no argument for modifying the three-mile limit in Russian territorial waters unless the Russian Delegation can adduce special circumstances such as, for instance, have led to British agreement to a modification of the three-mile limit in American territorial waters.

The main argument on which Mr. Rakovsky has relied is that the fishing off the Murmansk coast is a matter of life and death to the inhabitants of Murmansk, and that the presence of steam trawlers as opposed to fishing boats as near as three miles to the coast spelt ruin to the Russian fishermen. Mr. Rakovsky was agreeably surprised to find that this argument was received with the greatest sympathy by Mr. MacDonald, who confessed that he had had experience of an exactly analogous controversy between the trawlers and fishing boats off his native village of Lossiemouth. It is possible therefore that some arrangement may be reached

whereby the principle of the three-mile limit is reaffirmed for all purposes with the exception that steam trawlers are not allowed to approach nearer than an agreed limit to the Murmansk coast.

DEBTS AND CREDITS.

By far the most important work of the Conference is that which is being thrashed out in the committee dealing with debts and claims and the means of restoring Russian credit. This is an enormous question, the ramifications of which in one sense justify Mr. Rakovsky's catholicity of outlook, although, perversely enough, this is the one exception which he insists on making to that catholicity. He maintains that Russia's debts to Great Britain are in a special category of their own, and bear no relation or analogy to the debts of France and Italy to Great Britain, or of Great Britain to America. Until this question of principle is thrashed out the rival competition of figures is beside the point. On the British side it is, of course, held to be impossible to distinguish grades of validity in obligations formally incurred. An issue of this kind strikes at the root of national honour, business, credits, and national temperament.

When Mr. Baldwin funded the British debt to America, although the debt had been incurred vicariously on behalf of France and Italy, who were refusing to pay even the debts directly and formally incurred towards Great Britain, he was simply carrying out the invariable British custom of paying debts promptly, without question and without regard to moral considerations. Elemental probity in finance of such a kind appears to be as unnecessary to a Russian as it does to a Frenchman or to an Italian. There are different traditions and standards between London on the one hand and every Continental capital on the other, except those of the small States, who have no choice in the matter.

How this question of Russian debts cuts under the whole of British foreign policy may be put shortly in this way. The main object of British policy is peace through disarmament and the League of Nations. France has a big army, and is tolerably well off. Not only is the British taxpayer paying year by year the interest on the French debt which the French taxpayer ought to be paying, but the French refusal to honour her own Treasury bills in London means that France has all the more money to squander on the arming of satellite nations on the German frontiers. In these circumstances the fact of the French debt to Great Britain remains the most effective instrument in the hands of the British Government for forcing France, when the moment arises, to disarm. At any moment, as was clearly hinted in the White

Paper of last August, the British Treasury can refuse to extend any longer the period of the French Treasury bills, and can present France with the alternative of paying up on the spot or of acknowledging before the world her refusal to honour her own signature in finance. The French franc is already in low water, and the *coup de grâce* would be administered to it by the adoption of this second alternative.

Now if at the present Anglo-Russian Conference in London the British Government were to accept, on political as opposed to financial grounds, a Russian repudiation of any portion of the Russian debt to Great Britain, French defaulters would be presented with a gratuitous precedent which they would be quick to mobilise. This matter of debts is, therefore, a bedrock principle which cannot be departed from by the British Government. Even apart from the fact that Mr. MacDonald's Government is as fully capitalist a Government as were those of Mr. Baldwin, Mr. Bonar Law, and Mr. Lloyd George, there is the further consideration, which will doubtless not be lost on Mr. Rakovsky, that the whole foreign policy of the MacDonald Government is bound up with the sanctity of debts. If, therefore, the present Conference in London is to succeed, the formula will have to be a full recognition by Russia of her obligations, but an acceptance by Great Britain of part payment in kind. A large bulk of private claims can be met by concessions.

Some indication of the astronomical character of the figures that have been thrown about at the Conference may be gleaned from a few examples. Russia's pre-war debt to Great Britain amounted to £26,000,000, out of her total pre-war debt of £900,000,000. The British share is, therefore, small as compared, for instance, with the French, which amounts to £300,000,000. As about £500,000,000 of the pre-war Russian debt was incurred in Russia itself, the debts to Great Britain and France together constituted the bulk of the external obligation. The war debt of Russia to Great Britain amounts to about £650,000,000 if the accumulated interest be included. There is a municipal debt of about £14,000,000, and private debts estimated at an outside initial figure of about £350,000,000. On this calculation the total Russian indebtedness to Great Britain amounts to the colossal and unpractical sum of £1,040,000,000, thus:—

(1) The pre-war debt	...	...	...	£26,000,000
(2) The war debt	...	...	...	£650,000,000
(3) The municipal debt	...	...	...	£14,000,000
(4) Private debts (estd.)	...	...	...	£350,000,000
Total ...				£1,040,000,000

There is, in fact, ample scope for cutting down. The figure of £350,000,000, for instance, which is given as Russia's obligation to private traders simply represents the sum total of the claims filed for capital, plant, services, and goods actually lost as a result of the Bolshevik confiscations of 1917 onwards, although claims for potential loss of revenue on capital confiscated have been ruled out in advance, a concession to common sense for which there is much to be said. A rough idea of what this loss represents may, however, be obtained from the comparative figures of 1913 and 1922 Russian trade, the figures being for 1913: Exports to Russia, £27,000,000, and imports from Russia £40,275,000; and for 1922, £9,720,000 and £8,176,000 respectively. The 1913 figure of £40,275,000 included £15,678,000 from the Baltic States. On the other hand, it is clear that some of the claims filed on capital account have been exaggerated. One hears, for instance, that Mr. Leslie Urquhart has filed a claim for over £50,000,000, although the total pre-war extent of his capital was known to be about £2,000,000. I have this on what I believe to be reliable authority, but if I am wrong I shall be delighted to publish Mr. Urquhart's correction.

From the Russian side many points can be, and have been, made which can hardly be refuted. In the matter of Russia's liability towards private traders, it is certainly relevant to point out that one of the chief motives behind the British share in the anti-Bolshevik campaigns was precisely the British Association of Creditors of Russia, which for several years kept up a sustained propaganda against the Soviet Government, and supported the military campaigns of Kolchak, Denikin, and Wrangel. Creditors who by illegal means take vindictive measures which damage their debtors cannot reasonably file a claim for a 100 per cent. reimbursement of their losses. It is also true that Russia lost far more in killed during the war than any other Ally, and that as a result of the war she lost big stretches of territory, whereas every other Ally gained in territory. This point ought perhaps to have some bearing on Russia's total liability for war debt. It is even arguable that what is left of the war debt after such an adjustment might be written off against the British share of liability for the White Russian campaigns; but the point of principle ought to be safeguarded by a strictly arithmetic cancellation of mutual liability.

For the rest, there is no conceivable chance of a Russian loan being raised in London unless Russia pays whatever debts are established. It is true that Mr. Rakovsky, as a politician, cannot go back to Russia and announce triumphantly that he has succeeded in funding Russian debts to Great Britain without having anything to show on the other side. Mr. Rakovsky is not Mr.

Baldwin, nor Moscow London. On condition, however, that the pre-war debt is honoured and satisfaction is given to the reasonable claims of private British traders, there is no reason why the small amount of credits asked for by Mr. Rakovsky should not be arranged to the satisfaction of the British bankers through the existing machinery of the Trades Facilities Act and other measures actually in operation. Mr. Rakovsky, I believe, would be satisfied with total credits amounting to £60,000,000 spread over three years in equal instalments of £20,000,000 a year. Of this annual sum £16,000,000 would be used for the buying of manufactured goods in Great Britain, the remaining £4,000,000 for the buying of raw materials needed for Russian industries. This arrangement would be of the greatest benefit to Great Britain, and would clearly diminish the number of our unemployed. There would, of course, have to be an initial moratorium against Russia's repayment of her debts. The problem, therefore, need not be regarded as insoluble.

THE RUSSIAN EMBASSY AND ITS ARCHIVES.

A side issue which has been brought to a head by the Anglo-Russian Conference is that of the legal ownership of the Russian Embassy in London, its property, and archives. It was natural that when the Conference discussed war debts Mr. Rakovsky and his colleagues should want to look up the files of what took place between the British Government and the Russian Embassy. The present occupant of Chesham House, Mr. Sablin, who was a member of the Tsarist Embassy staff, has so far refused to admit the Soviet representatives within the building. It is said also that some of the important documents have been removed to the White headquarters in Paris against possible developments in London.

The dispute between the Soviet delegation and the occupant of Chesham House has made it necessary for the British Government to declare its view. The question of State archives is one of general interest, and it is against all tradition for the diplomatists of one *régime* to withhold such documents from the diplomatists of a succeeding *régime*. When the Soviet Government was being asked, therefore, to shoulder the liabilities of the Tsarist Government, on the ground that the Soviet was recognised as the legitimate Government of Russia, it became clear that the issue with Chesham House would have to be fought out. When the British Government was asked its opinion it confined itself to expressing the view that any property belonging to former Russian Governments is now the legal property of the present Russian Government. The question as to what legally constitutes Government property is a question to be fought out in the courts. On May 8th

the Russian delegation issued an official statement in which it declared: "There is no doubt as to the correctness of the opinion of the British Government that all of the property of the Imperial Russian Government and other former Russian Governments is now legally the property of the Soviet Government. Steps will be taken in the immediate future to demand the restitution of this property from those persons who are at present in illegal possession of it." The Soviet view is that Chesham House and its property ought now to be recognised as Soviet property. The question is, however, complicated. Owing to the fact that British law does not permit of a foreign Government's acquiring freehold property in this country it has been the practice for the Russian Ambassador to obtain a lease of the Embassy building in his own name. This accounts for the fact that whereas when the Russian Trade Delegation went to Berlin it at once occupied the Russian Embassy there as its headquarters, there being no doubt that the property was Government property, yet when the corresponding delegation came to London it had to rent rooms in New Bond Street and in Moorgate Street. Even the furniture of Chesham House was the private property of the successive Ambassadors, the present furniture having belonged to the late Count Benckendorff. Matters were simplified to some extent by a letter written by Countess Benckendorff to the *Times* (published on May 13th), in which she stated that she had "no interest whatsoever" in Chesham House.

The question of Chesham House first arose during the negotiations which led up to the Trade Agreement of 1921. Article X. of the Agreement stipulated that "The Russian Soviet Government undertakes to make no claim to dispose in any way of the funds or other property of the late Imperial and Provisional Russian Governments in the United Kingdom," the explanation of this remarkable clause being that the British Government had not then recognised the Soviet Government *de jure*. Owing, fortunately, to the foresight of Mr. Krassin, however, a clause was added which said: "This Article is not to prejudice the inclusion in the general Treaty referred to in the Preamble [this treaty is now being negotiated in London] of any provision dealing with the subject matter of this Article." Hence the need for the revised opinion of the British Government which has been indicated above.

THE MEMEL CONVENTION.

The Lithuanian Government signed the Memel Convention for the second time on May 17th. It has been recorded here (*THE CONTEMPORARY REVIEW*, April, 1923, pp. 514-523, and May, pp. 646-648) that the Convention drawn up by the League on the

basis of the Davis Commission's report had been held up by the Ambassadors' Conference on the pretext of grammatical fastidiousness. Fortunately, the Ambassadors, although they gained several weeks by this means, were unable to do any serious damage, the League Convention (with the improved punctuation and all) was returned to Geneva, where it was duly signed on May 7th by all the Powers represented on the Council and then sent to Kovno for renewed signature by Lithuania. After five years of muddle the Memel question is now formally settled, and the League of Nations has scored another success.

ITALY, JUBALAND, AND THE DODECANESE.

The internal disorders in Italy, the desperate attempt which is being made by the Fascist extremists to repress opposition, are having a crippling effect on Italian diplomacy abroad. Signor Mussolini is being out-Mussolinied by the very forces which he has brought into being, and thereby conforms to the common experience throughout history of those who have captured power by force. This, it seems, is the explanation of a pall of mystery which has descended on the negotiations between the British and Italian Governments about Jubaland. A full statement of the Jubaland problem and of the past negotiations about it between the British and Italian Governments was given, with an explanatory map, in this section of *THE CONTEMPORARY REVIEW* last year (July, 1923, pp. 109-111). The next important hint that was given of the renewal of negotiations was contained in a speech of Mr. Ramsay MacDonald's made in the House of Commons on March 27th of this year, when he said that he "was exceedingly anxious to get this cause of irritation between Italy and ourselves removed," and that "he hoped that before he spoke in the House again on the foreign situation he would be able to say that these difficulties . . . had been removed." Definite steps were taken about that time by Mr. MacDonald, who had devoted a weekend at Chequers to a detailed re-examination of the whole Jubaland dossier, and a decision in policy was taken by the Cabinet. The decision has been kept secret by the British Government, but, after the manner of secrets, it is known. Before the present Labour Government took the matter in hand one of the chief problems to be decided was whether the Jubaland and Dodecanese questions should be divorced and dealt with separately. The Lloyd George, Bonar Law, and Baldwin Governments had each taken the line that no frontier rectification should be made in Italy's favour in Jubaland except as part of a bargain in which the Italian part would be a settlement of the Dodecanese. Signor Mussolini had revoked all Italian promises to Greece, such as,

for instance, the Venizelos-Tittoni agreement, as a lever for the exaction of what he wanted elsewhere, as in Jubaland. Therefore the interlocking of Jubaland and the Dodecanese was an inevitable operation, being operated from both sides, though for opposite reasons. Then a change took place. Signor Mussolini's hold over the Dodecanese—which could not be justified on any ground of international law or on any moral principle—became increasingly agreeable to him, and the doubt gradually arose whether any concession which the British Government might make in Jubaland, could now be made attractive enough to induce him to loosen his hold on Rhodes. It was this situation which prompted Mr. Ponsonby's statement in the House, made before the statement of Mr. MacDonald's already referred to, that an early settlement of the Jubaland question could not be expected, because Italy wanted to exclude the Dodecanese from the negotiations. What, then, prompted the change of tone between the Ponsonby and MacDonald statements? Only the fact that the British Government decided, whether wisely or not remains to be seen, but for obvious reasons of expediency, to give away the former case of the British Government, to exclude the Dodecanese from the settlement, and to offer to Signor Mussolini the so-called Scialoja line in Jubaland (see *THE CONTEMPORARY REVIEW*, *loc. cit.*) as a final British redemption of the promise made in the Pact of London of 1915. This new British offer appears to have been made about the beginning of April. A month later Signor Mussolini made a statement to his Cabinet in which he paid tribute to the friendly way in which the MacDonald Government was conducting the negotiations and expressing the hope that an agreement would not be long delayed. At the time of writing it was still delayed, although all that was wanted was an Italian acceptance of an offer of exactly what Italy wanted. So surprising a situation is a measure of the embarrassment caused to Signor Mussolini by his peculiar and own creation, Fascismo in Italy.

GEORGE GLASGOW.

LITERARY SUPPLEMENT.

LIST OF CONTENTS.

	PAGE
I. REVIEWS	793
THE PEACE TREATIES; THE MAKING OF MAN; BELIEF IN IMMORTALITY; SPAIN TO-DAY; DEMOCRACY AT THE CROSS-ROADS; RICHARD THE LION HEART; NEW TESTAMENT APOCRYPHA; OXFORD SIXTY YEARS SINCE; LORD DE TABLEY'S POEMS.	
2. SHORTER REVIEWS: "Cancer Research at the Middlesex Hospital, 1900-1924; Retrospect and Prospect"; "The Dutch Library"; "Spinoza, Descartes, and Maimonides"; "The Immortal Purpose, and other Poems"	811

REVIEWS.

THE PEACE TREATIES.*

It would be difficult to exaggerate the value and merits of the *History of the Peace Conference*, of which the sixth and concluding volume has recently appeared. Its accomplished editor, Mr. Temperley, like most of his collaborators, has taken part in official work; but the book itself is not official. Thus, though it contains a good deal of inside knowledge, the authors are in a position to express their opinions with perfect freedom. To the student of the war, the settlement, and the world after the war, this immense co-operative enterprise will always remain indispensable. If Stannard Baker's lively apologia for Woodrow Wilson and Tardieu's brilliant defence of Clemenceau take us closer to the heart of the agitating discussions at Paris, Mr. Temperley's volumes surpass all other books on the subject in scope, completeness, and impartiality. A singularly modest Editorial Foreword wins the reader's confidence at the outset. "It is probable, and indeed inevitable, that the work displays a certain bias in favour of British and, to a less extent, of American policies. But the reader, being warned of the tendencies of the compass, should be able to steer his course aright. Of passion and prejudice there

* *History of the Peace Conference at Paris*. Vol. 6. Edited by H. W. V. Temperley. (Henry Frowde and Hodder & Stoughton.) 42s.

has already been enough, and it is hoped that the History may serve to assuage rather than to inflame them."

The first two hundred pages of this large and handsome volume are devoted to the Near and Middle East, and form its most novel and valuable portion. The secret agreements concluded during the war are summarised in so far as they have become known; but the pact of St. Jean de Maurienne, in which Italy's claims to a share in Western and Southern Asia Minor were recognised, is still unpublished. Nor is the correspondence of Sir Henry McMahon, the High Commissioner in Egypt, with the Sherif of Mecca in 1915 available, though it formed the basis of our alliance with the Arabs. This chapter of the war-diplomacy of the Allies reflects no great credit on their statesmen. As Great Britain was never told of the Franco-Russian agreement on the Rhineland, nor Serbia of the treaty which bought Italian aid in 1915, so Italy was long kept in ignorance of the Sykes-Picot agreement of 1916, which parcelled out Hither Asia into spheres of influence. Moreover, France, with her eyes on Syria, was strongly opposed to Arab claims, deplored Arab successes and was incensed at our encouragement of King Hussein and his sons. The ultimate settlement was in some measure simplified by the collapse of Russia; yet her withdrawal led to fresh claims from other quarters. The demand of Venizelos for Constantinople was wisely refused, but Smyrna was handed to him despite the advice of the American delegation. All the world is now aware of the results of the tragic error of the Greeks in asking and the Allies in granting a slice of Asia Minor with a large Turkish majority and no defensible frontiers. The deplorable story of our relations with Turkey, which include the abandonment of Armenia, ends with the Treaty of Lausanne, a melodramatic discomfiture of the principal Allied Powers within less than five years after their apparently overwhelming triumph. Masterly chapters follow on Arab Nationalism, the Independence of Egypt, and the Liberation of Persia from foreign control.

If the story of Allied diplomacy in the Near East is one of failure, the creation of an independent Poland is hailed as "a great constructive experiment." It is too early, however, to speak confidently of success, and the various dangers—some of her own making—are carefully and calmly analysed. "The prospects are full of danger, though there is much in the situation which gives occasion for hope. Germany almost certainly, and in all probability Russia also, are likely to be her enemies. In the course of time both of these countries are bound to recover most if not all of their former strength. Poland will have to walk very warily between these two great nations, and it is essential that she should be free from domestic discord and internal weakness." Shorter sections

are devoted to the Baltic States, whose relations to one another are improving, and to the Bolsheviks. The latter story begins with the Prinkipo proposal and the Bullett Mission, and ends with Cannes, Genoa, and the Hague. The recognition of the Moscow Government by Great Britain and Italy has occurred since these pages were in print. Further chapters deal with the Dominions at the Peace Conference, the Shantung settlement, and the repudiation of President Wilson by his fellow-countrymen.

The volume concludes with a series of chapters which will be read with profound interest by those who wonder what sort of world confronts us now that all the peace treaties are signed and the passions of the great conflict are gradually abating. The Editor and his colleagues are convinced adherents of the League of Nations, itself the greatest and most enduring achievement of the peace-makers. The elasticity of the Covenant may be a sign of weakness at first, but it allows for organic development, and understandings with only semi-legal authority may often be useful when precise rules might frighten away nations wedded to the narrower interpretations of state sovereignty. "In the success of the principles of the League, we of British nationality have a double interest, for they are those by which the British Commonwealth exists. In the case of the League of Nations the bonds of common allegiance and common descent are lacking; but the bond of common interest is there, the bond of common suffering in the past, and of the certainty, if the League fails, of common suffering in the future." Sections follow on the International Labour organisation, the Court of International Justice, the Mandatory System, and Guarantees against War.

If any student of world-politics is too busy to read the whole of this massive volume, he should on no account miss the Epilogue, which in forty pages summarises the reflections of the Editor and his collaborators on the Peace Conference and its aftermath. The closing pages convey a balanced judgment which few thoughtful readers will be disposed to challenge. "It defeated the extremer aims of the French militarists, and of Yugoslav, Roumanian, or Polish Chauvinists. But it failed to prevent the infliction of some racial injuries and much economic distress, and it left behind it a broad trail of bitter memories. For these results the atmosphere in which the Peace Conference worked was chiefly responsible. The issues were mingled and obscured in a seething furnace of passions. The obligation of secret pledges given at need, the strife of nationalities, the pride of victory, the bitterness of defeat, the memory of unspeakable wrongs, all these inflamed and kept open the wounds of a suffering world. It is true, however, to say that the idea of Nationality did really underlie the peace settlement.

National aspirations were not always victorious, but progress in realising them was actually made. If there was much that was lost at Paris, there was something also that was saved, a heaven which may one day leaven the whole earth."

G. P. G.

* * *

THE MAKING OF MAN.*

This book gives a brief and popular account of the views in regard to the Universe and Man, which, for some years past, Sir Oliver Lodge has been inculcating. The exposition is marked, as might be expected, by the openness of mind, vividness of apprehension, and forthrightness of style which we have learned to associate with the teaching of its distinguished author. In his case scientific equipment and experience have enlarged, as they ought to have done, and not narrowed the range of his disciplined imagination. Sir Oliver Lodge's mind is singularly open to all possibilities, though tolerant as to their explanation. He is so versed in the larger physical speculations as to be prejudiced, if at all, rather in favour of than against the reality of spiritual experience. Hence, while seldom leaving the concrete for the abstract, he is able to survey the whole process of evolution, and, escaping from the bonds of materialism, to read its meaning in the light of its only partially fulfilled promise and not of its lowlier beginnings. In this way he weds poetry with science, revelation and faith with reason. Sir Oliver regards the making of man from the standpoint of a physicist, who is as strongly influenced by psychological and psychic, as by so-called material, experience. He describes what he finds, and explains it, not by importing a cause or causes from outside, but by discerning and appreciating the highest ends that are becoming manifest in evolution, and by tracing the ordered and universal movement towards their realisation. The guiding principle throughout is the ancient *Nihil est in effectu quod non erat in causâ*. We are grateful to Sir Oliver Lodge for presenting this succinct and most interesting summary of his teaching and anticipate for this volume a warm welcome and a large circle of readers.

J. S. L.

* *Making of Man: A Study of Evolution.* By Sir Oliver Lodge, F.R.S. (Hodder & Stoughton.) 3s. 6d. net.

BELIEF IN IMMORTALITY.*

This very interesting and instructive volume consists of a series of chapters dealing with the subject of Immortality from various points of view. Sir Flinders Petrie contributes the first article, on "Egyptian Conceptions of Immortality." This is followed by a chapter on "Greek Views of Immortality," by Mr. F. M. Cornford; by one on "Immortality in Indian Thought," by Professor A. A. Macdonell; by one on "Hebrew and Apocalyptic Conceptions of Immortality," by Professor Adam C. Welch, D.D.; and by one on "The Christian Idea of Immortality," by Professor Ronald G. Macintyre, D.D. There follow chapters on "The Philosophy of Immortality," by Principal George Galloway, D.D.; on "The Ethical Basis of Immortality," by Dr. Rudolf Eucken; on "Science and Immortality," by Canon Barnes; and a concluding article on "Immortality in the Poets," by the late Mr. Maurice H. Hewlett. The introduction is contributed by Lord Ernle.

Sir James Marchant is to be congratulated heartily, not only upon the general conception of the volume, but upon his success in getting such competent writers to deal with the different aspects of the subject. Of course, the restrictions of such a volume have prevented the writers from dealing exhaustively with the subject, yet their expositions are, without exception, lucid, interesting, and packed with information. The book is in every respect a worthy contribution to the discussion of the great subject with which it deals. The whole series serves to support and illustrate a consistent point of view. Belief in Immortality has its source and must find its justification in Religion. Science—whether psychological or biological—can neither prove nor disprove its truth. The belief in its highest forms, whether Jewish or Christian, whether ancient or modern, is founded—to use Canon Barnes's words—on "the acceptance of ethical theism." In other words, our belief in Immortality depends upon our Idea of God, and upon the conception of the universe and the appreciation of the meaning of human personality that spring from that Idea. Everything depends upon our faith in God and its rational justification, upon our acceptance of spiritual values as being inwrought into the very texture of the universe as its meaning is unfolded to our experience. Hence, belief must remain a venture of faith, though a faith without which no satisfying explanation can be given of a world in which ideal values manifest themselves with ever-increasing authority, and of human nature which is made by the apprehen-

* *Immortality:* With an Introduction by the Right Hon. Lord Ernle. Edited by Sir James Marchant, K.B.E., LL.D. London and New York. (G. P. Putnam's Sons.) 7s. 6d. net.

ful knowledge of the second half of the twelfth century is revealed, once again, in the detailed but living narrative. She has all Sir Walter Scott's enthusiasm for her hero, and it is delightful to think that her detailed and most judicial biography—a biographer may be judicial even if the writer worships the man he writes about—confirms the poetic estimate of Richard that the great novelist has painted for all time. We feel throughout the narrative that Richard of Aquitaine was a great man as well as a great warrior. Professor G. B. Adams in 1905 rather suggested that Richard was, if not insincere, at any rate brief, in his grief for the death of his father, that great King Henry II., but Miss Norgate gives another picture: "All endeavours to guess at his feelings were baffled by the rigid stillness of his aspect and demeanour, broken only by a momentary shudder when he saw the uncovered face. For a long while he stood gazing at it in silence; for a briefer space he knelt in silent prayer." Then he called for the dead King's followers and his recent enemies, and the sheer nobility of his character asserted itself. He not only thrust aside all pettiness and thoughts of revenge, but gave William the Marshal, with whom he had been in open conflict a few days before, the immediate task of going to England, of releasing the Queen Eleanor, and authorising her to act as his representative. Those who had been faithful to his father were his friends, however much he had striven with them in the last bitter days when Philip Augustus had forced the compact of Colombières upon the faded and heartbroken majesty of England.

The almost boy who had won the inaccessible town of Taillebourg in 1178 at once began in 1189 his career of chivalry and of epic conquests. Quite early he had shown his great athletic strength, and the tall young Duke, with his mane of hair "of a colour midway between red and yellow," dominated his age. He was leonine in his character as well as in his strength. "The Lion Heart" was a phrase in use quite early. A writer within eight years after his death calls him "le preux reis, le quor de lion." It was the character of the man that earned him the immortal name, and in other circumstances he might have forestalled for England the splendid work of Edward I.

Miss Norgate deals at great length with the famous Third Crusade, and shows us in full detail, from the Arab as well as the European writers, those great and noble antagonists, protagonists in chivalry, Saladin and Richard. It is a picture painted with vigour, in striking prose and with a full sense of proportion. It is unnecessary in a brief note to go into the politics or the triumphs or the details of this great thrust into Asia. Richard overcame almost insuperable difficulties, and when Philip Augustus

departed in dudgeon from Tyre on August 3rd, 1190, the Lion Heart beyond all doubt became the Commander-in-Chief of the Crusade. Wonderfully he performed his task. No doubt on him must fall the responsibility for the execution of the Moslem garrison of Acre, an act that Sulla would have performed, but perhaps few Christians. Yet the circumstances made it almost inevitable. Certainly Richard had to adopt the policy of the iron hand. But as certainly he never spared himself. The amazing scene that adorned his victory at Joppa, his challenge single-handed to the serried Moslem ranks, his attack on that army with a handful of followers and the rout that followed reach a height superhuman, epic, godlike. The most vivid authorities are the contemporary Arab historians. It is they who tell of Richard's unanswered challenge to the whole Saracen host. Saladin's son Ed-daher alone answered, and *his father* called him back. At the close of the long day's fighting the victor returned "with arrows sticking out all over him like the bristles of a hedgehog, and with his horse in the same plight." Neither Saladin nor he underrated one another, and so far as the Third Crusade was a success—and the measure of success was no mean achievement, since it gave the Palestine coast and peaceful access to Jerusalem to the Christians—it was due to Richard. The fear of him was burnt into the souls of the Saracens, who cried to their children, "Be quiet! England is coming." Yet the Lion Heart was never to see Jerusalem.

"Seven centuries later the attainment of the goal was to be granted to 'England' in another form, that of an army which, having set out from what Richard had once proposed to secure as the fittest starting-point for the purpose—Egypt—finally closed round the Holy City by ways in every one of which it was almost literally treading in the footsteps of the Lion Heart."

This vivid and wholly authentic picture of one of the very greatest and noblest of British fighting men is an achievement of which Miss Norgate may be justly proud.

J. E. G. DE M.

* * *

NEW TESTAMENT APOCRYPHA.*

The Provost of Eton in this remarkable volume gives what he calls a comprehensive view of the apocryphal literature of the New Testament, that is to say, of the false and spurious representations of "every one of the classes of writings which form the

* *The Apocryphal New Testament, being the Apocryphal Gospels, Acts, Epistles, and Apocalypses with other narratives and fragments.* Newly translated by Montague Rhodes James. (Oxford: at the Clarendon Press.) 10s. net.

New Testament." The documents, though false and spurious, may contain ancient and truthful elements, and it is this fact that helps to make the New Testament apocrypha important. But as documents they are untrue, they are not what they purport to be. Thus there are fragments of early gospels, such as the Gospel according to the Hebrews, lost heretical books, such as *The Birth of Mary*, *Infancy Gospels*, such as the *Book of James*, *Passion Gospels*, such as the *Gospel of Peter*; *Acts*, such as the *Acts of John*, the *Acts of Peter and Andrew*, the *Acts and Passions of Peter and Paul*; *Epistles*, such as the *Epistle to the Laodiceans*, *Apocalypses*. The present volume contains—

"fresh versions of all the really important texts, and full summaries, with extracts, of those which do not need to be translated word for word. Further, it attempts to put the reader in possession of the results of the very fruitful researches of the last generation. In those thirty years a great mass of material has been added to the available stock, and what is not less important, there has been a sifting of what is early from what is late, and an order and chronology of the writings, which is not likely to be seriously disturbed, has been settled."

Dr. James makes an important point when he urges the need to produce the texts of the Apocrypha so that everyone can see that "there is no question of anyone's having excluded them from the New Testament: they have done that for themselves." These documents neither instil true religion nor convey true history. The Catholic Church rightly rejected them. But they are interesting in other ways:—

"They record the imaginations, hopes, and fears of the men who wrote them; they show what was acceptable to the unlearned Christians of the first ages, what interested them, what they admired, what ideals of conduct they cherished for this life, what they thought they would find in the next. As folk lore and romance, again, they are precious; and to the lover and student of mediæval literature and art they reveal the source of no inconsiderable part of his material and the solution of many a puzzle. They have, indeed, exercised an influence (wholly disproportionate to their intrinsic merits) so great and so widespread, that no one who cares about the history of Christian thought and Christian arts can possibly afford to neglect them."

William Hone, who issued in 1820 a volume also entitled an *Apocryphal New Testament*, put forward the doctrine that the writings which make up the New Testament were brought into one volume "at a given moment by a definite act of the authorities of the Church." In fact, of course, the Canon was built up slowly and—

"there were a few books which attained a measure of recognition and eventually lost it. . . . We may fairly say that the only books which had a real chance of being included in the Canon of

the New Testament were the *Epistles of Clement and Barnabas*, the *Revelation of Peter*, and the *Shepherd of Hermas*; for I do not think we need reckon in the *Didache* or the *Acts of Paul*. And we may be thankful that the Church at large finally declared against them; for the first *Epistle of Clement* is the only one of them which we should have found tolerable now."

But some of these strange documents are comparatively early. The fragment of the *Gospel of Peter* may be dated at about 150 A.D.; the *Acts of John* are also not later than this; the *Acts of Paul* are a little later, while the *Acts of Peter* are not later than 200 A.D. The *Epistle of the Apostles* (now first given in English) may be dated at about 160 A.D.; while the *Apocalypse of Peter* is assigned by Dr. James to the first quarter of the second century. Dr. James brings together here all the remains we have of this early book. The *Apocalypse of Thomas* (of uncertain date) also appears for the first time in English. These very early documents will reward study. Dr. James tells us, for instance, that the very early *Apocalypse of Peter* "ranked next in popularity and probably also in date to the Canonical *Apocalypse of St. John*." It is mentioned in the *Muratorian Canon* along with the *Apocalypse of St. John*, and it was still read annually in some churches in Palestine on Good Friday in the fifth century. Some of the passages descriptive of Paradise are remarkable, but the reader will not, on the whole, regret the exclusion of the book from the final Canon of the New Testament. It is strange that there should be practically no apocryphal narratives of the Ministry.

Dr. James points out that this massive volume does not include the complete corpus of the apocryphal literature of the New Testament. He has found it impossible to include the *Gnostic Apocrypha*, though some of the Coptic texts may be the original texts and not translations from Greek originals. Again, he has omitted a large group of books dealing with Church order and with liturgy, the earliest of which is the famous *Didache* or *Teaching of the Apostles* discovered about forty years ago and frequently edited and translated. Dr. James also omits the *Clementine literature* telling the story of the dispersal and reunion under the agency of St. Peter, of the family of Clement—a familiar theme—and also the technical theological treatises ascribed to Dionysius the Areopagite, St. Paul's Athenian convert, and various other documents which include the Rabbinic and Mohammedan tradition about Jesus. It is useful to have these full indications of inevitable omissions. The many texts printed will interest students and others, and will, as Dr. James says, increase our respect, if possible, for the final Canon of the New Testament. Those responsible were, indeed, "tried money-changers, who

proved all things and held fast that which was good." From the text of the New Testament as it stands few would exclude anything and still fewer would include any of the Apocrypha now so conveniently collected by a great scholar.

* * *

OXFORD SIXTY YEARS SINCE.*

A further instalment of Professor Saintsbury's reminiscences and recollections is very welcome, and to students of University history particularly welcome, since in this delightful volume there is a full account of the Oxford of sixty years ago, and especially of Merton College, where Saintsbury was elected to a Postmastership in 1863. Merton College had not then altered very much from the days, some twenty years before, when the College had refused to elect Mr. Thorold Rogers to a fellowship. His brusque manners were not to the College liking. Professor Saintsbury, indeed, describes a singularly friendly college. "Of anything like the snobbery depicted in *Tom Brown at Oxford* and other books there was not the slightest trace." There he acquired a love *pour toujours* of Oxford and Merton. It was not an expensive college. It had a divine cook who excelled himself in the preparation of hare-soup and dressed crab. The description of the dressed crab of the mid-'sixties at Merton is itself a masterpiece, while the "peculiarly excellent brown sherry" has never been forgotten. "But what did they *teach* you?" The very question rouses anger. In those days men, or some men, including young Saintsbury, secured firsts by inhaling, like the chameleon, the atmosphere:—

"All the things I have just mentioned, from the Latin versicles at Chapel to the Archdeacon at dinner, and from the thirteenth—or fourteenth, was it?—century library to the wanderings at night, appear to me to be agents of education of the highest possible value, far more precious than the purest pearls of Pelmanism, and putting to scorn and confusion the cunningest tricks of Experimental Psychology. But I have not the slightest intention of allowing any slur to be cast on my tutors of that time. As I hinted in *Scrap Book I.*, I think that with us, and indeed at Oxford generally at that time, the invaluable maxim, 'Can't you let him alone?' was better attended to than it is now."

Professor Saintsbury's tutor in Scholarship was "rather shy and extremely pudibund," and once got very red indeed when his pupil read to him an English verse translation of a piece of Catullus that was not intended for young men and pudibund dons.

The picture of Edward Caird is pleasing. He introduced the intercollegiate system of lecturing, which was naturally not pleas-

* *A Second Scrap Book* By George Saintsbury. (Macmillan.) 7s. 6d. net.

ing to Merton, though Caird himself was from the first a popular Fellow. The pen-picture of William Sidgwick is also excellent, and an extract from one of his "lectures," which were really conversations, marks the ease and power of the man as a teacher. The account of Mark Pattison is not pleasing, though he was really a much nicer sort of person than he seemed to young Saintsbury and other undergraduates. His interview with Pattison was indeed a rather fearful encounter, and the impression left is that Pattison was technically right and Saintsbury was wrong in every way, for he was (to be frank) rather more than a little rude to the acidulated and logical but really very human and humane Rector of Lincoln.

Those were, despite disappointments as to "Greats" and Fellowships, joyous days, and young Saintsbury was not the least joyous of the bevy of young fellows who fell down and worshipped Mr. Swinburne's *Poems and Ballads*, and read aloud *Laus Veneris*, *Dolores*, and the rest. Those naughty and delightful ballads have become a little "corked" to-day, and probably the Merton brown sherry (if there is any left) has worn better. The days were joyous in other respects. Mr. Matthew Arnold was also opening a new field in literature and criticism, and he has worn better than Mr. Swinburne. Mr. Gladstone was ejected from the University seat "to the joy of all *bien-pensants* of my way of thinking." Mr. Disraeli was enlisted on the side of the Angels, "whether to the satisfaction of the Angels or not, I cannot say, but certainly to the amusement of some of the same *bien-pensants*." Between 1863 and 1868 the *régime* of compulsory celibacy of the Fellows was nearing its end (though there are, perhaps, still one or two who hold Fellowships until death or marriage). Professor Saintsbury does not tell the story of the widow of a Fellow who called at the College for a pension after thirty years of married bliss: but perhaps that is a Cambridge story. It would have pleased the young bloods of 1868. Professor Saintsbury puts forward the view that "a certain godlike retirement, with occasional revelations, gracious or severe," may be the best attitude for a College Head. So in this second instalment the author still represents the Oxford of sixty years ago.

There is much other matter for comment in this delightful, kindly book, but we must do no more than draw attention to the notable tribute to the late Professor W. P. Ker.

J. E. G. DE M.

* * *

LORD DE TABLEY'S POEMS.*

John Byrne Leicester Warren was born in 1835, succeeded to the de Tabley peerage in 1887, and died in 1895. He was therefore a Victorian pure and simple. He wrote under various pen-names, his volumes appearing in 1859, 1863, 1864, 1865, 1866, 1867, 1870, 1873, 1893, 1895, with a posthumous volume in 1901. The Collected Poems were edited by his sister, Lady Leighton-Warren, and published in 1903. Hence he was writing poetry through the whole of his adult life, though there was a gap in publication between 1873 and 1893. Mr. Drinkwater thinks that his reputation "has never been, nor is it ever likely to be," with that of Tennyson and Browning, Morris, Swinburne, and Arnold. He considers that the distinction between Lord de Tabley and the rest of the Victorian group—a group the members of which are certainly not all in the same rank and in which Browning sits indubitably supreme—is that with Lord de Tabley inspiration was fitful, while with the group, as instanced by Lord Tennyson, inspiration rarely fails. But Lord de Tabley at his best is excellent, and "in minute and yet always interesting realisation of the details of natural beauty he is hardly equalled by any poet of his age, with the exception, perhaps, of Tennyson himself." This is a somewhat difficult statement, since Lord Tennyson certainly does not rank higher than Browning in the acute appreciation of nature, while we may doubt if he has a more vivid appreciation of natural scenery than Matthew Arnold. On the general question whether a poet whose inspiration only occasionally reaches a white heat has less chance of immortality than a poet who is constantly inspired, literary history shows that in some cases the former attains immortality while many poets of high merit with inspiration apparently always at hand have been forgotten. Blake could write dreadfully bad poetry, but his one or two perfect gems have made him immortal. The same is true of Gray, though he never sank to Blake's lower level. On the other hand, certain very great Elizabethan poets, such as Webster, are hardly ever read, while Donne, one of the very greatest of English poets, is hardly known to the multitude and is only read in any bulk by professed students of literature. The present loss of interest in Lord Tennyson might be a case in point, but it may be that he will only live in certain poems when his inspiration was at its highest. Of the moderns, Wordsworth and Browning are slowly coming into their own place in the sky of immortality fulfilling Arnold's law of poets:

* *Select Poems of Lord de Tabley.* Edited by John Drinkwater. The Oxford Miscellany. (Humphrey Milford.) 3s. 6d. net.

"The one or two immortal lights
Rise slowly up into the sky
To shine there everlastingly."

The test of intermittent inspiration does not rule out Lord de Tabley any more than the test of persistent inspiration rules in all the Elizabethans and Dr. Donne. It would be interesting to see whether there are any poems by Lord de Tabley that present the immortal touch; but that is only possible by a prolonged investigation of the edition of 1903. The ode to the skylark entitled "At Heaven's Gate" may be included in the delightful circle of such odes in English poetry, but there is nothing in it of unique value. Yet a poem can be neglected that contains the lines:

"I am the clarion of the morn:
Between the clouds I fade from sight.
The mountains hear my elfin horn;
I, singing, melt away in light."

The poem on Queen Joan of Naples (1370-1435) and her Palace contains some unforgettable lines:

"All thy rippling tresses rust,
Silent are thy dove replies,
And immeasurable dust
Stains the glory of thine eyes."

Over many of the poems there is an amazing charm, a charm woven of sweetness and unconquerable sadness. The sadness of so many of the Victorians, their ultimate hopelessness, stands out in strange contrast to the almost brutal hopefulness of the Elizabethans. It is impossible to despair of Marlowe's Faustus, even when the devils carry the prig off. Heaven is the only place for him. He would have made Hell intolerable. The nineteenth-century Faust or any other lover is damned beyond repair, damned by hopelessness. Yet the charm of these poems is indubitable. "The Bird of my Love" is exquisite, though we know that the bird will die and the love will die and therefore that the poem will die. "Love Grown Old" is not less touching, and has, at any rate, some hope at the end of it. If only Lord de Tabley had realised that Time cannot be separated from Space the poem would have been still more hopeful. But with all these sad poets it is only Time that "goes." Yet Lord de Tabley knew the age that he lived in, and perhaps the bitterest commentary on that age in contemporary verse is his *Amaranth*. The lover in that poem was a very humble gentleman:

"He was no senate quack, who came
To nibble at the public purse,
And rise, a charlatan, to fame
By leaving bad a little worse."

He spun no cotton, owned no banks,
He ran no racers, gave no balls,
He had no deer with dappled flanks
To trot around his stuccoed halls.

He came no king of beer to crowd
The jostling streets with barrelled drays.
No huckster, full of promise, loud
To sing the naughty Mammon's praise."

And so the Lady would not have him till he was dead, when she could not have him. The dead lover, who could not have regretted his departure from such a world, puts words of bitter regret into the lady's mouth. There the illogical English mind of Lord de Tabley came in; the self-deception and the sentiment of the Victorian age. There can be no doubt that she married the brewer and (for she, too, was a Victorian) became a teetotaller and opened a shelter for poor drunkards in the East End.

Lord de Tabley is more pleasing in the region of pure poetry, where absence of a sense of humour is no more felt than it is felt in the classic pages of John Milton. "The Wine of Life" is a noble poem that pictures the great past:

"There we can hear the flute of Pan,
Bewailing down the reedy vales:
There see the tempest-beaten swan
Sail broken, down the moaning gales.

And larger heroes in that morn
Stride mist-like thro' the asphodel,
And hoary bards with cheeks unshorn
Invoke anew the lyric spell.

On me their burning helms they turn,
Their eagle banners awe the glen,
They, rising from each dusty urn,
Display their giant limbs again.

* * * * *
Old Fauns have breathed against the grapes,
Old-world aromas haunt the bowl;
Still music of forgotten shapes,
Dim pathos of a Pagan soul."

Something of this "dim pathos" filled the soul of Lord de Tabley and the souls of many, though not all, of his eminent contemporaries. The classical spirit as reflected in nineteenth-century poetry has, indeed, too often this dim pathos written through it, but it is not the less beautiful for the fact, though the sadness does not really reflect the truth and the splendour of human nature. Lord de Tabley had the true poetic spirit, but he was too firmly moulded by his intellectual environment to give it free play. Yet we do not think that his work will be wholly forgotten. The execution is often exquisite and the conceptions are often replete with beauty and high idealism.

J. E. G. DE M.

SHORTER REVIEWS.

Mr. W. Sampson Handley has edited an important monograph entitled "Cancer Research at the Middlesex Hospital, 1900-1924: Retrospect and Prospect."* This volume has been compiled by members of the staff of the Hospital and Medical School and issued by authority of the Cancer and General Research Committee. The book is divided into two sections, the first dealing with laboratory research and the second with clinical research or the investigation of cancer as seen in the living patient. The causation of cancer is still unknown; when it is known the discovery of a cure would be likely to follow. "The cancer cell, with its remorseless power of self-multiplication attained by the abandonment of other and useful functions, may be a biological sport or variation of 'spontaneous' occurrence. . . . We do not know why the unicellular organism evolved into the multicellular animal, nor why the unicellular ovum produces the multicellular man. The converse problem, that of the origin of cancer, is equally obscure." The progress of the new science of Bio-Chemistry may throw new light on these problems. There is, moreover, abundant evidence that radium "possesses great value for the alleviation of pain and the prolongation of life" in cases of malignant disease which are otherwise beyond the reach of treatment. In certain early cases the use of radium often affects a cure without operation. It is plain that all who are able should, by the gift of funds, make the fullest research possible. Four of the six necessary Professorial Chairs, Chemistry, Pathology, Anatomy, and Experimental Pathology, still remain unendowed. The many rich men and women of to-day should, at any rate, find the £80,000 needed for the endowment of these chairs. More money is needed for purposes of publications of the Middlesex Hospital Press, while funds for the equipment of laboratories are also needed. If this terrible scourge of humanity is to be destroyed it can only be by the united efforts of many men and women of goodwill.

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Three volumes have been issued in a series called "The Dutch Library,"† which consists of three plays translated into English verse from the Middle Dutch. The first play, entitled "A Beautiful Play of Lancelot of Denmark," which has been translated by Dr. P. Geyl, Professor of Dutch Studies in the University of London, "is one of three similar plays contained in a fifteenth-century manuscript, which is now preserved in the Royal Library at Brussels." Although a work of such great age "Lancelot of Denmark" is curiously modern in the style of its plot, and in many places reminds the reader of the triangular love-stories in the cinema world. The other two plays, "An Ingenious Play of Esmoreit" and "A Marvellous History of Mary of Nimmegen," have been translated by Professor H. Morgan Ayres of Columbia University; and Professor A. S. Barnouw, also of Columbia University, has written the Introductions to the two volumes. Esmoreit is of a very different character as regards plot from the play of Lancelot. Here we have the type of story loved by Chaucer and some later writers. The scheming wicked uncle, the nephew, the stolen king's son, the wrongfully condemned mother, and the subsequent return of the stolen prince is no new tale to English readers, though it is one which never grows stale. Dr. Geyl says that "the plays of

* Middlesex Hospital Press 3s. 6d. net.
† Constable. 3s. 6d. per volume.

Lancelot and Esmoreit are so exactly alike in style that there can hardly be any question as their being the work of one and the same author. Yet as regards dramatic character they present a curious contrast." Esmoreit belongs to "a collection of Middle Dutch dramas contained in a fifteenth-century miscellany called the Hulthem manuscript," which is preserved in the Royal Burgundian Library at Brussels. The third play, "A Marvellous History of Mary of Nimmegen," is an extraordinary tale of a girl "who for more than seven year lived and had ado with the devil." Mary of Nimmegen is a miracle play, and is, Dr. Barnouw tells us in his Introduction, "one of the gems of Dutch mediæval literature. It is an entirely different play from the other two of the series, and owing to its more unusual plot, is, perhaps, the most fascinating of three charming plays. Not one of them gives the impression of being a translation, and they will be read with the greatest pleasure by both the student of early literature and by the general reader."

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Dr. Leon Roth's essay on "Spinoza, Descartes, and Maimonides" * contends that in relation to Descartes, Spinoza represents the radical opposition of monism to pluralism, while the famous Arab philosopher Maimonides (1135-1204) presented exactly the same opposition. "The Guide for the Perplexed" was written by Maimonides in Arabic, but was translated into Hebrew and Latin, and Spinoza promised a copy of the Venice edition of Ibn Tibbou's Hebrew version. The book, it is suggested with great reason, "formed a highly important element in the background of Spinoza's thought." It seems clear that Spinoza largely followed in the footsteps of Maimonides in his attack on dialectics. "The Guide to the Perplexed" is the key to the history of the influence that Spinoza's system exercised on European speculation. "The long line of Masters who, from Albert and Aquinas, drew consciously and directly from the inspiration of the 'Guide,' are succeeded by all those who during the past century have drunk from the well of Hegel."

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Sir Leo Chiozza Money in "The Immortal Purpose, and Other Poems" † gives expression to the belief that Man long since won to a conception of goodness which is foreign to the order of Nature, that his attempts to translate that conception into actualities have been, during recorded history, frustrated by lack of Nature-knowledge, and that now, at last, godly purpose may be associated with godly power. It is the Risen and Ascended Man who is the inspiration of these verses. It is within our power to establish such an environment and culture as shall secure health of body and mind for the lives saved by Man's interference with Nature." Sir Leo has a considerable command of metre and language, but there is surely a terrible sadness in his belief in the Immortality of Man but not of men. The doctrine of individual immortality is an incentive to noble life, which is absent from racial immortality. If the individual can only look forward to endless sleep his efforts for the race must be very limited. However, this particular economist holds the other view, and celebrates it in quite tolerable verse.

* Oxford: at the Clarendon Press. 7s. 6d. net.

† Richard Cobden-Sanderson, 17, Tavies Inn, E.C.1. 6s. net.