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FRANCE AFTER THE ELECTIONS.

THE success of the *Bloc des Gauches*—or to be more exact, the *Cartel des Gauches*—at the French General Elections on May 11th awakened hopes that there would at last be a better spirit in Europe, and that a settlement of the Reparations problem and the cessation of the last of the long feuds in Europe—that of Germany and France—would be possible. There is still every reason to believe that France, in dismissing the *Bloc National* which was responsible for the occupation of the Ruhr and the virtual perpetuation of the war, has set her feet upon a new path at the end of which is peace. But unfortunately we usually run to extremes in our appreciations of foreign governments. The change in France, though desirable, is not perhaps as satisfactory as it is generally supposed. The Radical Party, which for the moment wields effective power, is badly handicapped in many respects. The situation is not as clear as it appears to be at first sight. We should beware of illusions. Many difficulties present themselves, and unless the French Government handles them aright, there will be gravest disappointments. I propose, therefore, to analyse the situation with perfect frankness.

Already we have seen that the *Bloc des Gauches* is inclined to create diversions. The Radicals have the reputation—whether deserved or not we need not now examine—of being a party which always produces internal discord. The party has to live down this reputation if it is now to accomplish good work. Everybody will agree that a sound fiscal policy and a sound foreign policy are the two great and indeed vital needs of France. The Radicals, had they begun wisely and well, would have concentrated the whole of their attention on the construction of a better fiscal and a better foreign policy; instead of so doing, they dissipated their energies immediately after the somewhat unexpected result of the election was known. They began a foolish personal quarrel with the President of the Republic, M. Millerand. The quarrel could not end with the resignation of M. Millerand; it will unquestionably be pursued for a long time to come. There will be an "Affaire Millerand" which will divide the country into two camps. Sober newspapers which were by no means hostile to the Radicals have already named the two parties in presence as "Cartellistes" and "Constitutionalistes." I do not think that, whatever may be the merits of the Radical case against M. Millerand, any impartial onlooker can regard the tactics of the Radicals as sagacious. Once more they seem to have justified their reputation of causing social strife. They have

accomplished nothing that is worth while, for it is a matter of no importance who may be the President of the Republic, provided the party in power really possesses a solid majority in the Chamber. The interventions of M. Millerand, which, in my opinion, were mischievous, were only possible in a Parliament friendly towards him. In the present Parliament, if the *Bloc des Gauches* is a reality, M. Millerand would have been impotent. It was not worth while exchanging M. Millerand for M. Doumergue, a Poincarist, thus sustaining a check at the outset.

It must not be forgotten that while in England we have normally a two-party system, and recently have seen the development of a three-party system, in France, as in most of the Continental countries, the group system is normal, and the two or three-party system is altogether abnormal. An attempt has been made to look upon the present French Chamber as abnormal. It is believed by many people to be divided into two parties, with the Communists forming a small group apart. This conception, though superficially it may appear to be correct, is one which is entirely misleading. It is true that to all appearances the victory of the *Bloc National* in the old Chamber was so crushing that one could consider the *Bloc National* to be a homogeneous party with a mixed opposition facing it; but in fact, even when the *Bloc National* was indisputably in power, M. Briand, a man of the Left, formed a government which lasted for a year. Moreover, in every Cabinet which was formed—even the Cabinet of M. Poincaré—there were to be found Radicals and other Ministers who belonged to the Left. In the present Chamber one speaks loosely of the *Bloc des Gauches* as though it were not only a homogeneous majority, but is something tangible which can be accurately marked off on a chart, while the opposition can be just as accurately delimited.

For the moment, this thesis might be sustained, but essentially the present Chamber is a vague collection of various groups which it will be difficult, sooner or later, to place exactly. In other words, although figures can be given which will help us to understand what has happened, these figures must be taken as mere approximations. The real majority cannot be discovered except in action. Theoretically the Left is dominant, but practically it may prove to be by no means as well knit as is now claimed. There are always plenty of people who are ready to run to the assistance of victorious troops. Doubtless the *Bloc des Gauches* can count for some little time on allies who belong to the Centre Right. But the point which must be kept in mind is that the French Parliament is always in a state of flux. There was published, during the election campaign, in one of the French news-

papers, a list of no fewer than fifteen parties which presented themselves at the polls. It was perhaps amusing to note their names—which I have long since forgotten—but one could have mixed up their programmes without even the most careful student of French politics detecting the transposition. On the actual lists which were presented to the electors, these parties were mingled, local circumstances often determining whether a candidate would put his name on the list of the *Bloc des Gauches* or the main opposing list, or whether he would make a third list of his own. Party labels mean very little under the group system. Thus I am personally acquainted with at least one man who went to the polls with the Radicals and who undoubtedly is now in opposition. Since the Radicals and Socialists together are somewhat more numerous in the Chamber, unquestionably most of those who can claim any association with the Radicals and Socialists will claim that association and will swell the majority. But subsequently and gradually the reverse process will set in, and it is by no means impossible that before the year is out the majority will have changed sides owing to fresh combinations, defections, and disputes. In the opinion of many competent observers the present Chamber will eventually find its majority in the Centre and not to the Left.

From a source which is as impartial as may well be when politics are concerned, I receive the following account of the composition of the Chamber—an account which is subject, as I have already stated, to considerable modification. Assuming that there is a durable Radical-Socialist combination, there will be 105 Socialists lending their support to the Government although not participating in the Government, and 39 Republican Socialists and 142 Radicals directly responsible for the Government: this would give a total of 286 for the Government forces. Then there is the *Gauche Démocratique* numbering 76, and the *Républicains de Gauche* numbering 56, a total of 132—groups which, in accordance with circumstances, will support or oppose the Government. The *Entente Républicaine et Démocratique* 116 strong, and the *Droite* 20 strong, will for the most part be in opposition. In addition there are 30 Communists who cannot be placed on one side or the other, since their hand is against everybody. According to these calculations, the real Radical-Socialist majority is 286 as against a potential opposition of 268. This does not, of course, mean that the Radical-Socialist majority will not be much larger on occasion, and indeed the *Temps* has admitted that the Radical-Socialists have a more or less stable preponderance of 30 votes. The Radical-Socialist organs claim that they have a still greater majority, and in practice it will undoubtedly be found that

frequently a Radical Government will secure an overwhelming vote.

But from the same source I receive figures which show that if there were ultimately a Cabinet of Concentration, the Centre parties would unite somewhat as follows: 39 Republican Socialists, 142 Radicals, 76 *Gauche Démocratique*, 56 *Républicains de Gauche*—a Governmental total of 313. The opposition may be taken, in this case, to be composed of 105 Socialists, 20 men of the *Droite*, and, speaking generally, 30 Communists, while the *Entente Républicaine et Démocratique* numbering 116 would chiefly give its support to the Government.

These calculations, which cannot be too reliable, at any rate serve to show that a Radical-Socialist Government will, after the first excitement has worn off, be in a rather precarious position, and that a Cabinet of Concentration is the logical outcome of the elections, though not its immediate outcome. For it must not be forgotten that the so-called *Bloc des Gauches* was constructed with difficulty, and was meant to be a short-lived alliance purely for the purpose of winning seats at the election. The Radicals and the Socialists cannot, it would seem, work together for an indefinite period. They have different ideals. The whole purpose of the Socialists is to fight against what are called the bourgeois parties, and although they now seem to be agreed to depart from their principles so far as to vote for the budget—a great concession for them—they have in solemn congress decided that they cannot allow their members to accept office in a Radical Cabinet. Naturally, the temptation to individual Socialists to accept such office is strong, but as a party the Socialists stand aloof.

The position may be likened, in some respects, to the coalition in practice which for many purposes was effected between the Labour Party and the Liberal Party in the British Parliament. The Labour Party and the Liberal Party are antagonists, but the Liberal Party nevertheless, without sharing any responsibility, has kept the minority Labour Party in power because it suited it to do so. In the same way the Radicals, numbering, with the Republican-Socialists who are indeed their allies, something over 180, form a minority government in the French Chamber. For the time being they can reckon upon the support of the Socialists, and they can also reckon upon the support which will be forthcoming from the groups on their right. What many of the political prophets imagine will occur is an eventual displacement of the centre of gravity—so that, as the Radicals lose Socialist support, they will gain the support of the more moderate elements of the Chamber. It will, however, be objected that, even though the Radical-Socialist combination breaks down long before the four years which con-

stitute the lifetime of the French Chamber have expired, the country nevertheless has swung to the Left. This is true, but it is true to an astonishingly small degree. Electoral law in France is a parody of Proportional Representation. Its anomalous, not to say monstrous, results should not be employed against the idea of Proportional Representation, for these results come from electoral provisions which are totally opposed to true Proportionalism.

It is a complicated method which gave, four and a half years ago, an entirely false representation to the *Bloc National*. The statistics show that in 1919 the *Bloc National* obtained 31,784,039 votes while the Radical and Socialist lists obtained 27,047,051 votes. Therefore the predominance of the *Bloc National* in the Chamber was largely unjustified. But this year the *Bloc National* obtained 30,419,847 votes; the *Bloc des Gauches* and the separate Radical and Socialist lists—dissident or independent—obtained a total of 28,139,831 votes. The Left parties have therefore gained something over a million votes, and the *Bloc National* has lost something over 1,300,000 votes. Thus the gain on the Left is one-thirtieth and the loss on the Right is also about one-thirtieth. But while the *Bloc National* in 1919 obtained 356 seats, in 1924 the *Bloc National* obtained 247 seats—it lost 109 seats, or, allowing for the reduction in the number of deputies, one-third of the seats which it formerly held. In 1919 the parties of the Left had 170 seats; in 1924 they have (to stick to the figures already given) 286 seats—they have gained greatly. It suffices, therefore, for a small displacement of votes in the country to produce a formidable displacement of seats.

If the system were frankly the single-seat majority system, one could not express any surprise, for it is well known that it does not require more than an apparently insignificant swing of the pendulum to change completely the complexion of a parliament. But the French system—which is the list system applied to large areas—pretends to be an advance towards Proportionalism, and it is therefore condemned by these figures. It is not necessary to go deeply into the computations, ingenious and purely academic, that have been made; but one may perhaps say that, according to the Proportionalists, the Socialists and Radicals should have nearly fifty seats fewer than they have actually obtained. The *Bloc National* should have, it is asserted, 269 seats and the *Bloc des Gauches* 217. It is true that, on the other hand, the Communists would under real Proportional Representation have obtained thirty more seats than they are now credited with, but it is clear that the *Bloc des Gauches* could not have annexed the Communist deputies in order to obtain the majority.

It will not be supposed for a moment that my intention is to criticise the French electoral methods, or to express any regret that

the result of the elections is what it is. I merely desire to examine the facts of the matter and to suggest that it would be an error to look for too extensive changes in foreign policy. In the first place, even if the *Bloc des Gauches* holds together for a while, it is opposed by a Bloc which is not greatly inferior in numbers even on paper, and in the second place, there is no evidence that in the country there is a complete repudiation of the foreign policy of M. Poincaré. The French respond to any appeal to patriotism; the moment that chord is touched there will be plenty of Radicals who will protest against concessions to Germany. M. Poincaré, with whom I was privileged to discuss the future policy of France, is genuinely convinced that although the tone will change—and, in his opinion, will properly change, for we have reached a new stage in our dealings with Germany—the essentials of his policy will remain untouched. But M. Poincaré is obviously a biased witness. Let us take then M. Herriot, with whom I have discussed his programme. He, too, though desirous of coming to an agreement with Germany, is by no means disposed to sacrifice French interests. It would be too much to expect him to give up French claims, or to persist in showing goodwill towards Germany unless Germany shows goodwill towards France and an unmistakable intention of fulfilling her obligations. Generous generalities in themselves must be taken for what they are worth. They will certainly help; a better atmosphere will be created; the democratic elements in Germany will, it is hoped, be rallied; but it must not be forgotten that there is much that has happened during the last two months in Germany which makes it extremely difficult for any French Radical—who is as much a patriot as the men of the *Bloc National*, and has, moreover, special reasons for placing himself above suspicion—to behave otherwise than cautiously and with a full sense of the danger of German disloyalty.

Moreover, as I see it, there is likely to be far more attention paid to domestic affairs than has been the case since the war. M. Poincaré, whether his conduct of foreign affairs was bad or good, at any rate concentrated the whole of his attention on foreign affairs, and kept the attention of the country and of Parliament fixed on foreign affairs. Now the Radicals, if they are to work with the Socialists, cannot concentrate, it would seem, so much on the matters which deeply concern the world. There will be a tendency to fight on the domestic battlefield. The programme which M. Herriot communicated to the Socialists raises many questions which are, from our point of view, of secondary importance. There will, for example, be a general amnesty, and the railway workers who were dismissed in large numbers during the strike of 1920 will be reinstated. The decree-laws, as they were called, will be

abolished; the match monopoly will be re-established; the Radicals will revive the ancient quarrel with the Vatican, and will recall the ambassador; the law on the congregations will be strictly applied, and the anti-clerical movement, which had been almost forgotten, will have a new lease of life.

Obviously these measures cannot be taken without arousing great opposition and much bitterness on both sides. Another grave contention will be that which concerns the reduction of military service. Extremely difficult problems arise in the fiscal domain. Apparently it is the intention of the Radicals to proceed to a rigorous inventory of the financial situation which has been bequeathed to them. There is much criticism of the credits which were obtained in America and in England for the support of the franc. It was understood in the country that the *Bloc des Gauches* would relieve the poorer classes of the relatively heavy taxation which has been imposed upon them, and although some of the hopes which were raised will be disappointed, something which will be described as class legislation will be applied in budgetary matters. There is here again a fruitful source of dispute. An extension of direct taxation is not possible in France without considerable trouble. Again in the schools, the recent insistence on Latin and Greek by the decree of M. Léon Bérard will no longer hold good. All kinds of social laws are promised and administrative reforms are to be undertaken.

If anything like this programme is to be executed we may expect foreign affairs to be treated as subsidiary. But the greatest indication of the peril from a European point of view, is to be seen in the attack to which I have already referred on M. Millerand. It began suddenly in the Radical and Socialist Press. The Radical and Socialist Press, it should be explained, consists of a few journals of opinion as distinct from journals of information. They are essentially propagandist organs giving little general news. The *Quotidien* began the campaign, which rapidly grew irresistible. There seemed to be a desire to obtain scalps in order to demonstrate that the Radicals had really won. M. Herriot himself, who is cultured and charming man, is perhaps lacking a little in the stuff of which leaders are made. He saw the perturbation which would be produced, and he was by no means favourable to beginning his career in an atmosphere of turmoil. It would have been far better had the Radical Party set to work soberly; but M. Herriot did not check the agitation soon enough and, pushed by the Socialists and by the Communists, a movement—which many people regard as an anti-constitutional movement—reached a point at which the Radical Party had either to suffer a humiliating reverse or M. Millerand, the President of the Republic, had to quit the Elysées.

A more moderate use of victory would have been wiser, but

the excitement of their triumph the *Bloc des Gauches* threw discretion to the winds, and for a fortnight we lived in an uncomfortable atmosphere in which almost anything might have happened. There were the wildest stories of *coups d'état* being prepared. Happily they proved to be unfounded, but I cannot help thinking that this was a bad beginning. Had M. Herriot been stronger he would have declared to his party that his hands should be left quite free. It would have sufficed had he accepted office from M. Millerand after laying down definitely and solemnly his conditions.

M. Millerand's offence is that he delivered a speech in favour of the *Bloc National* and did not conceal his hope that the *Bloc National* would win. He even made a sort of threat that he would resign were the *Bloc des Gauches* to be successful. This was undoubtedly indiscreet; but the alternative should have been given to him, as it was given to Marshal MacMahon, to submit to the changed conditions or to resign. He was not, however, given the choice, and although he did, in fact, submit and called upon the Left to govern, and accepted the programme presented to him by M. Herriot, a strike of Ministers was nevertheless organised and M. Millerand was placed in an impossible position. It all appeared so futile, and whatever view one takes of the constitution, the *Bloc des Gauches* undoubtedly proceeded to extremes.

The truth is that the Presidential crisis served to demonstrate the character of the "unholy alliance" of Radicals and Socialists. The vote in the Chamber did not, as was pretended, prove the unity of the two parties which constitute the *Bloc des Gauches*, but their fear of falling asunder. Had they begun their task in the new Parliament quietly, they would have risked the discovery that they were not in harmony on an unaggressive positive policy. On a destructive policy, which would raise plenty of popular excitement, which would make a demagogic appeal, they could perhaps hold together and act in unison. Although the Presidential issue was never before the country but was manufactured on May 12th, the Radicals dared not revolt against any excesses of the Socialists. Had they asserted their independence, had they refused to march against the Elysée, ~~there~~ would, at the outset, have been publicly a split. But how long will the moderate Radicals allow themselves to be pushed by the Socialists? When they call a halt must not the two wings of the *Bloc des Gauches* separate? It may well be that the Millerand incident, which was needed to consolidate the *Bloc des Gauches* in Parliament, will in the end divide it. Many consciences are troubled. The *régime* cannot bear many more shocks. There have now been twelve Presidents of the Third Republic. Six have resigned, one has been assassinated, and another has died in mysterious circumstances. The clamour against Millerand was

altogether out of proportion to his offence, and, moreover, France could not afford to indulge in the very appearance of irregularities at this grave moment of her history. Much more will be heard of the quarrel: there must be reprisals, and the Presidency must be regarded as a perilous post at the mercy of political fluctuations.

The world cannot look on indifferently at the conduct even of French domestic policy, for upheavals in France cannot but delay the solution of the greater problems. They have, in fact, already caused much delay, and the political warfare of the bitterest character that has begun will probably continue to the detriment of Europe. Still it is to be hoped that in view of other more favourable circumstances a better understanding will in the coming weeks be reached between France and England than has been possible in the past. It is to be hoped that the Dawes Report will be put into application and that Germany will, on her side, take up a more reasonable attitude. It is to be hoped that the French will agree to the immediate reduction of the military occupation of the Ruhr, and will agree to the restoration of the economic unity of the Reich. There is a prospect, too, that the problem of security will be submitted to the League of Nations this year, and that a scheme satisfactory to both France and Germany will be evolved. When the Inter-Allied inquiry into the present condition of German armaments is concluded—for all countries are of one mind that Germany must not be allowed to become again a menace to the peace of Europe—then the League of Nations should be charged with the surveillance of Germany. I believe that it will be possible to induce France in her turn to cut down her army, but I am not persuaded that a pact of mutual guarantee modelled upon that which has been put forward by Viscount Cecil can yet be accepted all round.

It is necessary therefore in conclusion to declare that France cannot afford to lose any time or any opportunities, and that if there are now further diversions instead of the most serious and sincere tackling of the problems which have distressed Europe, the fate of France will be decided in an adverse sense. It would be impossible for me to exaggerate, for example, the serious position in which France finds herself financially, and if the new French Chamber once creates the impression that it merely means to wreak personal and political vengeance, there will be a strong reaction against the Radical Government which the world is prepared to welcome as a hopeful sign that sanity has at last returned, and that order will be substituted for chaos, and that peace will be substituted for war.

SISLEY HUDDLESTON.

MR. WHEATLEY'S HOUSING SCHEME.

MR. WHEATLEY'S scheme for building houses for the poor came with all the force of a surprise to those who had not studied negotiations and previously published documents. The boldness of it—in face of a perilous problem—attracted the more adventurous. The Labour newspapers, baffled again and again with almost pitiful compromise in other “reforms,” hailed it with very great delight. The cleverness of the Minister of Health—universally popular in the House of Commons—in glozing over the weaker and more doubtful elements, in demonstrating the magnitude of the need and the measures taken to meet the need—even in economic “arguments,” and statistics which staggered his audience into amazement—at first swept everything before it. Subsequently a colder reason has crept in. The men who know the facts—Mr. Neville Chamberlain for Birmingham, Mr. E. D. Simon for Manchester, Mr. Henry Vivian, who has built cottage houses for twenty years, and others—were found to be strongly critical. Economics rallied against their banishment to limbo. Something indeed must come out of all this confusion. What elements will survive remains at present conjectural.

The genesis of the scheme may be found in the Report by the National House Building Committee (Cmd. 2104) published on the 10th of April last. Its completion is embodied in the letter written by Mr. Wheatley to the representatives of the Local Authorities, after a Conference with them, in which he met their criticisms and “squared” their opposition. He asks the united body of Employers and Operators in the Building Trade to give him a programme of cottage building over a term of years. In return for that promise he offers a “continuous” programme which shall employ both masters and men for fifteen years of assured employment. He asks the makers of building materials to provide these without raising prices above those prevailing last January. And to these he offers the “bribe” of an immense and continuous demand, and a “threat” of drastic action against profiteering. He asks the local authorities, in town and country, to undertake the provision of houses to let (not to sell) for the very poorest of the community. To these he offers the “bribe” of a Government grant of £9 a year for forty years, (£12. 10s. a year in agricultural districts); and suggests that these authorities should also contribute £4. 10s. a year in aid of rents. The houses are to be let at rents “that would be payable if let at the appropriate normal rents” in respect of working-class houses built before the war,

and now under rent-control. If the Local Authorities can build the houses cheaper and still let them at these rents, they can save all or any of their own £4. 10s. subsidy. If, with that subsidy added to the State subsidy they cannot let the houses at these rents, then the rents are to be raised to prevent further liability. If the Local Authorities find they cannot get the houses built under this system, owing to lack of labour or rise in costs, they are permitted to break their obligations at periods of three successive years. Challenged to reconcile this power of ceasing a programme with the promise to the builders of a continuous programme, the Minister of Health could only reply that he retained the power (in the Act of 1919) of stepping in and building over the head of the reluctant municipality, and building at its cost. All these houses are to be strictly limited as to size (less than 950 feet super of contained area as in the Chamberlain Act of last year) and all are to contain not only a bath but a bathroom. By 1939 Mr. Wheatley hopes, with 2½ million of these little cottages scattered through city and countryside, to see of the travail of his soul and to be satisfied.

How is the money to be obtained for this big programme?

How are the houses to be built?

What will be the effect of their building upon efforts of private builders—perhaps to provide larger houses—outside the scheme?

Cash will be required to pay for builders, and for labour, and for land, and for materials of building. That capital cost will not be provided out of the Exchequer. No heroic effort of taxation will be laid upon the present taxpayers: or rates, upon the present ratepayers. Nor is there any suggestion of a National Housing Loan, comparable with the War Loans of the past. Each Local Authority will borrow the money required for its own needs, how and where and when it can: or borrow from the Public Works Loan Commissioners. The security, as in all municipal borrowing, will be the total capital value of the city concerned in it. That capital value (it is assumed) will be increased by the addition of these excellent little houses: and the revenue of the city will be supplemented (as against the yearly interest and sinking fund of the loan) by (a) the net rents (after paying repairs, &c.) of the new cottages; (b) £9 a year for 40 years given in respect of each house by the general taxpayer; and (c) the amount of rates which will be levied on each house, which in many cases will equal the amount of the £4. 10s. subsidy guaranteed to build them.

By this ingenious system there is assumed the agreement of the Chancellor of the Exchequer, who in this generation will only have small sums to find, as each house is completed: whose

contribution (from his annual Budget) will rise in the twenty years of 1940-1960 only to some 23 millions a year as a maximum even if all the houses projected are built; and will practically disappear about 1980, simultaneously with the disappearance of the municipal contributions. At that delectable period the Local Authorities will then be owning, without cost except for repair—all that remains of 2½ millions of little cottages with bathrooms, the oldest of which will be fifty-five, the youngest but forty years of age.

Criticism refuses to be stifled. There is something of the nature of a gamble in all this. How far will the competition of all the Local Authorities at once for immense loans send up the rate of interest or even reduce the amount of capital available for this particular type of enterprise? The "Financiers" as Mr. Wheatley quaintly calls them, in his absurd attack on those who provide cash, are largely the inhabitants of the cities—rich, moderately wealthy, the poor. Philanthropic persons provide the money required for public utility societies, with a limited rate of interest: and these also (one is glad to know) will receive the full Wheatley subsidy, if they accept the full Wheatley conditions—as to size and prohibition of selling &c. But if we are to open up Russia and half the world, support a vast German international loan to pay for reparations, supply the increasing demands of our Colonies and Dominions, and continue to meet the American tribute, it is difficult to see how the price of money can be kept down. An increase of say one per cent. in a forty years' loan means an enormous increase in the cost of the house. And even a Labour Government which contains many Socialists cannot yet embark on the expedient of a compulsory Housing Loan, at fixed low interest, or no interest at all.

Other doubts arise. Are we not too anxious to "stereotype" a litter of small houses—brick boxes with limited dimensions? Houses not much smaller were denounced by Mr. Wheatley himself last year as "shocking" to Mr. Neville Chamberlain's "own supporters": emanating from "men who believe in their souls that Britain is a spent force" and that these are but ante-chambers to the Antipodes. Financial calculations assume that these 2½ millions will be continually tenanted for forty years after construction. What if private builders, under the old subsidy (£6 a year for twenty years) build more attractive mansions? What if the very arts of building construction change, and our posterity find themselves able to build with new material at half the price: while still being landed with a yearly subsidy for these unwanted anachronisms? How, if the population continues to exhibit a rapidly falling birth rate, with the result after a time

of the census revealing no increase or rather (as in France to-day) a decline? And, above all, what of the changes of population to which all reformers are ardently looking, when the very impossibility of the great towns will force out the people into garden suburbs or garden cities, and electric power, carried along new arterial roads, will create new centres of industry in what is now rural England? The Garden City Association is in despair at the limitation of the size of the "subsidised" house. It cannot compete, without the subsidy, with the offer to tenants who are living with a substantial proportion of their rents to be paid for by sums extorted from the whole community. But the money-resolution upon which Mr. Wheatley's Housing Bill is founded has been so carefully drawn that it is impossible for the House of Commons (even if overwhelmingly anxious to do so) to grant the subsidy to anything but these enlarged cubicles. We are standardising a small type of house, for a class of parasite tenants, for the greater remaining part of the twentieth century.

How are the Houses to be built?

They are to be built under the general direction of the "Building Committee" of masters and men, who will try to build the whole specified number, and have "guaranteed" to produce two-thirds of those set out as completed year by year through all the fifteen years. This "Building Committee" was to be a statutory body with definite powers delegated to it by the State. That idea has been abandoned. But Mr. Wheatley still looks for it to supply the labour to perform its share of the bargain. The "guarantee," however, is but a promise, and nothing more. There are no penalties in it, save the possibility of breaking, after any three-year period, the "continuous programme." It asks for large powers, and seemingly proposes to enforce them, with severe penalties for their violation, which apparently have the approval of the Ministry of Health. Although it cannot be altogether fairly called a "Trust," yet it comes very near that description: for it proposes to squeeze within its ambit (by denial of labour) all cottage building, and to "discipline" those who will not accept its conditions. It has supplied mysterious figures to the Minister of Labour of the price it proposes to charge the Local Authorities, for a standard type of cottage, which, at the time of writing have not yet been revealed. But the powers it proposes to enforce include the "rationing" of the Local Authorities with labour: the standardisation of wages in the industry: the prevention or restriction of labour from moving from one district to another (a provision happily reminiscent of the Statutes of Labourers of Richard II): an augmentation of apprentices to one per three craftsmen, all of whom are to be under twenty and none

of whom are to be craftsmen until four years' service, with (in exceptional cases) three: with (in a vague and ambiguous phrase) "special consideration to applicants who have had previous experience of the trade (e.g., building trade labourer)."

This may mean anything or nothing. It is not suggested that ex-Service men or skilled engineers or shipbuilders should be trained as craftsmen in bricklaying, masonry or other essential key occupations. Nor is it suggested what would happen if any Local Authority embarked on a scheme which used non-Trade Union labour. Nor is it suggested that these skilled men (of which there is so woeful a deficiency) should work longer hours in such a present crisis, for additional wages at overtime rates: or work harder, during their 44 hour week. (The time limit given represents something less than 300 bricks a day!) Nor is it suggested that they should be persuaded to acquiesce in such supplementary efforts as, e.g. the building of concrete houses largely by unskilled labour, which was forbidden by the bricklayers of Birmingham, although every available bricklayer was fully employed in brick building. All such ideas are summarised by Mr. Wheatley as "fighting the Unions," "Mussolinis," "demanding dilution," with the desire not to build houses but to make slaves."

Nor is it suggested what should be regarded as a reasonable profit by the builders themselves, although these must vary with the skill and efficiency of each employer. By the operations of kindness, the banishment of bonuses and payment by results, and the permanent exclusion from this "protected trade" of all ex-soldiers and all the skilled unemployed over twenty, the Government hope to be supplied by the Building Committee with houses at the following rates:—

		NO. OF HOUSES.		COST TO STATE. (Nearest round figures.)		COST TO LOCAL AUTHORITIES.
1925	...	90,000	...	1,000,000	...	500,000
1926	...	100,000	...	2,000,000	...	900,000
1927	...	110,000	...	2,800,000	...	1,300,000
1928	...	120,000	...	3,800,000	...	1,800,000
1929	...	135,000	...	5,000,000	...	2,500,000
1930	...	150,000	...	6,000,000	...	3,000,000

And so on until in 1939 (the last year) 225,000 houses will be completed (or in this and in each former case the two-thirds "guarantee") at a cost of the total of 22½ millions a year from the taxes and nearly 11 millions from the rates.

But it cannot be too sufficiently emphasised that harder work means cheaper houses: that the training of other skilled Trade

Unionists to these crafts means quicker houses: and that both these desirable results can be obtained without any reduction of the wages of the workers, and with a guarantee of fifteen years employment—a boon enjoyed by no other trade. Mr. E. D. Simon, the late Chairman of the Manchester Housing Committee, provided Parliament with some startling testimonies concerning possible variations in output. One contractor stated that the allowance of 280 bricks a day was far too low and that cottage building ought to be done at the rate of 500 bricks a day. He believed that payment by results might increase this to 600 a day. In the direct employment by the Council itself, improvement had advanced from 300 a day in 1920 to between 500 and 600 in 1922. A speculative builder who had built more houses than any other of his kind in Manchester boldly declared that the rate of output averaged 800 to 1,000 bricks a day (in a 10-hour day) before the war: and that he had known many men on cottage building "to well and truly lay an average of from 1,000 to 1,250 bricks in a 10-hour-working day." In a fourth case a large contractor, before starting payment by results, could only get an average of 300 bricks a day: afterwards, under the new system, the job was finished at the rate of 1,200 bricks a day. There is no reason why such a system could not be applied to Housing Schemes!

Such figures are not conclusive. But they are suggestive. Suggestive also is the immense pre-war variation between the profits and success of builder and builder—some employers rising from small beginnings to great positions, numbers of others passing through inadequate life into successive bankruptcies. The effort now to be made is to "stabilise" everything: output, profit, wages, labour supply. It is not a competitive method. It is not a good method if effected by a Trust competing amongst all who demand houses and pay for them. As a method of dealing with an urgent Housing demand with a great State subsidy behind it, it may easily produce disastrous results.

What will be the effect of the building of these subsidised houses on other house-building outside?

And here we come to the centre point of the whole problem—on the solution of which the scheme will be judged and approved or condemned. At present *all the building is being done that can be done with the labour available*: and the overwhelming bulk of it is being done for working-class or small middle-class houses. Schemes in large and populous cities have to be held up because there is absolutely no registered unemployed labour among bricklayers, masons, and plasterers in them. Mr. Wheatley requires 200,000 new houses a year to catch up the war and post-war shortage, to supply the rural districts where no new building has

been done for a generation, to meet the natural increase of population, and to destroy the slum and remove overcrowding by the least expensive method—that of offering alternative accommodation outside. But his scheme does not profess to supply two hundred thousand new houses a year. Not until ten years have passed, will it reach that figure, even if the full number (and not the “guaranteed” two-thirds) is provided. Does he look for the balance to private enterprise, or to “building to sell” under the Chamberlain scheme? But private enterprise and “building to sell” will be competing for the services of the limited number of bricklayers, masons, and carpenters, who are also wanted for his “subsidised” houses. Either they will succeed by higher wages or greater efficiency in obtaining this supply, in which case his scheme will fail: or they will find their labour sucked away from them, in which case more and more of the people, at greater and greater expense to the community, will be living in “tied” subsidised, municipal houses, instead of living as free men outside. Everything comes back to greater efficiency and celerity of work, or greatly augmented supply of trained labour: and neither is adequately guaranteed under this scheme.

For Mr. Wheatley is supplying two “bribes” and neither is necessary to the other. On the one hand is the fifteen years’ continuous programme, which he designs as a means both to attract apprentices into the building industry, and also to remedy “ca-canny” by the removal of the fear of unemployment. The other is the increase (considerably more than the doubling) of the old “Chamberlain” subsidy. But he does not wish that increase of public money to be diverted into higher wages for employed, higher profits for employer, the building of larger houses (which, indeed, he forbids), or higher price for materials (which he proposes to prohibit under heavy penalty). He wishes all this enormous increase to be provided in order that he may let houses to the poorest substantially at less than economic rents. The artisan who has built his own house and now owns it (through building society or otherwise) will in future be paying interest on that house, and also a substantial annual tribute, through rates and taxes, to the artisan who is living at a subsidised rent as a tenant of the Local Authority. Is there any need for this gigantic inequality? Has house building stopped for lack of money or energy? On the contrary, it is still continuing, and only slowing down through lack of labour. Manchester, like most other great cities, can build with seemingly a limitless demand for houses which are almost fought for by a long waiting list, occupied as soon as completed by tenants who are glad to pay the rents without the increased subsidy, 96 per cent. of whom belong to the “working classes.” It is true these

are not the “very poor.” But it is difficult to see why the “very poor” should be subsidised at the expense of the poor.

What the country wants is new houses: not new subsidised “poor men’s” houses. For every new house built and let or sold vacates house or accommodation which forthwith becomes available for other occupants, now with “no room to live.” By such methods of making supply overtake demand you are carrying out the method which has served well for centuries, and transformed urban England from the gigantic slum of the ‘thirties and ‘forties to the comparatively comfortable condition immediately preceding the war: where the slum had been isolated, and was in part becoming destroyed. This policy was denounced in the Housing Debate by Labour interrupters as providing only “second-hand” houses for the very poor. But it is better to live in a second-hand house than in a subsidised house. And, indeed, all classes are living in second-hand houses, as the artisan occupies the villa and the villa-dweller the suburban residence and the suburban successful pass upward into flats cut out of the bowels of the mansions of the great.

As soon as you increase the supply, of any kind, you “break the ring” caused by the present congestion. Once the ring is broken, you can decontrol rents by providing a natural alternative accommodation. If that can be done by supplying cheap capital and credit, cheap material, and a more abundant supply of trained and skilled labour to private and municipal enterprise alike, you have furnished a more cheerful vision of the future than that of some twelve millions of our working people living in houses whose rents other people are helping to pay for: a subsidy which, unless all economic law be baseless, must inevitably result not in greater comfort, but in a lessening of wages amongst the very class which all parties are anxious to assist: the class, indeed, whose redemption Parliament should desire beyond all other things.

CHARLES F. G. MASTERMAN.

THE RESCUE OF HUNGARY.*

SINCE Mr. George Glasgow dealt so austere-ly with Hungary in the CONTEMPORARY for March, much water has flowed along the Danube. As I look out on that old river from my windows in Budapest or travel for hundreds of miles along its banks, the immutability of its broad and rapid current never fails to bring by contrast to my mind the fallibility of the Peace Conference. Europe was to be made so wonderfully "safe for democracy," and the Danube was to become the great, free, internationalised water highway. The Danube has never been less international and less free than it is to-day. And in its muddy bed I fancy the Danube laughs ironically.

In no country through which the Danube flows has the aftermath of Peace been so disconcerting and of such tragic variety as in Hungary. In quick succession there occurred a revolution, the creation of a Republic, violent Bolshevism, occupation of the country by the Roumanian Army, the formation of a Regency, and terroristic vengeance upon Bolsheviks and their sympathisers, to say nothing of two futile but disturbing attempts of an exiled King to regain his throne. Despite the fact that 72 per cent. of her former territory had been taken from her and that she was left with a population of less than eight millions and an army restricted to 35,000, Hungary in 1920 was considered still so much of a menace as to be the primary justification for an armed alliance between three European Powers whose combined war strength is about a million men and who have a man-power available in war-time of, roughly, four millions. It does not seem to be generally understood that Article 1 of this Alliance, known as the Little Entente, is a military combination against Hungary—defensive, of course, just as all alliances must be in these piping days of peace.

The latest development in this Peace aftermath is perhaps even more remarkable than those which preceded it. In May of last year, faced with all the economic and financial evils of a depreciating currency and unable without external assistance to avert the inevitable catastrophic results, the Hungarian Government appealed to the Reparation Commission for permission to obtain from the League of Nations assistance similar to that given to Austria. It was not until September, however, that Hungary was able to put her case with any hope of success before the League. The Little Entente members of the League, not unnaturally, in view of their armed alliance against Hungary, then refused to agree to any League plan until they had obtained from Hungary

a satisfactory settlement of all outstanding differences. To the astonishment of a cynical world all those differences were settled, the Little Entente signed the Protocol agreeing to the reconstruction plan, gave it their hearty support and are now apparently searching for some new basis whereby the first article of their pact may be brought more into conformity with a situation so changed as to enable them to settle all their grievances with the country against which they were bound in military alliance. Hungary, meantime, had agreed to pay an annual average sum not exceeding ten million gold crowns for twenty years which the Reparation Commission imposed on account of all Treaty charges. She had also complied with the stringent demands for increased taxation and decreased expenditure drawn up by the League's Finance Committee, and had raised, in spite of her reduced resources two relatively large internal loans, besides finding within Hungary the capital for a new Bank of Issue independent of the Government. That done, this "chauvinistic, intransigent" Hungary welcomed the League's Commissioner General, Mr. Jeremiah Smith, an American, and placed under his control all her principal revenues. By the time this article appears in print I trust that the last step in the reconstruction plan will have been taken and that the foreign loan for Hungary will have proved just as successful as the loan previously raised for Austria.

The foregoing is, I fear, a poor attempt to present in "potted" form the adventures of Hungary since November, 1918. It may, however, suggest the rapidity with which events followed each other during those five and a half years. It is this film-like rapidity and these vivid contrasts that make it so hard for those outside Hungary to understand exactly what happened or is happening inside Hungary; hence, in great measure, the extraordinarily sharp differences of opinion both as to facts and deductions from them which one finds amongst those in England who are interested in Hungarian affairs. Mr. Glasgow, for instance, in March was convinced that the greatest evil of the League scheme was that it would give a new lease of life to Count Bethlen and his *régime*, which he described as "the most reactionary, most oppressive, most unpeaceful Government in Europe." On the other hand, practically all the diplomatic representatives of Foreign Powers in Budapest and the unbiased representatives of the League, including men of affairs well known throughout Europe, who have recently visited Hungary, consider the weakest point of the League scheme to be that it depends for success to so great an extent upon Count Bethlen remaining in power and in health. I confess, unashamedly, after sixteen months of close

* Mr. Glasgow comments on Sir William Goode's article on page 101.

observation on the spot, that I share the latter view. Not a few Hungarian politicians who oppose Count Bethlen and were reluctant to accept the League scheme, frankly said that if the scheme had to be put into operation Bethlen was the only man in Hungary who could carry it through.

It must be remembered that in the present Hungarian National Assembly there are eleven distinct groups or parties, of which three, constituting a majority of about 50 per cent., usually support and eight usually oppose the Bethlen Government. In any country where the group system prevails and where in order to avoid collapse a plan of economic and financial reconstruction, of League or other origin, has to be put into execution, it is vital to success, at any rate in the initial stages, that there shall be one man who can rely upon commanding a Parliamentary majority. After five and a half years of trying to help in tidying up various European countries I admit that, under the foregoing conditions, rather than put into power the ideal type of able and moderate politician who was *not* certain of his Parliamentary majority, I would support either a violent reactionary or extreme Leftist who could count on the backing of the existing Parliament. I suppose I shall be hauled over the coals for saying this, but it is the conclusion I have reached after practical experience of a rather unusual kind. "Violent reactionary" does not, of course, in my view apply to Count Bethlen and his Government. Even the youngest critic with lips still wet with the pap of political economy can discover and disclose without troubling to leave England many faults in the Bethlen or any other Central European Government. But it is surely obvious exaggeration or manifest prejudice to describe in terms such as the "most disturbing factor of Europe" a Prime Minister like Count Bethlen who within the last few months has successfully settled all outstanding differences with those Powers who were the bitterest enemies of his country.

Much of the published criticism of Hungary and its present Government has undoubtedly been stimulated or inspired by Hungarian *émigrés* who in London, Paris, Vienna, and other capitals plot and plan for the restoration of the short-lived Republic which they formed in 1918—a Republic, by the way, that never obtained by election or plebiscite a mandate from the people and whose so-called democratic career was ended after five months by the country being plunged into murderous Bolshevism. Although the status of those who constantly decry and abuse their own country in front of foreigners is always somewhat equivocal, especially if their country is in distress, one can understand the feelings of these *émigrés* who, being considered revolutionaries, are not allowed to return to Hungary and there agitate for a Republic. On the other

hand, it does not in the least follow that we should regard these *émigrés* as being any more hardly used than English communists whom we would prohibit from demonstrating before Buckingham Palace for the deposition of the King. Still less is it incumbent to accept at face value all the statements made by the *émigrés* as to what happens in a country they cannot visit. The imagination of these Hungarian *émigrés*, as *The Times* recently said, "is exceedingly lively." Some of their versions of facts fundamentally affecting the political good faith and intentions of Hungary *vis-à-vis* the Allies have, for lack of denial, become so generally accepted as to find repetition even in the CONTEMPORARY. In consequence, it seems necessary to deal in detail with some more important matters of fact, a correct understanding of which is essential to the formation of any impartial judgment upon Hungary's political actions.

The most widely circulated allegation is that the curtailment of the Hungarian franchise in 1922 as compared with the franchise of 1920 and the restriction of the secret ballot to the town constituencies constituted a breach of the undertakings given to Sir George Clerk in November, 1919, when, on behalf of the Allies, he recognised the then Hungarian *régime*. I was in Budapest when Sir George Clerk was there and have recently refreshed my memory by conversations with those who conducted the negotiations, as well as by careful re-examination of the official documents and correspondence. These investigations establish beyond all doubt that the negotiations conducted by Sir George Clerk were only *ad hoc* and related solely to the formation of a provisional *de facto* administration in Hungary with which the Allies could negotiate a Treaty of Peace. The idea that the *ad hoc* pledges as to universal suffrage and secret ballot given by Hungary in November, 1919, should be binding after the signing of the Treaty of Trianon, which occurred on June 4th, 1920, never entered the heads of those who conducted the negotiations on behalf of the Allies. That I can state definitely and with official authority. There is, of course, no stipulation whatever in the Treaty of Trianon regarding franchise or secret ballot, and, as the Allied Governments now agree, no charge of bad faith can be made against Hungary in this connection.

Dealing with this franchise question Mr. Glasgow, however, dug a little deeper and produced evidence which, if substantiated, would have made it appear that by their action in 1922 in relation to the franchise the Hungarian Government not only broke the pledges given to Sir George Clerk in 1919 but also contravened their own Statutes. In support of the latter contention he cited the Law (Number One) which was passed in 1920 by the National Assembly. This recognised the validity of the Decree granting universal suffrage and secret ballot, but gave the Cabinet and National

Assembly power either to repeal or to modify it as might be necessary. Then, as if to clinch Hungarian illegality, Mr. Glasgow quoted from paragraph 13 of the same Law the following:—

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 Assembly. In case, however, this new law be not yet passed at the time of the dissolution, the elections shall take place on the basis of the franchise by which the present National Assembly was elected.

Then he added:—

That clearly committed Count Bethlen to a proper course of action. Blandly enough, however, he proceeded to issue a decree which abolished the secret voting in all country constituencies and reduced the electoral roll by nearly one-third.

From the foregoing it would certainly appear that in substituting by decree and without the consent of the National Assembly a franchise different from that of 1920 the Hungarian Government in 1922 acted contrary to the laws of the country and that the ensuing elections, which gave the present Government their mandate, were of doubtful validity. If Mr. Glasgow, however, had had before him the complete text of Law Number One of 1920 he would have at once noticed that Paragraph 13 is purposely put under Chapter II., which is headed "The Powers of the Regent." Further, he would have seen from the sentence immediately preceding the extract which he quoted from Paragraph 13 that the "dissolution" there referred to is arbitrary dissolution by the Regent. The words immediately preceding Mr. Glasgow's quotation from Paragraph 13 are as follows:—

The Governor (Regent) may not adjourn the National Assembly and may not exercise in respect of the National Assembly the right of dissolving Parliament comprised in the royal power unless the National Assembly despite a message sent by the Governor (Regent) has proved continuously unable to do its work and the President (Speaker) of the National Assembly is incapable even by availing himself of the rights ensured him by the Standing Orders of restoring its efficiency.

The Regent exercised none of these powers, for the very good reason that the National Assembly in 1922 was not *dissolved*. It automatically ceased to exist upon the expiration of the two years' term for which it was elected. It is therefore quite clear that Paragraph 13, defining what should be done regarding an election in case the Regent arbitrarily dissolved the Assembly, can have no application whatever to the case in point.

The facts are:—

1. On January 24th, 1922, that is about a month before it expired, the National Assembly specifically refused by vote to

extend the formula in Paragraph 13 so as to make the 1920 franchise apply not only to elections held in the event of dissolution by the Regent but also to elections held in the event of the Assembly automatically expiring before a new Franchise Law had been passed.

2. The National Assembly did in fact reach the end of its allotted Parliamentary life in 1922, after the clock had been put back an hour in hope of agreement, without passing the new Franchise Bill which had been introduced by the Government. The Government had an overwhelming majority, but as there is no closure in Hungarian Parliamentary procedure they were prevented by obstruction from forcing their measure to a division.

3. The Government were thus confronted with the necessity of arranging for a General Election but without any directions from Parliament as to the franchise on which it should be conducted, except the negative vote of January 24th which, in effect, prohibited them, even had they so desired, from adopting the franchise of 1920 with its universal suffrage and secret ballot.

4. A Committee composed of High Court Judges, Jurists, and others was convoked by the Regent to find a solution of this constitutional dilemma.

5. On the authority of this Committee, not "blandly" or casually, as Mr. Glasgow imagined, the Government issued an Order in Council giving provisional effect to the Franchise Bill which they had failed to bring to a division, although it had been passed by an elected Committee of the Assembly except as to its clauses regarding secret ballot. These clauses, owing to differences that by no means followed party lines, had been left to the Assembly as a whole, but, as I have explained, the expected decision was not recorded. It was under this Order in Council that the 1922 elections were held.

6. As compared with the 1920 franchise, based on the Clerk Agreement, this 1922 Order in Council reduced the total electorate by 594,700, of which 485,800 were women. Under the 1920 franchise men of twenty-one and women of twenty-four had been entitled to vote. Under the Order of 1922 the voting age for men was raised to twenty-four and for women to thirty. In other words, 81.6 per cent. of the curtailment of the franchise resulted from bringing women's suffrage in Hungary on to the same basis as it is in England.

I do not wish either to criticise or to defend the action of the Hungarian Government in following the example of England with regard to women's votes, in raising the voting age for men to twenty-four, and in restricting the secret ballot to the towns, as it was prior to 1920. Many Hungarians believe that their national

development does not justify too rapid extension of the franchise and that the transition stages should be a little prolonged. They may be right or they may be wrong; but what I particularly want to bring to the attention of English readers is the campaign of deliberate and mischievous distortion so assiduously pursued by the Hungarian *émigrés* and a few other opponents of the present Hungarian Government. Their detailed versions of the negotiations with Sir George Clerk and of the subsequent franchise developments, presented with carefully selected extracts from laws, but without their context, appear so convincing that conscientious English writers, such, for instance, as Mr. Glasgow, naturally do not imagine for a moment that most of the fundamental facts are either omitted, distorted, or even falsified. To detect the misrepresentation one must first know the intricacies of political events which occurred in a foreign country some four or five years ago, and then, in order to expose the fabrication, one must enter into minute details such as I have cited in my explanations regarding the franchise of 1922.

On a par with these allegations regarding the Hungarian franchise are the *émigré* statements as to the results of the elections. Let me quote the following which, I am sure in all innocence, Mr. Glasgow accepted as correct:—

At the elections held in 1922 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 26 Deputies are returned, the Government did not even put up a single candidate, and of the 26 members returned 14 were Socialists pledged to oppose the Government's policy.

The facts are:—

1. In the town constituencies, including Budapest, there were elected by secret ballot 11 members of the Government Party and 6 members of parties supporting the Government, making a total of 17, as opposed to 32 Opposition members, of whom only 19 were Socialists. In other words, the Government and their supporters instead of "being defeated in almost every town constituency" under the secret ballot won more than a third of the seats and only two less than the Socialists.

2. In the town constituencies, excluding Budapest, 10 members of the Government and 2 members of parties supporting them were elected under the secret ballot, as opposed to 8 Opposition members, 6 of whom were Social Democrats. In other words, outside of Budapest the Government and their supporters under the secret ballot won 60 per cent. of the seats.

3. With regard to Budapest, it is correct to say that the Government did not "even put up a single candidate." But the reason for this was that they did not want to split the anti-Socialist vote.

Of the 24, not, as stated, 26, members returned under the secret ballot for Budapest, 4 were members of parties supporting the Government, 10 were non-Socialist Opposition, while only 10, not 14, were Social Democrats. In the suburbs of Budapest under secret ballot 3 Social Democrats, 1 Government, and 1 non-Socialist were elected. As Count Bethlen is the leader of a party of farmers and small-holders, it was only natural that he should rely for his majority, irrespective of secret or open ballot, upon agrarian constituencies. As results show, however, Count Bethlen and his supporters did not do at all badly in the industrial centres.

The disregard of fact and careless or deliberate exaggeration which I have exposed in the above election figures mark most of the allegations inspired by the same Hungarian sources regarding the imprisonment of political offenders, the censorship or suppression of newspapers, the prevention of free speech, the prevalence of White Terror, and so on. It is a thankless and uncongenial task to declare statement after statement incorrect; but when on the strength of them serious writers begin to question the legal right of the Hungarian Assembly to ratify an agreement with the League of Nations on which, in certain eventualities, the peace of Central Europe might depend, it is time to show up both the misrepresentation and the animus which inspires it.

In the governance of Hungary there are many things which strike the Western mind as lagging behind our own standards of democracy and progress. The average English visitor to Hungary is likely to get something of the same impression he would have had if he visited Ireland for the first time some ten or twenty years ago. Yet Hungary is changing and changing rapidly. Witness the willingness with which this so-called "proudest nation of Europe" has just accepted League of Nations control of her State finances and installed as Controller a foreigner whose powers are well-nigh autocratic. Again, although the older Hungarian politician, and particularly the Hungarian political *émigré* would be quite cross if I were to tell him so, the rising generation in Hungary are to-day far more interested in football and the exchange value of the *korona* than they are in irredentism or revolution. My roving and rather intimate observation of all classes in Hungary convinces me that this is the prosaic fact. One Sunday in Budapest—you can see the same thing almost any Sunday for nine months in the year—I saw 27,000 people who had paid to watch an association football match, and the surrounding trees were black with boys who had climbed to "free seats." It was only a match between two local teams, and the game was played and followed by the crowd with just that keenness and good sportsmanship that one expects to find in England. The ambition

of the average Hungarian youth to-day is not, I fear, to become another Kossuth, but to accumulate enough foreign valuta or *korona* with which to buy a pair of football boots. These are signs of the times, and cannot fail to have an influence upon Hungary's future.

I do not mean to suggest that the adult population of Hungary are now reconciled to the loss of their former provinces. They are, probably, no more resigned over the terrific penalty they had to pay for the war in territory and population than the French were after signing that Treaty of Peace which made Alsace and Lorraine German provinces. But I can say positively that I have met no Hungarian with a real influence upon the political life of his country who does not admit the futility of endeavouring to regain the lost territory by irredentist agitation or by force of arms. More than that, at this stage in affairs, one can scarcely expect from a race so virile and so intensely patriotic and so frank in saying what they think as are the Hungarians. My own view is that as the social and economic life of the country becomes stabilised by means of the League's reconstruction plan—and Hungary will respond quickly to the right treatment—the Hungarians will more and more harness their energies to the economic restoration of their country, and that this preoccupation, combined with the healing hand of time, will automatically minimise any possible desire for vengeful military or other adventure. But whether in this I am right or wrong, it is beyond all question that nothing is better calculated to prevent Hungary from even contemplating belligerent enterprises than control for the next twenty years through the League of Nations of her principal revenues. That Hungary, under the wise guidance of Count Bethlen, voluntarily agreed to place these revenues under foreign control will, I think, be accepted by all fair-minded people as sufficient answer to the accusations of chauvinism.

The rescue of Hungary is primarily a matter of self-interest to the rest of Europe. Who can foresee where the political and military complications would have ended if neighbouring States had expressed their intention—as they almost certainly would—of occupying Hungary for the ostensible purpose of restoring the internal order that had been destroyed as a result of economic and financial collapse? What would have been the effect on reconstructed Austria—the largest importer from and exporter to Hungary—if at one stroke both her best market and her source of food supplies had been demoralised? With Hungary and, probably, Austria in hopeless economic chaos, what chance would there be for England of resuming normal trade with Central Europe, even if war in that region were luckily averted?

Under the present League scheme both Hungary and Austria, in spite of the absurdities of the Treaty of Peace, should by good management and careful economy, become self-supporting and self-respecting countries. They are the economic complement of each other. Austria is, roughly speaking, 75 per cent. industrial, and Hungary about 70 per cent., agricultural, and the welfare of both countries is vital to the prosperity of Czecho-Slovakia. A stabilised currency in Hungary, such as has already been established in Austria, and a sound economic treaty which will permit reasonably free interchange between these two parts of the former Empire will create what I might term a "refuge" in the now rather perilous street of Central European trade. Once that "refuge" is at the disposal of the commerce of the world one can anticipate not only an influence on trade which should have beneficial repercussion upon unemployment in England, but also surer and perhaps quicker progression in the restoration of Europe to political and economic stability.

WILLIAM GOODE.

THROUGH THE BALKANS.

ATHENS in the spring time is perhaps the most delightful capital in Europe. Both the place and the weather provided a golden setting for the impressive ceremonials with which the Greeks celebrated the centenary of Lord Byron's death in April last.

But the true significance of those memorable days outlasts the event. What most impressed all of us who had the good fortune to be delegates at the Centenary was the enthusiasm for England. The sentiment of the literary commemoration took a second place. The Centenary became a great national demonstration. The crowds that assembled at the little stations on our journey to Missolonghi were not really thinking of Byron or of us. They were thinking of England. The martyrdom of one man was accepted as a proof of England's readiness to sacrifice herself for the little countries. The waving of Union Jacks and the cries of "Long Live England!" that greeted our party wherever we moved, became a testimony of the greatness of our nation and the gratitude of Greece. The very flowers with which our railway carriage was swamped became bouquets of admiration for all that is best in the English spirit.

We were deeply touched by these demonstrations, and they seemed to constitute a great political fact. Some of us even wondered whether we are not, as a nation, a little thriftless in our attitude towards the affections of these little peoples. The thought occurred that we might perhaps sometimes, with the aid of a little timely alchemy, convert these emotions into an abiding friendship. We seem, as a nation, too much addicted to the "gentle art of making enemies" forgetting that sometimes there is also another art—the art of making friends.

Pursuing this train of thought I determined to take a journey further north through the countries more strictly called "Balkan States," especially Bulgaria and Old Serbia. It would, I thought, be interesting to discover how far the generous emotions of Athens were reflected in the other capitals of the Balkan Peninsula.

My first destination was Salonica, that once beautiful city which, under the scourge of war and fire, has become a shell of its former self. The Greek authorities made everything easy for us, and those in Salonica were particularly generous in their hospitality and attention. Every facility was given for visiting the refugee camps and villages which surround Salonica and line

the shores of its mighty harbour. In this way, with the help of motor-cars, I was able to cover a great deal of ground in a very few days, and to obtain a deeply interesting survey of the whole machinery of the transmigrations that are taking place.

For Salonica is now the head centre of a gigantic "exchange" of populations unexampled in our time, and with few precedents even in ancient days. Under the Treaty of Lausanne it is laid down that Greece and Turkey should mutually transfer the nationals belonging to the religion of the other*. A million Greeks have already been driven from Asia Minor to Europe, and now over a quarter of a million Turks are leaving Europe for Asia Minor. It is a poignant and even agonising process. Each multitude marches forth from comfortable homes to distant alien lands, and journeys across the sea under circumstances only paralleled by the horrors of the Middle Passage. Some sanguine people imagine that this sorting out of the races is going to make for peace. I gravely doubt it. I seem to see two great thunderclouds facing one another across the waters of the Aegean Sea.

My first glimpse of these troubles was the sight of a big ship lying in Salonica Harbour black with human beings. I took a little sailing boat and went out to that ship. I found that it was packed to the gunwales with refugees from the South Coast of the Black Sea. They were suffering from hunger. There were many bitter spectacles—old people in the last stages of exhaustion; sick children fading away; sad mothers; strong men lying along the decks like trees ruthlessly felled—all the debris of an uprooted population scattered afar by cruel foes. Many crowded round us with tales of woe. Most of them had been driven from inland to the coast, and shipped like cattle for the voyage. Yet they were the very finest old Christian stock, from the part of the world that was almost the first to be Christianised, the very cradle of our religion. Good simple people, upon whom had fallen this woe, unaccountably punished for blunders in which they had no lot or part.

During that day we journeyed to the big refugee camps and to the little villages. We found a perplexing variety of human lot. The new comers were crowded into huts by the sea shore, exhausted with the journey. We visited a hospital in which many of them were dying from consumption and under-feeding. The "Save the Children Fund" workers described to us the unspeakable sufferings of these incoming crowds. England provides these workers with only 5,000 daily rations for the whole multitude, and there are generally 50,000 wanting food. Our cautious Christianity has thrown a terrible burden on our workers in the

* Convention VI. (January 30, 1923).

task of selecting 5,000 and leaving 45,000 to starve. They clamour round those workers for the very means of life. These men described to me how the women—some of the best women in the world—are driven to sell themselves in order to keep their children alive. Not a story to raise the flush of pride on the face of Christian Europe!

When we journeyed outside Salonica to the villages we passed to a more hopeful side of this work of transference. For here we saw the work of settlement and reconstruction going on, partly under the Greek Government and partly under the League of Nations Commission. We visited villages inhabited by refugees who had come from Asia Minor some two years ago. We entered many of their houses and conversed with the people. We found a strong, able, and determined stock, rewarding with work and self-reliance the help that has been given to them. They are already tilling the soil: and many of them are building their own houses. The ragged crowd of two years ago is becoming a settled community that faces the future bravely. They asked us to tender to England their heartfelt thanks for help in time of trouble. In listening to these people, we felt that our English sowers have sown wisely. They will reap a rich harvest of affection. Some of these villages are now independent of aid, and are even helping the new incoming refugees. Rarely have I seen a work in which charity so rapidly brings its own rich reward. All this refugee work is in the nature of life saving. Once the victim is rescued, health soon returns.

Our next visit was to the camp of the Turks on the hills outside Salonica. The camp contains some ten thousand human beings, and is emptied and refilled as the Turks come down from the interior and are passed on to the ships. The process is slow, as the Turks refuse to use Christian ships, and there are only a few score Turkish merchant ships on the sea. They are proud men, these Turks, and refuse to take help from Christians. I talked to many of them, and was impressed with the courage with which they faced their great adventure. Most of them were willing and ready to go. I regret to hear since that the Turkish Government gives an ill return for this high courage. I understand that the migrants, once arrived in Asia Minor, are sent by the Government on long distant journeys to remote and almost inaccessible villages. The Mixed Commission appointed under the Lausanne Treaty ought surely to protect these incoming Turks from the neglect and indifference of the Turkish Government.

In the afternoon we visited a Turkish ship, and found these people most inhumanly crowded. The shipowner entertained me to sweet coffee and cigarettes. But even the sweetness of

that coffee cannot prevent me from saying that these shipowners appear to be making a rich harvest out of the needs of their countrymen. Up in the camp we watched the Turks taking their sea tickets for the voyage, and I observed that the shipping people exacted a heavy price from these compulsory voyagers. I was far more deeply impressed with the heroism of the average Turk than with the chivalry or patriotism of those Turkish capitalists who were reaping wealth out of the sufferings of their fellow Turks.

Leaving Salonica by the little train which runs up to Monastir, we travelled on the following day as far as Sorovitch. The journey into the Macedonian mountains is full of beauty and charm. After you have once crossed the vast, malaria-ridden plain, you mount the Macedonian foothills through the refreshing green of young mulberry trees and poplars, passing on the way many pleasant little hill-towns where the people of Salonica spend their summers. The varied life of these places fills the journey with interest—the little crowds of scarlet-fezzed Turks and smart Greek officers: the gentle-looking gendarmes: the pert little Greek boys selling cigarettes and scarlet-dyed Easter eggs. Gay cries fill the air, and the radiant sunshine steepes the wooded flanks of the Macedonian hills.

It looks a long journey on the time table. But we reached Sorovitch all too soon, spending the last miles of the journey in the handy little railway carriage which the British Macedonian relief workers have fitted up as their moving home.

The railway passes right round the Lake of Ostrovo, a lovely sheet of water, but, like so many things and men in the Balkans, cursed by some strange touch of wilfulness. For this provoking lake has, of late years, taken to achieving a rise of some four feet in a year up the sides of the hills. The whole railway line has been already shifted fifty feet up, in the pathetic hope that the lake might relent. But the lake has not relented, and in a few years time the railway will have to be shifted again. It is restless work for a railway, and one has a vague feeling that perhaps the League of Nations might have a good talk to that lake.

Arrived at Sorovitch, we were received by the authorities of the town and heard and made speeches proper on these occasions. Our limited acquaintance with the language gave to our speeches the brevity which is said to be the soul of wit, and it was certainly the only wit of which we were capable in Macedonia. For it is a sad country, and we were now launched on sad visitations. We saw camps and villages, both of Greeks and Turks, passing from phase to phase of this vast sphere of suffering.

The wife of the station-master at Sorovitch poured water over

our hands and perfume over our persons—and then humbly disappeared, leaving the conversation to her lord and master. But by the time we had returned, she had made us a large, sweet cake with the legend "Long Live England" imprinted on it in sugary letters of modern Greek—ΖΗΤΩ Η ΑΓΓΛΙΑ! It was a pretty thought: and that cake has been since happily consumed by English children in an English home.

Thus cleaned and scented, we set out on a long three days' journey up into Macedonia.

It was in many ways a wonderful experience.

The beauty of the Macedonian hills recalls the Highlands of Scotland. The hillsides are terribly bare: and you miss the charm of the forests. But the play of light and shadow on the higher treeless slopes of the hills gives infinite variety to the scene. Nor is the countryside by any means empty of human interest. The roads are like wolves' tracks: and you travel very slowly. This gives you more time to watch all the shifting changes and passings of human life along the Balkan highways—the little caravans of loaded mules: the handsome Christian shepherds, like Greek gods, standing erect by their vast flocks of sheep or goats: the little groups of Turks who eye you sullenly as you pass, doubtless concluding that you have come to hurry their exodus. All these sights and sounds make the Macedonian highways one endless moving picture.

But over the whole of this country there broods a spirit of fear. It is the fear that comes from centuries of oppression and cruel human caprice. For, after all, it is but twelve years since Macedonia was freed from the Turk. Now a new oppression has come to them, a new cruelty, a new caprice. It is the cruelty and caprice of quarrelsome Christian nations, struggling like beasts of prey over their plunder. It takes many forms. First there are the bandits—desperate men impoverished by the long wars, who hold up caravans and tourists and relieve them of their money. We heard much of them. Then there are those ruthless *comitadjis*, the recognised irregular warriors of all Balkan States. "However the kings may quarrel," said Virgil of old, "it is the people that suffer." The echo of that lament may be heard to-day throughout Macedonia, for between the quarrels of Serbia and Bulgaria these unhappy peasants, longing only for peace, are harried and raided, robbed and massacred.

But if man is brutal, Nature remains lovely, as we found when suddenly we turned a corner of the hills and saw beneath us the town of Kastoria with its lake, that loveliest star of the Macedonian hills: or next day when we took a long motor journey through the mountains from Kastoria to Lepsista, where we

were received with courtesy and even affection by the cordial Mayor and his family. Give this country peace and settlement, and it will soon become rich and fruitful. For the people are honest and thrifty, and amid all my memories of travel I place in the topmost rank my pleasant stay in a hospitable house in Kastoria, where the people almost smothered us with kindness and food. Thanks to the Union Jack which flies over the little kitchens in village after village throughout the Macedonian hills, the name of England is there everywhere beloved.

We visited refugee villages, tucked away in remote pockets of the hills, and we were pleasantly surprised by the steady order and tranquillity under which the great settlement of the new population is proceeding. The Turks go out, and the Greeks come in, and except for a few occasional outrages the whole process goes on peacefully enough, shepherded by the twelve sub-Commissions scattered throughout Macedonia.

The man who seems least satisfied with all this is the Macedonian himself. One day our motor had broken down for the fifth time and we were perforce resting by the roadside. A man in the shepherd's sheepskin jacket stood leaning on his crook and watching our efforts to mend the car. I had been wondering how to communicate with this rough master of flocks when suddenly he settled my perplexity by saying in broad American "I guess that old Tin Lizzie of yours is about done!" Thus finding a common language, we conversed. He had been to Chicago during the troubles and had come back to marry, as they always do, in his own country. He had only fifteen acres of land, and had always been looking forward to enjoying the land of the Turks. But now that the Turks were going out, the refugees were coming in from Asia Minor. They were being given the pick of the land, and he told me that the Macedonians resented it. I seemed to catch a glimpse of a new social cleavage. I began to get a fresh understanding of the deep unrest which is penetrating Macedonia. It appeared as something bigger than the old, weary quarrel of race, and to take shape as a new phase in the elemental struggle for the land.

Next day we passed through Florina across the frontier into Yugo-Slavia—Serbian Macedonia. This part of Macedonia once Bulgarian, now Yugo-Slav, is the centre of the present bitter Macedonian struggle. It is the scene of the famous Todor Alexandroff, the modern Rob Roy of Macedonia. It is the centre of the Macedonian Fear.

We journeyed up the long valley to Monastir. The valley still bears every trace of the terrible conflict between Serb and Bulgarian which really ended the Great War and broke the line

of the Central Powers. The road is often trenched: the bridges are still mostly broken.

Monastir itself is a shattered fragment of its old lovely self, exquisitely situated in a fold of the hills, visible from afar down the long valley, it still looks beautiful from a distance. But as you approach you find that it is gutted by shells and calcined by fire. Yet it is still packed with soldiery; for it is the headquarters of a Serbian Division. The smart Serbian officers, whose clothes always seem new, brilliant in their golden epaulettes, clank proudly amid the desolations of war that lie all around—the shattered homes, the closed schools, the silent, timid civilians.

It was easy to get into Monastir, but not so simple to get out. On our entry we were accompanied by a smart Serbian officer, a sort of roving musketeer, who carried us past all obstacles. But he left us in our hour of need, and on the following morning we were sternly plucked from the only train of the day by an enterprising officer of police, doubtless anxious for promotion. Deceived by the comprehensive documents provided for us in Athens by the Serbian Minister, we had forgotten to obtain that "police pass" without which no man, woman or child is allowed to leave the town of Monastir. In Stevenson's phrase, we were "culled like wayside flowers," and we had to spend some hours drinking sweet coffee at the Prefecture. For the rest of the day we were struggling in our "Tin Lizzie" over broken roads, through wild storms, back to the hospitality of Greece.

That police officer of Monastir talked perfect German, and seemed to indulge a Prussian fury. During our sufferings that day we entertained the fantastic theory that Germany, beaten in the West, was having her revenge on England in the East. To such fancies does Macedonia lend herself. For, indeed, she seems to be the haunt of undying hatreds and immemorial revenges.

From Serbia we passed by way of Salonica and Nish into Bulgaria. There we were courteously enough received, although it required the whole power of the Government to release our "grand baggage" from the grip of the Customs. We lodged at Sofia, within the pleasant walls of the "Hotel de Bulgarie," with its open-air restaurant. We had the good fortune to arrive just in time for a brilliant review of the Sofia garrison on a day of national holiday—St. George's Day. As we watched the gallant, scarlet-coated guards, with their great busbies and high cocks' feathers parading with the goose-step in front of King Boris before the palace, we seemed to go back in memory to Potsdam—with a dash of Ruritania thrown in. But the mute, indifferent crowds of Bulgarians looking on brought us back to realities. This was the daring splash of a small surviving army.

The real spirit of Bulgaria has gone far away from war, and is now yearning for peace.

Both the Prime Minister and the Foreign Minister of Bulgaria accorded me the privilege of long and frank conversations. So absorbing was the interview with the Prime Minister that I found afterwards that a Cabinet Council had waited, and waited in vain, for our talk to end. The councillors had to go back to their homes!

But in the meanwhile the Prime Minister had given to me a message which it is my duty to hand on to the people of England. That message is that Bulgaria intends to observe her treaties, that she longs for peace, and wills to ensue it. All she asks in return is some meed of consideration and indulgence in the great misery into which she has fallen. For indeed that powerful little State, the old Prussia of the Balkans, the flashing mimic of Kaiserdom, has fallen on evil days. Limited in her army to less than 20,000 men, impoverished in all her resources, harried with demands for reparations and indemnities from all the conquering States, she is in real danger of going under. Even now that the Allies have compounded her reparations, she still will have to pay a third of her Budget yearly in the form of tribute for the next sixty years. Her middle class is perishing: her officials and schoolmasters are all miserably underpaid. She has had two revolutions in one year: and she is in serious danger of a third. I suggest that it is to the interest of no country that Bulgaria should be crushed any further. It is time that justice was tempered with mercy, for her as for all the other conquered States. The wise policy would seem to be to reward her with remissions in proportion as she observes the conditions of the Treaty, and keeps the peace on her frontiers.

The town of Sofia lies beautifully enfolded in the heart of the Balkans, with a vista of the great snow mountains at the end of her southward-looking streets. Many of her buildings, as all visitors know, reflect the ambition and prosperity of her earlier days. But she is terribly out at elbows. There is a ragged edge to nearly everything in Sofia—the water supply, telephones, and electric light. The people seem dispirited, although the crowds of young men who throng the restaurants still carry themselves with that air of robust independence which always attracts the Englishman in Bulgaria. In appearance the Bulgarian crowd would pass for English.

Of course the vast majority of Bulgarians—about eighty per cent.—are farmers and peasants. There are little more than thirty thousand workmen in the whole State. There is no unemployment. Yet, in spite of that, Bulgaria is in grave danger of

Bolshevism. For it is the one State in Europe where the peasants have become revolutionaries. The present rulers attribute that to M. Stambulsky, whose terrible end appears to have been due to his readiness to play with Bolshevism. Moscow certainly exacted a fearful revenge for his death. In the revolution of last September—deliberately organised from Russia—over two thousand people perished.

The Prime Minister, Professor Tzankoff, is a big, grave, quiet, bearded man, slow in speech and movement. He impresses you with a great reserve of strength. It is his firm conviction that the Bolshevism of Bulgaria is due to the abolition of conscription, which was, according to his theory, the only real school of the people. In the Balkans you always meet with unexpected results. The Prime Minister made a special appeal to be allowed to raise twenty thousand men by ballot, instead of by the extravagant pay which alone induces the Bulgarian to become a twelve years professional soldier. Each soldier in the present army receives pay almost equal to the salary of the head of a government department!

The young King of Bulgaria, Boris, impresses all English observers as a man determined to follow the constitutional path, resolute to avoid the fate of his father. He is convinced of the desire of his country for peace, and I honestly believe that Bulgaria is possessed with that will. But passing across the frontier from Bulgaria to Yugo Slavia, and seeing that frontier stiff with troops, I was filled with a fear that the guns may go off of themselves. Already during the last few months the two countries have been on the verge of war: and both Bulgaria and Yugo Slavia, happily enough, place the credit of saving the situation to Great Britain. In both countries the Foreign Minister solemnly assured me that the other country was scheming war, although they themselves, of course, intended peace. The intervention of the British Government, in the form of despatches to both, impressing on them their responsibilities to Europe, averted that peril. That act has largely restored our prestige in the Balkans. It seems strange that one had to go to the Balkans to discover that fact!

Belgrade, like Sofia, is also sadly out of repair. But no disrepair can prevent her being one of the noblest towns in Europe, lying, as she does, at that wonderful angle of the two great rivers, the Sava and the Danube. During my week in that city, the Yugo Slav Government was passing through the stress and strain of a tremendous domestic crisis. The eighty Croat members of the Skupshtina had originally adopted the Sinn Fein policy of abstention from Parliament, and had held to that policy until a

few weeks before. Then, quite suddenly, on the advice of their leader, M. Raditch, the Croats returned to their seats. The old Premier, M. Pasitch—now a white-bearded veteran of over eighty years—found himself in a minority. Faced with that situation, he asked the King for a new dissolution, in spite of the fact that the last took place only in March. King Alexander refused the dissolution, and tried to form a Government of his own. During my stay a new government was formed every day, and every evening it dissolved like a rope of sand.

Yugo Slavia is clearly not yet mistress over her troublesome household.

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Such is the state of the Balkans at present. It is a confused welter of fear and unrest, always on the edge of violence. Left alone, these States must inevitably again slip back into war.

What, then, do I suggest? Why, that Great Britain should set an example. Let her break away from that hateful policy of setting one Balkan State against another which produced the last war. Let her steadily pursue the policy which she has already initiated in the mediation of this spring—the policy of urging upon all these Balkan States the aim and end of sinking their miserable differences and forgetting their bitter memories. Let her become a crusader on the side of the Balkan union. For in union alone is there safety.

The influence of England is still very great in the Near East. It is not at all impossible that if all the power of her Legations—manned by able and energetic men of the highest character and ability—were directed to this single end, she would succeed. In that case, she would reap a great reward. Not only the surer peace of Europe: but also the gratitude of a Peninsula saved from an overwhelming fear—and for the first time able to walk securely in the paths of peace.

HAROLD SPENDER.

INDIA AND ENGLAND :

THE ECONOMIC RELATION.

VERY few thoughtful people can doubt that great advantages have accrued to India during the last century of British rule.

But it is not equally realised in England that forces have been at work, owing to the unfair economic relationship between India and England, which have perpetually tended to weaken the good which has been done. In this article an attempt is made to estimate as far as possible, from the Indian stand-point, wherein the weakness lies in the present economic position. A study of some of the salient facts may show why moderate and reasonable people in India cannot bear the prospect of further delay in the grant of responsible Government, and why they are not at all satisfied by the offer of a Statutory Commission in 1929. For while it is acknowledged that the recent reforms have done something to relieve for the moment the old bad situation, the opinion remains unalterably fixed that the evils in a foreign Government are still spreading disease in the body politic, and that hitherto a merely superficial remedy has been applied.

In India, economic problems arise out of the relation to England, because :—

- (i.) India is still ruled from Great Britain.
- (ii.) Departments, directed chiefly by British officials, still deal in a costly manner with a very large part of the daily life and interests of the people.
- (iii.) The British Government in India is still bound by close economic ties with England in regulating the fiscal policy of India.
- (iv.) The British Government is still in a real sense the Landlord of British India, disposing, as it thinks fit, of the rent it receives.

There are four parallel heads, on which the moral issue is raised with regard to this economic relationship :

- (i.) British predominance acts as a deterrent to initiative, enterprise and leadership: it is destructive of moral force in the Indian people.
- (ii.) "Home Charges" drain the wealth of India to England and thus establish an unfair position.
- (iii.) Economic fiscal advantages have been given to England in the past and are still being given, and these demoralise both giver and receiver.

- (iv.) The heavy incidence of the Land Revenue causes agricultural depression and a general impoverishment, which leads to a moral poverty in its turn.

(i.) BRITISH PREDOMINANCE.

- "Subjection," says Seeley, "for a long time to a foreign yoke is one of the most potent causes of national deterioration." Is this true of India? There has been undoubtedly a serious moral and economic loss, side by side with much that may be counted as gain. It is the loss that is here specially considered.

The predominance of the British race has crushed Indian initiative; and in consequence the new economic structure of modern India has been imposed from without, rather than developed from within. In Japan, the advance in the new economics has been from within—organic, assimilative, self-achieved. In India, the Government (like all great alien patrons who attempt to regulate from without) tends to keep in leading strings and pauperise its clients by making them too dependent on its bounty. The steady pressure of a foreign superiority, which is never absent, has carried with it a contraction of innate powers among those who are placed unnaturally in an inferior position, and thus has tended to bring about that national deterioration of which Seeley speaks. The system of administration is necessarily foreign to India, and Indians have been obliged to adapt themselves laboriously to foreign ways. The qualities of independence and originality, which are most needed in modern commerce, have had little scope for development among educated Indians; and enterprising English traders and speculators have been able to take advantage of the weak condition of the country in order to exploit its economic resources. They have also had the immense utilitarian advantage of belonging to the ruling race, and have used that advantage to the full. Indians, under these conditions, have remained for the most part subordinates and inferiors, not only in the large area of Government employment, but also very frequently in the still larger area of modern trade and business enterprise. This position of continual inferiority to the Englishman has been rendered all the more unbearable because it has happened in contradiction to the different charters which pledged impartial treatment. The pledges, given as early as 1833, have never fully been carried out. The Queen's Proclamation of 1858 remained, for a generation, almost a dead letter. Thus, in addition to the actual evil of Indians remaining for nearly a century in an inferior position, there has been the added evil of broken promises, which have raised hopes only to blight them with depressing moral effect.

(ii.) THE "HOME CHARGES."

These very words, "Home Charges," which have been in constant use for over half a century, tell their own tale. For what is the "Home" referred to? It is not India; though all the money comes from India to pay these charges. It is England that is the "Home"; and the British in India continually send Indian money "Home" to England. If we examine these "Home" charges critically, we find that while undoubtedly some of them are paid in return for valuable services rendered to India, which Indians themselves could not perform, yet the majority of them are paid for things which could have been done by Indians themselves.

The Home Charges are made up both of the interest paid on capital invested in India and the pensions and other payments made to England on account of the services rendered by British civil and military officials in India, together with the amount of salaries withdrawn from India by those whose families are living in England. When capital is borrowed in a country and the interest is paid back in the same country; when incomes are made in a country and spent in the same country, then there is no "drain." That country is self-supporting. But when money is taken out of the funds of a country and then sent away to a foreign country, in spite of the fact that the service rendered could have been performed by the inhabitants themselves, then it is clear that such money is a dead loss. It is a drain on the country's resources of a most serious character.

In estimating this drain, it is fair to make due allowance for the interest paid on foreign capital as not being a direct loss to the same extent as that of pensions, &c. It is true that, wherever possible and feasible, it is always best for a country to raise an internal loan, rather than a foreign loan. But the development of whole areas, like Argentina, by means of foreign capital shows that countries which are absolutely independent may find it more profitable to obtain capital from abroad than wait, with land and communications undeveloped, until sufficient capital is subscribed at home. At the same time, it is undoubtedly true that both in the past, and to a lesser extent in the present, India has formed an attractive area for exploitation by British capital in the matter of safe investment; and therefore sufficient efforts have not been made by the British Government in India to obtain the capital required in India. There was probably enough capital locked up in India to float all the different loans, if there had been the inspiration of a national and patriotic movement behind them. The manner in which a poor country like the Irish Free State has recently managed to float its own loan, by means of capital chiefly subscribed in Ireland, is an example of the moral enthusiasm

which comes when Swaraj has been attained. India, therefore, has suffered economically and is to-day paying a very heavy debt, in the form of interest sent abroad year by year, owing to the demoralising effect of a foreign Government, which has borrowed money and men from a foreign land, when both money and men were to be had in India itself.

The military expenditure of India has been perhaps the heaviest drain of all; for an immense amount of this expenditure has gone out of the country altogether. It has not meant, therefore, the circulation of money in the country such as the payments for a purely indigenous Army would naturally entail, but a direct withdrawal of money from India to England in order to pay for foreign troops. These troops are kept, not merely to help to resist an invasion from across the frontier, but also to prevent any rebellion in India. If India had her own indigenous Government and her own indigenous troops, it is obvious that these military charges could be considerably reduced, and also that more military stores might be purchased in India and less from abroad. As will be seen later on, the heavy weight of the military expenditure necessitates the Land Revenue remaining at its present high figure.

(iii.) THE FISCAL SYSTEM.

With regard to the foreign character of the Indian fiscal system in the past, whole volumes have been written. It has been shown by unimpeachable evidence that Great Britain in earlier days treated India fiscally as a conquered country, which, because of its complete subjection, might be economically exploited. The evidence before the Parliamentary Committee of 1832-33 shows that the cotton industries of India were deliberately weakened in order to press forward the import of new mill-made Lancashire goods. When attempts were made later in India itself to compete by machinery with Lancashire cloth, an excise duty was placed on every bale of Indian mill produce before it was allowed to leave the Indian mill. This cotton excise duty has been acknowledged to be morally indefensible. It has been accepted by historians as another instance of the imposition of the will of the superior power on a subject people. No free country would have allowed it for a single moment.

What is not equally realised is that the fiscal policy of India with regard to other matters also has again and again been directed towards British rather than Indian expansion. Even at the present time, the fiscal control still remains in the hands of the British rulers. The Finance Department has been kept strictly within the British sphere. There has never yet been an

Indian Finance Member in the Viceroy's Council. The largest items of the Budget remain "reserved" subjects. The military expenditure cannot be touched by the elected representatives of the Indian people. Even in other matters, as a last resort, the will of the Viceroy is supreme in regard to finance. This was made crushingly evident by the certification of the Salt Tax last year. What is rejected in the Assembly is put back mechanically and automatically by the Viceroy, even when his action is in direct opposition to the will of the people.

The moral effect of such a fiscal system is easy to understand. It has obviously led to British commerce obtaining a privileged position. It has given an unfair advantage to the British manufacturer and trader, who has been practically certain that he could reckon on the weight of British prestige and British influence to support him. When I once asked Mahatma Gandhi what he meant by the word *Swaraj*, he answered immediately, "Fiscal Autonomy."

One further word needs to be added with regard to Excise. If the Excise policy of the Government of India had been entrusted to Indian hands, foreign spirituous liquors would almost certainly have been prohibited long ago and an immense amount of drunkenness in India would thus have been avoided. It is not unlikely that, by this time, a complete prohibition of alcoholic liquors would have been enacted by law, and India would have taken her place side by side with the United States as a "dry" country; for this would be in accord with the precepts of all her great religions.

With regard to opium, as early as 1880 Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji protested with all the earnestness of his own moral conviction against the iniquitous traffic in this poisonous drug, which had been forced on China under the threat of war. For nearly a whole century this immoral revenue had degraded India. At last the conscience of the world had become so shocked that Great Britain could no longer resist its appeal. In the year 1907, China had taken 51,000 chests of opium, containing 140 pounds weight per chest. From that time, the yearly rate was diminished by 10 per cent., until in 1913 it was prohibited altogether. After the Chinese traffic had been abandoned, a similar traffic with the British Colonies in the Far West was continued, and still even to-day, as in former times, revenue is made by the British Government in India out of the poisoning of neighbouring peoples.

(iv.) LAND REVENUE.

The frequent recurrence of scarcity, and even of famine, and the serious deterioration of agricultural incomes over large areas of the country, have made the whole question of the incidence

of the Land Revenue upon the agricultural population one of primary importance. It needs to be clearly understood that the Government acts as legal owner of the soil and takes from it a revenue amounting, roughly, to about 50 per cent. of the net assets. This charge upon the land is revised every twenty or thirty years, as the case may be, and enhanced as the land rises in value. The assessment and enhancement have been kept hitherto very strictly in the hands of the British rulers themselves. The people have not as yet been allowed to have any direct voice in the matter. As an illustration of this, I may bring forward the following incident. During the Kaira trouble in 1917, the peasants claimed that their harvest had practically failed, but the Government agents declared that it was of taxable value. I went to the Governor in order to claim that the point in dispute might be submitted to arbitration, but the Governor refused. He said to me: "At home I would not allow any one to come between me and my tenants. The Government, as landlord, is in the same position here." Under responsible Government, military and other expenditure would probably not be so heavy as at present. Remissions might be made in time of scarcity, on a more liberal scale. It might also be possible to reduce the land taxation all round.

The moral effect of extreme poverty upon a depressed village population is well known. In India, the burden of indebtedness has been added to that of ignorance, misery and hunger. Whatever rise in the prices of food-stuffs may have occurred in recent years, it appears to be certain that the village population has not received its full share of the benefits. I would refer, for an instance of a statistical survey, to Dr. Mann's work on the village problem in the Deccan.

A further criticism shows that the present heavy land taxation leads to unequal distribution of wealth—the village poor growing poorer in spite of their acknowledged industry and frugality. The new wealth that is flowing into India tends to accumulate in the hands of the trading classes, who are very lightly taxed; while the burden of the taxation is borne by the peasantry. The agricultural classes are more and more exploited by the traders and money-lenders, and their ignorance makes such exploitation doubly difficult to avoid. Up to the present, only the most meagre efforts have been made, and the most inadequate sums of money expended, in order to give them primary education, and thus put them on more equal terms with those who exploit them. Though "the most patient and frugal peasantry in the world," (*Imperial Gazetteer*, vol. iv., p. 204), they are weighed down by debt and haunted by the spectre of famine. Sir

William Hunter, whose name still holds a high rank both as administrator and historian, stated with full knowledge of the conditions prevailing in his own time, that forty millions of people in India always lived on the border-line of hunger. They never knew what it was fully to satisfy the hunger pangs. I seriously doubt, judging from my own experience among the Indian village people to-day, whether any material improvement in the stark hunger problem has occurred since his time. When after this, the information is given that the Land Revenue, taken from the same peasantry, amounts approximately to 50 per cent. of the net assets, the ordinary reader cannot help but feel that there is something wrong with the conditions, though he may not be able to point out a remedy. It can hardly be regarded as a sufficient solution of the problem to point to highly organised State agencies for famine relief. Even if excessive mortality is avoided, the danger of pauperisation remains. The question needs continually to be asked whether, by reduction of military expenditure or other methods, the burden of land taxation cannot be further lightened, and, at the same time, whether the ignorance of the peasantry cannot be dispelled. The issues of life and death are so vast, and the possibilities of human suffering so immense (a famine area not seldom including over 50,000,000 people), that the economic question is here raised to the highest pitch of moral importance.

C. F. ANDREWS.

THE FUTURE OF THE STATE.

"THE MODEL STATE," said the wise Amiel of Geneva on February 15th, 1871, when the French National Assembly was meeting helplessly at Bordeaux, "ought to resemble a great musical society in which everyone submits to be organised, subordinated, and disciplined for the sake of art and for the sake of producing a masterpiece." The words express, with their own characteristic clarity of style, that conception of the State which was becoming dominant in European thought during the latter years of the nineteenth century. The State was not one form of association among many; it was not even *primus inter pares*. It was "der einzige," the only one; it was, as Hegel triumphantly put it, "the world which the spirit had made for itself." Socialist propagandists from improvised platforms and oratorical lorries proclaimed the inspired gospel that you had only to transfer to State patronage and control the "means of production, distribution, and exchange," and then you would cure all the ills which so woefully afflict humanity.

Latterly, however, the scene has changed, and the State, once sacrosanct and sovereign, has found its power, efficiency, and authority challenged all along the line. Syndicalism was the first movement to make a breach in its Chinese wall. In some respects it was fitting that such a movement should start out from France, for the French State is severely centralised, and its Napoleonic Penal Code of 1810 declared "that no association of more than twenty persons meeting every day, or on certain specified days, could meet except with the consent of the Government." This Draconian statute seems to be the translation into hard reality of Amiel's adjuration that in the State you or your associations must submit to be "organised, subordinated, and disciplined for the sake of art." At any rate, the French working classes, or a very active section of them, were glad to get away from under the shadow of these onerous statutes to a freer and clearer air, and in 1902, after a few years of travail, there emerged the Syndicalist Confederation of Labour.

The Syndicalist movement was quite frankly a challenge to the overweening power of the State. Its theorists repeated all the criticisms of modern political machinery which, in the books of writers like Ostrogorski, had directed the way from a unified to a more complex and varied social life. Its artisans sounded the call to "direct action." No time to tarry for the tardy action of Courts and Parliaments. The Syndicalist had found a more excellent way. The unitary State had been obliged to recognise his Trade Unions, and his Trade Unions, by the coercive power of their

forcible tactics, would dominate the rest of society and find themselves enthroned in the seat of power. What they were going to do when they found themselves there was another question on which the Syndicalist was neither so insistent nor precise; but after one or two ineffectual strikes, which did not end all strikes, there ensued the Great War which was to end all war, and amid the spirit of fiery patriotism then engendered in France, the Syndicalist movement, such as it was, eventually ceased to trouble.

But though the Syndicalist movement was no longer out in the open, it was not without its witnesses. During all the time that "direct action" or sabotage was the slogan of select bands of artisans, there had been writers who had been proclaiming regional or functional associations as a substitute or complement to the old unitary State. Their influence was not apparent in the direct course of events, for France during and after the war had become somewhat of a beleaguered camp, where all discordant voices among aspirants to governmental authority were perforce hushed into silence. Murder, however, will always out, and the influence of many strenuous years in the France before the war found a repercussion in a certain change of attitude towards Collectivism both in this country and to a smaller extent in the United States.

In this country, indeed, though the belief in the State as a fairy godmother who would take over industry and initiate a social Revolution had never been very profound, there was existent a widely prevalent and much less objectionable Municipal Socialism which now and then imparted a strain of almost lyrical enthusiasm to the prose of Mr. Sidney Webb. Not so much was heard of its virtues during and after the war, but some almost stillborn articles on Guild Socialism which had appeared in the *New Age* were dragged from their obscurity, and thereafter the Guild as a form of functional association was proclaimed by some as a rival or substitute, and by others as an additional representative assembly, working in and through the State. The name itself of a Guild was hardly a happy one. It suggested a mere reactionary return to the past which, though not in accordance with the animating mood of those who used it, was reflected in a certain academic and far-off spirit in the anticipations of the future which were hazarded in the course of their expositions of the new creed. Still, Utopian though they may have often been, they exerted their influence and did not fail of their effect. Trade Unionists yielded to their solicitation.

The miners put forward a scheme of Nationalisation which was very different from what it would have been in the days before the Guildsmen. Mr. Justice Sankey showed that the new social ideas could be appreciated in the cloistered security of the Bench. Shop stewards sprang up in many a workshop during the course of the

Great War, and made their bow as the local agents of a new network of Labour administration which, in the view of some of its adherents, was to supersede the bureaucratic State of the past.

Undoubtedly what had given a great impetus to all these movements was the assumption of power in Russia by the Bolsheviks in 1917, and the new Communist manifesto issued by the first Congress of the Communist International held in Moscow from March 2nd to March 6th, 1919. In this latter document was laid down in authoritative outlines the leading principles of a new system of Soviets which quite frankly was intended to supersede the democratic State and become the one and only system of Labour government in the future. The theory of Soviets is a compound of many of the characteristic principles of Syndicalism and Guild Socialism, and, in the somewhat diffuse expositions of Lenin, it sadly needs a searching analysis to introduce some degree of consistency into its first principles. It is mainly functional, and in the Regulations of the Moscow City Soviet it may be described as chiefly a representation of the workers in factories, Trades Unions, and Trades Councils according to the number of workers in the factory or the extent of membership of the Union or Council. There is, however, no representation for the capitalist *rentier*, who is bracketed with the clergy, ex-police agents, lunatics, and minors as unworthy to have a vote in the new government, which was to rise on the ruins of the old.

The whole situation, in fact, encourages an inquiry into the State's hold on the future. Is the State only one form of association among many? Can it be true that it is in imminent danger of being reckoned as of no significance? Can we possibly find salvation in these latter days, as some did in an earlier decade, through believing that the State will make crooked things straight by exercising the esoteric energies of some new governmental department? Has the Great War induced a change in the constitution of our millennium; or, in the long last, do we not stand pretty much where we formerly stood?

What, then, is the State? We can get very little further in our speculations as to its future unless we realise very clearly what it is and whence it sprang. The State in its essential idea is obviously a combination based on locality or neighbourhood. Men and women are described as belonging to the same State because they live within the same superficial area. In the rise of the Greek City State, as it is indicated in Aristotle's *Constitution of Athens*, the beginning of neighbourhood or locality as a social principle is attributed to Cleisthenes. The old tribal community of ancient Greece had been strained to breaking-point. Nomads from the North had invaded the country and, when they settled among the

former inhabitants, it was obvious that these latter could be most effectively disarmed by being prevented from combining together as fellow kinsmen or clansmen. Cleisthenes, accordingly, is represented as playing a sort of game of American post with the people of Athens. In the place of the four old tribes composed of groups of kindred, he divided up Attica into ten *demes* or parishes, where you had to make it up with a man, not because you owned with him certain ties of blood relationship, but because you lived in the same back street. The greater poets tried to reconcile the victims to the new state of affairs. "Neighbours are really your best friends," sings Hesiod in his *Work and Days*. "When you are in trouble, a neighbour will run to your rescue, but a relation will stop to put on his coat."

Here, then, we have an account of a beginning of a society based on neighbourhood or locality, and its inception is attributed, as was the fashion of ancient days, to the free will of some inspired lawgiver. Ever since that time, along with combination such as savage young men's societies, Roman *collegia*, medieval guilds, and family parties, there have been examples of that combination based on neighbourhood or locality which is the direct ancestor of the modern State. The special characteristics of the nation State as we know it, however, were in their main lines determined at the Reformation. There again an old order was passing away and a new order was waiting to be born. The Reformation State may be described as endowed with two distinguishing attributes. In the first place it was based on neighbourhood or locality, and thus took its place, amid different circumstances and with the added complexities of a more modern life, in the lineal descent from the Greek City State. But in the second place, and owing to the necessity of emphasising its self-determination in the face of Papal claims, it was described as possessing the attribute of sovereignty, as being governed by a king, who, though the source of laws, was himself outside the law and could not therefore, either in secular or in religious affairs, own any man as master.

In the modern movements already described as directed against the State, it may be discerned that the main objection is to the State's assumption of sovereignty. The State can no longer persist, it is said, in the claim to unqualified obedience on the assumption that here is a case of Eclipse first and the rest nowhere. When locality or neighbourhood became a principle of social union, why should it necessarily follow that all combinations based on other ties should be persecuted or condemned? Has the Churchman no appeal to a higher power? Is not the State demonstrating the danger of an unqualified claim to sovereignty when it sends Dorchester labourers to penal servitude in the Antipodes? On the

other hand, in most of the new schemes of functional or Soviet societies, there is a lack of analytical recognition of the characteristic place which the State holds among other social combinations by reason of its underlying principle of locality or neighbourhood. A trade society brings together those in the same trade. They meet together and in general work together because they have so many interests in common; but the idea of a principle of social union based on simple neighbourhood goes much further, and brings together men and women of different races and trades and religious beliefs within a certain territory, welding them together in some sort of permanent social system. The men and women so brought together are obviously of very different temperaments and training; and the State, wherever it exists, has always been obliged to have recourse to the *ultima ratio* of force. Instead of the craft mind, it has introduced into the history of social progress the mob or group mind; but to compensate, and more than compensate, for this, it can justly lay claim to have made an immense step in advance by combining all the people within a wider and wider area, and by securing that, though one might be a lion and the other a lamb, they must, so long as they inhabit that area, consent like brethren to work and live together in unity.

In the nineteenth century, this process of aggregation of territory continued, and the British Commonwealth, Germany, Austria-Hungary, Russia, Italy, Turkey, and the United States all became composite systems. At first, as has been pointed out, the Reformation State was conceived as a territory ruled by a king, and in the eighteenth century monarchs like Catherine, Frederick the Great, and Joseph II. have left us interesting homilies on the way that a monarch laying claim to be God's anointed should be able to fulfil such duties. However, as a new century dawned, such claims ceased to convince, and four movements—Constitutionalism, Nationalism, Radicalism, and Socialism—began successively to affect men's conception of the State's duties and functions. The making of constitutions went on merrily during the earlier part of the nineteenth century, the object being to provide against irresponsible action on the part of the head of the executive by a division of powers, as advocated by Montesquieu, between the legislative, executive, and judicial elements.

Nationalism was an attempt to forge a more intimate basis of union between the citizens of the State than was afforded by submission to the rule of a monarch acting through agency of the most perfectly balanced constitution with approved legislative, judicial, and executive arrangements. Radicalism sought to broadbase the whole fabric of the State on the people's assent, to make it a government of the people, by the people, and for the people, and,

by special provisions such as the extension of the Suffrage, the Referendum, the shortening of Parliament, or by the strange and wonderful instrument of the Caucus, it aimed at infusing fresh strength into representative government by the operation of Rousseau's "General Will." Lastly there came Socialism, which, as has been already indicated, attempted to redress the evils of autocratic government in industry by an appeal to politics, acting through the instrumentality of the State, Municipality, or at any rate some combination founded on locality. In this way, and by a natural process of evolution, it began to manifest a kind of modified hostility to the aims and ambitions of radicalism. Radicalism devoted more attention to the legislative side of constitutional activity, aiming at making its laws so complete an expression of the popular mind that they should direct and control the executive. Socialism, on the other hand, was at first compelled to base its hopes on executive officials, remodelling the world by administrative orders in the sanctified seclusion of State Departments.

Is the unitary State, so modified and adapted, going to maintain itself in the future against these influences which are beginning to sap it on every side? Apparently there is no lack of interest or enthusiasm to-day in the construction of brand new State constitutions. Two emperor kings, five kings, five grand-dukes, six dukes and seven princes joined the ranks of the unemployed as a consequence of the Great War. In the new States, too, Poland, Esthonia, Czechoslovakia and Dantzig* have all adopted written constitutions with special democratic features. Germany and the German States have abandoned monarchical government and have introduced into their constitutions, to work through their State machinery, a series of Factory Workers' Councils and a special Economic Council. In Russia, as we have already seen, there is a Soviet system which, at any rate, as at present worked out, does not disdain to take cognisance of the State and its political methods. In every one of these new constitutions it is evident that their framers had attentively studied all the available precedents and had endeavoured by their adoption of proportional representation, new constitutional checks and counter-checks, and a completely democratic suffrage, to express their unabated conviction that the State could be so extended and modified as to become a primary instrument of social reform. Others of these States, such as Poland, Jugoslavia and Dantzig, followed the lead of Germany in countering the assault of Syndicate and Soviet through the provision of economic councils or other similar bodies. In our own country, a gesture in the same direction was the final report of Mr. Justice Sankey, in pursuance of the Coal Industry Commission Act of 1919.

* Dantzig, of course, is a City State and not a National State.

Indeed, we have only to carry clearly in our minds the essential characteristics of the State, as disclosed in our previous analysis, to see that this territorial form of social organisation is bound to play a very prominent part in the future evolution of social life. When the Syndicalist, for example, proclaimed the supersession of political combinations, he could only make his Trade Union government complete by incorporating a mode of combination based on locality among the representative elements of his governing Confederation of Labour. His industrial and craft unions might have their amalgamations and federations, but in every considerable locality there was a *Bourse du Travail*, where delegates of different craft unions could regard the course of events, not as they affected their own special trades, but as they affected the community of producers as a whole. There is also a considerable section of the National Guildsmen who have come to the conclusion that their Guild ideas can only be worked through the help of a form of combination similar to the modern State; and those who talk lightly of overthrowing the whole fabric of its administration and building up a new functional society are generally theorists, who have had no practical experience of State administration, and therefore cannot be expected fully to appreciate the difficulties involved.

If you make of the State a species of the same genus to which belong also trade and functional unions, or if you regard the State, with Mr. Sidney Webb, simply as a form of compulsory co-operation, which is contrasted with voluntary co-operation in the form of a Consumers' Society, you are so decidedly minimising its characteristic features that you can face its supersession without thereby anticipating any formidable difficulties in the path of progress. But if the State is a combination which throws its net widely over large spaces of territory, and seeks by an elaborated system of articulated democratic activities, legislative, executive, and judicial, to bring together the men and women of all ranks and conditions, of different religions and various trades and professions, producers and consumers, masters and men, in one common effort to realise the *summum bonum* of social progress, then we have an organisation so intricate and far-reaching that we cannot safely leave it aside in our considered forecasts for the future. Its constituent elements are not producers or consumers, but men and citizens, with all the varied capacities and activities which citizenship brings in its train.

Any schemes for the future which propose representation in Parliament of one side only, say the economic side of our social life, are thereby doomed to failure. Even to construct a second Chamber, as some have done on the basis of functional interests,

is to be false to the fundamental idea of the State conception. If you are to retain a second Chamber at all, let it be a second Chamber to overhaul the drafting of Bills, so curiously slipshod and incomprehensible in these latter times, so that the judiciary may be more adequately brought into line, as Dean Pound and other modern writers on law have desired that they should, with those newer social conceptions which have exercised an influence in the debates of the legislative assembly. It is interesting to note in this connection that though the Conventions which framed the constitutions of the post-war States have evidently studied the American constitution with the utmost care, none of them has carried its admiration for the principle of the division of powers so far as to give to the judiciary the independent place which in America is assigned to the Supreme Court.

Of course, if the State had remained at the same stage of development as when it entered on the nineteenth century, when the lesson of toleration had been imperfectly learnt, and it was ranged in an attitude of opposition to what were considered the lesser loyalties, then we might have had occasion for grave doubts as to its future. But the citizen does not now confront the State as an isolated individual, having no hopes nor interests except in the development of his purely State activities. As society progresses, he becomes involved and engrossed in all kinds of social combinations, he is a member of trade and professional unions, of religious, ethical and educational societies, of scientific and literary associations, of co-operative producers and consumers, and all the infinite varieties of varying combinations which have exercised such a powerful influence in the evolution of our modern social life. Much that has been previously enacted by Acts of Parliament may now be hammered out in other associations based not on locality but on the possession and exercise of mutual common interests. That combination based on locality which is called the State may in such a case remain the power which co-ordinates all these varied activities, or it may seek to procure a certain national minimum of opportunity to each and all of its citizens in the struggle of life. Desirous though we may be to concede to the State its due meed of importance, it is impossible to deny that politicians and their Parliaments can hardly hope to retain the exaggerated attention which in former days was cheerfully conceded to them. Other agencies outside Parliament are now being more and more recognised as entitled to play an important and even indispensable part in building up our social life. Nor need any of us deny that this is all to the good. It is the varied activities of many varieties of voluntary associations which are going to make the general will not a mob will, subject to inexplicable panics, and still more

inexplicable variations of outlook, into a considered public opinion which can be trusted to regard a question from many points of view, and to come to a reasonable and just decision.

In another respect, too, the State must abate its pretensions, and that is in its exclusive claim to sovereignty. The State is no complete and self-centred organisation with a presiding head who is beyond and above the law. It is one of a great areopagus of States, and the functions of any one of them are limited and defined by the functions of all the rest. In fact, if we follow out this course of thought, we are led on to what Mr. Graham Wallas has called the Great Society, pursuing a thorny road which to-day is being traversed by those States which are bound together in a League of Nations. Before the Great War, there were those who hoped that Trade Unions through their national activities would overstep all frontier delimitations, and would do more to initiate a successful revolt against a modern declaration of war than States which sat snugly entrenched within the limits of their own individual sovereignty. In the result, however, all such hopes have been sadly disappointed. It is now perfectly plain, so that "he who runs may read," that the war spirit will always set loose activities and influences which lurk deep in the recesses of the group mind and which will effectively shatter such enthusiastic and millennial dreams. The new Europe, there is no use denying it, looks primarily to a combination of territorial States as its supreme panacea for civilisation. This combination need not necessarily be the present League of Nations; indeed, there are even now signs which show that some International Court of Judicature may enlist a greater measure of support from the interested nations of the world than that special international body whose constitution is enshrined in the Treaty of Versailles.

But, whether in this form or in some more excellent way still to be devised, there can be no doubt that the State combinations founded on locality or neighbourhood, will have to forswear their ancient sovereignties and work together for the future of civilisation in the deepest sense of that much abused term. They may be helped by all kinds of voluntary associations. Science crosses the boundaries marked by frontiers; scientific societies discussed the successive memoranda of Einstein even during the progress of the Great War. Trade Unionism has become international and Fascism would like to prefer the same exalted claim. There are many roads that lead to the end of the world, but it is the State that has still pegged out the boldest claim for the most generous settlement at the end and restitution of all things.

J. H. HARLEY.

THEODOR HERZL AND HIS DIARIES:

PERSONAL RECOLLECTIONS OF THE ZIONIST LEADER.

BENJAMIN THEODOR HERZL, the Zionist leader, bears a slight resemblance—perhaps not altogether an unintentional one—to Benjamin Disraeli. It is noticeable even more in the quality of his aspirations than in his demeanour, though his bearing has something princely, something positively regal, about it. In his *History of Zionism* (which, with a preface by Lord Balfour, was published in Vienna by the cosmopolitan house "Renaissance") Nahum Sokolow asserts that modesty was one of Herzl's chief characteristics. As a one-time Press colleague of Herzl's I am not prepared to uphold this assertion. In fact, I completely disagree with it. Herzl was modest neither by nature nor in his demeanour; on the contrary, he was very well aware of his own worth. Time and time again, at one juncture or another, I have heard from his lips Horace's words: *non omnis moriar*. I heard him utter them on one occasion when the *Neue Freie Presse*—among whose bright stars he was numbered—killed by a conspiracy of silence the Zionist movement which he had inspired. This leading Austrian newspaper was apprehensive of being identified with a movement which was, after all, only the private concern of one of its most eminent contributors. It sought rather to identify itself with German-Austrian liberalism. In Zionism it saw a kind of Jewish edition of anti-Semitism—an admission of the fact that the Jews could not assimilate themselves to the nations among whom they lived, and also an admission of the anti-Jewish opinion that the Jews must migrate back to the land from which they had wandered forth in the misty past, there to raise for themselves a nation and kingdom.

Herzl had experienced the dire after-effects of the Dreyfus case in Paris where, as correspondent of the *Neue Freie Presse*, he had scored his first literary triumph. Later, he was witness of a most unprincipled anti-Semitic agitation in Vienna, when he was even once, on account of his Jewish appearance, the object of personal insult, despite his dignified bearing. These experiences impelled him to the conclusion that the only remedy lay in gathering together the tribes of Israel from all the corners of the earth, and in setting up again, so to speak, the shattered temple of Solomon in the ancient Jewish kingdom. Since great achievements, however, are the result only of concentration, more progress is made by being master of one thing than by being competent in many. From this time on, Herzl lived and worked for Zionism only. He had not read George Eliot's

Zionist novel, *Daniel Deronda*, when his thoughts first turned to Zion; his attention was drawn to the book later by Teweles, the Czech writer.

Herzl was no Hebrew scholar, and at first was little conversant with the affairs of Judaism. Though from his early years a man of the finest literary and artistic culture, he was, as far as Judaism itself was concerned, completely unlearned, or, as the Hebrew tongue has it, an *Am haarez*. Even Sokolow, for all the extravagant attributes he lavishes on Herzl, concedes this point. How did he, then, come to be the liberator of his race, that race scattered throughout the whole world? We may read the arresting story in the three volumes of his *Diary*, published in 1922 and 1923 by Jewish publishers in Berlin—volumes, by the way, intended by Herzl himself for future publication.

According to his own account, the idea of succouring his race first came to him after reading an anti-Jewish book by Dr. Dühring, a lecturer in the University of Berlin. Detesting those Jews who, either through snobbishness or pusillanimity, had adopted Christianity, Herzl refused to countenance the idea of changing his name, which had a Jewish sound to the Central European ear. The Austrian historian Friedjung, then at the head of the German weeklies in Vienna, was averse to accepting articles from Herzl under this name, and brought his influence—though in vain—to bear upon him to change it. How deplorable the conditions were under which people lived—and perhaps still live—in Vienna is shown by the fact that so eminent a man as Friedjung (who died a Jew) could stoop to such persuasion. But Herzl, who had courage, strength of character and nobility, remained firm. He had had one experience which had touched him to the quick, not so much because his personal pride was outraged, as because it brought home to him the whole misery of his race. He had just left a taproom in Mainz, where he was as a young man in 1888, when a lad shouted after him: "Hepp, hepp!" the abusive epithet usually flung after Jews. Obviously the boy had recognised the Jew in the man of the pronounced Oriental type—unquestionably one of the highest of types. Some time after this he was driving on the outskirts of the little town of Baden, near Vienna, gazing abstractedly in front of him, sunk in thought, when suddenly the word "Sanjud!" ("Filthy Jew!") was bawled after him. This cry seemed to him the epilogue, so to speak, to a long and thoughtful discussion on Judaism on which he had just been engaged with Ludwig Speidel, the gifted dramatic critic of the *Neue Freie Presse*, and the polished

writer who in his youth had studied divinity in the University of Tübingen.

In Paris, where Herzl at that time had his home, he was at least spared vulgar attacks of this kind. These incidents, never forgotten, left their indelible mark upon him: from that time on he knew no peace. His first intention was to write a novel which should perpetuate the wretchedness of his people; but the free play of his imagination soon hardened into reality, and drove him to action and conflict, for he was repelled by the wealthy Jews, whom he held primarily responsible for anti-Semitism. His sympathies were all for the needy Jews.

Herzl, as a man of noble nature, had a lasting dislike of anything that savoured of charity: he was convinced that charity degraded alike the receivers and the dispensers of it, and that it fostered beggary. To the circumstance that Jews practise so much charity, he ascribed the fact that "sponging" was more highly developed in the Jewish race than in any other. The Parisian Baron Hirsch, a prince among the charitable, was, in his eyes, a most dangerous promoter of the more or less disguised spirit of "sponging" prevalent among Jews. Fired by the idea of leading Baron Hirsch also into the right way, Herzl took his first steps on the road to Zionism. From the very first Herzl approached Hirsch not as an inferior, but as a superior. He strove to mobilise all the wealthy Jewish families—the Hirsches, the Rothschilds, the Camodos and others—to the aid of their poverty-stricken brethren, to aid them—not by charity, but by co-operation—to migrate, suitably provided for, to a Land of Promise, their own sphere, over which they themselves should rule. In a previous age the Jews had been a nation of warriors, and Herzl was convinced that in the future they would have another rôle to play than that of spongers, parasites, malingerers, and provokers of charity on a large scale, such as men like Baron Hirsch had come to regard them. He knew that preparation was required for this. He therefore tried to influence the Baron to offer, in those countries where anti-Semitism was strongest, large bonuses for noble actions, for courage, self-sacrifice and high principles, for high attainment in art and science, for the doctor in times of epidemic, for the soldier, for the discoverer of medicinal drugs—in a word, for everything noble. If Hirsch would not, he would approach Rothschild, just as once Moltke, finding he could not get what he wanted out of Denmark, had gone to Prussia.

Herzl had in view a national loan, and believed it ought to be easier for the Jews to accumulate ten milliards from all over the world than it had been for the French in 1871 to conjure up

five milliards—the French, among whom, indeed, were many wealthy Jews. Already in his mind's-eye he saw the working capital of future railways, emigrant vessels, even of a navy. "Humanity will be better served in this way," thought he, "than by the Jews investing their hard-earned money in a Chinese loan, in African railways, or in any other kind of speculation." The shrewder, less optimistic Baron Hirsch was by no means as credulous as Herzl, and remarked sarcastically that Rothschild would invest five hundred francs in the projected Jewish national loan. Herzl's confident, idealistic nature and imposing manner must have more than slightly impressed the Baron, for on several occasions he lent a willing ear to him and his schemes. But this patron was lost to Herzl and to Zion through an untimely death.

The Moltke of Zionism was thus compelled to turn from Denmark to Prussia, so to speak, from Hirsch to Rothschild. The obvious thing would have been to approach the Vienna branch of the Rothschilds, for Herzl was now living in that city. But the head of the Vienna Rothschilds, Baron Albert, had no interest in such matters—at least, not as they were presented to him by Herzl. On the Jewish question he saw eye to eye with the *Neue Freie Presse*, all the more that he and his Vienna relatives moved almost exclusively in the circles of the Austrian aristocracy, and were thorough snobs. Nor had Herzl any better luck with the Paris Rothschilds. The only one of them, Edmond, who exhibited any interest in the Promised Land was completely absorbed in his own more modest plan of colonising Palestine.

Herzl often spoke to me of the apathy he encountered on the part of wealthy Jews, and once exclaimed bitterly: "The best thing to do with them is to stand them up against a wall and shoot them!" True, he was later on successful in awakening the interest of Lord Rothschild in London, and of Jakob Schiff in New York. These two, however, were no ordinary men. Lord Rothschild was of quite a different stamp from his snobbish cousins in Vienna, and Jakob Schiff had a soft spot in his heart for the down-trodden of his race.

There was no trace, certainly, of Jesuitical casuistry in Herzl; but he did profess the belief—a not unjustifiable one, to our way of thinking—that a noble end sometimes justifies the means. He made use, I know, of a number of shady characters, sometimes even of downright scoundrels. According to his Diaries, the part played by the Pole, von Newlinsky, was not a small one. Newlinsky lived in Vienna, and wrote for some of the French newspapers. He was a blackmailer, extorting payment

wherever he could. Herzl by degrees realised the man's true character, but continued to use him in order to gain entrance to Yildiz Kiosk. He hoped, by personal representations to Abdul Hamid, to see his dream of a Jewish kingdom realised, for Palestine lay within the Sultan's sphere of influence. But the Padishah was hedged about with intriguers, and Herzl had to fight his way through these before he could gain audience. He cast about for men who were in any way connected with Yildiz Kiosk; he found a disinterested worker in Hungary, Professor Vambery, who openly confessed himself one of England's secret agents; in England itself, the enterprising Ashmead Bartlett, M.P., and the adroit publicist, Sidney Whitman.

At last the hour struck, and the doors of Yildiz Kiosk opened to him. He must have realised quickly enough that no reliance was to be placed upon either the Sultan or his Secretaries. Herzl's *Diaries* would still be well worth reading did they contain nothing beyond his sketches of Abdul Hamid and his suite, for in these his literary skill is shown at its highest: His Imperial Majesty of the beak-like nose, attended by Izzet Pasha, who was soft-footed as a panther and had the eyes of a vulture, with the sinister grin of a hyena. There are sketches, too, of other rascals, such as Tahsin Bey and Ibrahim Bey. Full of enthusiasm and ingenuousness, the Zionist leader unfolded his plans to the Padishah. "When Professor Vambery informed me," said Herzl to the Sultan, "that Your Majesty would be gracious enough to receive me, I could not help thinking of the fine old story of Androcles and the lion. Your Majesty is the lion; I, it may be, am Androcles, and it is possible there is a thorn to remove. The national debt I look upon as the thorn. Could this be removed, Turkey's power, in which I believe, would expand anew." The Zionist then made the following perhaps rather daring proposal to His Imperial Majesty: that he (Herzl) should, through his friends, negotiate to the advantage of the Sultan in all the money markets of Europe, if His Imperial Majesty, for his part, would openly show special favour to the Jews by granting them a charter for the formation of a large rural community in Palestine. To this community virgin soil should be handed over, for the purposes of a Jewish settlement. Herzl was of the opinion that, were favourable concessions made to this community—which would, of course, be under Ottoman control—it would be able to clear the land for cultivation, to attract immigrants and to pay taxes. Money could be immediately raised on the income of the community, so that funds would be available from the very beginning.

Herzl betook himself also to the Pope and to the King of

Italy. I was able to bring about his first interview with a dignitary of the Papal See, the Papal Nuncio in Vienna, Monsignor Agliardi. Herzl knew I was in the habit of seeing him, and begged me to introduce him at Monsignor's residence. In Herzl's opinion, it would be a good thing were the Holy See to interest itself in the return of the Jews to Palestine. He thought that their presence in the land sanctified by Christ's Passion, and by His grave itself, would be a source of satisfaction to the Vatican. Further, within a Jewish State, these holy places would enjoy the privilege of *extra territorium*. Herzl refers to me several times in his *Diaries*. One passage runs: "At lunch I told Rev. Father Hechler that the Vienna Nuncio Agliardi had sent word through Dr. Münz that he wished to speak with me." A few pages before this he writes: "The Nuncio Agliardi, when talking to Münz a short time ago, said that he was prepared to receive me." The second version is the more correct. It was not the Nuncio who sought Herzl's acquaintance, but Herzl who had, through me, requested the Nuncio to receive him. Monsignor Agliardi knew absolutely nothing about Judaism. He once asked me: "Have you ever seen a poor Jew?" He was possessed by the idea that all Jews were Rothschilds or Hirsches, Camodos or Franchettis, Beits or Barnatos. I sought to disillusion him by recommending him to visit Leopoldstadt (a quarter of Vienna lying on the other side of the Danube Canal), where he would easily find thousands of poor Jews making a bare subsistence by the sweat of their brows. It is quite comprehensible, therefore, that he brought neither understanding nor sympathy to the consideration of Herzl's cause.

For all that he had been bitterly disappointed in Monsignor Agliardi, Herzl, with great tenacity, would give up for lost neither his cause nor the Papal See. I have already mentioned that he used many inferior characters in pursuit of his high purpose. Such an one was the Hungarian painter, Lippay, now dead. He was inferior as an artist, and still more so as an individual. He was said to have adopted Christianity. He was always in financial straits, and sponged on anyone he could. Lippay had enjoyed the patronage of the Patriarch of Venice, Cardinal Sarto, who, as Pius X, continued to favour his former family portrait-painter, repeatedly sitting to him when Pope. In my opinion, the portraits of Pius X painted by Lippay are as inferior to those of Leo XIII by Lenbach and Laszlo as Pius X himself was to Leo XIII. It was through Lippay that Dr. Herzl gained audience of the Pope and of the Cardinal Secretary of State, Merry del Val. "The Swiss bodyguard and

the lackeys all knew him" (Lippay), wrote Herzl. "He went up the steps and through the loggias of his colleague Raphael as were he one of the mighty ones of the earth."

It seems that the Cardinal was as struck by Herzl's appearance as Herzl was by that of the Cardinal. He thus describes him: "Tall, slight, aristocratic. Fine, large, brown, steady, questioning, not ungentle eyes in a still young, already severe face." The Cardinal refused the spiritual sanction of the Church of Rome for Zionism as long as one Jew remained unbaptised. "My ideal," said His Eminence, "is a Jew who has turned Christian through conviction. I see in him the material witness that Christ sprang from this people, coupled with the spiritual." It may be that the Cardinal was inspired to utter these words by the appearance of the man opposite him, which suggested at once the head of Christ and that of Benjamin Disraeli. When the Cardinal declared that he would support Herzl's scheme only if the entire Jewish nation adopted Christianity in a body, Herzl replied, with a graceful wit: "Consider, Your Eminence, the traveller and his cloak. The wind could not tear it, but the sun smiled it away. We have withstood persecution; we are where we were." The Cardinal promised to present him to the Pope.

Herzl's conversation with the Pope was carried on in Italian. Since, on Lippay's advice, Herzl wore the illustrious Turkish order bestowed on him by the Caliph, the Pope of the Moslems, His Holiness addressed him always as "Signor Commendatore." The Zionist leader omitted to kiss the Pope's hand, and he believed that by so doing he incurred the immediate displeasure of His Holiness, who declared that it was impossible to make over to the Jews those holy places to which the most precious memories of Christendom clung. Herzl's reply that these places would remain *res sacrae extra commercium* made no impression upon him. "And the present situation there, Holy Father?" objected Herzl. It was indeed deplorable, the Pope answered, to know the Turks to have control over the holy places, but they had, and no assistance could be given the Jews to assume control in their stead. Herzl tried to enlist his sympathies for the miseries of the persecuted Jews. He asked the Pope if he knew the position of the Jews, whereupon His Holiness was reminded of the Venetian and Lombard Jews with whom he had been acquainted when he held a curacy near Padua, and later when he was Bishop of Mantua. "This very day," he added, "the Church celebrates the feast of an unbeliever who, on the way to Damascus, was by a miracle converted to the true faith. Therefore, when you go to Palestine, and settle

your people there, we shall be ready with churches and priests to baptise you all."

The outcome of the conversation was the Pope's *non possumus*.

The Quirinal proved much more susceptible than the Vatican to Herzl's arguments. "I know Palestine well," said King Victor Emmanuel III. "I have been there several times. I was there at the time my father was assassinated. It is only a question of time until the land is yours. If only you had half a million Jews there already!" To Herzl's assertion that they would not be permitted to enter it, the King replied that in all probability permission could be obtained by the judicious employment of baksheesh. "The one thing which has power to sway the Sultan," he said, "is money. If you promised him half of the total revenue in exchange for the Valley of the Jordan, he would let you have it."

For the time, the Palestine scheme came no nearer fulfilment than had the Uganda. None of the Great Powers would take the initiative. Each was apprehensive that, by identifying itself with Zionism, it might be suspected of harbouring imperialistic designs on Palestine. Lord Cromer's opposition defeated the project, ventilated in London, of a colony in El Arish. The influential Jews themselves, even, could not always be counted upon. In a mood of the deepest depression Herzl wrote as his own epitaph: "He had too good an opinion of the Jews."

The tremendous exertions which Herzl had made to turn the dream of his life into reality undermined the very foundations of his strength. I remember the last time I saw him. We met in the Kriean, an open-air café in Vienna. He looked a broken man, and could hardly suppress the sighs which rose to his lips. His heart was affected, so that he could hold himself upright only with difficulty. His eyes, though tired, still smouldered in his livid face, eyes that had once observed the world so acutely. What scorn had once flashed from them! His Diaries, also, are full of the most delicate mockery. He was a clever cartoonist, like his brother poet, Heinrich Heine, who was of his own race. He even, on one occasion, tried his hand at caricaturing me. Our conversation had turned upon Hall Caine's then recently published novel, *The Eternal City*. I criticised parts of it rather severely, as I had already done in the editorial columns of the *Neue Freie Presse*. Herzl took a piece of paper and, fixing his penetrating eye upon me, sketched me. Under the sketch he wrote: "Münz, while criticising Hall Caine's novel . . . Th. Herzl fecit." This little incident is evidence that Herzl did not always appear clothed in

the mantle of the prophet or in the guise of the Messiah, but as a lovable, sociable man, as, indeed, he not seldom in his Diaries shows himself to be.

Soon after this meeting, Herzl went to the little village of Edlach, which lies like a large garden at the foot of the Alpine meadows on the Rax. There he was living in a small one-storied house. He lay there ill for some time; but gradually the fresh breath of the Rax and the Schneeberg, blowing on his fevered temples, gave him back a new lease of life, and he hoped soon to be able to think and work once more for Zion. But there, in that little house, death came to him on July 31st, 1904. He was taken to Vienna, and laid in the cemetery at Döbling, many thousand followers gathering around his grave, which to-day is covered high with sods of earth from Jerusalem. His presentiment, *non omnis moriar*, was to be fulfilled. A Japanese diplomat, who was paying me a call not long ago, noticed my portrait of Herzl, and asked where he was buried, making me realise what lasting fame is. For he, untouched by any association with Zionism or Judaism, felt constrained to pay homage at the grave of the visionary whom he admired.

Herzl was not permitted to lead his people back to the Promised Land. He only beheld it, as once had Moses in dying, from the heights of Nebo. His long-cherished dream was realised when the Jewish people received, at the hand of Lord Balfour, the charter of foundation of the longed-for home in Palestine. The foundation-stone of the Jewish University in Jerusalem was laid by Dr. Weizmann, the present distinguished leader of the Zionists. As he placed the deed of foundation in the earth, he pronounced the name of Benjamin Herzl, Ben Jakob Herzl (son of Jakob Herzl). The present resting-place of the Zionist leader is in Döbling, amid the echoing harmonies of Beethoven, who once wrought there. But before very long, so it is said, he will be borne across the sea and laid where the strains of the Harp of David forever sound.

SIGMUND MÜNZ.

THE FIRST QUAKER.

IT is three hundred years this month since George Fox, the founder of Quakerism, was born at Drayton, in Leicestershire.

His figure is of added interest to us to-day in that the times in which he lived, however different in externals, were in some essentials similar to our own. Charles I. came to the throne the year after Fox was born, and when he was brought to the scaffold Fox was a young man of twenty-four. The opening of his career, therefore, coincided with the overthrow of a system of despotism and the establishment of the Commonwealth. It was a time when hope ran high. The old order had come to an end, and a new world was being born. The reign of freedom, both religious and political, seemed imminent. Its coming inspired the rosiest dreams, and many and strange were the doctrines that won an easy acceptance among a people living in an atmosphere of unsettlement and reconstruction. It was to a world swayed hither and thither by contending ideas and factions that Fox came with his simple message of light and love.

The story of Fox's life is probably not too well known to bear a brief recapitulation. His father was a weaver and was called by his neighbours "Righteous Christer." His mother—"an upright woman and accomplished beyond most of her degree"—came of a family that had suffered much persecution in bygone days. Both Christopher Fox and his wife were members of the Church of England. George was early distinguished from their other children through his being "more religious, inward, still, solid, and observing beyond his years." He was apprenticed to a shoemaker, who also dealt in wool and cattle. Fox learned the many-sided business fairly well, but found most pleasure in dealing with sheep. He does not seem at this time to have been in any way eccentric; but "people," he said, "had generally a love to me for my innocence and honesty." One of the first decisive incidents in his life was a visit to a fair at the age of nineteen. Some friends took him to a tavern, where unlimited "drinks all round" were ordered. His sensitive spirit was shocked, and, leaving a groat as his share of the reckoning, he quitted the tavern in loneliness and misery of soul. There followed sleepless nights and perplexed days. It was borne in upon him that he ought to break off relationship with his family and "fellowship with old and young." After four years of inward struggle and darkness, shot through with occasional gleams of light, he relented of his decision, but continued occasionally to shun all society for days at a time.

Meanwhile, in his own words, he was "travelling up and down as a stranger in the land, which way the Lord inclined my heart." "Afraid of both professor and profane," he wandered about the

Midlands, seeking spiritual guidance. He gained little, and least of all from the many "priests" whom he consulted, some of whom suggested tobacco as the solution of his problem, while others recommended blood-letting. It was in 1647 that there came to him the first "opening":

"Then, O then, I heard a voice which said, 'There is one, even Christ Jesus, that can speak to thy condition,' and when I heard my heart did leap for joy."

There were to be further passing clouds before the full light of assurance flooded his soul; but from that moment of vision, when it was revealed to him that "being educated at Oxford or Cambridge does not necessarily make men fit to be ministers," and that "God does not dwell in temples made with hands," his message shaped itself with growing certainty. That message was to reflect in some externals the Puritanism of which in essence it was a complete denial, and it was to be associated with oddities of conduct, such as the refusal to take off the hat to any person. It was even to move some who accepted it to the extreme of walking naked through the streets. But, through all limitations and extravagances, the light that had come to Fox was to shine out with increasing clearness, until, spreading widely, it kindled one of the most significant religious movements in history.

So much of the natural man must there be in any prophet that it is not surprising that, in a day when theological discussion was the staple of popular conversation and was carried on in a temper more befitting the cock-pit or the prize-ring, Fox's speech was often less gentle than his gospel. Nor is it to be marvelled at that his mission should have found its first real expression in heated public controversy with the ordained "priests" of the "steeple-houses." One of the earliest records of his method describes how, reaching Nottingham one day in 1649, he was moved to go to the church, where the preacher, from the text of "We have also a more sure word of prophecy," was expounding the ordinary Protestant doctrine of the supreme authority of Scripture. Fox, interrupting the sermon, contended that not in the Scriptures only, "but in the divine light by which the Scriptures were given," ought doctrines to be judged. For this he suffered his first imprisonment.

It was two years later that the well-known incident at Lichfield occurred—one of the most dramatic incidents in Fox's life and one by which he has too often been misunderstood. He had been liberated from Derby Gaol, and was making his way into his "own country" of Leicestershire, when, approaching Lichfield, he caught sight of the three spires of the Cathedral. "They struck at my life," he said, and all that was prophetic in him, mingled with much that was psychical, suddenly burned "like a fire" in

him. Leaving his shoes with some shepherds, he entered the town, and "the sense of blood" was upon him. He saw blood running through the streets, and "the market-place was like a pool." It was market day, and he walked up and down the streets, crying, "Woe unto the bloody city of Lichfield! Woe unto the bloody city of Lichfield!" "No one," he said, afterwards, when he himself wondered why he had been moved to this strange act, "touched me nor laid hands upon me." The probable explanation of Fox's conduct is that his sensitive mind, strained by a year's horrible imprisonment, was subconsciously inflamed by stories, told him as a boy by his mother, of persecution and martyrdom at Lichfield; and psychical sensibility may also have entered largely into it. But, though evidences of a psychical element in his character were often manifested, this incident was an isolated one. More typical, and of permanent influence upon the Society of which he was at first the unconscious founder, was his refusal, while imprisoned at Nottingham, to take up arms in the Civil War.

"Now the time of Worcester fight coming on, Justice Bennett sent the constables to press me for a soldier, seeing that I would not voluntarily accept of a command. I told him that I was brought off from all outward wars. They came down again to give me press-money, but I would take none. Then I was brought up to Serjeant Holes, kept there awhile, and then taken down again. After a while the constable fetched me up again, and brought me before the commissioners, who said I should go for a soldier; but I told them I was dead to it. They said I was alive. I told them, where envy and lust are, there is confusion. They offered me money twice, but I would not take it; then they were angry, and committed me close prisoner, without bail or mainprize."

Whereupon Fox wrote one of the many letters, pastorals, and exhortations with which he occupied his time during his many brief and long imprisonments. These pastorals always stressed the positive side of his beliefs, and reveal him to have been the very reverse of a mere obstructionist or passive resister.

Of Fox's imprisonments it is impossible to speak in detail. In spite of the Utopian dreams inspired by the Commonwealth, religious persecution continued under Cromwell, and, for all his fair promises, became even sterner under Charles II. Thousands of early Friends (who were nicknamed "Quakers" because Fox bade his hearers "tremble at the word of God") suffered imprisonment during the lifetime of their leader, and many died under the cruel and anarchic conditions that characterised the seventeenth century gaols. Nor can we here follow Fox in his innumerable missionary journeys, which, while mainly confined to the Midlands and the North of England, extended also to Scotland, Ireland, the Barbadoes, Jamaica, America, Holland, and Germany.

When we bear in mind the difficulties and hazards of travel in his day, and remember that he was repeatedly cast into prison for weeks or months together, and was constantly the target of violent opposition, the mere mileage covered by Fox is evidence of an amazing energy and courage. In their spiritual aspect, nothing is clearer about his travels than the fact that they were originally undertaken with no thought of founding a new religious sect. Fox and his followers called themselves "Children of the Light," and, though he himself always retained an unsullied personal humility, his zeal was such that nothing short of the ultimate winning of all society to an unorganised Christianity, similar in spirit to that of the early Apostles, was the purpose of his preaching.

As converts multiplied in number and met together, however, an inevitable, albeit an eminently original, organisation developed and Fox himself played no small part in fashioning it. He died in 1691, three years after the accession of William and Mary. After the Toleration Act of 1689 had brought relief from persecution, the Society of Friends was to settle down into a respectable and somewhat exclusive sect, and even to lapse, under cultured leaders and apologists, into quietism. But so long as Fox lived, the organisation, in spite of occasional differences and misunderstandings, retained the primitive dynamic of the spirit and exercised a far-reaching influence outside its own bounds. If we think of Fox as the founder of the Society of Friends, we must think of him still more as one who kindled a new spiritual life that was too great to find adequate expression in any system of theology or church government. But, though the word "primitive" best describes the peculiar quality of Fox's genius, it must not be confused with the word "rude." Macaulay represented Fox as being, as it were, a mere vulgar "tub-thumper"; but Macaulay was very wide of the mark. It is true that Fox was an unlettered man, whose main reading was the Bible, and that many of his disciples were simple and homely men. But that there was nothing vulgar in him, in the conventional modern meaning of the word, is attested by the fact that he also made converts of men of education and family, like Penn, Barclay, and Judge Fell, whose widow, Margaret, he married in his forty-fifth year, to the financial, as well as the spiritual enrichment of the then established Society.

Fortunately the story of Fox's life and of his journeys, first in search of truth, and then in its proclamation, may be read in his own *Journal*. The *Journal* has not received from the general reader the attention it deserves; but its appearance in a popular edition* should now bring it within his reach. As a diarist, no less than as a man, Fox inevitably challenges comparison with Wesley.

* *The Journal of George Fox*. Edited by Norman Penney. With Introduction by Rufus M. Jones, D.Litt. (Dent. 5s.)

So far as the *Journals* are concerned, the advantage might be expected to lie with Wesley, who was not only a scholar and a gentleman, but, in a very good sense, a man of the world. Wesley had an eye for everything, and a gift of vivid, incisive description. We see, in his pages, the whole life of his time as we can see it nowhere else. Fox's *Journal* offers us no such picture. Of all the towns he visited, for instance, he gives us, so far as we can trace, but a single line of description, when he says of Carnarvon that it is "a city like a castle." Nor had Fox anything of Wesley's caustic humour. Yet, with the story of his "blessed" meetings and his imprisonments perpetually repeating itself in simple words, Fox's *Journal* contrives somehow to grip the reader no less firmly than Wesley's. This fact is, surely, a supreme tribute not merely to his vigour and earnestness, but to his innate charm of character. If, through the printed page, this weaver's son, lacking all conventional culture and literary grace, can so hold the reader of to-day, how potent must have been the spell he cast over the men and women of his own time, as, with his tall, strongly built figure, "graceful in countenance, grave in gesture," and "in manner courteous and unaffected," he rode through town and countryside in his low-crowned, broad-brimmed hat!

"Primitive" in the sense of being elemental, is the word to which we return in any attempt to summarise Fox's character. There is necessarily something of the primitive quality in all leaders of religious movements. There was much of it in John Wesley. But in Wesley it was apparent more in the delivery of his message than in the message itself. He brought to his preaching a singleness and passion of heart altogether alien to his time; but his doctrines in themselves were neither new nor startling. Wesley gave them new effectuality, but, merely as doctrines, they were for the most part the commonplaces of contemporary theology. Fox's zeal was not less than Wesley's, but his primitive quality showed itself also in the intrinsic character of his message, which, at the time, was novel and revolutionary. Actually, of course, Fox's message was not new. But it was new for his own age, and it was new for himself. The essence of his teaching was "the universality and sufficiency of Christ's spirit." If in its expression he was hampered in some degree by prevailing Puritan ideas—such as the forbidding of harmless amusements—it was fundamentally a denial of Puritanism. "If," it has been well said, "Quakerism be called the climax of Puritanism, it is so only as the rebound is the climax of the wave." For one thing, Fox's doctrine was the antithesis of that of election. For another, Fox, since he held the light of Christ's spirit to be inherent in men of every class and of every nation, believed in human perfectibility. Other Puritan

teachers maintained that men, even after conversion, which was mainly an intellectual or theological process and was concerned with a future world rather than with this present life, must often necessarily fail. But Fox, while he too laid stress upon salvation in a future state, held that the Kingdom of Heaven might come upon earth, and, mystic though he was, his message had, therefore, its practical side. It naturally influenced conduct in a way that other Puritan doctrines failed to do, and it fostered a sense of social responsibility that in Fox's own life found expression in his concern for reform and education.

But the cardinal point about Fox is that, if in essence his teaching was, after all, but a return to primitive Christianity, it was not a deliberate or conscious return, but a new and spontaneous upwelling. He would search his Bible for confirmation of the truths he preached, as when he supported his refusal to fight by reference to "St. James his doctrine." But truth for him sprang, in the first instance, from his own experience. It was not in the Scriptures themselves, "but in the divine light by which the Scriptures were given," that doctrines were to be judged. Fox's conviction that men might here and now live in perfect love with one another is proclaimed to-day from many and diverse pulpits. The theory is accepted, but the practice of it has still to be learned. It may be that we shall never quite reach Utopia; but Fox represents that primitive simplicity, purity and driving-force of spirit that must be continually renewing itself if there is to be any real life in ideas or institutions. That spirit, once engendered, may express itself through more channels than Fox, with his limitations, could realise. But without it all things are dead. And that spirit cannot be attained by the passive acceptance of truth. Nor can it be achieved by merely taking thought. It may itself transfuse and direct intellect; but intellectual processes cannot produce it. The wind may shake the trees; but the trees cannot create the wind.

Truth, however old, must, if it is to be effectual, be perpetually filling men with the divine glow and dynamic of a new discovery. It must be won by each man for himself, as Fox won it, through openness of mind and travail of heart. Only when thus kindled out of personal experience will it have that freshness, that elemental quality, that can give it reality or vitality. There are signs of a revival, in modern form and expression, of Fox's spirit among his professed followers of to-day; and perhaps in a time like this, when, as it was in Fox's own age, society is beridden by difficulties and torn by competing theories, he may have something to offer to a wider circle of those who seek the things that belong to their own peace and to the common good of humanity.

GILBERT THOMAS.

UNHEALTHY HEALTH.

THERE are few studies more interesting than the study of words that have fallen and words that have risen. The words that have fallen are by far the more numerous. As examples one might cite "drink," "nerves," "crime," "knave," "villain," "pagan," "blackguard," "pious," and "holy." As examples of words that have risen, "talents," "humble," "service," "playing the game," "happiness," "progress," "humanity."

In itself the derivation of the word "Health" was noble. It was connected with the Greek word *καλός* (*kalos*), which meant both beautiful and good. The élite of the Athenians were called *καλοὶ καγαθοί*. Other members of the same original group are our words "hale," "heal," "whole" (where a "w" has crept in), "holiday." All these words are sane and sound still.

But the word "Health" has sunk down and been degraded; so that, if we want to express Health clearly to-day, we are obliged to qualify it in some way. We have to call it "good Health," or "real Health," or "Health and fitness," or "Health and efficiency," before it comes near to meaning what it once meant, something good and beautiful. One is reminded of a number of similar instances. Thus, recently, there has been formed a Society of "Practical Christianity." In theory, Christianity is not Christianity if it is not practical! But, in reality, Christianity has often come to be regarded as something so theoretical and vague that, if it is to be applied in daily life, it has to be given some extra word to denote this.

We might consider a few examples of common uses of the word "Health" to-day. "People talk far too much about their health," is quite a frequent saying. As a matter of fact, people rarely talk about their *health*. We hardly ever hear a person say, "I am feeling absolutely fit and happy, and ready for anything." What is meant by these words is that people talk far too much about their ill-health, and their ailments. We have only to listen to ordinary conversation in order to realise what a large part of their speaking lives ordinary individuals devote to their ill-health. Then, again, people say: "I don't want always to be thinking about my health." Now in what better ways could they spend their time than in thinking about real Health—the pleasure, the usefulness, the beauty of real Health? Surely to think about real Health would be to obey the Commandment, "Whatsoever things are of good report, think of these things." No. When most people use the word, they have in mind not their *Health*,

but their *ill-health*. They mean that they do not want always to be thinking about their ailments. What an enormous change has taken place when the word "Health" has come to mean actual ill-health, or ailments, or even disease!

Again and again I get letters from people telling me that they are "perfectly well and healthy." I have all these filed in a special folder, which is now reaching enormous proportions. Here is a typical example: "I am perfectly well and do not need to bother about myself. I have rheumatism . . . headache . . . indigestion . . . and insomnia . . . but I am perfectly well"! Even as I write this article, I receive a letter from a young man who had been told by his medical adviser to go away and not to worry at all, as he was *perfectly healthy*. And I read, in the young man's report of his own case, that he suffered from poor circulation, fears and dreads, indigestion, constipation, sleeplessness, and rheumatic troubles.

Some would identify Health with being "organically sound." People are examined, and are told that they are not suffering from heart-disease, kidney-disease, diabetes, or lung-disease. They are told that therefore they are all right. But I maintain that very few of these people *are* organically sound, if we include the blood as an organ. Surely the blood is one of the largest organs in the body, and surely the blood of most (civilised) people is remarkably unsound.

Not long ago an advertising agent approached me with the idea of an advertisement in the daily papers. I asked him to outline it, and he put at the head of it "Good Health." I told him that this was the title of a paper, and that "Real Health" would be a better title. I told him also that it was useless to try to give the word "Health" a new meaning, since the British Public associated it with something else; and I was able to prove conclusively that this was so. But I set myself immediately to collect from the daily papers all the advertisements which mentioned the word "Health." There were advertisements of various Salts, to be taken in the morning or at other times, Pills, Tonics, Tonic-Wines, Ointments, even a Gin, a Tobacco, a Flavouring Powder, a Soap, and a Corset! What these had to do with real Health, goodness knows; but I could not find the word "Health" in the papers in any other connection. Evidently the advertisers and the public regarded the word "Health" as implying something external that you *added*, so as to remove a trouble, or the symptoms of a trouble; or in order to give a little immediate pleasure and sense of well-being. We shall see directly what a wide gulf separates this idea from the true idea of genuine Health.

Then think of the phrase "Health Insurance." What has this

to do with "Health," or, indeed, with Insurance? In the great majority of cases people are not told how to insure their Health—*i.e.*, how to prevent any trouble by the right way of living. They go to a panel Doctor, who gives them a drug. Who goes to a panel Doctor in order to be told how he can insure his health by a sensible *régime*?

Then there is the Health Ministry, which apparently is devoting a great part of its attention at the present moment to the problem of house-building—an important problem, but only a part of the whole means towards real Health. As to a constructive and preventive system of Health, it does not seem to enter into the programme of the Health Ministry at all. The assumption that such things as the Health Ministry deals with are at all sufficient for real Health is ridiculous.

I bought an American paper once because of the title of one of the articles. Some high authority in that country was writing on "the Gospel of Health." His article contained three pieces of advice. I had expected advice about pure and balanced food and drinks, about deep and full breathing, correct position of the body, sensible exercises, mastication, cheerful thoughts, and so forth; but I only found three Commandments in this "Gospel." The first was to "swot flies"; the second was to boil milk, and the third was not to spit! "The Gospel of Health" was a wonderfully descriptive title for these topics!

Then I turned to the daily papers again, for a change, and in a leading paper I found "Public Health Films" mentioned. I quote from this paper here:—

Whether propaganda films on health subjects do any good was debated at the London Council meeting last night.

Sir John Gillett questioned whether they did. "I should like," he added, "to stop them altogether."

Dr. Scott Lidgett took the view that anything should be welcome which had a good effect on the minds and characters of young people.

At present young people must be eighteen before they can be admitted to see these films, and it is proposed to reduce the age limit to sixteen. The Council decided not to oppose this, but asked a sub-committee to report whether it is advisable to show the films.

Imagine anything in connection with real Health being improper; imagine that it should be unadvisable for people who have not reached the age of eighteen! Here, evidently, *Public Health* means the treatment of certain so-called "immoral" evils of the day.

I had a letter from one of the best known men in this country. I had suggested to him the importance of the millions learning something about Health. His reply was that the manual workers

already got exercise, and, therefore, that they did not need to trouble about exercises of any sort, or about diet. Their manual exercises, he said, were bound to keep them healthy. He was perfectly satisfied with the present standard of health of the working classes. The workman who was engaged, for example, in some exercise, chiefly with his hands, and who got very little exercise for the large muscles of his body, did not need at all to practise stretching or the art of muscular relaxing, or to learn how to breathe deeply and fully, though his work naturally brought his shoulders forward, and cramped his chest, and handicapped his full breathing! He did not need to attend at all to the posture of his body! As to his food, all that Science has found out, up to date, was (according to this authority) perfectly futile for the workman, because, so long as he got some manual exercise, it did not matter what he ate! He was healthy enough already; "no matter what he eats," said my correspondent, "his hard manual work keeps him in health."

How many hours and days are lost here and in America through avoidable ill-health, has been calculated by the great economist, Professor Irving Fisher. He under-estimates the number of millions of pounds which the nation loses every year through avoidable ill-health. Professor Irving Fisher says: "Judging from the English statistics of illness, we must conclude that at all times in the United States about three million persons are seriously ill, of whom about 500,000 are consumptives. Fully half of the illness is preventable. If we appraise each life lost at only \$1,700, and each year's average earnings for adults at only \$700, the economic gain to be obtained from preventing preventable disease, measured in dollars, exceeds one and a half billions."

This is still only negative Health that is aimed at—namely, the absence of certain definite physical troubles; there is no hint of positive, radiant Health. If the millions were taught the very simplest rules of Health from early years, and also all the way through life as well, there would be an almost incredible raising of the standard of Health, and by degrees the word "Health" might come to mean something quite different. But, as we look round us, and ask whether the word "Health" can fairly be applied to most people as they are to-day; as we study the typical citizens of to-day; we cannot help exclaiming, "So *this* is Health!"

Now, what is *real* Health? I shall not say here anything about the means or avenues to Health, except that to attain thorough fitness we must practise a good deal of abstinence from—or, at any rate, lessening of—various mistakes, until the blood is pure, and so we get more self-control. It is utterly unsafe for most people to trust to what they call their instincts; these instincts—the dislikes

as well as the likes—are so horribly perverted by the luxuries which have come to be regarded as necessities. Without attempting to say what Health is, I may suggest what some parts or aspects of Health may be. Too often writers and speakers profess to tell us what something *is*—whether Life, or Mind, or Virtue—when they really tell us only what some of its signs are or seem to be. I make no such mistake here: I merely profess to offer what some of the signs, attributes, and characteristics of real Health seem to be.

To begin with, we have the above-mentioned characteristic, that a healthy person is free from organic disease; he is free from disease of the heart, lungs, and kidneys; he is free from diabetes; he is free from other diseases which are not always classed as organic. He is free from—that is to say, he prevents, or else recovers quickly from—various ailments, both of body and of mind, including the discomforts and dis-eases as well as diseases. The main physical characteristic of good Health is pure blood. But we must add also pure lymph, and pure tissues; for the blood is not the whole of the life. We cannot test a person's health adequately unless we know the state of his tissues, which may be holding an enormous amount of waste and toxic matter. So long as the tissues are poisoned or clogged, there cannot be real Health, even if the person looks healthy.

Now Health is not mere unawareness of the body. Some so-called "Physiologists" (who evidently know little about real Health, but have their minds concentrated on corpses, and on people who *exist* rather than live and thrive) tell us that the ideal state is for us to be unaware of our muscles when we use them. But a truly healthy person loves to use his muscles; when he walks or runs, or jumps, or plays, he should get pleasure and delight from his muscles, somewhat as a king should feel happy when his subjects are happy. To my mind, muscles are not in their proper condition unless it is positively satisfactory for us to use them in exercise or exercises. Virgil had a fine phrase about the bull, when he said: *irasci in cornua tentat* ("he tries to throw his anger into his horns"). When we throw or send our energy into our muscles, we should enjoy the movement. And so, I feel sure, we should have a positive thrill in the exercise of our mind, whether we grasp the full truths or solve the problems, or not. Real Health is a pleasurable—consciously pleasurable—sensation. It might even be called a "Sense."

There are many words beginning with "E" that suggest characteristics of Real Health. Here are some of these words: Energy; Endurance; Ease; Economy (about which I shall say something more directly); Efficiency; Enjoyment; Example to others.

The healthy person does more work, better work, easier work, and happier work than the unhealthy person, whether that work be physical or mental, or both physical and mental.

Economy, in the above list, includes a large number of different ideas. For example, the healthy person naturally spends less money, especially on various so-called cures. The healthy person is less often absent from work. He earns more money for himself and for his employer. And he should need less sleep and rest, and save time in this way. And, as to his economy of energy, only those who are really healthy can realise how much work can be done without fatigue by people who are relatively well and fit. Besides this, he has a bias, an inclination, towards right work. He would rather do good work than be idle. Instead of its being a hardship for him to perform his daily task, it is a positive pleasure; it is what he would rather do than anything else. This, it seems to me, is a very marked sign of Health, extraordinarily rare to-day among nearly all classes.

And, besides this, the really healthy person has a preference for healthy and simple foods and drinks, instead of craving a number of expensive stimulants, and craving also excess of foods, as most people do. The healthy person, in fact, has a sound discrimination in all things. For example, the truly healthy, pure-blooded man or woman does not desire excess, nor over-stimulating drinks or drugs or condiments or "foods"; but prefers economical and sustaining foods that do not lead to unpleasant reactions and "the vicious spiral."

It is the decided inclination of a healthy person not only to do good work, but to help others. He has no grudge against others; his main idea is to do all he can for as many of them as possible. As Mr. Wingfield-Stratford says, "it is as natural for a healthy man to love others as it is for him to love himself." This aspect of Health has an important bearing on the quarrels—or harmonies—of the various groups, from family and locality, through city and country and nation, up to humanity. Is not much of the bad feeling of to-day due to avoidable ill-health—not merely weakness, but also acid, toxic, clogged blood? I believe that real Health is the main solution of the problem of international as well as inter-class friendship and co-operation.

And one way in which the healthy person helps others is to radiate Health. I am sure that it is impossible for a person to be *really* fit and well without spreading this state to others, and, as it were, infecting others. The healthy person is pleasant to others: pleasant to look at, pleasant to listen to, pleasant to be with. When we find people jarring upon us, and especially when we find people somehow repulsive to us, I think we can safely assume that these

people are somehow unhealthy, even if they are "organically sound"—and even if we also are somewhat unhealthy ourselves! It goes without saying that the healthy person is attractive.

And that he lives a longer life. Long life, in itself, is no great advantage to the world, for the aged person may be what the Greeks called "an excessive burden upon the earth;" but a vigorous, intelligent, sympathetic person of ripened years is one of the greatest assets that a community can possess. And the healthy person helps not only himself and those who are around him—he helps posterity as well; he leaves the world better than he found it.

When we consider Health in its original sense, the sense which is now lost, for the most part, we can find no real objection to it. Health is not only "the first Wealth," as Emerson called it, but also the first Beauty, the first Altruism, the first Happiness, the first Common Sense.

Objections could be raised against the morbid, fussy, faddy, cranky Health-seeker, who is always talking of some one narrow avenue to Health, as if there were only one single avenue for all. There are plenty of bores who put people off altogether, because they are such unsatisfactory specimens themselves, and *because* they are such bores. A really healthy person is not always talking about his health, any more than a really good person is always talking about his goodness—or even about Goodness. A really healthy person *lives* Health, and perhaps he does not preach it at all.

I think it will be agreed that Health, in the popular sense of the word, is not healthy Health, but unhealthy Health. And the question is: Can we ever lift up the word "Health" and make it mean a positive, preventive, happy and pleasant, radiating, self-increasing blessing, rather than a partial, negative, greyish word, without life and without faith, and even without hope? Personally, I very much doubt whether the splendid old vitality of the word *can* be restored. It seems as if we may never again be able to use the word "Health" in its true sense; and that, if we wish to denote this true sense, we shall be obliged always to make it clear that we mean not Health in the popular sense, but something higher, wider, more vital.

EUSTACE MILES.

THE POETRY OF MR. HERBERT TRENCH.

DRAMATIC situations with something oddly general and familiar in them, the beauty of Italy, the stress and restlessness of passion, memories of a scholar, thoughtful observation of birds, of the dawn, of the stars, a development of positivist philosophy into an almost religious sense of the immortality and the unity of human life through the family, war and sentiments appropriate to an Englishman—such are the themes of Mr. Trench's poetry—and they are one reason why his verse is poetry. And it is moving not only on account of them, but also because they leave no sense of tranquillity; because they are the self-expression of a man who did not find repose in any of them. He knew emotion, and he recollected it, but not in tranquillity. The complexity of the passionate experience is renewed in his meditation on it, and works his mind up to a complexity like its own. There is little simplicity in this poetry: it is highly wrought and intricate: it will never be popular. But it is an extraordinarily interesting development of the tradition of nineteenth-century poetry, poetry like Matthew Arnold's, whose effects Mr. Trench very carefully studied and used, poetry which is haunting because of its restlessness and which has the elusiveness and the distinction of a writer who caught the secret of style from familiarity with Europe's masterpieces. Yet it is not academic, because it is itself art. Mr. Trench was a poet on his own.

At the same time most readers of poetry demand something more of simplicity of effect than Mr. Trench was in the way of giving them. They feel the sense of beauty only when a repose, a trance falls on them through the art, and wakens them to poetic life, the haunting idea of a transcendent world in touch with that of the senses, and this effect can only be obtained when our nerves through rhythms, and imagined beauty, are lulled and the soul awakens. Was Mr. Trench able to do this? The question is answered in his poem *I Heard a Soldier*.

I heard a soldier sing some trifle
Out in the sun-dried veldt alone;
He lay and cleaned his grimy rifle
Idly, behind a stone.

"If after death, love, comes a waking,
And in their camp so dark and still
The men of dust hear bugles, breaking
Their halt upon the hill,

"To me the slow and silver pealing
That then the last high trumpet pours
Shall softer than the dawn come stealing
For, with its call, comes yours."

What grief of love had he to stifle
Basking so idly by his stone,
That grimy soldier with his rifle
Out in the veldt alone?

Equally effective in another style is *Schiehallion*. There are more elaborate, and therefore less convincing answers in *A Rude Song of the Switzer and his Pine*, which is what it is meant to be, an example of the ballad, aiming like ballads at a rather different goal from poetry, and *How Shall I Find . . .*, *Jean Richepin's Song*, *The Romney Marshman's Love Song*, and *Lindisfarne*. In these is some of the most delightful of Mr. Trench's work: but it is not its delightfulness that is most typical of his spirit and of his genius.

He is almost too elusive: by careful attention we may succeed in catching his meaning and his effect, but even then not always. But this is, of course, the very delicacy of art, to be almost ethereal, impalpable, and yet not wholly so. In *A Winter Song*, which Mr. Trench inscribed to Alice Meynell, his verses convey by their elusiveness a sense of that rare woman who seemed to Meredith and to many like a gracious spirit of the windy air:—

Lady, through grasses stiff with rime
And wraith-hung trees I wander,
Where the red sun at pitch of prime
Half of his might must squander.
Narrow the track
As I look back
On traces green behind me.
I go alone
To think upon
A face, where none
Shall find me.

But in a great and glittering space
The black elm doth restore me
To you. Empower'd with patient grace
Musing she stands before me;
Her webs divine
Ghosed with fine
Remembrance few can capture;
Her very shade
On greenness laid
Is white, is made
Of Rapture.

Yes, this is exquisite, as a compliment to Mrs. Meynell should be: and she, no doubt, would have seen, what less penetrating spirits might fail to see, the full meaning of the first four lines. There is in Mrs. Meynell's prose much of the same effect of highly wrought and yet artistic subtlety as there is in Mr. Trench's verse.

Two of Mr. Trench's other poems are also memories of the dawn, but dawn in Italy. One is an echo of the chanting of larks between Camaldoli and Falterona, where the Arno flows between the Apennines in a deep valley before turning back to flow below Vallombrosa to Florence and Pisa; and that *Song of the Larks at Dawn*, like the chirping shrillness of the larks in the cool Casentino air, furnishes an interesting comparison with a poet who when he mentioned Italian hills mentioned the Euganean hills, but who wrote more often of Italian sea. For in these lines of Mr. Trench there is none of the mellowness of the Mediterranean mingling with the clear, keen joyance of the skylarks. This is a bird's song in an upland valley, with some suggestions of the strain of watching the birds flying into the upper light in its recurring rhyme, almost a refrain, on eyes and rise and skies. But there is the freshness of "the dew-like spirits of morning" both in its sound and in its imagery, as well in its statement of men's soaring and transcendent raptures beyond the senses' bars: for men's souls, too, says the poet, have a flight like that of the larks:—

The larks, the larks! that to the earth entrust
Only their sleeping place,
From rugged wolds and rock-bound valleys of morning
The larks like mist arise.

They dance upon the golden surge of morning
That breaks our brooding skies.

Mr. Trench is happier, though, indeed, far more intricate in his other record of the Italian dawn:—

I would wake at the hour of dawning in May in Italy,
When rose mists rise from the Magra's valley plains
In the fields of maize and olives around Pontrémoli,
When peaks grow golden and clear, and the starlight wanes.

This is the answer of the vine in *The Song of the Vine* to the question asked of it in wintry England. Like *Thyrsis* and the *Scholar Gypsy*, those twin remembrances of the environs of Oxford, this poem celebrates the beloved scenes associated with memories of emotion. Recalling the uncurling and aspiring tendrils of the vine in its sinuous construction, it becomes an impassioned description of peasant life as lived in sight of the Apulian peaks: it shows us the doves flying among the mountain belfries, the women beating down the olives from among the sage and silver sparkle of the leaves, or stooping on the rich brown earth below, it shows the pink almonds blooming beside the paven yards, and the yellow crocuses flashing beside them in early spring, the white oxen toiling over the hills with the great jars of wine to the city gates, and the sunburned

families lying out on the shady turf: our ears catch their shouts as they bowl their bowls, catch their old peasant songs, and the sound of their pipes and tabors. And then in this lovely picture of a country whose name has been graven on the hearts of poets, the voice of the Englishman is heard, longing to be Italianised not as some Englishmen are Italianised, according to the proverb, into incarnate devils, but tintured with the immemorial civilisation which Italy, in the beauty of her unfading youth inherits in the unbroken tradition of her union with Rome: and identifying himself with the vine, the poet tells how his heart would almost break at the thought of Italy:—

It would beat for those little cities, rock-hewn and mellowing
Festooned from summit to summit, where still sublime
Murmur her temples, lovelier in their yellowing
Than in the morn of time.

I from the scorn of frost and the winds iniquity
Barren, aloft in that golden air would thrive:
My passionate rootlets draw from that hearth's antiquity
Whirls of profounder fire in us to survive—
Serried realms of our forefathers would swell and foam with us—
Juice of the Latin sunrise; your own sea-flung
Rude and far-wandered race might again find home with us,
Leaguings with old Rome, young.

Mr. Trench gives even in his treatment of place something of the passion which is so typical in his treatment of human relationships. The poet, who has learned melody like Shelley from the language of Dante, finds something congenial like Byron in the national temperament which created *Orlando Furioso*. But Mr. Trench, who never wrote with the consummate art of which Byron was capable, and never wrote with Byron's carelessness, is never merely turbulent, like Byron, in his passion. Sorrow, nay, a sort of remorse in his recollection of the beauty of love, mingles with the Southern violence of his passion, and gives back the lyric quality to his dramatic lyrics: we see this in *The Requital*, where the beloved woman asks not for what the lover offers, fame, care, or passion, but for what he will not give her, faithfulness: and we see it again in *The Questioners*, where the lover returns to visit the cottage in which he and another had long been happy. The threshold, the stairway, the window, the oak chest, the dining-table, the cradle and bed each ask him for that part of his story which is theirs, and he answers and passes on. There are hints of a tragic development, a quarrel, forgiveness sought too late: and the man's tender remorse in his recollection of a woman's pure love, lost, throws its mist over the reawakened experiences of the past.

Only once more does Mr. Trench escape from this softened regret to something more violent, more single-minded, more Byronic:

that is *The Canzone of Sebastian Valier*, to which he finally thought of giving the name of *The Bitter Serenade: Venice: 1550*. And here where he has most of the mood of Byron, he has most of the art of Shelley: the rich succession of liquid consonants, the aery impalpable images, the constant reiteration of the words *light* and *fire*, the indefinable brilliance of beauty associated with intensity of passion remind us of Shelley as Shelley reminds us of Italian poetry: floating petals, curling tendrils, a profusion of scented blooms, of atmospheric colour and colour on the sea, a pervading sense of the nearness of the sky with its planets and of the nearness of death, a feeling that man is made not only of flesh and blood, but of vapour and lightnings: all these are familiar in Shelley: and they are all in *The Bitter Serenade*: but there are the differences, the Byronic differences. The words are the words of Julian but the sentiments are the sentiments of Maddalo. There are here none of "the beautiful idealisms of moral excellence" which Shelley learnt from Plato to regard as the proper guides and lights of human life: this poem is the song of unrequited love, a love which is not love so much as a refined essential bitterness of passion, a passion which was at once an intensest yearning, a fierce care, and an entire devotion, which was all these, and then faces the incredible fact that it has been beguiled:—

A man can take the buffets of the tourney,
But there's a hurt, lady, beyond belief;
A grief the sun finds not upon his journey
Marked in the map of grief.

Was I not bred of the same clay and vapour
And lightning of the universe as you?
Had I the selfsame God to be my Shaper
Or cracks the world in two?

It cannot be, though I have nought of merit
That man may hold so dear, and with such pain
Enfold with all the tendrils of the spirit
Yet not be loved again.

But Sebastian Valier is a sailor, and does not finish with an abstraction: his conclusion is one singularly congenial to Englishmen:—

*There's the secret of the Indies to unravel
And then the Turk to beat.*

The contact with Shelley is not only in the sentiment: it is seen also in the picture of Venice. In this bitter serenade Venice is rich, riotous, and human, with gondolas moving like silken lanterns in an uproar and sweep of masquerade. Shelley among the Euganean Hills speaks of Venice rising from the sea, and having perhaps to sink beneath it; but meanwhile, like the flames of sacrifice burning

in a marble shrine of Apollo, the columns and spires, the towers and domes of Venice shine in the sunlight like obelisks of fire, flames ascending from the altar of the ocean to the sapphire of the skies.

His study of other poets, and the echo he catches from them is one of the peculiar pleasures of reading Mr. Trench's poetry. As in *Antony and Cleopatra* we admire Shakespeare's paraphrase of Plutarch, as in Donne we trace the doctrine of the mediæval philosophers, as in *Lycidas* we find some happy adaptation from the *Georgics*, as we compare the structure of *Samson Agonistes* with that of a Greek play, or Shelley's treatment of Prometheus with that of Æschylus, as we criticise Tennyson's use of the alcaic stanza from our recollections of it in the classics, so we trace affinities and work out comparisons, especially with English classics, in Mr. Trench's poetry. And nowhere is he so elaborately working to a model as in the most poetic statement of his philosophy: *Apollo and the Seaman*. His model is itself a favourite: *The Ancient Mariner*, and he has used it with skill, originality, and charm. Here are no pictures of horrors, or tropic seas: and this is a wide adaptation of Coleridge's philosophy of the unity of nature. The seaman hears that the ship in which he trusted, the good ship *Immortality* has gone down: there was no need to bother more about the three tiers of Heaven, and the World, and Hell. Mr. Trench's Apollo, like many another, knows more than the priests. He tells the seaman that his immortality is to be part of a great scheme in which truth, justice, liberty, are not the symbols of man's aspiration, but the organs of the invisible which is working itself out in our fathers and will be working itself out in our sons. The pure woman, he said in *The Questioners*, will be heavened in the souls of her children; in *The Battle of the Marne* he feels that there is consolation for those who are afflicted by the deaths of the young in the consideration that the continuance and development of the race in accordance with the ideals of honour and beauty is the immortal purpose of the Lord of Life.

It is the race creates our soul
By touches many finger'd.

And at the end of the war Mr. Trench, who was the father of soldiers, and who had considered the old utterances of the Kaiser, writes his play, *Napoleon*, in which he sees the centre of life neither in the individual nor in the State, but in the family which, formed as it is by love, is the best of the servants of Life. *You should be serving life*. Here, in one sentence, is Mr. Trench's moral philosophy. And to make it a little easier he only gives it to us after he has worked out his play which begins with its pre-

liminary. "I think the secret of living—where life seems so chaotic, flowing, and unstable—lies in the discovery of an organic soul, first in ourselves; then in other human creatures; and finally even in the mysterious currents between ourselves and them." This is almost a Christian elaboration of *Spiritus intus alit*. And Mr. Trench realises his sympathy with a philosopher of law like Maitland who saw in constitutional law a means of adjusting the conflict between the State and the individual; as he has sympathy with the Catholic Church who declares herself the Body of Christ ever organically alive in generations constantly renewed.

But in promulgating this view of her nature, the Church feels no logical compulsion to abandon, and she never has abandoned, men's dear and rooted belief, their instinctive belief in individual immortality. Mr. Trench's philosophy would be a stronger statement of an inspiring and suggestive truth if it were not coupled with a denial that man will survive as an individual. In the Elysian fields of *Laodamia* Wordsworth says that each hero is following his peculiar bent: Dante in the last cantos of his *Paradiso* traces an individual place and joy in eternity both for men and for angels. And the philosophy of Dante which allows human nature to work out its own salvation, sharing with the divine nature free will and distinctive personality, though moved to its true and only end by a divine impulse, whether in natural life or in supernatural grace, is a nobler philosophy than the most lofty and poetical elaboration of positivism. It takes a higher view of man's place in creation in so far as it takes a higher and more generous view of divine wisdom; it brings man nearer to the Platonic ideal. High as Mr. Trench's art is, he would have been a greater poet if he could have given us a picture of entire and vital peace. Then in his poetry we could be

Pleased rather with some soft ideal scene,
The work of Fancy, or some happy tone
Of meditation, slipping in between
The beauty coming and the beauty gone.

And this would refine and make more constant that art of melody and beauty which he already so conspicuously displays. He himself interpreted the voice of his Muse after this fashion:—

So sing that nothing in thee shall grow old!
This is your end and this is your reward
To become attuned to the Universal chord
Wherein all life makes answer to its Lord.
O spectator of the sun and night and sea,
Great waters with a song-born ocean sighing
Revolve their everlasting floods through thee!

This is from *Stanzas on Poetry*: but they are not quite convincing. Is it possible that Mr. Trench was least true to his Muse in these

stanzas which bear her name? For he gave us sometimes generous tastes of the rarest pleasure. But in poetry both the art and the philosophy must be a passion, and would that Mr. Trench had been able to address his Muse in the unforgettable lines in which he is to make deathless his love for Arolilia:—

I'll not bedim the lovely flame in thee
Nor sully the sad splendour that we wear!

Herbert Trench died in June of last year in a hospital at Boulogne. He had spent part of the winter on the French Riviera, and he wrote from there to the present writer of one or two appreciations that had been given to his poems. After being a Fellow of All Souls, a Civil Servant, and a proprietor of the Haymarket Theatre, he had spent the last years of his life in the Villa Viviani at Settignano near Florence. It was an old villa, with an overgrown garden stretching down to a clump of cypresses, with olives covering the hillside below. In the middle distance rose the red roofs of Florence and her spires and towers and the dome of Brunelleschi. Nowhere does Italy look more oriental. Sir Filippo di Filippi, Mr. Trench's neighbour in La Capponcina, where D'Annunzio once lived, says that it reminds him of Bagdad or Samarkand.

Here Mr. Trench lived much alone. His family was scattered over the world. The Villa itself felt almost ghostly. In the dining-room were three portraits by unknown masters of the sixteenth century, and in the hall a bronze statue of a boy. Each of the finest finish, and of haunting expressiveness, they were arresting examples of the taste of Trench.

Mr. Trench was himself strikingly handsome. And now while that fine form, those kind eyes, those well-formed features wed the dust, he explores in other modes of being the value of his conclusions and his questionings. Two passages in his poems are especially connected with his thoughts of death: the first is from that song he wrote for the funeral of the young son of Douglas Freshfield, the explorer:—

But O! when the bloom of light,
With breathless glow,
Along the tops of snow
Tells out to all the valleys night is done—
Think of the boy, ye young companions bright,
Not without joy; for he hath loved and gone,
As dews that on the uplands shine and go.

And the second is from *Night under Monte Rosa*:—

Not all in vain, ye die
Whose veins of blazing granite forge the lime
To marble, and the mean to the sublime.

R. E. GORDON GEORGE.

FACTORY INSPECTORS AND THEIR COLLABORATORS.

VERY early in the history of factory legislation it was found that the factory inspectors did some of their best work, not as mere vigilance officers for the enforcement of the law, but as disseminators of ideas from factory to factory and from industry to industry, and that by many of the employers they came to be regarded as valued consultants on questions of health and safety. All this side of their work has received of recent years an enormous impetus, and whilst the sheer vigilance work is still needed and must not be in any way relaxed, yet increasingly things get done by conference and agreement. "We are becoming more and more an Advisory Body and less and less a set of policemen," said the Chief Inspector of Factories a year or two ago; and, similarly, Dame Adelaide Anderson, in her fascinating account of the work of the women inspectors, notes an increasing tendency after 1911 to rely on education and persuasion rather than on coercion. This is the more possible to-day because the war, with its demand for huge production under conditions of exceptional strain, forced questions of industrial welfare to the front, and it has left behind a new conscience and a new understanding. Much more frequently than in the past the initiative comes from the employers and the workers themselves. Developments in industrial organisation have facilitated this, and in particular the establishment of Joint Industrial Councils has provided the machinery for a large measure of self-regulation in many trades.

"It was a pleasure," writes the Chief Medical Inspector in his report for 1922, "to comply with the request from the Joint Industrial Council for the Printing and Allied Trades to write a leaflet for distribution through their agency to employers and employed." A similar leaflet was drawn up by the Home Office in consultation with the Joint Industrial Council for Painters and Decorators; the initiative in this case did not come from either body, but from the International Labour Office at Geneva. The Joint Industrial Council for the Pottery Trade, of which the district factory inspector was a co-opted member, issued pamphlets on health and circulated them among the operatives; it also arranged for courses of health lectures at the Hanley Technical Institute. Several of the Joint Industrial Councils discussed lighting, as to which, curiously enough, there is no general provision in the present Factory Act, though there will almost certainly be in the next one. The Hosiery Trade Joint Industrial Council classified processes as "fine" or "very fine," and made recommendations for special lighting. In this work the advice of the factory inspectors, with

their extensive knowledge of different trades and of different methods of illumination, was naturally of great value.

Besides the co-operation with formally constituted Joint Industrial Councils there have still gone on, as before, in many industries negotiations with associations of employers and of operatives, sometimes separately and sometimes together. Thus a voluntary agreement was arrived at a couple of years ago between the Sheffield Rolling Mill proprietors and the workers in them as to safety precautions; the initiative in this case came from the Home Office.

The advantages of these discussions and decisions by bodies representing the employers and the workers in the various industries are twofold. In the first place, there is the possibility of dealing with matters such as lighting which do not as yet come within the scope of the law. In the second place, they secure an intelligent appreciation of the purpose of the regulations made or other steps taken, and they are the pledge of a considerable amount of willingness to co-operate in carrying them out in the spirit as well as in the letter. In some instances an appeal to a trade union has made effective an Order or Regulation which had been very largely neglected before. There were, for instance, a large number of accidents at self-acting mules due to carelessness on the part of the workers. The factory inspector obtained the co-operation of the Cotton Spinners' Union, which took every opportunity of bringing to the notice of its members the dangers and the regulations intended to minimise them. The General Secretary wrote about it in his monthly bulletin, a letter was sent to the local press, and finally each member of the Union was given a warning letter together with a copy of the Regulations. Without some such steps as these an Order is often of little value; it is quite impossible for the factory inspectors to enforce it in the teeth of the indifference or opposition of those whom it is intended to benefit. It is one thing to prescribe goggles or baths, another thing to get them worn or used. A well-organised Joint Industrial Council, or a factory with a good Works Committee can get a great deal done, which could not be effected by legislation and inspection alone, to raise the standards of health and safety. On the other hand, weak organisation and lack of good will between employers and employed are reflected in slackness of observance of regulations and lack of adequate precautions. It is probable that the high accident rate in at least one industry is due in considerable measure to the marked absence of good will and co-operation between employers and men.

Attempts to reduce the accident rate in industry have naturally turned the attention of the Home Office, and of employers and

operatives alive to the importance of the subject, to the part which might be played by the manufacturers of machinery in making industry safer. Quite obviously it would be much better if provision were made at the time of its design for the proper fencing or guarding of machinery. Yet often this is not done; machinery is supplied unguarded or with unsuitable guards, and the factory occupier waits until the inspector's next visit to find out what his requirements are. The Home Office has done something to remedy this state of affairs by promoting conferences in several industries between factory occupiers and machinery makers. It has sometimes been suggested that standards of fencing and guarding should be imposed by law on those who manufacture and supply machinery. The matter was discussed by the Departmental Committee on Accidents in 1910. Opinions differed on the subject; but it was represented from the manufacturers' side that regulations which might be made should be applied to machinery coming into this country, and that the regulations should not apply to machinery for export. Probably the guarding of machinery is one of those questions which will be dealt with ultimately by international action.

Easily the most important event of recent years, in its possibilities though not yet in its actual effects, in the history of the relationships of our factory inspectorate with other bodies has been the establishment of an International Labour Organisation under Part XIII. of the Treaty of Versailles. The previous record of international action for the improvement of industrial conditions had been meagre. There had been inquiries and consultations of a more or less informal nature between the departments responsible for the administration of industrial legislation in the different countries ever since modern legislation began; and the officials had naturally watched with keen interest the deliberations and the propaganda of such voluntary bodies as the International Association for Labour Legislation. Most of the European countries were represented at the International Labour Conference at Berlin in 1890, but no combined action resulted. The Second International Labour Conference at Berne in 1905 was more successful; two conventions were produced, one prohibiting night work for women and the other forbidding the use of white phosphorus in the manufacture of matches, and these were ultimately ratified by most of the civilised world. A third Conference held at Berne in 1913 adopted conventions prohibiting night work for children and limiting the hours of work for women and children. But before they could be ratified the European War had begun.

The establishment of the League of Nations has placed international industrial action on a much better footing. There is

now standing machinery for the summoning of International Conferences at least once a year, instead of at irregular intervals on the initiative of some energetic government, as in the past. Every State which is a member of the League of Nations is under obligation to put before its legislature, or other competent authority, any proposal which commends itself to a substantial majority (two-thirds) of the delegates. The educational value of the Conferences is immense; and whilst the adoption or non-adoption of their proposals is within the discretion of each State, yet they go out with a considerable moral sanction; it is to be hoped that as the League of Nations gains prestige, ratification of conventions will become a matter of course. Moreover, the permanence of the International Labour Office, with a staff growing rapidly in experience, assures a constant interchange of knowledge and opinion which was lacking before. Just as our inspectorate, with its access to all factories in every kind of industry, has been able to institute comparisons and thereby to do much to raise the general level of conditions, so the International Labour Office, with the experience of all the countries at its disposal, should be able to institute a systematic comparison of country with country, which should be of immense value. To give one small example, the International Labour Office recently sent round an inquiry into the health of photo-engravers, which as a matter of fact was found in our own country to be generally satisfactory. Another example of its action, likely to be of more importance in its ultimate effects, is the establishment, at the instance of the third International Conference, of an Advisory Committee to collect evidence as to the steps taken in different countries to deal with the danger of anthrax; some recommendations have already been made, but it has not been possible as yet to draft a convention.

The International Labour Organisation is likely to affect administration at least as much as legislation. Quite clearly this is necessary if the different countries are to reach some kind of parity in industrial standards. Grumbings have already been heard from manufacturers in some trades that they are handicapped in competition with foreign countries with similar legislation but inferior inspection. Factory inspection was the subject before the last International Labour Conference, and many questions of principle and method were discussed. With regard to the powers of factory inspectors, there is a fairly sharp difference between those countries which have the conception of *droit administratif* and those which, like ourselves, are without it. In administration, as in legislation, any premature or unwise attempt at uniformity might easily bring international action into discredit; and indeed it is equivalence rather than uniformity which alone is possible or

desirable. It is likely in any case that the continuous and systematic exchange of opinion and experience will prove at last as productive of good as the formal agreements reached.

The least satisfactory of the relations of our factory inspectorate with other official bodies, if one may judge from the annual reports, are those with local authorities. Naturally these vary much in keenness and efficiency, and, whilst there is little to say against most of the great municipalities, it is unfortunately the case that many of the smaller local authorities, and these by no means rural authorities, are extremely slack and even recalcitrant as to their duties under the Factory and Workshop Act. It is the duty of the local authority to examine new factories, employing more than forty persons, and to certify them safe in respect of escape from fire and to re-examine them from time to time. But quite new factories are found by the factory inspectors with no proper means of escape, and in the older factories passages and exits are often blocked in the most dangerous way. The local authorities have further power under section 15 of the Factory and Workshop Act to make by-laws as to the provision of means of escape from fire in all factories irrespective of size. Every year the Chief Inspector of Factories remarks plaintively in his report that very few local authorities have by-laws in force under this section. In 1905, four years after the passing of the Act, no local by-laws had yet been made. By 1914 forty-four districts had codes in force. At the present time between sixty and seventy districts have such codes. Factory inspectors complain also that quite a number of local authorities do not exercise sufficiently their powers to regulate bakehouses. They comment also on the widely differing sanitary standards, some of which are very low indeed. The relation of the central government to local authorities is always one of considerable difficulty, especially where powers overlap as they do in these cases, and the possible slackness of local bodies is part of the price which has to be paid for the educative value of local government; but it is easily understandable how galling it is to a body with a strong tradition of efficiency to be continually spending time and trouble in efforts to stir up its collaborators to take action.

Another body of men, who are in a sense colleagues of the factory inspectors, with whom their relations, whilst quite cordial, have not always been as close and as fruitful as could be wished, are the certifying surgeons. This is true, not so much of those with heavy responsibilities in the "dangerous trades," as of those who are mainly concerned with lighter duties such as the examining of boys and girls before they start work in an ordinary factory. There can be little doubt that the examination has been in many cases perfunctory. It may be said in excuse that the fee has been

wretchedly small. A considerable effort has been made in the last year or two by the Chief Medical Inspector and his staff to encourage co-operation between certifying surgeons and the Juvenile Advisory Committees. There is no reason why a great deal more use should not be made of the certifying surgeons, with their facilities for accumulating knowledge as to the effects on adolescents of industrial employment in those trades which are not technically "dangerous." The subject is now being considered by a Departmental Committee.

Outside their official relationships there are a number of voluntary bodies concerning themselves with industrial questions with which the factory inspectors naturally keep close touch. There are the two associations dealing with welfare work: the Industrial Welfare Society, which is a propagandist body, and the Welfare Workers' Institute, which is the association of professional welfare workers. Another most useful body of recent growth is the British Industrial Safety First Association; the factory inspectors attach great importance to the spread of the Safety First Movement, and believe that it will go far to lessen that large class of accidents which it has been found impossible to reduce appreciably by legislation, however strictly enforced.

It would be easily possible to increase the list of relationships of the factory inspectorate, if there were any point in a mere catalogue. Thus, there is frequent interchange of help with other Government Departments. The Ministry of Transport, for example, will consult the Home Office as to safety regulations for railway waggons. There is co-operation in research both with official and with unofficial bodies, as, for instance, with the Industrial Fatigue Research Board and with the National Institute of Industrial Psychology.

When in 1833 four inspectors of factories were appointed there were many misgivings, among the supporters of factory legislation as well as among its opponents. There were two main objections raised: on the one hand it was feared that they would prove to be intolerable inquisitors, and this fear was by no means confined to the one side; and on the other hand there was an expectation that they would prove to be mere tools of the governing classes and useless for their purpose. Neither fear has been justified, and the factory inspectors have with few exceptions made a wise use of their powers and opportunities; they have not feared to coerce, when nothing but coercion would serve the purpose, but they have shown a patience and a tact which have disarmed a great deal of opposition. To a large extent they are able to carry reform by sheer superior knowledge: to any objection that something or other cannot be done they are usually able to answer that as a

matter of fact it is being done in some other factory or in some other industry. The late Mr. Jesse Collings once complained that the women inspectors went beyond their province of seeing that the laws were obeyed and made themselves "missionaries." It is an extension of function to which few people would object. The new outlook on industrial conditions and industrial regulation is of the same nature as the new outlook in many other spheres of life: it is an emphasis on positive and preventive measures rather than on dealing with mischiefs after they have arisen. It is better to get machinery designed by the makers with a view to safety than to go round enforcing its safeguarding afterwards; it is better to get factories properly planned from the start, than to enforce such alterations as can be made afterwards; it is better to have weak or unsuitable boys and girls kept away from processes which would certainly do them an injury, than to attempt to deal with the effects afterwards; it is better to have in the minds of the employers and the operatives themselves a knowledge of the precautions necessary for health and for safety than to impose regulations from without which are accepted grudgingly and neglected when there is no fear of detection.

To say this is in no way to deny the need of coercion and the educational value of law: a legal responsibility is often the first way in which a moral responsibility is brought home, and there will always be a few who will respond to nothing else. Nor must the stress laid on the importance of getting co-operation and initiative from those engaged in a trade, both employers and operatives, be allowed to weaken in any way the right and duty of the whole community to regulate it. Another Factory Act, when it comes, will doubtless necessitate more vigilance from the factory inspectors until the new regulations have been brought thoroughly home to those affected by them. But it is possible that in some directions not much further advance can be made by regulation; and it is certain that, on the whole, education rather than coercion is likely to be the more effective agency for some time to come. And that means a continual development of fresh relationships and of fresh collaborations on the part of the factory inspectors.

H. A. MESS.

THE FLORA OF THE COTSWOLDS.

"BARREN," grumbled Justice Shallow, truly enough, for his name well describes the soil overlaying the rubbly limestone of the Cotswolds, while his further comment, "beggars all," suggests the difficulties experienced by former husbandmen in raising crops upon their hungry farms. "Marry, good air," he continued, praising his country grudgingly if wholly unable to anticipate the reverent comment of Rousseau, "*Il est un livre ouvert à tous les yeux, c'est celui de la nature; nul n'est excusable de n'y pas lire.*" The pragmatist little Justice and his guests were not the sort of men who would go out on a May morning to catch the buds unfolding, but Shakespeare must often have ridden across these Gloucestershire hills, and he would have appreciated the *livre ouvert*; for upon its pages appear almost every indigenous xerophilous plant which loves a calcareous shale; here is to be found the finest natural rock-garden in England, and here, perhaps, a few old national flowers find their last stronghold: we use the word national with intent to reproach a public which can no longer plead an inability to read, and yet refuses even to consider the gift it should preserve inviolate.

The gloomy admission that our more showy native plants are disappearing rapidly becomes inevitable whenever we revisit haunts of younger days or consult old books. Any exact estimate of losses cannot easily be made because in the past a very few popular names sufficed to describe the entire flora; botanists were often poets who conferred upon favourite blossoms names pleasing to their fancy; while the later introduction of Latin increased the confusion it was intended to remove. For instance, a list beside me, prepared nearly a hundred years ago, includes such titles as *Asalea procumbens* and *Potentilla nitida*, with many another alien we should be proud to possess, and seldom is it possible to specify the plants thus wrongly named.

I am inclined to believe that had Justice Shallow been restored to his barren acres and good air about the year 1850, he would have found almost every flower familiar during his previous existence. Since that date everyone has taken to travelling, botany has become a popular subject in schools, children have been taught to observe our native plants and to search for rare specimens, while many a tramp has discovered money can be obtained by offering them for sale. Production is checked, and as a consequence, our native flora must be gradually denuded of its most popular varieties. To exemplify this process of extermination, I select two species, both abundant upon the Cotswolds forty years ago, the Hound's tongue (*Cynoglossum officinale*) and the Pasque-flower (*Anemone pulsa-*

tilla). The first-named can scarcely be regarded as rare, but it soon will be if children cannot be restrained from waging a senseless war against it. This plant with its murky bi-coloured flowers must be looked for in open spaces where it attains a considerable size, defying wind, and daring sheep or cattle to touch its downy leaves, which are scented so as to suggest poison to all living creatures except caterpillars. Not long ago the hound's tongue appeared upon almost every patch of waste ground, whereas now you may walk all day without sighting a single specimen, and this is due almost entirely to country children who make a habit of uprooting every plant they can find, maybe because of its conspicuous nature; and yet I cannot forget hearing when in Devonshire how that certain parents encouraged their children to destroy the foxglove, which suggested to their confused minds some ancient tale of "purple tyranny." Popularity, on the other hand, has practically exterminated *Anemone pulsatilla*, surely Britain's loveliest wildflower, and within living memory the pride of these limestone hills; for I recall, as if it had been last Easter, rambling through a belt of woodland and coming suddenly upon an open space where the turf was almost hidden beneath a haze of pasque-flowers. Three times I have visited the district where this glorious flower was once a weed, and the results are recorded in my tragic notebook thus: 1886, abundant; 1902, two specimens found after prolonged search; 1922, none. Itinerant florists long ago discovered that roots could be disposed of in towns at a considerable profit. Nevertheless, I refuse to believe one of my oldest friends is entirely blotted off the Cotswold map, although it declines to meet me in our former haunts.

Absence of pure chalk banishes a few fastidious plants, while causing structural changes in others, such as rest-harrow, which upon these hills becomes shrubby and thornless, differing so markedly from the stunted woody plant found elsewhere as almost to justify its classification as a distinct species. We have still much to learn concerning the influence of soil and climate upon the growth of vegetation. Who could expect to find harebells (*Campanula rotundifolia*) flourishing upon Dartmoor peat? Yet I have gathered a handful from one of the highest parts of the moor, although how it came to settle in so uncongenial a soil, and in that one spot only, must remain a mystery. While in a village of North Devon the local baker brought to my door a pail into which he had translated from his potato-patch a plant, "such as had never been seen before," with a request that I would name it. Not without astonishment I beheld a well-grown specimen of succory, that stubborn frequenter of calcareous soil. In this case, no doubt, a few seeds had been shaken from a flour-sack, and one

had managed to overcome the disadvantages of its lodging place. Such an incident suggests that plants possess, in common with other living creatures, a certain amount of individuality—thus an occasional seedling is able to thrive under conditions which should be inimical to its very existence. Unfortunately, we cannot distinguish the seed wherein heterodoxy lies latent from its fellows. Neither can we explain why certain Cotswold wildings decline to live when removed into a garden containing the soil to which they have always been accustomed. A higher state of civilisation appears as fatal to these little parishioners as to the human savages of Polynesia.

Priority should be given to the best blue flowers since that colour, when deep and clear, ranks its possessor as a floral prince. We are not going to suggest that, when the Kingdom of Heaven comes, all flowers will be sky-coloured; but it is certain that every plant is pressing forward towards perfection, aspiring to a golden age when it may wear its final colour and call itself completed. The wild hyacinth has now attained an excellent shade of blue, but has scarcely secured its final colour except in the case of a few advanced specimens, and will often revert to its original white, whereas the pasque-flower, perhaps already finished and incapable of improvement, shows no tendency to relapse into an inferior shade. We cannot afford to lose a blossom of so advanced a type. The undecided blue of the Meadow Cranesbill (*Geranium pratense*), which seems to have selected the Cotswolds as its headquarters and, although highly popular, goes in no danger of extinction, still shows traces of a simpler state, to which it reverts occasionally, if with less readiness (I searched a long while for the white variety before finding it) than its numerous pink relations of the stone-heap and hedgerows, all of which are clearly its inferiors. The Cranesbill, regarded by some as our most showy wildflower, cannot be overlooked since it raises its graceful foliage beside every road, although never attaining full proportions except where the soil is moist and fairly deep. It is a most erratic plant, preferring limestone, yet growing under any conditions of soil and flourishing exceedingly near water, even where its roots may be submerged during many weeks each winter. A dozen years ago I found it upon the Antrim coast, and subsequently a Dublin botanist assured me this was the only place in Ireland where it grew, an area of less than an acre!

The Cotswold Bugle should decidedly have been alluded to by Shakespeare. I hesitate over the Latin title, knowing little of the family, and being in some doubt as to whether this lovely plant should not be classified as an Alkanet. It is a biennial, therefore local, vanishing from one district to appear in another, a true

Alpine, loving loose shale and the highest ridge of some wind-swept cliff; a plant worthy of even the connoisseur's garden, although under cultivation it might develop overmuch, becoming tall and losing that fairy form which is the greatest charm of mountain flowers. By chance one evening I came beside a line of hummocks moraine in character, situated upon one of the highest points where a track, impossible for any vehicle less solid than a farm-cart, began its abrupt descent towards the vale; and here a setting sun spread gloriously across numerous thistle-like stars of encrusted foliage supporting little nosegays bright pink below, deep blue above, the latter hue predominating over a plant no taller than, and in habit resembling, any Saxifrage of the *pyramidalis* section. The thick golden light of a perfect evening intensified the rich colouring, and no other bloom appeared among the stones to mar the effect. The coarse shade-loving Nettle-leaved Bellflower (*Campanula trachelium*) morose in habit as unlike other members of its family it stands alone looking as if it would very much like to sting, may also be included among the highly developed plants worthy of mention here.

To ignore the earliest blossom of the year would be churlish, although only some hoary-headed grandfather can recall the time when he gathered snowdrops in a public place. They grow abundantly in patches of enclosed woodland adjoining certain mansions, and beneath the hedges of fields well-guarded against trespassers. It is exasperating to record the snowdrop's disappearance beyond these protected grounds, especially when we remember that a rapidly spreading bulbous plant can only be exterminated by ruthless methods. With equal anger we note that, if the area of the primrose continues to decrease at the present rate, this herald of spring will scarcely survive the present century.

Our hills are often well-wooded; where the beech reigns nothing much can grow; but among ash, hazel, and elder, where sometimes appear a shapely bush of large-leaved box, fragrant after rain, and the graceful service-tree, its silvery leaves marvellously beautiful in early spring, we have in some abundance Solomon's Seal, Meadow Saffron (*Colchicum autumnale*) and Lily of the Valley. The first-named remains practically untouched by that large section of the public which insists upon gathering handfuls of *Colchicum*, for no other purpose apparently than to throw them away and, being a rapidly spreading perennial, one would expect to find it on the increase. Yet it has disappeared from one district after another, like the lily which is surely inaptly named, since both here and upon the Alps it prefers hills to vales. The title was conferred possibly by good men of religion who, supposing the plants of England to be identical with those of Palestine, indicated this wood-

land flower as the lily mentioned in Scripture, just as they associated Lady's Tresses and Bedstraw with the Virgin, and Sainfoin with the holy fodder upon which the Mother placed her Baby in the manger. The last-named, conspicuous along many a grassy lane, is both handsome and valuable: nature intended it for a shrub, but its development above ground has been checked so long that it now devotes its principal energies to root production.

As we are in the woods, and have introduced the subject of religion, let us by all means spare a glance for sweet Woodruff (*Asperula odorata*), most common and obscure of shade-loving weeds, yet greatly revered because its foliage becomes fragrant as it withers. For this reason "woodrove" was once extensively required for the adornment of churches and, with roses, composed the "bocse garlandis" worn by officiating priests. You may find in many ancient gardens a shady corner devoted to this plant, not because of its suitability or religious associations, but for its value as a medicinal herb and substitute for tea. Few natives can boast of a more distinguished history than the woodruff, and, furthermore, it possesses illustrious relatives, unlike itself lovers of sunshine and dusty limestone. *A. cynanchica* (it has no English name apart from the obsolete squinancy-wort), more common perhaps upon the Cotswolds than elsewhere, is decidedly one of our choicest prostrate plants, if seldom recognised or even observed, for it spreads moss-like foliage not readily seen even upon close-cropped turf, where, in early summer, more especially during a drought, it produces pure wax-like blossoms ranging from white to rosy-pink. Many a rock-garden contains flowers less worthy and only more desirable because imported, but to see it in perfection a hot summer is essential. What this *Asperula* might develop into if we possessed a southern climate may be imagined by considering the pure loveliness of *A. suberosa*, that delicate, moisture-hating Grecian woodruff, which timidly haunts the ruins of the Acropolis, and looks as if it might have been created by Aphrodite as her contribution to the world of flowers.

Shrinking towards the deeper shade you will find in every part the dark glossy leaves of Spurge Laurel, so often mistaken for a rhododendron by visitors from town. This shrub, fairly common south of Yorkshire, grows rapidly on the Cotswolds, bearing modest green flowers almost invariably during January regardless of temperature, so that it is not easy to accept Gilbert White's March the twenty-fifth as its earliest date of flowering. Our other Daphne, *Mezereum*, less than a century ago the winter's pride, must, I imagine, be written down extinct; at all events I have searched vainly every likely nook far from the beaten track;

although in any "pale-faced village" of old grey cottages, its leafless rod of blossom may be seen snugly placed beneath some mullioned window. These narrow frontages are often worth a glance, for they have been devoted to flowers from time immemorial, and we may be sure cottagers of old never purchased plants, but removed from field or wood any which pleased their eyes. The shepherd while going to and fro could scarcely fail to notice the stately beauty of *Mezereum*, vested with pink in the February gloom, and some evening, when returning home, he would uproot the shrub and take it to his garden, or plant it upon a grave in the churchyard where it remains to this day; for it is long-lived and grows slowly so that ten years adds little to its size. A day may be occupied pleasantly scanning these old gardens, now gradually disappearing, for the young labourers have not inherited the taste for flowers, comparing the contents of these botanical museums with memories of plants once common. *Fritillaria meleagris* occurs often, and this still frequents our pastures. *Doronicum*, Monks-hood, and Day-lily, may we call them vanished natives? Assuredly we may question whether *Pulmonaria* did not once dwell in yonder wood, and wonder what was the colour of the English Columbine admired by Izaak Walton as he walked down the meadows.

Some of our beech-woods were brought low during the late time of trouble, but many acres remain roofed by the tree which has a liking for precipitous slopes where its roots may run easily downward, conspiring with the summits to warn off other forms of vegetation. It is difficult to wander along one of these overhung bottoms without allowing the mind to dwell upon romance: pale trunks, sombre mould or carpet of brown leaves, roof of branch-work, give the impression of some dim mysterious building, palace, or abbey, wherein from age to age all knights, priests, and lovers of the past have played their parts. Visit such a wood in April and you may observe, if fortunate, a curious garden or nursery, as if fairy children had been at play and left their toys behind; for here are many patches of green flowers, and here is a plot of white, and a little further on a few primrose-coloured, only you cannot remember having seen anything at all like them before. They are not flowers, the dim light causes that illusion, but thousands of beech-seedlings their twin cotyledon leaves resembling in form the wings of a butterfly, green for the most part, but often white or yellow. The beech is the artist among trees. At every stage of its career it gives a picture.

Although the family is on the whole paludal, the Narrow-leaved Willow-herb, popularly known as Rose Bay, flourishes either in shade or sunshine, at the edge of a swamp or beside a road. As this handsome plant grows by the acre, patent even to those who

pass by at the modern rate of progress, no description of wooded hills stained pink can here be necessary. This is an exceedingly lusty perennial, belonging to that order of plants which can be said never to perish of senility for, while the central growth decays, fresh stems arise from ever-spreading roots. Thus the seedling raised upon one side of a wood reaches eventually the other side, and the single plant introduced into a garden will, unless interrupted, explore every available foot of soil in a surprisingly short space of time. It springs up in all manner of unlikely places (I have found it upon the edge of a peat-bog near gorgeous mosses and asphodel, also within a larch-copse where the soil looked as dry as any botanical text-book), its seeds being of the air-borne variety; and highly picturesque are the tall stems in autumn, each supporting a considerable bale of fluff ready to break up and take flight at the first puff of wind. The Rose Bay is so well equipped for the propagation of its kind that I wonder sometimes if it may not be given us as a herb of healing or at all events for some important purpose not yet disclosed.

The most casual observer of our native flora must have noticed the Yellow Toadflax (*Linaria vulgaris*) with the reflection that this plant possesses a truly catholic taste in soils because it is a weed, but a noble one, throughout the land. Its birthplace, however, must be looked for upon calcareous soil, therefore it attains full development only when nourished by a limy tonic. The *Linaria*, which, if rare, would be welcomed into every garden, receives mention here to illustrate this statement. One day, while walking down to the Evesham vale, I spied at some distance a mass of yellow waving in the wind and, wondering what the vision might betoken, I turned aside to find myself presently beside a dense patch of this toadflax some sixteen feet across, many of the spikes being near three feet in height. The position was a somewhat steep bank, stony and fully exposed to the western sun: from its summit not another specimen could be sighted. How so much seed came to be dropped there, and what stimulant that particular portion of bank contained capable of producing such gigantic plants, supply two of those questions which add zest to the study of wayside weeds.

We must also inquire whether Valerian (*Centranthus ruber*) is a native, or merely a naturalised alien like the corn-poppy, which is its only serious colour-rival; for we possess exceedingly few red flowers not imported. A disused quarry, a deep crevice, a handful of gravel, meet all the requirements of valerian; it will indeed dispense with soil entirely if it can obtain its favourite position against the face of a sheer cliff, anchored by an immense root thrust far into some crack which nothing but itself would have discovered.

One such quarry, so well hidden as to remain practically immune from trespassers, provides a wonderful garden each summer for the enjoyment of bees and butterflies, being entirely draped with these plants which, under conditions so favourable, have reached the size of bushes. Below, seedlings force themselves from every inch of ground not covered by stones, and even from moss upon the larger rocks. I estimated, after counting a few, that sufficient plantlets grew in this single quarry to stock half the gardens in the county, and yet the valerian cannot be called common.

Our children's grandchildren will gather cowslips and admire red-berried Bryony, but they are not likely to see the Teasel, for this largest and handsomest of our biennials must be included in the lengthy list of natives which are bidding us farewell against their will: and this is the more to be regretted when we consider the important part it has played in domestic and industrial life. Not so very long ago bunches of teasel-heads would be suspended from the roof-beam of every Cotswold home, to act as a rude barometer, while few Gloucestershire men need to be reminded of the time when this most decorative plant, so rarely seen in gardens, was largely cultivated for commercial use; and even to-day the burs and prickly stems, dyed all manner of colours, are hawked about the Midland towns. The teasel has no wide range, never straying from limestone, where the soil must be deep and fairly moist; therefore we find it near the brink of streams or ditches, where it flourishes until that noxious, if necessary, person the hedger comes along, usually during autumn when the ditch-side is covered with flat prickly plants for next year's pageant; and so the teasel is blotted off a few more acres. The true perennial tolerates a vast amount of ill-treatment, whereas a biennial is too easily obliterated. Gilbert White differentiates between "the small wild teasel" and the cultivated variety, intending probably to imply that the field plant grew more vigorously than the wilding. If such was the case, what a magnificent spectacle must have been provided by a vast tract of land covered with flowery produce ten feet high! The teasel-farm has gone, the hop-garden is going, even the wheatfield with its gorgeous tares is threatened: we shall soon have lost all the wonderful country pictures which helped to make old England merry. The remaining Cotswold teasels are now taking to the woods after the fashion of outlaws prepared to make a final stand against their enemies.

Our dry hills and waterless valleys offer no encouragement to paludal plants, but there are trout-streams, and beside them one gaudy alien, *Mimulus luteus*, flaunts its yellow blossoms. This stranger actually appears to be gaining ground, a habit too often acquired by foreigners, whether bird, beast, or plant. I can never

see the flowers without a touch of sentiment, for they flourished gloriously beside a narrow watercourse which bounded the kitchen-garden of my early home within sight of the Cotswold hills, and I was warned never to meddle with the blossoms because they were "monkeys" and might bite, a cunning device doubtless to keep me from the water. That was in the year 1878, so we may safely assume the *mimulus* has been established in the Midlands for at least fifty years. During the next half-century it is likely to become even more abundant.

Although much visited, few districts in the south remain less known than the Cotswolds. Main roads are few and travellers must keep to them because, like so many Ixions, they are chained to a machine, and are therefore unable to spy out the real beauty of the land. There is a green valley, well-wooded and marvellously picturesque, scarcely a mile from Ermine Street, stretching behind the tiny church of Elkstone, itself a flower of Norman architecture unspoilt by restoration. Here it is possible to experience that always agreeable sensation of walking through an unknown land, for none, except a few parishioners, appear to enter this valley, where one may loiter during any hour of summer in perfect solitude and "gather a posy as the day runs by." Here you will find, protected by neglect, almost the entire flora of the Cotswolds, to say nothing of birds, beasts, and insects. Upon the steeper slope, worthy of some such poetical name as *il giardino della regina*, where *Clematis vitalba*, a tangle of ropes, casts its noose about every tree, are bushes of pink Musk-mallow; the two *Verbascums*, the flannel-like leaves of the taller variety sometimes completely devoured and the stems converted into miniature maypoles by caterpillars; Soapwort, once used, if we may trust tradition, by the cotter's wife on washing-day; the rare giant stonecrop (*Sedum telephium*), bearing flat heads of crimson flowers late in the summer. While upon lower ground you cannot fail to notice *Chlora perfoliata*, glaucous and gentian-like; *Iris foetidissima*; Bee-orchis, representative of a rapidly disappearing family; with *Helleborus foetidus*, greatest prize of all, although to see this plant in flower a winter visit will be necessary.

Until the opportunity came of spending days in this Elkstone valley I had supposed all three Hellebores to be extinct. *H. niger*, the Christmas rose, probably failed to survive the sixteenth century, being in great demand for the garden, but both *foetidus* and *viridis* unquestionably inhabited our southern woodlands until a much later date. While wandering along the valley during the gorgeous summer of 1921 my eyes fell upon a quantity of dead foliage beneath some blackthorn bushes, and immediately I recognised the unmistakable leaves of *Helleborus foetidus*, while not

long afterwards I came across another stronghold of the plant some five miles away. *H. viridis*, if it exists, has succeeded up to the present in preserving the secret of its hiding-place. It is hard to say why these two varieties should have become practically extinct, as they appeal to few except botanists, but it may be that the seed, although produced in abundance, ripens only under certain conditions of climate: so much I gather from my own failure to obtain germination. If this is the case, we can be certain that the English winter was formerly colder, therefore drier, than at present. The curious colouring is the remarkable feature of this winter-blooming family: in the case of *foetidus* a deep rust-red stain invades the edges of each petal, the same colour often stains the entire flower of *viridis*, while very occasionally you may find in the garden a specimen of *niger* bearing upon one of its pure-white petals a similar blotch, although this flower, so far as I am aware, never shows any trace of green. It should be possible, therefore, to produce a red Christmas rose.

It will be gathered from these notes that the botanical wealth of the Cotswolds is still very great; the subject, so far from being exhausted, is here merely introduced; but nothing can be less interesting to the general reader than a long catalogue of Latin names, such as is sometimes given at the end of guide-books, reminding one of the wholesale lists of guests, both distinguished and obscure, recorded as visitors to some fashionable resort. Plants, like people, possess little interest until we know something more about them than their names. Providence has been pleased to supply us with a vast number of common and fairly conspicuous wild-flowers, and it is the wayside weed, not the rarity, which makes the land a garden. A Cotswold bank is in its humble fashion fully as richly adorned as even a valley in Tyrol; yellow may predominate somewhat too strongly owing to a superabundance of sun-rose, bird's foot trefoil, hawkweed, and cinquefoil, but we have also milkwort and eyebright, with tall mullein in the background, and the colour scheme will be perfect should thyme be plentiful. Poets and popular writers have taught us to believe wild thyme gives out sweet odours all the summer, but this is far from the truth. It becomes highly fragrant only under certain conditions of moisture and sunshine, such as may not prevail once in a season. Last year, after coldish rain followed by a sultry evening, every patch of thyme when trodden on or even disturbed by wind gave out a marvellously sweet scent; and one who has spent a considerable amount of time in studying our native plants enjoyed that hour an experience almost unique.

JOHN TREVENA.

FOREIGN AFFAIRS.

AN APOLOGY TO THE ASSOCIATION OF BRITISH CREDITORS OF RUSSIA.

The following statement appeared in our June issue in the article entitled Foreign Affairs, page 788:—

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.

With respect to this statement Messrs. Rutherford & Co., of 48, Cannon Street, E.C.4, the solicitors to "the Association of British Creditors of Russia, Limited," on June 23rd, 1924, write as follows:—

"Our Clients' Association did not even come into existence until the month of June, 1921, after the final failure of the campaigns of Kolchak, Denikin, and Wrangel, and prior thereto none of its members in their individual capacity belonged to any Association of a similar name, nor did they, or any of them, keep up a sustained propaganda against the Soviet Government or support the military campaigns of Kolchak, Denikin, or Wrangel.

"Our Clients' Association was formed to aid and assist British subjects to recover the losses and damages sustained by them in Russia, and to protect their interests in Russia, and ever since its formation the Association has conducted, and is still conducting, friendly negotiations with the Soviet Government, and its representatives, with the object of reopening business and trade relations with that country."

In these circumstances, the Editors of THE CONTEMPORARY REVIEW, the writer of the article, Mr. George Glasgow, the Publishers and the Printers, entirely withdraw, and apologise freely and fully for the error in the above reference to "The Association of British Creditors of Russia, Limited." The said Association are entirely at liberty to publish this apology in such manner as they think fit.

for League of Nations control in Hungary hold good against his own arguments for non-interference with Count Bethlen. As for the *émigré* Hungarian progressives and intellectuals who have no

* He courteously gave me a copy of his M.S.

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FOREIGN AFFAIRS.

THE skill with which Sir William Goode on another page* makes out a case for the Bethlen Government will not surprise those who have admired his technique in still more difficult enterprises, such as the saving of tottering nations from collapse. His gifts as an economist, unselfishly applied to the cause of European stability, have placed Europe under a debt of gratitude. I should be surprised, however, if he himself would not be the first to admit that he regards political means as of slight importance compared with the economic end. That is why it is hard to quarrel with him when, for instance, he arrogates to Budapest the credit for a conciliatory movement initiated in Prague and gives it as a reason for revising one's opinion of the Bethlen Government; or when he assumes that the *rapprochement* has been complete; or when he puts the cart before the horse and refers to the Little Entente as Hungary's "bitterest enemies." The most interesting point in Sir William's article is his assurance that Hungary can produce nothing better than Count Bethlen for the purposes of salvation. One still hopes for Hungary's sake that she can. Count Bethlen is not, of course, a phenomenon of the Horthy type. He is a genuine patriot in motive, but an incorrigible opportunist of the Transylvanian type, and one of the most encrusted reactionaries in Europe. As for the franchise law, Sir William assures us on high authority that it "never entered the heads" of the Allied negotiators that Hungarian undertakings should be binding after the signature of the Treaty. If that is true, the whole proceeding was a dishonest sham; one does not, or ought not to, enter into engagements to repudiate them at the first opportunity; and the offence is equally gross on any authority. Sir William makes a good point about the Suffrage Law, but—such are the pitfalls in Hungarian affairs—does not go far enough about the practical effect of it. He makes no mention of the indirect disfranchisement effected by such means as the two years' residence qualification, the intimidation of the open ballot in the country constituencies, the partial mockery of the formality of the secret ballot in the towns, where it is a rule that nominations must be backed by a thousand open signatures before they are valid. Where is, then, the protection of the secret ballot? These quibbles are a commonplace of Hungarian politics; witness the formality of a budget in round figures without any parliamentary control over particular expenditure. Sir William's arguments for League of Nations control in Hungary hold good against his own arguments for non-interference with Count Bethlen. As for the *émigré* Hungarian progressives and intellectuals who have no

* He courteously gave me a copy of his M.S.

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forum at home, and no home except prison, no doubt they have exaggerated the enormities of the Bethlen régime; and may, scholars as many of them are, have made mistakes in detail. Sir William exposes a few. Their main contention, however, supported by an abundance of other evidence, is convincing. Sir William hits a nail on the head, not perhaps the nail he was driving at, when he refers in analogy to hypothetical Communists demonstrating before Buckingham Palace. Our Communists do rave every Sunday in Hyde Park and Trafalgar Square. And why not? That is one difference between London and Budapest. Moreover, the exiles from Hungary are not Communists, but the opponents of the Government, including University professors and the best intellectuals. If one cannot agree with Sir William's political championship of the present reactionary régime in Hungary, one wholeheartedly admires the economic work he is doing for Hungary and for Europe.

A NEW DRAMA AT VERSAILLES.

After M. Poincaré, M. Millerand. It was, however, proved to be more difficult for France to rid herself of her President than of her Prime Minister. In French politics there are certain conventions, too rigid to be broken openly, but assailable by indirect methods when national feeling is roused against them. The Presidency of M. Millerand was a case in point. The letter of the constitution gave him seven years' run. The Cartel des Gauches, which had succeeded at the elections in putting an end to the Prime Ministership of M. Poincaré, was equally dissatisfied with the Presidency of M. Millerand, and equally determined that he, too, should go. It is interesting on this side of the Channel to notice exactly how they set about it.

In the first place the Left advertised the clearness with which it had won the support of the electorate on May 11th. Excluding the thirty-one Communists returned, the Left counted 140 Radicals and Radical Socialists, 35 Republican Socialists, 103 Unified Socialists, and 132 Left Republicans; in all 410 votes. Methodically and carefully therefore the Left leaders worked out a plan of action. First, M. Poincaré should make way for a Ministry of the Left. Second, an attempt should be made to secure the eventual participation of the Unified Socialists in that Ministry. Third, M. Millerand should resign from the Presidency.

The first step in the programme proved easy. There was no conceivable resource of logic or constitutional finesse behind which a Prime Minister who had lost his majority could shelter, and M. Poincaré promptly announced his intention of resigning, and did resign, on June 1st.

The second step proved more difficult even than was at first expected. The Unified Socialist Party at once split on the issue. Led by MM. Paul-Boncour and Varenne, one section of it burnt its boats and declared for participation. Another section, led by MM. Léon Blum, Renaudel, and Paul Faure, insisted on an independent policy. The first-named leaders argued that half a loaf was more than no bread, and that by accepting a share of power in a Left coalition they could at any rate secure some of the reforms for which the party stood. The three leaders on the other side argued that a dilution of Government would make impossible any consistent or effective attempt at purely Socialist legislation. While the issue was being fought out the Unified Socialist Party was sedulously courted on the one side by the Radical and Radical Socialist group of M. Herriot, on the other by the Communists. M. Herriot on May 31st wrote a personal letter to M. Léon Blum, appealing for Socialist collaboration.

"The verdict of May 11th," he wrote, "revealed in the clearest manner the country's desire for a new policy both at home and abroad, to be founded resolutely on the principles and methods of democracy. At home what is wanted is a vigorous reaffirmation of the republican spirit, and the carrying out of social reforms in an atmosphere of confidence shared by the workers. In foreign policy the need of constructive peace dominates all other issues. The electoral victory which has made this programme possible was won by close collaboration between the Socialists and the Radicals. Together they defeated the coalition of money and lies. It was a common triumph. . . . The people have done their duty. It remains for us to do ours. In the name of my party therefore, I appeal for the complete support of the Socialist Party. We are ready to discuss with your party the means and conditions of a joint administration in a loyal, fraternal, and, I assure you, a perfectly disinterested spirit."

The Communist Party similarly wrote, but in conformity with the verbose traditions of Communism, at much greater length, to solicit the Socialist vote and to outline its policy. The interesting points in the programme were, according to that statement, the evacuation of the Ruhr, opposition to the Dawes scheme, the payment of the costs of the war by Franco-German capitalists, and the nationalisation of all the vital industries, including the mines and the banks.

An extraordinary congress of the Socialist Party was held on June 1st and 2nd, which exultingly sat in judgment on the rival claimants for its benevolence. Just as Tsarism in Russia produced Bolshevism, and as Count Tisza produced Béla Kun in Hungary, so M. Poincaré made Léon Blum the virtual dictator

in French politics. The simple swing of the pendulum is as true a principle in politics as in a grandfather's clock. The French Socialist Congress on June 1st asked M. Herriot to submit a programme, detailed enough and drastic enough to justify the Socialists, if not in joining his Administration, at any rate in supporting him. On the following day, therefore, he sent to the Congress a full statement of Radical and Radical-Socialist policy. It comprised certain domestic reforms, a general amnesty except in the case of rebels and traitors; the suppression of the embassy at the Vatican; a reduction of military service; budgetary and fiscal reform, and a greater reliance on direct taxation. The interesting part of the statement was that which dealt with foreign policy.

"We are determined," he wrote, "to achieve peace through an understanding with the various peoples. That peace, for which we shall work with all our ardour, cannot in our opinion be won until France, faithful to her democratic mission and to the engagements which she entered into during the war, has strengthened and enlarged the rôle of the League of Nations and other international institutions such as the Hague Tribunal and the International Labour Office. The League of Nations itself will never be able to do what we expect of it, nor to prevent the horrors of war, until it comprises all nations which are resolved to respect its authority.

"We wish to re-establish normal relations with Russia.

"We accept without any *arrière pensée* the report of the experts.

"Our party has combated the policy of isolation and of force which has led to territorial occupations and to the seizure of territorial pledges. In view, however, of the present state of Germany, we are faced with the necessity of shielding, not only France, but every other country, against a resumed offensive of Nationalist Pangermanism, and our party therefore deems it impossible to evacuate the Ruhr until the pledges prescribed by the experts have been put into force and confided for their future application to the international organisations which are qualified to apply them. We also think that in the interests of peace, it will be necessary to assure the control of German disarmament by common Allied action, and at the earliest possible moment by action on the part of the League of Nations. We shall have to solve the problems of security by means of pacts of guarantee contracted under the authority of the League of Nations."

Two points will be chiefly noticed in the above statement. M. Herriot lost his first opportunity of saying the right thing about Germany, and he maintained by implication the Poincaré policy of regional understandings with an anti-German bias.

The Socialist Congress on June 2nd considered the statements both of the Socialist Party and of the Radical and Radical Socialist

Party. A series of resolutions were passed, the net result of which was to reserve to the party its complete independence of action in the Chamber, to refuse M. Herriot's suggestion for Ministerial co-operation, but to promise the party's support in so far as his programme suited their purposes. It is alarming in one sense to think of the instability to which French politics are thereby doomed for the next four years; but it is tolerably clear that the violence of the anti-German obsession in French politics is also reduced, even though any constructive alternative in European policy may be made difficult by the cross-currents in Paris.

The third step in the Radical plan of action, that of bringing retribution to the occupant of the Elysée, brought with it a good illustration of the way they do things in Paris. When M. Poincaré was President of the Republic he wrote a book called *How France is Governed* (1913), in which he explained with admirable lucidity the constitutional practice of France. One contingency which he failed to deal with in his chapter on the President was precisely that which has confronted M. Millerand, and which has so confronted him because his Presidency was contaminated by M. Poincaré's own Prime Ministership. "That the President should not be called upon," wrote M. Poincaré in his book, "to account for the ordinary conduct of public affairs, that he should not be personally harassed by the Chambers, that his independence should be protected—all this is very desirable. But what if he should violate the laws? What if he should rebel against the Constitution? What if, like Prince Napoleon on December 2nd, 1851, he should effect a *coup d'état*?" The author answered his own questions by showing that the President is liable to impeachment before the Senate for such contingencies of treason. But what if the President of the Republic identifies himself with such a policy as that of M. Poincaré, and if an election, falling within the period of the President's office, condemns such policy? It would have been *piquant* to have M. Poincaré's view of this. There is no hard and fast rule laid down in the Constitution about it, and therefore the French crisis had to be further complicated by the necessity of a full and logical establishment of a precedent.

What happened exactly was as follows: On June 1st, when M. Poincaré resigned, the deputies of the Radical, Radical-Socialist, Republican-Socialist, and Socialist Parties assembled in their several headquarters and passed resolutions which agreed with each other in denouncing M. Millerand's continuance in the office of President. On the same afternoon 307 representatives of the Cartel des Gauches met at the Palais d'Orsay and passed a unanimous resolution thus: the Cartel "Considering that M. Alexandre Millerand, President of the Republic, has, in conflict

with the spirit of the Constitution, pursued a personal policy; Considering that he has openly taken sides with the Bloc National; Considering that the policy of the Bloc National has been condemned by the country; is of opinion that the continuance of M. Millerand at the Elysée would injure the Republican conscience, would be the source of incessant conflict between the Government and the Head of the State and a constant danger to the *régime* itself."

The twenty-six Communist deputies, who in conformity with their party's decision as recorded above, did not take part in the mass meeting of the parties of the Left, passed a resolution of their own to the same effect.

M. Millerand, however, refused to resign, and put his refusal down to his respect for the Constitution. Literally he was in the right; but as one French opinion put it with charming force: "M. Millerand at the present moment has been dismissed: and one who has been dismissed has no alternative but to hand in his resignation"! M. Millerand took a long and roundabout course, steering by the letter of the Constitution. His seven years of office had not expired. He therefore called on M. Herriot, as the political leader who had won the biggest following at the elections to form a Government. M. Herriot correctly went to the Elysée to receive the invitation, and equally correctly refused it on the personal ground of M. Millerand's conduct. M. Millerand was therefore faced with the alternatives of resigning at once or of inviting another party leader to form a Government. When a cock is made to walk the chalked line, his tiresome obsession is imposed by others. M. Millerand's chalked line was of his own making, and he walked the whole length of it, or, as we shall see, nearly the whole length of it, by his own choice. He knew that it could lead to only one end, but determined to go through with it in the grim manner. Unable to find any Left politician willing to accept at his hands the honour of forming a Government, he decided to call on M. François Marsal, who had been Minister of Finance in the Poincaré Ministry. M. Marsal accepted, and carried out the farce in all its detail. He appointed his Cabinet, and his colleagues accepted their appointments, although everyone knew it was to be an empty mockery of a few hours' duration. M. Maginot was made phantom Minister of War, and M. Lefèvre du Prey phantom Minister of Foreign Affairs.

On Tuesday, June 10th, M. Marsal and his ceremonial puppets faced the Chamber. The Chamber passed a resolution adjourning itself indefinitely until such time as a Ministry appeared before it which represented a majority. The voting on that occasion was 329 for the resolution, 214 against, the Government of the day,

literally of the day, being thus defeated at the outset by 115 votes. The Senate passed a similar resolution. A message from M. Millerand was read in both Chambers which was completely divorced from reality. So flagrant a disregard of commonsense could never be enacted at Westminster. In the course of his message M. Millerand declared:—

"The Constitution in the national interest has fixed the term of the Presidential office at seven years, and lays down that the President of the Republic is not responsible to Parliament except in the case of high treason.

"Gentlemen, you who are members of the Senate or the Chamber will respect the Constitution. If you disregard it, if it were to be understood henceforward that the arbitrary judgment of a majority could compel the President of the Republic to resign for political reasons, the President of the Republic would be nothing more than a plaything in the hands of the parties. You will help me to combat so grave a danger.

"I have refused to desert my post, and it is not for Parliament, whose mandate it is to vote the laws and to enforce respect for them, to set an example of violation of those laws. The Senate, faithful to its traditions, will remain as it has always been in the gravest crises a defender of the Constitution. A Constitutional question of such importance for the future of the Republican *régime* as that which is raised in the present crisis cannot be settled in the dark by the decisions of individuals or of parties. I appeal confidently to the wisdom of both Chambers, to their prudence, and to their love of France and the Republic."

What the meaning of the word "confidently" in the last sentence was must remain a mystery: M. Millerand knew as well as any of those who heard his appeal that it was his swan song. In the evening of the same day, he issued from the Elysée a statement in which he thanked M. Marsal and his colleagues "for the help which they had given him in defence of the Constitution." Logically there was one last ditch still left for M. Millerand to rally in, but, weary no doubt of the hollow history he was enacting, he chose not to try it. He could have dissolved the Chamber. That, however, would have brought only a respite, and a further refinement to the farce. Instead, he formally announced his resignation in a letter which was read to both Chambers on the following day (Wednesday, June 11th). By that time he had apparently lost interest in his position and become laconic. "M. le Président (he wrote), I have the honour to place on the table of the Senate my resignation as President of the French Republic. Please accept, etc. Alexandre Millerand." On June 13th the National Assembly met at Versailles to elect M. Millerand's successor. "It is at

Versailles," wrote M. Poincaré in the book referred to above, "in a wing of the magnificent *château* erected by Louis XIV. that this election takes place. Let us enter the vast courtyard, separated from the Place d'Armes by a golden grille. We are surrounded by statues of marble which evoke all the ancient glories of France: Richelieu, Bayard, Colbert, Tourville, Duguay-Trouin, Turenne, Du Guesclin, Sully, Condé . . ."

The voting at Versailles led to the appointment of M. Gaston Doumergue, who received 515 votes against M. Painlevé's 309. Both those candidates belonged in sympathy to the Left, but the scale was turned in favour of M. Doumergue by the vote of the Right, who acted, as one of them said, on the principle that cholera was better than the plague. As M. Painlevé was M. Herriot's candidate, his defeat was naturally hailed in the Paris papers of the Right as a defeat for M. Herriot, and as an illustration of M. Herriot's essentially weak position. It soon became clear, however, that M. Herriot had no intention of taking it amiss, for on the evening of the following day he had his Cabinet list ready to present to M. Doumergue. It was, indeed, arguable that the Versailles verdict was the best thing possible in the general interests of French politics. M. Millerand came to grief precisely because he was too closely identified with the Prime Minister of the day. A President too palpably *persona grata* to a Left Prime Minister might have courted the same risk. Any criticism of the Right on such lines is made impossible in this case by the fact that it was the Right vote which decided the issue. M. Doumergue has the further qualification of a reserved, moderate, and genial temperament. In Paris the explosive potentialities of a situation in which the Government of the day has no working majority are an ever-present menace to any consistent efforts in European diplomacy. M. Doumergue is precisely the President who by a judicious mixture of constitutional good form and personal disinterestedness may be able to minimise the danger of explosion.

PARIS AND WARSAW.

The big changes that have taken place in Europe have inevitably had their reaction in the small places. Among the minor complications some embarrassment has befallen the Franco-Polish *entente* as a result of the removal of M. Poincaré. It was M. Poincaré who evolved in its clearest phase the French policy of encirclement against Germany, and his craving for allies on the German frontier led him to cultivate the Poles. He told them that they had a great rôle to play, that they were the natural buffer between Germany and Russia, that they were big and strong enough to do it, especially with the help of French 75's. M.

Herriot, while in opposition, signed a manifesto against the White Terror in Poland, a step which he took with all the greater alacrity because it had some incidental value as a routine contribution to M. Poincaré's difficulties. When the elections revealed M. Herriot as the destined slayer of M. Poincaré, Warsaw naturally became a little confused about the rôle hitherto assigned to her by the diplomacy of the Quai d'Orsay: for M. Herriot, the prospective Prime Minister, had not only committed himself to a criticism of Polish internal methods, but had expressed aspirations for friendship with Russia. As Mayor of Lyons he had led the French mission of the Left to Moscow, and in his election speeches had advocated the recognition of Russia.

To clear up the matter it was arranged that he should give an interview to the Polish Telegraph Agency. Readily conforming to the convention which makes most Prime Ministers (fortunately not all) repent of their former impulses, M. Herriot explained away his anti-Polish manifesto. He told his interviewer that the French democracy was animated with the greatest sympathy for Poland; that he had signed the protest against the Polish White Terror in the conviction that he was "merely" obeying the dictates of humanity, but had not had the slightest intention of protesting against measures which had been taken for the protection of the Polish Constitution. Thus neatly did he perform one part of his assumed duty as prospective Prime Minister in covering up his traces. The other part was more difficult, because M. Herriot is too sincere about his Russian policy to quibble over it. He therefore frankly confessed in the interview that he was anxious to make peace with Russia, and believed that such a course would bring its advantages to Poland also. He expressed the warmest sympathy with Poland, and wanted, he explained, to join with Poland in an honest attempt to secure peace throughout the world.

There may be more in this than a sudden game of musical chairs thrust upon Poland by the Quai d'Orsay. There is no doubt that many of Poland's own difficulties in the past, and much of her lamentable arrogance towards her neighbours, have been due to the influence of French diplomacy of the Poincaré type. One always recognised this when Poland put herself in the wrong over Vilna, Eastern Galicia, and even over Memel. With a new Government in Paris, imbued perhaps with more pacific aims in foreign policy, it will be easier, so one hopes, for Poland to regain the good opinion of those who in the past few years have criticised her.

THE ANGLO-RUSSIAN CONFERENCE.

Towards the end of May it became obvious that the Anglo-Russian Conference was stranded on the rock of the pre-war

Russian debt. That was inevitable. Mr. Rakovsky wanted credits and a loan; the City asked for a re-establishment of Russian security as a precedent condition to the granting of credits; the only way to such re-establishment was the payment of existing debts. Mr. Rakovsky answered that Russia could not pay unless further credits were granted first. The realists argued that the position could be summed up thus: A owes B £100, and when B asks for payment A answers: "If you will first give me another loan of £200 I will promise to use half of it to pay you back what I already owe." That, of course, is not business. While the voluminous memoranda were passing between the Russian and British Delegations explaining rival points of view, it became clear that the conference could not proceed unless Mr. Rakovsky could be induced to declare categorically that he recognised Russia's debts unconditionally, that is, without reference to the question of the loan. At a meeting of the Conference held on May 20th, therefore, the British Delegation attempted to force Mr. Rakovsky's hand. That meeting was the first real landmark in the progress of the Conference. Mr. Rakovsky had stated his well-known theory, which was reproduced as follows in the official statement issued on the evening of May 20th:—

"The Soviet Delegation stated that their Government would agree, if they could get, with the assistance of the British Government, a long-term loan, to set aside a lump sum to cover the pre-war debts of Russia to British subjects. Claims in this connection would be considered only in the case of those who had held Russian bonds before March 12th, 1917; nor would the claims be admitted of those who had subsequently taken an active part against the Soviet Government. It would be the policy of the Soviet Government to give smaller claims priority. The greater part of the loan would be spent in Great Britain for the purchase of machinery and other material needed for the restoration of Russian industry and agriculture."

It was after this renewed declaration, which showed that the Soviet Delegation had not yet grasped the reality of the position, that the British Delegation decided to throw on to the table what appeared to the Russians to be a bombshell.

"The British Delegation said . . . that any assistance which the British Government could give towards the floating of a loan would of necessity be very much limited, and that there could be no question of any Government guarantee." (Official Statement.) The effect of that categorical refusal of a Government guarantee was to send Mr. Rakovsky to the City to try his luck on exclusively practical lines. There is little room for doubt that the chief object behind that move on the part of the British Delegation was to

make Mr. Rakovsky realise by hard experience in the City what he had failed to realise on the gentle persuasion of the British Delegation, that the unconditional recognition of Russia's debts was the indispensable basis of any further discussion. A week passed, and the Russian Delegation still avoided the real point. On May 27th a further meeting of the Conference was held, but it was found that no steps had been taken on the Russian side to explore the feeling in the City, possibly because the Russians already had a shrewd idea of what they would find there. On May 27th the Russian Delegation merely asked if the proposal it had made a week earlier about the liquidation of pre-war debts and the raising of a loan had yet been considered by the British Delegation, and the British Delegation had no alternative but to answer that the proposal was unacceptable; in other words, Mr. Rakovsky was for the second time referred to the City. The period between May 20th and May 27th was the most critical yet reached at the Conference. All the White Russian propagandists—of whom there are henchmen writing in the British Press under the guise of British journalists—renewed their offensive and exploited to the full Mr. MacDonald's embarrassment. The Conference had undoubtedly reached a deadlock. On May 30th I invited Mr. Rakovsky to give me for publication a statement of his attitude to this question of the pre-war debt in view of the attitude taken up by the British Delegation. It had been agreed that no statements of the kind should be made at the Conference outside the official statements which were agreed on jointly by the two sides. Mr. Rakovsky, however, was clearly right in accepting my invitation because public opinion was becoming sceptical and distrustful of the Conference's ultimate success, and as Mr. Rakovsky had been referred to the City by the British Delegation there seemed to be nothing further to be gained by continued secrecy. I published the statement in the *Observer* of June 1st. In the course of it Mr. Rakovsky said:—

"In the matter of pre-war debts there is a big difference between the two delegations, the Russian trying to bring the question on to practical grounds, the British insisting on keeping it on the juridical ground."

"In which way 'practical'?" I asked.

"What we say is this: To arrive at a solution, it is necessary to find a formula which brings real advantages to both parties. That is why the Russian Delegation proposes that the question of the liquidation of pre-war debts should be bound up with the question of a loan. We need the loan precisely for the double purpose of enabling us to pay the annuities of our pre-war debts, and to place orders in England for goods which are necessary for the economic reconstruction of Russia."

"At the same time, we declare that it is impossible for an impoverished country, such as Russia, to be asked to pay her debts according to their nominal value."

At this point Mr. Rakovsky became animated. "At the moment," he exclaimed, "when the English capitalists who hold German bonds have lost every penny, when the English creditors of France have seen their holdings reduced by three-quarters by the fall of the franc, it would be an enormity for you to ask Russia to pay rouble for rouble. According to what one hears in the City, the bondholders of the Russian loan insist that we shall incur the full obligation for the whole debt. If this is true, I frankly fear that in the future, as in the past, we shall not be able to pay anything. If, faced with the alternatives of receiving something from Russia and receiving nothing, the bondholders still insist blindly on Russia's recognition of her total debt, it will be proved that it is not money that they want, but a political end."

"But," I objected, "what is your formula? You have your debt, and according to British ideas of financial honour, as exemplified in the case of the British debt to the United States, debts are paid without argument."

"You make it," he said, "a question of principle. The bondholders, according to the City rumours, also make it a question of principle, and say that they cannot allow any precedent except that of full payment. This is strange, for are there not numerous precedents already existing, not as a result of Russian action? As a matter of principle our peasants are not obliged to pay the Tsarist debts. We shall get no further by opposing principle to principle. We must transfer the matter to the ground of practical advantage. And why in any case do you talk of principle only in the case of Russia? The bondholders of the Turkish debt had their holdings reduced three times during the last century, and in the Treaty of Lausanne the Allies agreed to a further reduction."

[Mr. Rakovsky was here referring to the clause which allowed Turkey to pay in Turkish paper instead of the currency of the holder, which was the option of the holder according to the original contract.]

"Even private debts," continued Mr. Rakovsky, "have in Germany been reduced to 15 per cent. of their nominal value. Have not enormous reductions also been made of private debts in every Balkan and Baltic country? Why in the one case of Russia should you wish to make an exception? Public opinion in Russia will interpret this intransigence as an attempt at punishment for her Government being Socialist. We cannot in any circumstances admit such treatment."

"The pre-war rouble," I observed, "is worthless, and obviously

you cannot claim to pay in roubles. If a recalculation of your liability were made, taking into consideration all that you have said, taking all the debts, pre-war and war debts together, and subtracting an agreed estimate of British damage in the White campaigns, would you pay the resultant obligations?"

"On that calculation," he answered, "we have already paid our debt in full, for the national revenue of Russia fell from 15,000,000,000 roubles in 1913 to 4,000,000,000 in 1921."

"Not because of your nationalisation policy?" I asked.

"No; because all the big industrial and agricultural districts of Russia have been for almost three years occupied by foreign or by White armies—the Caucasus, the Ukraine, Siberia—and because Russia has been reduced territorially to several provinces in the centre. But for intervention we should have applied our new economic policy (N.E.P., as we call it, *Novaya Ekonomicheskaya Politika*) in 1918 instead of in 1921."

I still insisted that Mr. Rakovsky had not given me a formula for Russia's payment of debts, which is the only means whereby a Russian loan can be raised.

"Our formula," he said, "is the payment of debts considerably reduced in exchange for a loan. The British Delegation presents us with a formula which is not only exclusively one of principle, but unilateral. For the raising of a loan the British answer at the Conference sent us to the City, the City in its turn takes its stand on the Bankers' Manifesto, and says: 'Earn our confidence first; you can earn our confidence by repudiating your Socialism.' In these circumstances no practical result is possible."

"Certain representatives of the City even go to the length of saying that we need no loan. They seem to want us to hand over our industries for them to organise. Nothing but the intervention of the British Government can now save the situation, secure the interests of the bondholders, make possible the economic rehabilitation of Russia, and enlarge Anglo-Russian trade. I know the difficulties of the British Government, but the guarantee which we ask does not commit the Government to contribute to a loan. Moreover, the Government has laws which would enable it in one way or another to do what we want in the interests of Anglo-Russian trade."

I finally observed that the moral aspect of debts was not considered by British opinion. The British debt to America was contracted vicariously for France and Italy, yet we were paying it, in spite, too, of the fact that those countries were not paying us their formal and direct debts. That is the basis of British credit. According to British ideas, the circumstances in which debts are

contracted are beside the point, and the debts have to be paid if credit is to be preserved or restored.

"I fully understand," said Mr. Rakovsky, "your difficulties in Great Britain, but you must also understand the psychology of our Russian peasant. Even if he had no principle about paying Tsarist debts, he thinks that he has in fact paid his foreign debts by his blood, by the ruin of Russia, and by the damage caused by Allied intervention. He also has his idea of right and wrong. It is no use talking to him of gaining confidence in the City. He must be given something real."

A further meeting of the Conference had been arranged for the first week of June, but in view of the extremely grave attitude still maintained by Mr. Rakovsky, and illustrated in the statement quoted above, it was decided that no profitable purpose could yet be served by a resumption of Conference, and the meeting was put off indefinitely.

In the middle of this confusion Mr. Litvinov arrived in London and was given a hostile reception by the *Morning Post*, which, I understand, did not distress him. Seven weeks earlier, when the Conference opened, Mr. Litvinov's name was included in the list of the Russian Delegation, it being explained at the time that his journey from Moscow had been delayed, and that he would probably be too late for the opening ceremony. The fact that the delay extended to seven weeks calls for no elaborate explanation, and need not surprise those who at Genoa, Lausanne, or elsewhere, have had the opportunity of studying the temperament of Russian Delegations. Those who heavily explained Mr. Litvinov's arrival as a signal of Moscow's distrust of Mr. Rakovsky had not only forgotten the context, but hardly understood Russian methods. It would be as profitable to assign a sinister explanation to the keenness with which the Russian delegates pay their periodic visits to the Amusements Park at Wembley as to explain why one of the chief delegates at the Conference misses the starting-post by seven weeks. It would be equally futile to resent the literary activities of another member of the Delegation who, after going to an evening party in London, wrote a long description for a Russian paper of the way in which women are powdered, painted, and "made-up" in capitalist London. The arrival of Mr. Litvinov made precisely no difference to anything except that his knowledge of the English language was welcomed by Mr. Rakovsky, who himself has to make himself understood in French. Mr. Rakovsky is, however, learning English hard. At his house in Hampstead he reads English fairy stories, his progress being dotted with marginal translations in French as a help to his memory. Whether Mr. Litvinov's extensive experience of London life—including a sojourn in Brixton

Gaol—will be of any practical help to the rest of the Delegation is of less importance.

It happened that soon after Mr. Litvinov's arrival Mr. Rakovsky took the plunge and met the representatives of the British bondholders of the pre-war Russian debt. The meeting took place at the Foreign Office on June 12th. Mr. Rakovsky was then invited to explain his general point of view on the pre-war debts, and in answer made a statement on the lines of the interview quoted above, and distributed copies of some of the lengthy memoranda which the Russian Delegation had prepared for the benefit of the British Delegation at the Conference proper. The bondholders promised to consider both his statement and the memoranda, and, what is more important, undertook to make allowance for the special circumstances—territorial, economic, and political—which Mr. Rakovsky adduced as a reason for the reduction of the debt. There was a distinctly more conciliatory tone manifested at the meeting, and a further meeting was arranged for, which had not taken place when the July CONTEMPORARY REVIEW went to press. At the second meeting it was hoped to discuss the actual figures of the reduced debt.

Some misunderstanding still seems to persist in the Russian Delegation about the British Delegation's attitude to the pre-war debt. At the meeting of the Conference held on May 27th the British Delegation explained "that they did not wish to make any unreasonable demands regarding pre-war debts, and were not proposing that those debts should be paid in full and immediately." (See official statement issued in the evening of May 27th and published in the next morning's papers.) As soon as Mr. Rakovsky commits his Government—if he has the power to do so—to the unconditional payment of a reasonable figure of indebtedness, the Conference, presumably, can proceed. The raising of the loan needed by Russia, as well as the granting of credits, the latter, no doubt, by means of the existing Trades Facilities Act and Exports Credits Act, would follow automatically.

THE AMERICAN EXCLUSION LAW.

The discriminatory section of the United States Immigration Act, which was approved by Congress on May 26th, led to deplorable incidents of race feeling both in America and in Japan. They are an unfortunate example of the way in which conflicting currents in diplomacy produce sooner or later a collision. The first causes of this particular collision were not confined to the relations of America and Japan. The real beginning of the present phase of the race issue in America dates from the Washington Disarmament

Conference of 1921. The crux then was the relations between the United States, Great Britain, Japan, and China, and the discussions largely centred in the Anglo-Japanese alliance, which was at that time due for renewal or denunciation.

The British Delegation at the Conference was at first impaled on the Canadian-Australian dilemma, Canada wanting to denounce the Anglo-Japanese alliance on grounds mainly of an understanding with America; Australia wanting to renew it on grounds of naval security in the Far East. The way out of the dilemma, as far as the British Empire was concerned, lay in a common scheme of disarmament between the naval Powers concerned. In agreeing to this solution the British Delegation at Washington insisted that fair play should be given in America to the reasonable needs of the Japanese, the argument being that the Monroe Doctrine is double-edged and that the world's littorals, dotted as they are with white immigrations, are only one edge. Two developments have since taken place which have militated against the immediate success of the Washington scheme. One was the accession to power of a Conservative Government in Great Britain, which, partly as a result of Australian pressure, adopted the Singapore base project as an alternative to the Anglo-Japanese alliance, which had been allowed to lapse; the other was a hardening of American feeling against Japanese immigration. In both cases the result was increasing grievance on the part of Japan and the creation of a vicious circle, in which the more restive Japanese opinion became, the more determined became the advocates of the Singapore plan on the one hand and of American discrimination against Japanese immigration on the other.

The MacDonald Government dropped the Singapore scheme, but the American complication went its full circle, and in the last week of May led to the definite incorporation of a discriminatory clause in the American Immigration Act. The present feeling which runs in Japan, and which is increasingly expressed in the Japanese Press, is a danger to the success of the Washington Disarmament Treaties and to the cause of naval peace in the Pacific.

GEORGE GLASGOW.

LITERARY SUPPLEMENT.

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REVIEWS.

MODERN EGYPT.*

Colonel Elgood, from his intimate knowledge gained during many years of official service in the Anglo-Egyptian Civil Service and five years of duty with the British Forces, in this attractive volume describes the gradual loosening of the British political hold on Egypt. The story of modern Egypt is its re-creation by England from a phase of existence when no Egyptian's property or life was his own. England gave the unhappy land "order and prosperity where insecurity and misery had once reigned." The Egyptians took their salvation as a matter of course, and it having been achieved for them their sole desire was to escape from what Colonel Elgood calls the "bondage of a Power" which had invented and imposed the complex administrative machinery of salvation. The end of the pre-war occupation of Egypt "was remarkable for the birth and growth of bitter, if secret, hostility towards Great Britain." By 1914 the Egyptians, consisting of the professional classes, the Civil Service and students; of the feudalised landowners; and of the peasantry or fellahin had in common one thing only, the belief that the ills of Egypt "sprang from the presence in the land of a meddling foreigner." Much the same spirit exists among the non-militant but much-speaking classes of India to-day. The so-called enfranchisement of Egypt may, there-

* *Egypt and the Army.* By Lieut.-Col. P. G. Elgood. (Oxford University Press.) 16s. net.

fore, be regarded as an object-lesson. Certainly the bitterness in Egypt was not due in 1919 to an inefficient Anglo-Egyptian Civil Service. "The average Englishman in the service of the Egyptian Government in that year was of a higher standard, and better trained, than his predecessors." For a quarter of a century the Egyptians have desired to run free of control. This was not due to Pan-Islamism. To some extent it was due to the nationalism of Mustapha Kamel, to some extent to the iron hand of Lord Cromer, to the urbanity and liberalism of Sir Eldon Gorst—which did not captivate Egyptian opinion—to the supreme capacity and foresight of Lord Kitchener. The reforms of the latter were not the subject of gratitude. Colonel Elgood finds the root of the trouble in the failure of Great Britain and her administrators to grasp the psychology of the Egyptians. Yet great men had been at work who were very competent, and the observer may well ask if any effort to grasp the psychology of the people would have been successful. Sir Eldon Gorst failed. Every one failed. Egypt thought that she was fit to be out of the nursery. Time will show whether she was right. Egyptian history is so ancient that probably the experiment is not new.

The beginning of the war of 1914 showed some mistakes by the English administrators. They trusted, for instance, the wrong people. "In war, errors of judgment there must be. . . . The misfortune is that Egyptians remembered the mistakes." This, indeed, was inevitable if we remember the pre-war attitude of the Egyptians. The belief in Cairo that Turkey could not attack the Canal, could not traverse Sinai, can hardly be accounted one of these mistakes. The English military authorities did not neglect the Suez problem, and fortunately found that the Canal authorities were not averse from the idea of defence against projects for attack. The proclamation of martial law in Egypt did not disturb public opinion. The leaders of the nationalists were not at the time prepared to lead, and economic conditions would indeed have made revolt ridiculous. In December, 1914, the British Government abolished the rights of Turkey over Egypt, deposed the Khedive, and bestowed the dignity of the Sultanate upon Prince Hussein Kamil Pasha, the eldest living Prince of the stock of Mehemet Ali, subject to a British Protectorate. Egypt appeared satisfied.

The Turkish attack upon the Suez Canal, of which a full account is provided by Colonel Elgood, came in January, 1915. Djemal Pasha, the Commander-in-Chief on this front, was confident of success, welcomed the title "The Saviour of Egypt," and declared on his departure, "I shall not return until I have entered Cairo." The attack dismally failed, but in view of the passive method of defence, the holding of the line of the Canal, counter-

attack was impossible and the Turks safely reached their base at Bir Saba. "The campaign had merely demonstrated once more that an army can cross Sinai desert without difficulty." The repulse justified the view of General Liman von Sanders that an advance upon Egypt with inadequate forces was courting disaster. It should have led to complete disaster.

The next stage was the fact that "Egypt became one gigantic hospital for the reception of the sick and wounded off Gallipoli." If the advice of English women had been taken the hospital would have been ready far earlier. "The Voluntary Aid Detachments of Cairo, Alexandria and Port Said proved their value a thousand-fold." It was a great achievement. The defence of the Canal from Turkish snipers and mines is also a matter of note, and in February the Turkish Expeditionary Force was withdrawn from the attack on the Canal. The Canal Defence spared a brigade for Gallipoli and the Army in Egypt its Territory Division for the same hard pressed destination.

Egypt remained unruffled by events on the Canal and the failure at Gallipoli, if failure it was. The war had given a minimum of inconvenience. Food was plentiful, life and property were safe, justice was available. Perhaps no higher tribute could be paid to Great Britain. The war proclamations as to the supervision of trade received universal approval, though the Council of Ministers made some mistakes over the withdrawal of restrictions as to exportation of grain and the plantation of cotton areas. The Home Government was not responsible for those mistakes. But the friendly relations of the Sultan and his advisers with Downing Street aroused the Nationalist students, and the campaign of political assassinations began. From this time there was a revival of the idea of independence. Colonel Elgood devotes a great deal of space to the relationship of the Army in Egypt and the civil administration, to the question of the Capitulations, to the efforts to thwart British administration of the country. The grievances of Egypt are carefully detailed and the lack of British psychological interest is carefully noted. But again the question arises whether the psychology of an archangel could have reconciled the extremists or the cosmopolitans to British rule. No doubt this question will be long discussed. Meanwhile the weighty narratives of this book will supply important evidence that must be weighed with other and official evidence in arriving at the conclusion whether the final line of action by the British Government could have been other than it was; whether Egypt could have remained under British control without the need to suppress ceaseless rebellion. It may have been a question of psychological failure. Time will show.

BENTLEY AND MILTON.*

Dr. Mackail's lecture on Dr. Bentley's edition of *Paradise Lost* should be widely welcomed as a definite step in the much delayed process of the scientific study of English poetry. This famous edition, published when the editor, the greatest classical scholar in the then world, was in his seventieth year, has afforded the world for nigh upon two centuries considerable and not always unreasonable entertainment. Bentley is very frank with his public. He writes in his preface: "'Tis but common justice, to let the purchaser know what he is to expect in this new edition of *Paradise Lost*." He is inclined to deal tenderly with "Our Celebrated Author . . . any errors in Spelling, Pointing, nay even in whole Words of a like or near Sound in Pronunciation, are not to be charged up on the Poet, but on the Amanuensis." It was an obvious critical chance for a great textual critic, and would give play to his unique gift. Other ingenuities he proposes to exercise, such as the mechanical indication where elision of vowels takes place. By this process of elision Bentley considers that Milton "in some measure amended the Hollowness and Emptiness of our English Verses." He assures the reader that in his "Text which challenges to be the Truest and Correctest that has yet appear'd . . . not One Word" is altered, all corrections being cast into the margin and explained in the notes. For the editor or proof-reader, "the Friend or Acquaintance, whoever he was, to whom Milton committed his Copy and the overseeing of the Press," Bentley has harsh words. He "did so vilely execute that Trust, that *Paradise* under his Ignorance and Audaciousness may be said to be *twice lost*." He charges the "suppos'd Friend" not only with sheer ignorance but with the insertion of several of his own verses "which the Poet, had he known of them, *vel furca ejecisset*, would have thrown out with a Fork." This "noble poem," moreover, suffered from the author's inability to revise the system and plan of the whole poem. So Bentley applies what he calls "Sagacity and happy Conjecture" to the task of making Milton's work worthy of Milton and incidentally of Bentley. Bentley, at the age of seventy, declares that Milton at the age of sixty "might be reckoned more than half-dead," being poor, friendless, blind, and obnoxious to the Government. He was the fair prey of any "supposed friend," and a cynic might cheerfully include Bentley in that class. But Bentley is really a friend. He was a devoted worshipper at Milton's shrine. It is true that the great poem, *Virgo pulchra*, needed rehabilitation,

* 1. The British Academy: Warton Lecture on English Poetry. XV. *Bentley's Milton*. By T. W. Mackail. (Humphrey Milford, Oxford University Press.) 1s. 6d.

2. *Milton's "Paradise Lost": A New Edition*. By Richard Bentley. London, 1732.

but in any event it was "worthy of all wonder" and the man who could, in such circumstances as those of the poet, "Spatiate at large through the compass of the whole Universe, and through all Heaven beyond it; could survey all Periods of Time from before the Creation to the Consummation of all Things" was even more wonderful than the poem: Bentley's tribute to the position that *Paradise Lost* had attained after sixty years is worthy of repetition. It had passed "before the whole Nation for a perfect, absolute, faultless Composition; the best pens in the kingdom" contended that it rivalled if not excelled both Homer and Virgil. . . . "Who durst oppose the universal vogue? and risque his own Character, while he labour'd to exalt Milton's?" Forty years earlier even Richard Bentley, then full of the Attic Drama, dared not have risked his rising fortune by publishing those notes; but now "when seventy years *jamdudum memorem monuerunt* . . . I make the Notes extempore, and put them to the Press as soon as made; without any Apprehension of growing leaner by Censures, or plumper by Commendations."

Bentley was born, a Wakefield boy, in 1662. In 1699 he published in its enlarged form his critical masterpiece, the immortal Dissertation on *Æsop* and *Phalaris*. In 1700 he became Master of Trinity College, Cambridge, a post which he held desperately till his death in 1742. He had hardly done with Milton ere he turned to an edition of Homer, and as late as 1739 he was busy with his famous recension of *Manilius*. His immense learning, his wide reading, his independent mind, his almost uncanny capacity for textual criticism, and his penetrating if intolerant and insolent outlook found an attractive field in dealing with the text of a great poem by a blind author who was in fact dependent on the services of others. From this point of view it is impossible to dismiss the possible value of his revision of the text of *Paradise Lost*.

The object of Dr. Mackail's lecture is not to flog the dead and rake up old laughter against the great Master of Trinity. His goal is the scientific study of English literature, and towards that study, in regard to poetical masterpieces,

"Bentley's celebrated edition gives preliminary training. It shows, in large letters, the application and the misapplication of critical method. What is more valuable still, it shows very clearly the width of the field which the application of scholarship to poetry covers, and the mass of knowledge, of insight, and above all of judgment (the fusion, that is to say, of imagination and common sense) which it demands."

Dr. Mackail, of course, does not spare Bentley; indeed, no honest critic could wholly spare him. It is true that he was seventy, but it is not "the work of a scholar in his dotage. Age had added to his imperious arrogance; conflict had exacerbated his temper. But

neither his body nor his mind was in decay." The work was done in reckless haste. This is clear from the copy of Milton, still extant, on which he made his notes. Dr. Mackail has carefully examined it. It is a document "of no little value for students of English literature. . . . what would we not give for the autograph notes on Virgil of a Latin grammarian (even one of much less eminence than Bentley and with equal defects of temperament and of imaginative sympathy) written little more than sixty years after the publication of the *Æneid*!"

Dr. Mackail's real criticism of Bentley in the history of letters is not so much the "desperate hook" with which he slashed the text as the point of view of the emendator. It is only fair to Bentley to lay stress on the point which he emphasises in his preface that he printed the text entire—save (it is a large saving, no doubt) his changes, sometimes reckless, in punctuation. Bentley had not been touched by the Romantic Revival which had begun to flow about the time when he was slaying the imaginary (was he wholly imaginary?) editor of *Paradise Lost*. But Milton's position as a classic was fully recognised by 1732, and Bentley admits as much. Yet he will have no "romantic rubbish." His square brackets indicate his point of view. That is a valuable fact in the history of English literature. Bentley did not realise, perhaps did not want to realise, how deeply Milton had drawn from the Italian springs. He, indeed, knew little of the mechanism of English poetry, and ignorance is responsible for some of Bentley's more monstrous revisions. On the other hand,

he applied to the *Paradise Lost*, for the first time that this had been done with any English poem, the standards of scientific scholarship and of classical quality, testing it by those standards line by line and word by word. It is this which makes his mistakes and even his absurdities instructive. The rigorous application of scientific tests was his aim. Merely to fix this as an aim, and to transmit it as such to posterity, meant the vindication of English studies as a branch of the higher scholarship; and Bentley may be called in some sense the founder of these studies, which are now so large and so fertile a field.

Dr. Mackail's final criticism of the great textual critic is that his "intelligence was acute, but his mind was essentially prosaic. In textual matters, he had wonderful powers of divination, but he was without the imaginative touch, and without the thrill which responds to it where it gives life to poetry. . . . the science of Milton's art, alike in structural quality and in the handling of language and metre, was more delicate and more profound than that which Bentley brought to bear on its criticism." We wonder if this is sound. If it is it would seem as if the same criticism would go to the root of Bentley's other work. Is not the real explanation that

he threw off his work on Milton in the hottest of haste in the honest belief, for he was a profound lover of truth, that there must have been at least two incompetent intermediaries between Milton's dictation and the printed work, and that these intermediaries must have imported many errors. It was not an unreasonable assumption. To that assumption he attributed all passages of which his consummated scholarship did not approve. We do not happen to agree with Bentley. Yet some day someone of Bentley's calibre may say we are wrong.

* * *

THE LEICESTER RECORDS.*

Miss Stocks has supplemented with much ability the work of Miss Mary Bateson on the Leicester Borough Records. It is true that she deals with the seventeenth century while the earlier work was essentially mediæval, but the seventeenth-century records form the completion though they also announce the dissolution of the very ancient processes that are seen at play in the story of Leicester and in its relations to the Duchy of Lancaster. The century opens with a great law struggle as to an area in the east suburbs of Leicester called the Bishop's Fee which had long been subject to the ancient manorial jurisdiction and was a thorn in the side of the town. For Parliamentary and other purposes it was a ward of the borough, but there was an independent jurisdiction which the County of Leicester and the landowners were loath to surrender to the powerful borough. A charter of 1599 had added the area to the borough, but the question of the local court remained, and on an application for a new charter in 1604 this question and that of the right to nominate the steward of the borough was stoutly fought. The question of the stewardship was compromised, and Lord Huntingdon, the High Steward of the Duchy of Lancaster, secured a right of alternate appointment; but as late as 1662 the quarrel as to the question of jurisdiction in the Bishop's Fee was still on foot. It was not a mere technical question, but one that went to the very root of town life and showed how stoutly the commercialisation of England was fought by the landed interest.

One argument put forward by Lord Huntingdon in favour of an independent jurisdiction is part of a footnote to English history. He declared that the tradesmen of the town were not fit by education to execute judgment of law, that offences by freemen would not be justly and duly punished, and that the evidence of the past

* *Records of the Borough of Leicester: Being a Series of Extracts from the Archives of the Corporation of Leicester, 1603-1688.* Edited by Helen Stocks, with the assistance of W. H. Stevenson. Published under the authority of the Corporation of Leicester. (Cambridge: at the University Press.) 50s. net.

showed that the Corporation were likely to infringe the rights of the King's liberties. The town, in fact, was doing a great deal for education. The history of the Free School and other schools is written at large in these records. We read much of a change of headmasters, but it must be admitted that the scholars were somewhat riotous, and in 1617 had shut out an unpopular master. On the occasion of the King's visit in 1612 some of the scholars delivered "a shorte speech in latton containing an acknowledgment with thanks of and for the many favors the corporacion hathe receaved from the Kinge and his progenitors." We find also that in 1687 a grant was made for the purpose of "building a loft in St. Martin's Church for the Gentlewomen schollars," an early instance of a rate-aided middle-class school for girls. In 1670 there was a grant towards the maintenance of an undergraduate at Oxford. In 1651 the Corporation insisted that Christian authors, both Greek and Latin, should be substituted for profane authors in the school. Henceforth the unhappy scholars were to read Calvin for prose, the delightful Minutius Felix and Sulpicius Severus for history. In 1636-7 an ex-schoolmaster was appointed librarian of the Church books at a salary of £6 13s. 4d. a year. Some modern boroughs might profit by this example of three centuries ago. In 1633 the Bishop of Lincoln had congratulated the townsmen, "for your greate care and charge in providinge and adorninge soe convenient a place for the Librarye," and directs them to remove thither the books from the Church. He adds, "Nowe for the business of the Librarye if you shall be pleased to make as good a Stypende as you can spare to the Keeper thereof I doe not doubt but by the Noblenes and Charytie of the Nobilitye Gentrye and Clergy of that Country the stalles will fill apace." This is an interesting and little known chapter in the history of public libraries in England, and rebuts the suggestion that the freemen of the town were not fit for government, though some of them were certainly in 1667 still illiterate as perhaps some were into modern times.

The charter which was eventually granted in 1609 attempted to deal, from another point of view, with the development of the town. The ancient body "the Company of the Eight and Forty" burgesses was to give its twenty-four senior members to form with the Mayor and Aldermen a body for the government of the town lands. The practice had grown up at the end of Elizabeth's reign for the Common Hall to appoint Commissioners for the purpose, and this practice went on despite the Charter. Early in the seventeenth century lands round the town were being acquired by the Corporation. The new lands were partly used for the readjustment of town rights of pasture, but in addition to these difficulties there was a

good deal of trouble on the subject of enclosure in Leicestershire and Northamptonshire. The town of Leicester took a leading part in the fight against enclosures, and especially in respect to the enclosure of Leicester Forest. The town managed to save twenty acres for town pasture rights and forty acres for the use of the poor, but neither Charles I. nor Cromwell could stop the process or even regulate it. The new economy had come.

The Corporation had, of course, to deal with the trade and industry of the town, and here the various local trading companies, such as the Company of Bakers, of Tailors, of Mercers and Drapers, had to be considered. They, too, were struggling for life against the new economy, and these records show how stern and, indeed, hopeless a struggle they had against free labour. Trading privileges were hard to maintain, since the free traders appealed to the law, and the law was stronger than the borough regulation. No better picture can be given of the decay of privileged trades than is seen in the records of Leicester. It is perhaps easier to understand than the parallel case of London. New trades, new ideas, new mechanical methods emerged, the Old Order was giving place to the New just about the time when the revolt against royal exactions had shown that in central as in local affairs a new orientation had taken place. These records show us a good deal of State intervention and of the struggle between King and Parliament. The strong Puritan element in Leicester did not have all its own way. The Mayor and Burgesses played for safety with a Parliamentary bias, yet when the Protectorate came the town refused to believe that it could end. The Civil Wars and Restoration spelt the end of the old order. The borough was reincorporated in 1684, but the old corporate life was dead, and there was an end to an example of democratic government, noble in its way, public-spirited and independent. It was in a sense older than feudalism, and it survived feudalism, but it fell at the touch of the new economy that accompanied, revealed, and illustrated the spiritual, social, and material unrest of the mid-seventeenth century.

J. E. G. DE M.

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ARTHUR O'SHAUGHNESSY'S POEMS.*

Students of English literature should be grateful to Mr. W. A. Percy for the large selection of the work of that fine poet Arthur W. E. Shaughnessy. His poems are contained in four volumes published in 1870, 1872, 1874, and 1881—a posthumous volume—

* *Poems of Arthur O'Shaughnessy*. Selected and edited by William Alexander Percy. Published for the Kingsley Trust Association Publication Fund established by the Scroll and Key Society of Yale College. (Oxford University Press.) 10s. net.

now all out of print. There has been no reprint or even a volume of selections, and most students only know his work, "the exquisite tenderness of touch, the melody and delicacy" (to use Sir Francis Palgrave's phrase), from selections in the *Golden Treasury*. Perhaps he is best known to the casual reader by his Ode:—

" We are the music makers,
And we are the dreamers of dreams
Wandering by lone sea-breakers,
And sitting by desolate streams;—
World-losers and world-forsakers,
On whom the pale moon gleams;
Yet we are the movers and shakers
Of the world for ever, it seems.

" With wonderful deathless ditties
We build up the world's great cities,
And out of a fabulous story
We fashion an Empire's glory;
One man with a dream, at pleasure,
Shall go forth and conquer a crown;
And three with a new song's measure
Can trample a kingdom down."

Mr. Percy in the collection brings together a group of entrancing poems. *The Fair Maid and the Sun*, the maid who dwelt "between the two seas at the Dardanelles," is a gem of literature. She is all the Helens of all the ages:—

" The chains about her neck are many-pearled,
Rare gems are those round which her hair is curled;
She hath all flesh for captive, and for spoil
The fruit of all the labour of the world."

Bisclavaret, a poem based on some were-wolf fancies of Marie de France, is wonderful and terrible, the inverse of Francis Thompson's *Hound of Heaven*. These creatures are coursing through the earth and heaven:—

" The splendid, fearful herds that stray
By midnight, when tempestuous moons
Light to them many a shadowy prey,
And earth beneath the thunder swoons.

We hunt the chosen of the Lord;
And cease not in wild course elate,
Until we see the flaming sword
And Gabriel before His gate."

So we hear those souls of the wicked "outbay the eternal trumpetings"—a line that Marlowe might have written.

The converse of this, the entering of Eden by the exiles, is not

less wonderful. The wanderers came back to Eden and found that the guardian angel had gone and that they could enter into a miracle of desolation where no fruit was forbidden:—

" And while we joy in Eden's state,
Outside men serve a loveless lord;
They think the angel guards the gate
With burning, fiery sword!
Ah, fools! he fled an age ago,
The roses pressed upon him so,
And all the perfume from within,
And he forgot or did not know;
Eden must surely win."

Some of the love songs are exquisite:—

" Along the garden ways just now
I heard the flowers speak;
The white rose told me of your brow,
The red rose of your cheek;
The lily of your bended head,
The bindweed of your hair:
Each looked its loveliest and said
You were more fair."

Or the song in the great poem *Chaitivel*:—

" Hath any loved you well, down there,
Summer or winter through?
Down there, have you found any fair
Laid in the grave with you?
Is death's long kiss a richer kiss
Than mine was wont to be—
Or have you gone to some far bliss
And quite forgotten me?"

Or the Song of the Rose:—

" When the Rose came I loved the Rose,
And thought of none beside,
Forgetting all the other flowers,
And all the others died;
And morn and noon, and sun and showers,
And all things loved the Rose,
Who only half returned my love,
Blooming alike for those.

" I was the rival of a score
Of loves on gaudy wing,
The nightingale I would implore
For pity not to sing;
Each called her his; still I was glad
To wait or take my part;
I loved the Rose—who might have had
The fairest lily's heart."

This remarkable poet was born in 1844, and died at the early age of thirty-seven in 1881. He was a scientist working in the British

Museum. He married in 1877, and by 1879 had lost his wife and his two children; cause enough for the sadness of his poems, though the sadness is thrust through with unconquerable hope. He was a member of the Rossetti circle, but he certainly gave more than he received. The perfect music of his verse is a vehicle for deep thought on mystic themes, and though he is plainly a Victorian he is nearer to Browning in thought than to those such as Swinburne and Rossetti, whose liquid music has kinship with his. Some critics have spoken with faint praise of O'Shaughnessy, but in fact his poetry is wearing better than that of most of the Victorians, certainly better than the technical achievements of Swinburne. Swinburne, of course, was the greater artist and moved on a larger stage, but somehow to-day Swinburne's superb technique seems artificial beside O'Shaughnessy's "exquisite tenderness of touch," which Sir Francis Palgrave detected in his unflinching fashion long ago. A complete edition of the poems is a literary necessity, though we can quite believe that Mr. Percy has here brought together the loveliest roses from this Victorian garden.

* * *

THE SPIRIT OF MAN.*

This second series of the well-known Saturday articles in *The Times* on religious subjects is very welcome. The Archbishop of York's introduction to the first series is reprinted as an introduction to the new collection. He says:—

"It is a striking illustration of the present widespread interest in religion that a great newspaper like *The Times* should have given a column, week by week, for several years to an essay dealing directly with the moral and spiritual life. . . . We found it a relief, a welcome change, to turn from the record of passing things to these reminders of the things that are eternal. From men of all sorts and conditions—preachers, teachers, politicians, soldiers, sailors, men of business—I have often heard words of gratitude to the authors for writing these essays and to *The Times* for publishing them. The present time may not be marked by religious observance, but it is assuredly marked by religious interest, inquiry, aspiration. Whatever else the tremendous experience of the Great War has done, it has set men thinking, questioning, caring about the fundamental problems of life, of the spirit of God. . . . And when men begin to care about the preservation and vindication of spiritual values and desire to know God as a spirit knows Spirit, they are inevitably brought with a new intensity of interest and expectation to the gracious and commanding figure of Jesus Christ."

* *The Spirit of Man: Being Essays from "The Times."* Second Series. Selected and arranged by Sir James Marchant, with an Introduction by the Archbishop of York. (H. R. Allenson, 7, Racquet Court, E.C.) 5s. net.

These essays deal in succession with Character, Morals, and Religion. Self-knowledge is necessary, and can be sought for in quietness. Pure motives are necessary, as are intense convictions. "Let men accept the Gospel certainties." Let them be a "true synthesis of life," which can be secured only by the mutual service of conscience and custom, the one standing "for the worth of the individual, the other for the well-being of the community." Profession and practice must be matched, and this can only be done by going down to the depths of life; ambition to attain the highest has even in failure the crown of life. Work is divine, but indolence spells degradation for the nation as for the individual. True contentment springs from inward spiritual invincible confidence and leads to self-working in the service of God and man.

So the conception of Character grows in these essays. Not less nobly is the subject of Morals revealed. Our moral decisions are practical things, "our judgments are framed on conduct." There is growth in the moral life, "Life develops just by living it faithfully and vigorously." And there is a moral unity which must dominate all the changing environments of each man and must lead to that obedience to the Divine will by which men "are transformed at last into the Divine likeness." Again, man cannot disclaim religion. "Man is essentially a religious being," and with the fact of Christianity we find religion and revelation waiting to be united by the faithful seeker. The essential facts of the Christian revelation cannot be dispelled by the higher criticism. "The Great Central Figure of the Gospels remains, and we cannot ignore Him." Christ is the Eternal Gospel. Theology is important, is, indeed, as inevitable in religious conceptions of God as mathematics to our conception of the material world; but it does not exclude a simple faith in those who "keep the big permanent things in view." They have the will to believe, and are therefore the masters of doubt. For them it is perhaps easier to lead the practical life of service which leads to certainty in religion. No doubt there is mystery everywhere in the attempt to obtain knowledge of God. "The mystery is there in the simplest experience of piety, no less than in the depths which challenge the profoundest minds. . . . It is the pure in heart who see God." The essays warn men against hypocrisy, convention, and cant in religion. "The facile jargon of conventional religion" is indeed a dangerous thing.

All the essays make it clear that it is hard indeed to be a Christian. Browning's cry is, in effect, repeated and, to some extent, explained. Yet there are some to whom it is easy: who are in the world and not of it, and see God all the while. Perhaps more is to be learnt from these few favoured ones even than from books.

J. E. G. DE M.

SHORTER REVIEWS.

Professor Sarolea's "Impressions of Soviet Russia" * present a terrible picture of political tyranny, economic ruin, social disorganisation, and moral decay. His qualifications for his task are his knowledge of the language and of the country before the war, and his observations cannot be dismissed as those of a mere globe-trotter. No two visitors to Russia see quite the same landscape, for each takes his spectacles with him; and some readers may feel that the shadows in this book are too uniformly black, and that a tendency to exaggeration is occasionally apparent. But there can be no difference of opinion as to the value and interest of the distinguished Professor's narrative, of his experiences and conversations. The reign of bloodshed, it is to be feared, is not over; for when the counter-revolution arrives, old scores will be roughly settled. Rathenau expressed his belief that the Bolshevik experiment would end with the greatest Jewish pogrom ever known. Our author fears that the forecast may prove correct, and suggests a mass settlement, a Jewish State, in Southern Siberia and Central Asia, under the guarantee of the League of Nations as the only means of saving the Jewish people from certain destruction. A suggestive chapter on the resemblances between the Russian and the French Revolution is one of the most valuable features of the book. On the other hand, the chapter on Bolshevism and the British Labour Party does not always seem quite fair to Mr. MacDonald and other evolutionary Socialists who have publicly and constantly expressed their disapproval of Russian methods.

* * *

While the Russian novel is generally familiar to English readers, the Russian drama is still in large measure a closed book. We may therefore congratulate ourselves on the appearance of an excellent version of Alexis Tolstoi's celebrated play, "Czar Feodor Joannovitch," by Mr. Alfred Hayes.† The translator has received valuable assistance in his work from Mr. C. Nabokoff, whose writings and lectures on Russian literature are becoming known to an ever-increasing circle, and who has enriched the present volume with a brief but illuminating preface on the author and a translation of his notes on the play. The story of Russia's agony between the death of Ivan the Terrible and the accession of the Romanoffs has tempted Pushkin and other dramatists; but no one has visualised the crowding tragedies of the time so clearly and so powerfully as Alexis Tolstoi in his Trilogy, of which "Czar Feodor" is the second and central part. It is a poignant story of the conflict between the old and new nobility, the latter represented by Boris Godounoff, the villain of the piece and the brother-in-law of the weak-willed but saintly Czar. Russian literature is usually both powerful and depressing; and this fine drama, which no student of Russia should miss, is no exception to the rule.

* * *

This lengthy novel entitled "Gora,"‡ by the Indian poet Rabindranath Tagore, is excellently translated, and the dialogue is natural and well-balanced. It is the story of a spiritual struggle of about forty years ago, when the idea of an Indian nationality as something transcending creeds and yet something essentially non-English or non-European was in process of growth. The idea of driving the English out is spoken of in a jesting fashion in the first few pages, and yet it is not a jest at all.

* Nash & Grayson. 10s. 6d.
† Kegan Paul. 5s.
‡ Macmillan. 7s. 6d. net.

The love-story of Hindoos of very different types—the strict Brahmin sect and the Brahmo Samaj deist dissenters that Ramahun Roy had founded many years before—is made to illustrate the *vie intime* of Indian life. The spiritual struggle of the lovers is severe enough, and to Christians artificial enough, but the goal of the struggle is seen in Gora's exclamation to Anandanoji at the end of the long book: "You have no caste, you make no distinctions—you have no hatred—you are only the image of our welfare! It is you who are India!" That, no doubt, is the goal or dream of the poet and book, a united Hindoo India. But what would the North-West in that event say and do? Is India likely to lose the need of England's strong hand?

* * *

This charming little book by Miss Edith Macdonald, "Thoughts on Many Themes,"* should be a real message and help to its readers. They are thoughts that suggest and engender further thought, and certainly fulfil the desire of the author that they should throw some ray of light into an answering mind. The "Thoughts" touch on many matters which beset our poor humanity, all of which crave an answer. Right thinking must precede right action; therefore anything that helps to that end is to be welcomed. Miss Macdonald comes of a thoughtful family: Mr. Stanley Baldwin is her nephew, and doubtless he owes much to his mother's sister. She has thought deeply on many subjects, and gratitude is due to her that she has taken the public into her confidence. One may open this little volume at random and always find a suggestion. It contains nearly two hundred "Thoughts," short and to the point. Many of them might be styled, indeed, aphorisms: they have kinship with Walter Savage Landor's "Imaginary Conversations," that delightful writing of which one never tires. Take Miss Macdonald's LXXVII. "Thought":—

"What others think! No concern of mine.
What I wish! No matter.
What God wills! The whole matter."

or take LXXII.: "How easy it is to think a thing too small for God to notice, too little to ask His help about . . . but let us consider for a moment the marvels of the infinitely small in creation. The microscope reveals a world of no less glory and wonder than the telescope. To the Creator of all things our puny definitions of large and small do not exist." Or again, "Physical measurements have no place in the spiritual and moral region." When facts such as these are fully grasped, difficulties which otherwise seem overwhelming to our finite minds disappear. Miss Macdonald ends on the note on which Browning always harped: "Love is all, and Death is nought."

* * *

Miss Helen Hamilton in her delightful little work "Great Meddow: Studies of Village Life"† may be said to be following, and with success, in the footsteps of Miss Mitford. Great Meddow is a village known to most of us although by other names, and it is an example of a type of neighbourhood which has not been discovered by the tourist and antique-hunter. There is the Emporium, the home of the village grocer, butcher, baker, and candlestickmaker, not to mention postmistress, tailor, milliner, and all other kinds of shopkeepers, the combined sight and smell of

* H. R. Allenson, Ltd., London. 2s. 6d. net.
† Blackwell. 4s. 6d. net.

whose wares would make any good townsman take to his bed with fever. It would be interesting to discover why the heavy breathing of Mr. White on the food in order to remove dust should not carry death in Great Meddow, when "the ladies of St. James's" would go to bed with typhoid if such practices were common in the West End. Miss Hamilton has given real life to her characters, and has succeeded in doing so without worrying her readers with too much detail. There is "dotty old Dick," who was attired for a local cricket match in an officer's tunic "bereft of buttons and badges, and held together, somewhere about his bent old middle, by a piece of string—his dress-suit trousers, and bowler hat, with a bash and hole in the middle, through which sprouted strangely a few wisps of grey hair." Then there is Miss Curtis, who dyes her hair and has a false complexion to aid her efforts in capturing a husband; and Miss Spencer, who is the former lady's exact opposite, as she makes no effort to prevent nature dyeing her face all shades of red, and apparently has no great longing for a husband. Above everything, however, above the gaiety, the sorrows, and all the odds and ends which make up rural village life stands out the indomitable self-satisfaction of everyone in the place. Its inhabitants as a whole and as individuals, and even the animals, overbrim with that self-recognition common to all remote English villages; the idea that they are paramount creatures, and that the world outside is some place of small significance compared with this supreme and typical village, Great Meddows.

* * *

Dr. Felix Adler's Hibbert Lectures for 1923, entitled "Reconstruction of the Spiritual Ideal,"* discuss the main problems of individual, corporate, and international life in a spirit at once lofty and practical. He is never tempted to glorify the old because it is familiar, nor to condemn the new because it is strange. His position as a moralist is that of a conservative liberal, proving all things, and holding fast that which is good. The longest of his chapters, and one of the best, is devoted to marriage, which he discusses with a refreshing sanity and a firm apprehension of its spiritual foundations. Not less admirable is his analysis of Socialism, which, he complains, too often contents itself with material concepts. His discussion of "The Society of Nations" in the fifth chapter asks for the teaching of "a science of nations" in the schools, and boldly declares the commandment "Thou shalt love thy neighbour as thyself" applicable to nations as well as individuals. His attitude towards the League of Nations may be expressed in the great saying of Woodrow Wilson: "Interest divides men; what unites them is the common pursuit of right." He rejects the notion of a League to enforce peace, and trusts wholly to its moral appeal. The volume will maintain and increase the high reputation which the founder of the Ethical Movement in America won long ago as guide, philosopher, and friend.

* * *

A second series of "Wayside Sayings"† by Selwyn Gurney Champion, M.D., and Ethel Mavrogordato has been published. These "Sayings" comprise "one thousand seven hundred and fifty-eight [proverbs], chosen out of forty-three languages, sixteen of which have not formerly been represented." The compilers are filled with the very laudable desire to preserve, and to impress on others "the importance of preserving, as far as possible, all proverbial aphorisms which are

* W. Appleton & Co., New York and London, 1924.
† Duckworth & Co. 7s. 6d. net.

peculiar or indigenous to each nation, and illustrate its intelligence, character, aspirations, traditions, and superstitions." It is interesting to notice how the proverbs of one country often resemble those of another, and, indeed, are sometimes even in the same words. For instance, "To lose is to learn" is a familiar saying in England, yet the compilers of this little book give it as an Indian proverb. Then again, the French saying, "Repute hangs a man," is similar with our proverb, "Give a dog a bad name and hang him." On the other hand, many proverbs, whether of the same or different languages, counteract each other. "Absence makes the heart grow fonder," said the English wise man; whilst the Frenchman said, "Absence is the mother of disillusion." The Chinese saying, "Love and leprosy few escape," is of especial interest, for it must mean that leprosy was a common disease in that part of China from which it originated. The study of proverbs and sayings used both in the West and the East is one of great interest, and deserves greater attention than is accorded to it. The bibliography of authorities consulted and the indexes in this book all go towards making it a book of charm, of interest, and of reference.

* * *

"The Diary of a Country Parson: the Reverend James Woodforde, 1758-1781,"* now edited by Mr. John Beresford, throws an intimate light on country life in England during the second half of the eighteenth century. Mr. Woodforde's neatly written diary, comprised in some sixty-eight booklets, "covers nearly every single day of the long stretch of years from 1758 to 1803." Some day perhaps the whole diary will be published, but for the present the world must be content with Mr. Beresford's extracts and the useful editorial historical comment on the text. "The Diarist's career at Oxford would not be intelligible without some account of the University system in the eighteenth century." The value of the book is the quaint charm of a style which reveals with few words the inwardness of the life led by a scholar and a gentleman. The account of the journey by coach from Oxford to Bath is excellent and characteristic of the author. Again, the little account of the jilting of the author by Miss Betsy White, of Shepton, for what she thought a better match is done in the most delicate fashion. Fishing was as redolent of truth in 1778 as it is in 1924. "At Lenswade Bridge we caught a Prodigious fine Pike which weighed eight Pound and half and it had in its Belly another pike of above a Pound. We caught also there the finest Trout I ever saw which weighed three Pound and two Ounces." It was the same day that Mr. Woodforde saw the famous woman soldier, Harriet Snell, who, under the name of John Gray, served in India and lost a finger at the taking of Pondicherry. "She has a Pension from the Crown now of £18 5s. per annum and the liberty of wearing men's Clothes and also a Cockade in her Hat, which she still wears." This excellent book demands endless quotations, and the fact should find it many readers.

NOTICES OF BOOKS.

Our Roman Catholic readers will appreciate this little book "All I Could Never Be,"† by Mr. John Foster Makepeace. It appears to be

* Oxford University Press. 12s. 6d. net.

† —. 4s. 6d. net.

an autobiography, though the writer does not call it so. It is the life history of a Nonconformist minister seeking that which he cannot find as part of his faith, *Authority* in religion as the ultimate and only basis of Christianity. This book is a record of his search from whole-hearted Nonconformity to the Roman Church, where at last he felt he was safe from the snare of that Right of Private Judgment which to his mind created division, not unity. He craved for a Visible Church with Authoritative sanction and tradition, and apparently he found it in the Roman Communion. The fact that Christ spake as no other man spake, "with *Authority* and not as the Scribes" was insufficient for him. He, like Thomas, needed to have that outward and visible and tangible proof which the Master granted to his disciple, with a rebuke for want of faith. Doubtless there are minds which need to be under authority. "Do this, and he doeth it" appeals to them. The English as a nation will be slow and tardy in rejecting the right of private judgment for which they fought and won. The book, however, is a mental excursion, which, from the writer's point of view, is perhaps convincing.

* * *

Mr. Basil de Sélincourt, in "The English Essay and Other Secrets,"† ing of Rural England,** advocates the adoption in England of the policy which was carried out by the Society of Friends in dealing with the problems that arose in the reconstruction of the devastated White Russian villages now forming part of East Poland. The policy indicated is, in a phrase, to make intellect the servant of the spirit and money the servant of wealth. Intelligence must remove physical difficulties and loans must create the conditions by which true wealth can be produced. In England cottages can be built, agriculture reconstructed, and unemployment cured by these means. Mr. Fordham writes from a prolonged practical knowledge of the rural problem in England, and he helped in the reconstruction of the White Russian villages, so that the practical idealism of his book may be commended to members of local authorities throughout rural England.

* * *

Mr. Basil de Sélincourt, in "The English Essay and Other Secrets,"† reprints a number of essays written for *The Times Literary Supplement*. The essay that gives the volume its title deals with the place of English in Education. "In so far . . . as the teaching of English means the assurance to English children of an immediate experience of the English spirit as it lives in English letters, or English music, or English life, who can overestimate the importance of this? But the teachers must be taught and that is no easy task. To learn English is not merely a question of language. Music and the plastic arts are ancillary if we are to realise the full significance of English literature." All these fourteen essays, dealing with social and political questions as well as pure literature, are full of suggestion and should be widely read.

* * *

Miss Ida Langdon, an American Professor of English Literature, has produced a weighty essay on "Milton's Theory of Poetry and Fine Art,"† with a collection of illustrative passages from the poet's works. The

* Hutchinson. 10s. 6d. net.
† Oxford University Press. 10s. 6d. net.
‡ Oxford University Press. 9s. net.

study was originally undertaken for a dissertation for the doctorate at Cornell University in 1912. It is now issued in an enlarged form. The work is really a collection of the references in Milton's work to all fine arts and a synthesis of the more important of them. Miss Langdon considers that Milton was an opponent of the creed of Art for Art's sake. "To Milton, then, things are the expression of their inner spirit, or, to put it another way, they are in the fullest sense what they do." This is related to his doctrine of "form": that form and function are identical. The book is lucid and full of thought.

* * *

Mr. John Hargrave, in "Harbottle: A Modern Pilgrim's Progress,"* has written a book, a novel it can hardly be called, though it is novel enough, that will waken the suburbs. John Christian Harbottle is a hero with a wobbly mind, a newspaper editor by trade, who loses both his boys in the war and loses his wife—not by death—and so takes up a pilgrimage to try and find certainty. He is Bunyan's Christian of our day, and at last he finds his vision, and surely the Trumpets sounded as he passed over. It is a striking book, for Mr. Hargrave has a gift of narrative, of satire, of construction, of contrast. It should be widely read.

* * *

Mr. Huntley Carter's book, entitled "The New Theatre and Cinema of Soviet Russia: being an analysis and synthesis of the Unified Theatre produced in Russia by the 1917 Revolution, and an account of its growth and development to the present day,"† though no doubt a footnote to the history of the stage, will leave the British public cold. Russia and entertainment are not coherent ideas to those who have watched the horrors of that unhappy land. Mr. Carter declares that the New Russian Theatre "expresses more clearly and forcibly than any other popular institution in Russia the Russian state of mind and its present amazing revolutionary exaltation, as we might say, and its efforts to create a new culture, new human relations, new conditions of life, new crystallisation of labour and thought." The horrible results of the Soviet excesses do not, if this is true, invite imitation of the Russian stage. Russian realism is as repellent as Russian malaria to the English mind.

* * *

Lord Birkenhead, in his book entitled "America Revisited,"‡ contrasts the America that he visited for propaganda purposes after the United States entered the War with America to-day. He recalls the American enthusiasm of those days: "It is indeed unlikely that in our life-times, or perhaps in the life-times of our children, any occasion will happen so apt to bring together American and British hearts." The second visit did not displace—despite unavoidable war reaction and disillusionment—the impression of "a very sincere spirit of friendship to this country." The policy of the United States, however, is as clearly as ever non-intervention in European affairs unless intervention is imperative. Lord Birkenhead holds, therefore, that the American people have generally rejected Mr. Wilson's proposals. Further essays deal with Prohibition, Canada, post-war problems, constitutionalism in Great Britain and America and the disputed subject of international law.

* Duckworth. 7s. 6d. net.
† Chapman & Dodd. 25s. net.
‡ Cassell. 7s. 6d. net.

Scholars, and others, will welcome the charming little edition of Catullus* by Sir William Marris. The Latin text and the pleasing verse translation are on opposite pages. Those who possess Sir William's "Odes of Horace," published in 1912, will add this new work, a pleasant interlude to much official work in India, to their library. The poems open very happily:—

Here's my small book out, nice and new,
Fresh-bound—whom shall I give it to?
To you, Cornelius, who of yore
Upon my trifles set some store.
[Qui dono lepidum novum libellum
Arido modo pumice expolitum?
Corneli, tibi: namque tu solebas
Meas esse aliquid putare nugas.]

The translations are full of delightful passages, and reproduce the charm, the occasional bitterness, and some of the wonders of this worldly but not wholly worldly Latin poet.

* * *

Dr. P. Sargant Florence's work on the "Economies of Fatigue and Unrest and the Efficiency of Labour in English and American Industry"† deals, after an historical review, with the theory of fatigue and unrest and with the economic losses that are involved in wasteful methods of employment. The work is not so technical that it cannot be studied as it should be studied by all large employers of labour. It is not only human but economic to treat the human worker with scientific consideration of his latent as well as his actual capacity for output.

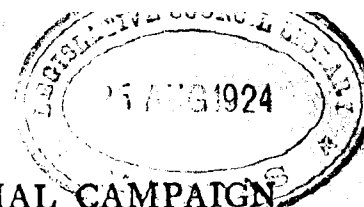
* * *

In "The Rulers of Russia"‡ the Hon. Norah Hewitt provides a very substantial sketch of the history of Russia from the days of the Varangians in the ninth century—the Norsemen who came south by the vast river system of Russia and conquered Kiev in 851—to the present régime, which, "by means of indiscriminate slaughter, mob-rule, and general anarchy," established the Red Terror throughout the land. "Bolshevik tyranny far surpassed the worst evils of autocracy, and the boasted liberty, equality, and general brotherhood of the communal system degenerated into an organised chaos, founded on bloodshed and crime. . . . Russia has drunk the cup of her humiliation in the dregs." Miss Hewitt writes well and vividly, and after picturing the sorrow and triumphs of successive ages she makes it clear that the present need of Russia is order and peace.

* * *

We note the publication by Professor N. Matsunami, of Tokyo University, of a lucid and able volume entitled "Immunity of State Ships as a Contribution towards the Unification of the Laws on the Subject."§ The learned author pleads for an International Court to hear claims against a State in respect of the costs of its public ships (though he realises the difficulty of the solution), but asks, at any rate, for the abolition of the immunity of State ships.

* Oxford: at the Clarendon Press. † George Allen & Unwin. 16s. net.
‡ Williams & Norgate. 12s. 6d. net. § Richard Flint & Co., 2, Sergeant's Inn, E.C.



THE AMERICAN PRESIDENTIAL CAMPAIGN

IN this year of the Presidential election the political affairs of the United States have reached a stage that is not only very interesting, but is vitally important for the American people. Twice during the past forty years has a parallel situation been created. The first was in 1884, when Grover Cleveland rallied to the Democratic standard enough good Republicans to destroy the machine which had held the nation in its grip since the evil days following the Civil War. The second was in 1912, when the revolt of the Progressives under Theodore Roosevelt gave the Presidency to Woodrow Wilson. So recently as six months ago there seemed every indication that the election of 1924 would be altogether unreal and unsatisfying: a mere affair of the party bosses, a conspiracy of evasion. The developments of the past six months have made that impossible. The events of the past six weeks have made a serious and fruitful contest inevitable.

The collapse of Wilsonism in the United States was extraordinarily complete, and, as everybody can now see, the country suffered gravely after 1918 through the absence of alternative leadership. Wilson had identified himself with an international idea which, historically, lay within the scope of the Republican Party. But that party, despite its Root-Hughes-Hoover section, could not accept the League of Nations from a Democratic President, and Wilson's own refusal to compromise invited disaster. In the election of 1920 the Republicans could have overthrown their opponents with any candidate, and, unfortunately for themselves, they acted upon the assumption that the resentment against Wilson implied a temper in the American public which would support almost any measure of reaction. The mistake of this assumption was very speedily exposed. The failure of the Harding Administration was apparent in the elections of 1922, which wiped out the Republican majority; and some time before the President's death, in August, 1923, it was common ground that his chances of re-election had almost disappeared. The storm which destroyed the Harding Administration broke a few months later, and President Coolidge's first annual Message was addressed to a hostile Congress. It had not even a nominal Republican majority. Not only was it dominated by the Western bloc, which takes little account of party names, but it was steadily disrespectful towards the President and his advisers.

A President known to represent the great industrial and financial interests of the Eastern States; an Administration unable to carry its measures; a party in office but without legislative power, and

increasingly at the mercy of the antagonism between East and West, between industry and agriculture—such was the situation at the beginning of the present year, when all questions of policy and legislation were submerged in the Cabinet scandals to which the revelations of the Teapot Dome were the exciting prelude. The full story of this calamitous episode will make a long chapter, crowded with vivid detail, in the history of the now dissolving Republican Party. I must content myself here with a bare statement of the more essential facts.

It was during the Roosevelt period that there took shape in America the beginnings of a practical philosophy of national conservation. The national oil reserves formed, of course, a most important portion of the public domain, and Roosevelt initiated the first survey of oil lands needed for naval supplies. In 1909 President Taft withdrew certain large oil-bearing tracts from the list of areas which might be disposed of under the public-land laws, and three years later Naval Reserves Nos. 1 and 2, in California, were set aside for the use of the Navy. In 1915 President Wilson did likewise with Reserve No. 3 in Wyoming, locally known by reason of its contour as the Teapot Dome. The purpose of the reservation was to keep in the ground an adequate reserve of naval oil, against the difficulties which all authorities foresee as the result of the present unrestricted exploitation of the world's resources.

From the outset the private oil interests made their assaults upon the reserves, but they appear to have been successfully resisted so long as Mr. Wilson was in command. With the coming of the Harding Administration these interests saw their chance, and before many months had passed Washington was filled with rumours as to the granting of leases of the national reserves to some of the great oil concerns. The story of the investigation which followed begins in April, 1922, when the ever-watchful Senator La Follette carried a resolution directing the Committee of Public Lands and Surveys to investigate the entire subject of the reserves and leases. The first step was the delivery to the investigating Committee by the Department of the Interior of an immense load of documents, together with a letter from Mr. Albert B. Fall, head of the Department, to President Harding, justifying the leasing of the Teapot Dome. His main defence was that the oil deposits of the Reserve were being drained away by privately owned wells on the adjacent fields, so that the leases represented a policy of economy and self-protection for the Government. This happened to be a policy for which the sanction of Congress had not been obtained; but so skilfully was the argument used that the suspicions of Congress and the Press were lulled. Not until January of the present year did the story begin to appear on the front pages of the

newspapers; and thereafter for many months it provided an almost daily dose of scandal and recrimination. The brain and the directing force of the investigating Committee was Senator Thomas J. Walsh, of Montana, who accomplished what is acknowledged to be a masterpiece of the higher detective craft, and thereby rendered a service to the cause of clean government which, in the view of many Americans, it would be difficult to overpraise.

The first startling fact disclosed was the signing by President Harding, within three months of his taking office, of an executive order transferring the control of the naval oil reserves from the Navy Department to the Interior, thus putting into the hands of Mr. Fall, a known enemy of the public domain, the power to deal at large with the oil kings. It was not, however, until the definite appearance of Mr. Harry Sinclair, with the reputation of being the most gigantic oil speculator in the world, that the public interest became thoroughly awake. This gentleman informed the Committee that he expected to make \$100,000,000 out of the lease, to which was attached the remarkable provision that tanks should be built at the public expense for the holding of the Government's share of the oil, which share, it was estimated, would work out at about six barrels in every hundred of the yield. For several months the efforts of Senator Walsh to discover clues to the mystery were baffled. Then a lead came from New Mexico, Mr. Fall's home State, in the shape of information as to heavy expenditure on Mr. Fall's ranch, which could be accounted for only by a large increase in his private means. Interrogated on this point, Mr. Fall stated to the Committee that he had borrowed \$100,000 from Mr. Edward B. McLean, the richest of Washington newspaper proprietors and a leading member of President Harding's intimate circle. This story was at first upheld by Mr. McLean, who, however, when confronted by Senator Walsh in Florida, confessed the truth: that he had given Mr. Fall cheques for the amount, but these had never been presented because the money had been forthcoming from another quarter. Where, then, did Mr. Fall's \$100,000 come from? On January 21st, Mr. Archie Roosevelt, who had left his position in the Sinclair Oil Company, told an astounding story to the Committee. Three days later it was supplemented by Mr. Edward Doheny, who voluntarily came forward to testify that he had paid Fall \$100,000. Negotiations were then pending between Mr. Doheny and the Department of the Interior. They resulted in the grant of the Teapot Dome lease, out of which, Mr. Doheny explained, he expected, like Mr. Sinclair, to make his hundred million dollars.

The second act of the great oil drama was in some respects even more disturbing to the American public than the first. It con-

cerned the record of Mr. H. M. Daugherty, who, as Attorney-General, was in charge of the Department of Justice, without whose active and continuous assistance the oil companies would not have been able to complete their designs. He stood his ground until he was dismissed by the President, after a delay of some weeks, which did damage to Mr. Coolidge's reputation for cool and decisive action. The Senate Committee's inquiry revealed in the Department of Justice a distressing state of affairs not by any means confined to intrigues with the oil interests. The incidents of Mr. Daugherty's remarkable career were unfolded to the Committee by an astonishing succession of witnesses. Their evidence showed the Attorney-General to be in league with a strange company of indicted criminals, bootleggers, blackmailers, and other notorious characters, and to be privy to the atrocious practices of certain shady secret-service men in the running of a gross system of graft and espionage of which, as we can now happily see, the American people are determined to be rid. Mr. Coolidge succeeded in removing the Attorney-General, after weeks of exposures and a daily reiterated demand from a powerful section of the Press; but it was not until June that the principals in the oil scandals—Fall, Sinclair, and the Dohenys, father and son—were indicted in the Courts: the two Dohenys for bribery, Fall for taking the bribe of \$100,000, and all for conspiracy to defraud the United States. The result, politically, has been a measure of discredit for the Administration and the Republican Party which it is impossible at present to estimate; for Mr. Coolidge a very heavy handicap in the campaign, and for the country generally a profound shock, which among other things has meant an immense accession to the prevalent scepticism in relation to political parties and the character of public men.

Two aspects of the matter, perhaps equally disturbing to those who count themselves well-wishers of America and those who still hold to their faith in democracy, must be noted here in a sentence. The first is the fact that the Senators who, against every kind of obstacle in Washington, pressed the inquiry in committee, had to go forward without any public sign of approval from the leaders of the nation, but rather in the knowledge that their labours were resented in high quarters. The second is that a large section of the Press made a determined effort to persuade the electorate that public reprobation should be the portion, not of the deeply offending Cabinet officers and their associates, but of the Senators who, both Republican and Democratic, were engaged in a salutary enterprise of national house-cleaning.

Such, then, was the situation on the Republican side when the party delegates met in Cleveland on June 10th. This, the first of the

year's party Conventions, calls for little comment. Its business was almost confined to the one thing: the nomination of Mr. Coolidge; and that was settled in advance, for the only Republican politician who had made a show of contesting Mr. Coolidge's position in the party, Senator Hiram Johnson of California, had faded away. Mr. Coolidge was the choice of the Convention by acclamation—the Wisconsin delegation, a significant exception, alone dissenting. The Cleveland Convention was very thoroughly controlled: not, however, by the old guard of Senators and established Republican bosses, but by a small group of Mr. Coolidge's friends, whose management is described as being at once despotic and inexperienced, and therefore not unlikely to have an unfavourable rebound in the campaign. Mr. Coolidge's position, as President and party leader, is exceedingly curious. Few Presidents have been made to endure so many rebuffs from Congress. In the greater matters of policy with which he has been identified—tax reduction, the soldier's bonus, the exclusion of Japanese immigrants, the World Court—he has been either ignored or overruled. He does not exercise, or seek to exercise, any of the arts of popularity. But, in the confusion which has followed upon the failures of an Administration for which he was not at first responsible, the President stands out as the one positive asset of his party.

The Democratic Convention, which opened in the great arena of Madison Square Garden on June 24th, was an extraordinarily different affair from that of Cleveland. The Democrats, unlike the Republicans, met in a complete fog as regards the identity of their candidate. A large percentage of the delegates went to New York this year pledged to stand by one or other of two leading candidates, in what, to an instructed outsider, seemed to be an irrational defiance of an obstacle that could not in the nature of things be overcome. As a matter of fact, no powers of prescience at all were needed in connection with this particular matter. Mr. W. G. McAdoo, who commanded from the outset the largest force of pledged delegates, was not a possibility for the Democratic nomination. He had won the majority of the Southern delegates; he was rather surprisingly supported by Mr. W. J. Bryan; he was known to be good for a large block of Labour votes in the country. But all this was of no account. There was a combination of State delegations and of bosses against Mr. McAdoo. The adherents of Governor Smith, who held the balance of votes, were immovable in hostility, for other reasons than that he had made terms with the Ku Klux Klan. Above all, Mr. McAdoo was besmirched with oil. He had taken a heavy fee for professional services from Mr. Edward Doheny, and had accepted a contingent guarantee of a million dollars for services in connection with the Mexican interests. The upshot,

accordingly, in his case was entirely clear; but Mr. McAdoo refused to accept the facts. He and his supporters fought with a strange passion, and he held his place at the head of the voting until the hundredth ballot was within sight. It was one of the most startling examples of crowd delusion that could be cited.

The supporters of Mr. Alfred E. Smith, Governor of New York, were in not dissimilar case, in that they cherished an equally forlorn hope. Governor Smith is a notably successful and popular citizen. New York is boundlessly proud of him. He has come from the people—from, as they say, the sidewalks of New York. But it was no less impossible for Mr. Smith to be nominated than for Mr. McAdoo. He is Catholic and a "wet." And yet in face of an impossibility as clearly demonstrable as anything could be, his supporters in the Convention and in the Press kept up the fiction of his invincibility. The point is simply this: the rise and spread of the Ku Klux Klan has brought the religious issue directly into American national politics; and as a result no Catholic could be a candidate for the Presidency in the campaign of 1924. Four years hence the position may be radically altered.

Before coming to the character and chances of the candidate upon whom, after fourteen days of bitter conflict, the choice of the Democrats fell, a few words must needs be said upon the party platforms, and especially upon the two questions that were most earnestly fought over in New York. The Republican platform is in effect almost negligible in the present campaign. The party will fight simply upon the watchword of "Coolidge for President." In the New York Convention, on the contrary, the platform was contested no less violently than was the personality of the candidate. Both assemblies, as it happened, escaped a conflict over Prohibition. In each case refuge was secured in a plank announcing the duty of law enforcement. As to the League of Nations, the only thing that can now be said is that it will not be an important issue in the 1924 campaign. The Republican platform simply restates President Coolidge's negation, while accepting the President's lead in the matter of America's entry into the World Court. The Democratic Party contains within its ranks some millions of voters who, in regard to the League, share the views of the Republican irreconcilables; but the party must, to some extent, acknowledge the claims of its own past. In the New York Convention Mr. Newton Baker, in the only piece of deeply moving oratory heard in the Convention, demanded the full acceptance of the League programme; but they voted against him two to one. They adopted instead a plank which to the pious repetition of the Wilson principle attaches the condition of a federal referendum. But that, as Mr. Baker showed in a passage of masterly scorn, is not even

an expedient. Such a referendum is not constitutional; it could only be obtained by Act of Congress, in the possibility of which no one to-day believes. And therefore, Mr. Baker declared, the world will say of the two great divisions of American politics that "the Republican Party, having four years ago been doubtful on the subject, has now declared definitely against the League; while the Democratic Party, which four years ago was for the League, is now neither for it nor against it."

The struggle in the Convention over the League of Nations plank was much keener than the party managers can have desired. The struggle over the Ku Klux Klan was epoch-marking in its intensity. The Klan is to-day a power in at least half the States of the Union, with a numerical strength which can only be guessed at. The Democrats, as the party of the South, were compelled to take up the challenge offered by this sinister wing of American Fascismo, more especially because the social and religious conflict which it implies was exemplified in the opposing figures of Smith and McAdoo. In New York the anti-Klan delegates demanded a plank specifically condemning the Secret Order by name. The Klan and its protectors (including many delegates who were most anxious to avoid a party split, or were convinced that to denounce the Klan would mean advertising it) fought merely for a general plank declaring the principle of religious and civic freedom. By the narrowest of majorities the general plank was adopted and the so-called unity of the Party preserved. But the compromise was reached only at the end of exhausting days during which the fiercest passions were revealed; and no one denies that the Ku Klux Klan will play a grave and menacing part in the election.

It was after fourteen days of bitter and bewildering strife, culminating in this amazing encounter with the Invisible Empire which, characteristically, did not put a single avowed champion in the field, that the Democratic Convention achieved the nomination of Mr. John W. Davis, who makes an impression of singular remoteness from all such influences and terrors. The event is a heavy blow to the party machine, and to the recovered confidence of the Republicans. It has the appearance of a resonant assertion by the great body of decent delegates of the right of free choice. Mr. Davis, as we in England are delighted to recall, is a public man of high intelligence and character, of an open and distinguished record, of cultivation and of style. He should prove to be not only an effective but a brilliant candidate. In the South and the central Atlantic States he is assured of a great following, which will be expanded by the appeal of his personality and his wide outlook upon international affairs. But the South and East, we need to remember, are not by any means the whole of America. With

every recurring election the westward shift of political power becomes more apparent, and in the polls of next November this may well prove to be the decisive factor. Mr. Coolidge and the conservative Republicans have lost the West; and the fact that Mr. Charles C. Dawes, of the Reparations Report, is the President's running mate for the Vice-Presidency, may be expected to emphasise the conflict between the Western electorate and the governing interests of the Eastern States. The Republican Party is now, more definitely than ever, the political embodiment of large-scale industry and commerce; whereas the compelling economic force of American politics to-day is found in the widespread distress of the Western farmers and the common interest that tells in favour of an alliance between the agrarian communities and the forces of Labour. Here is the basis of the newer Progressivism, which has at last called Senator La Follette out of the Republican Party, thus finally breaking the associations of a lifetime. On July 4th, at the Conference for Progressive Political Action, this most vigorous and original of Western leaders was nominated as independent Progressive candidate. As such he will make his appeal to the voters of a great region which Mr. Coolidge cannot win, and in which so far Mr. Davis is nothing but a name. Mr. La Follette is unmistakably American, and he is immovably anti-communist. He is for drastic reduction of tariff, tax, and freight schedules; for public control of the railroads, the national development of power, and the encouragement of co-operation; for revision of the European treaties; for progressive disarmament by international agreement, and the formal outlawry of war. He can make little impression east of Chicago; but should his physique be equal to the conduct of an energetic campaign, Mr. La Follette must inevitably be a formidable influence in the West. In the view of Progressives everywhere, it should be remembered, Mr. Coolidge and Mr. Davis alike stand for conservatism. But inasmuch as La Follette progressivism means first of all an assault upon States which normally vote Republican, the conclusion would seem to be that Mr. Davis has at least a good fighting chance of bringing off an interesting victory. His most serious obstacle will be found to lie in his professional record. Mr. Davis has been for many years legal adviser to the house of Pierpont Morgan, and this fact will be used mercilessly against him in the campaign. The common assumption in America is that a corporation lawyer cannot reach the White House. The assumption is clearly unwarranted, and Mr. Davis may destroy it.

S. K. RATCLIFFE.

THE EDUCATION OF THE ADOLESCENT.

THOUGH the Estimates of the first Labour Government for the service of Education in England and Wales are somewhat lower even than the estimates of their immediate predecessor and more than three millions below the last vote taken under the Coalition, Mr. Trevelyan has been enabled by a happy turn of circumstance to secure not only some appearance but also some reality of progress within the comparatively modest figures which he proposed to lay before Parliament. This piece of good fortune he owes partly to a decline in the number of school children and partly to the fact that the Local Authorities have over-estimated the expenditure upon which the Board's grant is based. Consequently, without spending a penny more than Mr. Wood, the new Minister is able to encourage the engagement of some more teachers and to hold out hopes to the Authorities that if they proceed to reduce the size of classes the Board will gladly do its share of the finance.

This is very encouraging as far as it goes. The great weakness of the elementary school lies in its upper ranges, and a reduction in the size of classes involves as its consequence a larger measure of attention to the intellectual needs of the older children. This is the more important by reason of the fact that the great mass of the children of the country receive no regular education after they have completed their fourteenth year. Consequently the impetus to self-improvement depends upon the quality of the teaching in those critical two years. If the last two years at school are wasted, we need not expect that the first two years after school will be well employed. If books have been made repulsive then, they are not likely to be seductive afterwards. And if the process of learning has been associated with unutterable tedium between twelve and fourteen, it is hardly to be expected that the pleasures of intellectual acquisition will shine out as soon as the pedagogue has been withdrawn.

It is difficult therefore to lay too much stress upon the crying need of enriching and enlivening the education which is administered to the boys and girls of the country during the last two years of their school lives. Have they learned to read for pleasure? Can they consult a book? Have they found their way to the public library? Has their interest been aroused in anything worthy of study? Do they leave school with an ambition of the right sort? If all these questions can be answered in a satisfactory sense they may pass through the trials of an unsheltered adolescence with success, and triumphantly surmount the moral dangers which attend on industrial unemployment. But, however good the elementary school may be, it is asking much of human nature to

turn children out into the world at the age of fourteen to hustle and bustle in the rude arena of industrial conflict and then to expect that they will receive no scars and experience no losses in the conflict. At the very moment at which they stand most in need of defence, we leave them defenceless. At the very moment when the mind begins to be most receptive to new impressions and doctrines, we suspend education. At the period of maximum physical disturbance and moral trouble, supervision is cut off as with a knife. Economy is here the parent of palpable unreason.

Public opinion is again undergoing one of its periodical fits of uneasiness at our failure to solve the great unsolved problem of modern education. Can we, a civilised people, look on unmoved at the deterioration of human capital which is proceeding under our eyes, through the moral and intellectual wastage of boys and girls during the period of adolescence? If they were all employed there would be some stimulus and some control, but many are unemployed, and consume their courage in the vain search for employment, sinking rapidly downwards and losing such tone and knowledge as the school had been able to instil. To meet the emergency presented by juvenile unemployment the Government proposed that children between fourteen and sixteen should be brought under the Insurance Act and be qualified to receive insurance benefit under certain conditions, one of which was attendance at an instruction centre under the Ministry of Labour.

The educational world was up in arms against this proposal. The theory of our existing law is that all young persons must be under full-time or part-time education till the age of sixteen, and here was a Government coming forward with a proposal which appeared to assume that young persons belonging to these age groups were primarily to be considered as industrial units. Moreover, it was felt that these instructional centres were necessarily very unsatisfactory. Boys and girls flitted in and flitted out, the average period of instruction being five weeks per annum, and could obviously derive very little benefit from courses of instruction so discontinuous. It was contended that if Local Authorities were encouraged to make this inferior type of provision for young people, they would be the less disposed to embark upon the superior type of school contemplated in our legislation. Instead of secondary schools and trade schools and day continuation schools we should have these slipshod expedients, the creatures of the "dole."

The Government bowed to the storm and the proposal was for the moment withdrawn. The problem, however, still remains as urgent as ever. How is it to be solved?

Here let us make a distinction. Under the terms of Insurance No. 2 Bill the Government were proposing to spend a certain sum

of money on young persons between the ages of fourteen and sixteen. The House of Commons made no objection to the expenditure. Their criticisms were confined to the mode in which the money was to be spent. There would be no criticism if the quarter of a million or so were expended by the Board of Education in aid of expenditure incurred by Local Authorities to enable deserving but indigent children to stay another term or another year at school.

This, however, touches only the fringe of the problem. The sums which the Government proposed to provide under their insurance scheme were far too inconsiderable to deal with the central source of evil, the lack of any certain thread of continuous education and disinterested control in the lives of our adolescent population. How is this problem to be tackled?

A popular remedy is the raising of the school age to fifteen. Such a course, it is argued, would relieve the labour market and extend full-time education. Alderman Jackson, an excellent friend to education in Yorkshire, recommends it. So does Mr. Tawney. So do many others. A certain body of opinion seems to be crystallising round this proposal. Now under the Education Act of 1921, which, it will be remembered, incorporates the Act of 1918, any Local Authority may, with the consent of the Board, make education compulsory up to fifteen. If they choose, they are free to take this step, but so far two authorities only have applied to the Board for permission to do so. The reason is obvious. An extension of the school age involves expenditure on buildings, staff and equipment, and save in the rare areas in which employment is both good and regular would be violently resented by the parents. It was a difficult enough matter to secure the support of public opinion for the abolition of half-time and of all exemptions under fourteen. How much more difficult, then, will it be to enlist the suffrages of working men and women for the far more drastic proposal of a school age prolonged to the fifteenth year!

The advocates of the extended school age recognise the difficulty presented by the poverty of the parent but propose to overcome that difficulty by a liberal system of maintenance allowances. The cost, it is contended, though considerable, would not be prohibitive. It is estimated, for instance, that if pupils were required to stay at the public elementary school for another year, this would cause an addition of 450,000 to the average attendance. The present cost of building public elementary schools may be put at about £30 a school place, involving loan charges of about £2 per annum, and since the average cost of instruction works out at about £11 per head, it follows that the cost of providing for these additional pupils would work out at about £13 per head or an annual cost divided between rates and taxes in the proportion of

56 per cent. falling on grants and 44 per cent. falling on rates of £5,850,000. Maintenance allowances at five shillings a week for forty weeks in the year (the period covering the school terms) would add £10 per annum to these figures, bringing the total up to £10,350,000, or assuming that the allowances were awarded to half the pupils only £8,100,000. These figures, however, take no account of any possible enhancement in building costs.

There are other factors to be taken into account besides expense. The provision of the new school places would take time. So too would the preparation of the additional teachers. It would be impossible even with the most liberal system of maintenance allowances to extend the school age by a stroke of the pen. Two or three years at least would be required in order to complete the necessary preparations. And what of the curriculum? Would it be possible to add a school year without a thorough reconsideration if not of the whole curriculum of the elementary school, at least of the curriculum from the age of twelve onwards? I think not, for I hold strongly that the length of a school course determines the choice of subjects, the proportion of time to be allotted to them, and the manner in which they should be treated.

It will be seen then that the prolongation of the school course for another year is not without difficulties. In common with my advisers at the Board of Education, I felt those difficulties to be so formidable in 1918 that, although we carefully considered this possibility, we came to the conclusion that we could not go further than empower any Local Authority which desired to make the experiment to do so. I own, however, at that time that I had not contemplated the possibility that public opinion would support so large an expenditure on maintenance allowances as would be necessary in order to overcome the strong reluctance of poor parents to forego the earnings of their children. Indeed, I doubt even now whether such support would be forthcoming. On the other hand, it did appear likely that with a little encouragement some local authorities might embark on the experiment, and that with advancing prosperity the number of fifteen-year areas might increase.

It is quite possible that we shall witness some modest development along these lines. Here and there local authorities will apply to the Board for leave to compel the continued attendance of children over fourteen at school until they obtain beneficial appointment, and the Board will smile on these applications in the hopes of subsequently obtaining from the authority a bye-law which will take no account of employment at all, but simply enact the obligation of school attendance to the end of the fifteenth year. My information, however, leads me to believe that very few authorities are now prepared to take even the first step in this direction.

The Labour members on the Council are said in one instance to be the obstacle.

I have still, however, to be convinced that the extension of full-time education for another year is the best course open to us. However much we may deplore the fact, the vast majority of children are sick of the elementary school at fourteen. They have ceased to make progress and are eager to escape from the routine of the class-room, to play the man and to make a little money for their pleasures or for the support of the household. The practical bent of our population being as strong as it is, a good many minds which had become languid at school are sharpened by the initial exigencies of employment, so that school subjects which had seemed meaningless before receive an unsuspected significance by being brought into relation with the occupations in which the child is engaged. It is, I fear, probable that an additional year of full-time education in the elementary school would, having regard to existing circumstances, be relatively unproductive for a large number of children. They would, indeed, be kept off the streets, but the complaints which we hear already with regard to the small progress made in the upper standards by children under fourteen would be urged with still greater force and plausibility by the parents and the public, under an arrangement which would compel pupils already grown listless under schooling to submit to an additional year of the uncongenial process.

For all these reasons, then, it is important to develop with as little delay as may be the alternative solution which is prescribed by our Educational Law. The Day Continuation School offers a system of part-time secondary education for adolescents, which is compatible with employment and reasonable earnings and stands therefore in no need of a supplement for maintenance. This is a great advantage. The mingling of earning and learning is thoroughly congenial to the practical temper of our people. "Half-time" was objectionable, not because it was "half-time," but because children under the half-time system went into the mills too soon, and because the mingling of half-timers and whole-timers in the same school was an obstacle to efficient teaching. A system of part-time secondary education for all after the conclusion of the elementary school life is not open to these objections. Though from a strictly educational point of view it is inferior to full-time education, it offers the only prospect by which the great majority of our children can obtain any regular education at all up to sixteen. And it has the very great advantage that it preserves some measure of disinterested educational control and stimulus, after young people have gone out into employment and might otherwise be wasting themselves in blind-alley jobs.

Nothing, then, ought to be allowed to divert the national mind from the necessity of carrying out the requirements of our educational law with regard to the part-time education of adolescents. The cost is relatively small. Assuming that the Board were now to invite London and the County Boroughs outside London to prepare schemes for the establishment of continuation schools for young people from fourteen to sixteen and that the Local Authorities, so addressed, were given three years in which to make preparations, and assuming also, what is very far from being the case, that no existing accommodation could be utilised, then four years hence we might reckon on a loan charge of £450,000 or thereabouts, and a running cost for the 95,000 school places which would be required of about £3,800,000, of which under the present grant system one-half, or £1,900,000, would be borne by the taxpayer. These estimates are, however, on the high side, partly because there is a good deal of accommodation already existing and partly because the running costs are estimated on the basis of the London experiment at a time of inflated prices. The scheme could probably be worked for four millions. In other words, under the part-time system two age groups can be brought under secondary education in all our large towns at about half the cost required for the whole-time education of one age group on the assumption that 50 per cent. of the children between fourteen and fifteen would require maintenance grants in compensation for loss of earnings.

If, then, there is to be any effort on the part of the community to deal comprehensively with the Juvenile problem, the day continuation clauses of the Act should be enforced first in the larger towns and then as occasion permits in other parts of the country. Let it be understood that there is no other way of dealing with the problem which working people will tolerate. They certainly will not tolerate compulsory full-time education up to sixteen. Nor will they submit, unless to a lavish accompaniment of maintenance allowances, to compulsory full-time education up to fifteen. But the enforcement of a system of part-time education compatible with employment is practical both on the side of finance and on the side of organisation, and likely for the great mass of juveniles to be of a more certain educational benefit than any alternative which can be devised.

It may be said, "The scheme was tried in London and abandoned." But first of all let it be observed that the scheme has not been abandoned in London. At the present moment no less than five thousand young persons are being educated in voluntary day continuation schools for a maximum of fifteen hours a week in the London metropolitan area; and in this nucleus of voluntary schools experience is being gathered which will be of value when the hour for advance sounds. Secondly, it is important to notice why and

how opinion turned against the continuation schools in the London area. It was not by reason of the inefficiency of the teaching, for the teaching was excellent, not because the schools were valueless, for we have abundant evidence that they rendered most useful service, nor again because the employers were hostile, for on the whole the London employers worked in very well with a system which was novel and in its initial stages inconvenient to many. The reason was the prevalence of a feeling in the poorer districts which was exploited to the full by the economisers that attendance at school was a handicap in the labour market. Now it is quite true that some employers, having a choice between boys who were school-bound and others who were school-free, chose the school-free, and owing to the fact that the Board was precluded from financial reasons from extending the system to the adjacent counties, complaints were made that boys and girls from Essex and Kent and Middlesex came in and stole London jobs from the Londoners. Further, the London County Council by a narrow majority determined to refrain from extending the schools to juveniles between fifteen and sixteen; and this, of course, widened the number of school-free juveniles from whom employers might pick and choose. The concurrence of these two circumstances, each contrary to the spirit and intention of the Act, coupled with an exceptional period of unemployment, was quite sufficient, apart from financial considerations, to fan prejudice against the schools as inimical to juvenile wage-earning. And when an election was held the day was carried against them. The public of London had failed to realise the fact that, despite all the drawbacks attaching to a new experiment, over 60 per cent. of the children attending the day continuation schools were in employment. The schools, in fact, were fast becoming the best and most certain employment agencies in the metropolitan area.

In this connection reference may be made to the estimate of the work of the schools contained in the Annual Report of the London County Council for 1922.

"The compulsory day continuation schools, established under Section 10 of the Education Act, 1918, which opened in January, 1921, had by January, 1922, attained a considerable measure of stability. The initial opposition, both from employers and parents, had, to an appreciable extent, been overcome. The policy of suiting the organisation of the school, in respect of curriculum and hours of attendance, to the convenience of employers, had been pursued with success. In many cases the school and employers had so arranged matters that they might almost be regarded as partners in a joint undertaking. In co-operation with the Ministry of Labour, an employment bureau had been established at each of the schools, and this arrangement had secured in an increasing degree, that close relationship between individual

aptitude and suitability of work which is so vitally necessary in juvenile employment. The suspicion on the part of certain parents that attendance was inimical to a child's start in life was rapidly being removed, as the schools were becoming recognised as employment agencies for most kinds of juvenile work."

The difficulty then with respect to employment is by no means insuperable. There are certain kinds of work which are best or most conveniently performed by juveniles, and for this, if it should happen that some juveniles are school-free and others not, then the school-free boy or girl is apt to be preferred. But if the school-compulsion applies equally to all young persons working in a given area, not only to young persons between fourteen and fifteen but also to young persons between fifteen and sixteen, then the grievance vanishes and employment must perforce adjust itself to the educational system, and not the educational system to employment. An announcement made in advance that every young person seeking employment in an area, in which the schools are working, will be liable to school attendance would quiet apprehensions.

So far, then, from being discouraged by the results of the London experiment, we should rather be emboldened to resume the operation of the Act. London showed that it was possible to obtain not only a high percentage of attendance (for until it was given out that attendance could not be enforced, the figures were excellent) but a high percentage of employment for the young persons who attended. That some of the buildings were inappropriate and that parts of the curriculum were open to criticism were defects incidental to rapid movement along a novel way. It was also made clear that a system of part-time secondary education cannot be justified on a one-year basis. If it is not made to cover the two years between fourteen and sixteen it will not succeed as a whole, however helpful it may be, as we learn from Miss White's vivid little book,* in individual cases.

Here, then, is the true line of advance if the unsolved question of the adolescent is to be resolutely handled. No new legislation is required. All that we want is already given us in the Statute Book. If the Act of 1921 is administered in all our big towns as it is now administered in Rugby,† the problem disappears. For a million more than the sum retrenched from educational expenditure since the fall of the Coalition Government this happy result can be achieved so far as young persons under sixteen are concerned. There could be no more provident expenditure of public money.

H. A. L. FISHER.

* *Twelve Happy Months in a Day Continuation School*, by Elsie White. See also *The Day Continuation School in England*, by E. A. Waterfall, and *A Day Continuation School at Work*, by W. J. Wray and R. W. Ferguson.

† "During the present quarter the weekly attendance percentage has reached 92. There is a great demand for additional voluntary classes." Report of Ed. Committee, Warwick, Jan. 23rd, 1924.

FREE TRADE—ITS *ANNUS MIRABILIS*.

FORTUNE or Providence gave a wonderful opportunity last Autumn to British Free Traders; and we made full use of it.

There was nothing surprising in our victory except the simplicity of the Tariff Reformers in thinking they could succeed. Since the overthrow of the Corn Laws in 1846 Free Trade never has been defeated by its enemies. If the Citadel had not been betrayed by its friends in 1915 and subsequent years, there would have been no protective or preferential duties to fall before the trusty axe of Philip Snowden. As it was, in spite of the McKenna Duties and the Safeguarding of Industries Act, Britain remained substantially a Free Trade country; for the great bulk of our imports entered free of customs duty, while most of the customs duties actually levied had corresponding excise duties (as in the case of beer and spirits), or affected foreign products not grown at home, such as tea, coffee, cocoa, and raisins.

Since the 'forties, 'fifties, and 'sixties of last century, when Sir Robert Peel and Mr. Gladstone swept away our old protective and preferential tariff, no general election in this country has ever been won by the Protectionists. In 1905, and again at the two general elections of 1910, they challenged a verdict and suffered decisive defeat. During and after the war two Liberal Prime Ministers in successive Coalition Ministries, on various pretexts, introduced small instalments of Protection and Preference; but they had no authority from the constituencies. And with so little favour were these innovations regarded that at the elections of November, 1922, Mr. Bonar Law pledged himself and his Party, if they gained a majority, not to alter the fiscal system of the country. Our people were sick of Coalitions; and the prevailing mood was conservative. Mr. Bonar Law's policy of stability and tranquillity exactly suited them, and they gave him a comfortable majority. But the poor man did not live to enjoy his political good fortune, and within a few months he was succeeded by Mr. Baldwin.

Then began our *Annus Mirabilis*. Never in the modern history of British politics—not even in the year 1886, which saw Mr. Gladstone's conversion to Home Rule—has the political scenery been so suddenly shifted. Confident as I felt about the strength of Free Trade, I never thought it would be put to the test before the year 1923 was out. Who would have believed twelve months ago that a Conservative Government would commit hari-kari after a year of office, or that a Labour Government, accepting the gospel of Cobden, and dropping the gospel of Marx, would remove practically all traces of Protection from the British tariff? No doubt our tariff reformers a year ago were encouraged by the contem-

poraneous spectacle of bad trade at home and good trade in the United States, where a high tariff seems to be firmly established. But they forgot, or ignored the difference in conditions. The United States is an immense Free Trade union of forty-eight States with a wonderful diversity of soil, climate, and mineral wealth. These States can produce and exchange without let or hindrance practically all that is necessary to human life and comfort. Impregnable and unassailable, divided by an ocean from the broils and turmoils of the old world, a race inventive and energetic and speculative must advance in material prosperity by leaps and bounds. No doubt, if the Union were not surrounded by a tariff, its advance would be still more rapid; its exportable surplus would grow faster and would exchange on better terms for the exportable surplus of other countries. But whatever disadvantage the consumers and producers of America suffer on balance from their encircling tariff wall, it is obviously small in comparison with the mischief our small island would encounter. In the first place, only about one-twentieth of our population lives by cultivating the soil. More than half of what we eat has to be imported. That explains why, since the repeal of the Corn Laws, no British party has dared to propose high import duties on cereals and meat for the protection of British farmers. Desirable as it is to increase the number of those who live a healthy life in the country, the protection of agriculture is politically impossible. The masses who live in our towns will not hear of any project for making their food dearer. Nor can our landlords and farmers hope for a tariff on wool, or hides, or timber; for these are the raw materials of great industries. Thus at the outset a British protectionist is heavily handicapped. He cannot protect agriculture, or help the very class which has the strongest claim to be shielded against foreign competition. Here, too, is a fatal bar to any real system of colonial preference; for the staple exports of the British colonies are cereals, meat, wool, hides, timber, &c. Mr. Baldwin, indeed, proposed protective and preferential duties on apples, fruit juices, honey, and tinned salmon; but by general consent these proved extremely unpopular at election meetings in November and December of last year.

Agriculture being thus excluded, we may ask what proportion of British industries and workmen stand to gain by a tariff. One of the largest Trade Unions, that of railwaymen, is, of course, opposed to any increase in the cost of living. Another—perhaps the strongest and largest of all—that of the coal miners—can only lose by protection; for we have large exports and practically no imports of coal. The shipping and shipbuilding industries also naturally object to a project which aims at reducing imports and is bound therefore to reduce overseas trade and freights.

What about British manufactures? Here if anywhere the Tariff Reformer should find enthusiastic support. But unfortunately for him our staple manufactures are largely exporting trades. They depend for success upon a low cost of production, which enables them to hold or capture a big share in neutral markets. When Mr. Baldwin and his friends proposed a general tariff on manufactured goods as a remedy for unemployment, they were thinking of a few comparatively small industries, perhaps 10 per cent. of the whole, which feel foreign competition at home and have no markets to speak of abroad. A good rough and ready test as to what industries would gain and what would lose by a general tariff is this import and export test, and it may be formulated as follows: *Under a general tariff to protect the home market a trade whose imports exceed its exports might hope to gain, while a trade whose exports exceed its imports would stand to lose; and the greater the excess the greater the loss.*

Taking the official statistics of our import and export trade, January to October, 1923, I found that in the category of goods mainly or wholly manufactured, British imports were valued at 191 millions sterling, and British exports at 482 millions sterling. On this showing British manufacturers as a whole would stand to lose £48 for every £19 they might gain by protection. But our cotton manufacturers would stand to lose in the proportion of £148 to £5!

Take the seven leading trades in the list.

		Value of Imports in millions sterling.		Value of Exports in millions sterling.
		£		£
Cotton goods	...	5	...	148
Iron and steel	...	11	...	62
Woollen goods	...	8	...	53
Other Textiles	...	9	...	19
Apparel	...	13	...	22
Chemicals	...	10	...	21
Vehicles	...	5	...	24

Some of the smaller industries show a surplus the other way, and might gain by protection if they were specially favoured. We import, for example, more paper and leather than we export. In the period I have examined, our imports of silk goods were valued at 15 millions against exports of one million. But at present the British silk mills are well employed and most of the silk goods imported are the raw materials of a large industry.

If one wants a fair political comparison of the tariff question as between the United States and Great Britain, one should ask

whether the New England States, with New York and New Jersey thrown in, would be inclined to welcome, and would expect to gain by, a protective tariff against the other States and against the world in general. If such a proposal were put to the vote, it would, I imagine, be defeated at least as decisively by the New Englanders as were the proposals of Mr. Joseph Chamberlain in 1905 and Mr. Stanley Baldwin in 1923 by the Old Englanders.

Such being the conditions of manufacturing and commercial activity in this island, and such the natural desire of our wage-earners for cheap food and clothing, we may well ask how and why the Conservative Party, comfortably ensconced in office, with a term of four or five years in safe prospect, abandoned its programme and rushed violently down a steep place into the Fiscal Sea. After the General Election of 1923, at which, as we have seen, Mr. Bonar Law had taken the pledge against any disturbance of the tariff, the new Parliament met for a short session on November 23rd. The Conservatives had a majority of seventy-nine over the Labour Party and Liberal Party combined, but this majority sank to sixty-two on an amendment (moved by Sir John Simon) demanding the repeal of the Safeguarding of Industries Act. The main session following the Christmas vacation began on February 13th. In the light of after events a sentence in the King's Speech may seem significant: "I look forward more particularly to a greater development of inter-Imperial trade in co-operation with the various Governments of my Empire." But in the debates that followed the observation was ignored. Probably it was intended merely as a courteous reference to the approaching Conference of Colonial Premiers in London. Trade was still bad, but unemployment was diminishing. No fiscal change nor any hint of such a thing appeared in the Budget, which reduced the beer duty and restored free trade in cider. After listening to the financial statement, Mr. Asquith congratulated Mr. Baldwin on having proceeded "on sound economic lines." On May 20th, in the grip of a fatal disease, Mr. Bonar Law resigned the Premiership and was succeeded by Mr. Stanley Baldwin. Some said the new Prime Minister was a Protectionist by instinct and a Free Trader by conviction. As a Worcestershire squire, with a large interest in the iron trade and commercial connections in Birmingham, he might have been expected to be a prominent Tariff Reformer, but his first step seemed deliberately calculated to maintain the fiscal *status quo*. He gave out that, while he would himself retain the Chancellorship of the Exchequer until the Budget was disposed of, he looked for the return of Mr. McKenna to the House of Commons as his successor in that office. Although during the war Mr. McKenna had made himself responsible for the first

serious violation of Free Trade since the repeal of the Corn Laws, it was well known that he desired to restore the Free Trade system. The so-called McKenna duties (33.3 per cent. *ad valorem* on motor-cars, musical instruments, clocks, watches, and cinema films) had been imposed in 1915 in order to save ship space and to restrict the consumption of luxuries. So at least it was alleged at the time, and the Coalition Government was pledged to their repeal after the war. This pledge, like so many others, was honoured in the breach. The duties were popular with Protectionists, and the *Morning Post* raised an alarm as soon as Mr. Baldwin's purpose became known. The hubbub increased on June 12th, when, in supporting a proposal to repeal the McKenna Duties, Captain Benn read a letter written by Mr. McKenna to a company engaged in importing musical instruments, in the course of which he had said:—

"I deeply regret that the Government have not given effect to my promise, which was publicly made in the House of Commons, that the *ad valorem* duties on imported luxuries, including organs, should be imposed for the period of the war only. The best advice I can offer now is that you should appeal to the Chancellor of the Exchequer to remove the tax, which, I am well aware, operates very injuriously to your business."

It proved impossible to obtain a safe Conservative seat for Mr. McKenna, and on August 28th it was announced that he had abandoned the quest. Thereupon, Mr. Neville Chamberlain, a strong Tariff Reformer, was appointed Chancellor of the Exchequer, and his influence, conjoined with that of Mr. L. S. Amery, the First Lord of the Admiralty, soon began to operate. Meanwhile, Imperial Preference had been discussed several times in the House of Lords. In reply to Lord Beauchamp's criticisms, a Minister defended the existing duties, but stated that the Government, while looking forward to an exchange of opinions with the Dominion Premiers at the approaching Imperial Conference, felt itself bound by Mr. Bonar Law's pledge not to make any fundamental change in the fiscal system of Great Britain.

About this time, seeing that Mr. Lloyd George and his supporters were inclined to play with Preference and Protection (probably in the hope of forming a Central Party leading up to a new Coalition Government), the Independent Liberals set up a Parliamentary Committee in defence of Free Trade, and Mr. Asquith, who was invited to address them, vigorously denounced all Preferential and Protective Duties. After the close of the Session Tariff Reformers were heartened by a small meeting of the Council of the Bradford Chamber of Commerce, which resolved to ask that the Safeguarding of Industries Act should be invoked to protect Yorkshire cloth against French competition. Further

encouragement came from General Smuts, who, on leaving South Africa for the Conference on September 4th, "assumed" in a public speech "from Great Britain's departure from its Free Trade policy that the British Government was prepared to meet the Dominions on a number of questions."

And so it proved. The Imperial Conference met on October 1st. In his introductory speech Mr. Baldwin hardly touched the fiscal question, though he remarked that the economic condition of Europe made it essential that we should turn our eyes elsewhere—to the resources and development of our boundless Empire. As the Conference proceeded, Mr. Bruce of Australia made the running for Tariff Reform, preaching the gospel of Preference and Protection at the top of his voice. The President of the Board of Trade, Sir P. Lloyd Graeme, responded on October 9th with proposals for new or increased preferential duties on dried fruits, sugar and tobacco. The *Morning Post* attributed the narrow range and timidity of this Imperial offer to the unfortunate pledge given by Mr. Bonar Law at the General Election, and regarded by his successor as binding during the life of that Parliament. These new preferential proposals were at once denounced by Sir John Simon and Mr. Arthur Henderson on behalf of the Independent Liberals and of the Labour Party. Strong resolutions against them came from the Free Trade Union, while letters in the *Times* and other newspapers, reminding Mr. Baldwin of the pledge, urged that this new scheme could not honourably be introduced until the sense of the country had been taken.

From this point the situation developed with sensational rapidity. On October 25th, Mr. Baldwin had to address the Annual Meeting of the Conservative Caucus at Plymouth. Apparently his mind had completely changed on economic and fiscal questions. A year before at the General Election he and Mr. Bonar Law had preached peace and economy, "Tranquillity and Stability," reduction of taxes, and non-interference with tariffs or business as the true means of gradually restoring trade and diminishing unemployment. Though unemployment during the year had considerably diminished, he now directed attention to foreign competition as the real cause of industrial distress; but he accepted Mr. Bonar Law's pledge as binding upon him and promised to take a verdict if challenged. Unemployment was, for him, the crucial problem. He was not content to go pottering along:—"I am willing to fight it, I cannot fight it without weapons . . . and I have come to the conclusion myself that the only way of fighting this subject is by protecting the Home Market." It seems that this startling declaration was more or less unpremeditated, and that it was made without the authority of the Cabinet. Probably Mr. Baldwin had

not foreseen what would happen. The moment the words "protecting the Home Market" had escaped his lips, a tremendous outburst of cheering broke forth, and shouts of "Good old Baldwin" resounded through the hall. Mr. Baldwin evidently was taken aback, but when silence was restored he faltered forth:—

"I am not a clever man. I know nothing of political tactics, but I will say this. Having come to that conclusion myself, I felt the only honest and right thing as the leader of a Democratic party was to tell them, at the first opportunity I had, what I thought, and submit it to their judgments."

The delight of the extreme tariff reformers, who were willing to stake office and everything else on the chance of an unqualified success for their cause, was only equalled by the consternation of the average Conservative member and office holder, who had settled down to the quiet enjoyment of a good working majority. Mr. Baldwin's speech was promptly clinched by Mr. Neville Chamberlain, his Chancellor of the Exchequer. Next morning the Premier found from the newspapers that he was in for a General Election, the only question being whether it should come at once or in the Spring. There was nothing now for it but to go forward and construct a platform, which would carry all the Protectionist interests and attract the unemployed. One great difficulty was agriculture and the question of duties on food, which had proved the stumbling block to Mr. Chamberlain's Tariff Reform schemes in 1905 and again in 1910. Mr. Bruce, the Australian Premier, had queered the pitch by appealing to British farmers for a protective and preferential tariff on wheat and meat. The party managers told Mr. Baldwin that this would never do; and on October 27th, Sir W. Joynson-Hicks, speaking at Canterbury, declared: "In the present circumstances, with two millions unemployed,* it would be quite impossible that we should put a tax on the food that comes into this country with a possible effect of making it dearer." This declaration was afterwards enforced by Mr. Baldwin who promised that, if his Tariff plans were approved by the country, he would not tax any "essential foods." But as people generally are fond of non-essential foods, such as apples, dried fruits, tinned salmon, &c., which *were* to be taxed, this declaration did not allay opposition. Besides, families of small means are not reconciled to higher prices for their boots and clothing by an announcement that bread and the bare necessities of the table will not be interfered with. The farmers, of course, were up in arms, when they found that protection would raise the prices of tools, machinery, and other things they had to buy without raising the price of their produce. To propitiate them Mr. Baldwin

*A rhetorical exaggeration.

a little later promised a subsidy of a pound per acre on arable land out of the revenues derived from import duties on manufactured articles.

But his attitude varied in these critical weeks from time to time and from place to place, and so did that of his colleagues. At Swansea, for instance, on October 30th, the Premier attacked "one-sided Free Trade," and extolled tariffs as a means not so much of increasing employment, as of "driving bargains and getting freer trade than you have ever had before." Mr. Amery who led the extreme Tariff Reform wing at Birmingham, believed in tariffs on food and everything else. He assured the electors that the output of food, goods, and raw materials at home and in the Empire would receive such an impetus from a preferential and protective tariff that all good things would abound, and the cost of living and production would actually be reduced.

As the controversy went on, Mr. Baldwin's difficulties increased rather than diminished. Among Cabinet Ministers who inclined to Free Trade, the Earl of Derby, the Duke of Devonshire, and Lord Robert Cecil made half-hearted speeches on behalf of Tariff Reform. The Marquis Curzon was silent, and the Marquis of Salisbury went off to the Continent. Mr. Austen Chamberlain, Sir Robert Horne, and Lord Birkenhead, who had been out of office since the fall of Mr. Lloyd George, were not easily won over. To avoid a disclosure of the proposed taxes a small Committee of Protectionists, headed by Lord Milner, Professor Ashley, Professor Hewins, and one or two business men, was appointed to prepare a tariff in secret. This device enabled Mr. Baldwin to resist demands for definite details, which, if not disappointing to the industries concerned, would be certain to alarm others.

Ultimately the date of the General Election was fixed for December 6th, at a brief meeting of Parliament convened for the purpose. With a multitude of three-cornered contests and the bogey of a Capital Levy to help them against Labour, the Government experts anticipated a substantial if somewhat reduced majority. It was hoped, too, that the cry of Protection for the Home Market would divide the Labour Party, and that Coalition Liberals who had voted with Mr. Lloyd George for Preference and Protection would also enfeeble the opposition to Mr. Baldwin's programme. But these hopes were speedily shattered. The Labour Party's Manifesto, issued on November 17th, went strongly for Free Trade, declaring that tariffs are no remedy for unemployment, that they obstruct the free exchange of goods and services on which civilised society rests, foster profiteering, lead to corruption, promote monopolies, and impoverish the people. As for the Liberal Party, the two sections immediately united; for Mr. Lloyd George, returning

from America after the Plymouth speech, promptly plumped for Free Trade. In the course of the campaign powerful arguments against the new policy were delivered by Mr. Asquith and Sir John Simon. When the General Election results appeared it was found that the strength of the Independent Liberals was more than doubled, though Mr. Lloyd George lost more than half his Coalition Liberal followers. This was fortunate; for after the election Mr. Lloyd George and his group again deserted Free Trade.

The new House of Commons consisted of 259 Conservatives, 91 Labour members, 155 Liberals, and 10 Independents. By consenting to Tariff Reform, and adopting for the first time since Disraeli had declared it "dead and damned" a full Protectionist policy, Mr. Baldwin had transformed a Conservative majority of 7 into a minority of 97.

I need not recount the sequel—how the Conservative Press appealed for Liberal support against the menace of a Labour Government—how the Liberals refused it on the ground that the country had voted for the restoration of complete Free Trade, and that there was no danger of Socialistic measures. As Mr. Asquith put it: "If the experiment of a Labour Government was to be tried, it could not be tried under safer conditions."

So far Free Traders have reason to be satisfied. Mr. Snowden's Budget repealed all the 33 per cent. McKenna duties. It also repealed, or reduced, most of the preferential duties on such articles as sugar, tea, and dried fruits. The Budget was carried by large majorities; but a big effort was made by the Imperialists, with the assistance of Mr. Lloyd George and his adherents, to defeat the Government on a series of Preferential Resolutions moved by Mr. Baldwin in the middle of June. On the first of these Resolutions the Government only won by the narrow majority of six; but as the divisions proceeded the Free Trade majorities increased, and finally Mr. Baldwin threw up the sponge. We may now hope that Protection and Preference—and Preference is worse than Protection because it involves discrimination against our foreign customers—have received a stunning blow. The Conservative Party has announced that it will not revive its proposal for a general tariff, until there is sufficient evidence that the country is favourable. It will, however, continue to support Imperial Preference and such measures as the extension of the Safeguarding of Industries Act. It is, therefore, obviously the duty of Free Traders to keep their powder dry, and to make sure at the next General Election that no support is given to candidates who are not pledged to maintain intact our Free Trade system against the insidious approaches of Preference and Protection.

FRANCIS W. HIRST.

CRIME, PUNISHMENT, AND INSANITY.

THAT the basis on which punishment is inflicted by society on evil-doers may wisely be overhauled and modified from time to time may be considered axiomatic. History shows that this has been often done, and on the whole with beneficial results. In times past, accused persons could legally be tortured in order to extract evidence. And even now, though no civilised country that I am aware of applies physical torture, mental torture of a suspected prisoner, even to the third degree, is still accepted as right and is legally inflicted in more than one country. Again, it is a commonplace that punishments have, on the whole, decreased in intensity as civilisation advanced. Whether the decrease is as real as was intended by its promoters may be doubted; since the horrors of solitary confinement, though they do not appeal forcibly to the imagination beforehand, and therefore lose some of their deterrent effect, are very real, and in some countries have resulted in insanity. Such a result as that can never have been contemplated or intended. It is obvious that no social precautions give us the right to deprive people of their mental balance. This was therefore probably an unforeseen result which demands scrupulous attention.

The kind of prisons depicted for instance by Charles Dickens, though revolting in many ways, were not inhuman. Conversation and intercourse with his fellows was not forbidden to a prisoner or made impossible. And a certain amount of initiative, requiring circumspection in behaviour and giving an opportunity of helping and being helped, was not destroyed by a system of implicit obedience to rigid orders. Prisoners, herded together, had to fend for themselves to some extent, as they do under other and slightly happier conditions in ordinary life. The struggle for existence and comforts was not suspended and replaced by a definite system of regulation and limitation and restriction of supply. Nor, I suppose, was news from the outer world rigidly withheld, so that those immured must feed on their own thoughts for lack of some better provender. All this, for better for worse, has been amended, or at any rate changed. And the intention throughout has evidently been to mitigate the severity of punishment, and especially to restrict the terribly irremediable infliction of capital punishment to certain cardinal crimes.

Admitting the principle, therefore, that the whole system of punishment may wisely be reconsidered and overhauled from time to time, and recognising also that the time has come when serious discussion about certain aspects of punishment have risen into public notice,—especially as regards the punishment of feeble-

minded or insane persons,—let us try to pass in review the fundamental reasons why society feels itself justified in interfering with the life and liberty of any of its members. I suppose it may be said that the primary object of punishment is to deter others from similar offences: and for that reason punishment should have a deterrent value; it should appeal to the imagination and be recognised not only as an inevitable consequence, but as itself unpleasant. A secondary object is the removal of the ill-disposed person from temptation and from the opportunities of repeating the offence. A third—and surely very important object if it could be secured—would be the reform of the criminal, by placing him under such conditions that he would be compulsorily exposed to good influences instead of bad ones, and in fact be taken in hand and trained so as once more to become a reputable member of society. This applies especially, I suppose, to young criminals. But it surely applies to all, except perhaps the aged and quite hardened. And even for them it used to be said that while there is life there is hope. Rather a despairing maxim, which I do not at all wish to press; since what we call "life" does not terminate existence, and since the particular region in which hope had to be completely abandoned has ceased to be much of a bugbear, and has "had judgment given against it by default."

Of the above reasons for inflicting punishment, which for convenience I will tabulate thus,

1. Exemplary deterrence,
2. Forcible prevention,
3. Moral Reform,

I have most to say about the first. But I will attend first to Number Two, namely the seclusion and deprivation of liberty so as to prevent any repetition of offences, at any rate for a time. The most stringent, and superficially the most complete way of achieving that end is capital punishment, when you deprive a man not only of liberty but of life. It is a very serious responsibility for society to take, and everyone now feels that it must be inflicted with extreme caution, partly because it is irremediable, and partly also because some doubt may exist as to whether we have the right to inflict it.

I think many people feel now that crimes of passion stand on a different footing from crimes premeditated and carried out slowly in cold blood, not by the pulling of a trigger or a sudden blow, but say by slow poison, continuously and maliciously and unpitifully administered. For fiendish action of that sort, no punishment seems too severe. But of late there has arisen a doubt in the minds of a few reputable and intelligent persons, whether liberation of the soul from the body really does achieve what is aimed at

under the second head; that is, whether it does effectively restrain the delinquent from further commission of crime. If we could be sure that we put a person out of existence, by a piece of rope or other simple device, we might come to some definite conclusion. But as this has become very uncertain, to say the least, and since many well-informed people hold that there is evidence to show that it is not true, and that it is beyond our power to put anything out of existence, it behoves us to reconsider the matter and bear in mind that what we are achieving is not extinction, but a separation and liberation of the soul from the body; that is, we are setting free what may be either actually or potentially an evil spirit from the restrictions and limitations of the flesh. Even a villain like old Cenci bore that in mind, from a totally different point of view, and preferred to keep his victims in the material body as long as possible, in order that he might gain access to them, and continue to torment their souls. A liberated spirit escaped him.

And so, if we admit the possibility of a surviving spirit, we plainly lose a certain amount of control by its liberation; and although the executed criminal is to all appearance effectively prevented from interfering with mundane things, we cannot be sure whether his removal is so complete that he can exert no influence upon them. We cannot be certain that he is unable, telepathically or otherwise, to operate on the minds of living people, and continue his evil courses, at any rate vicariously and by deputy, on a larger scale than before. I do not press this view, because it is not likely to meet with general acceptance; but it is clearly a possibility, and some people urge it as a reality. I am content to say that society is taking upon itself a grave responsibility when it thus interferes in matters on which it has no complete information, and when it is contributing to results, not only beyond its control, but beyond its knowledge. The procedure cannot be called satisfactory and safe. The safest course is not always the best course; but safety has some merits: and the safest course is to leave the responsibility for removing individuals from earth life to Higher Powers, who presumably understand the conditions and know what they are doing. To act rashly and presumptuously, either individually or corporately, is certainly within the scope of free will. It is in our power to commit either murder or suicide; and it is also in our power to order a judicial execution. Just as it is in our power to go to war even on a trivial pretext, and bring about the impersonal slaughter of multitudes by mechanical devices. But these actions, although some are recognised as legitimate, are certainly rash; and it is in our power, at any rate in some cases, to refrain. The power of each individual is very limited when a crisis occurs, but, after judicious arrangement and forethought, a crisis of violence can

be mitigated or staved off by timely rational and judicial procedure. Hence the advisability of discussion in cold blood, without any particular grievance or excitement or indignation in mind.

One argument for capital punishment, which has been put forward by gaol chaplains, I am unable to think well of; namely that a man at the point of death is more amenable to ecclesiastical influence, and that there is more hope of reforming a criminal when he is under sentence of death. In so far as priests speak from experience, their testimony must be listened to; but one would think that what they hope to accomplish must be rather a hasty conversion and perhaps not a very genuine one. Conversion by fright can hardly be the best variety of conversion. And so far as bringing influence to bear is concerned, there would at any rate be more time for the procedure, under a sentence of imprisonment. Death-bed conversions are notoriously suspect, and may be very superficial: and though it may be claimed that conversions followed by immediate death cannot be accused of being temporary, that is just to beg the uncertain question referred to above. We cannot in the least be sure that they are permanent, unless we give way to certain kinds of mediæval superstition, and imagine either that an apparent end is the real end, or that eternal destiny is settled in a moment.

It might also be urged in favour of capital punishment—though I do not know that it has been—that if there are Higher Powers on the other side, they will know better how to deal with the criminal than we do. But it hardly seems legitimate to thrust this duty upon them: we have no right to shirk our responsibilities like that, and inflict trouble upon others. Society is not altogether free from responsibility, if by its social arrangements it has contributed to the making of criminals, as some think it has, however unwittingly and unintentionally; and society therefore ought to bear its own burdens and recognise them as part of its own punishment.

Turning to the third point, namely that one object of incarceration is opportunity for the reform of the offender, it has to be seriously questioned whether our present system is well adapted to that end. A man ejected from a normal prison, after a long sentence, has had his initiative sadly interfered with, his will seriously weakened. The existing prison system tends to deprive a man of such capacity as he possessed, and to turn him out uncertain what to do or even how to do it. If he had had any handicraft skill, it must have grown rusty from disuse: if he had any flickerings of self-control, or a will of his own for good, they may have become extinguished. During a long sentence he has grown only able to obey orders; and when these are not forthcoming, he is helpless. He has become unfit for freedom.

How far the system of training in normal English prisons is calculated to reform and humanise and civilise the rebel against society, others know better than I. To me the outlook seems unhelpful, as our system stands to-day. Certainly the late Mr. Justice Kennedy was not satisfied with it; and after a visit to America he came back enthusiastic about the system employed there in the reformatory prisons of Elmira and Concord, where men were encouraged to work, to preserve or regain their self-respect, and to accumulate a little substance as the result of their labours, which was handed to them when set free and once more trusted with the management of their own life. In fact the management of their own life was not wholly taken from them. They worked under discipline, but they worked; not at useless labour, but at remunerative tasks; and thereby could still feel themselves members of the body politic, and of some value in the world. They could preserve more than a vestige of self-respect—surely a valuable asset. The habit of discipline and control had some chance of becoming self-control, the only kind of control in the long run worth having. However, that is a large subject, which I must leave; remembering that for young people, at any rate, a reformatory institution like Borstal is well established in this country, and is said to be bearing good fruit; though a feeble imitation of Borstal treatment, administered in unsuitable places, is very unsatisfactory and is little better than deception.

Now we will return to the very important aspect of the subject formulated as the first point, namely the deterrent influence of punishment. Certain punishments are evidently deterrent, and can appeal to the imagination of the lowest: such punishments should not be worse than they sound, and should not precipitate towards degradation, but otherwise short and sharp methods may be tolerated for impersonal and unemotional crimes of violence, to which there is no real temptation. The risk should be made too heavy to run. Whether the idea of mere imprisonment exerts an effectively deterrent influence may be doubted—it is probably much worse than it sounds, which is a serious defect—but presumably capital punishment must be regarded with horror. To educated people and people of imagination, prison itself, or even the mere ordeal of standing in the dock, looms horribly. But it is not the educated and more refined classes who usually come within the grip of the Criminal Law. The individuals who do so are rather exceptional, they may be ultra stupid or they may be of perverted intelligence; and their intelligence may be sufficient to enable them to evade the law, or at any rate sufficient to make them think that their ingenuity will enable them to escape; so that the idea of even capital punishment is weakened by the absence of any sense of its

inevitability, even if their misdemeanour is discovered. With the exception of a few vigorous and ill-meaning villains, who must surely be rather scarce, and whose force of character is sometimes elevated into more or less reputable and quite historical characters, the majority of criminals are not of the Napoleonic or Machiavelian variety. They are just feeble creatures, perhaps with a warped bodily mechanism, perhaps brought up amid bad surroundings, perhaps not given quite a fair chance, perhaps brought down by evil companions and the dull and dispiriting character of their environment and outlook on life. Usually they are mentally below par: and this mental defect may in some cases be due to bodily defects. In such cases a remedy may lie in the progress of medical and surgical science: extirpation of diseased tissue, removal of some pressure, modification of some gland, may work a reformation. The influence of the body on the mind is attracting more and more attention, and mental analysis of individual cases will surely effect beneficent cures in the future. Meanwhile it can safely be assumed that mentally warped and rather abnormally constituted persons contribute a large proportion of those who become felons. It is for them and their like that the deterring influence of punishment is mainly intended; and it is in the hope that it has that deterring influence, and tends to keep the conduct of many straighter than it otherwise would be, that we can justify our interference with individual prerogative, and our substitution of coercion for freedom.

Very well, then. Now comes the question of what is to be done with the feeble-minded, the unbalanced, the uncontrollable, the ill-tempered, the obsessed, the semi-insane, before their condition has borne its fruit and resulted in discovery and punishment, thereby giving opportunity for the skilled treatment advocated. Surely we ought to strengthen, in every way we can, the deficient power of self-control possessed by such persons while still at liberty. If we believe that punishment has a deterrent effect, we ought not to weaken the motives that might keep the unfortunate person straight and make his task harder by removing the fear of punishment from him. We ought not to let him feel that if he can only display his feeble-mindedness or idiocy or insanity, or whatever it may be called, he will escape punishment, and be looked after for the rest of his life under not uncomfortable conditions. If anyone should have the fear of punishment distinctly held over him—if anyone ought to be subject to the guiding and controlling influence of society—it is those who lack self-discipline, who are weak in character, who are deficient in self-control. They should be made to feel that punishment is more, not less, inevitable in their case. And so long as capital punishment is part of the law

of the land, they should not feel immune from it. To execute a sane man who has momentarily given way to passion, and to preserve a useless imbecile who never had his passions under control at all, cannot be sound sense. And the more the budding imbecile can be made to feel that by frequently giving way to ungoverned impulses he is running even greater risk than other people, the better for the cultivation of such character as he may possess. Moreover, the people now sometimes let off are so slightly insane that there is great doubt about it. They seem to be given the benefit of the doubt. That is to minimise the deterrent influence of punishment, and to undermine their power of resistance. If a person is really so incompetent as not to know the meaning of crime—no medical evidence can be needed to establish his insanity; but in all doubtful cases the law should take its course.

It may be said that the kind of people let off have not wit enough to understand about punishment. I do not believe it. An animal knows well enough when he is going to be punished: semi-imbeciles surely have as much wit as a domestic animal! They often show distinct signs of cunning. Any except the most hopelessly insane must have sufficient cunning to realise what punishment means. They could realise the whip, and they can realise the gallows. Their self-control needs strengthening, not weakening. If they were to feel betimes that the power of self-control was in danger of slipping from them, with dire consequences if they lost control altogether, they could take timely precautions—as the heroic blacksmith of legend acted when he felt the on-coming of hydrophobia—they could understand that they must not give way to fits of temper, or brooding sullenness, or any other vicious and passionate infirmity which might lead to an outbreak of insanity and murder. If they do break out in that way, they should be held responsible. Punishment is more important to them than to a sane man.

Possibly no one will agree with this contention. Very well. The alternative is not to inflict capital punishment at all, save for such ghastly premeditated and continuous cruelty that the criminal can no longer be tolerated on earth. It is legitimate to extinguish monstrosities. Society is not responsible for them unless it could prevent their being bred. Their incarnation is a failure and had better be scrapped. Something has gone wrong. Perhaps they may be allowed another chance under other conditions. That is a consideration too high for us to understand completely or to guide our actions by; but we are bound to reconsider from time to time our responsible social activities, and amend them in the light of growing knowledge and enhanced good feeling.

OLIVER LODGE.

THE IRISH FREE STATE TO-DAY.

“THE instinctive feeling of an Englishman,” the late Lord Salisbury once remarked, “is the wish to get rid of an Irishman.” In Victorian days the disagreeable was held essentially wholesome—witness the vogue of Dr. Gregory’s Powder and of other horrors from which modern childhood is delivered. Wiser, maybe, than our fathers, we have learned from the psychoanalysts that it is on the whole better to indulge than to repress our instincts: hence in the political sphere, the Anglo-Irish Treaty and the ending of a Union of Incompatibles. Everyone in England has experienced a great relief, and many people must be wondering why they fought so long and so hard against their natural desires. Nowadays, indeed, Englishmen are rather in danger of forgetting that while each nation is now free to mind its own business, revolutions do not alter geography, and that neither can afford to be altogether indifferent to the fate of the other.

This is my excuse for asking the readers of the CONTEMPORARY REVIEW to read of what people have been doing, thinking, and feeling in the Irish Free State these past twelve months. During this period, at least if it is compared with the stirring years that came before, we seem to have had little or no history. Nevertheless, I do not know that we have been particularly happy. Perhaps, being, like the old man in Lady Gregory’s *Workhouse Ward*, at once combative and social, we miss one of the chief joys of life when our friend the enemy is not there to quarrel with. Anyhow, without actually desiring to return to a state of war, some of us seem to think that peace has its disadvantages. No one, for example, likes paying Income Tax or Rates or Motor-Car Licences. Now in the years preceding the Treaty refusal had become a patriotic duty immune from unpleasant consequences, since the British Civil Administration and the regular Courts of Law had been put out of action. Salmon poaching and the making of poteen flourished exceedingly; for the survivors of the R.I.C. even when reinforced by Blacks and Tans were kept far too busy to attend to such small matters. Rents could not be collected; many other debts could not be enforced. Only the remnants of conscience or the activities of Sinn Féin Courts and Volunteers—both themselves proscribed—prevented anyone from doing as he chose with his neighbour’s land and goods.

During the revolt of the Irregulars, which followed acceptance of the Treaty, similar conditions obtained. But now for a year or more, King Log has given place to King Stork. Order has been restored and maintained to the great advantage of quiet folk.

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But alas, past evils and benefits are both quickly forgotten, and very present indeed are the collectors of rates and taxes and the officials employed under the Land Act of last year to get in arrears of rent.

Add to this, that agriculture, our chief industry, has been suffering a series of calamities. In 1921 a catastrophic fall in cattle prices swept away much of the profits made by the graziers and larger farmers in previous years. In 1923 it was the turn of the small men. First there was a cold, dry spring; and then, during summer and autumn, such deluges of rain as I do not remember to have seen since, in 1879, failure of crops in the West brought about the Land League. St. Swithin, provoked maybe by growth of unbelief, gave us not forty, but thrice forty days of rainfall. In mountainous districts, like my own West Donegal, oats would not ripen, potatoes rotted in the fields, turf, having no sunshine to dry it, lay where it had been cut until all good had been washed out of it. These things—and others like to them—have their political reactions; since, however inexcusably, they affect the feelings of large numbers of the electorate towards the existing Government of the Free State and therefore, though indirectly, the settlement made between Great Britain and Ireland two and a half years ago.

The Treaty is not itself directly in question; nor is there anything whatever to show that Republicanism as such is gaining ground. The pledged supporters of the Government are still, notwithstanding some recent defections, the most numerous among the parties in the Dáil, and whenever the Treaty is in danger are assured of the support of the Independents, of the Farmers Group, and, it is probably true to add, of the Labour men also. The Republican deputies continuing to abstain from attendance, such opposition as there is comes from Labour, whose leader, Mr. Johnson, is one of the outstanding personalities of the Chamber. From a Parliamentary standpoint danger lies, not in any such change in public opinion as destroyed the old Nationalist party between 1916 and 1918, but in the apathy of the electors.

One would have thought, indeed, that the issues at stake were great enough to awaken even the most apathetic and intimate enough to be familiar to the most ignorant. When the Dáil was dissolved last summer a civil war had but just ended, and in nearly every polling district broken bridges and ruined houses bore eye-witness to the reckless folly of the rebels. But in Ireland, as in other countries, long-continued suffering seems to have engendered, not a vigorous will to mend what is amiss, but mere weariness and indifference. At the General Election only about 50 per cent. of the electors troubled to go to the polling-booths; and subsequent

by-elections have told the same tale. It has been a time, in fact, when a Government, thinking only of its own safety, would have shrunk from initiating reforms, however desirable in themselves, that might offend vested interests.

In the old days no one in Nationalist circles cared to breathe a word against Irish popularly elected bodies, lest the enemy should have occasion to blaspheme; while "the British" Local Government Board used to spend years of futile remonstrance against the employment of some notoriously incompetent local official. To-day, President Cosgrave's Ministry threatens to abolish all District Councils, suspends people right and left, and not long ago summarily superseded the Dublin Corporation itself by paid Commissioners. In the same zeal for efficiency at all costs they have greatly increased the old penalties for salmon poaching; have caused cattle deliberately sent to trespass on lands not belonging to the owners to be seized and sold for the benefit of the victims; and punish the makers and vendors of illicitly distilled spirits by imprisonment instead of (as formerly) by fine. They have recently been engaged in pushing through the "Dáil" a Bill which requires public-houses to be closed altogether on certain days, shortens the hours during which spirits may be sold, and will (if carried into law) put an end to the "mixed trading" found everywhere in small towns and country villages, that is to say, the sale of intoxicating liquor and other goods on the same premises. Finally, faced by a deficit in the public accounts (of which something will be said presently) they have not shrunk from reducing the salaries of Judges and Civil Servants or the pay of Primary School Teachers (a well-organised and influential class), and the pay of Officers of a Free State Army.

Our new brooms are sweeping very clean, it will be observed. The danger is that in their zeal they may sweep away themselves, and with themselves the Treaty and all that hangs thereon. I do not say the danger is great—only that it may—if the usual Irish ill-luck holds—have to be reckoned with. Meantime, there is this to be said, lest I should seem to dwell overmuch on the darker side. The Executive Council have already solved with skill and good fortune the two most difficult problems which faced them a year ago. These were, how to deal with the twelve thousand prisoners whom the insurrection had left on their hands, and how to reduce the strength of the Army to a point more consonant with the financial resources and normal needs of the State. To keep in prison large numbers of young Irishmen—many of them mere boys—was to run grave risk of alienating popular sympathy; to release them prematurely was to court another insurrection. The latter risk was far from small, since the Republican leaders (though

professing to have abandoned projects of violence) refused to surrender their hidden stores of arms and ammunition. Until the Elections of last year were over and the supporters of the Treaty confirmed in power, Ministers in spite of great pressure, sturdily declined to listen to any appeals for release. Since then, successive batches have been allowed to go, until of the twelve thousand only a hundred and twenty-three (including De Valera, Stack, and other chiefs) were still interned at the beginning of July. From all one can learn, the ex-internees have been coldly received at home and show no inclination to try conclusions again with the Free State Army.

The reduction of that Army by something like three-fifths was hardly, if at all, a less serious affair, both because it tended to swell the ranks of the unemployed and it inevitably gave rise to discontent and jealousy. The demobilisation of certain officers did actually lead to a mutiny, to the atrocious murder of some British soldiers in County Cork, to the dismissal of the Army Council and resignation of General Mulcahy, Minister of War. The immediate causes of the outbreak are still obscure, even after the report of a Committee of Inquiry, since the evidence upon which the Report was founded has not been published. All that can be said with certainty is that they had their roots in that old curse of Irish life—the presence of Secret Societies, and that the mutiny collapsed before the firmness of the Executive Council and the loyalty of much the greater part of the Army itself. It is good to know, as we do, that the vast majority of both officers and men had no part in the quarrel, declined to join either of the rival societies, or to dictate to the Civil Power, and accepted, with unselfishness and good humour, the sacrifices which the state of the national finances imposed upon them, whether by way of demobilisation or reduction of rank and pay.

The strength of the Army reached its high-water mark during the Irregulars' revolt, numbering in the spring of last year fifty thousand of all ranks. It now appears to be well under twenty thousand, and under the latest published scheme is henceforth to be 18,968, composed of twenty-seven Infantry Battalions, with Corps of Engineers, Artillery, and Airmen (155 officers and men). The estimates of 1923-24 made provision for an Army expenditure of £10,664,510; those for 1924-5 for one of £3,927,145. Economies devised since March 31st are calculated to reduce the latter sum by £85,563. Seeing, however, how large a proportion this expenditure bears to the total revenue of the Free State it is to be hoped that even greater reductions will one day be possible.

This brings one to the question of public finance. For the two financial years 1923-4 and 1924-5 the revenue of the Free State was

estimated at £31,455,628 and £27,687,300, as against an expenditure of £42,792,312 and £36,846,273. Happily, these figures are not quite so alarming as they seem at first sight. The expenditure for 1923-4 included nearly eleven millions for property losses and personal injuries compensation; that for 1924-5 over eight millions. All this (in addition to a normal Army expenditure) was the direct consequence of the Anglo-Irish War and the subsequent rebellion. By no means all claims upon the National Exchequer have been adjudicated; and one cannot yet tell how much more money will have to be found. But the next few years should see these debts finally cleared off, while other charges, such as superannuation and retired allowances to former Judges and Civil Servants must gradually decrease.

In order to meet a part of the deficit the Free State Government last November invited subscriptions to a National Loan of Ten Million Pounds bearing interest at 5 per cent. The loan was quickly over-subscribed. Trinity College and the Representative Body of the Church of Ireland (the old Establishment) were among the first and largest subscribers, whilst business and professional men, landowners and farmers, all did their part in making the project a success. Another loan will certainly have to be made before long; for until we have liquidated the whole of the exceptional charges entailed upon us by the Insurrection, we cannot hope to balance our Budget. Moreover, money is needed for the completion of land purchase, for urban housing (even more backward here than in Great Britain), for arterial drainage, afforestation, and other schemes of national development. Among other things it is thought that the water power of Shannon can be used to develop electrical energy for industrial use over a wide area, thus remedying Ireland's lack of coal. The great engineering firm of Siemens is just now engaged upon this project, under an arrangement with the Free State Government.

Finally, there is the not yet ascertained liability for a share of the pre-war debt of the United Kingdom and of War Pensions. Money borrowed for the completion of land purchase stands by itself; for both interest and sinking fund will presumably be fully covered by the purchasers' annuities. Leaving them out of consideration, I hazard the guess that to meet capital expenditure and other extraordinary charges during the next few years it may be necessary to borrow something like fifty millions in all. This sum is approximately equal to two years' revenue on the basis of last year's Budget, and would represent, therefore, a very moderate National Debt as things go nowadays. It must be remembered, on the other hand, that taxation, both direct and indirect, is now substantially higher than in Great Britain, while local rates, town and country,

are in most places from 15s. to 20s. in the pound. It will be seen, therefore, that the task of an Irish Finance Minister is not light.

Yet if we could presume the continuance of tranquillity, the finances of the Free State are by no means so desperate as is sometimes thought. Shall we have peace?—that is the great question, and it hangs now chiefly upon the difficult business of the Northern border.

Before I go on to deal with that, however, it may be of interest to English readers if I interpose a few words about the working of Proportional Representation in Ireland. Ulster has, of course, abolished that method of voting, for reasons that seem good to Ulster but not so good to the rest of the world. In the Free State, on the contrary, the principle is embedded in the written Constitution itself. At the General Election last year every constituency, urban and rural—with the single exception of Trinity College—was contested. We had thus the first complete test on a large scale of Proportional Representation in being, the previous elections for various reasons (of which the Collins-de Valera pact was chief) having given somewhat unreliable results. Of objections commonly urged against the P.R. system, that based upon the alleged incapacity of the electors to understand it seems ill-founded; for the percentage of spoiled votes was small. But the great size of the new rural constituencies is a real defect; for this inevitably adds greatly to the cost and labour of contest. To this fact it may, in part, also be due that most electors seem to have voted for the whole list presented to them by one party or another, and to have exercised little discrimination between individual candidates. Very few of those who came forward without the support of one of the major political parties were returned, whatever their local popularity or personal merits. On the other hand, well-organised minorities achieved success impossible under the old system of single-member divisions. Thus, the Republicans, though rarely mustering enough strength to carry a candidate to the head of the poll, were able to obtain 44 out of the total of 153 seats in the Dáil. A more remarkable proof, however, of the value of P.R. is the case of the former supporters of the Union in County Donegal. Here, since 1885 (when the county was divided into single-member constituencies), no Unionist had ever been returned to the House of Commons, and for more than twenty years none had ventured even to enter upon a contest. Yet last year, by combining their first preferences throughout the county, Unionists were able not merely to win one of the eight seats, but to return their nominee, with a surplus over the quota, at the first of the sixteen counts which the splitting of votes among the seventeen other candidates rendered necessary.

And now for that troublesome matter of the Northern Frontier. I assume that the subtle wits of the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council will be equal to finding some method of legally constituting the Boundary Commission in spite of the refusal of the Northern Government to appoint a representative. Having been constituted, the Commission must somehow, presumably by a plebiscite held under conditions and in areas as yet unspecified, ascertain "the wishes of the inhabitants." Finally, it must determine the boundary as Article 12 of the Treaty required, "in accordance with" these wishes, "so far as may be compatible with economic and geographic conditions." The present boundary, hastily drawn for purely tactical purposes in 1920, is, of course, open to any sort of objection. It is immensely long, and therefore requires an extraordinary number of Customs Houses and frontier forts on both sides. It cuts across roads and railways and farms. It regards neither "economic and geographic conditions," nor the "wishes of the inhabitants"; so far as we can infer these from the only data we have at present—the census of religious belief and the returns of Parliamentary elections. At the extreme south-eastern end it throws the seaport of Newry with adjoining districts of South Down and South Armagh into the northern area. In the extreme north-west it cuts off the predominant Nationalist city of Londonderry from its accustomed and valuable hinterland of County Donegal. Both the major and the minor requirements of Clause 12 could therefore be met without much difficulty in these two directions. It is not so easy to see where the compensations that Ulster demands—without, it must be added, any warrant under the Treaty—are to be found.

The centre counties of Tyrone and Fermanagh are, however, as always, the core of the problem. Here at any rate no rough and ready compromise is possible. Catholics and Protestants are inextricably intermixed, neither being anywhere in a great majority, while, to make things still more difficult, the local areas likely to vote for inclusion in the Free State are in each case right in the middle of the county, in the poor law unions of Omagh and Enniskillen. A glimpse at the map will show very clearly that any attempt at parcelling out small districts, even if otherwise practicable, would produce a border-line intricate to the point of insanity. A vote taken according to the Parliamentary constituencies created by the Act of 1918 somewhat simplifies the problem in Fermanagh, since both northern and southern divisions appear to have Nationalist majorities, but does not help us in Tyrone, where Unionists are most numerous in the southern part of the County and least numerous in the north-eastern.

I have heard Englishmen suggest that there should be an inter-

change of populations. I do not know if such a proposal is made seriously. It is at once undesirable and impossible—undesirable because it is all to the good that Catholics and Protestants should be brought together by the ties of neighbourliness; impossible because men and women will not willingly abandon shops, farms or homesteads merely to oblige worried politicians. As for compulsory migration, I take it no one really desires to repeat over here the tragedy of the Greek exodus from Asia Minor and Eastern Thrace. We are driven back, then, upon the old idea of county option. Assuming a plebiscite to be taken, county by county, we may expect to see Derry City (a county borough), together with Tyrone and Fermanagh, passing to the Free State, while (on this basis) the counties of Armagh, Antrim, Down, and Derry would remain with Belfast. I say, "expect to see," because, for reasons already mentioned, no one can be quite sure that the figures now available are a sure guide to the result of a plebiscite held upon the single issue of inclusion in or exclusion from the Free State. This solution, if reached, is probably the best that can be hoped. It would certainly strengthen enormously the prestige of President Cosgrave's Ministry. But from a wider standpoint, it can neither be satisfactory nor permanent. The cutting off of even the smallest parcel from the body politic is at once an offence to national sentiment, an economic evil, and a geographical absurdity.

There is but one true cure. It is, of course, that the north-east should agree to join with the rest of Ireland in administering the powers of a Dominion. That being done, it would be a matter almost of indifference over how large or how small an area the operations of a provincial Parliament in Belfast should continue to extend. But it is not within the power of the Boundary Commission or of any external body to apply that cure. In this, as in most things that matter, Ireland must be her own physician.

HUGH A. LAW.

TANGIER AND MOROCCO.

THE importance of Tangier strategically, the possibilities of Morocco economically, and the capabilities and desires of the inhabitants, have been either very much overlooked or underestimated by the Government and people of England. Tangier is one of the key-positions of the world, and to Great Britain, depending on ocean traffic for her economic necessities, it is, with the Suez Canal, of primary importance. What is the use of our precautions over the safety of the Eastern exit, if at the Western gateway the outlet can be blocked, or rendered extremely hazardous for any merchant ship to pass? Perhaps one of the causes of the question of Tangier being relegated to the background as something of minor importance, is our possession of Gibraltar. To the eyes of the passer-by, Gibraltar appears a strong and formidable fortress guarding the western entrance of the Mediterranean, capable of protecting British interests, whatever may be the position on the African coast. This, unhappily, is far from being the truth, for the Rock could be made uninhabitable by modern artillery and aeroplanes in a very short space of time. It is also a continual eyesore and cause of friction between two nations, who might otherwise work together harmoniously; and last, but not least, we have at Gibraltar no possibility of an aeroplane base. Proceedings in Tangier, the international zone, the Riff and the French zone, are daily becoming then of greater importance to the British Empire, and it is a matter which needs the earnest attention of our Government and people, and is not one to be banished because of the recent settlement of the "Statute of Tangier."

The inhabitants of the international zone are, like the rest of Morocco, of mixed origin, Arabs, Sousis, and Riffians, the latter being numerically in the majority, belonging fundamentally to the large North African race called through the centuries "Berbers," and to whom no one has yet assigned conclusively their origin. The Riffians, owing to their proximity to the coast, may have a certain percentage of European blood, a remnant of the Vandal and Visigoth invasions. They hold also links with the days of Andalusian culture, the glories of Seville, Almeria, and Granada, as descendants of those Muslims exiled from Spain, who settled at Tetouan and Tangier from 1400-1610, and who still possess the keys of their ancestors' Spanish homes. But whether they are Arab, Riffian, Jew, British, French, Italian, Spanish, they were all viewing life in November, 1923, from a different standpoint to that of October, 1919. The whole town was awake, its mixed population keen in anticipation of the coming statute and port-agreements, so different from the miasmic atmosphere which formerly hung over this picturesque place. All looked forward to a solution of the

Tangier problem, which would advance their own and the town's interests, while perhaps the keenest amongst them were the Moorish notables, cheered with the hopes of a prosperous future and a more equable form of justice.

On the map one sees the international zone surrounded by sea and the Spanish protectorate, the latter again surrounded by sea and the vast African territories of France. What hope can there really be under these circumstances for the prosperity of the international zone? It is an essential part of Morocco, both for its own advantage and that of Morocco itself; cut into portions as they are neither will prosper. Tangier by its natural position is the port and railhead of Morocco. Direct communication should long ago have been established between Tangier and Tafilet, and the whole country opened up and developed as a former Sultan wished, if imperialistic rivalries of European nations had not intercepted the schemes. What the Statute has done towards this we will discuss later; let us look first at the surrounding protectorates, and discover whether they are likely to be a benefit to their populations, or a source of danger to the British Empire.

Ever since the days when Isabel stirred up the crusading spirit in her country, the so-called Spanish protectorate has been a continued loss to Spain in both blood and money. What were the necessities or rights at stake that caused her to go there? The nearness of the African coast-line to her own, the mere stirring up of a patriotic spirit, or as being the home of children of the heretics exiled in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, or was it solely with the idea of her civilising mission? Whatever the cause, the present situation proves it to have been either wrong, or badly carried out; either not wanted and rejected by the inhabitants of the invaded country, or not having the whole-hearted support of her own people. Since 1906 Spain has been attempting to subdue and rule the Riff. Spain, a country of thirty millions, employing an army of from fifty to one hundred and fifty thousand troops, has failed over all these years to conquer a country of one million inhabitants, two hundred miles long, by twenty-five broad, whose army is a floating quantity of from five thousand to thirty thousand. Through all these years, this territory, in consequence, has suffered, and is at present no better off morally or materially than fifty years ago. A few short narrow-gauge railways have been completed, and the area between Tangier and Al Ksar is more or less safe and quiescent, but at Tetouan all Europeans must be within the walls at dusk, and the roads leading out of the town have to be patrolled by day. This is one of the achievements from an occupation begun in 1857. The truth is, that neither the inhabitants of Spain nor of the Riff wish Spanish troops to be in Riff territory, and that the spending of one million pesetas a day on this war is simply at the

present merely a question of prestige. However much we Europeans may admire the past and present art and greatness of Spain, I am afraid they will never be looked upon with the same regard by Muslims who seem quite unable to forget the centuries of Islamic civilisation in Spain, and the retrogression of that country since 1610.

There is no doubt that Abdul Krim is the acknowledged leader of the Riff, that he is not a tyrant cruel and uneducated, but very much the reverse. For several years he has been in this position not only by ability, but also by belonging to a Shereefian family. He has proved himself to be one of the few men capable of amalgamating the tribes and erasing their petty jealousies, a feat which is most difficult of accomplishment and goes far to substantiate his powers. His education has been European, and he holds very decided views on the necessity of developing his country; but he does not wish to become a vassal or find himself under the financial domination of European capitalists, which ends so often by being made an excuse for the inroads of a military occupation. He has a splendid body guard, and a standing army of from 7,000 to 10,000 men from the Beni Uriarel tribe which is the most powerful and respected in the Riff. The remainder of his army is of a floating quantity, but every tribesman is a marksman of superlative degree, brave, imbued with a true spirit of patriotism and inspired by the splendour of his faith. Telephones are at present installed in as many places as possible, and Abdul Krim's future intention is to open up his country by every means available, that is at the same time economically sound and leaves his country free. But he has a horror of pacific penetration, and people will only succeed who treat him openly and with equity.

The Riffians will fight as long as possible to prevent Spain becoming the suzerain Power, because the latter country has no right to enter into a military occupation or claim the smallest portion of the Riff. They never forget the bigotry, the persecutions and the treachery of Christianity in the days which followed the tolerant Muslim rule in the Iberian peninsula. They look at Spain of the present day, and ask at once: Can a country whose resources are undeveloped, and whose inhabitants are so indolent and primitive, be one to teach us the path of civilisation? They desire to retain their religion and they fear it may be trampled upon and corrupted. Abdul Krim is quite prepared to make peace with Spain, giving her preferential treatment, and even perhaps leaving her Melilla or Tetouan. Several offers were made to bribe him by the former Governments, but he will accept only honourable terms—the freedom of his country. Once this has been recognised Spaniards will be permitted to enter the Riff and take up the valuable concessions they may already hold, and by the favourable

geographical situation they should be able to acquire a predominant position in the economical development of the country. The Rif-fians will under no pretext recognise the suzerainty of the Moroccan Sultan until the holder of that title is completely free of all foreign domination. Throughout Moroccan history the Riff like the Southern Atlas tribes have been a source of trouble to the reigning sovereigns, but if there were at the present day an independent Muslim ruler at Fez who looked after the material and spiritual welfare of the people, the Riff would be prepared to acknowledge him as their Sultan. At the present time "suzerainty of the Sultan" is no more than a euphemism of the French.

France is waiting hopefully for Abdul Krim and Spain to make peace, and it has often been more than whispered that help has been given the former not from a sense of justice, but with an eye to future control. She is impatient for the hour when the Riff will have gained her independence. Then, unless guarantees of her freedom are supported by England or a strong League of Nations, France under pretext of a raid by Riff tribesmen into her protectorate, will seize the last piece of territory which still separates her from the great goal of her desire—the littoral from Oran to Tangier. Then her hour of triumph in North Africa will have arrived; then her flank will have been securely protected and her power in the Mediterranean will be the greatest of any nation, for the control of the Straits will be in her hands.

There would be no chance of the Riff withstanding the well-equipped and well-organised advance of a French army, so that 'Abdul Krim must be careful that in abolishing the so-called protectorate of Spain, he does not run the risk of falling into greater dangers.

The internal and economical possibilities of the Riff are well worth developing. Before the war German engineers reported favourably on coal, copper and gold. Recently an English expert has returned with a satisfactory report. There are beside, lemon and orange groves, timber and tobacco, all within easy reach of the coast where a first-rate harbour is already at hand. The character of the inhabitants is not so wild and evil as it has been made out. Physically they are first class, and I was told at Tangier they show extraordinary aptitude in learning, especially engineering. Their fanaticism is only a precaution against further inroads of Christian nations, and once their suspicion has been swept away, it would soon be discarded as their religion is essentially tolerant. The past of Morocco has been sufficiently great to give one high hopes for the future, and the admiration of every Englishman should be freely given to this little country of the Riff, which with its million inhabitants has withstood with such courage and such patriotism for so many years the armies of a nation comprising

ly thirty millions. Cannot England without serious harm to Spain have this question brought before the League of Nations and see to the future security and independence of this country? Let the enlightened character and high morality of Abdul Krim be recognised and not stifled under the rivalries of European Powers. Let us assist this man to be the originator of a regenerated Islam in the Maghrib, such as Mustapha Kemal, through all the difficulties that beset him, is striving for in the Middle East. Again let us for a moment study the map, and consider the size of French Morocco, and its relation to the rest of French North Africa. It lies threateningly on the flank of France's future communications from Marseilles to Senegal. In 1906 at Algeciras the future status and government of Morocco were decided upon by some eleven or more European nations and the Sultan of Morocco's representative. In this agreement the opening words were:

"L'inspirant de l'intérêt qui s'attache à ce que l'ordre, la paix, et la prospérité règnent au Maroc, et ayant reconnue que ce but précieux ne saurait être atteint que moyennant l'introduction de réformes basées sur le triple principe de la souveraineté et de l'indépendance de sa Majesté, le Sultan, de l'intégrité de ses Etats et de la liberté économique sans aucune inégalité. . . ."

One can see how different is the present status of Morocco from what was originally intended. In 1904 there was an agreement between France and England over the predominant rights of the two in Morocco and Egypt, countries in which the two European nations agreed not to interfere with the actions of one another. This bargain has been kept by the British much to the astonishment of the Moroccans who insist on attributing the majority of difficulties we have experienced in Egypt to French influences, not understanding our lack of propaganda in their country. In the agreement it was expressly laid down that France should employ only "pacific penetration." In 1907 for some petty cause the French bombarded Casablanca, and from that moment the power of the Sultan was extinguished, and direct French government began to be substituted. Abdul Aziz and Mulai Hafid were both disgraced, and the younger brother Yusuf, who was appointed Sultan, has ever since implicitly obeyed French orders. In consequence, though bearing the dignified title of Sultan, he has no power, and is neither loved nor respected by any Moroccan Mussulman.

The French rule is founded on gold and machine guns, the latter in territory but barely subdued, the former in the quieter districts which used to support the original Sultanates. During the war period little could be done, but by excellent tact and firmness Marshal Lyautey was able to hold the pacified portions, and build some of the present day first-class roads by aid of German prisoners' labour. The post-war period has seen another four years of steady

conquest, leaving only the most mountainous portions and the Sous to be finally subjected. During these last four years the civil Government have developed the country by building a vast port at Casablanca, large public buildings, new cantonments outside the Arab towns, and narrow-gauge railways, which are now being changed to broad gauge.

Motoring through the country, one is at once struck by its apparent prosperity, peacefulness, and content. But I fear, for all Marshal Lyautey's vigour, enterprise, and sympathy, that this prosperity is only on the surface. The country has been burdened by a heavy debt, the agricultural policy has been very much neglected, although Morocco is essentially an agricultural land; no irrigation schemes nor improvement in the local sheep and cattle herds can be seen, even after Australian experts had reported on certain parts being first-class for the breeding of Merino. Money has been lavishly spent on public buildings, but these are not likely to show a good return for the capital expended, or to add wealth to the country. The port itself has been chosen in one of the worst places of this dangerous coast, and many experts doubt the feasibility of any wall being built at the present day capable of withstanding for any length of time the great Atlantic swell.

In Southern Morocco the Government is carried on by the great Kaids, heavily subsidised by the French. Many of the tribes have been allowed to retain their arms, such as the Gondafi and Mtougi, and the French have not yet the necessary power to force them to hand these over. Beyond all this is the general feeling of discontent and dissatisfaction with the present French form of government, their ways of justice, and their hindrance to the pilgrimage. The youth of Morocco is as rebellious and as eager for freedom as in any country that has ever either prospered or suffered under foreign tutelage, and will in a few years be organised to demand and win some form of self-government. The French have forces stationed in Morocco, a country of about eight millions, as large as the British Army in India, with its population of over three hundred millions. In the future, perhaps, the only tribute to the years of French domination will be the restoration effected by Marshal Lyautey of several artistic treasures.

Arriving in Tangier when everyone was in a state of hope and excitement, it was pleasing and surprising to find, after what one had read of Muslim feeling towards England, that the prestige of Great Britain was very high, and that the Muslim population were looking forward to coming closer under the protection of England, that the justice of England was held in high estimation, and that the recent withdrawal of British control from the Government of Egypt, and the excellent state of that country's finances, were very highly appreciated. But with the Statute—silence, dis-

appointment, dejection, and a feeling that England had again sacrificed friends on the altar of diplomacy.

The New Year, which should usher in hopes of prosperity, came with little cause for thankfulness to the Tangier population. Alone at the French agency there was pleasure and exultation, where the representative of the Sultan praised the diplomatic success of France, perhaps viewing in the future a larger subsidy, a safer sinecure. Amongst all the other nationalities there was, as we now know, chagrin and disillusion, and amongst the Moorish population, fear and anger at their betrayal were added. They detest the sentence "The Suzerainty of the Sultan," knowing full well there is no other Sultan but France, preferring rather the muddle of internationalism to the justice of France. The statute has been founded on the idea of internationalism, with its Legislative Assembly made up by the nominees of various Powers. They number twenty-six, out of which eleven or thirteen may be directly influenced by French authority, while above this body the Administrator and Mendub are both to be nominees of France!

This Government can hardly be called international, and the fact was quickly recognised by France, Spain, England, and Morocco, as well as by the representatives of Italy and the United States, the last three being all against ratification. Among the British population there was an air of resignation; the Statute was a *fait accompli*, and at any rate, could it make matters worse economically? This is the point of view from which the majority of our representatives look on the Tangier zone, forgetting the more important one—the strategical situation. The Tangier zone was specifically excluded from our 1904 agreement with France, but it appears as if our representatives had now recognised France as the predominant Power in the international zone, as well as in that of French Morocco. Owing to a clause in the Treaty of Versailles neither Germans nor Austrians are permitted to disembark and trade in this international zone, although by now all except the French are favourable to the return of German and Austrian traders. For all this we have been unable to change the law. So much for the international side of the Tangier zone!

The Statute is an accomplished fact, so we must turn our attention in other directions to counteract the predominant influence which has been established here; for if the League of Nations is not yet in a position to take over control of this small area, or has not yet attained enough influence to compose the differences, we must rely on our own power of foresight and diplomacy. The majority of Moroccan Muhammedans are of the Malekite sect, and have looked towards Constantinople even above their own Sultan as their central authority. Occasionally a Moroccan Sultan has taken to himself the title of "Commander of the Faithful," but they have

no authority for this, and would carry no weight amongst the other two hundred million Sunni. At the present moment, with the Caliph exiled by the Turks, France is attempting to obtain the consent of a large body of Muslims to the election of the Moroccan Sultan, Yusuf. Such an intrigue might momentarily be successful, but would finally destroy whatever prestige the French possess among the vast Muhammedan population; for he is regarded even amongst his own people almost in the light of a renegade and apostate. To the Sunni, the Caliph should combine temporal as well as spiritual powers, and it was owing to the immense prestige of his temporal power that Sultan Selim attained for the House of Othman the undisputed right to the Caliphate. One, then, has only to ask what temporal power does the present Sultan of Morocco possess, in order to understand the possibility of success for the French scheme. But let us also beware of supporting the claims of the King of the Hedjaz, because he also is regarded as being under the tutelage and in the pay of the Christian, while the use of his power as the holder of the Holy Cities has not altogether pleased a great number of the Muslim community.

Opinion in Morocco is as favourable to England as one can expect a Muhammedan country to hold towards Christian nations after the encroachment of the latter during the last century. Let us rather foster this goodwill by lending a sympathetic ear to their difficulties, for can we be sure that their help will not one day be of value? We must prevent at all costs the gradual elimination of Spain along the Riff coast bordering the Mediterranean without proper guarantees, and the expelling of all other interests and powers but those of France from Tangier. One has but to look at the map and see the immense tracts and populations France disposes of in Northern Africa, from Kairouan to Dakar, from Darfur to Dar al Beid, to realise the complete mastery for the military development of this territory if she once obtains the littoral from Tangier to Oran. There is no need to hide these facts from the British public, as France speaks often and openly of her intentions. We should not forget the statement of a Frenchman:—

“However well France and England may agree over their European policies, in the Orient their outlooks are so opposed that there is no possibility of there ever being a real Entente between the two countries.”

The plan whereby we can safeguard our interests in the Western Mediterranean is ready at hand. Let us not delay the operation until it is too late. Tangier and the neighbouring coast, one of the old places in the history of the world, has always been of first-rate importance, and will always remain so.

R. GORDON CANNING.

THROUGH GERMAN SPECTACLES.

(VITAL PROBLEMS OF THE BRITISH EMPIRE.)*

IN the summer of 1920 the University of Berlin inaugurated an Advisory Council for Foreign Affairs, which proceeded to organise for the following winter a series of lectures. The subject chosen for study was the British Empire, because, as Dr. Erich Marcks, the well-known historian, tells us in his Introduction—“the British Empire is the great—for Europe, the greatest—immediate reality in the world-development around us.” “A certain ceremoniousness” marked the inauguration by the Rector and Board of Studies of these lectures. They were held, to quote Dr. Marcks again, “to be a sign of Germany’s will to live, of her refusal to be intellectually isolated from the great world, of which, politically, economically, and spiritually, she was, in fact, an inseparable part. Though compelled to play the role of onlooker, she still desired to know and understand.” It is proposed to summarise here the outstanding features of these eight lectures, omitting one on Labour as being less directly connected with the main theme. English readers may find it repay them to realise the kind of introduction to the understanding of their country which is presented by a German University to its students, including those from India and Egypt, who would appear to be turning their steps in increasing numbers towards the Universities of the Fatherland. For there, at the citadel of the Prussian educational system, we encounter the Prussian Die-Hard, entrenched in full panoply.

English readers of the German newspapers will probably have noticed their almost exclusive use of the terms “England” and “English” for “Britain” and “British.” It is unlikely that before the war the German public in general had accustomed itself to thinking in terms of the British Empire at all, for it is the practice of the German press to give prominence to all centrifugal tendencies within our Empire and to ignore those making for unity.

The Introductory Lecture by Dr. Marcks is devoted to a general historical sketch up to the nineteenth century, in which a good deal more is attributed to State direction and to the conscious mission of a Chosen People to extend its sway than would be endorsed in this country; and the following quotation may be taken as the text of the whole scheme:—

“The Empire was born of war and internally created by trade, and also partly by colonisation; its father was the Mercantile

* *Lebensfragen des Britischen Weltreiches.* Berlin, 1921.

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System. *The State had brought it together, directly or indirectly, through semi-official associations, such as the East India Company. It had been won by force, and by force it was held together.*

Passing over the earlier stages of this sketch to the period between 1815-1870, we find it characterised as "the peaceful Liberal Empire of free thought and action, reaching its culmination under the leadership of Mr. Gladstone."

From absorption in domestic social problems, England was instinctively aroused by the rise (1880-70) of new national States—Italy, America and Germany. Her isolation was ended. In half a century's feverish scramble to secure the still unoccupied parts of the globe, Britain answered the challenge of her new world-competitors. That a period of natural expansion through spontaneous effort and private enterprise was passing into one of conscious realisation and national achievement does not appear to be the view of this historian, who regards Seeley (or Dilke) as the English Treitschke, and represents the concentration, under Chamberlain, of all the national resources upon the great issue of Imperialism as the dominant force in political life since 1895.

The encirclement of Germany is, of course, an accepted shibboleth with the parties of the Right; and Dr. Marcks proceeds to trace the supposed growth of that policy in the Continental relations of this new Imperialist England. To her it appeared that Germany might possibly be utilised as a kind of battering-ram for the overthrow of the Russian Colossus. "We know, now," says Dr. Marcks, of the overtures made by Mr. Chamberlain between 1898-1901. "that the question of destiny was then put to us. We rejected it . . . the Chancellor hoped for a continuation of Anglo-Russian hostility and for a position for Germany between them . . . We know now that she had exaggerated her powers and aims, and had thereby isolated herself." Commenting upon this situation Dr. Marcks concludes that England's primary object was self-defence—hence the enclosure of Germany; that war, "though not a direct aim, was, to the mind of Edward VII., Grey and Asquith, an ever-possible contingency" and that the Entente, at first a means, became the end, with hostility towards Germany as the special purpose of English policy. He contrasts "the modest and necessary expansion of Germany" with England's struggle for maritime supremacy "clearly revealing her as a universal power heavily burdening and fettering all others, in accordance with its nature, ever ready for aggression and strife. Germany was, in truth, not intentionally but actually, the representative of the rights of the smaller nations, of individuality, independence, and diversity of power and culture in our world."

After a lurid sketch of "the stronger, more restless, passionately

biased Pan-British patriotism which flared up between 1906-1914 in the agitated Mother Country and the Dominions, exploited by the Conservative and military party," Dr. Marcks claims that when, from extreme tension, and unhindered at least at the moment by England, the Great War broke out, it was certainly the consequence of her world-policy since 1902. He then sums up the effects of the war upon England's position, finding in the destruction of Russia, Germany and Turkey, "an immense gain for England as a world-power, the fruit of her efforts since 1900." As an Imperial power, despite the proved loyalty of her Colonies in the War, she is threatened by the permanent menace of neighbours, and by the increased independence fostered in the Dominions by the War.

Lastly, there is the future of the United Kingdom itself, and its reactions to a possible transformation of the Empire, the influence of democracy, and of "that Labour Republic which desires finally to supplant the political aristocracy, the creator of England's greatness, which it has upheld so long by virtue of its political experience and ability. Will England, all contrary influences notwithstanding, become Social-democrat and remain Imperialist; will she desire to keep her Empire, and be able to do so? . . . Can this ancient political organism attain completion, or will counter-forces from within and without overwhelm it? These questions . . . the future alone can answer."

The German papers, when depressed by domestic troubles or lack of news, console themselves by devoting an article to "England's Worries," in which all recent misfortunes within the Empire are brought up to date, conveying the general impression that the *Pax Britannica* covers a state of things little short of uproar. Some such satisfaction may perhaps be gained from a glance through these lectures, dealing with the relations between the Mother Country, the Dominions and Colonies. Ireland, Egypt, and India serve to illustrate one of her supposed characteristics; the tendency to exploit and oppress subject races; while another unhappy trait, inherent and unsleeping jealousy of her own stalwart sons, is betrayed in her attitude towards the Dominions.

Before glancing at one or two illustrations of these subjects, we may quote a contrast between German and English colonising methods from the Lecture by Staatsminister Dr. Becker on the Near East:—

"Germany did not grow up in world-politics, but has rushed into them. . . . Her policy may be likened, in respect of its outward maturity and internal lack of development, to an overgrown youth. Conscious of our strength, no doubt we undertook too much at once: above all, the inauguration of an Eastern policy on a

grand scale simultaneously with the extension of the fleet was a political blunder of the first order."

"... While the last word has not yet been spoken on the new dispositions in the Near East, Egypt, Palestine, and Mesopotamia, England's wise politicians will presumably master the difficulties, since England, very much earlier than other nations, especially Germany, has recognised that, of the three forms under which power manifests itself, military force, as represented by the British Navy, is often only a rough and impracticable instrument; that economic influence, materialising in the possession of raw materials and of economic control, especially in regard to cotton and oil, is of much more importance to the stability of a world empire; but that the strongest weapon in the contests of nations is propagandist idealism. . . . Everywhere and always England appeared to be fighting for an idealist cause, whether it was the protection of small States, personal freedom, or the balance of power. Like the Catholic Church, the British Empire has always known how to reckon with great periods of time, and has therefore never been forced into hasty settlements of State affairs, . . . It is only necessary to recall the history of the East India and Colonial Companies, of the Egyptian question, &c. . . . English statesmen have never thought it beneath their dignity to explain to the world the unselfish aims of English policy—witness the excellent work of Milner, Cromer, Curzon, Churchill, and Valentine Chirol."

The following remarks upon the conquest of India are characteristic of the standpoint of the lecturer, H. V. Glasenapp, whose statements must frequently be challenged. "The view that evil may be done if good come of it may the more readily be admitted since the defenders of English rule in India believed that the Company's administration was a benefit for the country and people of India in the truest sense of the word. Undoubtedly in many respects the English have rendered services to India. That the Indians were not, however, content under their Government, but would have preferred the oppression of their own princes to systematic exploitation by foreign rulers admits of no doubt."

"The administration of India," he goes on to say, "is conducted by a very large and very expensive bureaucracy, numbering, according to somewhat out-of-date statistics, including the lowest posts, about 130,000 Indian and 8,000 European officials. . . ."

* A few figures from official sources form the best comment on some of the foregoing statements:—

(1) *Civil Service.* The number of English Officials of all kinds has at all times been under 5,000—*India* (Ronaldshay), p. 117.

In the superior branches of the Executive and Judicial Services native officers manage the revenue and land interests and dispose of the greater part of the work of the magistrates and Civil Courts. "With the possible exception of England, there is no country in Europe in which judicial and executive officers

The latter receive in salaries annually nearly £14,000,000, the 130,000 Indians only a little over £3,250,000. . . . The English justify the exclusion of Indians from the higher posts of the Civil Service on the ground that the latter are incapable of filling them. . . . Against this it may be said, first, that Indians were already ruling highly civilised States when Britain was still inhabited by uncivilised races; secondly, that in some of the Native States where the internal administration is almost entirely in the hands of Indians—e.g., Baroda, Mysore, Travancore, and Cochin—it is demonstrably superior to that in many parts of British India."

On the financial and economic side of Indian administration the lecturer makes some noteworthy statements:—

"The Government of India," he says, "is very costly, and the vast sums required must be produced by India herself. . . . The main source of income is taxation, principally the land tax, from which 40 per cent. of all revenue is derived: it is very high, and falls heavily upon the Indians who have to pay it. The rigorous application of the taxation screw, even in cases of harvest failure, has resulted in the permanent indebtedness of the Indian peasant class. The large sums raised in this manner mainly serve objects which are more in the interests of British rule than of the people themselves."

"The circumstance that yearly, according to Hyndman's calculation, an average of 30,000,000 worth of Indian produce leaves the country without the importation of corresponding economic values, will be regarded by economists as most serious. The drain of produce from India to England is one of the main causes of India's poverty, and, ultimately, of the frightful famines which afflict India. *They are in the first degree a consequence of British rule*, for, if India could rule herself, costs of administration would be considerably less, and the home charges, which hang like a dead weight on the body economic of India, would disappear. The nature of her exports would then be decided in accordance with India's interests rather than England's, and India would not be

receive salaries equal to those given in the (Superior) Native Civil Service of India." (Sir J. Strachey—"India.")

The home charges in 1910-20 appear to have amounted to under £3,750,000, against a revenue of £127,000,000. (Statistical Abstract of British India.)

(a) *Taxation.* About 26 per cent. of the total revenue of India is derived from taxation, as compared with 83 per cent. in England. The Land Tax is, strictly speaking, *Rent*, the Government of India being the landowner; and there are practically no local taxes. In 1919 taxation per head in all India amounted to nearly 4s. 4d., and including land "taxes" to 6s. 1d. (Statistical Abstract of British India.)

Income tax is levied on incomes over 2,000 Rs. (1 R. = 2s.). There is a graduated assessment from about 5d. to 9d. in the £ up to 20,000 Rs. (Indian Year Book, 1922.)

(3) *Trade.* Of India's exports in 1921 Great Britain took 22 per cent., the rest of the Empire 21 per cent., America 15 per cent., Japan 9 per cent., &c. Far more rice, to take one food product, was sent to Ceylon and the Straits Settlements than to England. (Indian Year Book, 1922.)

obliged to deliver up part of her wealth every year, thereby becoming poorer in produce and capital."

For Professor Dr. Julius Pokorny, the lecturer upon Ireland, the proverbial characteristics of the Irish may be said hardly to exist. "The people were forced to go about in rags and tatters in order to escape the suspicion that they were growing prosperous. This is the real explanation of the fable that the Irish are a dirty people. The whole of Irish history shows," he continues, in connection with the relations between Ulster and the South, "such remarkable tolerance on the part of the native population towards other religious opinions, that there should have been no ground for alarm." And again, "the peace-loving Irish people were driven by the (English) policy of violence to desperate deeds."

As we approach the present day, we find that the prosperity of more recent times is conveniently ignored. Though it is admitted that, by the agrarian reforms of the last thirty years, some 70 per cent. of the tenants became owners of their land, the results are briefly dismissed. Even the products of the soil, raw materials and food-stuffs, were mainly monopolised by England in exchange for her manufactures. "Some idea of Ireland's exploitation by England may be gained from figures. In 1913 Ireland's foreign trade reached the enormous sum of nearly three milliard marks (£150,000,000). That she remained, nevertheless, one of the poorest European countries is explained by the fact that 83 per cent. of her huge foreign trade fell to England, for the advantage of English industrialists and middlemen." Ireland, in short, has constantly been the dupe of English cunning—an instance of which is the Home Rule Bill of 1914.

"This caricature of self-government was too much even for English Unionists—namely, the English industrialists owning large factories in East Ulster, who felt their economic supremacy threatened, and therefore, with the help of the Belfast advocate, Sir E. Carson, engineered the really non-existent 'Ulster question.' . . . A certain opposition of interests did exist between East Ulster and the rest of Ireland, as there, in consequence of freedom from English oppression, a flourishing industry had developed which was not to be found in the South-West; but there was no cause for any open rivalry. The Ulster question has ceased to exist: and if anyone still dares to assert to-day that the whole Irish question is one not between England and Ireland, but between Ireland and Ulster, he is either an absolute ignoramus or a deliberate liar."

The authors of the three lectures on Canada, South Africa, and Australia, confess to an ignorance of these dominions on the part of the German public, and to a lack of literature on the subject in Germany, which is rather surprising to the English reader. Thus

Dr. Alfred Manes admits that he is obliged to rely exclusively upon his own writings about Australia, for the curious reason that the subject was almost boycotted in Germany—by the Social-Democrat Press, because it desired to conceal the fact that a Continent under a monarchy had achieved, by constitutional methods, reforms associated in Germany with a still revolutionary Social Democracy; and by the Capitalist Press striving to withhold from the knowledge of the public the actual existence of these social reforms, which still passed in Germany as Utopian.

Of South Africa Governor Dr. Seitz remarks that, despite the passionate interest displayed by the whole German people in the course of the Boer War, "there is scarcely a country inhabited by men of European stock about whose internal and external affairs more ignorance prevails in Germany."

Even of Canada the same seems to hold good. Dr. Hammann refers to the efforts of the Dominion Government to arouse in Germany an interest in a country "which, for the majority, even of the educated classes, was generally no more than a geographical expression, inseparably associated with vast tracts of forest, wilderness, and the absence of civilisation."

While doing justice to the existence of Imperial feeling in Canada, the writer does not rise beyond the standpoint which is shared by his colleagues who deal with the other Dominions, that the Mother Country is engaged in a perpetual struggle to maintain her supremacy over the younger nations of the British Commonwealth, and is jealous of every further step towards self-government on their part, and of every excellence they display. For example, Dr. Seitz writes of the South African statesman in whose recent London speech our people rejoiced to recognise their country's voice again: "Smuts was summoned to London after he had commanded the Union forces in South Africa for a time, and admitted to the select English War Cabinet, a concession which Lloyd George and his colleagues certainly only made with extreme reluctance. Smuts the Boer masqueraded in London as a rabid Imperialist, whilst now and then telling bitter home-truths to Englishmen."

While, in conclusion, these commentators refrain from predicting any immediate break-up of the Empire, they dwell almost exclusively upon signs of disunion. The conscious relation of each part of the Empire to the whole, which now exists, has, however, escaped their notice. They are occupied with the outworn theme of England's control of her former "colonies," missing, by their narrow interpretation of Imperialism, all that is included in a truly wide conception of "Empire and Liberty." They see England as a sinister Power obsessed for centuries by a fixed idea of holding

the world in thrall, intriguing, attacking, destroying, retiring, and again advancing to this goal. A tribute is paid, as is usual among German publicists, to the "long views" of English policy and to the Machiavellian astuteness of her politicians. Yet the fact that the population of a quarter of the globe has meanwhile dwelt, on the whole, in peace, prosperity, and contentment, does not appear to these inquirers to be worthy of their attention. Nor do they seem to have any idea of the immense and unceasing intercourse between Great Britain and the nations of the British Commonwealth, the constantly renewed ties of kinship, of commerce and politics, of education and sport, the personal and unifying influence of the Crown; and, below the surface on which local differences play, a deep underlying similarity and sympathy in their outlook upon life. Without some recognition of these things it may well be doubted whether these teachers will be able to help the coming generation of Germans to any useful understanding of what the British Empire really stands for, or wherein lies its strength.

MARY A. HOLLINGS.

THE FUTURE OF THE WESTERN SUDAN.

THE Romans recognised in the Sahara a constant menace to their rich cornlands on the North African littoral. With the decline of the Empire and consequent decay of irrigation works the desert crept in upon the coastal plains. Wide tracts of country which once provided the populous cities of Italy with corn to-day afford but a scanty livelihood to wandering bands of desert nomads. In the early years of the present century when the Sahara and its people became well known to Europeans it was found that the deadly process of desiccation was no less active in the desert itself. In districts which had reached the extreme limit of hopeless aridity there were discovered signs of former human habitation and of extensive cultivation of the soil. It was no uncommon thing to find that some of the oases of the desert were shrinking year by year, while others survived only in name, having disappeared within the memory of living man.

Except to those who were in daily contact with the desert tribes and therefore able to observe the effects of increasing aridity the possibility of climatic change, for such it was recognised to be, in so sparsely populated a region as the Sahara was regarded as a matter of purely academic interest. Of more general concern was the question of whether the Sahara was encroaching upon the rich and thickly populated plains which lie beyond its southern margin. The discovery in the more humid parts of the Western Sudan of dead *erg* and fixed sand dunes clothed in vegetation confirmed the opinion of the distinguished geologist, M. R. Chudeau, that, although in the north the Sahara was encroaching on the steppe, in the south the steppe was encroaching on the desert. At that time, 1908-1909, the Western Sudan had not been long enough under European administration for colonial officials to observe any symptoms of climatic change, whether in the direction of greater aridity or increased humidity. They accepted the pronouncement of M. Chudeau that the period was one of increasing humidity with mild interest and perhaps a trace of satisfaction.

In the last decade intimate knowledge has been gained of the Sudan and its people. As a result of this not only has the idea of increasing humidity been abandoned but an alarming process of desiccation has been clearly discerned all along the northern fringe of the Western Sudan. In the last few years there has been collected an ever growing volume of evidence which proves beyond doubt that although in the remote past desert conditions may have once prevailed in the Sudan there has more recently been a change from humidity towards ever increasing aridity. It has further been established that the process is increasingly rapid.

In Senegal the rainfall is declining and the water table is sinking; the River Bounoun has dried up within the memory of living man; the Saloum and other rivers are falling and the salinity of their water is increasing. In the Niger basin Lake Faguibine is drying up and its annual inundations are becoming less extensive, with the result that much valuable land is being lost to the farmers and pastoralists. In the fifteenth century Sonni Ali, the Songhai emperor, attempted to dig a canal from Lake Faguibine to Walata. This has hitherto been regarded as the one foolish act of an otherwise singularly intelligent ruler, but quite recently it has been proved by Colonel Mangeot, of the French Army, that the lake once extended so much further to the west that the construction of a canal linking it with Walata may well have been a practical proposition. Further east, within the Bend of the Niger, aridity is increasing rapidly.

The northern frontier of the British Protectorate of Nigeria formerly extended further north than it does to-day. In 1906 it was moved to its present position so as to give the French a corridor of fertile land affording easy access between their Niger and Chad territories. Only a few miles north of the present frontier, that is to say in French country, desert conditions prevail and a semi-nomadic mode of life is imposed on the bulk of the population. On the British side of the frontier water, though far from abundant, is sufficiently plentiful throughout the greater part of the year to support a large agricultural community. There are, however, extensive districts so arid that agriculture is impossible. Any general encroachment of the Sahara on the Sudan must inevitably make itself felt along these seven hundred miles of frontier. The twenty years which have elapsed since our first occupation of this country is a sufficiently short period in which to detect so gradual a process as that of climatic change, yet in the past five or six years a mass of evidence of increasing aridity has been collected in the northern provinces of Nigeria. Dry river beds, dwindling lakes, sinking wells, and crop failures may be said to characterise the frontier region. The Government report on Nigeria for 1921 declares that "the desert is steadily encroaching." In Sokoto the numerous lakes which are characteristic of the province are found to have shrunk considerably in recent years; the failure of wells and water-holes is an alarming feature in the extreme north and must have far-reaching results; many tributaries of the Sokoto River have become dry in their upper course; since the visit of Clapperton in 1826, the date-palm has extended its southern range, which probably indicates an increase in aridity. Of great significance is the restlessness of the natives, but this important question must be considered later.

The progressive desiccation of the country appears to be proceeding at an even greater rate in Bornu, where the problem has been studied by Mr. F. W. H. Migeod. The River Yobe is found to be shrinking rapidly. Large lakes have disappeared within the memory of those living and salt is mined in their dry beds, over which are strewn the bones of hippopotami. Even the trees are dying from drought. Here too the pressure of desiccation is causing a general movement of the population. Owing to the extreme flatness of its bed and the extraordinary shallowness of its waters the area of Lake Chad is subject to constant and wide fluctuations. This has led to the accumulation of much contradictory evidence concerning the desiccation of this region. It has now been finally established that the lake is shrinking.

The drying up of rivers and the shrinkage of lakes may not necessarily in themselves be phenomena of very great concern. When, however, they occur in a comparatively arid region where a large human population is dependent for its livelihood on the maintenance of a barely adequate water supply, their importance must assume grave proportions. The restlessness of the natives, caused by increasing aridity along the northern fringes of the Western Sudan, is the most significant feature of the desiccation problem which confronts the country. A study of native traditions and a comparison of historical records with modern conditions reveal the fact that increasing aridity has caused in the past a definite movement of the population from the arid north to the more-favoured south, and that not only is this process still active but the pressure is increasing and the movement is growing.

In Senegal failure of crops is causing the sedentary population to move southward, and pastoral Moors from the desert are coming into the country. At a remote date the Bend of the Niger was invaded by the Sahara which brought with it the desert Tuareg, who are still pressing further south as the north becomes more arid. In the northern provinces of Nigeria a southward movement is taking place on a large scale. The Hausa-speaking Gobirawa, who are one of the principal tribes of the north, are but recent arrivals in this country. They have come from Agades, which lies three hundred miles to the north-east, surrounded by desert; in the days of the Gobirawa it was self-supporting, but increasing aridity has long since forced it to become dependent on imported corn. Every dry season semi-nomadic Tuareg make migrations from French territory across the frontier in search of pastures for their herds, but return north on the approach of the rains. Not only are these seasonal migrations extending further south, but experience shows that there is a tendency towards the permanent occupation of the southern pastures. The Zaberamawa are another populous tribe

who are pouring by hundreds into Sokoto on account of the desiccation of their country in the north-west. The movements among the people of Bornu are also very marked. Here the Kanembu who have come from a more northern latitude are found to be continuing their southward migration. In the centre of this arid province the Margi are also moving towards the better-watered south. There is a tendency to abandon villages and rebuild on new sites to the south of the old ones.

In Africa the attachment of the native to the land is not great, and therefore only slight causes may set a tribe in motion. There is no doubt that in the Sudan other factors besides desiccation are contributory causes of the southward movement of the people. When European Powers first acquired African dependencies they found that there was a constant state of tribal war throughout the tropics. The extermination or enslavement of whole tribes was no uncommon thing. There was little danger under such conditions of any tribe increasing in numbers beyond the resources of the tribal area. When, at the beginning of the present century, European administration became established and each tribe was brought under control the population began to increase enormously. The result has been that the resources of many arid districts have proved unable to meet the requirements of the ever-growing population. A migration to more favoured regions has taken place in consequence. This is probably a more potent factor than is generally realised. Of less account is the migration of individuals from French to British territory to avoid conscription. For many years the French have recognised that for this reason numbers of their natives are continually settling in Sierra Leone, the Gold Coast, and Nigeria. It is generally agreed, however, that progressive desiccation is the real impulse which is causing such a general movement southward.

Measured in terms of miles and years the movement appears to be a slow one. It was for this reason that it so long escaped notice. The movement is rather that of families and villages than of a people, and no great distance is covered at a time, but the final effect is that of a tribal migration. This apparent slowness is characteristic of most human migrations, and its significance should not be measured by its speed. The striking rapidity of such migrations as those of the Arabs and Turks was altogether exceptional. The great Vandal migration from Prussia to North Africa occupied two and a-half centuries and must be regarded as fairly rapid. Most movements of peoples are of the character which we find in the Sudan, but the impression which they make on history may be no less lasting than that made by the more spectacular migrations. If it is recalled that the barbarian invasions of Europe which contributed so largely to the fall of the Roman

Empire were directly due to the desiccation of Central Asia, the discovery of the same process active in Africa can hardly fail to stir the imagination. It should at once be added, however, that conditions in Africa are so entirely different from those in Asia that the southward extension of the Sahara can never produce the catastrophic results which arose from the desiccation of Central Asia, and which have profoundly affected the history of two continents. The vast steppes which in Asia gave birth to waves of migrating pastoral nomads are absent in Africa. The attenuated grasslands of the Sudan are closely confined between desert and forest, two serious obstacles to the migration of a primitive people.

It is probably beyond the power of the present generation to appreciate the full significance of tribal movements which are not confined to the west, but appear to be taking place throughout the whole of the Sudan, that is to say, from the Atlantic to the Red Sea. As in the west so in the extreme east, the cause is everywhere found to be desiccation. Such a general movement cannot continue indefinitely without producing political consequences of greater or less importance. The present situation along the northern frontier of British Nigeria may eventually become one of international concern.

The sparse population of the Sahara is composed of virile tribes of Arabs, Tuareg and Tibbu, who have infinite power for evil. In the oases they cultivate corn and dates, but for the most part they are pastoral nomads with highly developed predatory instincts. Brigandage and blackmail are accounted honourable professions amongst them. They possess large herds of camels which are no less hardy than themselves; the mobility of the tribe is probably greater than in any other human community. Inter-tribal strife is a common condition of desert life. The whole community lives on a war footing. The difficult task of controlling this turbulent region is one to which the French have assiduously applied themselves. The measure of success attained by such able men as the late General Laperrine and his lieutenants is remarkable. At the same time many years must pass before the Sahara can be brought under full administrative control.

Small as is the population, the resources of the Sahara are strained to the utmost to support it. In the desert a very narrow and highly sensitive margin divides starvation from plenty, and this may disappear on any slight provocation such as a small decrease in the water supply. Desert pastures exist upon amazingly small rainfall, but should the supply be curtailed the failure of grazing is probable. A slight increase in aridity in the southern Sahara may set the community moving in the direction of the Sudan in search of fresh pastures. This appears to be what is actually happening to-day. The desert to the north of Nigeria

is the home of nomadic Tuareg tribes who have been in constant revolt against the French. At present a period of comparative tranquillity has supervened. On the edge of the Sudan are semi-sedentary Tuareg and kindred agricultural tribes whose migrations across the international frontier have already been described. Immigration into the arid frontier zone has caused a grave congestion of the population. Every square yard of cultivable land is occupied. Desiccation is reducing the resources of the congested districts, and a movement of purely agricultural peoples away from the northern villages is taking place. Happily a few days' march to the south on the fringe of the forest belt there are well-watered regions only sparsely populated and well able to absorb the immigrants.

Since the war the colonial policy of France has been based on the principle that her armies of the future must be provided by her African subjects. Therefore the present movement of natives across the British frontier is to them a matter of grave concern. Nor do the British welcome into their congested territory semi-nomadic tribes who are more impatient of control than placid Hausa farmers. Every effort is therefore made by French and British officers to arrest the movement, but so far they have had little or no success. As long as the desiccation of the country increases this southern movement of successive layers of the population must continue, and a time will come when the nomadic Tuareg reach the present Franco-British frontier.

As far back as 1908, when this southern movement had hardly begun to be recognised, a French officer writing of the southern Tuareg and the British frontier, used these words: "De maigres effectifs s'échelonnaient et sont toujours dans les postes qui en fixent les points principaux aux lieux d'effervescence possible avec l'ironique destin de garder les confins du pays anglais, d'y faire la police en assurant qu'aucune incursion venue de notre domaine n'aille troubler les agents de la Nigéria."* It is well to recognise the fact that as long as the French occupy the restless border zone which lies between Nigeria and the Sahara they are required to guarantee the integrity of our frontier. A time may come when the Dahomey and Cameroon railways have been extended sufficiently far into the interior for the French to dispense with this expensive corridor between the Niger and Lake Chad.

The economic effects of the desiccation of the Western Sudan are already beginning to be felt far beyond the narrow circle of tribal life. An official enquiry into the cause of the decline in the export to France of ground-nuts from Senegal has established the fact that the fall in yield of this most valuable crop is parallel with the decline in the rainfall. Sir Hector Duff's recent report

* Lieut. C. Jean. *Les Touareg du Sud Est l'Afr.* p.11. (Paris, 1909).

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on Nigeria to the Empire Cotton Growing Committee declares that the two otherwise suitable provinces of Sokoto and Bornu are unfit for the development of cotton growing on account of the encroachment of the Sahara.

Largely owing to the work of Professor Ellsworth Huntington, it is recognised that climatic changes are now taking place in many widely separated parts of the world, yet no approach has yet been made to the discovery of the cause. At present we must regard the change in the climate of Northern Africa as immeasurably beyond human control. Enough has here been said of some of the issues which desiccation must raise to show that no effort should be spared to eliminate any contributory cause which tends to accelerate the process of nature. In the Sudan man himself is a most potent desiccating agent. There is a general agreement among African administrators that incalculable harm is being done by the primitive methods of agriculture which prevail in the greater part of the continent. The African farmer has practically no knowledge of the principles of crop rotation, and where the value of manures is recognised he has little opportunity to develop their use. He cultivates his land to exhaustion and when it will grow no more crops he makes a fresh clearing in the surrounding bush or forest. In the Sudan the abandoned farm will never grow forest again; worthless scrub is all that the exhausted soil can support. For ages past the destruction of the forests has continued, and to-day, with an ever-increasing population, the inroads made upon them are assuming alarming proportions. It is the common experience of man, black as well as white, that deforestation causes aridity. In the Sudan there is no greater enemy to the community than the shifting cultivator. Bush fires, which often assume devastating proportions, are of small consequence compared with the ruinous methods of agriculture which now prevail.

Every effort, then, should be made to limit the destruction of the forests. This is now realised in Nigeria, where forest reserves on a considerable scale have been established. But the formation of forest reserves alone is not sufficient. The African farmer must be instructed in improved methods of agriculture, not the least of which should be intensive cultivation in irrigable areas. An irrigation officer has already been employed in Northern Nigeria. In the lacustrine region of the middle Niger the French have recently put in hand irrigation work which has been inspired by the example set by British engineers in the Nile Valley. By the development of irrigation on the large and small rivers of the Western Sudan, not only can the land be made to support a greater population, but, as the Romans proved in North Africa, the desert can be kept out.

E. W. BOVILL.

DR. JOHNSON THE BIBLIOGRAPHER.*

LET us first ask, what is a bibliographer? and then see how Johnson fits the part.

To the ignorant the word is a synonym for futility. Yet the true bibliographer is far from futile. He is a man who knows something of many sorts of books, which books are the best in their kind, and which are the best (and not merely the rarest) editions; and by bibliographies and catalogues he can identify these editions and run to earth copies of them. He thinks practically no human knowledge alien to him. He is *au dessus de la mêlée*, and records impartially books maintaining opinions which he personally hates. His interest is knowledge; he is the man *qui scit ubi sit scientia, scienti proximus*. And he is also a craftsman in the examination and description of books, a craft which may appear limited, but which in fact demands much knowledge of the methods of book-production—paper-making, printing, engraving and binding—at different times and in different countries.

In two of these points we must not expect too much of Johnson. Bibliography in its technical aspect was embryonic in his day, and has only come to full stature in our own. And we must admit that he was not impartial; books that did not support "the grand principle of subordination" in Church and State would have had short shrift from him. But, as he was not a librarian, that did not much matter. This excuse cannot be pleaded for the Trustees of the British Museum in the eighteen-forties, who instructed the Superintendent, of their Copyright Receipt Office not to exercise their legal claim to copies of "any books of a socialistic or irreligious tendency." Nor was Johnson methodical. For the rest, however, he had in greater or less degree pretty well all the characteristics of a bibliographer.

He had one great advantage for a man who was to be a bookman. He was not only the son of a bookseller, but, as it appears (from discoveries made by Mr. A. L. Reade), one of a complete family of booksellers, complete, that is, with the exception of his prize-fighting uncle. In a time when there were perhaps not twenty professional librarians (apart from clerks and janitors) in the country, book lore could be as well, if not better, learned in a bookshop as anywhere.

That his father's shop was in a country town is nothing. The ease of communication which came with railways had not then destroyed the provincial book trade. And Lichfield was a

home of the "superior clergy," then the chief customers of that trade. I saw in Northamptonshire, a little while ago, the library of a non-juror, formed at this time, which might well have come off one of Michael Johnson's stalls. And the Cathedral Library of Lichfield was unusually well kept, being not the usual mere repository of a fortuitous concourse of old volumes, but well provided with history, secular as well as ecclesiastical. There can be little doubt that Michael Johnson supplied some of its books. That he was, for all his faults, a man worthy to have a scholar-son can be seen from a letter by the Rev. George Plaxton, dated from Trentham: "Johnson, the Litchfield librarian, is now here. He propagates learning all over this diocese, and advanceth knowledge to its just height; all the clergy here are his pupils, and suck all they have from him."*

It was in the two years he had at home after leaving the school at Stourbridge and before going to Oxford that the young Johnson acquired his large knowledge of books, as distinct from his classical scholarship, which is quite different from and can be got with only a little of it. The Johnson family, like all tradesmen's families of that time, lived behind and above the shop, and young Samuel had the run of it. He has told us how, in looking for an apple on the shelves, he found, and read, a folio Petrarch. It seems that at this time the elder Johnson tried to train his son to the trade which all the family practised; in after life Johnson claimed to be able to bind a book, an act he can only have learned in the Lichfield shop. Indeed, once he did repair a book in a summer-house at Mrs. Thrale's at Streatham. The trades of bookselling, publishing and bookbinding (and, indeed, printing) were barely differentiated at this time, as we can see from John Dunton's catalogue of the Stationers' Company,† written but a few years before. And what technical craft in the examination and description of books then existed must have been practically confined to booksellers, who at all times need to be able to collate copies and reject imperfect volumes; and doubtless Samuel helped his father at this and at making lists for customers, not without lapses into reading the books.

In his letter of 1768, to Barnard on the formation of the King's Library, he shows this sort of technical experience, when he says: "In the purchase of old books let me recommend to you to enquire with great caution whether they are perfect. In the first editions the loss of a leaf is not easily observed. You remember how near we both were to purchasing a mutilated missal at a high price."

* Quoted by H. B. Wheatley, *Bib. Soc. Trans.*, viii.
† In his *Life and Errors*.

* A Paper read to the Johnson Club.

His objection to acting salesman at the stall in Uttoxeter market, so nobly repented of and atoned for half a century later, need not imply that he would not touch any part of the work of the trade. But we may take it that he read more than he collated or catalogued. He himself said that he did most of his reading from his twelfth to his twentieth year, and that "in this irregular manner I had looked into a great many books which were not commonly known at the Universities." The result was that valuable power of "tearing the heart out of a book" without the labour of reading it through, which we know he possessed. His experience in the Lichfield shop was probably of use to him when he lodged with Warren, the Birmingham bookseller, for whom he translated Lobo, and to whom Boswell tells us he was of service in his trade. And Johnson had another source of bibliographical education: in these years he enjoyed the friendship of Gilbert Walmsley, a man who had just the qualities that make a bibliographer. In Johnson's words: "His acquaintance with books was great, and what he did not immediately know he could at least tell where to find. Such was his amplitude of learning, and such his copiousness of communication, that it may be doubted whether a day now passes in which I have not some advantage from his friendship." Walmsley was a regular customer of Michael's, who testifies his respect by addressing him as "The Hon^d. Gilb. Walmsley, Esqr." Michael's business methods may be estimated by the entry in one of his bills to Walmsley of "Last Bill, query where it ended."*

Oxford very likely contributed less than Lichfield to Johnson's knowledge of books. It is worth while to notice the libraries that he may have used there and in London. Bodley's first Librarian, James, propounded an intelligent scheme for founding a second University library "for the younger sort," but this roused no enthusiasm in Bodley; and the Bodleian itself was not open to undergraduates until long after. Not, indeed, that in the mid-eighteenth century it was more than nominally open to anyone. After a brief period of activity, due to Tom Hearne, the Library had relapsed into repose unbroken by either labour or the feuds of the staff. "At this time," says Macray, "the Library appears to have been almost entirely forsaken. . . . It rarely happens that above one or two books are registered to readers in a day, while often for whole days together not a single entry occurs." Copying MSS. seems to have been strictly forbidden. Bodley's Librarian, Bowles, was described by Hearne (not without political animus) as a "whiffling, silly,

* *Letters*, ed. G. B. Hill, i.83n.

unfaithful coxcomb," and apparently deserved the terms. And, as we learn from Conrad von Uffenbach, who visited Oxford in 1710, nothing was done for anyone without private fees, even by the Librarian himself, who differed from his subordinates merely in demanding a higher rate. But in after years Johnson gave books to the Bodleian, on one occasion inscribing the title in the catalogue with his own hand.

For the undergraduate there was his College library. That at Pembroke had recently, in 1710, been enriched by the bequest of the library of the late Master, Bishop Hall, and housed in a room specially built for it. Here it was that Johnson first read Lobo, and it was the same copy which he subsequently borrowed to translate for Warren at Birmingham. That the Pembroke Library was well kept is not probable, if we are to judge by Uffenbach's experience. He endeavoured to visit it, but the librarian was out of Oxford, and had apparently taken the keys with him. (This was on October 6th. Was it in term? Everybody else seems to have been up.)

Uffenbach found some other College libraries in flourishing state, notably the Codrington, at All Souls', which was being set in order by Blackstone while Johnson was an undergraduate. But, of course, these were not open to him then. Later in life he was drawn back to Oxford, not only by sentiment, but by the practical need of searching the libraries there. His first visit, that of 1754, taken with Boswell, who describes it, was made for this purpose, in preparing his Dictionary, and he spent five weeks there. Warton says that during this visit he collected nothing in the libraries for his Dictionary; we may presume that the delights of browsing and of conversation with the librarians were too much for his industry, and that the Dictionary had to go on depending on his memory. But that he did visit libraries is clear; Boswell records that he was very fond of the old library at Trinity (Warton's College), and expressed his contentment there by saying that "if a man has a mind to prance, he must study at Christ Church and All Souls'"—thus betraying an acquaintance with the inside of those noble libraries. (One is reminded of the French visitor who said: "La Britannique est plus imposante; mais la Bodléienne est plus intime.")

I am not clear whether it was in gratitude for hospitality at this visit that in 1769 he presented to Trinity a Baskerville's *Virgil*. According to the exact wording of his letter to Warton of May 31st, 1769, it cannot have been, for he says: "Many years ago, when I used to read in the library of your College, I promised to recompense the College for that permission by

adding to their books a Baskerville's *Virgil*." Baskerville's *Virgil* was not printed till 1757, or even announced till 1756. But I can find no visit of Johnson to Oxford between 1754 and 1776.

One of the libraries Johnson searched during this visit was the private library, at Ellsfield, of Wise, the Radclivian librarian, rich in Northern literature. It is worth mentioning, because he may very well have got here the knowledge on which he was later to base his vehement opinions on Macpherson and his Ossian.

It was very natural that Johnson should turn to Oxford as a Mecca of bookmen; for it was not till after his day that London caught up the old University town in that form (one of the truest) of wealth. When he came to London, it was not as a man of wide learning, certainly not as a bibliographer, that he hoped to make his way, but as a poet. Others have done the like, and have learnt to be content, and more than content, with scholarship and bibliography. It was years before *Irene* came before the public, and *London*, though it earned for Johnson Pope's admiration and some fame, was not in itself a career. He had to work—poor devil!—for the booksellers. In our time he would have joined the little society of professional researchers in the British Museum Reading Room, which Gissing called the New Grub Street. But the British Museum was not founded till Johnson was nearing fifty and had an assured position. He was one of the earliest ticket-holders, being admitted on May 8th, 1761, on the recommendation of the librarian, Dr. Morton; but the only record of his making use of it seems to be the undated prayer, headed "On entering Novum Museum," to be found among his *Prayers and Meditations*. Probably he occasionally did so for some special book. His presence would have added yet another touch of malice to Gray's lively picture of the Reading Room and its occupants in old Montagu House.

But there were no public libraries in the 1730's. London was not a University town, and what libraries there were were not available to an unknown youth. The Church of England clergy had Lambeth and Sion College; the Nonconformist ministers had Dr. Williams's library, just founded, in 1730; the lawyers had the Inns of Court. The Royal Library was there, it is true, but when Frans Burman saw it twenty years before, the books were in heaps on the floor, and this was, it seems, normal; and when Uffenbach saw it, the librarian, Bentley, was in Cambridge, being also Master of Trinity. There appears to have been no provision for students there then or later, though

Bentley wished it to be made the nucleus of a public library—a wish whose fulfilment he did not live to see.

After Oxford, then, London was inhospitable to a poor scholar. There was one curious anticipation of circulating libraries. Booksellers sometimes allowed private persons, for a fee, to borrow books from their stock. Thus, later, Benjamin Franklin used the stock of one Wilcox as a circulating library; and this same Wilcox had been kind to Johnson in his early years in town. I do not doubt that his kindness took this form among others, and that Cave and Osborne also let Johnson borrow from their shelves.

These reflections rather concern the access to books which Johnson may have had at different times than his use of them; but they may be excused as not altogether beside the matter.

Johnson, however, had only been in London a few years when he was employed upon a piece of strictly bibliographical work of great importance. This was the sale catalogue of the Harleian Library, the largest and finest private library ever formed in this, or perhaps in any, country. The library was bought cheaply by Osborne, the bookseller, who was impressed by the occasion, and, greatly to his credit, determined to make the catalogue not only a means of selling the books, but a permanent monument to the library. He induced Maittaire, fresh from the completion of his great *Annales typographici*, to draw up the scheme of a classed *catalogue raisonné*. The English books were described by William Oldys, whose *British Librarian* of 1737 marked him out as the best man for the work; the Latin by Johnson, who, I cannot help thinking, was recommended to Osborne by Cave. Johnson also wrote up the commercial English of Osborne's preface (specimens of which may be seen in his other catalogues, quoted by Dibdin), and added an account of the library which is worthy of his powers. The following paragraph from it shows that he was well acquainted with the theory of bibliography:—

But our design, like our proposal, is uncommon, and to be prosecuted at very uncommon expense; it being intended that the Books shall be distributed into their distinct classes, and every class ranged with some regard to the age of the Writers; that every book shall be accurately described, that the peculiarities of editions shall be remarked—and observations from the Authors of Literary History occasionally interspersed, that by this Catalogue we may inform posterity, of the excellence and value of this great collection, and promote the knowledge of scarce books and elegant editions. For this purpose men of letters are engaged, who cannot even be supplied with amanuenses but at an expense above that of a common catalogue.

The last sentence seems to show that Johnson and Oldys did not actually catalogue the books, but revised and annotated the entries made by the amanuenses.

This work went on for some years, and must have proved a blessing to Johnson both as bringing a regular income, and also as affording scope for his acquirements. It does some credit to Osborne that though Johnson beat him with the folio for insolence (*i.e.*, in all probability for telling him to describe instead of reading the books), he was only "a blockhead, and told," instead of bearing malice and dismissing his chastiser.

Some twenty years later, with his Dictionary published, with a pension—that is, with livelihood and reputation secure—he busied himself again with bibliography and book-collecting, but this time in a leisurely way, as an adviser emeritus. George III, on coming to the throne, had found himself without a library, George II having presented the old Royal library to the newly-founded British Museum. So he set to work to collect another. Johnson was only one of many students who were given access to it, for the King, however obstinate and obscurantist as a ruler, held the most enlightened views about his duty to learning and to learned men. But Frederick Augusta Barnard, the librarian, being young and energetic, used to pump Johnson for advice on the formation of the library, and Johnson was fortunately moved to set down his views on the subject in general in the well-known letter of 1768, when Barnard was about to set out on a collecting tour on the Continent.

It is an admirable little essay, and I could comment on most sentences in it. For example, his remark that "things of which the mere rarity makes the value, and which are prized at a high rate by wantonness rather than by use, are always passing from poorer to richer countries" is a consolation to me, fresh from American victories at the latest Britwell sale.

But two things stand out. The first is the width of Johnson's interest. It ranges from early printing to geography and all branches of law. Take this: "The feudal and civil law I cannot but wish to see complete. The feudal constitution is the original of the law of property over all the civilised part of Europe; and the civil law, as it is generally understood to include the law of nations, may be called with great propriety a regal study."

At the same time, his remarks on early printing show bibliographical knowledge in the stricter modern sense.

"You are too well acquainted," he writes, "with literary history not to know that many books derive their value from the reputation of the printers. . . . You know, sir, that the annals of typography begin with the Codex, 1457; but there is

great reason to believe that there are latent, in obscure corners, books printed before it. There prevails among typographical antiquaries a vague opinion that the Bible had been printed three times before the edition of 1462. One of these editions has been lately discovered in a convent, and transplanted into the French King's library. Another copy has likewise been found, but I know not whether of the same impression or another. These discoveries are sufficient to raise hope and instigate inquiry."

Happy age of discovery! How much duller to know, as we do, that there were three editions of the Bible earlier than that of 1462, and a good deal about them! (I am sorry to say that Birkbeck Hill, whom I revere, in his note on this passage (*Letters*, i. 14), merely says: "In the Bodleian there are two Bibles earlier than 1462, one published as early as 1456, the other in 1460-1." Had he thought enquiry profitable as far outside Oxford as London, he could have seen all three.)

In a passage of this letter, which has only recently been printed,* we find him citing Naudé for the statement "that the stamp or insigne by which Fust marked his editions were Horns," and recommends Barnard to look out for them, on the supposition that, as they do not occur in Fust's known books, any containing this device must be earlier than 1458. The whole story is, of course, a legend, probably based on examination by a careless or inexperienced eye of some book containing the mark of the Hoernen, of Cologne. Again, it was the age of discovery.

This interest in early printing appears very strongly in Johnson's records of his tour in France some years later, in 1775. *More suo* he visited libraries wherever he went, and his hasty Diary is full of observations as to whether the early books were printed with wooden or metal types, and of notes of volumes "without name, date, or place, but of Fust's square letter, as it seems."

That he distinguished between a legitimate curiosity as to the birth and first monuments of printing, and a mere rage for rarity, we can see from his phrase which I have already quoted: "Things prized at a high rate by wantonness rather than by use." A *Rambler* (No. 177) enforces the same idea with a heavy hand. But this dates from 1751, and in 1768 he would probably have disowned much of its satire. The author is introduced into a club of virtuosi:—

Hirsutus informed me that he had early withdrawn his attention from foreign trifles, and that since he began to addict his mind to serious and manly studies, he had very carefully amassed all

* By Mr. Eric Millar, in *The Library*, March, 1922. Its obscurity may have caused it to have been hitherto suppressed. The original is now in the British Museum. (Add. MS. 39393.)

the English books that were printed in the black character. This search he had pursued so diligently, that he was able to show the deficiencies of the best catalogues. He had long since completed his Caxton's, had three sheets of Treveris unknown to the antiquaries, and wanted to a perfect Pynson but two volumes, of which one was promised him as a legacy by its present possessor, and the other he was resolved to buy, at whatever price, when Quisquilus's library should be sold. Hirsutus had no other reason for the valuing or slighting a book, than that it was printed in the Roman or the Gothic letter . . .

Chartophylax, who collected Gazettes, and Cantilenus, who "turned all his thoughts upon old ballads" come off no better.

If we are to conjecture, Hirsutus may be Joseph Ames, collector and mutilator of English black letter books, who did not die till 1759, though he was as clean-shaven and bewigged as any of his contemporaries; Cantilenus may possibly be a memory of Narcissus Luttrell, who had died in 1732 (Percy, one's natural first guess, was still at College in 1751); for Chartophylax I can suggest no name, as the only collector of Gazettes I know of, Charles Burney, was of the next generation.

But very likely Johnson had only types in his mind and was filling a *Rambler* by uttering the conventional complaint against the ignorant collector—which he could have found in Brandt's *Ship of Fools*, or in the *Tatler's* character of Tom Folio, or Pope's account of the Dunce's library, where

High above, more solid learning shone,
The classics of an age that heard of none—
There Caxton slept with Wynkyn by his side.

It is all rather cheap satire, yet with a tang of truth in it.

In his prefatory *Account of the Harleian Library*, Johnson clearly laid down one of the chief uses of bibliography, the guide it gives through the mazes of literary or social history.

Nor is the use, he wrote, of catalogues of less importance to those whom curiosity has engaged in the study of literary history, and who think the intellectual revolutions of the world more worthy of their attention than . . . the fall of empires—those who are pleased with observing the first birth of new opinions, their struggles against opposition, their silent progress under persecution, their general reception, and their gradual decline or sudden extinction; those that amuse themselves with remarking the different periods of human knowledge and observe how darkness and light succeed each other.

In his preface to the *Harleian Miscellany* he enforces these words by an account of the special value to this end of pamphlet-literature, in which that collection was perhaps only second to the Thomason; and he protests in the *Account* against the dispersal of the library. "The sale of Vossius' collection into

a foreign country is," he says, "to this day regretted by men of letters." The Harleys, followed Vossius's, to be followed by many more.

Many years later, when he came to edit Shakespeare, he had occasion to shew how bibliography should be applied to its other great end, the restoration of an author's true text, corrupted by editors and printers for generations. "The editor's art, he tells us, "was not yet applied to modern languages." It is Johnson's glory to have applied it for the first time, however imperfectly, to the greatest and one of the most corrupt of modern texts. Chaucer had to wait till our own day.

Johnson aims then at "a collation of the oldest copies," that is of the first Quartos and First Folio. Theobald, the last editor but one, had classed "the two first folios, as of high, and the third folio as of middle authority"; Johnson rightly sees "that the first is equivalent to all others, and that the rest only deviate from it by the printer's negligence. Of the quartos Johnson says: "I collated such copies as I could procure, and wished for more, but have not found the collectors of these rarities very communicative."

These words hinted not obscurely at Garrick, whose collection of old plays is now in the British Museum. There seems to have been unnecessary touchiness on Johnson's side. Garrick told Boswell that he gave Johnson free access to them. Probably Johnson wanted to take them home; Boswell, who loved Johnson and did not love Garrick, adds with great fairness: "But indeed, considering the slovenly and careless manner in which books were treated by Johnson, it could not be expected that scarce and valuable editions should have been lent to him, though there be no truth in Hawkins's spiteful remark that few who lent him books ever saw them again."

This is very sad; and only compelled by a love of truth do I record it. *Amicus Doctor, magis amica veritas.* Let us at least trust that he did not, like Coleridge, cut books open at breakfast with the butter knife. But there is, I fear, evidence that Boswell's view was correct.

Garrick told Fanny Burney that he once lent Johnson his Petrarch, "stupendously bound." "But scarce had he taken it in his hands, when, as Boswell tells me, he poured forth a Greek ejaculation and a couplet or two from Horace, and then in one of those fits of enthusiasm which always seem to require that he should spread his arms aloft, he suddenly pounces my poor *Petrarca* over his head upon the floor. And there, standing for several minutes lost in abstraction, he forgot probably that he had ever seen it." The *Petrarca*, like the folio with

which Johnson knocked Osborne down, remains unidentified, but it must be said that many of Garrick's early play quartos, now in the British Museum, look as if they had been "pounced" over someone's head and testify that their owner was no bibliophile.

Johnson's own books were ill-catalogued after his death and sold cheaply; but then they were probably working copies in bad condition when he bought them. But he did not keep them better than other people's. He was not—many scholars are not—a librarian of his own books. In 1754 Reynolds introduced Roubiliac to him—Roubiliac wanted a Latin epitaph written for a monument—and gave Northcote a vivid description of the scene.

"Johnson received them with much civility, and took them up into a garret [in fact, the long room in the Gough Square house] which he considered as his library; where besides his books, all covered with dust, there was an old crazy deal table, and a still worse and older elbow chair, having only three legs. In this chair Johnson seated himself, after having, with considerable dexterity and evident practice, first drawn it up against the wall, which served to support it on that side on which the leg was deficient." (Northcote's *Life of Reynolds*, ed. 2, 1819, vol. I, p. 75.)

We can understand how, as it is said, he never returned the Lobo he borrowed from Pembroke, and how Hawkins came to find "among the books in his library, at the time of his decease, a very old and curious edition of the works of Politian, which appeared to belong to Pembroke College, Oxford." Let us hope that Hawkins was deceived, but I doubt. That Johnson's dying examination of his conscience for the discharge of small debts missed these borrowed books was doubtless because he had never carried out his resolution, written down among his Meditations, "to put rooms and books in order."

This, like his habit of absorbing himself in the bookshelves of his friends (recorded of him at Owen Cambridge's and the Burneys) is one touch of nature that makes at least part of the world kin.

Ah, well, even if Johnson had not the housemaid's instinct that marks the *anima naturaliter bibliothecaria*, I hope I have been able to show that he was not merely a great reader and lover of books, but that he was, for his age, a great bibliographer.

ARUNDELL ESDAILE.

THE HISTORICAL APPROACH TO JESUS.

AN ESTIMATE OF RESULTS.

THE special function of scholarly research in our time has been to recover the historic impression of the person of Jesus.

It has become partially successful by the collaboration of many minds and the collection of an immense amount of material. Such a book as Schweitzer's *Quest of the Historical Jesus* gives some idea of the work done and the distance travelled in this endeavour. There is some unnecessary timidity about the results of the quest. We may admit that the historians have found a good deal of theology read backwards into the Gospel story. We may detect phrases, epithets, quotations, ideas which are statements of value rather than statements of fact. We can note with reasonable accuracy how the early Church which gave us the Gospels, after it had experienced the Christian salvation, went back over the story of His life, looking for corroborations of the values it had discovered, and when they were not ready to hand inserted them, drawing for the purpose on the stores of their religious consciousness.

But this is only to throw the wonder of the Christian story a stage further back. The experience of Peter and Paul, of the writer of the fourth Gospel and the epistles of John was real and its results were valid. They are part of the religious and social history of the world. The personality of Jesus awakened this experience, and He has continued down to our own time to awaken in men and women similar if not identical religious experiences. He is central for the religious mind of the world. The mystery of His personality is that it does create religious reactions of a most decisive character in the human race. When the historian has reversed the historical process and separated the history from the theology in the record he has not accounted for the fact that the theology is there, or for the equally striking fact that the religious mind of each successive generation has felt the necessity of constructing, or reconstructing a theology, or a transcendental philosophy of some kind round this Person. The historian is properly silent in presence of the fact that there is something in the mind of the race which finds itself, discovers its meaning to itself, in the presence of the historical Jesus.

An interesting and partially successful attempt to deal with this fundamental fact has been made by Professor Berguer, of the University of Geneva, in his book *Some Aspects of Jesus Christ*, based on modern psychology.

The older lives of Christ, like Farrar's and Edersheim's, which embodied the psychology of their time are based on a static

psychology. They present us with a character which is perfect, finished, and unchanged throughout. The newer psychology is dynamic. The difference is the difference between Plutarch and Lytton Strachey or *Robinson Crusoe* and the *Forsyte Saga*. Plutarch presents a character like an old-fashioned daguerreotype; an outline intended to fall in with some accepted type, and expressing the appropriate sentiments of that type. The modern biography presents a personality endowed with a will, moving towards the fulfilment of some purpose. The life consists in the way that will encounters obstacles and overcomes them. It records the things that hinder because we know that this is part of every human life, and the degree of success or failure lies in the handling of these hindrances. Renan, with his keen historical instinct, fixed on this as central in the history of Jesus. "Jesus had neither dogma nor system. He had a fixed personal resolution which, as it surpassed in intensity every other created will, directs to this day the destinies of humanity."

It is an immense gain in the effort to realise a personality to be able to trace struggle, effort, and development. We realise the character in the light of its objective. It is in the process of conflict between the voluntary and involuntary elements in life that character is both produced and revealed.

The effort and object in the life of Jesus which the historical view brings out are both simple and sublime. He has had an unique experience of God. He has experienced Him as Father. He sees all nature—all men—all nations in the light of that experience, and He is certain that if He can communicate this experience to others the world will be redeemed from the moral perversity and spiritual blindness which are partly cause and partly effect of false or imperfect conceptions of God's relation to man. Truths which, as taught by doctors of the law, had lost spiritual and human content were to Him sensible and experienced realities. He foresaw possibilities of undreamed joy and well-being in human life, of perfected relationships in every part and state of human society, if men could be won to a temper of trust and filial confidence in God and love to one another. He witnessed to the future perfectibility of the race. "Ye shall be perfect as your Heavenly Father is perfect"; complete in your sonship as He is in His Fatherhood.

We may remind ourselves that nothing that relates to God can translate itself into human speech or understanding except by the use of symbolic forms, picture speech, the use of familiar phrases to express unfamiliar ideas, the charging, as Jesus called it, of old wine-skins with new wine. We can only envisage the unknown—the mysterious—the ineffable—by using the known and making

it mean more than the twin sisters use and wont have sanctioned.

When Jesus began to interpret His own consciousness of God to His people He found certain forms ready to His hand, fixed in their minds. The most obvious of these thought-forms was the Kingdom of God—the phrase that stood for all that prophets and law-givers had taught about the time when all men should know the Lord and be sensitive to His realised presence. He appealed in His teaching about the Kingdom to that "inmost centre of us all where truth abides in fulness" and assumed that its truth would be intuitively recognised. Gradually and regretfully He discovered that the Kingdom which was to Him a present spiritual experience meant something to others which was utterly alien to His mind. It became clear to Him that within the limits of a lifetime He could not change the hard, mechanical traditional conception of the Kingdom in the minds of His people into the wonderful spiritual creation set forth in the parables. When this happened we can reconstruct from the fourth Gospel how He fell back on other forms and spoke to His disciples of the Vine and its branches—the Bread of the soul—the springs of everlasting water—symbols of a dynamic relationship which could only have its fulfilment in a time remote enough from His own generation to be out of sight. The fourth Gospel gives us the psychology of the spiritual origination of the Christ-mind in humanity.

This inner teaching made no impression on the multitudes. To them He was either Messiah or a discredited impostor talking about the Kingdom but failing to establish it. He could not and did not deny Messiahship because it was the only possible phrase which expressed what He could do for His countrymen and for the world. He tried to expand the form and make it a living garment for His personality and an expression of His unique experience. Even to the last, as the fourth Gospel reveals, He had a keen sense of the incongruity between the popular imagination as to His claims and the real meaning of His Messiahship. "For this cause came I into the world, and to this end was I born, that I should bear witness to the truth."

When we ask what the Kingdom of God really meant to Jesus we have only one reliable source of information—His own utterances, His parables, His symbolic accounts of His own experiences, such as the temptation; and such phrases as "I beheld Satan as lightning fall from Heaven," and His own life with its utter trustfulness in God Who so often seemed to leave Him in the grip of circumstance. The Kingdom of God meant for Jesus the universalising of His own experience. It meant everyone everywhere living His life in instinctive spontaneous obedience to the sense of the Divine presence. "Jesus," says M. Fournoy,

"is the first to find in the depths of His own consciousness this other beyond, lying behind consciousness, living, palpitating with love and Holy Will Whose intimate presence at once august and familiar He expressed by the word Father." The Fatherhood of God as it emerges from the teaching of Jesus is unsurpassable in adequacy as a symbol of the Divine. The idea of God is rationalised, moralised, and humanised, so that arbitrary pagan conceptions fall away like dead leaves from a growing tree, yet God is the Holy Father, mysterious, awe-inspiring, inscrutable, ineffable, sovereign. He is tender and gracious, unfathomable and inexhaustible, in depth beyond depth of love. Yet there is no challenging His Will, no questioning of His purposes. The unseen things belong to God and He knows what no man knoweth. All that men receive is of His giving, and yet He cannot give even a modicum of what He is willing to give because human receptivity is so inadequate.

About midway in the ministry of Jesus when it became clear that He could only bear His witness at the cost of His life there is a change of tone in His teaching. He recognised that the Redeemer of human life could not do His perfect work without passing under the darkest cloud of human sorrow, loneliness, and suffering, carrying the redeeming consciousness of Divine Love into that cloud and passing triumphantly through it. It was then He began to draw largely on the traditional phrases that connected the work of a Saviour with sacrifice. Even the pagan mystery religions were saturated with the idea of life attained through death. The sacrificial system of Israel's religion had made men familiar with the idea that the approach to the Holy—the Mysterious Unknown—is guarded at its portals by the necessity for sacrifice carried to the point of shedding blood. This meant to Jesus that in the ignominy and shame of His last hours He was fulfilling His Saviourhood. He was opening a path within the veil. The Fatherhood and Kingdom of God could only be made adequate to human need if God can be as real and near in the darkness of death as in the light and sunshine of life.

We began by noting the demand of modern psychology that the historic portrait of Jesus should give us a personality with a will set on some worthy and realisable purpose and following that end with persistence through many difficulties. This is the picture now before us—it is a heroic picture. Here is a Person with a will set on the most fundamental of human needs, a true concept of God, a true sense of His purpose for men, and such relations between men as should give room for the fulfilment of that purpose. Living for such ends He is harassed and hampered by the certainty that He was misunderstood, misinterpreted, misjudged, and by

the increasing uncertainty whether He could get into the minds of men any conception of the Truth He was offering or the experience out of which it came.

When those who had known Him came to have a glimmering of what He had done it is no wonder that they used of Him such terms as had never been used of any other life. This life and this character and fate are able to set up such reactions in the religious mind of man as will to the end of time make Him arbiter of the soul's thought of God, creator of the mind's sense of the perfect relations of man with man. As men come under the power of His Spirit and discover how life is redeemed by that experience they say, rightly, "He is the Saviour of the world," and as none but God can save they are not wrong in saying that the Saviour of Mankind is Himself a manifestation of the Redeeming God.

The public interest in new lives of Christ is evidence that the mind of our own generation is in process of orientation with regard to Jesus Christ. This is one of the signs of a new period of religious thought in which a reciprocal process frequently develops. The influence which flows from the Gospel record creates in each generation a new public. The new public in its turn brings to the supreme task of appreciating Jesus a set of ideas, and a mental outlook which belongs to that generation alone. The religious writers who are forming the new Christian public bring a mental view-point which includes something picked up or casually imbibed from scientific discovery, historical scholarship, literary criticism, philosophy in its pragmatic and popular developments and experimental psychology. Equipped with new points of view and armed with new questions, the Christian public comes to the central personality in human history and finds in Him some things that it is now first qualified to appreciate. When these new features are incorporated in the picture of Jesus they are treasured for a life beyond life, they become authentic elements in the historic portrait, and as such are passed on as part of the picture to the next generation. A good illustration of this process in the last generation was the effect of *Ecce Homo*. Volumes of piety and erudition, sentiment and rhetoric were produced in answer to *Ecce Homo*—and this is a necessary process of mental digestion. New points of view have to be challenged to show their ticket of admission before coming into the temple of Christian worship. A religious book cannot be successful unless it creates a general challenge. When all the replies have been written and read the new points of view are partially digested and are incorporated into the common stock.

It is well worth while to note the tendency, the omissions and insertions of some of the comparatively recent books.

The scope of Glover's *Jesus of History* is indicated in the first chapter. The author bases himself on the new-found modern reverence for fact. The modern man has an acute perception of the difference between a fact and what people have thought about the fact. The two are kept in different categories in his mind. He knows how opinions grow. He knows how few facts are really known—how much sifted evidence is required to establish a fact—and he reverences a fact more than a bishop or a whole college of cardinals pronouncing opinions.

The value of Glover's *Jesus of History* is that it makes a contribution—through a delicate and trained perception of the meaning of the words used in the Gospels—to our mental picture of the historic Jesus. Jesus becomes a realisable figure, profound and quick in emotion—thinking instinctively in flashes—looking at life with a humour which is full of gracious, kindly observation and feeling, seeing the incongruities in Pharisee and Scribe—and the inhumanities in the professed religion of the pious Jew. As an illustration of the author's method we may take the picture which he builds on the word *ἐναγκαλισάμενος* of Jesus setting a child in the crook of his arm (Mark ix. 36). It is a winning figure which starts out of these pages. A large-hearted, wholesome, tender, gracious, big brother of the human race—health-giving by insight and sympathy and personal magnetism. It is the Jesus of the first three Gospels; the Christ of the Fourth Gospel is in the background, and theological implications are left out.

This is clearly a stage in the new appreciation of Jesus, but not a final stage. The Christian Church has always held in its sanest periods that Jesus was human as well as divine, so that everything which helps us to appreciate His full humanity is in place and has value. But we do not worship even the most lovable humanity, and the Christian Church is best defined as a body whose members agree in worshipping Jesus Christ. *The Jesus of History* leaves over for others to deal with the subtle but vital question why the Christian Church has agreed to place Jesus in a different category from others it has loved and honoured.

The Galilean is a study of the historical personality of Jesus. It is the object of the writer (Nathaniel Micklem) to deliver religion from "the jargon of theology and metaphysics." He tells us that his book is an answer to the question "What is religion?" and the answer is to point to the figure of Jesus. He does not see that the attempt to draw a sharp line between history, religion, theology, and metaphysics is quite artificial. These are categories invented for the convenience of the student, like the height, breadth, solidity, and weight of a material object. But the object

is one, and every material object, a stone, a tree, or a mountain, has height, breadth, solidity, and weight. We want to know all of them if we are to give a detailed description. Religion, theology, philosophy, and metaphysics are aspects of life, and we cannot get rid of them without impoverishing the whole.

The transcendental setting of human life is the occasion for the fourth Gospel. We may for a while be satisfied with the first three—the Synoptic Gospels—but the fourth would not be where it is if it had not met a real need of the human spirit. The importance of the Synoptic Gospels depends ultimately on the interpretation of the personality of Jesus, but behind that is the interpretation of life which springs from the personality of Jesus. If God so manifests His character in a perfect Son we know a great deal about God and about man. We know by implication the meaning and the true goal of human history. Its ideal end is its first cause. These implications spring into sharp outline as the mind works on the historic facts of the recorded life. There is room for error in all interpretation, but we cannot refuse to interpret. Jesus invites it with His question: "Whom say ye that I am?" He claimed for himself a place in the vast historic sweep of Israel's history. He set it in the history of Revelation. He claimed continuity with the prophets, and used the largest and most universal categories supplied by His people's history.

Lest this criticism of the historical standpoint should seem too technical we may take an illustration from Laurence Housman's *Little Plays of St. Francis*—from the visit of St. Francis to the Soldan. The point of the illustration is that the conquering Christ is not so much an historical personality as the whole spiritual interpretation of life—the realm of being and motive—for which that personality stands.

Francis says: I would show thee Christ, Soldan. Or if by that Name you know Him not, then by His other Name, which is Love, wherein also dwell Joy and Peace. This have I come to show.

Soldan: Yea, speak.

Francis: Oh hearken, for this is wonder!

Light looked down and beheld Darkness,

Thither will I go, said Light.

Peace looked down and beheld War,

Thither will I go, said Peace.

Love looked down and beheld Hatred,

Thither will I go, said Love.

So came Light and shone,

So came Peace and gave rest,

So came Love and brought Life,

And the Word was made flesh and dwelt among us.

Then was He betrayed, and given up into the hands of sinful men. Light to the darkness of Death, Peace into the pains of Hell,

Love to the separation of the Grave, and because the power of Evil prevailed not against Him, these henceforth He holdeth, and they are His. So out of darkness He wrought Light, and Peace out of the pains of Hell, and out of the prison house of Death He brought us Life Eternal.

We may call this language by many names. We may call it poetry, mysticism, or idealism, or theology, or even metaphysics. The point is that this is the Christ Who subdues the human heart, transforms human life, and saves the world. This is the Redeemer of the world. We may call it interpretation rather than history, it certainly has affinity with Johannine Christianity rather than the Synoptic Gospels, but without Johannine Christianity in this sense there would have been no Christian Church, no Franciscan Revival, no Reformation, no Evangelical Revival, no Christian Missions. It is the mystical Christ Who is the living Christ, and Who does His reconciling and empowering work in the hearts of His people.

Papini's *Life of Christ* is in a different category from the others. It does not belong to the English tradition, and it is quite unlike the Celtic romanticism of Renan or the rationalism of Strauss. It is popular as journalism is popular, written in flowing rhetorical sentences, emphasising dramatic and pictorial incidents; exaggerating contrasts between the ideal and the real in Christianity; and entirely free from consciousness of any of the results of historical criticism. In New York last summer this book out-rivalled any novel as a best seller. This is in itself a kind of distinction—as indicating a form of usefulness. The book awakens, if it does not satisfy, curiosity about Jesus. Papini explains his own interest and motive in his preface. He returned to the Christ story after years of agnosticism, socialism, materialism, atheism—he was soul-hungry for spiritual things and fell upon the Bread of Life like a starved man. He experienced a new birth and wrote the book with the enthusiasm of a convert as well as the facility of a journalist.

It is a Latin Christ he presents to us, tinged here and there with the bizarre romanticism of Italian Christianity. Its weakness for the modern mind is the failure to show the supernatural act and word of Jesus as flowing from the supernatural quality of His personality. The miracles of Jesus are not like the liquefaction of the blood of St. Januarius. They are not mere marvels, whatever popular report and disciple's childishness may have made of them; they belong to a complete and consistent attitude to life which Jesus took from first to last. What that attitude was is the real secret of Jesus, and up to the present He has kept His own secret in spite of many attempts to penetrate it. For Him the natural and

the supernatural are not two worlds like land and sea lying side by side, and He an amphibian living now in one and now in the other. Life is one, and God—His Father—is in all of it. God is as really concerned in the fall of the sparrow as in the healing of a paralytic, and it is the same Father in all. There is no separation of secular and sacred; present and future lose their meaning in the eternal; life and death are moral and spiritual facts rather than physical. What He reveals is not so much religion as Life—and the new Life is all of one piece. It is a way of handling all affairs, of living with all men, of looking at all circumstances, it is a perfect illustration of what He means by living in the Kingdom—or under the royal rule of His Father.

This, which is the essential modern view of the Christ, and the one that really matters for the world, Papini misses. There are many fine passages in this book, and its popularity is not undeserved as a narrative, but it makes no contribution to our knowledge where we now are. Papini's Jesus Christ is still the Christ who makes His impression on the world as its judge, His life and death are its condemnation, rather than its redemption. His life is an angel visit. For Papini the world is not redeemed by the advent of Christ, there is no discovery of a Divine redemption wrought into the world's history, only a record of a beautiful and ineffectual poetic character, Who rebuked the world, protested against it, worked some miracles that astonished it, and passed from it as supernaturally as He had lived in it. The historic category for this view of Jesus is Docetism. There have been long Docetic periods in the history of Christianity, and they have been among the least fruitful and satisfactory in the history of the Church.

The Life and Teaching of Jesus Christ, by Dr. A. C. Headlam, Bishop of Gloucester, is the only one of the new lives which bases itself on modern scholarship. It begins with a sound and conservative summary of the situation with regard to the synoptic Gospels, particularly valuable for the common-sense handling of some of the more extravagant critics like Kirsopp Lake and the Dean of St. Paul's. This is followed by a careful *résumé* of the historical situation in Palestine, picking up the threads of information now available about the organisation of the Roman Empire. As one would expect from an historian the life of Jesus is nowhere isolated as in *The Galilean*, pictorialised as in Glover's book; or dramatised as in Papini's. It is set back into a historical setting which is carefully constructed, and viewed in the light of its results in the Christian Church. To quote Dr. Headlam: "The Apostolic Church must be accounted for. Not only what it recorded of Jesus, not only what it thought of Him, although both of these are of fundamental importance, but also the fact that it existed. The

Christian Church is the great witness to its Founder. And no life of Christ which fails to account for Christianity can be adequate."

Dr. Headlam puts the two epistles to the Corinthians within twenty-five years of the death of Jesus, Mark at about A.D. 64, Matthew and Luke about A.D. 80, and St. John's Gospel certainly not later than A.D. 100, and possibly earlier. It is much to have such a statement from a judgment so sound. With regard to Luke he is inclined to accept Canon Streeter's suggestion that in each case there is a primary Lucan document worked up more elaborately at a later period after consultation with other authorities written or oral.

In these respects Dr. Headlam's book is admirable, it is when we come to the delineation of the central figure that we run against a serious problem which the present volume (the first of two) does not attempt to solve. The miracles are rationalised with an obvious desire to eliminate what is called the supernatural. The temptation in the wilderness is the conscious choice of method and the rejection of popular Messianism. But the Christ Who issues from this process hardly seems a sufficiently universal personality to account for all that follows. He is too limited and national. The only resource for modern scholarship which is genuinely historical, is to find in the personality of Jesus the supernatural quality which is eliminated from His circumstances and surroundings. The problem is to give us a Jesus who is worshipped, not merely admired, and it is not clear how Dr. Headlam is going to account for the worship of Jesus on the premisses he has given us so far. The crucial factor of which none of these writers has taken full account is surely the Messianic idea as a real revelation of God and His purpose in history. No building up of humanity, however winning and gracious and wise, takes us into the region of revelation. On the other hand, if we start with the conception of the sacred record as a revelation, with the Messianic idea as the centre of that revelation, and then find in Jesus the realisation of that idea—noting how it dominates His thought until there is a full and voluntary personal identification of Himself with the Messianic conception as He has understood it—there is then an adequate basis for the process by which the disciples soon began to attribute to Him the supreme titles—Son of God—Logos—express image of God, first-born of all creation. They could do no less. He was the consummation of their national history as a people of God. He was its inner meaning—its key—its goal—and its perfect explanation. And as such the most universal personality in all history. Indeed the only person in history who claims or realises the meaning of universal significance for all humanity.

In estimating the greatness of any master in the realm of Art there are three lines of evidence which, when they converge on one

person, give him an unchallenged position. There is the testimony of contemporaries—the men who personally knew and worked with the artist. An artist must have unchallengeable gifts when his companions, who are also his rivals, say of him, "He was the best of us"—"We all conceded first place to him." Next there is the testimony of those who came after him, who saw the change of method or ideal in the group who grew up under the influence of the master. Their testimony is valuable because it shows that the influence was not narrowly personal, it affected the painter's art, gave a new meaning to beauty, created a new stage in the history of painting. Third, and most important of all, the master has left some pictures which we can go and see for ourselves. We can see beauty through his eyes, and follow the clearness of his vision, the skill of his delineation, and the fineness of his colouring.

The Saviour of the world must also be the supreme artist in human life, and all the lines of testimony converge to make His life the masterpiece of history. If Truth, Goodness, and Beauty, the three eternal values, are all found in one personality, can we say less than that in this person Divine perfection is incarnate in a human life?

DUGALD MACFADYEN.

GEORGIAN.

SIR ARTHUR QUILLER-COUCH in "the somewhat wistful opening" of one of his published lectures says to his pupils:

Now take the young poets who are your contemporaries. Of them I say, sadly, resignedly, that a man even of my years has no right to speak, or very little power to speak usefully. Young poets write not for antiquity nor for middle-age. They write for *you*: their appeal is to *you*. All that we can do is to keep our hearts as fresh as we may; to bear ever in mind that a father can guide a son but some distance on the road, and the more wisely he guides the sooner (alas!) must he lose the fair companionship and watch the boy run on. It may sound a hard saying, but we can only keep him admiring the things we admire at the cost of pauperising his mind. It may sound another hard saying, that the younger poets do not write for us old men, yet it is the right course of nature.

So then—if, as we are told, appreciation is the better part of criticism—youth will be the soundest judge of youth, middle-age of middle-age. Critics will have to produce birth-certificates and resign themselves to being valued accordingly, and much snapping of fingers by youthful authors at ancient critics, and ancient authors at youthful critics is to be anticipated!

Both sides have suffered equally from the disadvantages of the war, when for a number of years neither writing nor criticism could have been the primary interest with anyone, even if at home there had been time to read books or in France enough books to read, when there was time. Nevertheless, though these difficulties have happily come to an end, it is likely that the drawbacks, always great, to a system which so nicely balanced author and critic, are to-day formidable enough to transfer it to the ideal sphere, out of the region of practical issues altogether. For how at the present time, with the last ten years behind us, are we to determine age? Is it the result of years or experience? One answer to the question is suggested in the fact that young men are already finding themselves to be in a position to write autobiographies. "People who are old enough to write memoirs have usually lost their memory," writes Mr. Shane Leslie, but he and Mr. Alec Waugh are in a very different case. They have known both the old and the new. Mr. Leslie puts into *The End of a Chapter* the kind of things that anyone who is now in the thirties is likely to remember, he sums up what the world was like for them before 1914 and clears the stage ready for the new scene. Even though he ends the book on the outbreak of hostilities, he has ample material for it.

Even before the war, the young generation was showing distinct

characteristics which the last years have developed rather than destroyed. With the twentieth century a new principle, notably applied in the settlement after the South African War, came into politics. The "laissez-faire" theory, which had caused the State's right to interfere, in order to prevent abuses, in such matters as the growth and development of towns and in industry in general to be so slowly and reluctantly recognised, fell into unpopularity. Constructive legislation was revived, as witness Trade Boards, Old Age Pensions, National Health Insurance, the Ministry of Health, to name only a few products of the new measures. The twentieth century was ready to tackle things. So new subjects, hitherto not considered to be fit material for the Muse, appeared in poetry, to be exposed, as their authors no doubt expected, to the fiercest fires of criticism. In one of his poems, called *A Consecration*, Masfield specifically says that he is going to adopt these unpopular themes:

Not of the princes and prelates with periwigged charioteers
Riding triumphantly laurelled to lap the fat of the years,
Rather the scorned—the rejected—the men hemmed in with the spears;

Not the ruler for me, but the ranker, the tramp of the road,
The slave with the sack on his shoulders pricked on with the goad,
The man with too weighty a burden, too weary a load.

Others may sing of the wine and the wealth and the mirth,
The portly presence of potentates goodly in girth;
Mine be the dirt and the dross, the dust and scum of the earth!
Theirs be the music, the colour, the glory, the gold;
Mine be a handful of ashes, a mouthful of mould.
Of the maimed, of the halt and the blind in the rain and the cold—
Of these shall my songs be fashioned, my tales be told.

This choice of what is known as "strong" material, as well as the increased sense of social responsibility, was due to a real, often a passionate, interest in the world and a genuine love of everything in it. The post-Victorians revelled in material beauty. Perhaps a beginning was made in the direction of social reform actually in the desire to remove ugliness rather than as the application of the well-articulated principles—perhaps too articulate to please English mentality—of the altruistic school which had flourished a generation earlier. The ill condition of men jars on harmony, mars beauty, offends taste, and the instinct is to remove evil and substitute good. The young people had to run the risk of finding ugliness when they were searching for beauty, but they had their reward, for to beauty, when the war came, they were able to turn for relief. With Hugh Britling, they wanted "books of dreams, books about China and the willow-pattern plate and the golden age and fairy-land," and felt that "any book about Greek

gods would be welcome, anything about temples of ivory-coloured stone and purple seas, red caps, chests of jewels and lizards in the sun":

Now that I am ta'en away
And may not see another day,
What is it to my eye appears?
What sound rings in my stricken ears?
Nor even the voice of any friend
Or eyes beloved—world-without-end,
But scenes and sounds of the countryside
In far England across the tide,

wrote Robert Nichols. F. W. Harvey is equally concrete, if less serious, in:

From troubles of the world
I turn to ducks,
Beautiful, comical things,
Sleeping or curled,
Their heads beneath white wings
By water cool,
Or finding curious things
To eat in various mucks
Beneath the pool,
Tails uppermost, or waddling,
Sailor-like, on the shores
Of ponds. . . .

Concrete beauty then became a necessity, though it had been enjoyed before the war in short, simple, direct poems about the country, Stevenson's, or Belloc's *When I am living in the Midlands*, or Kipling's *God gave all men all earth to love*. The poets were great walkers; their own work, such as Rupert Brooke's enumeration beginning "I have been so great a lover," showed how much they had observed in their peregrinations. How little modern writers deal in the heroic or the pretentious is well illustrated in a Sonnet by E. K. Chambers:

I like to think of Shakespeare, not as when
In our old London of the spacious time
He took all amorous hearts with honeyed rhyme;
Or flung his jest at Burbage and at Ben;

I like to think how Shakespeare pruned his rose,
And ate his pipkin in his orchard close.

The war turned this stream into a patriotic channel. Many of the poems written during the conflict centre on England, recalling memories, as in Geoffrey Howard's lines:

And she is very small and very green
And full of little lanes all dense with flowers
That wind along and lose themselves between
Mossed farms, and parks, and fields of quiet sheep.
And in the hamlets, where her stalwarts sleep,
Low bells chime out from old elm-hidden towers—

or in the cry of the young Edward Tennant:

I saw green banks of daffodil,
Slim poplars in the breeze,
Great tan-brown hares in gusty March
A-courting on the leas;
And meadows with their glittering streams, and silver scurrying dace,
Home—what a perfect place!

Some, like Herbert Asquith's *Volunteer*,

Who found his battle in the last resort;
Nor needs he any hearse to bear him hence,
Who goes to join the men of Agincourt,

show a strong sense of the continuity of English history and the English race. In many there is a skilful handling of beloved place names. Perhaps Flecker, exiled for other reasons, did this best. He had the same longing for home:

O, well I know sweet Hellas now
And well I knew it then,
When I with starry lads walked out—
But ah, for home again!
Was I not bred in Gloucestershire,
One of the Englishmen!

Beauty and associations, the whole physical background of life, may serve as a temporary refuge, but they do not lead as far as some souls have to travel. The man who most loves the material world most regrets the fleeting character of its loveliness. The lament for beauty comes down to us from the Greeks, from Swinburne, from Masfield writing:

The sun will rise, the winds that ever move
Will blow our dust that once were men in love,

from Drinkwater, who says of Rameses and Ariadne and "young Verona," hearts now stilled but once, presumably, wrung with passion:

Theirs was the bitterness we know
Because the clouds of hawthorn keep
So short a state, and kisses go
To tombs unfathomably deep,
While Rameses and Romeo,
And little Ariadne sleep.

Drinkwater keeps on trying to make the beauty of the world an antidote to war. So in *Clouds* he writes:

In common use my mind is still,
Eager for every lovely thing—

but it is of no avail. The charm will not work, and the poet ends:

But now my mind that gave to these
Gesture and shape, colour and song,
Goes hesitant and ill at ease;
And the old touch is truant long,
Because the continents and seas
Are loud with lamentable wrong.

The same idea persists in his *Nineteen-Fifteen*, in which Time inquires of man:

How are the works of his wisdom seen
In the year of your Lord nineteen-fifteen?

The poet has reached the logical completion of the materialistic theory, whether expressed or implied, that humanity must be included in the general wreck of beauty. Masfield, writing:

An earthly thing were better like the rose,
At peace with clay from which its beauty grows,

obviously finds it difficult to reconcile experience with such a conclusion. However, in *Nineteen-Fifteen* there is a gleam of hope. Man is "all forlorn" because he is "man the angel," "man whose image is in the skies." The secret slowly breaks upon a fresh generation—man is divine.

We have sought God in a cloudy Heaven,
We have passed by God on earth:
His seven sins and his sorrows seven,
His wayworn mood and mirth,
Like a ragged cloak have hid from us
The secret of his birth—

so Sir Henry Newbolt voices it in *The War Films*.

It is not a very new secret. Religions have generally emphasised the divine in man or the divine in the physical world in proportion as they were, originally, a reaction from the opposite philosophic theory. So Christianity, for instance, laid stress on the divine in man in contrast to the nature-worshipping paganism, which it supplanted and partly incorporated. Or perhaps it is truer to say that the love of material beauty is a scaffolding which after a time falls away and leaves the building plain to view; that beauty is the particular through which the mind attains to the general, the cloak of the immanent spirit. So Masfield comes to write:

There is no God; but we who breathe the air
Are God ourselves, and touch God everywhere;

and again:

O living self, O God, O morning star,
Give us thy light, forgive us what we are.

A new mysticism is arising. The present generation has rediscovered the Psalmist's "I have said, ye are gods; and all of you are children of the most High. But ye shall die like men, and fall like one of the princes." Even if the truth to be formulated is the same, a new literary expression of it is to be welcomed, since without it the mystical writings of the past would be likely to appeal to many on æsthetic grounds only, and not as having any practical bearing on present-day life. The point of view has changed. God is no longer thought of as "a magnified non-natural man," an

omnipotent monarch ruling the world from the outside, but as the inherent spirit.

We that have seen the strongest
Cry like a beaten child,
The sanest eyes unholy,
The cleanest hands defiled;
We that have known the heart blood
Less than the dregs of wine,
We that have seen men broken,
We know man is divine,

writes W. H. Hodgson. As to a future state, man is to be "a pulse in the eternal mind." Man, that is to say, is God, but God is something more, just as the rays are the sun, yet the sun is distinct. The whole is greater than the sum of the parts.

H. G. Wells, with his peculiar power of keeping his finger on the national pulse and crystallising opinion that is still volatile, is not behindhand in this matter. In his *God the Invisible King* he renounces materialism, admits the existence in men of a religious sense, and states very clearly the philosophical problems which the Fathers of the Church hoped that they had answered in the doctrine of the Trinity—how to reconcile the God of the human heart, who exists in the personality and in the conscience or moral sense of the individual as well as in the vaguer but no less real spirit of good and truth and beauty somehow permeating the world, with the "Veiled Being" who created and commands nature and the whole physical universe.

Samuel Butler, too, always ahead of his time, shows traces of the new influence. At first, he seems, like a Roman governor, to justify the spiritual outlook, and indeed religion itself, on utilitarian grounds. "Better," he says, "a corrupt Church than no Church at all." Or perhaps "that institution which was dearer" to Ernest Pontifex "than any other—the Church of England"—was equally dear to Ernest's inventor and on grounds as illogical. But in *God the Known and God the Unknown*, Butler confesses to convictions as well as tastes.

Bernard Shaw follows out the ethical and social implications of the same attitude when in the preface to *Androcles and the Lion* he points out that, for the sake of consistency, those who profess to love God will have to be responsible for putting an end to any social arrangements which presuppose hatred or indifference to other people.

In an age when religion is no longer confused with ethics but understood to be an emotional rather than an intellectual experience and accepted as such, received theological systems are likely to be given sympathetic inquiry, if not assent. Modern Christian mysticism is well represented by Joseph Plunkett's fine poem

I See His Blood upon the Rose. At any rate, with the fall of materialism the old difficulties connected with the higher criticism have lost their significance; they seem trivial and irrelevant. "Paley's Evidences," writes Sir Arthur Quiller-Couch, "a perversion of folly—any child has surer evidence within him." The new age is content to let instinct outrun reason and to accept the result as knowledge. Spiritual experience, too, is recognised as being no less real than physical. So writes Wilfrid Halliday in *The Gleam*:

I see, I feel, I sometimes know
And penetrate the soul of things.
I've sipped of streams that sometimes flow
From mystic, unimagined things.

Heaven judge my soul by that brief bliss
And pity me that I am lost
So oft in clay, and seem to miss
The path that beckoning gleam has crossed.

Forms may be rough, simple to starkness, but voluminousness is out of fashion. What matters more is the gallant attitude and the courage that dares to plunge from the safe ship of intellectualism into the unknown sea of faith.

Literature becomes less photographic and more imaginative. The realism so conspicuous in the early years of the period is less in evidence now. Barrie's "fantastic" plays hold the boards in the theatre. In the sphere of medicine, in spite of the fact that the war brought no more serious epidemic than influenza, and that surgery, in the nature of things, absorbed a greater share of the doctors' attention than physic, the study of nervous diseases has advanced considerably, and the possibility of an abnormal physical condition having its source in the mind can now be reckoned with. In the psychological sphere, neither the followers of Freud nor of Coué would allow that the potentialities of human personality have been in any degree fully explored.

W. HAYTHORNE.

THE PROBLEM OF THE AUSTRALIAN ABORIGINALS.

THE Australian aboriginals, at one time, were the subject of much interest and curiosity, and many valuable works have been written about them. Their customs in minute details have been placed on record by such ardent students as Brough Smith, A. W. Howitt, Baldwin Spencer, and others. To their languages sufficient time has been devoted to ascertain that, although they show such extraordinary variety that the members of one tribe often have difficulty in understanding their nearest neighbours, they all belong to one group. The different theories from time to time expounded regarding the origin of these people have ceased to cause controversies, it being now generally accepted that a negro race entered Australia in the late Pliocene or the early Pleistocene age, when this country is believed to have been connected by land with Asia by a landbridge of which the Malay Archipelago and New Guinea formed part, and that gradually they spread over the whole continent, then including Tasmania; that later on a dark-skinned race, akin to the Dravidians of India and the Veddahs of Ceylon, invaded the continent and, crossing blood with the earlier inhabitants, produced the present day aboriginals of Australia. The fact that the now extinct Tasmanian tribes were unadulterated negroes was due to Tasmania having been separated from the continent by Bass Strait before the second invasion took place.

A consensus of opinion now generally fixes the number of aboriginals in Australia at about 150,000 when the invasion by the white race took place in 1788, and that of the Tasmanian blacks at about 2,000. Their present number is uncertain, the various attempts at counting them having given unsatisfactory results. The number arrived at in 1921 has not yet been published for the very reason that it is considered unreliable. The following figures, though not claiming to be more than approximately correct, will, however, give a good indication of the number of full-blooded aboriginals existing to-day: Victoria, 100; New South Wales, 1,500; South Australia, 1,600; Queensland, 14,000 (this number includes about 2,300 Torres Strait Islanders, who are of the Papuan race); Western Australia, 15,500; Northern Territory, 17,000. We thus arrive at a total number of approximately 50,000. The main obstacle to arriving at exact results is that in the northern parts of Australia they still live their old nomadic life. In 1921 the Chief Protector of aboriginals for Western Australia estimated the number living in country as yet uninhabited by Europeans at about 10,000. More than that number will probably be outside of European influence

in the Northern Territory. In regard to Queensland the Chief Protector for aborigines in that State writes, in a letter dated September 30th, 1921:—

I should say that a large number of aborigines are still living in a wild primitive state in the York Peninsula and Gulf Country, and along the Northern Territory border and in the Wellesley Islands, though all have practically come into contact, to a greater or lesser degree, with whites or aliens.

The tragic fate of the Tasmanian blacks, of whom the last surviving member, a woman, succumbed in 1876, is well known. Their destruction has often been held up as a reproach against the British. In a book by the Swedish writer, Birger Mörner, published as late as 1914, the writer blames the Germans for the dying out of the Micronesians in the Western Islands of the Bismarck Archipelago; but quotes, in the way of apology, "the far greater crime of the British towards the Tasmanian blacks." Personally I have never heard any Britisher defend what took place in Tasmania a hundred years ago; still, it is obvious that if comparison be made it must be made between colonising powers of the same period.

Considering the harsh spirit of the age, and the fact that throughout the whole civilised world primitive races a hundred years ago were not considered as possessing ordinary human rights, the instruction given to Captain Philip by his Sovereign before he departed to found the first colony in Australia was singularly humane. It reads:—

You are to endeavour by every possible means to open an intercourse with the natives, and to conciliate their affections, enjoining all our subjects to live in amity and kindness with them, and if any of our subjects should wantonly destroy them or give them any unnecessary interruption in the exercise of their several occupations, it is our will and pleasure that we do cause such offenders to be brought to punishment according to the degree of offence.

These instructions involved equal right of protection from injury. It may, however, be said that they were inconsistent with the Government's own act in ignoring the natives' ownership of the land which they had occupied from time immemorial, and in declaring it the property of the Crown, and also that it is futile to give instructions, if such instructions are not carried out.

The true position was, however, that the instructions *could not* possibly be carried out if Australia or any part of it was to be settled by the white race at all, a fact of which the British Sovereign and his advisers could not then be fully aware. The conditions in Australia were quite different from those prevailing, for instance, in the Western Pacific, where the natives are primarily agriculturists and draw most of their food from comparatively small areas,

leaving vast expanses of unutilised land. The Australian aborigines are nomadic hunters; certain grain-bearing grasses they could have cultivated, but they apparently never attempted to do so, while the only animal they ever troubled about domesticating was the dingo. Getting nothing out of the land but a few roots and herbs, and such animals as they were able to hunt down, they required every nook and corner of habitable country for their sustenance. Tasmania sustained only one aboriginal to every thirteen square miles; and the continent of Australia only one to every twenty square miles; nor could these lands, with the manner of eking out a living which the aborigines had adopted, sustain more. As a matter of fact, from time to time, out of consideration for the food supply, the growth of the population was checked by killing off some of the newborn children.

The erstwhile friendly relation between the whites and the blacks came to an end when the former commenced to move inland with their flocks of sheep and herds of cattle. The struggle became more fierce in Tasmania than on the continent, partly owing to the two contesting races being brought closer together, on account of the smallness of the island, and partly through the Tasmanian blacks being even less amenable to discipline and order than the Australian aborigines.

It is well known that at the outskirts of civilisation are always found the rougher elements of the white race. This was particularly true of Van Diemen's Land, where the outer fringe of society was largely composed of convict-servants, ex-convict-hunters, and a floating community of cattle-stealers, bushrangers, and runaway prisoners. The blacks were continually irritated by the territory upon which they were allowed to hunt being steadily diminished, and by their womenfolk being interfered with. The settlers were equally annoyed at the blacks helping themselves to their sheep and cattle. As long as both parties could eke out a living, and the competition between the whites and blacks for the native females had not become acute, the position was bearable; but by the sustained advance into the interior of pastoralists and their attendant convict servants, matters grew from bad to worse, and from about 1819 the state of affairs approached one of guerilla warfare, with merciless slaughter on both sides. In the Oatland district alone twenty-one inquests were held on murdered settlers in less than three years, while in regard to the blacks only 200 were left when in 1834 they agreed to have all their needs provided for by the Government, and to live in peace. Even then the race might have been saved had the blacks been able to adapt themselves to the changed conditions; as, however, they lacked that adaptability, nothing could prevent decline and death.

On the mainland the struggle between the two races was less fierce and more protracted, and the aborigines had disappeared only from the fertile and well watered coastal districts of South-Eastern Australia when the tragic fate of the Tasmanian blacks roused the conscience of the white colonists and caused an entirely new spirit to enter the hearts of the conquering race.

The recognition of the rights of the natives synchronises with the coming into being of free responsible communities in different parts of the continent. The feeling that the natives had been wronged at once exercised a restraining influence. Philanthropists transformed the new spirit into practical measures for protection. The Australian aboriginal is very responsive to kind treatment, and although occasional conflicts have occurred right down to our own time, the process of pacification made great strides. Young natives commenced to serve on sheep and cattle stations as stockmen and boundary riders, and young girls as domestic servants. Reserves were in due course set apart for those who preferred their old life, and different denominations inaugurated religious and educational work amongst them. Considerable sums of money were devoted to their benefit, and by degrees the aborigines of the Southern half of the continent and many in the Northern half were brought under the influence of European civilisation.

After the federation of the various colonies, the different States remained in control of their aboriginal affairs, and although some of the Governments were slow in recognising that the protection of the original possessors of the land was a duty resting on the community as a whole, and not on charitable organisations, they have now all passed special Acts making the welfare of the aborigines a public concern. The means adopted by the various Governments for their preservation follow four main lines, *viz.* (1) by legislative measures to regulate their employment and prevent their being served with alcoholic drinks; (2) to set aside certain areas for their exclusive use; (3) to educate the young; (4) to care for those who are unable to care for themselves.

Hitherto all the efforts at preserving the aborigines have proved barren of result. While it has been possible by law to protect them against gross outrages and to assure them fair treatment by employers, it has proved impossible at out-of-the-way places to prevent them from being served with alcohol, supplied with opium, which is still being smuggled into Australia by the Chinese, or inoculated with fatal diseases. The creation of reserves has also proved disappointing. As the white settlers close in on these reserves the two races mix, and the result is invariably a decline of the natives. Finally, the treatment of them almost as inmates in charitable institutions apparently only serves to render more peace-

ful and free from suffering the eventide of small surviving remnants of once powerful tribes.

Whether or not the efforts made at preserving them in the thinly populated Northern parts of Australia will succeed has yet to be seen. The Governments of Queensland, Western Australia, and the Northern Territory have such immense areas at their disposal that in setting land aside for the aborigines they have been able to show a generosity which, if the natives were able to change their mode of living and take to sheep and cattle-raising, would ensure them a sorrowless future. The growing zeal of various religious denominations for the education of these backward people is a distinct gain, while the slow advance of the white man in the North gives reformers of native life breathing time. On the other hand, the fundamental obstacles to the survival of the aborigines are the same to-day in the North as they were in the South sixty to seventy years ago—their nomadic habits, lack of cohesion and of racial pride, too great readiness to make friends with the Europeans, and a scarcity of white women in outlying districts.

The pastoral industry is the pioneer industry of Australia. It was with that pursuit, and with the men engaged in it, that the aborigines mainly came in contact in the past, and it is in the outer fringe of the pastoral area that the vitality of the aborigines is most severely and fatally tested to-day. The pastoral industry as it advances absorbs a certain number of able-bodied natives; the tribes around new cattle or sheep-stations thereby gradually become reduced and disorganised and gravitate towards the homestead of the Europeans, where they form camps and become hangers on. The squatters, no doubt, often have a feeling that, although they have bought or leased from the Crown the land they occupy, it rightly belongs to the aborigines. Besides, if they do not feed these people, they are likely to make inroads on the stock and give trouble. So, whether inspired by human kindness, a feeling of justice, or as a matter of expediency, the aborigines in the camps are generally provided for. Little by little these lose their energy, virility, and racial pride; they become indolent and apathetic towards life, and guard with less jealousy than formerly their womenfolk from associating with the whites. Half-caste children from the stations at intervals drift to the camps, grow up and replace the full-blood individuals, till in the course of time there are few but half-castes left in the district.

That the aboriginal question has quite a different meaning in the North from what it has in the South will be seen at a glance from the relative proportion of whites to blacks at the two opposite

ends of the scale. In Victoria there was on April 4th, 1921, one aboriginal to every 13,800 whites; in the Northern Territory there were approximately six blacks to every one white. In the Northern districts of Queensland and Western Australia the proportion will be similar, whereas in the densely populated parts of these States the proportion approaches that of New South Wales and South Australia. In the Southern States the aboriginal problem found its solution in days long gone by and the present position corresponds to that of nursing a sick old man, who may linger on for a while, but whose end nevertheless is in sight; but in the North the problem is of considerable economic significance, in so far as there the pastoral industry could not be successfully carried on without the aboriginals, no other labour being available. They have been taught to shear, pick up, roll, yard, cook, drive the bullock teams to the nearest port, and in some cases to class wool. In cattle country every station has its quota of aboriginal stockmen, and they prove trustworthy and most efficient in a land without fences, where stations are anything up to 10,000 square miles. The Chief Protector for aboriginals in Western Australia, in one of his recent official reports, wrote:—

Few people realise how much the aboriginals have done in the development of the North generally. It is therefore sound policy, for economic reasons, to preserve the race as far as possible in order that it may continue to assist in developing the Territory.

Seeing that the Maoris in New Zealand apparently have regained their vitality and show an increase of nearly four thousand between the Census of 1911 and that of 1921, the question naturally arises: "May the decline of the Australian aboriginals also be arrested?"

In an article on the aboriginals, supplied to the Commonwealth Year Book for 1909 by Dr. Ramsay Smith of the Adelaide University, the writer, after having repeated an often-voiced and, may be, well-founded reproach against the whites for wrongs done to the aboriginals, says: "The problem of saving the race is not a difficult one to solve, were a solution really desired."

It does seem that the efforts made by Queensland and Western Australia to preserve the native race have resulted in a natural increase at certain places. The Chief Protector for aboriginals in the latter State in his annual report, dated June 30th, 1920, wrote: "In thirty-four districts the natives are reported to be decreasing, while they are increasing in ten, and stationary in all others." In Queensland a natural increase is reported from the Yarrabah and Mitchel River aboriginal settlements. The Commonwealth Government which controls the Northern Territory is more lukewarm in preserving the aboriginals, and, apart from having acted

on Professor Sir Baldwin Spencer's advice to create large aboriginal reserves, very little is being done. The position is that the Federal Parliament consists mainly of Southerners. The Territory is a long way off; it has hitherto cost the Federal Treasury scores of thousands of pounds annually, with no immediate prospects of improvement, and the Commonwealth taxpayers are continually crying out for economy. Apart from the cost, it seems quite probable that at the back of the minds of the Southerners, who embraced the "White Australia Creed" with so much enthusiasm, there exists a fear of creating a race problem similar to that of the United States to distress future generations—blacks as much as whites—and that for this reason they entertain no strong desire to stem the decline of the aboriginals as a distinct race.

We now come to the question of the half-castes, which, although related to the aboriginal question, is a problem in itself. The belief that the aboriginals are dying out is only true in so far as, by the whites pushing further and further north towards the Indian Ocean, they are disappearing as a distinct race. Speaking in a general way, only the males die without leaving offspring; the females have been and are still being absorbed by the white race, haphazard though the absorption may be. In early days when law and order did not extend many miles outside the cities, the settlers, as already stated, emulated the Romans by obtaining wives from their neighbours. To be sure, they only copied a widespread custom existing amongst the aboriginals themselves. Later on they obtained them by friendly understanding. The customs governing matrimonial affairs amongst the aboriginals had amply prepared the ground for the bartering away—for provision, wearing apparel, tobacco, and alcohol—of the most prolific females of their race. The wife of an Australian aboriginal is her husband's pack-animal, slave and property; but simultaneously she may stand in a recognised concubinage to other men, or she may even be what is termed a group wife. A. W. Howitt, who made an exhaustive study of the aboriginals in South-eastern Australia, states that at saturnalia occasioned by special events, all matrimonial restrictions were temporarily abolished.

At first the offspring of mixed origin was not suffered to live. As, however, a more friendly spirit was introduced by the Europeans and reciprocated by the aboriginals, half-castes were embraced with more kindly feelings, and in fact were often looked upon as welcome additions to fast dwindling tribes. Most of the half-castes with their mothers sooner or later drifted back to the aboriginal camps and were well received. There were in Australia in 1921, 12,630 half-castes, viz.: New South Wales, 5,560; Victoria, 300; Queensland, 2,840; South Australia 1,132; Western Australia,

2,084; Northern Territory, 624. Anyone further removed from the full-blooded aboriginal than half-caste is socially and statistically classified amongst the Whites and consequently lost count of; still, the above figures sufficiently show that the aboriginal race has been absorbed, and still is being absorbed to a greater extent than is generally realised. It is to be regretted that this fact is ignored by the people of Australia, and that the Commonwealth Government does not set an example in reclaiming from the aboriginal camps in the Northern Territory all the half-castes, adequately educating and training them and according them Australian citizenship. Apart from being an act of justice it would be a case of national economy.

It is a mistake to think that the Australian aboriginals have nothing to give to the white race. Those who are most intimately acquainted with them are unanimous in declaring that they are an exceptionally healthy and physically fit race. When Captain Phillip went from Botany Bay to examine Port Jackson he met a number of natives on the beach, and he and his officers were so struck by the manly appearance of these people that he named the place Manly Cove. Dr. Charles Pickering, after studying the aboriginals on the spot some fifty years ago, gave it as his deliberate opinion that "the Australian native is the finest model of human proportions I have ever seen." And Herbert Pitt writes: "Physically the aboriginals are in their wild state a splendid people; tall in the North, in the South of medium height, their proportions are almost perfect." The resourcefulness of the aboriginal in procuring food and water and in finding his way in unknown country is unique, and there can be little doubt that the well-known resourcefulness and sense of location of the present-day way-backs of Australia, the marvellous feats performed by stockmen and drovers in waterless country, and the gradual conquest of Australia's inhospitable interior are due in a large measure to lessons taught the pioneers by the natives or in many cases to a black strain in their blood.

A carefully planned policy of the ultimate absorption of the, comparatively speaking, small number of aboriginals, apart from being quite an honourable solution, would eliminate the race problem, and would be most advantageous from the point of view of national economy.

J. LYNCH.

FOREIGN AFFAIRS.

REPARATIONS BY CONFERENCE.

EVENTS followed quickly on M. Herriot's assumption of the French Prime Ministership. On June 14th Mr. MacDonald, in a speech which he made at Elgin, buoyantly declared that "we are just about pulling it off," and that the result of the meeting which he had already arranged with M. Herriot would, he hoped, be "complete friendship between Great Britain and France." His optimistic tone was due, no doubt, to the fact that M. Herriot had promised his unequivocal support to the Dawes scheme, and had placed the League of Nations in the foreground of his foreign policy. Herriot was indeed riding fast, and underestimated, perhaps, the danger of the ambushes which were being prepared by M. Poincaré and his journalist friends in Paris.

M. Herriot crossed the Channel on Saturday, June 21st. Reaching London in the late afternoon, he drove straight to Chequers, where he talked with Mr. MacDonald late into the night and on the following morning. Up to a point the conversation was a success. "The conversation revealed," said an official statement issued on the Sunday evening, "general agreement between the French and British points of view, and on the part of the two Prime Ministers a common determination to meet the difficulties which beset their countries, and indeed the whole world, by continuous co-operation. It was agreed that, subject to the convenience of the other Allies, a conference should be held in London not later than the middle of July, for the purpose of definitely settling the procedure to be adopted." A final sentence added, "The two Prime Ministers agreed to pay a brief visit to Geneva together at the opening of the Assembly of the League of Nations in September next."

The phrase "continuous co-operation" condensed a whole volume in itself. As M. Herriot left Chequers Mr. MacDonald had remarked that the Franco-British co-operation thereby started would, he hoped, be not a matter of a day, but a continuous instrument from the beginning to the end of the European settlement. The effect of such a remark on a Frenchman can be imagined. French instinct for a precise formula made M. Herriot leap at the opportunity. "You mean, then," he said, "that we have agreed to conclude a definite pact of Franco-British co-operation?" In France the word pact is as a straw to a drowning man. The original draft of the communiqué, as written by Mr. MacDonald, made no reference to "continuous co-operation." When the draft was submitted to M. Herriot, he insisted on gathering the full fruits of Chequers by inserting the sentence: "En présence des

difficultés qui assiégent nos deux pays et le monde entier, nous sommes tombés d'accord pour conclure entre nous un pacte moral de collaboration continue." Mr. MacDonald agreed to incorporate the substance of the sentence in the English text, but shied at the word pact, and the compromise as shown above was arrived at. No power in heaven or in earth could, however, have induced M. Herriot to disgorge his "pact," and the word duly appeared in the French text of the communiqué.

The importance of the Chequers meeting of June 21st and 22nd was that the two Prime Ministers agreed on a method by which to grapple again with the problem of Europe. The method was to choose the least controversial aspect of the problem, to hold a conference on it, and to put a blind eye for the moment to every other aspect. "One step enough for me" was to be the motto. It was agreed that at the July Conference the Allies should deal only with the purely economic problem of putting the Dawes scheme into operation. If that preliminary step could be successfully taken at the July Conference, then the Allies would proceed to consider the further problems of security and inter-Allied debts at two subsequent and separate conferences. This method is the exact opposite to that which was unsuccessfully adopted at the Genoa Conference of 1922, when an attempt was made to evolve complete order out of chaos in six weeks. There is reason for believing that what pleased Mr. MacDonald most about the Chequers interview was that a French Prime Minister had at last been persuaded to deal with the question of reparations without reference to those of security and inter-Allied debts.

The process of achieving this triumph, for such it was, had at least one obstacle which threatened failure. M. Herriot had agreed that the Ruhr should be evacuated economically as soon as the Dawes scheme became effective. At that point in the conversation there arose the question whether the Dawes scheme could be applied unless the Ruhr was evacuated militarily as well as economically. In Part III. ("Military Aspects") of the Dawes report, it is stated that "Questions of military occupation are not within our terms of reference"; indeed, on the insistence of M. Poincaré, who still had the Ruhr on the brain, the experts had been forbidden to discuss the military aspect of sanctions. When, therefore, the Dawes Committee, in the part referred to above, went on to make the following remark, its force was all the greater. "It is, however, our duty to point out clearly that our forecasts are based on the assumption that economic activity will be unhampered and unaffected by any foreign organisation other than the controls herein provided. Consequently, our plan is based upon the assumption that existing measures, in so far as they hamper that activity,

will be withdrawn, or sufficiently modified, so soon as Germany has put into execution the plan recommended, and that they will not be reimposed except in the case of flagrant failure to fulfil the conditions accepted by common agreement. In case of such failure it is plainly for the creditor Governments, acting with the consciousness of joint trusteeship for the financial interests of themselves and of others who will have advanced money upon the lines of the plan, then to determine the nature of the sanctions to be applied and the method of their rapid and effective application."

It was therefore inevitable that the question of the military evacuation of the Ruhr should be raised at Chequers, for logically the July Conference, even within its economic limitations, could not put the Dawes scheme into operation except on condition of such evacuation. Equally inevitably, M. Herriot raised the counter-question of security, and showed himself enough of a Frenchman to be unable to promise the abandonment of the military "pledge" in the Ruhr except in return for some other pledge that would satisfy the needs of French security. As it had already been agreed to exclude questions of security from the July Conference, Mr. MacDonald promptly agreed, for the purposes of the July Conference, to put his blind eye to the military occupation. The justification for this type of opportunism is that the difficulties in Europe are so many, and the position of the Allied statesmen themselves is so precarious, that any comprehensive attempt at a settlement on a Genoa scale would invite disaster. A contributory argument in favour of the step-by-step method, an argument which was responsible for relegating inter-Allied debts to the last of the series of conferences contemplated, was that American participation would be necessary before the complete settlement, including that of debts, could be achieved. It had been made crystal clear that America had no intention of resuming any official responsibilities in Europe until Europe had solved her main problems for herself. The condition would be realised if, for instance, the Allies held two consecutive conferences at which the problems of reparations and security were successfully dealt with.

Another thin patch which had to be nimbly skated over at Chequers was that of Germany's admission to the League of Nations. As was the case with the question of the military occupation of the Ruhr, the blind eye had again to be mobilised, for a German entry to the League raised again the question of sanctions. The furthest the two Prime Ministers got in discussing it was to agree that leniency should be shown to Germany in proportion as her politics tended to the Left, and that any Nationalist tendency would be jointly resisted by the French and British Governments.

Apart from the short official communication issued on Sunday evening, June 22nd, the Chequers conversations were shrouded, or an attempt was made to shroud them, in secrecy. Therein lay another example of the persistence of type in both British and French politics. The secrecy was Mr. MacDonald's idea, and it was M. Herriot who was asked to conform. Has there been a single meeting since the Armistice between British and French Prime Ministers in which the same story, with the same result, has not held good? It is not within the power of a French Prime Minister, as it is in that of a British Prime Minister, even to attempt to be secretive; and Mr. MacDonald, in company with his predecessors in similar distress, had to learn the lesson by experience. On the very day when M. Herriot left London for Brussels—where at Mr. MacDonald's request he gave a detailed account of the Chequers meeting to M. Theunis—he gave an interview to a correspondent of *L'Indépendance Belge*, in which his interviewer presumably misunderstood him. He was there reported as having said that Mr. MacDonald had given an undertaking of a "defensive pact" with France in case of an unprovoked attack by Germany. ("Dès à présent, en cas d'une agression préméditée de l'Allemagne, j'ai l'assurance d'un pacte défensif qui lierait la France, l'Angleterre et la Belgique.") That, of course, was not the case. All that Mr. MacDonald had done was to repeat to M. Herriot the assurance that he had already made in his correspondence with M. Poincaré, and which he has more than once made in his speeches—witness particularly his speech at York two or three months ago—that in case of a German default over the execution of the Dawes scheme Great Britain would be solid with her allies in applying whatever sanctions might be necessary to coerce Germany. This, of course, is a vastly different thing from offering a defensive military pact to France and Belgium for the general contingency of German aggression. Mr. MacDonald made no commitment beyond what is expressed or implied in the application of the Dawes scheme to Germany.

The Poincarist opposition waited for its opportunity, and was unfortunately presented with it when it became known that the British Government had sent out with the invitations to the Conference a statement of British views such as had been explained to M. Herriot at Chequers. The immediate handle used by M. Poincaré was that the statement of British views had been sent to all the Allied Governments except the French. Any stick was good enough for the Poincarists to take up, and this particular stick was grotesque. It did so much damage, however, that M. Herriot soon found himself in danger of being turned out of office. The whole prospect of the July Conference and of a Reparations settlement

was suddenly clouded, and on Monday, July 7th, at the urgent request of M. Herriot, Mr. MacDonald decided to go to Paris in person on the following day to clear up any misunderstanding which the Poincarists in the existing mystery were able to exploit. That episode, which was described by Mr. MacDonald as a "storm in a teacup," was the second misunderstanding that had been created by the antiquated policy of secret diplomacy which the British Government attempted to pursue.

If Mr. MacDonald had let it be known what he had done after the Chequers conversations of June 21st and 22nd, it would not have been necessary for him to go to Paris on July 8th. Realising, no doubt, its initial mistake, the British Government quickly swung to the opposite extreme and issued two White Papers within a week on the subject of the July Conference. On Tuesday, July 8th, a White Paper was published giving the text of the various letters of invitation and memoranda sent out by the British Government. That publication vindicated the innocence and propriety of the British Government as clearly as it illustrated its heaviness and unimaginativeness of method. What happened was that on June 23rd Sir Ronald Graham, British Ambassador in Rome, was instructed by telegram to invite the Italian Government to the London Conference and to explain the British point of view. It was held to be important in the British view that Italy should be informed as soon as possible of what had taken place at Chequers, especially as on that very day (Monday, June 23rd) M. Herriot crossed over to Brussels to give a full account to M. Theunis.

The memorandum to Rome argued the case for the necessity of the results of the July Conference being embodied in a special protocol. There are precedents for such a procedure. The July Conference had before it an agenda of the same kind as would have been dealt with at the Brussels Conference, which should have taken place shortly after the Paris Conference of January, 1923, but which was knocked out by the Franco-Belgian occupation of the Ruhr. It was then common ground among the Allies that the Brussels results would have to be recorded in a protocol, as their function would have been to supplement as well as to execute the treaty. Similarly, the results of the Spa Conference of 1920, at which the percentage shares of the Allies in Reparations were decided, were embodied in a protocol. The important passages in the telegram to Rome were the following:—

"His Britannic Majesty's Government favour the plan of fixing in such a protocol (a) a date by which Germany must complete legislation and other measures which she will have to take; (b) a later date—perhaps two weeks after the first date—at which all the

economic and fiscal sanctions now in force in German territory and which affect the economic activities of German Reich would be withdrawn. This plan had already been suggested at conversations which took place in England early in May between Mr. MacDonald and the Belgian Ministers.

"It is laid down in report of General Dawes that only in the case of a flagrant failure to carry out conditions which report embodies shall sanctions be reimposed. The protocol now suggested should therefore contain a stipulation to that effect, and it will be necessary to decide what authority, in the event of a flagrant failure occurring, is to decide that there has been such a failure. The engagements which Germany is to undertake under the scheme proposed in General Dawes's report go far beyond those imposed by Treaty of Versailles, and it seems, therefore, to His Britannic Majesty's Government that duty of deciding whether a flagrant failure has occurred cannot properly be entrusted to Reparation Commission, since functions of that commission are strictly determined by Treaty of Versailles. It has been suggested that services of Financial Committee of League of Nations should be invoked for this purpose."

The substance of this message was sent two days later, June 25th, to Baron Moncheur, Belgian Ambassador in London, and to Baron Hayashi, Japanese Ambassador, for transmission to Brussels and Tokio. Paris was left out for the simple reason that M. Herriot knew all about it at first hand; but the French Right had all the less justification for their mischief because on Tuesday, June 24th, Sir Eyre Crowe sent a message to Count de Peretti della Rocca, the permanent head of the Quai d'Orsay, to confirm the "principal heads" of the subjects discussed by the two Prime Ministers at Chequers. Owing, however, to the fact that all this had been done in the dark, Mr. Ramsay MacDonald had to cross over to Paris by the early boat on July 8th to stop the rot. As a result of some very quick work the understanding was confirmed, and a joint Franco-British memorandum was agreed on by the two Prime Ministers to be submitted to the London Conference as a joint Franco-British proposal. The results were embodied in a White Paper dated July 9th, and published on July 12th. The important passages were certain paragraphs of Section 5 as follows:—

(c) The arrangements to be concluded must not diminish the authority of the Reparation Commission. But in view of the fact that some security must be given to the lenders who provide the 800 million gold marks and to the holders of the economic bonds, the two Governments will unite in an effort to secure the presence of an American on the Reparation Commission in the event of the latter having to consider a default on the part of Germany. If this

solution proved impossible and in the event of the members of the Reparation Commission being divided in opinion as to the significance of the facts of the case, the two Governments would recommend that the Reparation Commission should call in the Agent-General of Reparation Payments, who is to be of American nationality.

(d) The Dawes Report contains provisions to meet minor defaults by means of the various supervisory organisations; but an important wilful default would at once raise the question of Germany's good faith. In the event of the Reparation Commission declaring such a default, the Governments concerned will undertake to confer at once on how to put into operation such measures as they shall agree to take in order to protect themselves and the investors.

(e) The plan by which German economic and fiscal unity shall be restored so soon as the Reparation Commission shall have decided that the Dawes Report is in operation, shall be settled at the Inter-Allied Conference. The Reparation Commission will be asked to prepare and present to the Inter-Allied Conference suggestions for such a plan.

(f) Should experience show the necessity for modifications in the Experts' Plan, such modifications should only be introduced subject to all necessary guarantees and by common agreement between the interested Governments, except in so far as the Reparation Commission already has the necessary powers.

(g) In order to take full advantage of the Reparation payments provided for in the Experts' Report and to secure that they may benefit the nations interested, the Allies shall appoint a special body to advise the Governments interested what organisation should be set up in each country for putting to proper use the payments made by Germany (in particular by way of transfers and deliveries in kind).

The Conference, therefore, opened on July 16th on an agreed Franco-British basis. The situation was analogous to that which preceded the Lausanne Conference in November, 1922. On his way to Lausanne Lord Curzon went to Paris and obtained M. Poincaré's agreement to the so-called Curzon memorandum, which was the suggested Allied basis for the Conference. The memorandum, as agreed by the two, was then submitted to Signor Mussolini at the little village of Territet, near Lausanne, on the very eve of the Conference, and on being accepted by him became a joint Anglo-French-Italian programme.

It was common ground among all the delegations last month that the central difficulty was going to be the problem of reconciling the authority of the Reparation Commission under the Treaty of Versailles with the necessity of setting up a body which should

be reasonably competent to establish a case of flagrant default according to the terms of the Dawes Report, a body which would satisfy the criteria of Great Britain and America. It was obvious that if the £40,000,000 loan, which is an integral part of the Dawes scheme, was to be raised the chief creditors, British and American, would need to have all doubts about their security removed. It was equally obvious that if sanctions could be initiated at any moment against Germany at the discretion of the Reparation Commission—that is, under the existing constitution of the Commission, at the discretion of France—the security which Germany could offer in advance was very much less attractive than if the decision about the establishment of a default could not be taken without the concurrence of those chief creditors. That was the chief problem before the Conference.

The preliminaries to the Conference involved at least one comedy. M. Herriot is credited with an errant and wayward disposition which chafes under the ordinary conventions of practical life. Before crossing to Chequers for his conversation with Mr. MacDonald it was necessary for M. Herriot to consult General Nollet, on the one hand, and Count de Peretti della Rocca, on the other. Several appointments were made with both, but in each case M. Herriot found himself telescoped with other appointments, and the two had to be progressively put off. At the moment when M. Herriot entered the train at the Gard du Nord en route for London, the two had not yet had their appointments. They both, therefore, turned up at the station to receive their instructions, and were instructed to accompany M. Herriot as far as Calais, so that he could take their expert advice and receive their dossiers on the way. They both complied, but General Nollet, who had had more appointments put off than Count de Peretti della Rocca, was invited first by M. Herriot, and the interview lasted till the train reached Calais, five hours later. As M. Herriot embarked on the boat at Calais Count de Peretti della Rocca had not yet had his interview, and was therefore commanded to accompany M. Herriot to Chequers so that the interview could be held in the train between Dover and London. Count de Peretti della Rocca, who had neither pyjamas nor tooth-brush, nor anything that was his beyond what he stood in, had, of course, to comply. Owing to the secret diplomacy which descended over Chequers, it is not known how the domestic crisis was met when Count de Peretti della Rocca spent his night at Chequers.

The Conference which met on July 16th in effect took up the work of diplomacy at the point where it was cut off by the Cannes Conference of January, 1922. It was at that point that M. Poincaré supplanted M. Briand and wrote the big full stop, his monument. For twelve months after that a merely provisional scheme of repara-

tions was in force and was to end on January 15th, 1923. Mr. Lloyd George had hoped in the meantime, by the method of the Genoa Conference, to achieve some permanent settlement. His attempt was torpedoed by M. Poincaré. Mr. Bonar Law made an eleventh-hour effort at the New Year's Conference in Paris last year to stop the rot. He also was torpedoed by M. Poincaré. Four days before the provisional reparations scheme expired the Ruhr was occupied, and since January 11th, 1923, Allied diplomacy had been out of court.

ZAGHLUL PASHA AND THE SUDAN.

At the beginning of July the relations between Zaghlul Pasha and Mr. Ramsay MacDonald became very confused. It had been arranged that Zaghlul should come to London in order to discuss the future of the Sudan, but the visit was progressively postponed, and public opinion became more and more mystified. A great number of telegrams passed between London and Cairo, the substance of which ought to be made known in order that the position of the British Government, at any rate, should be understood. In a telegram sent from Cairo on May 11th, Mr. MacDonald was given to understand that in addition to his personal letter of invitation, Zaghlul demanded a further assurance that Mr. MacDonald did not intend to "restrict either the basis or the scope of the discussions." On May 15th, therefore, Mr. MacDonald clearly explained to the Egyptian Minister that "by either party explaining where they stood the other was in no way bound to recognise that position." At the same time Mr. MacDonald suggested an agenda for the discussions which it was proposed to hold in London, the object being to save time by settling the agenda in advance. He invited Zaghlul to expand his proposed agenda if he thought it desirable to do so. Zaghlul made no move.

On May 27th, therefore, Mr. MacDonald stated that he would be prepared to listen to any proposals or arguments that Zaghlul might make, and he deliberately went out of his way to state as emphatically as possible that when negotiations began Zaghlul would be at liberty to raise any question he liked within the limits of the agenda agreed on. This information was duly conveyed to Zaghlul. Still Zaghlul was not satisfied. His next complaint was that the participation of the Sudan in the Wembley Exhibition might be interpreted as compromising the position of the Sudan in relation to the British Empire. On June 2nd Mr. MacDonald asked the Egyptian Minister to convey to Zaghlul his assurance that there was no wish on this side that Zaghlul should enter the proposed negotiations on any other footing but that of perfect equality, without prejudice, and with an entire *tabula rasa*. Zaghlul's shyness and nervousness had apparently taken such a hold of

him that even then he was ill at ease. On June 8th a telegram reached London stating that Zaghlul wanted a further guarantee that "the fact of his having entered into negotiations would not be brought up against him," and that the negotiations themselves "would be free from all restrictive conditions."

By this time the British Government naturally began to doubt if any assurance, no matter how flat and explicit, could be effective against the obsession which seemed to atrophy Zaghlul. Patiently, however, Mr. MacDonald stated again that in his view neither party to the proposed negotiations could be held to have prejudiced their position by taking part in free and friendly discussions, whether they resulted in the conclusion of an agreement or whether they showed that the difficulties in the way of arriving at an agreement could not for the moment be overcome. Still no move was taken by Zaghlul.

Lord Parmoor had, a short time ago, made a statement in the House of Lords defining the attitude of the British Government towards the Sudan, such as was already perfectly well known to everybody concerned. The statement led to a violent outcry on the part of the Egyptian Nationalists, and to a sympathetic essay in truculence on the part of Zaghlul Pasha in the Cairo Assembly. Coming on the top of the extraordinarily conciliatory telegrams which had been sent from London, this outburst on the part of Zaghlul made it necessary for Mr. MacDonald publicly to define in a further and more detailed statement the position of the British Government. Lord Parmoor had said that no arrangement would be made with the Egyptian Government "which would break our pledges to the Sudan or jeopardise the present administration and development of the country." Mr. MacDonald's elaboration of the statement which he made in the House of Commons on June 30th was as follows:—

"I have been hoping that the questions still outstanding between an independent Egypt and ourselves might have been settled in the calm conditions of personal negotiation between Said Zaghlul Pasha and myself, when, by facing the realities of the situation, we might have come to an agreement which recognised the interests and responsibilities of both countries. It is essential, if this hope is to be fulfilled, that both his Majesty's Government and the Egyptian Government should in the meantime honourably and rigidly observe the *status quo*. I regret that statements have been made to the Egyptian Parliament and action taken to create trouble in the Sudan which can only be explained as an attempt to force my hand and deprive Zaghlul Pasha of the liberty to negotiate. I was looking forward with pleasure and expectation to a meeting with Zaghlul Pasha and discussion with him on the best interests and accepted responsibilities of our respective countries, and I have

desired to say nothing which would have limited the freedom of discussion which we ought to claim. But in view of what has happened, it is necessary that I should make it clear to all concerned that I do not believe that this House would accept any arrangement which would break our pledges given to the Sudan or jeopardise the present administration and development of that country. I believe hearty goodwill between Egypt and ourselves is of the utmost importance to both of us, and I still trust that those responsible for the Governments of both countries will refuse to countenance the impossible demands which will destroy the prospects of such settlement."

It will be readily agreed that it was necessary for the British Government to make clear that the responsibility for delay in the negotiations did not rest on this side.

After Mr. MacDonald made his statement on June 30th a question was put to the Prime Minister, but was not answered, asking whether "in 1899 a definite agreement was come to between the British and the Egyptian Governments with regard to the Sudan." The Convention of 1899 was signed by the Egyptian Minister of Foreign Affairs and by Lord Cromer on January 19th, 1899, and it was there laid down that Great Britain was "by right of conquest" entitled "to share in the settlement and future working and development" of the Sudan. The Milner Commission of 1920 expressly excluded the Sudan from its discussions, and in its report stated that its suggestions did not apply to the Sudan on the ground that the Sudan was "a country entirely distinct from Egypt in its character and Constitution." In a letter written by Lord Milner to Adli Yeghen Pasha on August 18th, 1920, this point was made at some length. One sentence ran, "No change in the political status of Egypt should be allowed to disturb the further development of the Sudan on a system (namely, the provisions of the Convention of 1899) which has been productive of such good results." In conformity with the Milner recommendations, the question of the Sudan was expressly reserved in the declaration of Egyptian independence made by Great Britain in 1922. The Convention of 1899, therefore, still holds good for the Sudan. According to that Convention the supreme military and civil power was to be invested in the person of a "Governor-General," who would be appointed on the recommendation of the British Government by a decree of the Khedive of Egypt, and whose proclamations would have the force of law.

The military occupation of the Sudan is a joint Anglo-Egyptian affair, and the approximate annual cost of the armies of occupation in the Sudan is estimated to be £1,200,000, of which about £200,000 falls to be met by the British Government, the remaining £1,000,000 by the Egyptian Government. It should however be

understood that the distribution of the burden is not so uneven as might be suggested at first sight by these figures; for the Egyptian garrisons and their cost are a normal incident of Egyptian military expense, and if the troops in question were not stationed in the Sudan, they would at any rate have to be stationed on the Egyptian frontier.

LITTLE ENTENTE CONFERENCE IN PRAGUE.

Another of the series of Conferences periodically held between Ministers of Czechoslovakia, Jugoslavia, and Rumania, was held in Prague on July 11th and 12th. These Conferences have become the regular method of conducting the Little Entente. The Little Entente has established itself as an entente by conference, and affords an admirable illustration on a small scale of what the League of Nations ought to be on a big scale. In practice these three States of Central Europe have merged their national sovereignty in foreign affairs into a common foreign policy, and the effective motive in each of the three States, so far as their international relations are concerned, does not emanate individually from Prague, Belgrade, or Bucharest. Two or three conferences are held every year, and the place of meeting alternates between the several capitals. A Conference was held in Belgrade at the beginning of the year, and now the second Conference of the year has been held in Prague. The business of these Conferences has settled down to a sort of Cabinet routine which does not call for detailed comment, and which, indeed, has invested itself with the matter-of-fact characteristics of a regular established organisation.

At Prague, on July 11th and 12th, the three Foreign Ministers co-ordinated their policy on four main subjects: (1) the reconstruction of Austria and Hungary; (2) Reparations and inter-Allied debts; (3) a joint policy to be pursued at the Assembly of the League of Nations in September; (4) an elaboration and completion of the Russian policy decided on at the Belgrade Conference. It has become a commonplace for the enemies of the Little Entente to propagate stories of dissension among the three States on the eve of every Conference which is held. It is as true of the Little Entente as of any other human organisation that there are differences of view; but the striking feature of the Little Entente is that such divergences are so few. It should be understood that the Little Entente was originally formed for the express purpose of co-ordinating a policy so far as it concerns Central Europe, that is, so far as it concerns the vital needs of the three States. The importance of the Prague Conference of July was that for the first time a principle of action was enunciated to be applied to cases in which one particular member has interests of its own which are not shared by the other two. There is, for instance, the question of Rumanian-Russian relations over Bessarabia, and of Rumanian

and Jugoslav relations with Bulgaria. Neither of these questions primarily concerns the central purpose of the Little Entente, and at Prague the principle was settled that in such matters the individual State concerned should decide its own individual policy with only the negative limitation of refraining from anything which might damage the interests of the other States in the Entente. In the case of Bessarabia, therefore, Rumania will evolve her own policy, but will keep in touch with the other two States. It should be remembered that Rumania has a definite alliance with Poland on the subject of Bessarabia, which fact makes it all the more natural that Czechoslovakia and Jugoslavia should provisionally adopt an attitude of benevolent neutrality in this question.

The recently concluded commercial treaty between Italy and Czechoslovakia was presented to the Conference and was sanctioned as being wholly in conformity with the spirit and object of the Little Entente, just as the corresponding treaty between Jugoslavia and Italy was sanctioned at the Belgrade Conference.

JUBALAND AND THE GENERAL SETTLEMENT.

Writing in the June CONTEMPORARY REVIEW on the Jubaland negotiations between Great Britain and Italy I commented on Signor Mussolini's delay in accepting the British offer which had been made as long ago as April 3rd. As that offer was a formal concession of the main point of the Italian case, it was expected in London that it would be clinched promptly and with alacrity. It is satisfactory none the less to record that the offer was accepted on May 23rd, before the June CONTEMPORARY was published, but after it went to press. The details of the settlement have already been given here (July, 1923, pp. 109-111, June, 1924, pp. 791-2). The official announcement of the settlement, made on May 24th, bore an unmistakable and wholly commendable air of window-dressing; for the King and Queen of Italy, accompanied by the Prince of Piedmont and Princess Mafalda, arrived in London on May 26th for a four days' State visit. The small slice of territory transferred from British Kenya to Italian Somaliland afforded a diplomatic landing-place for the Royal party.

It was a measure of the poverty of contemporary diplomacy in Europe that these Royal wanderings had to be resorted to as a means of keeping the nations in touch with each other. Five and a half years after the Armistice the main basis of an Allied understanding with Germany had yet to be evolved, and one of the factors which was expected to contribute to the belated accomplishment was an Anglo-Italian understanding. Jubaland was the last remaining irritant of the obvious kind which hindered such an understanding. Now that it had been removed and the Kings and Queens had done their duty of dotting the i's ceremonially, it was

hoped that the Dawes scheme of reparations might be applied, especially as French opinion had changed for the better.

By agreeing to the Jubaland settlement without reference to that of the Dodecanese the British Government abandons its formal interest in the fate of the Islands. The islands are undoubtedly Greek in character, and Italy has more than once promised to hand them over to Greece since she first occupied them in 1912. By a cunning stroke of diplomacy, it is true, she made her promise conditional on a British surrender of Cyprus to Greece, and Great Britain has played up to Italy's worst calculations; but there is still some hope that Signor Mussolini will grant at least something of what is due to Greece. The intransigents of Angora, by a familiar repetition of history, have helped in the creation of a better tone between Rome and Athens. Signor Mussolini's liking for Rhodes, whether he has any right to it or not, is now so apparently strong that his retention of that island must no doubt be taken for granted: but would he, in return for a Greek formal surrender of Rhodes, hand over the rest of the Dodecanese to Greece? Italian naval activity in the harbours of Leros suggest that he might add this second island to his price, but even at that price Greece, which is in a disillusioned and realist frame of mind, might be found willing to come to terms. A settlement even of so imperfect a kind, would have a beneficial effect on the increasingly difficult business of evolving order out of Near Eastern chaos.

NEAR EASTERN UNREST.

The Russo-Rumanian quarrel over Bessarabia, renewed tension between Poland and Lithuania over Vilna, unrest in Rumania, Italian naval activity in the Eastern Mediterranean, with its corollary of deeper political ferment in Angora, the breakdown of the Anglo-Turkish negotiations over Mosul, an impulse, fortunately not fulfilled, in Bagdad towards a non-ratification of the Anglo-Iraq Treaty of Alliance—these are a few indications of Near Eastern unrest. They are the more serious, perhaps, because they are closely concerned with other phases of the day's work. The Bukarest rumblings are not unconnected with the Anglo-Russian Conference (sitting, it is true, at rare intervals) in London, where Mr. Rakovsky has tried his best to reopen the question of Bessarabia. The Mosul deadlock involves the League of Nations; and so on.

It was in the first week of June that the Anglo-Turkish negotiations about Mosul, which had been carried on in Constantinople for seven months, definitely collapsed. The news caused little surprise, for the history of the past few years has shown that Turkish arrogance has invariably been rewarded, and latter-day moderates, such as Ismet Pasha, have had no chance against the

wild men of Angora. The question of Mosul, therefore, will have to go before the League. Under the protocol of evacuation it was agreed by the Turkish and British Governments that a period of nine months should be allowed for direct negotiations about Mosul between the two Governments, and that in case of failure it should become the League's business to attempt a solution. Not only did Turkey sign the protocol of evacuation with all its stipulations, but she has received from it the substantial advantage of a British evacuation carried out in advance of the settlement and in reliance on Turkish good faith. There is the further sanction of the Treaty of Lausanne itself for League competence in this matter, but as the Treaty is not yet in force that sanction cannot be invoked.

There is no doubt about Allied and British responsibility towards the Arabs, who were given explicit promises of emancipation from Turkish rule as the price of their contribution to the Allied cause during the war. There is as little doubt that the Arabs have, to a certain extent, been "let down." This, however, is only one phase of the reversal of Allied policy in the Near East between the signing of the Treaty of Sèvres in August, 1920, and that of the Treaty of Lausanne in July, 1923. The circumstances of that reversal, one of the most remarkable in diplomatic history, are well known. Read in the light of what happened between those dates the Mosul breakdown is at least understandable. The negotiations have proceeded since last October, and the time-limit was therefore to have expired next month. The Turkish delegation, influenced, no doubt, by the reflection that since 1920 there has been no single point of Allied policy in the Near East which has not been abandoned in the face of Turkish intransigence, has uncompromisingly taken its stand on the complete recovery of Turkish control over Mosul. Before this demand the British Government could not give way. Not only would surrender on the British part constitute a final and open repudiation of the war-time promise, but also a repudiation of a mandatory duty imposed by the League of Nations. Wholly in accord with the spirit of that mandate, Sir Percy Cox has during the Mosul negotiations attempted to ensure that the Assyrian Christians should find asylum within the new Mosul frontiers. The British Government is the only Allied Government which has made even an attempt to carry out the war-time promises to the Arabs.

Close on the heels of the Mosul breakdown came the news that the Iraq Constituent Assembly at Bagdad had refused to ratify the Anglo-Iraq Treaty of Alliance. The news reached London at the end of the first week of June, or a few days before the Council of the League was to meet in Geneva. If Bagdad had persisted in its refusal, both the League of Nations and Great Britain as League mandatory would have been placed in an embarrassing predicament.

ment. It was at the San Remo Conference of April, 1920, that the British Government undertook the League mandate for Iraq. In the discharge of its responsibilities the British Government took the step of attempting to satisfy the aspirations of the Iraq population by an offer of gradual self-government. A Treaty with this object was negotiated through many months, and finally signed at Bagdad on October 10th, 1922 (or, which is the same thing, on "the nineteenth day of Safar, 1340 Hijrah"). It was signed by Sir Percy Cox, British High Commissioner and Consul-General in Iraq, and His Highness Sir Saiyid Abd-ur-Rahman, Prime Minister of Iraq. At the time of the signature a British official announcement was made in Bagdad which fully explained the object behind British policy. The announcement was as follows:—

"H.B.M. Government, conscious of the deep obligations into which they entered towards Iraq, are convinced that these obligations will be completely fulfilled by means of the Treaty of Alliance. . . . They will do everything in their power to secure the speedy delimitation of the frontiers of Iraq, in order that Iraq may be in a position, when the Treaty and subsidiary agreements therein provided for have been duly ratified and the Organic Law has been brought into effect, to apply for admission to membership of the League of Nations.

"They confidently look forward to this application being made as soon as the frontiers are settled and a stable Government is set up in accordance with the Organic Law, when they will use their good offices, provided that effect is being given to the provisions of the Treaty, to secure the admission of Iraq to membership of the League, which affords, in their opinion, the sole means by which the mandatory relation can legally be terminated."

The promise to help Iraq to membership of the League was formally made in Article 6 of the Treaty. All that was needed, therefore, for the whole scheme to fructify was Iraq's ratification of the Treaty. The situation was saved at the eleventh hour by a change of heart at Bagdad. At a special midnight session of the Constituent Assembly, held on the very eve of the meeting of the League Council, Iraq decided to accept the Treaty, the protocols, and the agreement, and to recommend King Feisul to ratify them as they stood. In the same resolution the Assembly decided to request King Feisul to enter into negotiations with the British Government under the provisions of Article 18 of the Treaty with a view to securing certain amendments of the financial agreement. Article 18 prescribes that after the ratification of the Treaty the two parties may negotiate about "any revision which may seem desirable in the circumstances then existing."

GEORGE GLASGOW.

LITERARY SUPPLEMENT.

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REVIEWS.

THE COMMON LAW COMES HOME.*

On July 18th last there arrived in England a great army of American lawyers, members of the American Bar Association. Canadian and English lawyers combined to act as joint-hosts of the visitors from the United States, and it may be said with truth that the Common Law of England has come home, home to the place of its birth long centuries ago, home to the place where perhaps eighty generations had painfully hammered out in home life and on the judgment seats of innumerable tribunals from prehistoric times the law, which in its essence to-day, guides the conduct of more than half the world. It is a momentous visit since it means not only the satisfaction of the curiosity of English-speaking men and women to see the little sea-girt place that gave their ancestors birth, but also the rebinding of ties that go deep into the spirits and souls of men.

Law is sometimes idly thought of as a deplorable but inevitable machine to settle the disputes of life through the medium of men who make money, too much money, by the process. Litigants are often sore persons, even if successful, and look upon the law, though not in the Pauline sense, as a measure of sinfulness. But

* *The History of the Temple, London, from the Institution of the Order of the Knights of the Temple to the close of the Stuart period, compiled from the original Records of the Two Learned and Honourable Societies of the Temple.* By J. Bruce Williamson. With eight Illustrations. (John Murray.) 21s. net.

that view is foolish and thoughtless. No doubt there have been in the past practitioners of law who have regarded their work as a mere means of livelihood, and certainly in the history of law in every country there have been epochs when the machinery has become so clogged with precedents and technicalities, so out of touch with the lives men lead, that the adjectival aspect of law, procedure, has destroyed the substantial or imperative remedies. No doubt there have been, and are, in some parts of the world, unjust and venial judges, corrupt practitioners, and impracticable and foolish laws. But these are not the measure of Law, but of the weakness, wickedness, ignorance, and incompetence of men, of laymen, who legislate, as well as of lawyers who take part in the administration of the law.

Law itself, the effort of great groups or nations to secure the best safeguards for social life, is something different altogether. Every nation at every moment has the law, the judges, the practitioners that it deserves. Two great nations, the Roman People and the British People, have evolved through the storm and stress of centuries of social and political life systems of law that are written not on tablets of brass, but in the hearts of men. Those who study, and all should study in some degree, those great systems of law, realise that they are not measures of the fallible human mind, but are the results of slow but inevitable growth from great principles of justice that are implicit in the human personality. The Roman law began to take definite form perhaps six or seven centuries before our era, and after a history that is the very mirror of European civilisation, is to-day operative not only in the codes of Europe and South America that sprang from the Code Napoléon, but also in a direct form in regions as remote from one another as Scotland and South Africa.

The English Common Law in its remotest roots has kinship with the tribal law that lay behind the Roman law, and in this island it gradually evolved in many varieties of customary form, until the subtle and powerful Italo-Norman mind had seisin of it, centralised it, and gave it a shape that many centuries of practice has emphasised and adjusted to the needs of successive generations of Englishmen. Mr. Bruce Williamson's able, learned, and most attractive book traces in vivid detail as well as in broad generalisations the history of the place in which the innumerable threads that make up the Common Law were drawn together and made into a bond of Empire. The British settlers in America, as in the other Dominions oversea, took with them this bond, not, perhaps, realising its essential significance, but having the principles that it connoted, the principles of justice, fair play, popular judgment

by the jury, legal guidance and decision by trained professional minds, written across their whole outlook on social life. Then in the mid-eighteenth century, a certain professor at Oxford, himself a great practitioner of law, who in due course became a judge, produced a work called *Commentaries on the Laws of England*. The book rapidly circulated in the New World, and men there, as here, realised that this Common Law was in fact not merely machinery for settling the disputes and punishing the crimes of men, but was a majestic system of law wholly comparable in its vigour of growth and its capacity for meeting new conditions of life with the majesty of that Roman law which had played so great a part in the evolution of Europe and in the Renaissance of mankind.

It is a bold but a true thing to say that the United States of America owe almost all that they have of hope for the betterment of the world to that Common Law of England which their great lawyers, eminent from the first, have done so much to elucidate and adorn. The four Inns of Court, Lincoln's Inn, Gray's Inn, the Inner and the Middle Temples, have provided them with many of their great lawyers, founders, statesmen, and we cannot doubt that our visitors have come to these shrines of the law of England with a reverence that is justly due. In the presentation to England by American lawyers of the fine statue of Blackstone, recently unveiled, they mark the debt that they owe to him who, in reality, was the first fully to unveil, in incomparable prose, the Common Law itself. Pilgrims who bring gifts and visit shrines need, perhaps, even the most learned of them, to know fully the history and the significance of the places that they visit. It is here that Mr. Williamson's book will be of peculiar and permanent value. He tells the story of the Temple from the days when the Knights Templars built the Round or Sepulchre Church known as the Temple. He shows the reader how, after the disappearance of the martial monks, a university of law grew up from the mid-fourteenth century round this Temple. He depicts in vivid fashion the manner of life of those legal colleges, the way in which the law was taught to the apprentices; he brings the reader into touch, in successive ages, with many and noble personalities who, in their different fashions, moulded the practice of the law, and gave it the power of meeting the needs of a dominant and mercantile people. We see law in full growth of practice in the dark fifteenth-century days, when the ancient Universities of Oxford and Cambridge were at their lowest ebb; we see the emergence of great personalities in the age of Elizabeth, when the famous Middle Temple Hall was built; we feel the combination of humanism and law at every turn, and we see

the system come to its apparent height in the first half of the seventeenth century.

Great days were to follow when the Law of England, grown to full estate, was to develop further under the influence of equitable principles able to redress the balance of the old Common Law. Perhaps even greater days were to come when Blackstone sent his Commentaries oversea and gave the means of new growth in procedure and substantive law. The story of the Temple is one that every English-speaking man and woman should know something of, for at its hearth was forged the bond that binds not only the British Empire, but all English-speaking people, together as a unity that, humanly speaking, should be without end, and should secure eternal and universal peace.

J. E. G. DE M.

* * *

CENTRAL EUROPE.

Dr. K. F. Nowak's *The Collapse of Central Europe** was well worth translating, for it richly deserves the description of "a very brilliant book" which Lord Haldane gives it in his Introduction. No one who has not held office knows more of the inside history of the Great War and of the character of the leading German and Austrian actors than the author of the three well-known volumes, *The Path to Catastrophe*, *The Collapse of the Central Powers*, and *Chaos*. It is the second longest of the trio which now appears in an admirable English version. The story begins with the negotiations at Brest-Litovsk, and is notable for its emphasis on the work and personality of General Hoffmann, whose own Memoirs appeared last autumn and are too little known in England. The struggle of the Teuton and the Slav across the green table is described with the dramatic fire and the power of visualisation which render Dr. Nowak's books not only instructive but delightful to read. The book deals not only with the military struggle of the two opposing sides, but also with the progress of the ideas of Parliamentaryisation and racial self-determination under the stress of war. The chapter on Bulgaria paints a vivid picture of the convulsive efforts of exhausted Bulgaria, which for the purposes of this narrative is included in Central Europe. To the student of diplomacy the long chapter on Attempts at Peace by Negotiation will prove the most interesting. The story of the Emperor Karl's endeavours has already been officially told, but the peace feelers of Germany have never been exhaustively described. Dr. Nowak has learned a good deal from Kühlmann, whose Ministerial career

*(Kegan-Paul.) 15s.

was cut short by the omnipotent generals at a moment when he was spinning threads abroad. Many readers will wish that the author had lifted a little more of the curtain and told us exactly what Kühlmann was about. All these attempts, however, were doomed to failure, for the General Staff scouted the notion of a compromise peace till the Central Powers had become too weak to secure it. Every fresh account of the internal history of Germany during 1918 confirms the impression of the tyranny of Ludendorff and of his total unfitness for the rôle of Dictator which he arrogated to himself. Dr. Nowak nowhere gives references; but his readers will feel that he speaks with authority, and his friends are aware that the narrative rests in large measure on information directly derived from the soldiers, statesmen, and diplomatists whose actions, policies and quarrels are described in these pages. There will be few readers of this fascinating book who will not hope for a translation of its successor, which deals with the brief but pregnant period of the revolution in defeated Germany and Austria.

* * *

THE NEW SLOVAKIA*.

The name of Dr. Seton-Watson is well known to all students of Slavonic questions, and though I find that the old Kossuth traditions of 1848, strengthened by the sense that Magyars are now suffering some of the injustice which they formerly inflicted, has biassed the minds of some English critics against him, yet I think that all fair-minded readers of this book will admit that he has carefully investigated the very complicated facts before him, and has fairly stated the difficulties still hindering a just development of the newly formed States. He deals separately with the administrative, educational, religious, and economic difficulties which are raised by the union of Bohemia and Slovakia, treats with care the claims of the Magyar minority, and points out the lines on which a better understanding may be gradually produced between the rival races and creeds. At the same time, he brings out the differences which distinguish Czecho-Slovakian problems from those which trouble the relations between the Roumanians and their Transylvanian subjects, and between the Serbs, Croats, and Slovenes of the Jugo-Slavian State. He shows how the suppression of all the racial cultures of the Slovaks, by their Magyar rulers, made it impossible for them to provide capable administrators of the new States, and how the first welcome given to the Czech liberators was weakened, after the first enthusiasm had sub-

* *The New Slovakia*. By R. W. Seton-Watson. Published by Fr. Borozy, Prague.

sided, by a resentment at the intrusion of the new guides and teachers. Nor does he deny that those guides and teachers were often tactless and arrogant in their attitudes to the native Slovaks, and while, as in all such cases, personal quarrels combined with racial quarrels to embitter the new relations, the differences were yet further increased by the strong Roman Catholic feeling among many of the Slovaks, who looked on the Czechs as aggressive heretics, not only on account of the old Hussite traditions, but still more on account of the more modern phases of religious reforms now growing in Bohemia.

In spite of all these objections, Dr. Seton-Watson points out the evident improvements introduced into education in Slovakia by the Czech immigrants, the evident desire for justice shown by the present rulers of Bohemia, the possibility of the gradual development of some federal relation which will prevent undue centralisation and reconcile the Slovaks, and in time the other races in the new Republic, to the union between Bohemia and Slovakia. It is natural that in working out this problem "Scotus Viator" should dwell on the historical development of the closer union between England and Scotland; but to some English reformers a reference on page 67 to the difficulties found by the Slovaks in going to Prague for their examinations, may rather recall one of our differences with our Indian fellow subjects. In short, all students of this Czecho-Slovakian problem must keep before them the two opposite considerations, first that the changes which they are contemplating are part of the general European upheaval caused by the war; and secondly, that Czechs and Slovaks have points of similarity and reasons for hopefulness in their union which distinguish their case from that of the other Succession States.

C. E. MAURICE.

* * *

THE CENTRAL AFRICAN FORESTS.*

This admirable book, redolent of mysterious Africa, is dedicated by Mr. Christy in the happiest fashion "To their Lordships, both of the forest and of the vast sunlit spaces, and to the little people who, beneath a leafy canopy, hunt the striped okapi and other denizens, great and small, in dim and silent forest solitudes." It seems to come straight from a classical inscription, and would have been approved by Herodotus, who was aware of the little forest people. Mr. Christy puts, however, "their Lordships" first,

* *Big Game and Pygmies: Experiences of a Naturalist in Central African Forests in Quest of the Okapi.* By Cuthbert Christy. With an Introductory Chapter by Sir Harry H. Johnston. 120 Illustrations from photographs and sketches and one map. (Macmillan.) 21s. net.

Lords indeed: the Lion, the African Elephant, the White Rhinoceros, the Forest and Bush Buffaloes, that strange monster, a sport of the Gods, the Aardvark, the spectral Okapi, the Giant Ant-eater, the gigantic forest Pig, the Goliath Beetle, the Cicada, that deafens but has never been seen, the immense Python. In a large measure these Lords are harmless, but Mr. Christy's account of them, if written in the Middle Ages, would have made him the king of story-tellers, and, if written in the late nineteenth century, might have given rise to the scepticism which adorned the final reaction from the ages of faith. Yet Mr. Christy is telling a plain story of his personal experiences as a scientific man and a great sportsman. His excellent prose style and his entire modesty as to difficulties overcome and burdens wonderfully borne, make his narrative of unique value as well as of extreme scientific interest.

To certain of these Lords the reader will turn with a passion of curiosity hardly short of that of Mr. Christy himself. The call-word of the native drums takes the reader to the wonderful conflict between the natives of Uganda and the Lions. The elephants, which still exist in enormous numbers, though the big-tuskeders naturally tend to decrease, provide, even in the study, a feeling of almost weird excitement. But yet these noble beasts, who succumb to the drop-log traps laid for them by the tiny pygmies, are lost in the sense of amazement when our minds are chasing, in company with the hunters, the Okapi. Mr. Christy had good fortune with this rare and remarkable beast. It was first shot by a white man in 1912, and the actual existence of the animal was first made known to science in 1900 by Sir Harry Johnston, who writes an introductory chapter of great interest to the book. It was probably never seen alive and unwounded before 1907. A calf captured in 1915 was brought to Antwerp in 1919, but soon died. Mr. Christy shot one in 1913 in the Ituri Forest, near Mawamba, after an arduous two days' hunt in which the animal was tracked by two Pygmies.

"During the eighteen months I spent in the Ituri-Aruwimi forests I saw a living okapi on several occasions. Generally I only caught a momentary glimpse, sometimes at very close quarters. Probably no animal is so shy, or so ghost-like in its movements through the forest. It is, I should think, the most difficult of all beasts to catch even a glimpse of in its dim and far-off solitudes. For the European to have any chance of success he must first secure the confidence of the little men to whom the forest belongs. This being accomplished—and it is very far from easy—weeks of hard work searching and tracking have to be endured, often on hands and knees with a heavy gun, sometimes in waist-deep swamps, for the forest is not all uniform in character. Months have to be spent in practising forest craft with the little trackers, and in learning to interpret the meaning

of every noise, of every stick-crack, for the hunter, like the animals, is totally dependent upon his ears. The smallest sound may mean elephants, the biggest only a monkey or a squirrel. The tiny Pygmy, moving as silently and stealthily as a cat, passes beneath or between branches without touching them, and knows at a glance which way to turn to find the easiest passage. . . . I have always gone on the principle that nothing is quite impossible in Africa. The forest is not really so impenetrable as it seems. . . . The chocolate or purplish red colour of the okapi's body is admirably adapted to its surroundings, and the striped hindquarters materially aid its concealment. On two occasions I had one in front of me at a distance of thirty yards or less in dark forest. I could see nothing but the white on the face or the legs, which I did not recognise as part of anything living till the animal bolted and I wasted my shot.

I shall never forget one occasion. It was after many hours of tiresome tracking and I was fairly beat. My little companion, with his nose to the ground, searching and feeling for footprints amongst the wet leaves, working like a stoat tracking a rabbit, with me coming close behind him, stiffened and stopped. Without risking the movement of looking round, he pointed intently with his bent forefinger, as is the habit of the little fellows. I looked and looked, while the little chap, quivering with excitement, continued to point. I could see nothing save a patch of light, which I took to be a ray of sunshine or one of the big phrynium leaves. Then the patch vanished, and at the same instant I caught sight of the white legs and my bullet buried itself at the foot of a tree. 'What's the good of all this work if the gun does not kill when it gets a chance?' was what I plainly read in the astonished and disappointed face of my little tracker when he looked round, and he looked at the gun, I think, before he looked at me."

We have quoted at length this remarkable passage as it gives not only some idea of Mr. Christy's prose style—which, like all good prose, reveals the writer—but also some idea of the vast forest lands, of the canopy overhead, of twilight thrust through with sunbeams, of the atmosphere, the silence, the mystery, and in a way the sombreness of it all, and of the strange pygmy people that in the ultimate sense dominate it and its Lords. The Pygmy spears the Okapi, overwhelms the Lion, traps the Elephant, and claims the Forest as his own. Mind is at work and not merely instinct.

The Ituri Pygmies are surely the strangest of all men. They are not men dwarfed by generations of starvation, "they are sturdy, well-nourished little people, and lack neither quantity nor variety of either animal or vegetable food. Sun-starvation may perhaps have delayed or arrested their development or played a part in their specialisation." They are not monkey-like at all, though they have downy skins and somewhat ape-like features. They are well-proportioned and have no lack of mental capacity. They live on roots, fruit, honey, fungi, leaves, and smoked flesh. In stature they vary from about 3 ft. 9 in. to 4 ft. 3 in., the women averaging

a good deal less. Unfortunately, Mr. Christy was so occupied with the lesser lords of the forest that "I neglected, now much to my regret, to note the habits of my little hosts." Yet there is, of course, much direct observation. They live in little leafy beehive huts, and are marvellous bowmen, shooting with arrows that carry deadly poison. The language "seems a very distinct one of their own." They have little idea of cooking. They are afraid of running water. They are very fond of dancing to drum music. Mr. Christy says that they have no chiefs, but live in tribes or family communities of forty to eighty persons, a large percentage of whom are tiny mites of children with "half a dozen or more elders, little old men who control the politics of the community. . . . As regards their religious beliefs and superstitions, I fancy they have none, at any rate of the former. The Pygmy has no conception of a deity in any shape or form." The last statement must, we think, not be taken as final. The same view was once held of the Australian aborigines. It is most improbable that a forest people should have no belief in gods, but the Pygmy, being as he is described in this wonderful book, would be the last to reveal to a stranger who could not speak his tongue the secrets of his faith. Formerly groups of Pygmy communities controlled a particular stretch or area of forest. The Australian natives did and do the same. Mr. Christy's impression is that these small people "are the survivals of the earliest inhabitants of the once forest-covered continent." We venture to suggest a south-east Asian origin. The many remarkable photographs not only show us the Okapi, the weird Aardvark, the amazing Giant Ant-eater, wonderful Elephants, and many other creatures, but some of the Pygmies. In fact they are, so far as heads are concerned, quite comparable with the Australian natives, many of whom have very fine heads, as well as astute minds, and have no negroid or negro blood. However, the study of Ituri Pygmies has only gone a brief way. It will be necessary to classify their tongue, to peer into the tribal organisation, the marriage and initiation customs, and the beliefs. If, as seems certain, they are the earliest immigrants into Africa the answers to these questions may revolutionise our outlook on anthropology.

J. E. G. DE M.

* * *

ECCE DEUS*

Many readers will welcome this book for its definite teaching, which is somewhat rare in these days, when the cloak of freedom

* *Ecce Deus*. By Henry L. Dixon. (Wells Gardner, Darton & Co., London.) 7s. 6d. net.

covers much incompetency of judgment. It is definite, but not dogmatic, endeavouring at all points to give a reason for the faith once delivered to the saints, not only of the new dispensation, but also of the old. The book is worthy of careful reading, which we may be sure has been given it by Bishop Robertson (formerly of Exeter) who writes an introduction to the work, and commends it to the thoughtful consideration of those who "have the will to believe." "Help thou my unbelief," must be the attitude of all seekers, whether of truth or healing.

The author feels strongly that Christianity must be built on a more enduring rock than *Ecce Homo*.

Then tendency of to-day is the exaltation of a perfect humanity which Christ brought to light during His earthly ministry. But, perfect as that life was in all respects, it would altogether fail in its potency, if it did not transcend the race which He came to save to the uttermost. Man's reach must exceed his grasp, his ideal must be laid up in the heavens, that eternal temple whose maker and builder is God. Christ claimed to be that temple, the temple of His body, which he had power to destroy and power to build again. Christ's claims were stupendous, and His disciples recognised them, and it was in the light of that recognition that they were able to build His Church on the stone which the Jews had rejected. "God made manifest in the flesh"—that was the revelation which converted the Roman world, and through them the Gentiles.

The greatest miracle that the mind of man could imagine was accomplished by a few unlearned and ignorant men, conquering and using the cult of the highest civilisation which the world has known, and by the Cross—the emblem of degradation—drawing all men to Him who suffered thereon. It is a paradox which defies explanation except on the ground of *Ecce Deus*. Mr. Dixon takes every phase of Christ's life, from the Incarnation to the Ascension, and finds therein, "God Manifest." It is what Christ claims, and for which he suffered death at the hands of the nation which he came to save. The author feels that no other hypothesis can account for the Birth, Life, Death, Resurrection, and Ascension of our Lord; and moreover the teaching of Christ at every stage of His ministry proclaims it. He spake as no other man spake, and his every act was done with authority and all who came in contact with Him were conscious of it.

The Power of His perfect humanity draws all men to him, and no one can read the gospel story of His ministry without feeling that His humanity was compassed about with a divinity which endowed Him with attributes far excelling those of mere human nature. "No man hath seen God at any time." Christ revealed *Him* in

the flesh, and after His Ascension, in the Spirit, as He promised to His poor weak wavering disciples whilst He sojourned with them. It was indeed expedient that He went away, for the Comforter which he sent them was all-embracing, and led them into all truth, and made them strong with a faith that never faltered, turning the world to a new orientation for His namesake.

That influence is ever widening, and will continue to increase from age to age; drawing its inspiration from the Christ-Spirit, for, "Lo, I am with you always, even to the end of the world."

In the concluding chapters the author deals with "The Influence of Christ upon the World" and "Christian Experience." Creeds and Dogmas are as the scaffolding of the faith, and there are many minds and souls who need their help, for, "with the mouth confession is made unto salvation," but "with the heart man believeth unto righteousness." The book is excellently written, and the matter so consecutively arranged that the reader is carried on from chapter to chapter with continuous interest and help.

S. DE M.

* * *

JAMES GOW.*

Dr. James Gow, the late headmaster of Westminster School, was a notable educational force in this country for a period of more than thirty years, and it is fitting that an adequate memoir of his remarkable powers and still more remarkable personality should be prefaced to a number of school addresses that should be widely read, and not only by Old Westminsters. Gow was born in London, of a well-known artistic stock, on January 16th, 1854, was educated at King's College School, won the Senior Scholarship at Trinity College, Cambridge, at the amazingly early age of sixteen, was an all-round student, with fine classical taste, with a love of music and art, with a passion for athletics. He rowed in the old Second Trinity boat. He was third classic and second Chancellor's medallist in 1875, and a Fellow of Trinity in 1876. He spent two years travelling and lecturing, and at the age of twenty-five was called to the Bar at Lincoln's Inn, but mitigated the apparent dullness of equity work by lecturing, examining, and historical research. He examined twice for "the Challenge" and twice for the leaving exhibitions at Westminster, without dreaming of what the future was to be. From 1883 to 1885 he was a member of the Council of the Hellenic Society and Secretary of the British School in Athens.

* *James Gow, Litt.D. Selected Addresses*, with a Foreword by the Bishop of Ripon and a Short Memoir by R. M. Barrington-Ward. (Macmillan.) 8s. 6d. net

In the latter year he found his vocation, and at the age of twenty-nine he was appointed out of over 140 candidates, headmaster of the ancient and somewhat decayed Nottingham High School. The governors had wisely determined to have a brilliant young man to carry out a scheme of reconstitution sealed by the Charity Commission. He proved a wonderful success. His balanced learning, his belief that education is education, not classical or modern or technical education, enabled him to provide living education of various types suited to various pupils. He knew the school by heart, and indeed refounded it, as was admitted when, in 1901, he was called to Westminster to fill the chair of Dr. Busby. His first act on learning of his appointment was to soak his mind and personality in the traditions of the school, the most conservative institution of all the old public schools. As Mr. Barrington-Ward says in his admirable memoir, Westminster had seen dark days in the early nineteenth century. Liddell, Scott, the Public Schools Commission of 1861, and Rutherford brought back the dawn. Could Gow carry on the new policy while retaining with an iron hand all that was best in the ancient traditions?

An opportunity to show his strength and his loyalty to his new school came at once. The coronation of King Edward VII. was about to take place, and there were doubts, with so many new and influential claimants clamouring for admission to the Abbey, whether the ancient right of the King's scholars of the Royal College of St. Peter to be the first to greet the sovereign after his crowning would survive. Sixty-four years had passed since Queen Victoria was crowned, and the right might have lapsed. Gow saw to it that the right was maintained. He fought the case and won it (and more than won it, for some of the Town boys obtained admission) before the Court of Claims, and on the great day when the newly crowned king came forth from the Chapel of Edward the Confessor, Gow, greatly daring in an historic and awe-inspiring scene, "called on his Westminsters for three cheers" for the (as it proved) delighted King. The boys had the right to greet, and Gow took care that they greeted their sovereign in English fashion. Officials and everyone were unprepared for the strange but majestic intervention, "long waves of echoing sound." Dr. Busby could not have done better than Dr. Gow. "Westminsters first," was Gow's motto. In later years he told King George V. the story of Busby and Charles II., and his Majesty at once insisted that the Headmaster of Westminster should wear his hat in the royal presence. Every school ought to be an *imperium in imperio*. But the story of Gow at the Coronation is better even than the story of Busby and Charles II. Henceforward, it is

understood, the Headmaster will lead the cheers for the King on the return procession. So tradition grows.

But tradition was only a small part of Gow's tireless labours at Westminster. Consolidation, construction, and growth, formed his main task until September, 1914, when the School reassembled for the Great War term. Long before that terrible but heroic time he had made the modern side efficient with buildings and equipment, and brought generally "the fabric of the school into excellent order," he helped to place the finances of the school, as well as the members, on a sound basis (a basis that made it possible for Westminster to escape permanent wounds from economic disturbances of war and post-war days); he instituted what has become a most flourishing Cadet Corps, and he restored "Water" to Westminster, as might have been expected from a distinguished oar. He was a popular headmaster, a pregnant teacher; a finely built man, he impressed the boys by his essential kindness, his sense of justice and humour, and the absence of that pomposity or spiteful irony that boys hate. He was a great educational influence outside the school. Thrice he was President of the Headmasters' Association, for four years Chairman of the Headmasters' Conference, while he became a Governor of his old school at Nottingham as he did of Westminster School on his retirement in 1919.

The War years brought forth almost unsuspected depths of character, determination, and optimism. He bore with nobility the death at Jutland, in 1916, of his more than promising youngest son Roderic. He, with all other headmasters, had, too, the daily agony of the casualty lists bearing the names of the "very best boys." He, in common with all the London headmasters, had to provide against the ever-multiplying air raids. His own peculiar burden of growing blindness he bore with entire patience amid the patent agonies of public life. "His example of patience, confidence, and unflagging cheerfulness in the darkest days of the War is remembered as a daily inspiration. It was a brave and revealing phase. It drew to him the affection of not a few whose respect he had never lacked, but who had misunderstood all that was concealed behind an unceremonious manner." His life, indeed, was a dedication to the highest in Church and School and State, and in the four years left to him after he retired (he died on February 16th, 1923), he must have found much comfort in the thought that he had fulfilled his life, had justified his great powers, and had made the world, within his very wide range of influence, a better and a nobler place of passage.

J. E. G. DE M.

THE TEACHING OF HISTORY.*

History is a vast subject, for, considered broadly, it embraces all creation, natural, mental, and physical, and the study of it is one of the attributes of the human mind. The when and the where and the who demand and create a record, and that record is history. It is difficult to divorce them, or to deal separately with any given part. The history of an individual involves another individual. The history of a nation involves other nations. One science begets another science. Nothing lives or progresses alone. Philosophy classifies and analyses the phenomena of the human mind and calls it psychology. History is the annals of progression or retrogression, the moving pageant of nature and humanity. It begins with creation or stage of evolution—whichever it may be called, and evolution is the product of time:—

The Past, the Present, the Future,
Pulsation without pause,
Who can measure the meaning
Of Time, and its triune laws? "

Professor Findlay's book deals with the place History should occupy in education, and how it should be treated and taught. As to its place in education there can be no doubt, since no one can be termed educated who has not some knowledge of this fundamental science, for the knowledge of the growth of race and nationality is a science. "History then," to quote Professor Findlay, "is knowledge, knowledge of human affairs, especially those affairs which concern the community as a whole, and it contemplates affairs as a moving spectacle from past to present. Its function, we say, is to enable a man, by reflection, by stepping backward, to gain a better vision of truth." In Australia, the teaching of history begins with the present, and from the heights of to-day looks into "the backward and abyss of time."

The author starts with the child of four to eight years of age, and treats him psychologically, stimulates his interest—with folk-songs or stories, which will help to develop, even at this early age, the historical habit of mind. The good teacher, he says, has no need to act the part of a propagandist of patriotism, or the civic virtues—they speak for themselves in the vitality of the experience; they should not come from the teacher, but from the subject in hand. Rudyard Kipling, among modern poets, has rendered great service in this direction. This is quite true of a country such as England, where the national sentiment is of ancient date and has been incorporated in the unconscious mind for centuries, and where its litera-

* *History and its Place in Education*. By J. J. Findlay, Professor of Education in the University of Manchester. (University of London Press, Ltd.) 3s. 6d. net.

ture rings with impassioned appeal to patriotism. Shakespeare teems with it. But in the nations who are just entering State-life, or, as we might say, are in their childhood, the need of education in patriotism and good citizenship is more necessary.

There is no doubt that heredity counts for much, but the child demands "What mean ye by these stones?" The stones are history, but how can they know without being taught? That is just where the teller of tales in the infant-school plays such an important part in the early school-life of the child. Nowadays, parents are released from this teaching, since the children of the elementary schools begin at the early age of four or five years. Darwin says, somewhere, that nothing really matters after four years of age. Impressions are received at that early stage which are indelible, and character is formed. If that be so, a great responsibility rests with the infant school teacher. No manager of schools can fail to be struck with the receptivity of a young child, and his joy in a tale, often imperfectly told, of animal life. It is certain to appeal to the youngest in the class, and even "Teddy Bear," much as he is loved and cuddled, falls away from his high estate, when puss or Toby or monkey holds the stage; even the life-histories of a grub or a tadpole are as a fairy-tale. To children everything is possible: theirs is a faith which accepts the impossible, and it is only limited by knowledge as it grows.

Professor Findlay discusses the claims of history and its place in education throughout the scholastic life of the individual from childhood to the adult stage, and it should be a great service to the specialist teachers of history, and also for all those who are deeply concerned in maintaining the standard of culture in England of which, throughout the centuries, she has been so justly proud. History may be likened to travel, it widens the outlook from all points of the compass. "What can they know of England, who only England know?" And the knowledge of history, permeating, as it does, every activity of human life, will bring nations, and classes, and individuals closer together than Socialist communism or Bolshevist terrorism. Anything that tends to the understanding and development of the faculties, as history certainly does, must be for the betterment of the community at large. Professor Findlay makes a universal appeal, and we must hope that his book will be read by many parents and teachers and help on that study of history which is so close to his heart.

* * *

SIR HARRY POLAND.*

Sir Harry Bodkin Poland was born in London in 1829, he was educated at St. Paul's School and was entered at the Inner Temple in 1848. He practised at the Bar from 1851 to 1895 and for many years had a large practice. From 1865 to 1889 he was Counsel to the Treasury and Adviser to the Home Office. In addition to a great deal of Crown work he was retained in many civil suits, was Standing Counsel to the Bank of England and for twenty-seven years was Recorder of Dover. He has and always has had a fluent pen and has for many years written letters of substantial importance to *The Times* newspaper on legal matters. Mr. Bowen-Rowlands in his book sets out much material that in the course of many years he has collected concerning Sir Harry Poland and his work. This material has been supplemented by interviews with Sir Harry which enabled the compiler "to fill up the gaps in my notes and would further permit me to make frequent use of his own words." These "words," however, have not been corrected and revised by the subject of the book.

The book fills a gap, since the reminiscences of a living member of the Bar who can recall the days when there were Turnpike Gates at Notting Hill and Kennington, who attended the first performance of Balfe's *Bohemian Girl* in 1843, who saw Robson and Charles Mathews act, and was in full practice a quarter of a century before the Judicature Acts, are bound to be interesting. Yet it is a pity that Sir Harry has not told his own story in his own way.

In 1851 he attached himself to the Central Criminal Court, where his uncle, Sir William Bodkin, was in good practice. Serjeant Ballantine, Parry and Shee were still in the mess and Montague Williams joined later. Lord Halsbury (Hardinge Giffard) started practice in the same year in that Court though called a year earlier. In July, 1865, Poland succeeded Giffard as Counsel to the Treasury at the Old Bailey. Transportation was still in force until 1857 and executions for murder were in public until 1868. The book consists to a great extent of the many terrible cases in which Sir Harry took part. These begin with the prosecution of Sir John Dean Paul, an Exeter Hall worthy, for fraud, and go on to more or less famous cases such as the prosecution of the notorious Madame Rachel, who claimed to make women beautiful for ever, and the case of Governor Eyre (whom Sir Harry defended). He appeared in the later stages of the Tichborne case, the Clerkenwell explosion case, the Pook case, which became famous, it is sometimes said, by the fact that certain Counsel in the Tichborne trial were retained

* *Seventy-Two Years at the Bar: A Memoir.* By Ernest Bowen-Rowlands. (Macmillan.) 18s. net.

in this commonplace prosecution for a dreadful crime. The prisoner was triumphantly acquitted, though Sir Harry and Sir T. D. Coleridge had no doubt of his guilt.

The successive stories of all types of crime become rather tiresome, but they prove how very difficult it is for criminals to evade punishment and how valuable to society were the labours of a penetrating, dispassionate lawyer like Sir Harry Poland. To the last degree just, he was an example of pure intellect working out the logical case against persons charged with crimes against society. Men of this calibre are rare, but fortunately every generation produces enough of them to protect, in a very substantial measure, society from the pests that it begets. In some cases Mr. Bowen-Rowlands sets down somewhat unwise opinions. In respect to the case of the Rev. J. Selby Watson, who was sentenced for the murder of his wife, but reprieved on the ground of lunacy, and sent to an asylum, the author said to Sir Harry, "I suppose Mr. Watson was soon set free—'cured'—for he had 'influential friends.'" Sir Harry at once replied, "I know nothing about that." The remarks on the capacity of Lord Alverstone will not meet with general approval. But the book revives memories of many judges and many counsel, and will interest lawyers and indeed, for it is written in a popular fashion with few references to the official reports of cases, it will please the man in the street. It was a pity that Sir Harry Poland never became a judge: his urbanity, his vast knowledge of law and practice and his great experience would have more than justified such an appointment. To-day in his retirement he can look back on a life of singular usefulness to the nation, and, we believe, of content to himself.

SHORTER REVIEWS.

In "Messages to be received and considered by boys and girls in their teens,"* Mrs. Aelfrida Tillyard has endeavoured, and successfully, to show elder children the relationship between God and their everyday life, their lessons, and their pastimes. These talks, one for every day for four weeks, are not of a dictatorial or prosy nature, but are merely suggestions along certain lines of thought for children to follow up for themselves. It is a book that could take the place of the many little bedtime religious manuals written for elder children, for it has the rather rare quality of combining the idea of the Christian life with that of the mundane things of everyday. Children sometimes learn to read set verses for the day from the Scriptures, and never think of them as belonging to any time but bedtime, simply because they have never been told to think of them in connection with their work and play. The children of

* The Faith Press, Ltd. 2s. 6d.

to-day have so much done for them and every hour of the day planned for them, and difficulties made smooth, that they are in danger of never learning how to think and meditate for themselves; and if the habit of self-communion is not attained in youth, it will seldom be learnt in later years. Mrs. Tillyard shows herself to be a deep reader of human nature and one that is not afraid of her opinions. One tiny passage in a talk concerning clothes might be taken to heart by many: "If ever you make clothes for the poor, make them pretty as well as useful. The poor need pretty things even more than you do."

* * *

Mr. H. Butterfield, in his work "The Historical Novel,"* tells his reader that it "is an attempt to find some relation between historical novels and history treated as a study, to estimate the historical novel as a work of resurrection, a form of 'history,' and to show that it has its peculiar virtue as a gateway to the past." The author shows us that the Historical Novel is a "form of history linked up with legend." He illustrates this by quotations from various great authors. "It is the aim of the novelist to stand by the individual and feel life with him." Sir Walter Scott, we are told, did not write Historical Novels with the desire to improve our minds, but because "his mind was full of the past." This he peopled and coloured, creating an atmosphere all his own around each person and scene while remaining true to facts. It is certain, though we may not necessarily look for historical facts from the novel, that we are influenced by this atmosphere, and "unformulated sentiments that we take in unawares."

It creates in us undoubtedly a desire for further knowledge of the subject, and subsequent study of history. To-day, from what we read in some of the historical stories, there is not that same "fidelity to the facts of the history book." Sensation is the guiding factor. It is certain, however, that Sir Conan Doyle and certain other current novelists check their facts with assiduity and love of historical accuracy. For genuine lovers of history, the true Historical Novel, as is clearly shown by Mr. Butterfield, is of the greatest help towards the study of a bygone age, and justifies its title as "The Gateway to the Past."

* * *

Two Bibles for children, "The Little Children's Bible"† and "The Children's Bible"‡ have been arranged by Alexander Nairne, D.D., Sir Arthur Quiller-Couch and T. R. Glover, M.A. "In the spring of 1923 the Cambridgeshire Education Committee appointed an Advisory Committee to draw up a syllabus for Religious Teaching in the county, . . . the Advisory Committee considered that for schools using the syllabus a Bible containing the passages of Scripture mentioned in it would be of value, and it was suggested that such a selection might be found useful more widely still, in Sunday Schools and at home." The first of these, "The Little Children's Bible," is for the use of children from five to seven years of age; and is printed in large type. The second book, "The Children's Bible," is intended for children between the ages of seven and eleven. The arrangement of the two books is, of course, owing to the different grades, not quite the same, but both have an arrangement not common to children's Bibles as a rule. The

* Cambridge University Press. 5s. net.
† Cambridge University Press. 2s. net.
‡ Cambridge University Press. 4s. net.

story of Christmas and of the childhood of Jesus are the opening chapters; whilst the stories of the Old Testament follow after, in the first book, under the heading "Stories that Jesus would learn from his mother," and in the second book form "Part II, The Story of His people." It is an open question whether it is a mistake or not to alter the order of the Bible, even for children, whether they should no longer learn that it consists of two books, one heralding the approach of the other. "The text used is in general that of the Authorised Version, with here and there the change of a word or the adaptation of an old spelling to that more commonly used in school." The compilers have been most careful to cite book, chapter and verse to every passage given, and have made an Index of Passages as well as the ordinary Contents of the two books. In their prefaces they explain that these selections are in no-wise intended to be substitutes for the whole Bible. "On the contrary, it is hoped that the possession, in a convenient form of those parts of Scripture most attractive to children may lead many to a lifelong love of the Christian story and the word of God."

NOTICES OF BOOKS.

Those whose lot has fallen on a fair ground can, as a rule, have but a vague conception of the lives of the slum-dwellers. Plain poverty is easy to understand, and can and is ameliorated to a vast degree; but poverty added to vice, immorality, cruelty, and everything else which runs counter to a good Christian and civil life is a very different matter. April 11th, 1844, saw the modest beginnings of what is to-day a great and far-reaching society for the rescuing and helping of slum-children; and of the teaching and training of them to become good and useful men and women. "Lord Shaftesbury's Legacy; a record of eighty years' service by the Shaftesbury Society and Ragged School Union—1844-1924,"* by David Williamson, is "the life-history of work amongst the children of the poor, begun eighty years ago by those self-sacrificing and devoted pioneers of the Victorian era, and continued right up to the present day by the Societies and loving bands of workers of which those pioneers in early days were the founders." This little history gives a wonderful insight into the work done by those "Societies and loving bands of workers," and shows, though not in words, how others to-day can help these neglected children by giving assistance to their teachers if they cannot go forth themselves. The book has many illustrations and a chronology and bibliography.

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"The Pocket Oxford Dictionary of Current English,"† compiled by the late Mr. F. G. Fowler and H. W. Fowler, is based upon the great Oxford Dictionary now approaching completion, and is nominally an abridgment of the "Concise Oxford Dictionary." It is a book of diction concerned primarily with words or phrases as such, and not, except so far as is needed to ensure their right treatment in speech, with the things those words and phrases stand for. That is the right, though unhappily not the only, plan used by dictionary makers. The best pronunciation and ultimate origins are indicated. This excellent dictionary is very cheap and should be in every home.

* Hodder & Stoughton. 2s. 6d. net.
† Oxford: at the Clarendon Press. 3s. 6d. net.

Mr. Ralph H. Sabini has edited with a foreword an interesting volume entitled "Christianity and Modern Thought" * by a number of American Professors and Deans of Divinity Schools at Yale, Princetown, and Harvard Universities, and some other writers of merit. Mr. Gabriel says that the War unified America, and American Protestantism hoped to find this an opportunity of world-wide propaganda. But now Protestantism in America has split once more on the rock of Holy Scripture. The doctrine of literal Biblical interpretation has reappeared. Men need Authority and hate vagueness. Rome or the Bible is the alternative so far as Authority is concerned. Mr. Gabriel thinks that the struggle will do good in the long run. It is an interesting struggle since the New Testament, greatly strengthened by the failure of the higher critics to destroy it, has an Authority that vagueness will fight in vain.

* * *

We must notice at once the publication of Professor Otto Jespersen's volume entitled "The Philosophy of Grammar."† This famous Danish Professor writes in very excellent English and has therefore opportunities of approaching the English-speaking public denied to some of his very learned colleagues. The present volume is traced back to certain lectures at Columbia University in 1909-10, and is "an attempt at a concerted presentation of my views of the general principles of grammar, views at which I have arrived after long years in which I have studied various languages and have been preparing an extensive work on English Grammar, of which I have so far been able to bring out only two volumes." Professor Jespersen deals with the higher theory of grammar, but he treats it as a living thing, as something with a soul, the view that the Renaissance scholars also took.

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Dr. A. L. Sells in "Les Sources Françaises de Goldsmith"‡ (which has been added to the Bibliothèque de la Revue de Littérature comparée) adds a needed book to the vast literature dealing with Oliver Goldsmith. Goldsmith was influenced in some considerable measure by Marivaux, Montesquieu, Voltaire, D'Argens, and Buffon. But Marivaux had perhaps the greatest direct influence, and Dr. Sells for the first time contributes a detailed comparison. He moreover contends that French influence not only impregnated the work of Goldsmith, but also helped to form his genius. This thesis is worked out from various points of view in an interesting book.

* * *

A book in French by an Englishman on Goldsmith is perhaps less surprising than a book by a Frenchman in very excellent English on "Horace Walpole as a Poet."§ M. Paul Yvon combats Mr. George Saintsbury's view of Horace Walpole, and thinks that he might have made an excellent "worldly and fashionable poet," and that in fact he wrote a tragedy that made a name for him "in the higher department of English literature." The present essay supplements M. Yvon's full study of Horace Walpole by summing up his critical doctrines and examining his poems in the light of his own criticism and estimating generally Walpole's poetical talent and his artistic and literary ability. It was a task well worth doing and being done, of studying.

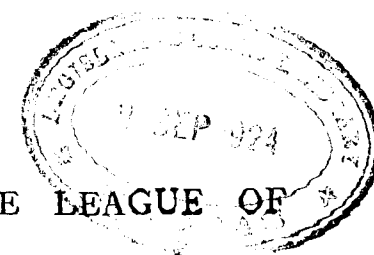
* Oxford University Press. 11s. 6d. net.

† George Allen & Unwin. 12s. 6d. net.

‡ Paris: Librairie Averenne E'Jourard Champion.

§ Paris: Les Presses Universitaires de France, 49 Boulevard Saint Michel.

A TURNING-POINT IN THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS.



IN September the League of Nations will hold its fifth Assembly.

In the life of every infant the first five years are the most uncertain. Once past that period and it is probable that the child will grow to be a man. So it is with institutions; they must strike root before we can say that they will endure. Has the League of Nations done this yet? I do not think it has. True it is that leading politicians like Lord Balfour and M. Poincaré have expressed the view that the League has come to stay, and it is difficult to see what would happen to Europe if the League were to be removed and nothing put in its place. But this does not mean that the League has any firm foundation in the mind or sentiment of the people. In England the unceasing efforts of the League of Nations Union have resulted in creating a fairly large body of enthusiastic supporters of the League and in permeating the educated classes with a general sentiment in its favour; but outside England the section of the European population that takes a real interest in the League is infinitesimally small, and is limited almost exclusively to some advanced politicians and students and a few persons experienced in diplomacy who realise how great will be the disaster if this latest attempt to find a way to peace fails.

To those who have been concerned in the building of this institution it is hard to admit its failure; but it is best to look facts in the face and then to set oneself to devise a remedy before it be too late.

In order to avoid being misunderstood, let me say at once that the League itself has not been a failure. It has undertaken a great deal of most useful work, and has done all that it has undertaken with remarkable success. Few of those who regularly follow its proceedings will deny this statement. In its task of adjusting disputes such as those concerning the Åland Islands, the Serbian-Albanian frontier, Vilna, and the Corfu incident, both the method and the results of the League's work have been satisfactory so far as its powers permitted. It is true that in the last two instances the outcome was not what justice demanded nor the League intended; but this was due to the intervention of the Council of Ambassadors and not to the League.

In the question of Upper Silesia the League was asked to solve a problem which had baffled every other authority that had attempted it, and it achieved a settlement that, at any rate, is working fairly well. Germany, indeed, complains that her interests were not sufficiently considered; but, even if this be true, it arose from the fact that she had no representative in the Council, and in a fully constituted League this objection would be removed.

In so far as concerns the administrative work of the League enlightened opinion is almost universally appreciative. With its international health work, with its relief of refugees and prisoners of war, with its reorganising of Austrian and Hungarian finance, its treatment of problems of European transport, sale of opium, white slave traffic, &c., no one ventures to find fault. Indeed, to reformers in every country the League has opened out a possibility of solving, by international action, problems which within the more restricted area of the nation have seemed insoluble. The withdrawal of the League from this sphere of work would constitute a distinct set-back to social and industrial progress.

But notwithstanding these facts and others that stand to its credit the League is not recognised as a success. Indeed, it is not recognised at all by the vast mass of mankind on whose behalf it labours. The States that are members of the League contain populations aggregating over twelve thousand million people, of whom probably not one in a million could give an intelligent answer to a question as to what the League is or what it does. This is not because the League is new. Novelty is rather an incentive to popular interest than a deterrent. It is because no one concerns himself about the League. Newspapers devote hardly any space to its doings. In Society circles it is usual to shrug one's shoulders when the League is mentioned, as the fad of a few pacifists which will soon go the way of the Holy Alliance and other like enterprises. And, lastly, the Governments give it the go by. The result is that the League has no draw. The eyes of the public are never attracted to it, and unless this can be remedied the League must fail. No public institution can remain strong, honest, and effective if it be not constantly subjected to public gaze. The League will be no exception to this rule, and the special difficulty in its case lies in the fact that it has no public. A Parliament or a County Council has its electorate which at any rate occasionally devote attention to its proceedings. There is no electorate for the League of Nations. Other means must be found to keep the fresh air of public criticism flowing freely through its passages. What these means might be I proceed now to discuss.

In the first place we must see that the League has enough work to keep it busy. To many minds the conception of the League is that of a body constituted solely for the prevention of war and functioning only when war is imminent. The Covenant, however, goes far beyond this. It asserts that the object of the contracting parties (now more than fifty States in number) is to "promote international co-operation and to achieve international peace and security." "International co-operation" and "security" furnish a wide field of operations, provided that the League is encouraged

to enter upon it. For example, the re-establishment of financial credit, be it German or French, or, for the matter of that, the world's credit is within the term "co-operation," whilst the words "international security" envisage what France has been seeking for five years and what all nations in turn will ask for before the Covenant has fulfilled its purpose. Be it observed, *en passant*, that up to now this work has been withheld from the League principally through the objection of France to trust the League with the settlement of anything affecting herself.

That the providing of suitable work for the League is important will be granted by those who have attended the various meetings of the Assembly in the past four years. Now that the initiatory business of regulating procedure and setting up committees has been concluded the programme has become less attractive. In September of last year, had it not been for two subjects of exceptional interest; viz., the Treaty of Mutual Guarantee and the Corfu incident, the labours of the League would not have been noticed. Some of its most important functions, such as the review of Mandates, prevention of epidemics, transport, &c., are now being dealt with by permanent committees sitting during the year. This will probably be still more the case in the future. Unless some fresh European complication arises suddenly, as it did last year, it may be that this Assembly will pass without doing anything to which the world will give attention, and will close less noticed and less respected even than its predecessors.

It is, therefore, very necessary that those who wish to see the League grow in public estimation should take steps to ensure that it be entrusted with weighty and responsible tasks.

Those who have the best opportunity of doing this are the representatives of the British Government. Notwithstanding the changes in personnel, the British will still find that the majority of the other members look to them for guidance. It may almost be said that the League will become what the British Government wishes it to be. It will certainly follow whatever lines the British and the French Governments unite in suggesting.

For this reason it is to be regretted that on this occasion the British Government should have unnecessarily challenged, or at any rate questioned, the suitability of the League in the matter of disarmament. Whatever may be our opinion as to the expediency of the Treaty of Mutual Assistance or as to its terms, there is no doubt that it was clearly within the competence of the League to draft such a treaty and that there is no other body in existence more capable of doing it. The preparation of such a Treaty is peculiarly a matter for discussion by representatives of the European States and, although it is unfortunate that neither Germany nor America

could co-operate, this does not necessarily imply that others cannot devise a right system of mutual defence. It must be remembered that during three years the Assembly and the Council and various Committees of the League have discussed this problem and have unanimously arrived at a solution. The respective Governments must be presumed to have been kept *au courant* with the doings of their representatives and to have approved of their actions, and although there is, of course, no obligation upon any Government to accept the Treaty, it would have been far better if British objections could have been disclosed before the British representative joined in the unanimous approval given by the Assembly. British action has offended France and others who expected England to support a proposal that had emanated chiefly from her own representatives. It has also made the League appear as merely a debating society whose deliberations have no weight with the Governments which constitute it.

This episode, however, makes it the more necessary for the British Government to take advantage of the coming Assembly in order to present its own scheme for dealing with the question of disarmament. If it does this and assists the Assembly to produce a really effective plan for reducing armaments it will render a great service to mankind. If, on the other hand, it brings no practical contribution it is inevitable that the reputation both of Britain and of the League will suffer.

The experience gained through this occurrence should also furnish an item in the programme of the Assembly to which serious attention ought to be given. It is the question of how far the States which are members of the League will undertake to subordinate their own wishes to a decision arrived at by the process of common discussion. This question is one of great importance, since it is certain that, if discussion by the organs of the League has no practical result, statesmen from the European countries will refuse to devote time to it and the League will lose in reputation and power. The coming Assembly might well apply itself to the task of ascertaining how far the member-States would be willing to bind themselves to comply with the decisions of the League, and of elaborating the conditions upon which such an obligation might be acceptable. This suggestion is not impracticable, nor is it inconsistent with the Covenant. The League of Nations Covenant has maintained the sovereignty of States by insisting upon unanimity in decisions of the League, and this ought to be sufficient security for a State without the further option of going back upon a decision to which it has agreed in the deliberations of the League. A Treaty to this effect would undoubtedly give additional weight to the League as an organ of international administration.

There is another question, closely allied to this, which is ripe for discussion; viz., how are the decisions of the League and of the Permanent Court of International Justice to be made effective? Cases have already occurred that have shown the need of some method whereby a recalcitrant State may be induced to bow to the opinion of the international authority. Some people are therefore crying out for an international police force to be at the disposal of the League. The world is, however, hardly ready for this, and in fact it has not yet exhausted the moral forces that are available. If the members of the League were to marshal these in the service of the League a great step would be made towards asserting its authority. Let them simply agree that, in the event of one of them disregarding a decision properly come to by the League, they will all use their moral and diplomatic influence to persuade the defaulter to comply with its wishes. A Treaty of this nature would have an immediate effect, as it would remove the impression that is now held by some States that they can count upon the moral support of one or other of the Great Powers in insisting on their own opinions. It ought to be made a breach of faith for any State to back up another in an attitude that is detrimental to the common weal.

These two questions urgently demand settlement, for without it the League of Nations cannot fulfil the functions entrusted to it. There are some distinguished supporters of the League who hold that it were better to leave it undisturbed, on the ground that the mere fact of its existence is in itself a safeguard against war. But, is this so? Can it be said that the League is either sufficiently organised or deeply enough rooted in the imagination of the people for it to have any real effect at a time of crisis? It requires a body with immense moral power and personal influence to stem the passions that lead up to war. The present League, excellent though it be, possesses neither of these requisites; it is still too young. But this is the more reason why we should lose no opportunity to endow it with new strength and fresh authority to fit it for future responsibilities.

Much can be done in this direction without reopening the Treaties of peace. In the first place, more attention might be given to the constitution of the delegations. These should always consist of the best men that the country can provide. The Council and the Assembly should be "men that count." It should, therefore, be a recognised practice for all Prime Ministers to be present at the Assembly. This would have two special advantages. It would enable these statesmen to confer on outstanding international problems and it would provide an object-lesson on the importance attached by the Governments to the conferences of the League.

Nothing would encourage people to believe in the League more than to see their own political leaders actively engaged in its deliberations and responsible for its decisions. Permanent officials should never be delegates, although they should always be in attendance.

Secondly, it would be well if steps were taken to constitute the League an effective organ of international diplomacy. The advance of civilisation demands some change in the system of "water-tight compartments" that is the feature of present-day diplomacy. The world requires some kind of clearing-house, or central exchange, for international politics. For example, it would be useful if all treaties made between members of the League were finally settled at Geneva. This does not mean that negotiations would be taken out of the hands of the parties to the treaties; but that the latter would not be complete until they had been subjected to the officials of the League with a view to their being not inconsistent with general international interests. If any such objection appeared the treaty would be referred to the Council. By this means a treaty-making department might be built up within the League in readiness for the time when the nations will ask for a system of complete co-operation in international affairs.

With the same object in view, it would be expedient that the meeting of the Assembly should be made the occasion for conference between diplomats as well as between Prime Ministers. Many matters might be settled by conversation at Geneva which now drag out a weary existence in endless correspondence and, what is more, men in the various diplomatic services would learn to know each other better than they can under present conditions.

By this process the Assembly would grow to be a true forum of mankind where not only questions of peace or war would be discussed, but all subjects possessing an interest extending beyond the confines of individual States. The time is ripe for this development now. The whole political situation of Europe demands serious consideration. Where could this be better given than in Geneva, at a gathering of statesmen equipped with first-hand knowledge of the problems involved, and able by united action to apply the necessary remedies? Is it too much to ask that the men who are assembling in Geneva this year will not disperse without having made some attempt to strengthen the instrument for international co-operation which is at their disposal, and by its aid to remove some of the dangers that still threaten the stability of Europe and the peace of the world?

W. H. DICKINSON.

ECONOMICS OF THE DAWES PLAN.

I.

THE important Conference designed to put into immediate operation the Report of the Dawes Committee on Reparations was mainly concerned with the political conditions necessary to enable the first practical step in the Dawes plan, viz., the provision of a loan of £40 millions to Germany for the establishment of a new bank of issue, currency stabilisation, and the financing of the first year's Reparations payment.

It may now be taken that cautious financiers are convinced that such a sum of money, loaned by the investing public, is fairly safe. It may also be understood that politicians and financiers believe that there is a reasonable prospect of a settlement of the Reparation issue upon the Dawes basis. That basis consists of two main proposals. The first is the payment by the German Government to the Allies of an annual sum in marks amounting in a "Standard Year" to £125,000,000 from certain specified taxes and interest upon Railway and Industrial Bonds, with a further sum varying with industrial prosperity. The second proposal is the transfer by the Allies of these sums of German money into foreign currency. This latter process can only be operated by transferring German goods or securities to foreigners either through payments in kind or through ordinary channels of commerce.

Now an exceedingly momentous economic issue is raised by these proposals, which the Dawes Report has not itself developed. For that Report speaks of the payment of the gold marks to the Allies and their transfer to foreign countries as "entirely distinct" questions, though elsewhere recognising that they are "related." The central interest of the problem consists in the fact that, whereas the German Government is itself responsible for the payment of the marks, the conversion of these marks into foreign currency can only be compassed by innumerable separate acts of sale in foreign markets by private German business firms that must see some profit in these transactions.

The final payment of the annual Reparation sums can only be made in terms of a surplus of export over import goods. Now, how can the Government policy compel, or induce, a number of private businesses to expand their export sales and contract their import trade to the required extent? The first answer to this question, a distinctively financial one, appears to be precluded by the desire, which the Committee expresses, of doing nothing to disturb the stability of the German exchange. For the ordinary commercial way of transferring a balance from one country to another would lead the Transfer Committee to apply the German marks placed in

their hands to purchase foreign currencies without regard to the disturbance of the exchange. Or, treating the matter in the broader light of international trade, they would regard this temporary disturbance of exchange as the natural method by which large sales of German goods in foreign markets would be effected. For the lower level of gold prices in Germany, that expressed the temporary disturbance of exchange, would make it more profitable than before for foreigners to buy goods from Germany, and less profitable for Germans to buy goods from foreign countries. So German export trade would be stimulated, and German import trade contracted. But, if the fear of destroying stabilisation precludes the free employment of this method of effecting payment (as the Committee intimates) we must seek some other explanation of the way in which the payments on Reparation account in Germany can bring about an export surplus.

This explanation will be found in the reactions of the financial policy upon the structure of German industry and commerce. If in a normal year, when the full Reparations policy is in operation, a minimum of £125,000,000 in gold marks, contributed by the Government, the Railways, and industrial companies, is handed over to the Allies Commission, this signifies a corresponding amount of purchasing power taken away from Germans in their capacity of shareholders or workers. For, so far as the Government's contribution is concerned, it must make good its fiscal requirements by additional taxation, and the other contributions operate as a tax on profits and interest. Therefore, the purchasing power both of consumptive and productive goods inside Germany will be reduced. This signifies reduced employment for capital and labour in the trades producing goods and services for the home market, and causes new capital and labour, together with such older capital and labour as is capable of transfer, to apply themselves predominantly to the export trades. But, it may be asked, assuming that more productive power is thus available for the export trades, can a sufficiently large expansion of the export market be effected without bringing a slump of prices that will make this trade unremunerative? Here one steps into deep water.

Deferring for the moment the question of the willingness of foreign markets to admit larger increases of German imports, let us look at the situation in Germany. If German manufacturers are to make increased quantities of export goods, they must see their way to produce them cheaply at a profit. High organisation with mass-production may go some way in this direction, but it has its limits, nor is it applicable to all sorts of export goods, including raw materials and some finer sorts of specialised articles. There are, however, two other economies by which cheap export goods

might be produced. One is by "sweating" labour. The reduced condition of many trades producing for the home market, due to the diversion of so much money into Reparation payments, reacting on the wages and employment in these home trades, must weaken the power of organised labour also in the export trades to resist reductions of wages and extensions of hours of labour. It is, indeed, worthy of attention, that, in the deliberations of the International Labour Bureau on the ratification of the Eight Hours Day Resolution, objections were raised by the French representative to German ratification on the express ground that it might interfere with the payment of Reparations. Many German employers take this view, and it is evident that a policy of depressed conditions for labour might be one, if not the chief, source out of which real Reparations could be paid.

But various references in the Dawes Report point to another source of reduced cost of production. Both railways and industries have been relieved of large burdens of old indebtedness, in the way of debentures, loans, and mortgages: government inflation has also lightened the real burdens of taxation, and the "wage lag" has helped industrialists to make large profits. Export trades, which have enjoyed these advantageous conditions, improving their plant, and piling up large reserves, while distributing high dividends, should, under the new stimulus of the Reparations policy, be able to cheapen production by reducing their rate of profit, instead of, or in addition to, degrading the conditions of labour. They might even, under due economic pressure, thus find it necessary to disgorge some of the gains that have accrued to them by inflation and other sufferings of the German people. For one thing is clear, that the economic system of Germany must, under the Reparation policy, be directed predominantly towards the export trades. The economies of large-scale production would, in the circumstances here described, be realised to the full in low costs of production, and whether under cartel control or competitively regulated prices, those goods could secure a predominant share of the world-market without reducing prices below a remunerative level for German capital. Export trade, thus stimulated to the utmost, would be assisted by a natural contraction of the import trade, due directly to inability of highly taxed and impoverished consumers to purchase foreign goods, except the necessary foods and raw materials. Thus, by larger exports and smaller imports, the export surplus needed for real Reparations might be got.

Such would seem to be the practical logic of the procedure, regarded from the play of motives inside Germany. But its success as a Reparation policy must depend upon the willingness of other countries to "play up" to it. This signifies a readiness, especially

among other advanced industrial nations, to make large adjustments in the structure of their own industry and commerce to accord with the needs of the German economic situation. In a word, if Germany is to pay, she must be allowed to specialise so largely in the manufacturing industries where her science, technique, established plant, and business organisation give her a relative superiority over other countries, as to control the world supply of these goods to a greater extent than ever heretofore.

The disposition sometimes shown to dodge this conclusion by proposing that Germany shall pay mainly, or exclusively, in raw materials or semi-manufactures, such as coal, pig-iron, alkali, dye-stuffs, sugar, ignores two facts: first, that it has already been proved that the recipient countries are unable to absorb and utilise any large additions to their other supplies of these articles; and, second, that the confinement of Reparation goods to such classes would greatly reduce the total value of the payments Germany could make, her best payments in terms of world-value being thus diminished. Moreover, the present provisions for payments in kind are operating so detrimentally to many staple manufactures in Germany as to breed scarcity among German consumers, so that a further advance of such payments in kind would so retard any general economic recovery as to weaken any existing incentives to a voluntary policy of fulfilment, which the signatories of the Dawes Report regard as essential to the success of their scheme. Fulfilment will only be possible if the industrially developed countries consent to hand over to Germany a monopoly, or at least the lion's share, of the great metal, electrical, chemical, and other "scientific" industries (with some other minor trades), in which she has a relative superiority in export knowledge, trained labour, and equipment.

Just as the economic forces inside Germany, making for payment in export trade, compel capital and labour to flow into and develop the businesses which shall produce these goods, by a similar economic necessity the productive resources in the recipient countries must flow out of these trades and leave them to the Germans, finding their best employment in other lines of business. It is obvious that this double adjustment of economic structure and of lines of commerce must take place, if Germany is to put upon the world-markets "free" goods to the value of not less than £125,000,000 *per annum*.

II.

There is no reason for alarm in this quickening of international division of labour thus brought about, provided it does not proceed by jolts and jerks. The assignment to Germany of a larger and more definite part in the world-economy is a real advance in economic internationalism which should inure to the advantage of

all other countries. The fact that a large part of the German goods come in "free," in the sense that no exports need go out to pay for them, should be no real detriment to the interests of other nations. Nobody believes that we are injured by receiving foreign goods in payment of interest upon our foreign investments. It is, of course, true that we need not take this interest in current imports; we may reinvest it abroad, and continue to pursue this policy of postponing actual payment, until we are ready to receive it. This is what we, as an investing nation, have been in the habit of doing with the payments due to us from abroad. And there are those who urge that we and the other Allies should follow this same business policy in dealing with Reparations, taking payment, not in German goods, which compete with and displace our own, but in German investments. Mr. Hoover not long ago advocated that America should follow this course in dealing with the mass of European indebtedness, continuing always to refuse acceptance of European goods in payment, and reinvesting in European securities each increased year's interest as it rolled in. It is, of course, open to us, or to other countries to whom Reparations are due, to adopt this self-denying economy, leaving to Germany the full present advantage of a situation which virtually remits all payment from her, in order to avert the evil consequences which such payments are held to involve.

This course, thus crudely stated, seems perhaps so unreasonable that no nation could be expected to adopt it. Yet the real "snag" in the Reparation schemes lies in the disposition of each nation to whom this sort of payment is due to refuse to take it. "Let another nation take Germany's export surplus, but not we, or at any rate, not now, or at any assignable date! If Germany tries to 'invade' our home market with her artificially cheapened wares, we will not have them: a tariff wall shall keep them out. Let them go elsewhere!" But on reflection, this also will not do. Germany must not flood Russia, or South America, or China, with her machinery, metals, textiles, chemicals, &c., to the detriment of British, American, Italian, French export trade competing in these undeveloped markets. This is the attitude already adopted by most countries, including our own, towards the receipt of German manufactures. It rests upon the fundamental assumption of Protectionism, the belief in the "limited" world-market, which does not expand *pari passu* with production, and which is not, therefore, large enough to take all we can export, as well as all that Germany, America, and other exporting countries can contribute. Moreover, this assumption of a limited market, obliging each nation to regard every other as its enemy and not as its co-operator, is so prevalent as to entangle the minds of many professing free-traders, who screen

their demand for excluding cheapened foreign goods by emergency logic relating to the exchanges.

The solid body of belief in "a limited market" makes it unlikely that the Transfer Committee under the Dawes Report would find it possible to effect the transfer into foreign currency of any very large proportion of the £125,000,000 per annum which it may receive in marks. Of course, it may be that, after deduction is made for payments in kind, and for costs of such "occupation" as may remain, or other expenses of Allied administration, the sum may be transferable. In favourable years before the war Germany is held to have had a balance of more than £40 millions on foreign trade, a sum which, on the higher level of prices that prevails now, might reach £70 millions.

Assuming certain favourable conditions securing the peace and prosperity of Germany, it might seem reasonable to expect that a considerably larger surplus could be reached under the spur of a fulfilment policy. But that policy would seem to demand several provisions to give it efficacy. The first is the fixing of the total amount of the Reparations bill. The objection that the amount Germany can pay will evidently vary with the changing level of world prices, though in itself not unreasonable, is offset by strong considerations. An unnamed sum, or an impossibly high sum, such as the 1921 figure, to be worked off by annual payments for a long term of years, and rising with the index of prosperity, will not in fact maintain an efficient national psychology of "fulfilment." The irksomeness of uncertainty, accompanied by a galling sense of servitude and suspicion, must have detrimental reactions upon the acceptance of a burden which, rightly or wrongly, is entangled in the German mind with the charge of sole war-guilt. A fixed sum, with the fullest freedom to work it off as quickly as possible, is the first sound condition for a Reparation policy. The Dawes Committee was expressly precluded from naming any final sum, but the Reparation Commission should make good this defect. The next condition is that Germany should be restored to free trade relations with Alsace-Lorraine, and other areas of pre-war Germany which have passed under foreign Governments. For the sudden breaches in her trade relations with these sections of her pre-war economic system must evidently be damaging to these sections as well as to her national economy. If Germany is to pay large Reparations, she should be endued with the power of drawing upon her pre-war economic resources for assistance in this task, irrespective of the new political boundaries. Finally, as has been already intimated, foreign countries must give either free access, or at least, most-favoured-nations treatment, to German export goods. The maintenance of tariffs against the easy entrance of German goods

into Allied markets is tantamount to a cancelment of Reparations claims.

Recognising these truths, it would be good policy for the countries with claims for Reparation to agree among themselves to give free entry to their markets to the kinds of goods which Germany is best able to export, the condition favourable to the largest payment of Reparation. German business men would then be in the best position to make arrangements for the enlargement of these export trades, and Allied business men for a corresponding contraction of these trades in their own countries.

If it be objected that the Allies are not bound to take payment directly in German goods, but may take it in goods from other countries, say, Russia, South America, or China, these countries receiving German machinery, textiles, chemicals, &c., and remitting payment to us, on German account, in their own produce, the economic procedure is only rendered a little more complex. Take our own case. Whether we are going to take payment directly in German goods, or in other foreign imports purchased by these same German goods, the effect upon our staple manufactures will be much the same. For it matters little whether these German goods compete directly in our home markets with our own manufactures, or displace them in foreign markets. We must in either case adjust the structure of our industries to the conditions necessary to enable Germany to make Reparation payments.

If it be complained that the procedure here described appears destined to stimulate to a high degree of activity certain important manufacturing industries in Germany, and in a corresponding measure to depress their activity in the recipient nations, one can only reply that this is unavoidable in the complexity of modern economic life. In a simpler order the reparation of war-damage might take shape in direct immediate repair of the actual war-damages by the loser in the war. Offers of such reparation to France were tendered by Germany and rejected. The fact is, modern industrial nations want to repair their own war-damages, and at the same time to demand from the enemy payment for the same, either in money which he has not got, or in goods which they do not want and will not take. If they do take Reparations for war-damages, already repaired by their own efforts, these Reparations operate as embarrassing gifts, which enable their recipients to live "like gentlemen," consuming without producing. It seems quite possible that when the Allies realise more clearly the operation of these Reparations, they will acquiesce quite readily in the annual assurances of the Committee of Transfer that they find it impossible to purchase any large amount of foreign currency, with the German marks

entrusted to them, without destroying the stability of the exchange. It will thus be made manifest that, while, on the one hand, Germany is not a wilful defaulter, the Allies on the other hand confess themselves unwilling to absorb within their economic system the export goods with which German manufacturers and merchants are prepared to make payments. Some payment will doubtless be made. But its total amount and the annual instalments will be determined not by the 1921 figure, or any other total based upon damages or just compensation, but by the current willingness to receive payment as expressed in stability of the exchanges.

One concluding remark. The Dawes Report makes it clear that, given financial and political stability, Germany could reasonably be expected to pay, out of the assigned resources, a sum in marks amounting at least to £125,000,000, after the proposed partial moratorium. It is possible, though far from certain, that, by the operation of the economic forces in Germany and the recipient countries which I have described, an export surplus of something like this size (assuming the level of world-prices to remain firm) might be obtained. But if the necessary adjustments of the economic systems of Germany and the Allies to make these payments possible took place, the sudden stoppage of such annuities when the total payment was completed would leave the Allies in a perilous situation. Accustomed to rely upon the receipt of large quantities of free imports to maintain their national consumption and the working of their industries, they would suddenly be called upon either to dispense with these goods or to discover some quite unexplored means of paying for them. If, as would certainly be the case, some of the German goods were prime essentials to our industries, the German cartels supplying them would be in an extraordinarily strong position to dictate prices to us, if indeed we could find any methods of making payment. To provide against this very awkward situation it seems evident that the Reparation Commission, in seeking to give effect to the Dawes Report, should plot, not merely an ascending scale of annual payments rising with the prosperity of German trade under the stimulus the Reparation policy applies, but a descending scale so that, as the time of complete fulfilment approaches, the readjustments of industrial structure both in Germany and the Allied countries back to normal conditions may be gradually effected.

In order that this experiment in pacific settlement may be properly tried out, the total sum should be fixed with reference to the present level of prices, payments in kind should be cancelled or reduced to a minimum, so as not to interfere with the maximum productivity of Germany, and tariffs which impede the flow of German imports into Allied countries should be removed.

J. A. HOBSON.

FRANCE AND THE CONFERENCE.

THE task of M. Herriot at the London Conference was to give a new direction to French policy while carrying the heavy legacy which two years of the Poincaré system had necessarily left. As originally conceived, this first effort was to be made in a strictly defined area of international affairs. The political and technical arrangements for the application of the Dawes scheme would be determined, and plans for the economic evacuation of the Ruhr would be agreed. Outside the actual negotiations some arrangement would be made for a conference on inter-Allied debts; there might even be some material undertaking given by the British Government holding out the promise of a generous settlement of that problem. M. Herriot would then be able to present himself before Parliament with a good preliminary record of peacemaking and some definite prospect of material compensation for French concessions. Such was the design.

The nature of the reception which Parliament would give to his report was, indeed, M. Herriot's constant preoccupation. If the Conference exceeded its limited programme his Parliamentary difficulties were bound to be increased. It did, in fact, break through its restrictions by admitting the discussion of the military evacuation of the Ruhr, which had been excluded from the programme at the request of the French Government. Taking the proceedings as a whole there were, from the French point of view, three critical periods: the pre-Conference period, when the preliminaries were being arranged; the first fortnight of the Conference itself, which ended with the inter-Allied agreement of August 2nd; and the last phase, during which the French and Belgian delegations negotiated with the Germans on the military evacuation of the Ruhr.

In making the preliminary arrangements for the Conference, M. Herriot soon discovered how strong was the section of politicians, headed by M. Poincaré, and especially powerful in the Senate, which still clung to the idea that the Ruhr operation was only suspended. In face of the urgent need of putting the Dawes scheme into operation the French Prime Minister had to make his plans immediately after the general election, and before the true physiognomy of the present Parliament had become visible. The mere impression that in the Chequers conversations M. Herriot might have given away too much of the French bargaining power at once showed the strength of the hostile section. It was, perhaps, a good thing that the rather flushed optimism of the Chequers *communiqué* caused uneasiness in Paris and led to a clearer definition of the French Prime Minister's aims. The incident of the British memorandum, too, was not altogether regrettable, since

it produced the excellent result of Mr. MacDonald's visit to Paris. On the eve of the Conference, the Senate, after a four hours' speech from M. Poincaré, gave the Government a guarded vote of confidence. In the end M. Herriot left for London with a policy of international solutions modified by reserves in favour of French liberty of action.

From the first, the proceedings of the Conference were followed with great interest throughout France. Newspaper reports were long and detailed. Comment on the daily discussions in the commissions was frank, and on occasion ill-tempered. But the pressure of events moving towards settlement was all the time having its effect on the public mind. By the end of July it was clear that opinion, both in Parliament and in the country, was ready to allow large concessions to be made and to accept the general policy of international solutions in place of the policy of isolation. A proof of this was furnished by the reception of the arbitration proposals put forward by the French delegation in order to meet the bankers' demand for greater security for the German loan. Both the Chamber of Deputies and the Senate were then sitting. The proposals were discussed by the Conference on July 31st. On the following day both Senate and Chamber adjourned without fixing a date for their reassembly. In the Chamber a perfunctory attempt was made by spokesmen of the *Bloc National* to get a day named, so that it might be possible to summon M. Herriot to justify his conduct of the negotiations, as he had promised to do before entering into final engagements. This suggestion was defeated without a division, and it was left to the President (M. Painlevé) to call the deputies together when circumstances should require it. The decision was significant. M. Herriot had, by the arbitration proposals, clearly shown his hand. If there had been serious resistance, or any grave disturbance of public opinion, M. Herriot would have been called back from London as M. Briand was snatched away from Cannes. In such cases French Parliamentary opinion acts promptly or not at all.

This decision meant that the first part of the task of carrying French opinion along the new lines of policy was accomplished. Minds were turned towards peace. The series of provisions for arbitration in the administration of the Dawes scheme, which formed the basis of the Conference agreement of August 2nd, showed the change which had taken place in the spirit of French politics. France has not, hitherto, shown much real liking for arbitration. This is not merely due to the strength of national sentiment; it has its roots in the mental attitude of the individual Frenchman. France has been one of the slowest among civilised countries to accept the system of putting an arbitration clause in

business contracts. In international affairs, especially during the Poincaré régime, the French Government has frequently refused to allow its interests to pass out of its control into the hands of neutrals. It is a welcome sign that M. Herriot should have made a proposal for arbitration on his own initiative. In a country where ideas, once started, spread with such rapidity as they do in France, this precedent may have beneficent consequences for the League of Nations.

It must not be supposed that French opinion in general, at this stage, greeted with positive cordiality the departure from a policy which for two years it had been taught to regard as the only patriotic one. A large section considered the acceptance of the Dawes scheme itself as a concession. After so many disappointments there was no widespread conviction that here at last was a way of getting reparations out of Germany. But there was war-weariness, a growing doubt of the productive value of the Ruhr policy, a consciousness of isolation, resentment at the high cost of living, and a fear for the franc; and so the concession was made. It was this lack of enthusiasm which, during the earlier part of the Conference, left room for irritation at what were regarded as attempts on the part of the British delegation to wring further surrenders out of France. Feeling ran high for a day or two, and M. Henri de Jouvenel, in the *Matin*, wrote an article almost in the tone of an ultimatum, warning Mr. MacDonald that if he could not treat with M. Herriot there was no other French statesman with whom he would be able to settle.

In this period a cynical observer might have summed up the position of affairs by saying that the British did not care about reparations, while the French took no interest in the loan to Germany. Like most summary judgments this one, as far as it concerns the French, suggests only a fractional truth. M. Herriot personally is undoubtedly concerned about the reconstruction of Europe. He is a Liberal as near to the British type as France has produced. But he was not then in a sufficiently strong position to ignore a large body of opinion which is hard and realist and for which the "reconstruction of Europe" is mere ideology.

It was unfortunate for M. Herriot that this first real renewal of contact between the Allies should happen to have for its object—however necessarily—the raising of a loan for Germany and the liquidation of the Ruhr policy. There were two subjects in which France was infinitely more interested at the moment, and both were ruled out of the programme of the Conference. If the Franco-British *rapprochement* had taken place in order to discuss inter-Allied debts or French security the new orientation of French policy would have been much easier. Nor were M. Herriot's diffi-

culties in this regard lessened by the admission for discussion among the delegations, though not actually at the Conference, of the military evacuation of the Ruhr. Obviously the conversations on inter-Allied debts already begun were a mitigation, but it cannot be too strongly emphasised that until this question and that of security are settled European peace will not be on firm foundations. And, to speak more immediately to the purpose, no Government could live long which came before the French Parliament with a scheme for a loan to Germany—even though its object is to obtain reparations for France—without some real prospect of settlement of inter-Allied debts.

In the new atmosphere created by the inter-Allied agreement of August 2nd, the arrival of the German delegation in London caused little anxiety. It was certainly hoped that the Allies, who had formed a united front, would insist on keeping the discussion within the bounds which they had prescribed for themselves. But things had gone so far that when the Germans, in the covering letter conveying their comments on the decisions of the Allies, raised the question of the military evacuation of the Ruhr, the attitude of the Paris Press was not that of violent opposition. Among the more important organs there was scarcely a single defender of the Poincaré formula of maintaining the military occupation until the last penny of reparations was paid, or even of leaving France completely at liberty to choose the moment when she would withdraw her troops. Most treated the matter as one for open or veiled bargaining. "Pertinax," of the *Echo de Paris*, an out-and-out Nationalist, exclaimed, on August 9th, "Why should people who consider our decision to abandon the right bank of the Rhine as already made buy a withdrawal which is rendered inevitable, sooner or later, by what we have conceded?" But that exasperated writer had already gone the length of damning M. Poincaré for accepting the Experts' Report at all.

In spite of "Pertinax's" irony, however—or perhaps, in part, because of it—there did arise the question whether the French should bargain over the military withdrawal. It is probably true that General Nollet wished to link the question with that of military security, or with that of the disarmament of Germany. M. Herriot wisely avoided the risk of division of opinion within his delegation by submitting the whole matter to the Cabinet in Paris. The Government and the President of the Republic (who is not a M. Millerand) on August 9th approved a policy of insisting on the continuance of military occupation for another year, while seeking an arrangement with Germany which would be preliminary to a commercial treaty. Unless there were some disastrous blunder, it then seemed likely that Parliament would at the least acquiesce in a settlement on those lines.

It is a sign of the exclusive preoccupation of the late Poincaré Government with purely political action that so little attention had been paid to the fact that next January Germany will be freed from the commercial restrictions imposed on her by the Treaty of Versailles, and that no arrangements had been made to regulate, either the general trading relations between France and her neighbour, or the special problem of Alsace and Lorraine, divorced from an economic system of which they had formed a part for forty years. It was impossible that a piece of business of such range and importance should be settled by an impromptu discussion, but there were good reasons why M. Herriot should want to come back to Paris with, at least, the basis of a commercial treaty established. As a *quid pro quo*, moreover, a commercial treaty is in tune with the present trend of leading French opinion on the future of Franco-German relations. An indication of this movement may be found in a striking article by M. Jules Decamps on the Dawes scheme, which appeared in the number of the *Revue de Paris* published on August 1st. M. Decamps, who is a high authority on banking, states plainly a principle, familiar enough in England and America, but hitherto rarely admitted in France. "The reparations problem," he writes, "is essentially a business problem. It is therefore with a business mind that its solution must be sought. Up to now we have tried to solve it by political means, but we have hardly succeeded in doing anything more than get it into the bog of formalities and complications." M. Decamps also cuts through the fallacious notions about modes of payment and transfer which have been so long current in France, and tells his readers flatly that, in whatever form the Transfer Committee may hand over reparation payments, France will only be able to realise them by importing goods or accepting services to the same value. He therefore urges that German reparation goods should be admitted into France on an equal footing with those of other countries benefiting by the French reduced tariff.

It is a pity that an operation on the scale of the London Conference had to be undertaken before the equilibrium of Parliament—depending on the relations between Senate and Chamber and the balance of parties in the Chamber—had been established. Some observers have thought that the present majority in the Chamber, mainly constituted by the Socialist Radical and Socialist parties, cannot long hold together, and that when it breaks up the Radicals will be compelled to form new associations with groups on their right. In that case the centre of gravity of the Chamber would move towards the middle parties. Whether that occurs or not the Chamber promises to have more of the traditional instability than has been the case since 1914. But its general composition

will almost certainly prevent it from becoming a reliable instrument for a policy of extreme Nationalism. Its four years' mandate is, therefore, itself a guarantee. In contrast with the last Chamber it resembles the pre-war assembly in its party groupings. Again in contrast with the last Chamber, it is more concerned about home affairs and less about foreign policy, though events may modify that characteristic. The Amnesty Bill, and the proposal to bring the transitional *régime* of Alsace-Lorraine to an end have caused sharp divisions. There is considerable protest in the recovered provinces (chiefly on the part of Roman Catholics) against the full application of French laws—especially against the secularisation of schools. It is possible, in view of this, that the question will not be pressed to a decisive issue for some time.

If M. Herriot, having appeased the worst of the reparations controversy, is able to keep before the eyes of Parliament a genuine prospect that the Allies will deal with the question of debts promptly and liberally, his prestige in the Chamber will be high. There is little likelihood that the Senate will allow itself to be used to embarrass a foreign policy which has the support of the newly elected Lower House and which is in process of active accomplishment. M. Herriot has won the right to a great deal of credit and almost as much sympathy. He has been acrimoniously criticised by the Opposition Press. He has been accused of vacillation, of surrendering advantages in negotiation before he had obtained anything in return. The truth is that he had to take over most of the disadvantages of the old policy, but few of the advantages. Following M. Poincaré, he was the peaceful flute after the nationalist trumpet, more melodious, but less ostentatiously stirring. He represents a genuine movement in French politics; he is the man of the election of May 11th. The question is how far that movement carries, and that the coming months will show.

Once its position in respect of its foreign policy is assured the future of the Government, or of any succeeding Government, is likely to depend mainly on its finance. It is true that if the international situation remains favourable the external forces affecting the stability of the franc will be less dangerous than they have been for three years or more. This consideration was in the minds of the French delegation throughout the London Conference, and one of the principal motives urging to concessions was the fear of what might happen to the franc if the negotiations broke down. But the internal financial situation is still serious. Even if the year should end without a deficit the undertaking given by the Government to balance the Budget—that is, the complete Budget, including the expenditure in the devastated regions—will not be easy to carry out. Apparently M. Clémentel's general idea is to

put the income tax on a real business footing and to enforce it completely. At present it is so complicated that the ordinary citizen often cannot make out how his assessment is arrived at, and there is notoriously a great deal of evasion.

But reform of such a system takes time and it seems doubtful whether it can materially affect finance in the near future. Meanwhile, according to a leading article which appeared on August 1st in the *Ere Nouvelle*, a pro-Government paper, the Treasury will next year need thirty milliards of francs in new money, outside the Budget, and it was suggested that this would have to be borrowed. There is still, of course, the disguised inflation caused by the issue of *Bons de la Défense Nationale* and one of the urgent needs is a consolidation of the floating debt. Such indications as have been given of M. Clémentel's plans point to an attempt, in the first instance, to protect the franc against the risk of large fluctuations and to trust to sound budgeting for its gradual improvement.

After all, however, it is doubtful whether any change of Government can affect the operation of the great political forces which have been liberated by the renewal of friendly relations between the European Powers. The obvious essential is that confidence between the nations should be nursed back to strength. In the application of the Dawes scheme, the negotiation of commercial treaties with Germany, the discussion of military control, and of treaties of mutual assistance at the meeting of the League Assembly, there is limitless opportunity both for making peace and for making mischief. As far as France and Great Britain are concerned, it is apparent to anyone who has watched the course of the London Conference that unfriendly writers will continue to argue that France got little more than promises in return for her concessions. Some seeds of distrust have already been scattered. In more than one newspaper it is represented that France was forced out of the Ruhr by a clever British manoeuvre, which consisted in a threat of the withdrawal of the army of occupation from Cologne next January. There is an almost general impression that the British Treasury is less well-disposed towards France than the Foreign Office has shown itself to be. It rests largely with Mr. MacDonald, who is personally popular in France, to remove these suspicions in the coming negotiations on debts and security on which French interests are now concentrated.

W. L. MIDDLETON.

PARLIAMENT AND PEOPLE IN GERMANY.

THE German Reichstag building is described by Baedeker as "erected 1884-94 by Paul Wallot in the Italian Renaissance style at a cost of 23.3 million marks." In the middle of it there is a large gilded dome, which the Emperor William, himself not precisely an impeccable judge in such matters, once tersely described as "the limit in bad taste (*der Gipfel der Geschmacklosigkeit*)."

Apart from the dome, the proportions are not too bad, and the building as a whole is not more ineffective than a good many other public buildings in Berlin or elsewhere. But it is an architectural exercise "in the Italian Renaissance style," not an expression of anything in the political history or development of the German people. It is like the library in the house of a man who never reads: and no one can follow for long the proceedings within its gates without acquiring the uncomfortable conviction that, as the building is, so is the assembly.

Let the reader imagine the Reichstag in session. The legislation before the House is the second reading of a proposal of the Government to re-establish certain protective duties on imported food-stuffs, which were suspended during the war and post-war period. The only party nominally which supports the measure is a non-Governmental party, the Agrarians (German Nationalists): and an outsider might accordingly suppose that there was a majority in the Reichstag for Free Trade. The supposition would be quite wrong. Agricultural Protection has been *chose jugée* in Germany ever since Bismarck abandoned Free Trade in the 'eighties of the last century. What chiefly decided the Germans of that generation against Free Trade was the spectacle of the social consequences of the English sacrifice of agriculture to industry. The present generation has been strengthened immeasurably in the same conviction by its own experiences under the English blockade in the war. No one therefore really wants to abandon the duties: nor does anyone seriously contest the view of the expert advisers of the Ministry of Economic Affairs that their re-establishment cannot be much longer delayed. But in the Parliamentary arena Protection for agriculture is an affair of the Agrarians. If the Agrarians are to have legislation in their interests, the Liberals and Socialists will always oppose it, until the Government promises to support some measure of their own. Of this the Government has been perfectly aware from the first. Before the measure ever came before the Reichstag, the Government had negotiated the agreement of a sufficient number of political parties to secure a majority of votes. All this lobbying took place behind the scenes. But the results have been published in the Press: and the fate of the measure was thus known and discounted before it came up for debate.

Interest in its various Parliamentary stages under these circum-

stances is, as may be imagined, hardly poignant. At the outset of the second reading debate spokesmen of the Agrarians (German Nationalists—formerly Conservatives and Free Conservatives), big industrialists (German People's Party—formerly National Liberals) and Catholics (Centre) read brief statements as to the attitude of their respective parties. A representative of the Extreme Right (Fascist) and another of the Extreme Left (Communist) contest, amid faint protests, the competence of the Reichstag to legislate at all. A Socialist attacks the measure, but indicates that to avert a greater evil—the Socialists are always averting greater evils—his party will vote for it. The House, already sparsely attended, then empties entirely as one of the small remaining band of the once powerful Radical Party ascends the tribune, and begins: "*Wenn das Deutsche Volk einmal das Bedürfniss empfindet . . .*", or words to that effect. The Radicals are perhaps the only genuine believers in the virtue of Parliamentary discussion: and they incline to think that, in refusing to curtail their utterances, they are indirectly (or, as they would themselves say, "in the ultimate analysis") striking a blow for Freedom.

The above debate is due to take place somewhere about the time when this number of THE CONTEMPORARY REVIEW will reach the hands of the reader. He is invited to check, from the accounts of it in the English Press, the accuracy of the writer's estimate of its course.

To what is the failure of the Parliamentary principle in Germany due? It used to be said that the Reichstag was condemned to impotence because it was unable under the old Constitution to overthrow a Government by an adverse vote. But, under the new Republican Constitution, this inability has disappeared. It was also said that, till Ministers were selected as in England from the professional politicians, instead of from the permanent officials, Parliamentaryism could never blossom. This change, too, has been made by the new Constitution: and still the fruits of Parliamentaryism refuse to ripen. Indeed, if liberty of the subject is (as one has been taught to believe) the chief of those fruits, there is a marked set-back since the days of the Monarchy. The "Law for the Protection of the Republic," which was passed at the instigation of the Liberal-Socialist majority in the last Reichstag, after the murder of Rathenau, infringes in every Article fundamental liberties of the person, which had been guaranteed by the Republic less than three years before. Since then, the powers of the Government have been widened to an extent to which Bismarck never aspired, at the expense of Parliament. Newspapers are continually being suspended: two political parties have been suppressed for short periods: the immunity of the Deputies has been several times

violated by the Executive, the only protests coming from the Extreme Right and the Extreme Left: and anyone is liable to prosecution for *lèse-majesté*, who is found in possession of a certain forbidden photograph of President Ebert in a bathing costume.

Parliamentarianism in Germany has the handicap of a guilty past. German Parliamentarians act always, consciously or unconsciously, as men with an uneasy conscience. They remember the Frankfort Parliament of 1848, and the *gran rifiuto* of the German Liberals, when the sword of German Unity, of which they had dreamt and talked and written so much, was theirs for the forging, and they did nothing but continue to write and talk and dream.

It was the disillusionment of the German public with Liberalism after 1848 which opened the path to Bismarck and the policy of "blood and iron." But the German Liberals were slow to see it. Till the last, or at any rate till after the war of 1866, they obstructed his policy. The military reforms of 1859-1860, which made possible the victory over Austria in 1866 and the founding of the North German Confederation, the embryo of the Reich, were thrown out by the Prussian Diet in 1862, and put in force by King William without Parliamentary sanction. After the victories of 1866 the Diet passed an Act of Indemnity for the unconstitutional action of the Prussian Government. The Liberals, who—with the astute encouragement of Bismarck—proposed the measure, were convinced that it was they who were imparting absolution. Their contemporaries took a different view, which the judgment of History has confirmed. The penitent indeed was, not the Minister, but the Parliament: and its Indemnity was a *mea culpa* pitiable enough to satisfy even the grim irony of Bismarck. Once again on an issue of the first magnitude, at a turning-point such as recurs but rarely in the history of a people, the German public was left with the feeling that the Executive had been in the right, and the Parliament in the wrong. The consciousness of such failure is not easily effaced.

Nor is it only in the field of foreign policy that the German people in the last fifty years has been inclined to give its confidence to the Executive rather than to the Parliament. "If it had been left," it has been said, "to the Board of Trade in the nineteenth century, England would have had no social legislation. Germany would have had none, if it had been left to the Reichstag." All the legislation on which the amazing economic prosperity of those fifty years was built up—the Tariff, the social legislation, the construction of the waterways and the expansion of the railways—was the work of the bureaucracy; and it was always with difficulty, and only as the result of hard bargaining, that they could obtain majorities in the Reichstag.

There was nothing in the old Constitution, any more than in the new, to restrict the legislative initiative to the bureaucracy. But in practice neither private members nor political parties ever initiated legislation. Nor do they now. In the German conception a Government, whether composed of bureaucrat-Ministers or of politician-Ministers, is or should be a collection of experts. A Parliament, they consider, is a collection of critics; and the parties of which it is composed, the watch-dogs of particular classes or interests. The Conservatives in the Reichstag represent agriculture: the Liberals, big business: the Radicals, the small trader: the Socialists, the industrial worker. Only the Catholic Centre fails to square with this conception, since its voters are of all social classes and of all interests: and the Centre too has generally its own reasons for preferring a passive rôle.

Such is the tradition. It will be seen how much it differs from the tradition in England, where the political initiative rests with the Parliament, that is, with the party in power, and the attitude of the bureaucracy, except under Parliamentary stimulus, is to "carry on." At the bottom, it may be, of this divergence of outlook is, in the one case, the English dislike of the expert arising from the English mistrust of education or consciousness of its limitations, in the other case, the German trust in the expert based in its turn on the German belief in education. The difference in any case is one, not of machinery, but of spirit: and this being so, how should the modification of the constitutional machinery at Weimar suffice to effect a revolution in German political thought?

There are many reasons for thinking that no such revolution in German political thought is likely to occur. However that may be, it is certain that estimates of the present political situation in Germany which are formed from the actions and interactions of the parties in the Reichstag are extremely misleading and, if made the basis of Allied policy, likely to prove disastrous. There are elemental forces at work under present conditions in Germany, as there were in the very similar period which succeeded the Napoleonic wars: and at any moment, as in 1848, they may come to the flood, and sweep the existing systems of Government out of existence. Germany had her *Götterdämmerung* in 1918: but there is no new world as yet to take the place of the old. Chaos is still in travail; and there must be a new *Götterdämmerung*, a Twilight of Godlings, before Cosmos can be born. What the new Teutonic world will be like it is no doubt impossible to foretell: but it is unlikely that a development of Parliamentary government will be a feature of it, and it is certain that it in its turn must disappear, unless it can succeed in giving expression, more effectively than the present system, to the instincts and the interests of the common man.

The instincts of the common man! That is what in every country and at every time is waiting for interpretation: and never more than in Germany and now. It is true, it is the interpretation of statesmen, and not of publicists, for which the common man in Germany is calling. But the publicist need not excuse himself for making the attempt. He, too, has his part to play.

Interpretation is necessarily personal. I begin with a personal incident, and a trivial one. It was my lot to be standing lately, with other common men, at a street-car halt where the Budapester Strasse joins the Potsdamer Platz, the Piccadilly Circus of Berlin. A tram came up, and we were all moving across from the pavement to the tram-line, when a screech sounded and a big automobile rushed past, scattering the crowd, and missing one of us by a few centimetres only. In it was a fat Jew with his neck bulging over his collar and his belly bulging over the carriage rug. (Our "Raffkes"—so we call our profiteers in Berlin—take no pains to disguise their resemblance to their caricatures in the comic papers.) As we saved ourselves on the side-walk, my neighbour exclaimed resignedly: "In the old days the police would never have allowed that!" A young man, possibly of Fascist tendencies, improved the occasion by remarking: "*Saujud!*" and we jumped for the next tram.

My neighbour was perfectly right. In the old days no automobilist would have ventured for a moment to drive past a street-car halt in Berlin without slowing down. It is true, some members of the Imperial Family had a reputation for furious driving: but the cars of the Imperial Family were recognisable by special signs back and front, and by a special hoot; and the police were usually warned of their coming. A General Officer in a hurry might also perhaps have been allowed to take liberties with the public. (Would he not in London? One seems to remember a case.) Any other offender would instantly have been stopped by the police and fined on the spot, or (if drunk) arrested, it being left to him, if he felt himself aggrieved, to bring an action against the police. The old *régime* imposed many rules and restrictions on the public, more than the English or French public would ever stomach. But at least they were imposed in the common interest; and when duly observed, as the old German public used to observe them, they made beyond a doubt for the public convenience. All that has disappeared. The old discipline, of which the officers and officials were not only the originators but also the chief exponents, has gone: and the supremacy of the monied classes is left without any of the imponderable checks which the prestige of the Army and Bureaucracy formerly afforded. It is assuredly not the common man who has benefited by the change.

The common man is coming to regret more and more the old ordered life and the hierarchic grading of society. He reflects that Germany was a much pleasanter place to live in for the small bourgeois and for the worker, before the War. The pleasant things of life, the restaurants, the theatres, the operas, the concerts, once open to all, are now become the luxuries of the rich. He resents the dirt and mismanagement of the once spotless and impeccable railways, and the overcrowding in the trains. Wherever he looks, in the administration of the country no less than in his everyday life, it seems to him that the worst elements have come to the top, while the best are being trampled underfoot. Four years ago he was still suffering from the effects of the War, and the memory of the British blockade was still fresh. He was ready then to believe the advocates of the present *régime* when they told him that his troubles were all due to the former "militarism." When the Monarchists organised the Kapp Putsch, he supported the general strike with which the Socialists defeated it. It is more than doubtful if he would do the same again. Since that time he has been through two terrible visitations, first the Inflation, a social revolution by the side of which the changes caused by the War look insignificant, and secondly the Occupation of the Ruhr: and in the face of both he has found the present *régime* to be powerless. He has seen the national currency melt before his eyes, has watched the rich grow richer and the poor grow poorer,* and witnessed amongst his neighbours, in his own family, and in himself the moral effects of a state of things where to save is to squander and the only possible outlay for earnings is speculation. The year of havoc in which the Inflation was at its height, 1923, has obliterated to a great extent the memories of the War, as an earthquake obliterates the memory of a riot. No one, who has not lived through a period of inflation such as Central Europe has seen since the War, can realise the horror of its ravages, the impression of devastation which it makes and the sense of powerlessness which it induces. It is certain, there is not a single German who would not sooner face another year of war than another year of inflation . . . particularly, it is to be feared, if the war were to be against a certain Power.

The trouble is that he feels unable, with the present *régime*, to ensure that he will not again be so afflicted. It is on this feeling of the common man that the success of the two extreme parties, the Fascists on the one hand and the Communists on the other, has

* Throughout the Inflation period the working class alone was paying direct taxation, since the principal direct tax (Income Tax) was deducted week by week from their wages. Other classes of the population were taxed as in England by assessment. To escape the burden, they had only to wait until the amount assessed had lost all value. There were heavy fines for delay in payment: but the fines melted with the rest.

been built up, a success which it is very unwise to suppose is represented by their respective gains in the last Reichstag Elections. The common man is, of course, not extremist—he never is—but each of these parties is in touch with something of what he is feeling, while the traditional parties are not. The Liberals have long since ceased to have much contact with the national life or thought. The Socialists have lost touch since the Inflation, and are severely handicapped by the lack of leaders. Men like Dr. Breitscheidt, polite, ineffective, and suspect of an unnatural liking for the French, represent scarcely anything in the post-inflationist Germany. The Conservatives have some leaders who inspire respect in the Reichstag: but in the country they are handicapped by their association, always more or less close, with the big industrialists, and, where they might have a popular appeal, the Fascists are apt to take their water. As for the Centre, like all Catholic Parties, it supports the established order . . . until it is disestablished. It stands where it has stood since the founding of German Unity, near the centre of the balance, and rarely throws its weight into the scales except where Catholic interests are affected. The extremist parties have thus an almost free field. Each starts from scratch: and the betting may be said to be the same on both.

Two years ago the writer ventured on a somewhat similar forecast of future developments in another country. That was in Italy a week or two before Mussolini's march on Rome. That too was an event which took the Government and Parliament and the Allied Embassies by surprise. There too it was taken for granted that the Giolittis and the Nittis would continue to govern Italy indefinitely. The progressive weakening of their government was overlooked or under-estimated. The Blackshirts were discounted as "extremists" and "reactionaries," and their strength was judged by the seats which they commanded in the Parliament. There are many differences between the Italy of 1922 and the Germany of 1924. Notably in the case of Germany, there is an outside factor to be taken into account in the shape of the Allies. But the Allies no longer control the situation in Germany: and future events may make the London Conference look like the meeting of a Lava Development Company at the mouth of a volcano on the point of eruption. Meanwhile—as in Italy—the tension increases.

O. DE L.

THE TRAGEDY OF THE RUSSIAN DIASPORA.

IN studying the Russian Revolution we are too apt to forget that in addition to the vast, complex, and mysterious political tragedy which is unfolding inside, and which can only be observed by the few travellers who are admitted, under escort, into the country, there is another impressive tragedy enacted outside the Russian border which can be observed by every passing traveller in every continental capital, namely, the tragedy of those two million refugees who have been uprooted by the Revolution and hounded into exile by terror or starvation.

There have been many *diasporas* or dispersions in the world's history. Again and again, whole nations or classes have had to take to the high road as the result either of religious persecution or of some political upheaval. Students of the early Christian Church, and especially of St. Paul's missionary travels, are familiar with the Jewish *Diaspora* which, long before Christ, had established colonies in every part of the Mediterranean shores and which contributed so much to facilitate the spread of the Christian religion. In modern times the repeal of the Edict of Nantes and the persecution of the Huguenots sent a hundred thousand Frenchmen to England, Holland, Prussia, and even to South Africa, where the descendants of the seventeenth-century refugees, the Jouberts and the Dutoits, have played an important part in political life. During the great French Revolution the gentry and the aristocracy left *en masse* in such large numbers that the Prince of Condé could muster a whole army of refugee noblemen to take the field against the Revolutionary legions. In quite recent years we have seen two hundred thousand Belgians driven into Holland, England, and France by the German policy of frightfulness.

But none of those previous dispersions have been quite on the same gigantic scale as the present Russian *Diaspora*. That Russian emigration includes men of all parties. The majority are probably Liberals and Conservatives. But large numbers belong to the Socialist parties, which have been persecuted by the Bolshevists even more cruelly than the Liberals or Conservatives. And that emigration is also recruited from all social classes. The aristocracy, the middle classes, and the professional classes may outnumber the manual workers. But the Russian working-man is largely represented.

And not only is the Russian emigration larger than any other historical emigration, but the range and area of its dispersion is also much wider than any previous historical catastrophe. The refugees flying before the terror of Bolshevism originally stampered in every direction, and they are now established in every

country. In the North the first victims of the Revolution escaped to the Baltic Provinces, to Reval, Libau, and Riga. But the Baltic ports were unsafe and could not provide a livelihood for considerable numbers. The fugitives then escaped to Lithuania and Poland. But Poland was also found unsafe, being invaded by the Bolshevik armies. Nor is Polish hospitality very congenial to the Russian. The Greek Orthodox Russian and the Polish Catholic are hereditary enemies and do not easily mix. In the South, the refugees escaped both to the Caucasus and as far down as Central Asia. In the East, they overran Siberia. But here again they were driven out by the terror of the Bolshevik advance. They then escaped *via* Odessa to Constantinople. Here once more they were driven on; for they found that Bolshevism had entered into an alliance with Turkey and that Turkey had gone to war with Greece; so that Constantinople and Turkey also had to be abandoned.

As the refugees were unable to find even a temporary resting-place either in the Baltic or in Poland or in Central Asia or Siberia, the stream of emigration was gradually directed to the Slav countries of the Balkans and Central Europe, to Bulgaria, Serbia, Croatia, Slovenia, and Tchechoslovakia. In the spring of 1922, I discovered hundreds of Russian University students established in the Castle of Laybach, which had been transformed into a University. This mobilisation and concentration of the Russian refugees in the Slav countries is an extremely remarkable phenomenon, pregnant with important political consequences. I have never believed in the German legend of a "political Panslavism." The various sections of the Slavonic race have always been hopelessly divided. But there exists no doubt a moral and spiritual unity of the Slavonic peoples, with the possible exception of the Poles. They are bound together by the affinity of language and race, by the common memories of past sufferings and future hopes. It is this community which explains why to-day there are compact Russian settlements in every important Slav city—in Sofia, in Belgrade, in Zagreb, in Ljubljana, and last, but not least, in Prague.

I have mentioned the Russian colony in Prague. Prague may justly claim that she is to-day the intellectual and spiritual capital of the Slav world. The young Tchechoslovak State has startled the world by many daring innovations. But it has done nothing more startling than the almost simultaneous creation of two Russian Universities, one strictly Russian, the other Ukrainian, each numbering more than 3,000 students. These 6,000 students are the guests of the Tchech Government, and they all receive a stipend. The Pro-

fessors receive the same salary as their Tchechoslovak colleagues. At first the presence of so great a concourse of Russian students caused considerable trouble. But they were soon acclimatised. Having suffered from the absence of law in their own country, they learned to appreciate the value of law in the nation which received them.

This organised Tchechoslovak hospitality was largely due to the initiative of President Masaryk, the greatest living authority on all things Slavonic, and the most illustrious statesman in the Slav world. The President was ably assisted by the Foreign Secretary, Dr. Benes, and the Assistant Foreign Secretary, M. Girska. It was surely a noble gesture for a small Government with encumbered finances, and faced with countless domestic problems, to contribute so generously to the needs of such vast numbers. But in effect this noble gesture will also prove a splendid political investment. The Tchechs will find that the Big Russian Brother will remember one day all the Little Brother has done for him in his hour of supreme need.

But however congested the Russian colonies may be in all the Slavonic States of Central Europe, by far the largest number of refugees had to find a temporary home in France and Germany. There is, however, this difference between the settlements in Berlin and those in Paris, that in Germany there is a considerable mixture of Russian Jews, whereas the purely Russian element largely predominates in Paris. In both capitals, however, the Russians constitute a compact agglomeration. They live in self-contained groups in accordance with the gregarious and sociable instincts of the race. They occupy whole suburbs, like the Chinese Quarter in San Francisco. They can lead their own lives. They have their own newspapers and publishing houses, their own theatres, their own restaurants. Indeed, in order to study Russian life and Russian character, it is no longer necessary to undertake a risky journey to Moscow or Leningrad. You can study them quite easily in the very heart of Paris and Berlin.

It is a remarkable fact that there are comparatively few Russians in England or in the British Empire. In this connection I cannot help being struck by a curious historical paradox. Before the war, Great Britain extended a most generous welcome to Russian outlaws and Russian outcasts. I remember as far back as thirty years ago visiting Prince Kropotkin, the spiritual leader of International Anarchism, and Stepniak, the murderer of General Mesentsef, whose Saturday evenings were frequented by crowds of English intellectuals. Is it not passing strange that in those distant days of Conservative rule we were ever willing to receive Russian Nihilists and Bolsheviks, whereas in these so-called

Liberal days we are unwilling to receive the victims and martyrs of Bolshevism? It is an anomaly which I would like to submit to those who are interested in post-war psychology. Cynical critics might explain the riddle by suggesting that the British people during the war have had such unpleasant experiences with Serbian and Belgian refugees that they are not very eager to welcome refugees of any description.

But whatever the explanation may be, I venture to suggest that our attitude to the problem of the Russian *Diaspora* is one deeply to be regretted. I am not thinking so much of the attitude of private persons, rather am I thinking of the attitude of the Government and of public institutions. I am thinking especially of the attitude of the Churches and of the Universities. There is no Russian class which better deserves our commiseration than the Russian priests and the Russian teachers. No class has been treated with more diabolical cruelty. Thousands have been doomed to starvation. We might have welcomed at least a few of those pitiful wretches. We might have imitated the example of our Continental neighbours. But, in fact, very little has been done.

Two years ago a circular was sent round the British Universities submitting a representative list of eminent Russian scientists and professors, and proposing that we should utilise the services of those scientists. I earnestly hoped and recommended that we might favourably consider that appeal. In helping the Russian sufferers we should, at the same time, have promoted the cause of knowledge. We might have founded a flourishing Russian Department in every British seat of learning. We might have trained our agents and our diplomats, the ambassadors of our commerce. We might have sown seeds which eventually would have brought us ample harvests in the fields of politics and trade, as well as in the realm of science. I am grieved and ashamed to say that very few Russian scholars did receive hospitality. The subject was dismissed by our Universities with incredible levity. We were, indeed, prepared, and we are still apparently prepared, to distribute a few belated doles and to send cases of old clothes. But neither the Universities nor the Churches opened their doors to the most interesting victims of the Bolshevik tyranny.

As for the United States, it is probable that considerable numbers of refugees would have migrated to the New World, partly direct from Europe, partly *via* Siberia. Unfortunately for the Russian emigrants, the American Government had been frightened to death by the Bolshevik agitators. In 1919 and 1920 a systematic Bolshevik conspiracy had organised an epidemic of strikes in every industrial centre from New Orleans to Canada. Everything Russian, therefore, became suspicious to the United States authori-

ties. Stringent immigration laws were enacted, and the law-abiding foreigner had to suffer for the undesirable alien. On this occasion, as on many other occasions, the Bolsheviks proved the worst enemies of the workers of Europe.

When you consider those vast masses of homeless Russian humanity, the first question which occurs is how do all those poor people manage to live? For let us remember that the immigrants arrived in the various European countries at the very worst possible moment. If Europe had been prosperous it might not have been difficult to find hospitality for the Russian victims. But hardly any one country was prosperous. Almost every nation was in the throes of an economic crisis. With a depreciated currency they were threatened with bankruptcy, and suffering from chronic unemployment.

Large numbers of the Russian aristocracy had money invested outside Russia before the war. Others had saved some remnant of the family fortune and managed to live on the produce of the sale of their family heirlooms. An occasional visit to the countless Jewish shops in Riga, Vilna, and Warsaw gives one an idea of the enormous extent of that trade in family heirlooms. Last year you could pick up for ten pounds pieces of antique furniture worth five hundred pounds. But only the Jewish dealers had the means of transporting those wonderful bargains. It is especially the diamond trade which has been booming in the border provinces. Even before the war, owing to the uncertainty of political conditions, it was much more common in Russia than with us to invest in diamonds and precious stones.

Still, the large majority of the Russian refugees at first had to suffer considerable hardship. But Russians are accustomed to hardship, and in this emergency they revealed all the qualities of endurance and adaptability which are characteristic of the national temperament. To-day it may be said of the majority of Russian refugees that they are jacks of every trade, and that they have found, more or less, regular employment. Intellectuals have taken to manual work. Princes have become cabmen and chauffeurs, princesses are serving as clerks in shops, or as waitresses in restaurants. It is, therefore, an entirely erroneous notion to suppose that the Russian refugees are living on public charity. There is no doubt a great deal of charity in the Russian colonies, but it is the charity which the Russians practise amongst themselves.

What will be the ultimate effects of this vast Russian migration on Europe? It is a universal law of history that the part which is played by refugees is entirely out of proportion to their numbers. Even as the pollen seed of flowers which is scattered by the wind or carried on the wings of the bees fertilises other species of

flowers, even so emigrants invariably tend to fertilise the genius of other nations, and are a very notable factor in human progress. Such was the case of the Jews who, for thousands of years, were the middlemen of civilisation. Such was the case of the Huguenots, who brought the weaving industry to England, who introduced improved methods of agriculture in South Africa, who spread French culture all over Europe. Such was the case of the French refugees of the Revolution who were generally supporters of the old *régime*. So far-reaching was their spiritual influence that George Brandes has been able to write a whole volume on what he calls the "Emigranten Literatur." It is not a mere accident that, of the two apostles of Toryism in Continental thought, Joseph de Maistre and Chateaubriand, the one was a refugee in Russia, the other in England and America.

It would be premature to estimate the extensiveness or intensity of the influence of the Russian *Diaspora*. The literary influence can never be as deep or as wide as that of the Huguenots, because of the formidable obstacle of the Russian language. It is not likely that Russian can ever become, like French, the international language of culture. As for the political and moral influence, it is largely restricted to the Slavonic countries, where the refugees have no doubt strengthened the racial consciousness of the Slav race. In the meantime, the most important influence of the Russian emigration has been in the spheres of art and literature—in painting, in music, in stage management, in the short story and the drama. Such performances as the *Blue Bird* have been a revelation to Berlin, Paris, and London.

There is only one country where the Russian influence has had far-reaching effects, namely, Germany. The war has not only crippled the foreign markets of the Germans, but has also caused infinite damage to their moral and intellectual prestige. For many years to come the outside world is not likely to look again upon Germany as a "spiritual home." Germany, however, expects to find ample compensation in Russia. The new Russia will need technical and commercial experts with a knowledge of the Russian language. Thousands of Germans are therefore learning the language and preparing to play their part. The German Government hope that those commercial travellers and scientific experts will be the missionaries of a future German-Russian political alliance. To-day Berlin is a Russian colony. Who knows but that to-morrow the whole of Russia may not become a German colony, and may not provide an outlet for the teeming and superfluous millions of the Fatherland? These German hopes, however, may be sadly disappointed if and when it is brought home to the Russian people that Bolshevism has been largely a German

conspiracy, that the Bolshevik leaders have been deliberately smuggled into Russia under German protection, and that therefore Germany is indirectly responsible for the Russian catastrophe.

If the effect of the Russian emigration on Europe has been so far comparatively superficial, the effect of Europe on Russian emigrants has, on the contrary, been enormous. Before the war, Russian refugees were either revolutionary anarchists or idle aristocratic absentees. The present *émigrés*, instead of being idlers, are strenuous workers. Instead of being revolutionists they are bitter anti-revolutionists. Future Russia will, above all, need two classes of men, political leaders and professional experts, engineers, lawyers, doctors, and teachers. The present Russian emigration will provide both. The refugees are learning the art of politics in the only school where it can be learned—the school of freedom. On the other hand, they have been learning the applied sciences in the technical schools and Universities of the Continent. The fact is not sufficiently realised by the Russians themselves. I found that in Moscow and Petrograd, amongst the intellectuals who had remained at home, there was a strong feeling against the refugees, who, in their opinion, had deserted their post and had left the small surviving remnant of the middle class to the tender mercies of the Bolshevik tyrants. This feeling is obviously unjust. The refugees are not lost to Russia, they are constituting the reserves of the coming generation. The future of the Russian continent will be, I believe, largely moulded by the two millions of emigrants who have spent their *Lehrjahre* and *Wanderjahre* in foreign parts, and who have been trained during those long years in the stern discipline of poverty and suffering, of hard manual and mental labour.

CHARLES SAROLEA.

THE FUNCTION OF LIBERALISM.

WE can identify and define three political parties in the State—Tory, Liberal, and Labour. They represent roughly the so-called upper classes, the middle classes, and the working classes.

The Tory Party consists chiefly of the aristocracy, the great landlords, the owners of accumulated wealth, the big manufacturers, and the drink traffic. The Liberal Party consists very largely of the professional classes, the traders and small business people, the successful artisan class, the Free Churchmen, and the Temperance workers. The Labour Party comprises the general body of manual workers, the struggling masses, the unfortunate and the poor, and those whose deep sympathy attaches them to the Labour movement.

The Tory Party by its political policy produced the Liberal Party, which is a protesting party, a challenging party, a party of demand, demanding from another party in the State, which has the power to secure for itself and deny to others, participation in the exercise of political rights, and in the products of industry.

The Liberal Party produced the Labour Party, which is also a challenging party, protesting against the tedium and the tardiness of Liberal progress in social reform, and in redress of wrongs and grievances which the masses of the people still have to endure.

These three parties represent three different policies with which their political past has been identified. They stand forth before the whole country and present their separate policies for acceptance by the whole body of the people. It is the high function of the electors to hear these policies explained and expounded, to examine their history, and, where experience has been gained, their results, and to judge accordingly.

What are the dominating features of these three policies? We have them as they are presented to us by their exponents, but we have them also in even clearer terms in their histories. The Tory Party has made national prosperity its dominant demand—industrial, economic, and commercial prosperity—and the production of wealth. In all this profit was the aim and the end—profits in trade and commerce, profits in industry, in transport, in shipping, in railways, in manufactures, in banking and finance. "Buy in the cheapest and sell in the dearest markets" was the theme—profits would be high, and general national wealth would accumulate, and prosperity would spread. This was the central, the dominant feature, of Tory policy in the State—the basis, the aim and end of its political activity. It had, of course, other activities, but this was the overmastering one—given high profits spread

over all industrial and commercial activities in the State, and all other necessary things would be added.

With the Labour Party, on the other hand, the dominant objective, the immediate goal of their political activity, has been wages. They have been driven to this by the pressure and increasing burden of meeting the growing needs of tolerable existence. The workers have never received in return for their labour a reward adequate to their needs, and equitable in relation to things produced by their toil. Higher wages and shorter hours, a full share of the value of the products of industry—this has been the dominating purpose of the political activity of the Labour Party. It has been a just and reasonable demand, and no one would quarrel with it. It is natural as it is fair. It is a protest against severe conditions, as it is a claim for justice. But just as the objective of Tory activity is a vested interest in profits, so the objective of Labour activities is a vested interest in wages. It is not necessary to assess the rights or wrongs of these dominating purposes. It is sufficient merely to point them out as central significant facts in the case. The demand for profits has been a self-interested demand, and the demand for wages has been of the same character.

Now if these were the dominant factors in the political policies of these two great parties in the State, what has been, what is now, the dominant characteristic, the thesis, the objective of Liberal political activity? It has been very different. Liberalism has not despised either the factor of profits, or the factor of wages. But they have not been primary. They have not been dominant in Liberal policy. The high purpose of all the political activities of the Liberal Party has been to protect and promote the fundamental rights and liberties of men. Men, not profits, not wages! Men constitute the thesis, the objective, the central dominating factor of Liberal policy. The high interests of men—their right to life, to liberty, to opportunity, to immunity from oppression, to liberty to pursue their own destiny in their own way, providing they do not encroach on similar rights and privileges in others. To provide these rights and liberties for those who had never enjoyed them, or had been dispossessed of them, has been the passion of Liberalism. Liberalism sought these benefits, not so much, and in many instances not at all, for the middle classes, which they represented and largely constituted, but for their less fortunate brothers, the working classes, who had hitherto not possessed them. This at least, and to this extent, is an unselfish aim. It is easy to prove this, for the history of Liberalism is read and known of all men.

In 1832 only 3 per cent. of the people of Britain had votes. This 3 per cent. belonged to the rich and privileged classes. Liberals saw men who were citizens, whose vital interests in the

State, interests in "life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness," were as great as they were with those who had the vote, obstinately prevented from having a say in their own governance. In the teeth of violent opposition and virulent abuse, and of the fiercest antagonism, they tore from Toryism the right to vote, and gave it to another 1½ per cent. of the people, by the passage of the Reform Bill of 1832. From this on to 1867 4½ per cent. of the people were enfranchised. In 1867 the number was increased to 9 per cent.; in 1884 it was increased to 16 per cent.; and in 1918 to over 50 per cent. Liberalism during all these long years fought a fierce fight, not for its own party, but for the working classes, and made possible the Labour Party as we know it to-day. This tireless activity on behalf of others had nothing to do with profits, nothing to do with wages. It had to do with a human right—a fundamental human right, the right of a citizen who is asked to submit to a law, to have a say as to what that law shall be. The Tory Party had claimed that education was for the few, for the rich who could pay for it. Liberalism challenged this claim. It declared that if people had the vote and were asked to take part in the making of the laws under which they lived, they should have the advantages of education, and in the teeth of Tory opposition it won for the workers a system of free and universal education. This was not a matter of profits nor of wages. It was a basic human right, a right wrenched from others and bestowed by Liberalism, not on itself, but upon others—the working classes, all of whom are readers and students of political problems to-day because of it.

Liberalism noted the oppressive tyranny of the employing classes in their relations with their workers, and long before the rise of Labour as a party, as we know it now in its political power and activity, the Liberal Party passed Trade Union Acts enabling the workers to meet their employers on terms of bargaining equality. Collective bargaining resulted; freedom of speech in industrial affairs followed immunity from victimisation; respect was won for the labourer in his organised capacity, together with better and freer conditions of toil. These reforms had nothing to do with profits on the one hand nor wages on the other. They had to do with the fundamental right of men to combine in their own interest, to discuss their own vital affairs, and to decide collectively on the terms and conditions under which they would work, or whether they would work under oppression and tyranny at all. Fundamentally this was a challenge to the oppressor, a claim for freedom, the liberty to do what one liked with one's own. Profits were the objective of the employer, wages the objective of the worker, freedom the objective of Liberalism—that friend of Liberty, that foe of oppression.

When the vote of the worker became a menace to the Tory tyrant, open voting gave a power to the Tory Party, which it was not afraid, nor ashamed, to use; Liberalism was given a new task in its fight for the freedom and emancipation of the working classes, and it passed the Secret Ballot Act, under which the humblest servant can vote as his conscience may direct, without the knowledge and persecution of his employer. No question of profits, no question of wages—love of Freedom only!

Liberalism saw old age tottering to the grave—saw men and women who had toiled to the evening of their days, and who had saved nothing to keep them when they could toil no more. Old Age Pensions were neither a problem of profits nor of wages—a problem merely of human right, a right to a measure of comfort in declining years, provided by those who still could toil and earn. Men went out to their work in the morning and returned at evening maimed by their master's machinery, and rendered unfit to earn. Liberalism demanded that the machine should compensate, and the Workers' Compensation Act was passed under Tory denunciation and unreasoning and callous opposition. Neither Tory profits nor workers' wages, but a passion for justice, a claim for a human right, inspired the party of freedom in the struggle for this reform.

So it was with little children in the mines, women at unhealthy and unsuitable employment, insanitary factories, sickness in the worker, maternity needs—all were the subject of Liberal activity in its passionate struggle for reform. They were unselfish efforts, for, speaking generally, the middle classes were not the classes who were the victims, whose sufferings had to be mitigated, but the working classes whom Liberalism had made its special care, and for whom these battles were fought and won. Liberalism did not demand that the wages of little girls in mines should be raised. It demanded their emancipation. It did not demand that women employed in unhealthy trades should be paid more, but that they should be saved. Neither profits nor wages concerned it, but human rights alone. Liberalism, therefore, having had no vested interest in any of the political reforms for which it struggled, could justly claim to be the great unselfish party in the State.

While the struggle for higher wages still goes on, as a main purpose in Labour policy, the Labour Party has pinned its faith to Socialism as its ultimate goal. Now Socialism is not an end in itself. It is a means to an end. That end is an adequate share of the bounties of nature and the products of toil to each and all of the human family. But this is the end that Liberalism also has in view, and has, throughout its virile history, been steadily pursuing. In our methods only by which that ideal is to be achieved

do we differ from Labour policy. The hope that by State Socialism it can be attained or even approached is falsified by all experience and is based on folly.

Socialism is the ownership by the State of all the means of production, distribution, and exchange. The State is the people in their organised capacity. All the people cannot assemble at Westminster to decide on the rule and laws under which they would wish to live; so they choose at the ballot-box men and women who will speak, and decide for, and represent them. These, for the time being, speak and act for the whole body of the people—they are the people in their organised capacity. Under Socialism they will be the trustees for the people, and will own and manage all the means of production, *i.e.*, all the land, all the factories, all the plant and machinery, all the power in the shape of fuel and electricity; and will be the sole producer of goods, the sole employer, and the sole payer of wages. They will own all the means of distribution, *i.e.*, all the ships, all the railways, all the motor transport, all the canals. They will distribute all the goods their factories produce to all the consumers in Britain, and to all the foreign buyers in countries abroad. They will be the sole sellers of our goods in foreign markets, and will be the sole buyers and receivers of goods in exchange. They will be the sole employers of all the labour required in the distribution of our products, and in the importation of foreign goods in exchange. All men engaged in production, and all men engaged in distribution, will be employed by the State and will be paid wages and salaries for their services.

Then the State will own all the means of exchange, *i.e.*, all the banks and credit institutions, all the financial houses, all the money—all the media by which goods are bought and sold and exchanged. All the men engaged in this will be employees of the State, and will be remunerated in wages and salaries. Under this system workers will still exist, and the wage-system will still prevail. There will simply be a transfer of ownership and a change of employer. The State will be the employer, and the worker will be the wage-earner. We have this system in operation in some minor services to-day in Britain, and we can see how it works. It does not appear that, when the State becomes the owner, as in the Telephone Service or the Post Office, there is any essential change in the relationship of master and man. Post-Office workers get wages and complain, and form Unions, and even go on strike for higher wages. In one of our Dominions at the present time, where the State owns the railways, where the State is the employer that is, where the workers work for wages, the railway-men are on strike for better pay, and their employer, the State, has resisted these with all the power at its command, and has actually broken the strike and refused the strikers' claims.

Whatever else Socialism may do, then, it will certainly not abolish employers and "wage-slavery," as it is called. Will it abolish Capital? It has not done so. Will it abolish invested capital and interest on invested capital? It has not done so in these State enterprises. Many millions of capital are sunk in Dominion railways. The State, to buy or build or repair or extend these railways, borrows small sums from thousands of working people, men and women who have nest-egg savings, and pays them interest on the borrowed sums. But State ownership is the antithesis of private enterprise. They are the opposites and the enemies of one another. They cannot live together in the same enterprise under Socialism. If the State owns all the factories there can be no private enterprise in manufactures. Russia abolished all private enterprise and established State ownership. She decreed that all should toil for the State. She commanded the peasant to grow wheat and hand it over to the State for distribution. And the peasant ceased to grow wheat.

There are limitations on the powers of politicians to enact laws. They cannot enact a law "Thou shalt love thy neighbour as thyself," and fine a man 10s., or twenty-four hours in jail, if he breaks the law. If the State passes a law "Thou shalt toil in order that another may reap the reward of thy toil," people will cease to toil. This is what happened in Russia. This was not because the people were Russians. It was because they were humans. We are all the same—as yet. There is a way by which we can all be Socialists in the ideal sense. We may be a community of people, each of whom will toil and will produce, in order that others may enjoy the fruit of our toil. But it can only be by a change of heart in each. We cannot impose the change by Act of Parliament. We cannot super-impose upon a people a State system of service of others.

Service of others by the spontaneous impulse of a changed heart is religion, not politics. It is Christianity. There are individuals who follow this rule of life without law. A mother follows it in the case of her child. She toils unwearyingly in order that it may have and enjoy the fruit of her toil. Great souls do it in the case of their fellows. But, so far, no community has been known to do it. And we must get along as a social body pending that change of heart in all, or in a sufficient number to make spontaneous service the general rule. You cannot impose State Socialism, therefore, by law. You may have the results that Socialists dream of, and think law-imposed Socialism may bring, only as a by-product of Christianity, when "each will seek not his own but his neighbour's good."

Liberalism takes up the position that Socialism will not work—

that it never has worked whenever and wherever it has been tried. It asserts that if the reward of individual effort is not secured to a man who puts forth the effort, he will cease his effort. Private enterprise is the right of a man to work at any occupation that appeals to his fancy, providing he does not encroach on the rights and property of others. Socialism is the denial of that right. Private enterprise is the right to possess the product (or his share in the product) of each man's own labour. Socialism is the denial of this right. Socialism says that what a man produces shall belong to the State, and the State shall have it in its keeping, and control its distribution and destiny. Liberalism takes facts and realities as it finds them—accepts the facts and frailties of human nature, and moulds and adapts and adjusts all things coming within its influence to practicable and tangible and utilitarian ends.

It endeavours to adjust the self-interests of men, and bases itself upon the dogma of their essential equality—their equality in all the fundamental things that matter—life, liberty, opportunity—a right to share adequately in the bounties of nature, and equitably in the products of toil. Liberalism has not been indifferent to profits and wages, which must have their place in any system of social justice, but it has never made them of the first importance. If it has always been on the side of higher wages, it is because this was the side of the oppressed. But if there should come a time, as some forecast, when the party of wages uses the power of combination, as the party of profits has done in the past, to tyrannise and oppress in the interest of selfish ends, Liberalism will still find itself the enemy of injustice, and the friend of the people. Two recent events of startling importance have aroused suspicion, if not sounded an alarm. A 'bus strike in London was settled after a conference between the men and the omnibus combine. The men demanded higher wages, the combine said it could not pay higher wages unless it had assured profits under a complete monopoly of the traffic on the London streets. A London Traffic Bill emerged which virtually gave the monopoly, and the men's demands are granted. If the travelling public are to be squeezed between the self-interested party of profits and the self-interested party of wages, Liberalism will find itself, as ever, on the side of the people. Again, in the face of the Housing problem, conferences have taken place between the master-builders on the one side and the operatives on the other. They have come into a great Building Trust, ensuring high profits to the one party and high wages to the other. Two sections have agreed mutually to protect their self-interests. If those without houses and urgently in need of them are to be ground between the upper and nether millstone, Liberalism will be their spokesman and defender.

Profits and wages are material interests and cannot be ignored, but rights and liberties are spiritual interests; and Liberalism throughout its glorious history has, alone amongst the political parties, held them in her keeping. There is a party in the State that has persistently and violently denied them, and there is a party in the State to whom they have been denied, and that still would be denied them, had it not been for the undying conviction and the high purpose of Liberalism. Without these rights and liberties, snatched from Toryism in the teeth of opposition and conferred on the workers, there would have been no Labour Party nor Labour Government to-day.

With all its high achievement the task of Liberalism is not finished. That task is to hold the balance true, between all sections and classes in the community, and all the self-interests of men, pending a change of motive in the hearts of all; to take things that are and mould and adapt and adjust them to changing needs; to restrain the exploiters; to help all honest endeavour; to keep aloft the ideal that all should serve and none should suffer; to assure to each freedom to express himself in toil, in speech, in self-development; to make the State as far as may be a curb to oppression, a rein to folly, a spur to sloth; to grant no right or privilege to one, not free to all. This is the passion of a political party. Its inspiration is Divine. It has within its veins the glowing fire, the surging throb, of unending life. Its high destiny is along the path of ordered progress and unfolding evolution. It can never die.

W. A. CHAPPLE.

EUROPE: 1890—1898.

THE publication, now in process, of the German diplomatic documents from 1871 to 1914, is an event of the first importance both in itself and for its probable, or at least possible, effects. For other States can hardly remain obtuse to the example, if only because silence would imply guilt. Perhaps, therefore, a historian may be able, before very long, to give an exhaustive account of the causes of the great war. Meantime, the documents already published are enough to dismiss to the limbo of absurdities the war-myth that Germany, for forty years—or even a hundred and fifty—had been preparing a war for world-empire. Whatever else may be thought of German policy, up to 1898 it was nothing if not pacific. The one object, not only of Bismarck but of his successor, was to prevent a European war. Of that much at least we have conclusive proof. For documents not intended for publication, exchanged confidentially between the Ambassadors and the Foreign Office, are as good evidence as could possibly be attained of the objects of a nation's policy. In regard to the policy of other States they are less conclusive, and may be altogether misleading. For there is no reason to suppose that the diplomats of one country are frank with those of another, and often enough there is every reason to suppose the contrary. The German documents, therefore, however conclusive about German policy, must be used with caution when they deal with that of other States, and especially of the two States, France and Russia, which were usually Germany's enemies.

Of one great event of this period, the conclusion of the Franco-Russian alliance, the Germans show themselves completely ignorant. Until the middle of 1895, when the alliance was admitted in the French Chamber, they were doubtful whether it had been concluded; and for its terms they had to wait, like the rest of the world, until after the great war. They knew, however, that there was a *rapprochement* between the two countries—exactly the event which Bismarck had endeavoured to prevent. The *rapprochement*, it is true, was not so close as to preclude flirtations with outside Powers. Still, on the whole, this period is characterised by the opposition of two great groups, on the one hand the Triple, on the other the Dual, Alliance. Between these, England was adroitly manœuvring, usually in friendly relations with the members of the Triple Alliance, and again and again on the verge of war with either France or Russia. How near to the verge we hardly yet know. But it is interesting to note a conversation reported by the Kaiser between himself and the British Ambassador, Sir Edward Malet, in the year 1894. Sir Edward told the Kaiser that in the pre-

vious year Lord Rosebery had asked him whether he would be surprised if England were at war with France in four weeks' time. On Sir Edward replying that a European war was the one thing everybody was anxious to avoid, Lord Rosebery had retorted that he did not himself share that view, and that if he could be sure of German friendship he would be very glad to "smash the French to pieces, for that nation deserves nothing better."* We are reminded of the *Daily Mail* and "rolling France in mud and blood." No such piquant anecdote is given of our relations to Russia, but they were certainly not less strained.

It is interesting to note how constantly in these documents the view emerges that the real danger to European peace is the egotism of England. Thus the Chancellor Hohenlohe refers to us as "that Power whose peaceable intentions all the world mistrusts."† Holstein remarks that the war England wants is not one in which she will herself play a leading part, but "a Continental war for which she has been working for two years."‡ The Tsar complains that "whenever any State gets the smallest territorial increase England immediately claims a larger one."§ Prince Lobanoff remarks that "at this moment England alone threatens the peace of Europe."|| And the Austrian Ambassador in London complains that one can "put no trust in the uprightness of English statesmen, and base no policy on their declarations."** These views may be quite mistaken, but they are not the less important. For what matters in international affairs, is not the motives of which statesmen may be conscious, but the effect actually produced by their policy upon the statesmen of other countries; since it is that that determines the course of events. No doubt we are not really the deeply plotting Machiavellian Power which other nations commonly think us to be; no doubt Lord Salisbury told the truth when he remarked to Count Hatzfeld that foreigners "do England too much honour when they constantly attribute to her deep reserves and far-reaching plans, while really at bottom she is moved by much more obvious motives."†† But this universal suspicion is a necessary result of secret diplomacy in the armed anarchy. And foreigners may perhaps be pardoned for inferring deliberate purpose in British policy when they see how invariably, at every crisis, she manages to extend her world-empire.

What exasperated Germany was that we could not be induced to range ourselves frankly and fully on her side. Almost up to the end of the century she wanted us to join the Triple Alliance. But Lord Salisbury refused while the Germans were pressing it; and

* VIII., p. 453.

1897. XII., p. 346.

† Ib., p. 413.

§ 1895. IX., p. 361.

|| Ib., p. 377.

** 1897. XII. 78.

†† 1896. XII., p. 8.

when the British were ready, in 1898-1901, the Germans no longer wanted it. There is a curious episode described in these documents, when the Germans, offended by the attitude of the Liberal Government of 1892-1895, and by what they thought to be its intransigence in African questions, commenced, in their characteristic and clumsy way, a little plot to make up to the French in order to frighten the British.* The effort failed, partly because the Germans desired to exclude Egypt from the arrangement, while the French were bent on getting us out of that country; but, more profoundly, because the latter could not forget Alsace-Lorraine. Thus M. Bourgeois is cited, in one of the despatches, as saying to an Italian statesman: "We can no more forget Alsace-Lorraine than we desire to make war for it. Events will restore it to us, and to that purpose all our foreign policy must be subordinated. We can make no arrangements with you so long as you are the allies of Germany."† What "events," other than war, M. Bourgeois was thinking of, does not appear. But the episode, which was a prelude to a similar one in 1900, shows clearly how the question of Alsace-Lorraine was one of the causes of the European war.

The other was far more desperate and inveterate, the Eastern question. Not only was the Turkish Empire riven internally by the feuds of Mahomedans with Christians, and Turks with Slavs and Armenians; but also the Christian Powers could never take effective action, because they themselves, like wild beasts, were prowling round the decadent empire, each wanting to take a bit of it, and each afraid of someone else taking something. That was an old story, as old as it was discreditable. During the years with which we are dealing Europe was faced with the problems of the Armenian massacres of 1895-97 and the Cretan rising of 1896-8. The Powers endeavoured to deal with both by means of what is called the "Concert"; but as that meant anything but concerted action, they failed miserably, their efforts resulting in a perpetuation of the massacres under their very eyes, and in a Græco-Turkish war.

Throughout these crises the policy of Germany was one of reserve and aloofness. Her view on the Eastern question, both in Bismarck's time and now, was clear and consistent. She regarded such questions as concerning her only indirectly, in so far as the peace of Europe might be affected. The enterprise of the Bagdad railway was still in its infancy, and Germany could still think that neither the Straits nor Turkey itself were worth "the bones of a Pomeranian grenadier." She was determined not to be drawn into war with Russia over that question, nor, if she could help it, to let Austria be drawn in. If there were to be war, let it be waged by the Powers more directly interested, by England and Russia. But

* See chapter 67.

† XI., p. 89.

England, as she suspected, was playing her usual game, trying to push Austria and Germany into war with Russia and to collect the fruits of victory herself without having to fight for them. In this position of aloofness the German statesmen show a hard realism which, if it is not amiable, is at least clear-headed. The British, they thought, by their sympathy with the Armenians, were only provoking new outrages by the indignant Mahomedans, without being able to bring any effective succour to their victims. The Kaiser's characteristic notes to the despatches show a curious oscillation between indignation and horror at the massacres and a cynical contempt of the impotent and, as he thought, insincere efforts of the Powers.

The principal part in the business was thus left to England, France, and Russia. But Russia was never in earnest. Her interest in the question was merely to prevent England from making political capital out of it. Her policy, as it appears in these despatches, was to keep the Turkish Empire intact until the moment should come for her to swallow it up; and that moment, she thought, had not yet arrived. She therefore did nothing effective herself, and endeavoured to prevent anyone else doing anything. France, allied with Russia, and, like her, suspicious of England, adopted the same obstructive attitude, though, towards the end of the period, she had to take account of her public opinion; for we find the Russian Minister, Count Muraviev, lamenting that "in France sympathies for the Armenians appear to increase."* It was difficult, under these circumstances, for the British Government to do anything effective, for if they were to act alone the consequences were incalculable. It seems, nevertheless, that Lord Salisbury proposed to the Cabinet to send the Fleet through the Dardanelles. But the proposal was rejected on the ground that it was dangerous unless the support of France should first be obtained, since otherwise the French might blockade the British Fleet in the Dardanelles. To this objection Lord Salisbury is said to have replied, "If your ships are of porcelain I must, of course, adopt a different policy."†

Under these conditions the crisis protracted itself indefinitely, punctuated all the time by fresh massacres, until the Cretan question took the place of the Armenian in the discussions of the "Concert." All that had happened was that the representatives of the Powers, after infinite delays, had worked out on paper a plan of action which was, in fact, never even presented to the Sultan. Prince Metternich, with cold and cynical realism, sums up the

* XII., p. 268.

† XII., pp. 53 and 75, on the authority of Sir Frank Lascelles as reported by the Kaiser, and by the Secretary of the German Foreign Office.

matter thus: "The so-called European Concert has become a laughing-stock. When atrocities happen in Turkey, Europe makes a gesture as though it intended to take common action. The Sultan thereupon promises that it shan't happen again. Meantime, the jealousy of the Powers revives and Europe gradually calms itself, until the next time. The Sultan knows this from long experience, and quietly repeats the offence."*

The Cretan question took a similar course of delay and impotence, though it ended less satisfactorily for the Turks. The Powers decided to prevent the business from developing into war by opposing Greek intervention and offering a kind of autonomy under a governor chosen by themselves. But they could not agree on a governor; they could not agree on a blockade of Greece to keep her quiet; they could not agree on the landing of troops; they could not agree on anything. In England and France sympathy for the Greeks was strong, while Germany, as always, was thinking only of keeping the Powers out of war, without appearing to care much what happened to the Cretans. Thus she strongly opposed the appointment as governor of Prince George of Greece, on the ground that this would mean the independence of Crete, that that would precipitate risings in the Balkans, and these would bring into prospect a European war. In the end war broke out between the Greeks and Turks, the Greeks were miserably routed, and the intervention of the Powers alone saved them from the worst consequences. And then, by a crowning irony, Prince George was made governor after all. Once more it is a German who comments: "If the authority of a Greek Prince over Crete was a possible and permissible solution, everyone will ask, 'Why didn't you say so at once a year ago, when the Cretan insurrection broke out? Why did you threaten Greece diplomatically and militarily, why drive the fleets of Prince George out of Cretan waters, why permit a Græco-Turkish war, which wasted a flourishing province and helped to create a situation only to be distinguished from the one preceding it by the fact that famine is added to slaughter?' "† The questions are pertinent, but the answer may be one that throws much of the blame on Germany, who had steadily opposed the appointment of Prince George, and urged a blockade of Greece. The real blame, however, here as elsewhere rests on the European anarchy.

The attitude of Lord Salisbury, during these events, cannot be judged until we have the later volumes of his biography. But certain facts emerge from the despatches we are considering. It is clear that he was always distracted between the necessity of taking account of British public opinion, on the one hand, and the danger, unknown to that opinion, which might always result from indepen-

* XII., p. 223.

† XII., p. 470.

dent and uncompromising action. He wanted, and he did not want, the dissolution of Turkey; he wanted, and he did not want, the "freedom of the Straits." His hesitation, and oscillations are constantly in evidence. At one time he is determined that the Straits shall remain closed, as provided by the treaties;* and this one would suppose, to be the implication of his agreement of 1887 with Austria and Italy. But in 1896 the Austrian Ambassador in London reports him as saying that public opinion in England would not permit him to give an undertaking to protect Constantinople against the Russians, and that it might now be a very difficult thing to force the Dardanelles.† In the same year Sir Frank Lascelles reports that he had asked the Prime Minister whether he was inclined to give Constantinople and the Dardanelles to Russia, and that the reply had been affirmative as to the former, but hesitating as to the latter.‡ Sometimes Lord Salisbury inclines to opening the Straits on equal terms to all nations; but, naturally enough, he will not contemplate opening them to Russia alone.

There are similar hesitations and changes in his view about the larger question of the continuance or the partition of the Turkish empire. As we know from the *Life*, he was half-inclined, even as early as 1877, to play for partition, but was met by the opposition of Disraeli, who caused him to "smile grimly" by denouncing the project as "immoral." But as it became more and more evident that Turkey could only maintain itself by massacre, and by the divisions of the Great Powers, he turned again to meditate a partition. For that must be the meaning of the approach he made to the Kaiser, at Cowes, in 1895, of which Baron Eckhardstein gives so dramatic an account. His account, however, is dismissed as romance by the editors of these volumes.§ There was, apparently, no meeting on the Kaiser's yacht, no delay in Lord Salisbury's appearance, no consequent irritation of the Kaiser. The Premier met the Kaiser after dinner at Cowes, but no account by him of the conversation is to be found in the German Foreign Office.

A dispatch from Count Hatzfeld, however,|| records a conversation with the Prime Minister, held on August 16th, from which it may be gathered that the latter was tentatively considering the possibility of a partition which should give appropriate "compensation" to Italy, Russia, and France. Possibly the elaborate scheme of partition sketched by the Empress Frederick to the Kaiser, in November of the same year,** was the one Lord Salisbury had in view. According to that, Russia was to have the Dardanelles and Constantinople, and the Turks were to be cleared

E.g., 1892. IX., p. 91.

† XI., p. 100.

‡ XII., p. 53.

§ X., p. 25 note.

|| Ib., p. 30.

** Ib., p. 109.

out of Europe. Austria was to have Albania, Montenegro, Serbia, and so much of Macedonia as would give her free access to Salonica. Greece was to have all the islands and the Rhodope district; and France could take Syria; "England will then have peace in Egypt. Russia must be given satisfaction in the Mediterranean, and be engaged as deeply as possible in East Asia. Then she will leave Europe in peace." This conversation was held on November 21st; but about the same time Lord Salisbury is reported as "not thinking of" a dismemberment of Turkey, for "that would be the signal for a European war."* He must therefore have abandoned the project, and no more is heard of it in these volumes. Europe had to wait for the great war before getting a solution of the Turkish problem—a solution, however, that shows little prospect of being final.

It is plainly impossible in a short article to deal adequately with six large volumes of dispatches covering the affairs of the whole world. But from this publication, as from all diplomatic documents, one fact emerges and stares an unprejudiced reader in the face. So long as armed Powers, grouped in alliances, confront one another by the methods of secret diplomacy, so long the history of Europe and of the world can be nothing but war and preparation for war. There is only one hope for civilisation, and that is a development of the League of Nations to such a point that not only shall all States be included, but the method of war shall be honestly and finally repudiated. We are very far from that at present. The old ideas, the old methods, the old diplomatists are everywhere at work; and public opinion has hardly begun to form in a way effective enough to enforce a peaceable direction of policy. People say "no more war," but they have hardly understood that that cry cannot be translated into fact unless they are prepared to encounter, at the hands of an international body, the defeat of policies they favour and the loss of objects they covet. For a League of Nations that is to be effective must not be merely a piece of machinery, nor can it rely upon vague and abstract moral and humanitarian sentiments. It must rest on the willingness to be told we are wrong when we are wrong, and even when we believe we are right, and to accept the verdict as we accept the decision of a court of law. We are far enough away from that. But unless we get there, and get there quickly, the destruction of civilisation is not a mere phrase; it is an imminent menace.

G. LOWES DICKINSON.

* *Ib.*, p. 117.

VALENTINE AND ORSON :

A STUDY IN TWIN-CULT.

IN the following article we propose to make a brief inquiry into a story which had at one time a great popularity among French Romances, and which passed into English literature and was there perpetuated by means of those popular little volumes which we classify to-day under the name of chap-books. We often find the chap-book to be a mine of folk-lore, in which beliefs and practices come to light which have wholly or in part disappeared from circulation elsewhere. We may remind ourselves at the outset, what people commonly fail to appreciate, that folk-lore, even in its latest forms, is often prehistoric, and conveys information concerning the very infancy of the human race. We should easily recognise this to be true in the case of the story of Valentine and Orson, which has for its nucleus a tale of twins in a primitive form, comparable with the legends of Romulus and Remus.

We must also remember before proceeding to the details of the story, that Didymology, or the folk-lore of twins, arises from a primitive taboo on twin-births, which are thought to be uncanny by savage peoples. It is common to explain such twin-births by the hypothesis of a second parent, on the assumption that a woman does not normally bear twins;* this second parent is thought, among many savage races, to be the Thunder, either in an animistic form, without further definition, or in the form of a Thunder-bird or Thunder-beast which represents and incarnates the powers of the sky. The favourite Thunder-bird amongst Aryan races is the woodpecker.

This twin-taboo became subject to interpretation in two opposite senses. Where the twins were reckoned harmful, one or both of them was put to death or exposed in the bush or on the mountain side, or in some lonely situation, and in most cases the mother shared the fate of the twins. There were races, however, which regarded the taboo as sacred, and recognised both in the mother and in the twins the influences which cause fertility; so that the twins were credited with the art of rain-making, and with the patronage of agriculture, and with the invention of the plough.

Another widespread and almost universal belief was that twins were hostile one to the other, the human child and the Thunder-child, and that their quarrels usually had a fatal termination, as, e.g., in the case of Romulus and Remus, Cain and Abel, Esau and Jacob. It was natural also that the reflective mind should conclude from the fact of a celestial parentage of one of the twin-children

* See *Boanerges*, pp. 307-8.

that one of the pair was immortal, and the other mortal, as in the case of Castor and Pollux, Romulus and Remus. These facts need to be borne in mind when we come to the study of any particular case of twin-folk-lore.*

There is one peculiar feature in connection with the tradition of twin-births that does not seem to have met with an adequate explanation, and we draw attention to it here, because it will come in for notice in the tale that is before us. It will be remembered that in the story of Romulus and Remus we have to account for the presence of a wolf-mother, who is not the real mother of the twins. At the same time, it was clear (for the Roman *denarii* are in evidence for the point as well as Roman literature) that the parentage of the twins, in one point of view, was to be found in the sacred woodpecker, who assisted the wolf in their nutrition. The presence of the wolf appears to be superfluous, but no final explanation of the intrusive form seems to have been reached. It has, however, been suggested that the wolf is an early folk-name for the plough which the twins invented, and that it is this idealised and personified plough that has crept into the story. There is evidently room for further elucidation on the point. We shall return to it in the course of our inquiry.

Now let us come to the story of Valentine and Orson: the English chap-book derives the story from the French Romances, to which we turn for a more detailed account than a chap-book can give. We have before us a book printed at Troyes, apparently in 1726, which contains in archaic French what the title-page describes as

Histoire
de
Valentin et Orson
Très-Hardis, Très-nobles & Très-vaillans
Chevaliers, Fils de l'Empereur de Grece, et Neveux de
Très-Vaillant et Très Chrétien Roi de France Pepin.

(a rude woodcut represents a man on horseback (Valentin) followed on foot by a creature half-man and half-bear.)†

The story opens with an account of the marital troubles of King Pepin, upon whom a wicked old woman imposed her own daughter, on the very night of his nuptials with his bride, Queen Bertha. The fraud succeeded so perfectly that the intrusive young lady remained in possession and became the parent of two sons, Hauffroi and Henri, who drove the true queen into exile and caused her

* For further details see Rendel Harris: *Boanerges*. (Camb. Univ. Press.)
Idem: *Picus, who is also Zeus*. (Camb. Univ. Press.)

†A few years later than this book from Troyes is a volume in my own possession, published in London in 1735, with the following title: *The New History of Valentine and Orson*. Abstracted from the French and the best English Originals. With a new Set of Figures, more Expressive of the Story, &c.

many griefs, until Divine Providence in due course of time brought about the return of Queen Bertha, who became the mother of Charlemagne.

We are next told that King Pepin espoused his beautiful sister Bellisant to the Emperor of Constantinople, who came to Paris to fetch her, was deeply enamoured of her beauty and her virtues, and took her back with him to Constantinople, where she was the shining light of the Imperial Palace and the object of adoration to the Greek populace. At Constantinople, however, there was a snake in the grass in the form of the Archbishop of the place, who was also the Emperor's most intimate counsellor and advisor; the wretch, having made advances of an improper kind to the Empress, and having met with a due and worthy repulse, took his revenge upon Bellisant by denouncing her to the Emperor as unfaithful to her marriage vows. He would not disclose the name of her paramour, for that would be to violate the seal of confession, which it was forbidden for him as an ecclesiastic to do; but on the other hand, his loyalty and devotion to the Crown would not permit him to keep silence. The Emperor, like a second Othello, believed all that he was told, and proceeded to his palace, and began to pull the beautiful Bellisant about by the hair of her head, and otherwise to maul and ill-treat her. Small wonder that the insulted princess determined to go to Paris and report matters to her brother King Pepin: so she set out, accompanied by a single squire named Blandimain, who volunteered to protect her. They departed into exile amid the lamentations of the whole city.

The story-teller then relates how the Archbishop decides to pursue the fugitives and to renew his advances to the Empress: he disguises himself as a merchant. He comes upon the pair, who are resting by the roadside, and is immediately recognised through his disguise by the Empress, who confides her observation to the squire. The would-be merchant informs the lady that he is come post-haste from the Emperor to bring her back, and to assure her of a joyful reception. Recognition, repulse, and scorn do not move him: he proposes to kiss the Empress—whereupon the young squire attacks him and knocks out some of his teeth. Another merchant passing that way, when he hears what has happened, takes the lady's part, and threatens the disguised Archbishop with death at the Emperor's hands. Whereupon the wretch escapes into the depths of the wood.

The fugitives continue their journey to France: Bellisant becomes increasingly anxious and distressed, first, as to the reception which she is likely to receive from her brother King Pepin, second, as to her own physical condition and her approaching maternity. The crisis arises in a wood near Orleans; Blandimain rides off in search

of feminine help for the lady, while the latter in the wood gives birth to twins. While she is in this parlous case, unattended and undefended, a she-bear comes on the scene, and makes off with one of the twin-children, which she takes to her den and presents to her cubs. The young bears do not, however, eat up the infant, but commence playing with it; and the mother bear, touched with pity, accepts the situation, and takes the little stranger into the family. Naturally enough, a child so mothered and so brothered and so sistered develops a bear's integument, and becomes a bear-man; it grows up and is a terror to the neighbourhood, a mighty hunter, and one whom many expeditions on the part of other hunters fail to capture or destroy.

To return to Bellisant and the young squire Blandimain: as soon as Bellisant could find herself, her maternal instincts set her in chase of the bear: by so doing she fell out of Scylla into Charybdis: in her anxiety to save the one child she lost the other. For so it chanced that King Pepin and his knights were riding through that very wood, and by a curious coincidence lighted upon a beautiful child unattended beneath a tree. Pepin's admiration was moved: he bade an esquire take it up and carry it to Orleans that it might be baptised and duly educated. As the esquire's name was Valentine, the babe was appropriately named after his temporary caretaker. King Pepin goes on his way with the intention of paying a visit to his sister at Constantinople, and presently meets Blandimain. The demand for Eastern news on the part of the King discloses the disloyalty of the Archbishop and the defamation of the Empress. King Pepin was more ready to disbelieve in his sister's infidelity, seeing she was a woman, than in the treason of an Archbishop, seeing he was a cleric. He returns to Paris *pro tempore*, while Blandimain seeks out the weeping princess in the wood, and takes her again under his protection: they wander far and wide, till at last, on the coast of Portugal, they fall into the hands of a fierce old giant, who takes them into his castle. Here for the present we may leave them.

Meanwhile, at Constantinople, things went from bad to worse under the administration of the wicked Archbishop. At last a quarrel arose between the Archbishop's minions and the very merchant who had been present at the fight between Blandimain and the Archbishop. The case came before the Emperor, to whom the merchant promptly and secretly disclosed the whole story. The ordeal of battle is decided on between the merchant and the priest: and after many hard blows the Archbishop surrenders and confesses his crime. It is refreshing to know that he was boiled in oil as a fitting close to his wicked life, and that he did not enjoy the immunity which tradition attributes to St. John under similar

circumstances. Meanwhile King Pepin arrives at Constantinople in time to receive the penitence of the Emperor, with whom he resumes sadly the amity of princes.

Valentine has by now grown to man's estate in the palace of King Pepin, where he is brought up side by side with the King's daughter, Eglantine; the young people are deeply in love with one another and bound by mutual vows. When Pepin, however, is summoned to Rome to save the city from the Saracens who have taken it, Valentine must needs join the relief expedition; he is the bravest of the brave and does wonders in the field. He devises a successful stratagem by which the Christians in Rome seize the gates, and hang out King Pepin's banners on the walls. The stratagems of Valentine and his prowess in actual battle bring him great glory. Twenty thousand Paynims fell on that day. He returns to Paris, where his laurels provoke the envy of the King's sons, Hauffroi and Henri, who plot his destruction. They insult him and call him a foundling. They refuse him access to their half-sister Eglantine; they slander him to the King for a parvenu; but the latter has already made Valentine into a Count of Clarmont and will hear nothing against him.

Meanwhile, in consequence of outrages committed by the wild man Orson, who spares neither man nor beast, a call is made for a champion who shall go out and seize or destroy the monster. Valentine sees his opportunity; apparently no one else was in a hurry to fight with Orson; the reward for the victor was composed of glory, fringed with a thousand marks and carried in the hand of the princess Eglantine. So Valentine goes into the woods and has a terrible struggle with his wild brother, of which the novelist enjoys the recitation. At last Valentine conquers him with kindness and with promises of flesh and fish and baptism and clothes, which the wild man dimly understands, for he himself has no language but a series of cries. He makes his surrender and is led away in triumph; wherever the pair come the people flee before them and barricade themselves in their houses for terror; and so at last Valentine presents his prize to King Pepin, and our friend Orson (or Ursinus) is received at Court, though not yet in Court dress, and baptised by the bear-name that is his right.

The novelist has much delight in telling the adventures of the wild man thus projected into civil society. He was a just beast, at any rate, for he defended Valentine against the false princes who were again plotting his death, and conquers the pair of them, as well as sundry other knights.

The story now takes a wider range. There comes a day when Valentine and his companion leave the Court, for Valentine cannot stand the reproach of being a foundling, and goes away in

search of his ancestry, that is to say, of the lost Princess Bellisant; and we shall now have a long story of adventures in which knights and fair ladies, giants and imprisoned heroes have their part. It is easy to see what will be the outcome, for all is well that ends well, and the end must be mutual discovery and recognition: but it is not our intention to travel further with the wanderers, nor to return with their returning. At a later stage of the story Valentine kills his own father, a common feature in twin-tales (one of the twins slays the man who has been unjust to his mother and driven her out). The search for the lost mother can be paralleled in some points by the rescue of their mother Antiope by Zethus and Amphion in the Theban tale, and by the revenges of Romulus and Remus.

We have before us the salient features of the Valentine and Orson legend, and it is clear that it is an ancient twin-tale that has been incorporated in a French romance. Here we have once more the exiled mother and the exposed twins. One of them is suckled by a bear, which corresponds to the mother-wolf in the story of Romulus and Remus. One of them is rough from his bear-fostering, the other is smooth; they correspond to Zethus and Amphion, and more exactly to Esau and Jacob. When they grow up they fight, and the one has the mastery over the other. That twins quarrel, and that twin commonly kills twin is one of the oldest features of twin-legend, and is familiar to us in the case of Romulus and Remus, of Cain and Abel, and of Esau and Jacob. From this it appears that we can take the tale of Valentine and Orson out of the region of French romance, and put it back (at least the main features of it) into prehistoric folk-lore.

It is clear that the tale will throw light upon the meaning of certain details in related legends, where obscurities prevail. For instance, the wolf-mother in the Romulus and Remus story has now a parallel in the bear-mother in the tale of Valentine and Orson: but the place of the wolf in the Roman twin-legends has never been sufficiently explained. Perhaps the bear may solve the wolf.

Then there is the curious feature in the Biblical story of a hairy child, born along with a smooth one. We were able to find parallels for the tradition of twins as Rough and Smooth; but parallels are not explanations. Why should Esau be born hairy? We could understand his being born red, for that is the colour of the thunder, and Esau is the Thunder-child, the product of the second parentage: but how does the bear or wolf become related to the Thunder-child or to the Thunder-parent? Perhaps the story of Valentine and Orson may help to explain it. Already we see the suggestion staring us in the face, that *Esau was a hairy man because he had a bear-father*. The clue must be followed up.

Now let us retrace our steps a little. If we are dealing with a cyclical tale from the earliest times, we want more forms of the tale than occur in the French romance. We must read for variants. We shall find, for instance, a number of such variants in the story of Valentine and Orson as we have it in ballad form in Percy's *Reliques*.*

The story as told in this beautiful ballad presents some striking variations from the French Romances in the Troyes edition. The name of the child is taken from the saint, on whose commemoration he is picked up, and not from the squire who rescues him. That may be an indication that St. Valentine's day is itself one of the twin-cult festivals, a point on which we have as yet no confirmation. The child who is carried off by the bear does not become bear by his nutrition or by his environment of juvenile bears; his mother admits that he was born that way. That means that he has a bear-father as well as a bear foster-mother. It opens up the question of the place of the bear in twin-cult. We notice that this makes the parallel with the Esau-legend much closer. Orson and Esau are born the same way, whatever the coincidence may mean. And while we are putting baby Orson by the side of baby Esau, we naturally ask where is the red colour of the Thunder, and we notice that in the ballad Valentine is "all in a scarlet kercher lay'd": the scarlet should have wrapt the other child: it was an easy transference.

Not only is the child born like a second Esau in a furred and wild-beast condition, but the ballad expresses also that his brother was just the opposite. The mother sings as follows:

*The eldest fair, and smooth as snow
That tips the mountains hoar:
The younger's little body rough
With hairs was covered o'er.*

This answers exactly to the Jacob-speech in Gen. xxvii. 11, "Esau my brother is a hairy man, and I am a smooth man"; but it makes the order of the rough and smooth sons different, for the Biblical Jacob is the junior. The distinction between rough and smooth for an associated pair of twins is probably archaic; we need not suppose that the ballad writer was thinking of the Scriptures. We may compare Zethus and Amphion, or the Rough and Smooth Uncles who make the weather for the Ainu in Northern Japan.

Is there, then, any reason for giving bear-ancestry to a twin-child? We recall how Antigonus, in the *Winter's Tale* (ii. 3) addresses the child whom he is ordered to expose, as follows:

* Vol. III., p. 280 ff.

... Come on, poor babe :
Some powerful spirit instruct the kites and ravens
To be thy nurses ! Wolves and bears, they say,
Casting their savageness aside have done
Like offices of pity.

If now we turn to *Boanerges* and examine the chapter on *Twin-Cult of North American Indians*, we find the following curious traditions :

Among the Thompson Indians of British Columbia,

" a woman about to be delivered of twins was generally made aware of the fact beforehand by the repeated appearance of the grisly bear in her dreams : therefore twins were regarded as different from other children, and were treated accordingly. They were called ' grisly bear children ' or ' hairy-feet. ' Immediately after their birth the father put on a head-band and went outside, walking round the house in a circle, striking the ground with a fir-bough, and singing the grisly bear song. These children were supposed to be under special protection of the grisly bear. . . . *The grisly was not looked upon as the real father of the twins, but only as their protector . . . the parents . . . had their faces painted red.* The grisly bear painting was a picture of a bear's paw in red on either cheek."*

Thus the bear, among the Thompson Indians, is the patron, rather than the parent, of twin-children. Among the Lillooet Indians, in British Columbia, the relation is expressed in more direct terms :

" The beliefs of the Lillooet Indians regarding twins differed from those of the Thompson people. *Twins were considered the real offspring of the grisly bear.* Many say the grisly bear pitied the woman and made these children grow in her womb. *The husband of the woman was not the real father of twins,* though some believe that the grisly bear had acted through him. . . . When one of the twins died, infant or adult, the body was never buried. It was tied up and deposited rather high up in a bushy fir-tree, and the grisly bear was supposed to take it away. Many Indians say that twins were grisly bears in human form, and that when a twin died his soul went back to the grisly bears and became one of them."†

There is, then, quite sufficient evidence among the American Indians for connecting twins with bears ; and for giving the bear at least a share in the parentage. We now have the explanation of the hairiness of Esau and the hairiness of Orson. We can also understand the intrusion of the foster bear into the story of Orson ; she takes him for her own, because he is the offspring of a bear. One naturally asks whether this is the line on which to explain the wolf in the story of Romulus and Romus. Was the parentage of Romulus wolf-parentage ? Something was said on this point in *Boanerges* when the report was made that :

* *Boanerges*, pp. 146, 147.

† *Ibid*, pp. 147, 148.

" If a Kamschatkan woman bears twins, the wolf is at the bottom of the business, and is in some mysterious way the parent of the twins . . . amongst the Itälmens they make out of grass an image to represent a wolf, and this they keep all the year long, pretending that it is the husband of the Itälmen girls . . . that the girls should bring forth twins would be a grievous disaster, for which they hold the wolf in the forest responsible."*

So it seems that there is a suspicion allowable that the Roman wolf had a male counterpart, who was the real parent. We must not make the suggestion stronger than this. There may be other explanations possible.

If we turn now to the case of Esau, the inquiry at once suggests itself whether his name does not mean " bear," as the name of Orson does. Up to the present time no satisfactory etymology has been found for the name Esau. It used to be said that it meant the " hairy one," but this derivation has, I believe, been abandoned, and nothing has taken its place. The claim that he is a bear does not yet find support in the dictionary.

In conclusion, we may remark that the story of Valentine and Orson appears to have been very popular and well known in England in Tudor times. When King Edward VI. went from London to Westminster for his coronation on February 9th, 1546-7 there were many pageants on the route of the procession. Leland tells us that " at the great Conduite in Cheap were ordered these Things following. First, Before the Entry of the aforesaid Conduit stood two Persons resembling Valentine and wild Orson, the one clothed with Mosse and Iwe Leaves, having in his Hand a great Clubb of Yew Tree for his Weapon, the other armed as a Knight and they pronounced their speeches."†

It almost appears as if Orson were posing as the King of the Wood.

RENDEL HARRIS.

* P. 163.

† Leland, *Collectanea* (ed. ii.) iv., 314.

GREAT BRITAIN AND IRAQ.

THE political relationship between Great Britain and Iraq—that most troublesome of all the legacies of the great war—was advanced another step on the night of June 10th by the ratification of the Anglo-Iraq Treaty by the Mejlis-al-Tasisi, or Constituent Assembly, of Baghdad. This result was not achieved without some difficulty, and a lengthy period of indecision. It will be remembered that the Treaty was intended to be the instrument by which Great Britain abrogated her right to the “mandate” (a strangely unpopular word in view of the high ideals of which it was born), while at the same time retaining sufficient influence over the internal affairs of the new State to ensure the continuance of law and order, and the protection of legitimate British interests. The Treaty, which was endorsed by the representatives of both countries on October 10th, 1922, was originally designed to run for twenty years; but so unpopular did this idea become with the Iraqi Press and public that the twenty years were eventually cut down to four, the amendment being embodied in a Protocol signed at Baghdad on April 30th, 1923. It was provided in the Treaty that, before final acceptance, it must be ratified by a Constituent Assembly representative of all committees in Iraq, and called together in Baghdad for that purpose; and, after many delays, elections for the Assembly were held early in the present year, and the House was officially opened by King Feisal on March 27th.

Concerning the need of British assistance and the main provisions of the Treaty itself, public opinion in Iraq was practically unanimous, and at first no difficulty was anticipated in securing an early ratification of the Treaty by the Assembly. On March 25th, however, a number of Subsidiary Agreements for the working of the terms of the Treaty were laid down by the plenipotentiaries of the two Governments, and were afterwards made public. Their publication caused a storm of protest, which lasted throughout the discussions, and at one time threatened to wreck the Treaty. Much of the indignation aroused was based on a complete misapprehension of the terms of the Agreements, only too possible in a country where the standard of literacy is low; but mere ignorant prejudice could not account for the whole strength of the opposition, which was as strong in the educated as in the partly educated classes, and which even communicated itself to circles whose pro-British attitude was well known.

The general complaint made against the terms of the Agreement was that they were *qawi* (strong); in other words, that Great Britain was utilising the strength of her position to press terms

upon a weak ally which were inequitable and unacceptable to the latter. Detailed objection, which was at first vague and undefined, gradually focussed itself under four main headings:—

- (1) Objection to the terms under which British officials were to be engaged by Iraq;
- (2) Objection to the heavy financial burden imposed upon Iraq;
- (3) Objection to the immunity for British subjects under the legal clauses; and
- (4) Objection to the clause empowering the British Government to acquire land in Iraq compulsorily, in the case of war or emergencies.

Objection to the latter two clauses was completely groundless. It was freely asserted in Baghdad that a British subject, an Indian, for example, would be able to murder a local man, and would remain untouched by the local Courts; and that the British Government would be able, and fully intended, to take purchases of large tracts of land on which to plant colonies of British soldiers. The absurdity of such stories needs no refutation from the British point of view; but it admirably illustrates the mentality of the Iraqi, and the persistent fear entertained by him, which nothing apparently can eradicate, that the British have designs upon Iraq as a “colony.”

The objections noted under the first two headings are more reasonable. It cannot be denied that the terms of engagement of British officials are extremely generous to those officials, and slightly invidious to a poor and struggling country, whose own civil servants cannot obtain, under their own Government, terms anything like so good. The size of the salaries may be excused on the grounds of necessity, if the right type of man is to be procured; but there seems no good reason why a British official should be allowed one day's leave allowance towards his foreign leave for every five days' work, in addition to Sundays, public holidays, sick leave, and an allowance of twenty-one days' local leave in the year at the discretion of the Iraq Government. The terms further include one free passage to England and back for every five years of service; and—a condition which particularly exasperated the Iraqis—two free passages there and back for his wife in the same time. Considering that Iraq needs every penny of her resources for internal development, the Iraqis may be excused for thinking that British officials, however good, were rather too dear at such a price, particularly as the Iraq Government was not to be allowed a free choice in the matter of its principal British officials, but was forced to secure the approval of the High Commissioner. Objection was also taken to the terms of the creation of the Provident Fund

for British officers, under which the Iraq Government contributed twice the amount of the officer; and to the proposal that the cost of the maintenance of the High Commissioner's office and staff should be borne by Iraq. In short, the Iraqis felt—and admittedly there was reason for the feeling—that they were being called upon to pay the piper, without being granted the privilege of calling the tune.

The question of the engagement of British officials bristles, too, with outside difficulties. Many British officials employed in Iraq at the present time have held their positions continuously ever since the occupation, and are thus in a sense survivals of the period of purely British government. As the years have passed, they have become settled in Iraq, and the special knowledge which they have obtained would, in many cases, be of no use to them in obtaining other employment in England or any country outside Iraq; considering the amount of unemployment at home among the professional classes, and the special circumstances under which these officials came to form a connection with Iraq, it would be grossly unfair that their future position should lie at the mercy of local is a refreshing change from the system, which has been all too common throughout the East since the war, of sacrificing the careers and futures of British officials for "political reasons." In Palestine, for instance, there have been palpable instances of manoeuvring British officials, whose competency was unquestioned, out of their jobs to make room for aspiring Jews. Such methods not only tend to bring British subjects into contempt, on the assumption that their own Government cares nothing for their interests, but they obviously lower the standard of the administrative service, by placing it below political considerations.

The British Government is rightly not at present prepared to release its hold on certain "key" official positions in the National Government service; for, not only is Iraq financially in debt to Great Britain, but the sole hope of material progress in the country political intrigue. It is for this reason, one suspects, that the clause making the High Commissioner's permission compulsory in the matter of the engagement of officials was inserted. No Englishman will quarrel with such a course of action. Indeed, it these will certainly not be forthcoming unless public security and a reasonable proportion of official honesty are assured. With the exception of a few noticeably able men, the Iraqis have so far done nothing to justify foreign confidence in their administrative capacities. It is undeniable that the standard of administrative work has sunk very noticeably since the National Government was inaugurated. Corruption and nepotism—the curses of all Oriental

Governments—have crept in, and already many well-educated and clever young Iraqis refuse to enter for the Government competitive examinations, in the belief that the successful candidates are chosen beforehand. Several high posts, notably in the Customs, have been allotted of late to outside men possessing private influence, in spite of the fact that there were able and experienced candidates available within the departments themselves. It is only fair to the Iraqi to admit that British appointments here have been equally haphazard, and in some cases not above the suspicion of having been engineered by "cliques." Thus the high standard set up by Sir Arnold Wilson, whose administrative gifts were sacrificed by the British Government for political reasons, to the irreparable loss of Iraq, has not been maintained in the intervening years, either by Britisher or Iraqi.

The posts in the Iraq Government service for which provision for the possible employment of Britishers is laid down in the Treaty cover a wide range, but their engagement is entirely at the discretion of the Iraq Government, except in the following eighteen cases; *viz.*, Advisers to the Ministries of Interior, Finance, Justice, Defence, and Communications and Works; Directors or Inspectors-General of Irrigation, Public Works, Agriculture, Tapu, Surveys, and Veterinary Services; Director or Assistant Director of Audit, Inspectors-General of Police, Posts and Telegraphs, Health, Education, Customs and Excise; and President of the Court of Appeal. To all these posts the Iraq Government is compelled to appoint Britishers, under Article I. of the British Officials Agreement subsidiary to the Treaty; in the case of other posts, no compulsion is exercised, except in so far as Iraq is prohibited from engaging foreigners of other than British nationality without the permission of the British High Commissioner. Thus the terms laid down, taken as a whole, can hardly be said to be unfair to Iraq; though revision might be suggested in the clauses covering the leave of officials, and the travelling privileges of their wives. There seems no particular reason why an official, enjoying good pay and security of position, should expect the Government to convey his wife to and from England free of cost twice every five years; nor can the leave allowance of one day to every five days' work be considered as anything but excessively generous. No British civilian or business man in Baghdad would be able to treat himself to anything like so generous an amount of holiday-making; and no one who knows the East will deny that a business man's work is quite as responsible, and in many cases a great deal more arduous, than that of an official of equal standing. It seems unfair, too, to saddle Iraq with the whole expense of the High Commissioner's office and staff, though the intention of the Treaty

on this point is not absolutely clear, owing to the vague manner in which the clause in the Financial Agreement covering this matter is worded. The point, in any case, is believed to be still under the consideration of the British Government.

The objections in Baghdad to the financial clauses of the Treaty ranged themselves principally round the following three points:—

- (1) The terms of purchase of public works, railways, and the port of Basrah from the British;
- (2) The clause (Article IV. of the Military Agreement) by which Iraq is compelled to spend not less than 25 per cent. of her annual revenue on the maintenance of her army and on defence generally.
- (3) The acceptance of liability of such proportion of the Ottoman Public Debt as may be assigned to her under the British Treaty of Peace with Turkey.

The terms of purchase referred to in (1) are as follows: under Article V. of the Financial Agreement, the two Governments agree to the purchase by Iraq of the following works at the undermentioned valuation:—

Irrigation Works	...	...	...	Rs.6,212,040
Roads	...	...	...	320,000
Bridges	...	...	...	1,117,500
Posts, Telegraphs and Telephones	...	...	...	1,760,000

Under Article VII., the total of these sums (Rs.9,409,540) shall constitute a debt repayable by means of a terminable annuity, calculated to repay the sum with interest at 5 per cent. per annum, within twenty years. The railway system is treated separately. Under Article VIII., the control of the system is transferred to the Iraq Government, with the stipulation that railway receipts shall be kept separate from the general revenues of Iraq, and will be used solely to meet current expenditure on the railways and the capital cost of extensions, or the interest charges of money borrowed to construct such extensions. Any extensions must receive the approval of the High Commissioner. The system remains the property of the British Government, who agree not to sell it to an outside purchaser without the permission of the Iraq Government. In default of a prior sale, the system will be transferred to the Iraq Government at the termination of the Treaty, on terms to be mutually agreed upon, or, failing agreement, to be publicly arbitrated. In the event of the Iraq Government wishing to purchase it earlier, the sale shall be arranged on the same terms.

In the case of the Port of Basrah, provision is made in Article X. for the creation of a Port Trust, which shall be taken as being in debt to the British Government to the amount of Rs.7,219,000, on account of the harbour works, &c. The accounts of the Port Trust

are to be kept separate from the general revenues of the Iraq Government, and the conditions under which the Trust is to work are to be the subject of separate negotiations between the two Governments.

The objections to the above terms are very easily understood, although the British case for their fulfilment is very strong. The natural British argument is that works of public utility which will, if properly managed, become considerable earners of revenue for the State, ought to be paid for at their market value. The natural Iraqi argument is that these works were constructed by the British as a war-time measure and for their own ends; that the Iraqis did not order them; and that on no other battle-front has payment been demanded by a combatant for public improvements which happened to be introduced during the course of military operations. Though on the face of it this line of argument is evasive, it must be admitted that the situation is complicated by the fact that not all of the public works constructed by the British are suitable for their present uses. This is notoriously so in the case of the Port of Basrah, which, under the stimulus of military urgency, expanded during the war to a size that is quite unwarranted by the ordinary trade of the town; and it would be manifestly unfair to ask the heavily burdened Iraqi public to pay the cost of what is admitted by the British themselves to be a white elephant.

It will be seen that, if the railways are left out of account, the total debt of Iraq to Great Britain amounts to something in the neighbourhood of £1,100,000. Considering the volume of war debts owed to Great Britain in other parts of the world, this is an infinitesimal sum, and it would probably pay the latter country to show in the matter what the Assembly hopefully referred to as "the generous spirit for which the British people is famous." The case of the railways stands on a different footing. Constructed originally, with the exception of the Baghdad-Samarra length of the German Baghdad Railway, by the British Army, they have since been largely altered and adapted to meet the needs of the economic life of the country; and, backed by sufficient capital and under proper business management, they might be turned into a profitable concern. The fate most ardently to be desired on their behalf is purchase by a private group or company, which would have the triple result of guaranteeing the British their money, of relieving the Iraq Government of any necessity for adding to the financial burden of its subjects, and of bringing to bear on the railway system itself business management, with freedom from political favouritism and "graft."

The provision binding Iraq to spend not less than 25 per cent. of her revenue on her defence presses severely on a new and

struggling State, with great potential resources, but lacking the money with which to develop them. On the other hand, the cost of retaining British forces in Iraq bears heavily on the British taxpayer, and all legitimate pressure has to be brought to bear upon the Iraqis to induce them to accept the full responsibility for the defence of their country at the earliest possible moment. It was stated recently in Baghdad by Nouri Pasha Said, the Iraq Minister of Defence, that Iraq needed an army of 18,000 men, fully equipped, before she could confidently request Great Britain to withdraw all her forces. A programme of expansion is laid down provisionally in the Military Agreement subsidiary to the Treaty, under which the Iraq army should reach its full strength in 1927-8. The scheme makes provision for the inauguration of an Air Unit in 1925, provided that satisfactory progress has been made in the formation of the local ground forces.

What the cost of such a programme is likely to be it is impossible for the outsider to judge. The total estimates for the Ministry of Defence in the Iraq Budget for the year 1923-24 amount to Rs.6,652,326, a decrease of Rs.2,532,205 as compared with the estimates for the preceding year. The Police estimates amount to Rs.6,641,823. Thus, at the present time, the Iraq Government is spending Rs.13,294,149 on local forces, her estimated revenue for the current year being Rs.48,834,244. Thus, if the Police be included, she is already complying with the terms of the Treaty. No reference to the Police Force is made in the latter, the particular clause under discussion (IV. of the Military Agreement) merely stating that the money must be devoted to "maintenance of the regular army and other local forces" controlled by the Iraq Government. As the Police now include the old gendarmerie, presumably they come under the heading of "other local forces"; in which case the Iraq Government, although complying with the letter of the Treaty already, is faced with the problem that her present forces are inadequate for the task of securing law and order in the country, without the aid and presence of British troops.

The acceptance of a proportion of the Ottoman Public Debt liability is made necessary by the break-up of the Turkish Empire. Naturally, it is unpalatable to the Iraqis, who claim, and probably with good reason, that little if any of the money thus raised by the Turks was spent in or on behalf of Iraq, and that they are now called upon to bear a burden of debt out of which they have received no advantage whatever. On the other hand, short of partial repudiation, it is difficult to see how else the interests of the holders of the Public Debt bonds are to be protected. Turkey, shorn of her Empire, could hardly be expected to shoulder the whole of the debts of that Empire; and Iraq, as the legal successor

of three important Turkish vilayets, is morally bound to accept the liabilities, as well as the assets, of her new-found freedom. The burden, however, is a heavy one, the service of the Ottoman Debt being estimated in the current year at Rs.30,000,000, with possible additions in later years. Moreover, the expenditure is completely unproductive, and the money, in the nature of things, goes outside Iraq.

It will be seen, therefore, that there was a good deal more reason in the objections urged by the public of Iraq to the financial provisions of the Treaty than to the other clauses. The difficulties inherent in Iraq's financial situation have not, however, escaped the notice of the British Government. Disapproval of the financial clauses on the score of impracticability has been openly expressed by highly placed officials in Baghdad; and the High Commissioner himself has, on more than one occasion, shown his sympathy with the Iraqi case. On the other hand, the Iraqi opposition to the Treaty as a whole may be said to have been vague, undefined, and resting more on sentiment than on fact. This is exactly what one might have expected, in view of the restricted political experience of the Iraqis in modern times, and their constant, and perhaps natural, fear of encroachment on the part of an Ally, whose overwhelming might looms larger in their eyes than her benevolent intentions.

The disinclination of Iraq to trust Great Britain has been frequently and adversely commented upon by British observers, but it is neither so ungracious nor so unreasonable as might at first sight appear. It must be remembered that, firstly, Great Britain's policy towards the Arab lands which she conquered from the Turk has not always been clearly defined or even consistent; and, secondly, that the enormously predominant position which Great Britain has obtained in the Middle East as a result of the war is in itself enough to make all diplomatic negotiations with the small States in that area extremely difficult. A benevolent giant is still a giant; and there can be little doubt but that the independent and semi-independent Middle Eastern countries, when negotiating with the post-war Britain, labour under the continual apprehension that they are in some way being made use of in the creation of some new scheme of Imperial expansion. This is the secret of the anti-British sentiment which stretches from Egypt to Afghanistan; and is simply the natural political reaction of weak nationalities towards a Power which, having expelled all rivals from the Middle Eastern world, now dominates that world with a completeness that was hardly excelled by Alexander the Great himself.

This attitude of nervous but protesting deference was plainly

perceivable in the resolution in the Constituent Assembly accepting the ratification of the Treaty, which read as follows:—

This Assembly considers many of the clauses in the Treaty and the Agreements so severe as seriously to invalidate the ability of Iraq to take up the responsibilities of a true Ally. But the Assembly places its trust in the honour of the British Government, and the reputation for right dealing of the British people, and remains confident that they will not oppose or disregard the aspirations of the people of Iraq, nor forget the dependence of Iraq upon Great Britain.

On this sentiment alone is based the readiness of the Assembly to accept the explanations of the Treaty offered to it by H.E. the High Commissioner, on behalf of the British Government; in the sense that, after the Treaty has been ratified, the Financial Agreement will be modified as soon as possible in the generous spirit for which the British people is famous.

Wherefore this Assembly requests H.M. the King to ratify the Treaty, the Protocol and the Agreements; on the understanding that H.M. the King shall, after ratification, open negotiations at once with the British Government to gain the modifications proposed by the committee of the Assembly. And this Treaty and its Agreements shall be invalid, if Great Britain does not protect the right of Iraq to the vilayet of Mosul in its entirety.

It will be observed that the ratification of the Treaty is accepted by the House under protest, so to speak. This was the result of considerable opposition, which maintained its strength even at the last. The resolution was finally passed at a quarter past eleven at night, on the last day allowed by the British for discussion of the Treaty; and, had not a time limit been placed, the debates would have probably followed much the same lines for a considerable period of time, with precisely the same final result. One or two able speeches were delivered in the last hours, notably by Sheikh Ajil al-Yawar, of the great Shammar tribe, who roundly accused the British of delaying the Mosul issue in order to bring pressure to bear on Iraq. The Sheikh's pointed allusions to the powerlessness of the League of Nations, and to the ability in practice of the British to do whatever they wished, were greeted with enthusiasm. On the other side, an able and reasoned statement by Jafar Pasha al-Askari, the Prime Minister, of the Government's reasons for proposing the acceptance of the Treaty, was probably not without effect. On the evening before ratification the King himself intervened, reminding the deputies of his active services in the cause of Arab freedom, and of his unfortunate experiences in Syria, and begging them not to sacrifice the substance for the shadow.

The final voting was 37 to 24. Eight members did not vote. The north, including Mosul and the Kurdish representatives, voted almost solidly for ratification, including Sheikh Ajil; but there were one or two notable exceptions, among whom was the Naqib of

Mosul. Basrah and the south also offered considerable support. The chief opposition came from Baghdad and the Shammadiyah area of the middle Euphrates, which includes the large towns of Hillah, Kerbela, and Najaf. The two latter are the famous "Holy Cities" of the Shia faith, and opposition from them was, perhaps, only to be expected. Their influence is invariably directed in an anti-European direction, and in the rebellion of 1920 they formed the principal foci of the movement. The opposition of Baghdad is more difficult to explain. Partly it may be explained psychologically on the score of that vague dislike of Europeans, their hotels, clubs, and ways of living, which exists in every Eastern city where there is a considerable European population. On the other hand, Europeans are more popular in Baghdad than in most Oriental cities, partly because they are more accessible, and it was a noticeable feature of the 1920 rebellion that no attempt whatever was made to molest European civilians in Baghdad. On the political side, the opposition of Baghdad to the Treaty seems a trifle inexplicable, for the capital is in a far better position than the provinces to realise the importance of retaining the English connection until the State has been placed on a firm foundation. Some of it, no doubt, is due to that type of intellectual Bolshevism which seems inseparable from political life in all capital cities.

It only remains now to see how the Treaty works out in practice. That there is still a certain amount of opposition towards it is unquestionable; there being a large section of Iraqi opinion that clings obstinately to the belief that Iraq has somehow or other been "jockeyed" into acceptance of the Treaty, by the combined pressure of the British, the King, and the political party of Jafar Pasha al-Askari and Nouri Pasha Said, at present ascendant in the country. In the sense that these three forces desired the ratification of the Treaty, and have been working consistently towards that end, this assumption is probably true; but, even so, it has no connection with the undoubted fact that only through the Treaty can Iraq expect to secure the political recognition of the outside world, and the confidence of the money markets. This she needs most of all for her schemes of material regeneration; for she is certainly conscious of the fact that, without material wealth and position, she cannot attain to the desired position, at present no more than a pious aspiration, of the heart and political driving-force of the whole Arab nationalist movement.

RICHARD COKE.

AN INDIAN PARENT TO HIS SON IN ENGLAND.

MY DEAR SON,—I am glad to find that you are beginning to take an interest in Indian politics. When you go to Cambridge you will be studying history. Try to bring your knowledge to bear on all these political questions.

I will now tell you, so far as I can in a letter, my ideas on Indian politics. I am as anxious as any Nationalist or Swarajist or Non-Co-operator to get self-government or freedom or *Swaraj*, or whatever you may choose to call it, for my country. The only difference between me and those people is as to the means to attain it. You suggest that force is the only solution, and you express your regret that a manufactory of bombs was recently discovered by the police. I wholly disagree with you. Did you consider our position? Did you recollect that we have no arms, nor means of getting them, nor knowledge how to use them? Did you remember that, even if we had, we are not a homogeneous people and have not the necessary unity among us to make use of arms? In these days of aeroplanes and high explosives, not to speak of the wonderful organisation of the British Army, is it possible for India to get freedom by force of arms? No one in India, with the exception of perhaps a few young and ignorant anarchists, believes it. As to bombs, they are essentially the weapon of cowards, and history will tell you that in no country in the world has assassination succeeded as a political weapon. Secret societies always engender traitors who betray them. You need not go far into history to convince yourself of this; Bengal itself produced a number of these societies after the Swadeshi agitation of 1905-1906, whose aim was to attain freedom by the use of bombs and revolvers. They included among their members some exceptionally selfless and earnest young men, prepared to sacrifice their lives for what they unfortunately thought was the cause of their country. But with what result? They succeeded in killing some innocent persons, and were easily caught, and the societies suppressed through informers. Talk to any of those men, most of whom have now been released, and they will tell you their conviction that violence in the form of bombs and revolvers can never succeed. The present lot of anarchists are mostly new men, young and enthusiastic, who have either forgotten or are ignorant of what took place only a few years ago. They also have traitors amongst them, and are already being betrayed. Moreover, in these days of moral pressure from the whole world, do you really think that force is necessary?

Is there, then, no means or hope of attaining self-government? I firmly believe there is and that we shall get it as soon as we are ready for it. We shall not get it to-day or to-morrow, or even

perhaps in fifty years—what is fifty years to a people who have been under foreign domination for over seven centuries? But I have no doubt in my own mind that we shall attain it, when once we have got rid of our internal dissensions and formed ourselves into a nation; and that depends principally on ourselves.

No nation in the world is, as a nation, philanthropic. Self-interest does and will always guide its action. However generous and liberal individual members or particular groups within a nation may be, no nation will, of its own accord and *to its own detriment*, give up any advantage it has over another. And England is no exception to the rule, though I believe, from a knowledge of her history, that in her action she is often guided by a deep-rooted feeling of righteousness. England will never give India complete self-government unless she is convinced that it is to her own interest to give it. And we should not expect it. She may occasionally give us a little power, as a concession to agitation or to appease discontent—though all concessions of this nature generally have the opposite effect—but she will never give us full self-government so long as she fears it may have the effect of severing India from the Empire.

Here let me digress for a moment. I do not want you to think that I am against all agitation or the public expression of our discontent with the present state of things. England is in the habit of believing that all is well with the Empire, of trusting the men on the spot; she suffers from a constitutional disinclination to believe that an Englishman very often ceases to be an Englishman and even a gentleman when he is out of England. She can only be induced to pay attention to the condition of India by means of agitation. It is the same in her own country. The "Peterloo massacre" was necessary to awake in Parliament a consciousness of the fact that the people wanted a Reform Act, and bombs were required to wake up England from her dream that all was well with India. Subsequent events have sufficiently convinced her that India needs her special attention, and bombs are no longer required; their use at the present moment can but jeopardise our cause. But agitation, constitutional agitation of a persistent nature, is still necessary to keep England from falling asleep again.

Unfortunately, our politicians do not understand how far they should go in their agitation. To my mind, they show a great want of knowledge of the English character, due no doubt to their misreading of what has hitherto happened. Practically everyone in India believes that the Minto-Morley Reforms were due to the bombs which killed Mrs. and Miss Kennedy, that it was the fear of losing India that induced England to grant those Reforms; that it was the same apprehension, due to the discontent created in this

country by Non-Co-operators, which induced Parliament to grant the Montagu-Chelmsford Reforms. The Swarajists, and I am afraid a good many others, believe that by paralysing the administration by a course of obstruction England will be frightened into conceding full self-government to the country. That is not my reading of the English character. She gave us the Minto-Morley Reforms, not because she was afraid of losing India, but because she realised the discontent that prevailed and felt that India had grown sufficiently to be allowed a larger influence in the administration of her affairs. The Montagu-Chelmsford Reforms, which were inaugurated before non-Co-operation was heard of, were granted because England had made up her mind that India must learn to govern herself. It is a mistake to think that fear or even difficulties in administration will induce England to give us what we ultimately desire, *Swaraj* or full self-government. She has the tenacity of the bulldog, and is not accustomed to confess defeat in the face of difficulties. Nor will any amount of agitation or obstruction induce her to give it unless she believes that by doing so India can be retained as a friendly partner in the Empire. Agitation, as I have said, is still necessary, but any agitation which engenders in our people a spirit of hostility to the English is most harmful to the cause we all have at heart.

Two conditions, then, are necessary to obtain full self-government for our country; a realisation on the part of England that it is to her interest that India should be self-governed and free, and a conviction that if self-government is granted her she will not revert to the state of anarchy which prevailed when England took over the administration. The latter is really involved in the first.

Very few of my people will agree with me, but I have no doubt in my own mind that, since the war, England has begun to realise that it is to her interest that India should be able to govern and defend herself. She knows that, in spite of the fact that India furnished a large army to fight for her, India was the weakest part of the Empire; she had to keep a certain number of troops here; if any enemy had attacked India, England would have had to send a large army to defend her. Whereas, if India were fully self-governed, with her own army to defend her, and a friendly partner in the Empire, India could not only have furnished a great number of men, but England would have been free from all anxiety with regard to her defence. England also knows she cannot hold India for ever as her dependency. No nation has ever succeeded in keeping another in subjugation for ever. A time must come when India will cease to be her dependency, though not necessarily independent. England—by that I mean her best brains and her most influential men—has begun to realise this and to understand

that, if India is to be kept as a part of the Empire, it is only possible by making her an equal partner like the Dominions, which can only be done by training her to govern herself and to depend on her own strength to defend her borders. I, for one, believe that the Montagu-Chelmsford Reforms were granted and the military school for Indian boys at Dehra Dhun was established with a view to that end. There can be hardly any doubt, from the point of view of England, that it would serve her interest far more to keep India as a friendly partner than as a mere dependent, liable in the end to be severed from her whether by a revolution in India or by conquest by another Power. It is also, I think, equally clear, again from the point of view of England, that it is far better for her to keep India as a dependency as long as she can rather than to grant self-government and freedom to a hostile India.

England is, I believe, prepared to train us towards self-government and self-defence, but she has not, as yet, been able to make up her mind as to what the consequences of a grant of full self-government will be. Many believe—and they refer to South Africa—that such a grant will keep India friendly to the Empire; many, on the other hand, refer to the activities of the Non-Co-operators and the Swarajists, and believe that India is hostile to England and will break away from the Empire. You may be sure England will never confer real self-government on India until she is convinced that India will remain friendly. It is, then, for us to convince England that she need have no apprehension on that point.

Great objections have been taken to the Montagu-Chelmsford Reforms on the ground that very little power is given to us to govern ourselves. Personally, I think a good deal of power has been given to us in particular subjects, though there are obvious defects in the Act and the Rules. But, assuming that the objections are justified, we must not forget that the intention of the Reforms was not to give us any real power but merely to train us in the art of self-government under proper supervision. I feel practically certain that, if we had co-operated in working them in the spirit in which they were granted, the attainment of full self-government would have been nearer. After all, if that be given to us, is it not really to our interest also that we should remain a friendly partner? Consider what advantage it will be to India to have the whole strength of the powerful British Empire at her back, without at the same time England interfering with her more than she does with the self-governing Dominions.

The difficulty is that our people will not look ahead but are concerned mostly with matters of the moment, and the result is that we are creating an impression in England that we are hostile to the English, which is really not true. Only a few days ago the

Bengal Provincial Conference passed a resolution commending the patriotism (!) of Gopinath Shaha, who murdered an innocent Englishman and tried to escape by shooting at other innocent people and who, when charged with murder, put up the defence that he was insane. We all know that the Conference was filled with delegates paid to support Swarajist resolutions and that the resolution in no way reflects the feeling of the country; frantic efforts are already being made by Swarajists to prove that the resolution which they passed was different from that which was published in their own paper, the *Forward*. But consider the effect of such a resolution in England.

I fully realise the difficulty our people have in entertaining feelings of friendliness towards the English when we are faced with the acts of some of them in India and out of India. It is not easy to realise that there are people in England, people wielding the greatest influence, who believe that her interests are bound up with the existence of a friendly India, when we are met by a Jallianwallabagh or when we think of the treatment accorded to our countrymen in South Africa or in Kenya. At the same time, we should not allow our natural resentment to carry us away, nor forget the real factors which cause these incidents. Incidents like Jallianwallabagh and the petty but nevertheless very irritating tyrannies from which we suffer are inevitable in a Government which has to be carried on from a distance with the assistance of men who are strangers to the land and free from the restriction of the public opinion of their own kith and kin. It is quite natural that we should resent those acts and even that we should sometimes "see red," and it is only right that we should take every possible step to prevent the recurrence of such incidents; but in judging England's attitude towards India, let us bear in mind that she cannot possibly guarantee that every one of her sons sent out to India will understand or appreciate her true interests. You will no doubt say, if that is the case, the sooner this system of government by strangers from a distance ceases to exist the better for us. I agree, but are we likely to attain that desired end by giving rein to our natural resentment and refusing to have any but hostile relations with England?

If, then, it is to the interest of England that India should be a self-governed Dominion within the Empire, it is obvious that the sooner she confers that status on India the better for her. But we must not forget that it cannot be to her interest if in the result India reverts to a state of anarchy and has to be reconquered to prevent her falling into the hands of another nation. Nor is that to the interest of India herself. Compare the analogy of Greece after the second Macedonian War. Rome liberated her from the

thralldom of Philip, but instead of retaining her as a Roman conquest, withdrew her army and gave her full freedom. Greece at that time was made up of a number of small States, who, as Mommsen says, "owing to impotent antipathies that prevailed alike in their internal and mutual relations, neither knew how to act nor how to keep quiet. As things stood (he continues), it was really necessary at once to put an end to such a freedom, equally pitiful and pernicious, by means of a superior power permanently present at the spot. . . . *History has a nemesis for every sin—for an impotent craving after freedom, as well as for an injudicious generosity.*"

England, then, must feel sure that we are in a position to govern ourselves and that we shall not, like Greece, fall into a state of anarchy. Very few of our leaders can really believe that we are in this position or are likely to be in the near future; if you find their public utterances full of assertions that we are, that is partly because they believe that by such assertion they will awaken our self-respect, partly because they think it is bad policy to admit we are not, and, in the case of some of them, because they have not the courage to risk their popularity by telling the truth. It is only younger men, naturally led away by high ideals of patriotism, who, in their ignorance, really believe we are in a position to govern ourselves. We need not in this connection consider the question of our administrative capacity. Want of such capacity will not by itself stand in the way of our getting self-government; that, as England knows, can only be acquired by experience.

Let us start with the state of Bengal, a Province with which you and I are more familiar. Practically the same state of things prevails in the other Provinces. One of the most acute problems now calling for a solution is the Hindu-Mahomedan question. Take the points of difference between the two communities. The social system of the Hindus is exclusive and caste divides them into numbers of watertight compartments; that of the Mahomedans is communistic and under it all men are equal. Hindu patriotism is naturally confined to India; Mahomedan patriotism is subordinated to the call of Islam, which transcends the bounds of countries. It is this attachment to Islam and the consequent neglect of the system of education established by the Government which explains the lower position occupied by Mahomedans in education, wealth, and political power. Do not be misled by what you hear or read of unity between Hindus and Mahomedans; there is a certain amount of mutual toleration, but of unity there is, in fact, none. They may occasionally join in a fight against the Government, but even that is getting daily rarer. Mahomedans do not trust Hindus, and Hindus not only do not trust Mahomedans but more often than not

look down on them with contempt. The position is worse than it was, say, twenty-five years ago, and is likely to get worse before it gets better. Apart from the problems created by the call of Islam, a principal cause of friction between Hindus and Mahomedans is the natural jealousy which Mahomedans feel by reason of the better position of the Hindu in the Indian body politic. Until comparatively recent times Mahomedans held back from all progressive movements, specially in education, with the result that in practically all departments of life the Hindus hold a predominant position. Those Mahomedans who have taken to English education—and their number is growing—naturally resent this. So long as they remained uneducated, they failed to realise their inferiority of position and were content with being the descendants of the last ruling race in India. The position is not dissimilar to that between Indians and the British. Thirty or forty years ago we were more or less content with being the under-dog, and the number of Indians who felt any resentment towards those who ruled over us and held all the best positions was very small indeed. Education has opened our eyes and made us realise the inferiority of our position, and one of the main causes of the tension between the ruler and the ruled is the natural jealousy of a person who cannot feel that he is on terms of equality with another. There can be no real union between communities or peoples one of whom feels that he is in an inferior position. I fully believe that in time the feeling of jealousy and suspicion between Hindus and Mahomedans will disappear, but at the present moment it is very much in existence and will continue to be so for some time to come. So long as it exists, can we call ourselves a nation, in a position to govern ourselves? Is there not every possibility of our flying at each other's throats, if the restraining hand of a Government, to whom it makes no difference whether a man is a Hindu or a Mahomedan, is withdrawn?

Take, again, the question of the "backward" classes, the untouchables. It is not so acute in Bengal as in Madras, but it will not be long before it becomes equally acute here. Education is spreading amongst them, and with education they are beginning to realise their inferiority. They are gradually learning to combine and to fight for recognition as an important section of our people. It is all to the good and, in time, if the Government—to whom a Namasudra is as good as a Brahmin—continues to exist, they will come up to the level of the rest of our people. What, however, will be the consequence, if self-government is granted to us at this stage? There will not, perhaps, be bloodshed, as in the case of Hindus and Mahomedans; but the chances are that there will be a setback in their progress—the three higher castes are not likely to help them to rise. No one who cares for the ultimate good of India can contemplate such a state of things with equanimity.

Take, again, our rigid caste system. How can we ever become one people so long as these unbending social distinctions remain? Even in Bengal, where the rigidity has to some extent relaxed, there was considerable agitation when Dr. Gour introduced in the Assembly a bill to legalise inter-caste marriages. It is true that when we are fighting against the Government, which is regarded as a common foe, questions of caste do not stand in our way. But what if that common foe is removed?

Again, how far have we developed towards a common nationality? Never mind India as a whole for the present; let us take Bengal alone. We Bengalees all speak the same language; we have a common literature, and, if the people of any Province in India can be called homogeneous, it is that of Bengal. And yet, have we really grown to nationhood? In matters of joint family life, we have undoubtedly reached the highest form of development; we are prepared to make every sacrifice for the sake of our family; the most distant relation has a claim on our bounty, and we acknowledge the claim cheerfully; up to now, workhouses have been unnecessary in this country. But there our growth has stopped. We are still devoid of the civic sense. We have still to realise that if we combine with other families living in the same locality, each contributing something towards some work for the benefit of all, the benefit to us will be greater than if we stood alone.

Need I remind you of inter-Provincial jealousies? The cry of Behar for the Beharis, Punjab for the Punjabis, Assam for the Assamese is still fairly strong.

I have not touched on a very important factor which has also to be considered—the question of our army and navy. If we are to be free to govern ourselves, we must also be in a position to defend ourselves, at least, against the aggressions of our neighbours. We clearly cannot expect the English to maintain an army and navy, even at our expense, while we refuse them all voice in the administration.

These are some of the facts which naturally render England apprehensive that a grant of self-government will mean a reversion to anarchy. We have to solve these difficulties before we can induce her to believe that she can safely, in her own interest, entrust the government of the country to us. The difficulties are, I believe, already in process of solution, but they must take time. If they are solved, then, whether England desires to give us self-government or not, she will not be in a position to keep it back from us.

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LAND SETTLEMENTS ROUND VIENNA.

ONE blustery day in March, 1921, a vast crowd of men and women assembled in front of the Vienna Rathaus. Silent, white-faced, weakened by long privation and distress, they held their banners aloft and mutely appealed to the authorities for help to help themselves. "Give us land, wood, and stone and we will make bread!" was the request of 200,000 persons, citizens of a country stricken almost to death by war and post-war conditions. They marched slowly in procession round the city, banners all aslant on drooping shoulders—crippled soldiers on crutches with eyes dimmed by the horrors of Siberian prisons—artists, clerks, tired mothers and anæmic girls—surely the sorriest band of pilgrims that ever started forth on the Eternal Quest!

Now in the autumn of 1924 we pause to sum up the net results of the enterprise which called into being what is known as the *Siedlungsbewegung* (Land Settlement Movement), that strange renaissance of hope which is exercising such a strong influence on the life of the Austrian proletariat to-day.

From the outset great difficulties were experienced in providing the necessary building capital, and owing to the ever-decreasing value of the krone no loans could be raised for cottage building other than through public funds controlled by Government and municipality, who also endeavoured to meet the demand for land. The half-dozen co-operative Building Societies which sprang into being in 1921 increased by the end of 1923 to nearly eighty. The municipal credits of 1921, which amounted to 26,865,093 kronen, rose in 1923 to 59,938,768,751 kronen, and until the League of Nations' restrictions curtailed financial assistance the Government credits increased proportionately. The enormous difficulties entailed in the financing of the scheme may be estimated by the fact that whereas in the spring of 1921 a five-roomed Land Settlement cottage cost 200,000 kronen (£85), in the spring of 1924 it cost 100,000,000 kronen (£330). The pre-war price of a similar cottage was 5,000 kronen.

Confronted with such extraordinary difficulties, it was necessary to centralise the purchase of building material and to co-ordinate the building societies as much as possible. At the same time, the various Settlement groups made co-operation and mutual service a *sine quâ non* of membership. That the spirit of altruism should be the keynote of an organisation owing its existence to the instinct of self-preservation is a remarkable fact, but still more remarkable is the fact that, after three years of struggle, of development, and of ever-growing success, the organisation has not destroyed that

spirit, but places the Movement far above any other of its kind in Europe to-day.

Although most of the Land Settlements are situated in and round Vienna, a large number are also in the Provinces. Nieder Oesterreich, Ober-Oesterreich, Salzburg, Steiermark, Kärnten, the Austrian Tirol, Vorarlberg, and the Burgenland, all have their Co-operative Building Societies, apart from the Allotment Gardens, which themselves are potential Settlements. A brief survey of some of these Settlements made from personal knowledge may serve to explain the methods of work carried out on these small "United Republics" of the new Austria.

SETTLEMENTS FOR DISCHARGED AND PENSIONED CIVIL SERVANTS.

PRESSBAUM.—The Pressbaum affiliation is situated about forty miles from Vienna, on forest land leased from the Forestry Department. The Government cut and removed the timber, but the arduous task of rooting up the stumps was left to the Settlers, who were mostly men accustomed to sedentary occupations, more capable of wielding the pen than the spade. In the spring of 1922 sufficient land was cleared to start building. Loans were obtained from the Government Housing Board, and the Settlers themselves contributed from their small salaries and pensions. Almost super-human difficulties were overcome by these heroic pioneers. All the raw material except wood had to be transported from Vienna, and a small local line was connected by the Settlers between their Settlement and the main line. During 1922 and 1923 roads were made, wells dug, gardens laid out and cultivated, and about twenty-eight one-familied houses completed. The administrative and all the unskilled manual work was accomplished by the colonists in their spare time, the majority of the members being still on the active list of State officials. It is estimated that over 120,000 hours of unpaid labour were contributed by the Settlers in 1922 and 1923. The beautiful little Garden Village rising among the pines is their hard-earned reward.

Every family possesses 1,500 square metres of garden, besides poultry, goats, and chickens, and it is proved that if he works his land intensively, a pensioned official can support his family on its production, with the addition of his pension. Yet Pressbaum is not the most advantageous site for a Colony, because it is constructed on forest land and is surrounded by trees, with no suitable land available either for farming or pasturage. Two acres, however, have been laid out in a nursery for young trees, and fruit cultivation is being planned. If further subsidies can be found for building houses it is believed that this Settlement will serve as a permanent example of the productive utilisation of that large

class of individuals who can no longer be employed by the State in their former professions.

LANGENZERSDORF.—Langenzersdorf, lying about ten miles due north of Vienna, is another affiliation of the State officials' group, and owing to the nature of the land, mostly scrubby and heavily rooted, the work of the colonists has been very severe. Yet here too the apparently impossible has been accomplished, and fifteen acres of what was regarded as waste land are turned into cultivated gardens, with a group of well-built cottages already inhabited. The Monastery on the hill, which has leased the land to the sturdy group of railway officials and clerks, may well congratulate itself on having responded to their appeal. The housing conditions of these workers were so deplorable that they were driven to almost herculean efforts to obtain their little homes. The sandy soil of this site proved a source of wealth to the colonists who, with the help of cement and cast-off slack from the adjoining railway, were able to make the excellent hollow concrete bricks which were universally used by the Austrian Settlers before the price of burnt bricks was reduced.

During the summer of 1922, women and children, families of the Settlers, spent long days on the building site rooting, digging, and clearing the land, and fetching sand from the pit near by. Many of these people, who had their "homes" in Vienna, herded together in tenement houses, experienced sheer joy in the hard manual outdoor labour, though the food they brought with them was pitifully inadequate to sustain them during the day. From the Director to the tiniest tot they had one definite object in view, the building of homes and the making of gardens. One of the leaders of the Colony, a Parliamentary stenographer, gives all his spare time to the Settlement in administrative work, toiling far into the night as a telegraphic reporter to earn the necessary money contribution towards the co-operative building.

AUSTRIAN SETTLEMENT AND ALLOTMENT GARDEN UNION.

This Union, which has a membership of over 30,000, has its headquarters in Vienna and ramifications all over Austria. Its section for Social Welfare is still in its infancy, but capable of important development as the Settlements become more populated. Under the control of a Municipal Health Officer a Welfare Worker is already systematically visiting the various Colonies, keeping health records, giving practical demonstrations in household hygiene and paying special attention to the nourishment and care of young children. This scheme, which has been helped in its initial stages by the Friends' Mission, will later be carried on by the *Verband* alone. The food production on the Allotment Gardens

has shown enormous progress since the war, and the *Oesterreichischer Verband* has issued figures which demonstrate conclusively the important part played by the Austrian Allotment Gardeners in the fundamental reconstruction of their country.

ROSENHUEGEL.—With the background of mountains, Rosenhügel makes a very attractive site for a Settlement. In July, 1921, Frau Marianne Hainisch, the aged mother of the President of the Austrian Republic, visited the Colony and moulded two concrete bricks to be used in the first group of houses. One hundred and fifty houses are already complete, and as many more will be subsidised by the municipality on the same co-operative lines as before. A large "Community House" is also in course of construction, and this will be the cultural centre of the sister Colonies, Hoffingergasse and Rosenhügel—science, health lectures, concerts, and theatrical representations will be held there, and a Welfare and Children's *Klinik* are being planned for the future. The indefatigable energy of Nationalrat Adolf Müller, the Director of the Altmannsdorf-Hetzendorf Building Society, has rendered it possible for much progress to be made, not only from a technical but also from a social and ethical standpoint. Orphan children have been adopted by the Settlers sent from the municipality of Vienna, and temporary homes have been given to half-starved Berlin children.

WOLFERSBERG.—This Settlement on the western side of the mountain is even more wild and has necessitated a colossal amount of labour on the part of the Settlers. As in all the co-operative Colonies, the ground clearing, digging of foundations, laying of water, &c., has been accomplished entirely in the spare time of the Settlers, and for a man to work eight hours in a factory or office and do hard manual labour of this nature in the evenings as well as Saturday afternoons and Sundays requires no small degree of resolution and pluck. The women, too, work, and their hours are reckoned with their men folks' in defraying the cost of their houses. Wolfersberg, which is now the scene of self-help, full of hope for the future, was in 1918-19 a scene of despair. Here were to be seen Viennese men, women, and children, half-starved, bitter, desperate—hacking down trees and branches to supply the only fuel with which to keep life and warmth in their miserable bodies. Mounted police were dispatched by the authorities to prevent this ruthless waste of timber, but the desperate people hurled hand grenades, and the police retired, sickened at the sight of such hopeless misery. Now the Wolfersberg Building Society is proving up to the hilt that faith (added to courage and intelligence) can remove mountains. As physical obstacles are overcome by degrees and an

embryonic garden-city springs into being the social, ethical and economic aspects of the community begin to grow in importance.

Unlike the Urban Settlements, where disciplined organised bodies of men are working co-operatively on municipal land, more or less arable and more or less ready for building, so that the social life develops in smooth automatic channels, the Wolfersberg colonists have to start from the most primitive beginnings, physically, and therefore ethically and socially. And herein lies the peculiar interest of these isolated "wild" colonists, their only chance of survival is to save, work, and construct as individualists, but their only chance of progress is to sink the individual in the community.

WOUNDED SOLDIERS.

One of the most serious problems of all the belligerent countries has been how best to utilise their wounded soldiers and absorb them into civil life once more. France, with the experience and foresight of a thrifty but militaristic nation, started vocational re-education early in the war, and has absorbed productively more of her wounded soldiers than any other country except Germany. In Austria the consequences of a lack of this foresight (or perhaps lack of funds) by the authorities can be seen in the recent pathetic demonstrations by the *Kriegsinvaliden* at the Parliament House, and still more recently at Graz, when, after four years of "Peace" conditions, men who fought and were crippled for their country found themselves starving and useless members of society.

To the everlasting credit of Austrian wounded soldiers, however, several thousands have, of their own initiative, formed co-operative building societies, and are now helping in the formation of Land Settlements under Government and municipal control. The history of the first *Kriegsinvaliden* Settlement is worth recording. When, in 1919, the ex-soldiers realised that Austria was utterly and irrevocably changed, they, homeless and friendless, decided to make for themselves "homes for heroes to live in." With splendid optimism they made request of the Government for a part of the late Emperor's hunting park. The request, of course, was refused, as it would have been by any Government in the circumstances. With much tenacity the soldiers persisted in their request, and when, time after time, it was refused, they filled a wagon with pick-axes and shovels, drove to the Lainzer Tiergarten, and "dug themselves in" in the orthodox fashion. The trenches, however, soon became the foundations of houses, for the Government authorities, realising the sound utility of the scheme, at last gave the necessary consent, and the first Land Settlement for Wounded Soldiers in Austria was duly inaugurated.

The City of Peace (*FRIEDENSSTADT*), as it is now called, was not built quickly. The physical disability of the settlers, the necessarily slow output of Government subsidies, and the greatest difficulties experienced in clearing the forest land, rendered the work harder even than in Pressbaum. Now, however, the results as we see them are far from discouraging. Fifty well-built five-roomed cottages, with large gardens, are inhabited, thirty others of a smaller type are nearing completion. Cultivated vegetable gardens, as well as poultry, pigs, goats, and rabbits, help to supply the family needs of the settlers. Added to this, the soldiers have put under cultivation about ten acres of land, and through their industrial workshops are able to produce a very considerable amount of carpentry and iron work for municipal purposes at a much lower rate than can be done by private firms in Vienna.

Last, but not least, it should be noted that alcoholism, the curse of nerve-wrecked soldiers, has been officially abolished by the settlers of the City of Peace, who have given up the licence formerly granted for the delectation of visitors to the famous hunting park. Private temperance and official abstinence is the rule of all the Austrian Co-operative Building Societies, and any infringement incurs immediate expulsion from the Settlement.

EIGENE KRAFT.

In the manufacturing and working-class quarter of Vienna, beyond the Danube, several colonies of artisans, electric-tram employees and others, have forced their way into the cognisance of the authorities through the tenacity of their purpose in leasing land and building small houses. In one district, the levelling of an old military encampment required the labour of summer evenings and all Sundays for three months, this toil being given ungrudgingly by working men and women. Yet because of the bureaucratic red-tapism which seems sometimes to strangle independent effort at its birth, these men of *Eigene Kraft* have been almost driven to despair in their failure to obtain official recognition of their right to the land which they have turned from an arid waste into a fine building site with cultivated gardens.

THE NUCLEUS HOUSE SYSTEM.

The rapid readaptability of the Settlers to conditions varying according to the rise and fall of the krone has already been observed, and the nimble way in which they have readjusted their building methods to the consequences of the stabilisation of the krone is quite remarkable. Owing to the rise in the cost of living and of wages due to this stabilisation, the building of five-roomed cottages at a cost of £200-£300 became in many cases impossible,

though the municipality of Vienna, through judicious taxation, has been able to continue subsidising certain districts, where the building programme was well advanced, on the same lines as before.

A smaller type of cottage was therefore planned to be built in progressive stages, the first stage being ready for habitation in about six weeks at a cost of about £120. This first stage, which can be enlarged by degrees, consists usually of two rooms and a cellar. When it finally reaches its completed state it consists of five rooms and a small goat and poultry stable, costing in all about £240. This system of building by instalments from a Nucleus House (*Kernhaus*) has enabled a considerable number of families with small means to obtain dwellings much more quickly than would be possible through previous methods. In order to support this scheme the municipality made loans in material to be repaid in instalments over seven years at 5 per cent., provided the Settler himself could contribute a quarter of the total cost of the building. The Settlement Society is made responsible for the repayment of the loan, and, as in the case of the larger type of cottage, the Society is the owner, but the Settler is the hereditary tenant. In this way all speculation is avoided.

The foregoing sketch of a few of the Austrian Land Settlements gives but an imperfect idea of the great value of the movement, not only for Austria, but for other countries faced with similar problems. It has been well said that "Necessity is the Mother of Internationalism," and the universal need for houses and for trade development in most European countries to-day may well lead to closer relationships between countries whose needs are identical in this respect, and who would mutually benefit in their housing and economic advancement through the breaking down of trade barriers and setting up of international co-partnerships for colonising purposes.

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Vienna).

NATURE'S BROADCASTING.

THE realisation, since the discovery of wireless telephony, that there are media capable of transmitting vibrations the very existence of which was previously unsuspected, has revolutionised our ideas of natural forces. Any suggestion offered a few years ago that sound and light could be conveyed by something that was neither normal sound nor light vibration, or due to electrical phenomena as we then understood them, would have been scouted as wild speculation. Now that we know that forces of which we had no conception do exist, forces that we can utilise but cannot actually explain, speculation may be allowable, may even have value.

Speculation it must be, for so far we have too little evidence to propound theory; yet speculation associated with known facts may direct investigation, and thus help to elucidate mystery.

Many, faced with phenomena that are beyond their comprehension, turn to the supernatural or spiritual. By that they do not mean the unknown laws of a Ruling Power or Creator, but something mysterious, unknowable, something that it is dangerous, rather irreligious to investigate. Surely this view is superstition, a religion little removed from the Devil worship of primitive man. There is nothing irreligious in seeking truth, light, advance. The fuller our knowledge, the greater our discoveries, the more we relegate to the natural what was formerly called supernatural. Finite beings cannot comprehend infinity, and many of us fail to marvel at or reverence Nature beyond those artificial limits that are set up by our finite reason; instead we reverence or fear any phenomena that we cannot understand. When we do understand, or think we understand, we say—perfectly natural, nothing marvellous, it can be explained.

Investigators and ordinary users of wireless telephony complain that there is confusion and jamming caused by a multitude of inexperienced dabblers in the new science. Yet the very popularity of wireless is an advantage, for amongst the irresponsible experimenters are many genuine searchers after knowledge. The great discoveries may come from the masters, but the humble worker may add new light, new uses, and simplification.

No one now can deny that these forces exist, and that in a very few years we have learnt how to control though not to generate them. The power, the force, the energy is there, whether we utilise it or not. Is it then foolish speculation to suggest that these or similar forces may be perceptible by the sense organs of other animals? The behaviour of animals is ordered and in the main regular; the animal, whether amoeba or man, performs certain

actions in a more or less ordered manner, and certain results, usually beneficial to the species, are the natural sequence. The biologist knows how most of these actions appeal to his sense organs; he can foretell probable results; but his philosophy is at fault, or at any rate obscure, when he strives to account for the actual stimuli of each action. For want of a better description he calls the actions either reasonable or instinctive, and spends unnecessary labour upon the decision by which class any action shall be defined. The argument between the upholders of Instinct or Reason is an ancient one, and is marred by much bad feeling.

So-called reasonable actions are merely those which correspond with human actions that can be explained by the intentional employment of our faculties—our five senses. But there are certain powers or gifts enjoyed by some human beings and by many other animals, which cannot be explained by any of our senses within the known limits of their power. These gifts in man are usually attributed to a sixth sense, and in animals to instinct. So far no one has been able to explain a sixth sense, nor how it functions, but that is no proof that it is non-existent. If it does exist, and there is strong evidence to support it, it will explain many unsolved problems; the existence of aether vibrations discernible by man suggests a hopeful field for investigation. Are these or similar normally invisible, inaudible, imperceptible vibrations the forces that regulate many of those actions we call instinctive?

Orientation, the ability of finding the way, is one of the unexplained phenomena. A sense of direction is a gift possessed by a few so-called civilised men, and by many primitive peoples. Some scientists deny the gift, affirming that it is due to an instinctive knowledge of the position of the sun, the north star, the northern lights, the southern cross, or that prevailing winds may be a guide; they argue that the man who is most primitive is most closely in touch with natural forces, most susceptible to their influences. His eyesight is better, his hearing keener, and his sense of smell less degenerate than in those who for ages have lived under artificial conditions; he does not reason out his pathway, but finds it by instinct. But what is instinct more than a natural impulse; it is a term used for convenience and is not a definable quality. If we admit that a man with a sense of direction obeys an impulse in a reflex manner, unconsciously turning and travelling in the right direction, we may be correct, but we have not explained the impulse nor how he appreciated it.

The physicist is convinced of the existence of energy—unseen and but partially demonstrable—emanating from the inorganic as well as the organic world. Is it possible that the sense of direction is due to the unconscious reception of energetic guidance, whether

from inorganic force or telepathic message unconsciously transmitted?

When Middendorf asked the Samoyeds how they found their way across the trackless tundras they replied—"How does the little arctic fox find its way aright?" Doubtless we should say that the fox learnt and remembered, but we have no evidence that the animal travels by known routes, indeed, all evidence points in the other direction. But pass the fox and turn to its distant relative, the domestic dog, whose faculties we consider have been improved by long ages of association with man. Either it has outstripped us in the evolution of the senses or retained primitive faculties, for many dogs can find their way in a remarkable manner. It is not every dog that has the gift, for we can lose some dogs round the first corner, but there are well authenticated cases of dogs finding their way home over great tracts of country after they have been conveyed by train or other vehicle, when there was no possible chance of blazing their trail. Cats, in many instances, have exhibited a similar homing power. Unconscious telepathy, if we could prove it, would explain the phenomenon, and at once our supernatural would be called natural.

The obvious comment upon a suggestion of telepathic message is—what can transmit the message? We do not know, but it is conceivable that thought transmission may be broadcasted unconsciously. Unfortunately thought transference has been so frequently exploited by charlatans, and by those who use what knowledge they possess to work upon the credulous by asserting supernatural power, that we view it askance; yet it may exist. The dog or cat may be missed by a late owner, by a child, by a companion—another dog or cat or other animal—and the thought be as widely broadcasted as the message we intentionally deliver to the microphone. Only the attuned senses will receive the thought wave; the dog or cat feels rather than appreciates the direction whence the wave emanates.

Pure speculation this, an absurd theory, perhaps; but what would a prophecy of wireless telephony have been a generation ago and less? Therefore a wilder speculation is allowable, one that comes within the realm of psychology, as well as physics. For the homing faculty to function the mental condition of the subject must be abnormal, the love of home be an overruling stimulus. Is it possible that this psychic condition of the brain may be influenced by impressions which are actually emanations from the home itself or its surroundings? If so the animal receives the sympathetic impressions, emanations, vibrations, or whatever they are, and without knowledge, without reason, responds and obeys.

Turn from dogs and cats to animals with less highly developed brains. John Burroughs tells his experiences with a domestic duck

perceptible to an animal desiring water. The salmon returns to its own river after long marine wanderings; has the river guided it? The eel does not return after its "run," but as larva—*leptocephalus*—or elver its young find their way from the Sargasso Sea to the coasts of Europe and ascend our rivers. They may have followed ocean drift and struck our shores by chance; the elvers in our rivers may not be the young of eels which took that course seaward. We do not know. We do know, however, that sensory canals and other sensitive organs whose functions have not been determined exist in fishes, and that it has been suggested by Schulze and others that some of these may "enable their possessors to appreciate undulatory movements in water." Blind fish avoid obstacles without difficulty. Schulze thought that they were "adapted to receive vibrations of the water with wave-lengths too great to be perceived as ordinary sounds."

In insects, especially in those in which the communal association is well developed—ants, bees, wasps, and termites—path-finding or orientation is shown by their habits. The influence of the "spirit of the hive," whether we accept Maeterlinck's mysticism or not, is undoubtedly potential. The hive, or its inhabitants, may be constantly broadcasting directions. Major Hingston found that ants communicated impressions or news, and showed that the antennæ were organs of sense perception and transmission of ideas. Ants met and "titillated" one another's antennæ, evidently recognising associates. Some species had a highly developed sense of smell, and could recognise not only ants from the same formicary but individuals. Nevertheless he was satisfied at least in most species "that direction is almost twice as powerful as scent in influencing the movements of ants." These conclusions were arrived at after a long series of clever experiments. Lubbock, nearly forty years ago, expressed his belief in the importance of the antennæ but was unconvinced that a sense of direction existed. He says "that they are sensitive to sound vibration, but that does not prove that the sound is conveyed by the normal wave-lengths which create auditory sensation."

Instances of orientation amongst the lower vertebrates may exist, but the evidence is slender. It is wiser to ignore cases where chance or environmental conditions may influence migration. Yet in these as in higher animals are "complex organs of sense, richly supplied with nerves, but the function of which we are as yet powerless to explain. There may be," says Lubbock, "fifty other senses as different from ours as sound is from sight."

Amongst mammals no group presents more unexplained problems than the bats. Bats undoubtedly possess a highly developed sense which we can only call a sixth, but what it is and how

it functions has still to be discovered. Spallanzani's experiments, and those of other enthusiasts in the search for knowledge, have been quoted again and again—how blinded and deafened bats were released in specially prepared rooms, where wires and bells were slung so as to obstruct flight, and yet the mutilated victims flew without touching obstacles. Less cruel but convincing experiments have been carried out by Miss Bolton, Mr. J. Whitaker, and others, the bats being temporarily inconvenienced only. The bats sensed the objects and avoided them, but how is not known. They did not touch but were able to appreciate the presence of an obstacle. The motion of the wings would create air disturbance and a rebound be felt by some sensory organ, but that is hardly likely when we remember that the wings would be driving the air away from the bat. Is it possible that some emanation, energy, or molecular activity can be felt from apparently static objects?

Sexual attraction is a potent force in all animals, and in most instances recognition of sex is due to the employment of normal sense organs. Eye and ear function in birds, and many mammals recognise the opposite sex by scent. The fox, using both nose and ear, broadcasts his desires by vocal expression. Scent and the sense of smell are important in many invertebrates. How far the eye functions in insects and crustaceans we do not know, but experiment proves that in most of these animals the sense of smell is more highly developed than that of either seeing or hearing.

Ornithologists are well aware of an interesting fact, and game-keepers who have killed hawks and owls confirm, that if one of a pair of birds is destroyed during the nesting season the survivor, as a rule, at once obtains a mate to share nidification duties. It does not matter whether the survivor be male or female. No unmated bird may be known in the neighbourhood, but by some means the bird of the required sex is attracted in time to save the family. Large and conspicuous raptorial birds, such as eagles and peregrines, manage to find these mates, though the keepers are sure that no other individual was in the vicinity prior to the tragedy. Some avian S O S appears to be broadcasted.

How is it when any particular food is abundant that gregarious birds appear in abnormal numbers? A good acorn crop means a large immigration of wood pigeons; overabundance of the larvæ of the antler-moth a few years ago attracted immense numbers of starlings, daws, and other birds to the moors. The short-eared owls and kestrels soon learnt that field-voles swarmed during the Scottish plague, and appeared in greater numbers than had been known before. The explanation of the rapid discovery of carrion by the soaring vultures, and of the gathering of titmice when the suet-bag is hung, is that birds keep an eye for one another's move-

ments, and follow when they see purposeful flight. Surely this is a theory founded merely on senses we can understand.

That pheasants have remarkable telacoustic perception was proved by the disturbance in the woods and coverts three or four hundred miles from the Jutland battle. The birds crowed and called with excitement in Lincolnshire, Yorkshire, and Cumberland, and I was fortunate in hearing them in Cheshire. On that Sunday morning in January I was unprepared for such exhibition of apparent vernal excitement, and jotted down my experiences in my pocket-book. A few days later I learnt that birds had been disturbed in many other places. Did they hear sounds that we could not hear, or did they feel them, respond to vibrations?

The complicated sense-organs, the antennæ of insects, have many functions, and not the least important is recognition of sex. Collectors of lepidoptera have long known the trick of "sembling" to obtain a large series of males of certain moths. A virgin female is confined in a gauze cage and placed in an open spot; some emanation attracts males from all directions; they swarm over the cage and can be caught. An impregnated female provides no attraction. Fabre, experimenting with the large emperor moth, came to the conclusion that the attraction was scent, although he found that the males came down wind as readily as up. The idea of wireless electrical vibrations did occur to him, but he rejected it in favour of a sexual effluvium, so powerful that the males could detect it when it travelled against the wind. Wireless telephony had not been perfected when Fabre experimented, or he might have suggested that scent itself could set up energy. The sensitive antennæ may be aërials, they may even be transmitters.

An interesting case of rapid response to sexual attraction was related by an entomological friend, who confirms the fact that our emperor moth will discover a female by coming down wind. He found the cocoon of a six-spot burnet at the moment that a female was forcing her way out. Immediately that her head and antennæ were free a male flew straight to her, and before she had entirely emerged three or four males were crawling over her.

In crustaceans the antennules and antennæ are sense-organs. Dr. H. C. Williamson says that a lobster, when excited by the presence of food, "whips the water with its antennules in a staccato fashion, and feels about with the antennæ and chelæ, at first without leaving its hole. At once both antennules are seen to be whipping in the direction in which the food is lying." The fresh-water crayfish is thought to be attracted to food by the olfactory organs in the antennules, though it is more or less conjecture that these are olfactory organs. A successful crayfish-catcher was sure that when he baited the stream the crayfish came from both above

and below the bait; our present ideas of scent hardly warrant a belief that it could travel against a rapid current.

In planktonic crustaceans are sense-organs the function of which is guessed at but not proved, but it is evident that they can distinguish sex. In rotifers, and some other invertebrates, where the female is attached to some stationary object or lives in a tube and the male is free swimming, the sex attraction must have power; the female may transmit some signal, possibly by vibrations. Creatures whose normal senses are rudimentary may well have highly developed powers of recognising one another's location; they may transmit and receive perceptive signals.

We might go further and cross that ill-defined border-line between the animal and vegetable kingdoms, but speculation has gone far enough. Yet we can imagine that trees and plants may call to their aid by something other than colour and scent the insects on whose fertilising assistance they depend.

We are still on the threshold of knowledge, and like children allow imagination free play. The child imagines many beautiful and some useful thoughts; the child is a dabbler in philosophy. We with our newly discovered mastery of æther vibrations are children playing with a new toy; we imagine that it will perform wonders, and it does. When we see how we can make the toy obey our will we believe that we understand its secrets and say that it is all natural. We cease to wonder.

What are we doing? Calling to our aid electricity and radio activity, harnessing and enslaving extraordinary forces, and our schoolboys talk glibly in technical terms which neither they nor we can define. What is electrical power, what radio energy? What, indeed, is this globe we live on and talk about so lightly? What is the sun that supplies energy and permits life, and what is life itself?

The earth trembles; masterpieces of art and mechanical science fall like a pack of cards, a city, a swarming ant-hill, ceases to be. With quickened breath and throbbing hearts we fear the manifestation of ruthless forces beyond our control. Then we turn to our toys again and exploit the very forces that excited fear. Yet every successful experiment, every realisation of natural laws and forces leads us nearer to the Truth. Each step, even each speculation, may bring fuller knowledge of the great mystery of Life, and help in the solution of the long-hidden Riddle of the Universe.

T. A. COWARD.

THE MAGIC OF WORDS.

THE progress of every human personality seems to depend on the reaction between deliberately acquired knowledge and innate desire to understand that objective experience. Whenever such reaction is intense great art is achieved, and only then, for all artistic expression becomes unsatisfying unless it is the medium for some adequate thought or emotion. Turner's "Interior of Petworth" is something more than a maze of elusive colour; the exquisite balance of themes alone could never make up a Bach fugue; the ethereal gossamer of the *Adonais* fabric is woven round strengthening strands of thought subtile almost to intangibility. Musician, artist, poet, each extols his particular art as being the most adequate means for the interpretation of man's relationship to the mysterious forces about him. While in no sense suggesting the inferiority of other arts for that purpose, let us consider briefly some aspects of that peculiar magic in words that, for some of us, makes a line of essential poetry the highest expression of God within our apprehension. I say "essential" poetry advisedly, because such can exist in entire independence of form or metre. For instance, George Eliot actually confuses the technicalities of language in "Speech is but broken light upon the depth of the unspoken." The sentence is a fragment of orthodox verse; the last two words belong entirely to prose; yet the vital thought is refined almost to poetic sublimation.

The most obvious charm in words is their intrinsic music. Thus an Italian, quite ignorant of our language, selected Pangbourne, pavement, and chasm from a list of words as being the most agreeable in sound—of course quite dissociated from sense. Even more fascinating is the suiting of sound to sense, varying as it does from a mere trick of phrasing, such as "the moan of doves in immemorial elms" to the perfect onomatopœia in *Lycidas*, "grate on their scrannel pipes of wretched straw," which is perhaps the harshest verse in the language. Of yet finer effect is that nicety of choice which puts the right word in the right place, even when no subtle issues of meaning are involved. In his *Kingdom of God* Francis Thompson speaks of the drift of pinions which beat at our own clay-shuttered doors. Suppose he had used the term *flaps*! This intermingling of sound and sense must not be confounded with Swinburne's profound dictum that the sound is the sense: that statement shall bear examination later.

But after one has exhausted the tabulation of language into all the orthodox figures of speech it seems possible further to differentiate our greatest utterances, not yet by division into prose or poetic forms, but by making "Art for Art's sake," and "Art for Life's sake," the basic standpoints of classification. When Macaulay

brilliantly remarks that the Puritans hated bear-baiting, not because it caused pain to the bear, but because it gave pleasure to the spectators, do we not suspect that he is more concerned with the niceties of epigrammatic construction than with the ethics of Cavalier sports—that the artistry might equally well have expounded a greater or a lesser theme? Not so, surely, with Milton's epigram from *Lycidas*, "Blind mouths that scarce themselves know how to hold a sheep-hook." *Blind mouths!* It is a metaphor so daring as to appear at first glance broken, crude, almost gross, yet on more critical examination bearing that inevitability which is the final stamp of perfection. Milton had gathered up his whole spiritual strength into a condemnation of those pastors who, rather than feed the flock, became mouths themselves, and of those bishops who, through love of power rather than insight, became spiritually blind. Life, not Art, is the vital matter here: the corollary would seem to be, therefore, the poet's creative forces—inward energy and outward expression—not only reach the highest plane of language, but are there suspended in the nicest equipoise. Of course, it may be objected that comparison of the two epigrams is unfair, owing to Milton's greater dignity of theme. Such an objection is precisely the point at issue!

While it seems fairly obvious that the greatest literary art is born of the culmination of inward energy and outward expression, the question of equipoise between them demands fuller investigation. In *Locksley Hall* occurs a word-painting of the Pleiades which—

. . . rising through the mellow shade
Glitter like a swarm of fireflies tangled in a silver braid.

Tennyson makes us see them magically, but we see only. Does not Keats take us a little farther into "faery" by his reminder of—

A little noiseless noise among the leaves,
Born of the very sigh that silence heaves?

He may have spent much time and thought on that couplet, and Tennyson may have written spontaneously. That is beside the point: the results do not involve a question of time and labour, but of mental mood. The reader may reasonably object again that such comparisons are unconvincing, and could only be satisfactory if examples were cited of the same theme developed by the artist from the separate standpoints already given as bases of differentiation. Unfortunately, such utterances do not exist, but we are able to compare the Authorised version of the parable, "Consider the lilies of the field, how they toil not, neither do they spin," with James Thomson's grandiose paraphrase of the same.

But the epigram "Blind Mouths" has the further characteristic of embodying a complete fusion of thought and emotion, and this is not necessarily involved in the culmination or equipoise of

inward energy and outward art. It is worth while contrasting Milton's epigram with those of the first stanza in Francis Thompson's *Kingdom of God* :—

Oh world invisible, we view thee.
Oh world intangible, we touch thee.
Oh world unknowable, we know thee.
Inapprehensible, we clutch thee.

These lines seem to lack conscious intellectualism, for if the poet had been most concerned with the artistic value of form he surely would not have finished every verse with the same word: one senses vaguely that a purely intellectual treatment would not have been satisfied with antitheses depending on the mere negating of adjectives, but might have combined them in a Baconian condensation of thought. But note in the second stanza the introduction of a studied intellectual process:—

Does the fish soar to find the ocean,
The eagle plunge to find the air,
That we ask of the stars in motion
If they have rumour of thee there?

Again a series of epigrams, depending this time on more than mere negation, on the sharp contrast of opposites. Is it too much to affirm that in its utter dignity the poem loses no more by lack of "cleverness" in the first stanza than it gains by deliberate intellectuality of expression in the second?

But while the supreme dignity of these utterances bears traces of intentional ornamentation in form, our language has risen to even greater heights where we are unable to define this or that effect in terms of any recognised figure of speech; where, indeed, we may only recognise sublimity, and hold our peace in reverent awe at the immanence of power in words. Consider the extraordinary effect of the commonplace last line in Alice Meynell's *Renouncement* :—

I must not think of thee, and, tired yet strong,
I shun the love that lurks in all delight—
The love of thee

.
But when sleep comes to close each difficult day,
When night gives pause to the long watch I keep,
And all my bonds I needs must loose apart,

Must doff my will as raiment laid away—
With the first dream that comes with the first sleep,
I run, I run, I am gathered to thy heart.

Here is no ingenious manipulation of language: only mysterious relativity of emotion endows the word "run" with the power to forswear all previous renunciation, and the word "gathered" to

embody the irresistible magnetism of the thought of the loved one which "Lies hidden yet bright." This is example *par excellence* of the art which conceals itself, of the beauty of form which is organic, not extrinsic. And, more important, here we find the quintessence of Swinburne's dogma, "the sound is the sense." It is worth while to carry the same line of thought to an examination of that magnificent climax in the visitation of God to Elijah in wind, earthquake, fire, and still small voice; perhaps, with even more appositeness, to St. Paul's mandate to the Ephesians, "Be not drunk with wine wherein is excess, but be filled with the Spirit." How direct those old writers were! Who of our modern epigrammatists would dare place those two ideas in such juxtaposition?

The hypothesis that sublimity of language is only reached when inward energy and outward art are in equipoise goes far towards definition of the essential difference between poetry and prose. Modern writers are endeavouring to break down the barriers between them, in some cases to deny that any exist. But even as the artist only attains the highest expression of which he is capable when his mental energy is fullest, so it would seem that free verse can only be adequate when it epitomises the inevitable transmutation of that energy from the primarily intellectual life of prose to the primarily rhythmic or emotional life of poetry. But it must always be remembered that this rhythmic life of poetry is entirely independent of metre. Consider the verses beginning—

If you're waking call me early, call me early, mother dear.

These are perfectly metrical, but not poetry; whereas Browning's *Abt Vogler* is far less smoothly metrical but instinct with rhythm, the distinction being drawn regardless of theme:—

All we have willed or hoped or dreamed of good shall exist,
Not in semblance, but in itself; no beauty, nor good, nor power
Whose voice has gone forth, but each survives for the melodist,
When eternity affirms the conception of an hour.

Again, this whimsical poetic rhythm will not only evade metrical verse and inhabit literal prose forms, but often plays a will-o'-the-wisp game in a great poem, almost eluding some stanzas, gathering itself together with intensity in others. Who has not read Shelley's *Adonais* with sense of artistic satisfaction as far as—

The One remains, the many change and pass,

and then realised that in this stanza the poem suddenly leaps to a higher altitude in spite of the gaudy simile—

Life, like a dome of many-coloured glass,
Stains the white radiance of eternity?

And again, in Keats's *Ode to the Nightingale*, why, at the fourth stanza, does one draw a fuller breath as at some vast, unexpected vista opening out?

Thou wast not born for Death, immortal bird.
No hungry generations tread thee down.

Those two opening lines throb with the promise of romantic passion; if the last two of the stanza are cut off the reader experiences a mental hunger similar to that engendered by the conclusion of a major scale on the leading note. And are not these sensations but another aspect of that interdependence of theme and rhythm suggested by Swinburne's definition—a far profounder aspect than is involved in the appropriate jingle of sounds in such verses as Southey's *Falls of Lodore*, or Tennyson's *Introduction to the Lotus Eaters*? A further thought from the same viewpoint! It almost seems as though in some poems the very elusiveness of a theme if emotionally regarded may in itself create rhythmic life, and that elaboration may destroy it. Is not this true of Drinkwater's *Moonlit Apples*? One suspects that the concrete definition in—

Deep is the silence, deep, on moonlit apples of wonder

was specially introduced for the reader somewhat dull of soul. In Browning's *Abt Vogler* the poetical process is exactly antithetical. Here the metre is strained to breaking-point, yet the rhythm is untouched. The master may do what he will with words: their response seems to be limitless; but the modern versifier will perhaps do well to remember that while poetry may be incarnate in the freest literary forms, yet the flouting of all literary conventions is not a guarantee of corresponding liberty of poetic energy.

The emotional life of prose is as real as that of poetry. Much has been written on the technicalities of each, but rhythm is so intangibly elusive that no fixed basis of differentiation has been reached. A careful study of our English masterpieces inclines one to think that while the intellect cannot solve it, the problem becomes simplified by the postulating of a necessary fluctuation of relationship between writer and reader, the extremes of which give utterance to rhythm—not metre—of prose or poetry, as the case may be. Consider how the wreck scene in *David Copperfield* strikes a different note from any other chapter in the novel, giving the reader an eerie glimpse of the supernatural. Why? Hitherto the author has been primarily intellectual, emotional often, but the intellect has ruled, balancing each scene, presenting each character with convincing psychology. The reader has been far less intellectual because the thinking has been all done for him: possibly he has been more emotional than the author, reading into each familiar

scene his own experiences, finding the book true or false in so far as he can interpret its setting and people through his own knowledge of life. But in this chapter dealing with the wreck, and death of Steerforth, a change occurs in relative mentality. The author becomes more subtle, more gnomic, more wise; he ignores the reader's intellect and appeals directly to his feelings. Curiously enough, the moment this occurs the reader's feelings are thrust into abeyance, and he meets the author with a quickened intellect. But this intellect is baffled; a sense of mystery is generated; the cast-iron trappings of prose are unloosed. In spite of our slipshod use of the terms "prose poems" and "poetic prose," there is but a short step in fundamentals from Dickens's description of the storm to Byron's noble sea poem, "Roll on, thou deep and dark blue ocean, roll": from Laurence Housman's *Inside Out to Drinkwater's Crowning of Dreaming John*; from Katherine Mansfield's *Life of Ma Parker* to Hood's *Song of the Shirt*.

Still following the same line of thought, is it too presumptuous to suggest that Gray's *Elegy written in a Country Churchyard*, ornate and polished as it is, yet misses the purest rhythmic life because the poet's intellect predominated in its production?

Can storied urn or animated bust
Back to its mansion call the fleeting breath?
Can Honour's voice provoke the silent dust
Or Flattery soothe the dull, cold ear of Death?

That is exquisite verse; surely the following stanza, unhappily so often omitted in modern editions, is something more, is poignant poetry!

There scattered oft, the earliest of the year,
By hands unseen, are showers of violets found.
The redbreast loves to build and warble there,
And little footsteps lightly print the ground.

Intellect alone could never have produced the following of our greatest recorded utterances:—

" . . . We are such stuff
As dreams are made on."

"Our birth is but a sleep and a forgetting."

"Life is a watch and a vision between a sleep and a sleep."

Shakespeare! Wordsworth! Swinburne! And the sublimely significant fact remains that each might have written any of those quotations. The intellects of the masters are sometimes poles asunder; what is the power in this simplest of language which reveals their absolute unity in gnomic essence?

Perhaps the latent power of words is most strikingly illustrated when a slight alteration in the arrangement of a sentence, accord-

ing to simple grammatical rules, can transform a word from relative to absolute value. The word *like* may be an ordinary simile connective, yet when Hamlet, confronting the suggestion of his murdered father's reappearance, mutters "very like, very like," the word becomes the psychological quintessence of supreme tragedy, and more, is untranslatable, because in its absoluteness common to every tongue. Again, Francis Thompson has surely almost achieved the same effect in his usage of "labyrinth," surcharging it with gnomic wisdom in the incomparable line—

I fled Him, down the labyrinthine ways
Of my own mind.

Are all words thus potential, one wonders, only awaiting contact with minds infinitely aware of their possibilities? John Ruskin may have had something of this in mind when he bade his hearers look *intensely* at words; and George Eliot, too, in her invective against the falsity of language. "Oh, Aristotle," she says, "if you had had the advantage of being the 'freshest modern' instead of the greatest ancient, would you not have mingled your praise of metaphorical speech with a lamentation . . . that we can so seldom declare what a thing is, except by saying it is something else?" In his *Ode to the Skylark* Shelley sings of the bird's solitude, comparing it with that of a highborn maiden sacrosanct in purity of love, or of a poet in the light of thought, or of a glowworm radiant in quenching dew, or of a rose embowered in its own green leaves. But do these exquisite analogies really interpret the lark's physical and spiritual plane so profoundly as Wordsworth's simple statement—

A privacy of glorious light is thine?

While it would be something worse than folly to affirm that either poem is greater than the other, the different usages in each of the same words suggests that the Wordsworth *Ode* is truer in its utter simplicity.

The generalisation that poetry adds to the beauty of life is a trite commonplace which means nothing at all. Language is a vital organism inextricably interwoven with the development of its people. When we remember the fierce religious controversies involved in the diverse schools of thought centring round the essential meanings of the theological terms, Sonship, Kingdom, Atonement, we are thankful that the artistry of language must always transcend our conscious knowledge, that the poets themselves are unaware of all they know, that the best songs of the nations are but imperfect echoes from that region just beyond our common life where the very air is music.

HELEN M. ENOCH.

FOREIGN AFFAIRS.

IF further proof were needed, after the experience of the last five years, of the extent to which European diplomacy had "gone to the dogs," it was provided by the events which took place in London in the last fortnight of July and in the first week of August. The reparations conference met at the Foreign Office on July 16th, as the outcome of the careful planning on Mr. MacDonald's part which was recorded here last month. If this conference, it was generally argued, proved a failure, then European diplomacy was indeed bankrupt. Mr. MacDonald had obtained M. Herriot's consent to a well thought scheme, which involved a series of three conferences, the first, then begun, on the application of the Dawes Plan, the second on security and the military question, the third on Inter-Allied debts. The conference which met on July 16th had before it, therefore, the strictly limited agenda of putting the Dawes Plan into operation, and that Plan had been accepted in advance by all the Powers concerned, Allied and German. What more straightforward and simple? As Mr. MacDonald made his opening speech in the room of the Secretary of State at the Foreign Office, only one immediate doubt need have been present in the minds of his hearers: namely, would the Americans play their part? The Dawes Plan relied for much of its efficacy on its proposed device of co-opting an American member to the Reparation Commission for the purpose of establishing the contingency of a "flagrant" default. So long as the Reparation Commission retained its constitution of four members, one British, one French, one Italian, one Belgian, with the French member in the chair disposing of a casting vote, it was impossible for the Dawes Loan of 800,000,000 gold marks (£40,000,000) to be raised; for no investor would be ready to sink his money in a concern which would remain at the mercy of France. When the French delegates crossed the Channel on July 15th, it was an article of faith with them that America would not consent, and the French experts, therefore, with their characteristic sense of detail, brought with them in their portfolios various alternative schemes, such as, that the question of default should be decided by the Finance Committee of the League of Nations on the evidence supplied by the Reparation Commission and on the advice given by the Reparation Commission. M. Herriot was apparently committed by the MacDonald-Herriot memorandum of July 9th to the principle of co-opting an American member to the Reparation Commission, but was not committed to any alternative in case America refused.

It was assumed both by M. Herriot's *entourage* and by the Poincarist Opposition that America would refuse; and the French calculation was that thereupon would begin a diplomatic struggle of the old type. The real danger of this lay in the fact that M. Herriot had brought with him—although it was not shouted from the roof of the Hyde Park Hotel—a juridical *dossier* written by M. Poincaré. M. Poincaré had made it a condition of refraining from the political slaughter of M. Herriot on the eve of the conference that M. Herriot should be guided at the conference by the Poincaré *dossier*.

The conference opened on the morning of July 16th and set up three committees, namely:—

The First (Default) Committee, of which Mr. Snowden was made Chairman, was asked to draw up a recommendation for carrying out Sections (c) and (d) of Article 5 of the Memorandum of July 9th, which ran as follows:—

“(c) The arrangements to be concluded must not diminish the authority of the Reparation Commission. But in view of the fact that some security must be given to the lenders who provide the 800 million gold marks, and to the holders of the economic bonds, the two Governments will unite in an effort to secure the presence of an American on the Reparation Commission in the event of the latter having to consider a default on the part of Germany. If this solution proved impossible and in the event of the members of the Reparation Commission being divided in opinion as to the significance of the facts of the case, the two Governments would recommend that the Reparation Commission should call in the Agent-General of Reparation Payments, who is to be of American nationality.

“(d) The Dawes Report contains provisions to meet minor defaults by means of the various supervisory organisations; but an important wilful default would at once raise the question of Germany's good faith. In the event of the Reparation Commission declaring such a default, the Governments concerned will undertake to confer at once on how to put into operation such measures as they shall agree to take in order to protect themselves and the investors.”

The Second (Economic and Fiscal Unity) Committee which was presided over by Mr. J. H. Thomas had to consider section (e):—

“(e) The plan by which German economic and fiscal unity shall be restored so soon as the Reparation Commission shall have decided that the Dawes Report is in operation, shall be settled at the Inter-Allied Conference. The Reparation Commission will be asked to prepare and present to the Inter-Allied Conference suggestions for such a plan.”

The Third Committee (Transfers and Deliveries in Kind) was presided over by Sir Robert Kindersley, and had to consider:

“(g) In order to take full advantage of the reparation payments provided for in the Experts' Report and to secure that they may benefit the nations interested, the Allies shall appoint a special body to advise the Governments interested what organisation should be set up in each country for putting to proper use the payments made by Germany (in particular by way of transfers and deliveries in kind).”

The committees met at once that afternoon (July 16th). The crucial question on which the immediate prospect of the conference depended was at once put to Colonel Logan, the second delegate of the United States: would America agree to be represented on the Reparation Commission for the purpose of establishing a default? To the astonishment of M. de Peretti della Rocca, the chief French delegate on the committee, he at once answered that his Government would have no objection to such a course. That announcement was one of the most dramatic incidents in the whole series of post-war conferences. It was explained that the United States Government would not itself have the power to nominate the American member without the consent of Congress, which was not to meet till the autumn, and the committee therefore decided to recommend that a private American citizen should be appointed by a unanimous vote of the Reparation Commission, or failing a unanimous vote, by the President of the Permanent Court of International Justice at the Hague.

This development had an interesting effect on the French delegates, experts and journalists. Throughout July 17th they read and re-read the Memorandum of July 9th to make sure that M. Herriot was in fact committed to the scheme of an American member. Finding the words of section (c) of Article 5 explicit enough, they one and all instantly readjusted their whole attitude with an agility such as Frenchmen only are capable of. The Reparation Commission, they decided, was dead. The whole setting of post-war diplomacy was altered. “Pertinax” was admitted by his enemies to be absolutely right in his diagnosis of the facts; and the nightly fury which he thenceforth telephoned to the *Echo de Paris* was perhaps the simplest illustration of what had happened to the Poincaré policy. So quick was the French recognition of the essential fact that on the evening of the very first day of the conference, immediately following on Colonel Logan's announcement, M. Seydoux, the brilliant French expert, and his Belgian colleague, M. Hannecart, drew up a memorandum on the evacuation of the Ruhr. The course of the conference during the next three days represented a spectacle such as we have not seen

since 1919. The competition between the several delegations appeared to be directed, not towards scoring points in antagonistic policies, but towards displaying goodwill and accommodation. By the Saturday evening the First and Third Committees had finished their reports, the First having adopted a proposal made by Mr. Owen Young "between the eggs and bacon" (as the French put it) at Downing Street. His proposal was embodied in clause 3 of the Report. As then drafted (July 19th) the main points of the Report ran:—

"When the Reparation Commission has to decide whether Germany has made default . . . an American citizen appointed in manner hereinafter provided shall take part in the discussion and record his vote as if he had been nominated under paragraph 2 of this Annex.

"The American citizen shall be appointed by unanimous vote of the Reparation Commission within thirty days after the adoption of this amendment.

"In the event of the Reparation Commission not being unanimous, the appointment shall be made by the President for the time being of the Permanent Court of International Justice at The Hague.

"The person appointed shall hold office for five years and may be re-appointed. In the event of any vacancy the same procedure shall apply to the appointment of a successor.

"II. If the Reparation Commission shall find that Germany has made default, the Governments interested, acting with the consciousness of joint trusteeship for the financial interests of themselves and of the persons who advance money upon the lines of the said plan, will confer at once on the nature of the sanctions to be applied and on the method of their rapid and effective application.

"III. In order to secure the service of the loan of 800 million gold marks contemplated by the Dawes Report, and in order to facilitate the issue of that loan to the public, the Allied Powers declare that, in case sanctions have to be applied in consequence of a default by Germany they will safeguard any specific securities which may be pledged to the service of the loan.

"The Allied Powers further consider the service of the loan as entitled to absolute priority in relation to any resources of Germany on which a general lien may have been given to the loan as well as in relation to any resources that may arise as a result of the application of sanctions.

"The Allied Powers agree in addition that, during the currency of the loan, they will not have recourse to sanctions unless the Reparation Commission shall have declared a default within the meaning of Section III. of Part I. of the Dawes Report, by a reasoned decision after taking the opinion of the Agent-General for Reparation Payments and of a Representative of the foreign bond-holders.

"IV. Unless otherwise expressly stipulated in the above paragraphs all the existing rights of the Signatory Powers under the Treaty of Versailles read with the Dawes Report are reserved."

The precise difference between the original British proposal for safeguarding the interests of the investors and the Owen Young proposal which was adopted may be put in this way. The British safeguard would prevent the precipitate or unfair establishment of a default and the consequent sanctions which might damage the investors' interests, by stipulating that no sanctions could be taken unless the decision of the Reparation Commission establishing the default were agreed to by the American Agent-General of Payments and by the Bondholders' Trustee, who, of course, would have their own evidence to go on. The American safeguard would consist in the incorporation in the protocol of the Conference of an undertaking by the German Government to give priority over every other State obligation to the Bondholders' claims in any contingency, including that of a default, so that the bondholders' security would be untouched in any event.

On Sunday, July 20th, the initial impetus of the Conference met its first obstacle. The obstacle arose in the work of the Second Committee over the recommendations for the evacuation of the Ruhr. The day before, two sub-committees had been set up, one to deal specially with the Seydoux-Hannecart memorandum, the other with the question of the Ruhr railways. It was the latter sub-committee which on Sunday, July 20th, decided that it could not reach agreement—the first formal disagreement at the conference—and that the question must be referred back to the full committee.

THE RUHR RAILWAYS.

The difficulty then found to be insuperable had an important bearing on the whole work of the conference. The French delegation had proposed, even after the economic evacuation of the Ruhr, and after the restoration of German "economic and fiscal unity" to retain a nucleus of 3,000 French and 1,000 Belgian railwaymen to work the strategic lines on which the Franco-Belgian troops stationed on the left bank of the Rhine depended for their communications. The French argument in support of their proposed arrangement was somewhat as follows: the present conference had been called for the exclusively economic purpose of putting the Dawes Plan into operation. It had been agreed at Chequers on June 22nd that the military aspect of the Ruhr occupation should be reserved for treatment at a subsequent conference at which the co-ordinated question of security would be considered. It was impossible for France to give up the military occupation of the Ruhr without some alternative guarantee of French security. Granted, therefore, that the French and Belgian troops had to remain provisionally on the left bank, it was a clear matter of military routine that their lines of communication should be safeguarded. A

lightning strike on the part of the German railwaymen, whether carried out for that precise purpose or not, would immediately paralyse the occupying troops. The French proposal, therefore, was that a joint force of 4,000 French and Belgian railwaymen should work side by side with the German railwaymen to prevent sabotage, and in a crisis to prevent a stoppage of the lines.

The British objection to this proposal was two-fold: (1) that the proposed organisation, given the state of feeling between the Germans and the French, must inevitably lead to friction and jeopardise the smooth working of the whole Dawes Plan; (2) that the German Government, whether rightly or wrongly, could argue the arrangement to be a formal breach of the Dawes undertaking. The point therefore could not be settled in the sub-committee.

THE BANKERS AND SECURITY.

As it never rains but it pours, a still more threatening storm blew up on the following day. Mr. Snowden, as Chairman of the First Committee, held an interview with Mr. Montagu Norman and Mr. Lamont, as representing the London and New York Banks, to ask their opinion on the First Committee's Report. Within twenty-four hours the bankers threw the conference into confusion. For the rest of the week the formal work of the conference was eclipsed by the direct negotiations between the politicians and the bankers. The second phase of the conference thereby started was as remarkable in its way as the first, which had promised such speedy success. So far as its purely diplomatic and Allied aspect was concerned the work of the conference was as good as over, and the achievements reached in the first four days proved to be a true criterion of what was to follow. M. Herriot had in effect undertaken to reverse the Poincaré policy, which had blocked all avenues to settlement; the economic evacuation of the Ruhr was assured; the Reparation Commission had ceased to be an instrument in French hands. But the question of the military occupation of the Ruhr proved to be a dangerously thin patch in the scheme.

The mere fact that the British and American bankers threw doubt on the security for the loan offered by the report of the First Committee was serious, because the private investor was less likely to subscribe if he thought the bankers were sceptical. There was the further and more important difficulty that the bankers, in the last resort, have the whip hand in any scheme which concerns international finance. The politicians soon discovered this, if they did not already know it, when they argued that the floating of the loan need not affect the banks, for so small a loan could be raised easily, they thought, from the private investors

here and in America. It soon became clear that the responsibility of the banks could not be thus confined to issuing the prospectus. Even if the loan were underwritten by the Stock Exchange underwriters in the two countries, they would be dependent, to some extent, on the promise of bank overdrafts. By July 27th, there was a general impression that the American bankers were less disposed even than the British bankers to take the risk.

In the course of the discussions which were held between the bankers and the "Big Five"—namely the political chiefs of the British, French, Italian, Belgian, and American delegations—many alternative schemes were evolved for reconciling the draft report of the First Committee with the demand of the bankers for security. Some of the schemes were good, and some bad. M. Theunis assumed with alacrity his accustomed rôle of mediator-in-chief. He suggested first that a small committee of experts drawn from the fifteen experts who constituted the Dawes and McKenna Committees should be consulted by the Reparation Commission before a default could be established; in other words, that Article 3 of the draft report of the First Committee should be amended by the substitution of such experts for the two persons—namely the Agent General of Payments and the bondholders' representative—named in the draft. That obviously failed to meet the bankers' objection, and M. Theunis went on to suggest that a committee of five Dawes and McKenna experts be formed, who should have delegated to them by the several Allied Governments the full authority to discharge the functions laid down in the notorious Articles 17 and 18 of Annex 2 to Part VIII. of the Treaty of Versailles. That was a drastic proposal, which went to the root of the matter; for one of the basic objections of the bankers was that the French Government had not yet abandoned its claim to the right of taking separate sanctions against Germany. Article 17 of the Treaty gave to the Reparation Commission the duty of establishing a default:—"In case of default by Germany in the performance of any obligation under this part of the present Treaty, the Commission will forthwith give notice of such default to each of the interested Powers, and may make such recommendations as to the action to be taken in consequence of such default as it may think necessary." If a default were established, it would become the duty of the Governments to decide the sanctions to be taken in such a contingency:—

"The measures which the Allied and Associated Powers shall have the right to take, in case of voluntary default by Germany, and which Germany agrees not to regard as acts of war, may include economic and financial prohibitions and reprisals, and in general such other measures as the respective Governments may

determine to be necessary in the circumstances." (Article 18). The word "respective" ("respectifs" in the French text of the Treaty), has been responsible for more trouble in Europe than the whole of the rest of the Versailles Treaty. The French Government used it to justify the occupation of the Ruhr, and it has been the sheet-anchor of the whole Poincaré policy. It was realised at the London Conference that if M. Theunis's proposal were accepted, and a committee of Dawes experts had the final competence to decide the measures provided for in Articles 17 and 18, then the question of separate sanctions could never again arise. One of the mysteries of the conference is that the New York bankers at first apparently failed to see the point; or were they, at that time, averse to the Dawes loan, even with the fullest possible political securities? At any rate they did not clinch the Theunis formula. M. Herriot gloomily declared that so far as he personally was concerned, he would accept it, as he had already accepted so much in the interests of a settlement; but doubted if his acceptance of it would have any other effect than his own supersession in the French Prime Ministership by M. Poincaré. As the formula was never accepted by New York, the soundness of M. Herriot's comment was never tested.

M. Theunis made a further suggestion which was not up to the level of his usual sagacity. He suggested that, to save M. Herriot's political skin and to satisfy New York at one and the same time, he should withdraw his second, and modify his first formula thus: the Dawes and McKenna experts should have a consultative capacity only, but if any Allied Government, being dissatisfied with a decision of the Reparation Commission on the question of sanctions, decided to use its powers under Article 18 of Annex 2 to Part VIII. of the Treaty of Versailles, and to take separate sanctions, then that Allied Government should automatically become responsible for guaranteeing the service of the German loan. This became one of the great jokes of the Conference. Obviously, if the proposal were accepted, the German Government, after receiving the 800,000,000 gold marks loan, need only default and force France into taking separate sanctions, and the loan would become a gift, the subsequent responsibility for interest and capital being transferred from Berlin to Paris. The French experts swiftly killed the formula and nothing more was heard of it.

At the end of a further week of private discussion between the bankers and the political chiefs the danger of failure became serious; for the delays themselves were having a disastrous effect in more than one respect. The blasting operations of Pertinax and his friends were having an effect, although the *Petit Parisien* did its best to counter them by a steady tone of confidence. Once the

minds of conference delegates are bent on discovering difficulties, instead of concentrating on finding points of agreement, their work becomes singularly fruitful. For instance, on July 27th, the bankers and the politicians between them hit on a glorious obstacle. The Second Committee had by then decided to recommend that the economic evacuation of the Ruhr should be completed by October 15th. "What would be the position," asked the intelligent mischief makers, "after October 15th if the Franco-Belgian military occupation was still in being?" The answer was easy. The position would be that separate sanctions would be out of order, and if the German Government on October 16th protested against the existing military occupation, it would be at least embarrassing for the Reparation Commission to argue that the question had been reserved for the next Allied Conference, that which is to deal with security.

Mr. MacDonald foresaw this difficulty at Chequers on June 22nd, but deliberately took the risk on the opportunist ground that the best hope of a European settlement was through a series of conferences on a restricted agenda—(1) Reparations, (2) Security, (3) inter-Allied Debts—rather than through a comprehensive conference of the Genoa type.

A week earlier the report of the First Committee had been regarded as reducing to a minimum the risk of the military question causing trouble between the holding of the Reparations Conference and that of the Security Conference, for with an American representative on the Reparation Commission it seemed that the occupation of the Ruhr, military as well as economic, was doomed. The inference was indeed borne out by the French comment of every shade, the French Press being unanimous in its opinion that the military occupation of the Ruhr was finished except as a lever for extracting concessions on security and inter-Allied debts at the subsequent conferences. Thin ice, however, must be skated over quickly, and the delays at the Conference in this case strained it to breaking point. Mr. MacDonald's chief lever had been that of a new spirit of confidence. The doubts thrown on the First Committee's report by the bankers damaged that confidence, and the same tendency which made Mr. MacDonald raise the military issue behind the scenes made M. Herriot less inclined to meet the British view.

In one sense the bankers had emulated the philosophy of M. Poincaré. He, in his scared pursuit of security, destroyed the very foundations of security. They, pursuing financial security for the loan to the last degree of timidity, almost destroyed the confidence which was their main asset. "Pressing" is a mistake which sometimes defeats its object in other spheres besides golf.

In the case of the bankers, however, it can never be established whether they did eventual good or bad, for it is impossible to know what course the conference would have taken in the alternative.

Once the military question was raised it had to be thrashed out. It led to one historic stroke of irony. The French and Belgian military experts drew up an elaborate plan for the military evacuation of the Ruhr. When M. Herriot was on the point of presenting it to the "Big Seven"—for the general staff of the conference had now been expanded by the addition of the Belgian Finance Minister and the Japanese delegate—he received a letter from (of all people) M. Léon Blum, the leader of the French Socialists, threatening to withdraw the support of the Socialist party if M. Herriot agreed to evacuate the Ruhr without obtaining some solid compensation! The Prime Ministership of France is an embarrassing job.

An incidental complication was brought about by the publication on July 19th of Mr. MacDonald's letter rejecting the League of Nations Treaty of Mutual Assistance, although its content could cause no surprise to the French delegation. The complication was mostly a matter of internal policy in Great Britain. The subject was discussed by Mr. MacDonald and M. Herriot at Chequers on June 22nd. What Mr. MacDonald then said was said informally, and no minute was kept of it on the British side. I understand, however, that he told M. Herriot that in his view the League Treaty was not the right method for achieving security. His own plan, he added, was to stamp out the causes of war by regional campaigns. The present series of Allied Conferences may be regarded as one step. By settling the question of reparations and security some seeds of war between Germany and France will be destroyed. Then the Balkans, for instance, will have to settle their diplomatic conflicts with the help of the big Powers; then Poland and Lithuania; then Russia and Rumania, and so on. Mr. MacDonald's idea amounts to this: that where you have the predisposing causes of war, you will have war, and no League treaty will stop it. If I am correctly informed—as I believe I am—in giving this as Mr. MacDonald's policy, it marks an important phase of Britain's foreign policy. Its practical bearing on the present series of Allied Conferences was that the second conference, that on security, need not wait for the League Assembly in September. Mr. MacDonald would have rather the security conference could take place before the League Assembly takes place, so that if an agreement be reached it would pave the way for Germany's admission to the League. The delays in the reparation conference made that impossible.

On July 30th something at last happened at the conference

which gathered together a little the scattered threads. The French and Belgian delegations presented a proposal for the settlement of the default and sanctions question, and M. Herriot allowed it to be known that this would be his last word on the subject. The main details of it were as follows:—

Article 1. If, in conformity with the reparation clauses of the Treaty of Versailles and of the Dawes Plan, the Reparation Commission established a default but failed to reach unanimity, each Allied Government would be entitled to ask for arbitration within eight days. In that case a Committee of Arbitrators consisting of three members would be appointed for five years by the Reparation Commission, or, if the Reparation Commission failed to reach unanimity, the appointment should be made by the World Court at The Hague. The President of this Committee of three arbitrators should be an American. For the purpose of establishing a default an American member should be co-opted on the Reparation Commission, as already arranged. The Committee of Arbitrators should have full competence to decide the issue after taking into consideration the joint trusteeship of the Powers on behalf of the bondholders.

Article 2. Re the Transfer of Deliveries: If any defect be found in the working of the Dawes Plan, and if it became necessary to counteract any German manoeuvres as foreshadowed in paragraph 8 of annex 6 of the Dawes Report (which dealt with attempts to deceive in the matter of transfer), each Government would be entitled to request the Reparation Commission to open an inquiry to put an end to such manoeuvres. If the Reparation Commission or the German Government declared that the question was not within the competence of the Reparation Commission, or if the Reparation Commission be not unanimous, a Committee of Arbitrators consisting of three members should be appointed for five years either by the Reparation Commission, if unanimous, or by the German Government, or if the Reparation Commission be not unanimous, or if the German Government did not agree, then the appointment should be made by the President of the Court at The Hague. The Chairman of this Committee of Arbitrators should be an American.

That French proposal led to intensive discussions, which came to a head on Saturday, August 2nd. On that day, largely as a result of Mr. MacDonald's dogged refusal to accept defeat, the Allies came to an agreement on the proposals which the Allies were to present for Germany's approval and acceptance. The full details were published that evening in a long official statement, and will be found incorporated in the final Protocol and Annexes. The German delegates were at once summoned to London.

Thereby began a new chapter in the history of the conference, which proved to be as long as the chapter just closed. During the transition, and while the German delegates were on their way to London, Mr. MacDonald made a cheerful statement to the House of Commons (Monday, August 4th), showing himself to be so determinedly cheerful that the fusillade of awkward questions to which he was submitted failed to produce the slightest embarrassment. The German delegation, headed by the Imperial Chancellor, Herr Marx, the Foreign Minister, Herr Stresemann, and the Finance Minister, Herr Luther, arrived at Liverpool Street Station on the morning of August 5th, armed with voluminous counter-proposals on such fruitful subjects as the prolongation of the military occupation of the Ruhr and the retention of the French and Belgian railwaymen. It was at such a moment as this that the method, as opposed to the content of diplomacy, assumed a dominant importance. The Germans were stiff and on the defensive, very sensitive of their right to be heard at length. On the other side nerves were already a bit brittle, had produced a peremptory disposition, and an impatient anticipation of the end of the conference. The hobnobbing method of Mr. MacDonald was undoubtedly a more useful method in such conditions than would have been, for instance, the more pontifical and unbending attitude which would, perhaps, have been adopted by Lord Curzon. The smoking-room atmosphere which greeted Herr Marx and his colleagues when they reached Downing Street certainly seemed to thaw and reassure them. There was thus a better chance of averting a rupture under the inevitable shock of Franco-German collisions.

Collisions came quickly enough. On August 6th, the Germans presented their reasoned objections to the Allied proposals, in particular objecting to the continued military occupation of those districts which had been occupied without the authority of the Treaty of Versailles, and to the retention of the French and Belgian railwaymen, on the ground that this would be a violation of the Dawes plan. For the rest of the week, private exchanges of view took place, mainly between the French and Belgian delegations on the one hand, and the Germans on the other, on the subject of the military evacuation, although, ironically enough, the conference proper continued to buttress up the fiction that the military aspect of the Ruhr occupation was outside the scope of the conference. The truth was, of course, that nothing else of importance was discussed during the second half of the conference.

The conference suspended its sittings during the week-end—August 9th to 11th—while M. Herriot returned to Paris to consult his Cabinet. The consultation was somewhat lively, beginning

at 10 p.m. on August 9th, and ending at 1.30 a.m. on the following morning. The struggle, of course, was between the military point of view of General Nollet, who is not only M. Herriot's War Minister, but was formerly President of the Inter-Allied Commission, and the political point of view of M. Herriot himself. General Nollet's restraint, helped by the habitual moderation and gentleness of Marshal Foch, averted a ministerial crisis and the break-up of the London conference to which it must have led. M. Herriot returned to London, having carried his Cabinet with him in his contention that the occupation of the Ruhr must be used as an economic and not as a military pawn in the settlement.

None the less, M. Herriot's insistence on the prolongation of the military occupation for twelve more months, and the natural resentment which this produced in the German delegation, brought the conference to a serious deadlock on August 13th. For the next two days the German delegation was in almost continuous communication with Berlin, and Herr Marx warned M. Herriot that there was little chance of the twelve months' formula being accepted either by ministerial opinion in Berlin or by general opinion in Germany. In the end, however, on Friday, August 15th, the Germans capitulated and accepted under protest. The conference ended on the following day, when the final Protocol and its four Annexes were accepted. They were not signed, however, because the French and German delegations chose to seek the formal approval of their Parliaments first. It was therefore arranged that the delegation should return to London at a later date to sign the Treaty. The salient points of the Agreement are these:—

The Protocol proper merely declares that the Signatory Powers and the Reparation Commission have come to certain agreements which are detailed in the Annexes.

ANNEX I. is a Statement of the Agreement reached on August 9th between the Reparations Commission and the German Government, about the practical measures necessary for inaugurating the Dawes plan.

ANNEX II. amends the Reparation Clauses of the Treaty of Versailles by six stipulations:—

1. Re the form of arbitration between the Reparation Commission and Germany about the interpretation of this agreement, the Dawes plan or the German legislation it involves. Three arbitrators are to be appointed for five years, one by the Reparation Commission, one by Germany, and one, who shall act as President, either by agreement between the parties or by the President of the World Court.

2. If there is dispute as to the programme [of deliveries] either within the Reparation Commission or between the Reparation Commission and Germany, an Arbitral Commission of three independent persons is to lay down programmes for defined periods. This Arbitral Commission shall also decide, on the complaint of an Allied Government,

whether there has been wilful discrimination or obstruction by the German Government or German suppliers.

[3, 4, and 5 are here omitted.]

6. If any Government considers that a defect in the technical working of the Dawes plan exists, it may submit the question to the Reparation Commission, which shall submit it to a Committee of the five officials set up by the plan. If after hearing the opinion or opinions of this Committee the Reparation Commission is not unanimous or the German Government does not agree to the unanimous decision of the Reparation Commission, the question may be submitted to three independent and impartial experts chosen in default of agreement by the President of the World Court.

ANNEX III. Agreement between Allied Governments and Germany.

This puts into the form of an agreement the report of the second committee of the Conference.

Article I. says that :—

A. The Dawes plan will be considered to have been put into execution when :—

1. Germany has taken the following measures :—

- (a) Passage by Reichstag and promulgation of laws necessary for working of plan.
- (b) Installation of executive and controlling bodies provided for in plan.
- (c) Constitution of the bank and German railway company provided for in plan.
- (d) Deposit with the trustees of certificates representing railway bonds and such industrial debentures as organisation committees may suggest.

2. Contracts for the 800 million gold-mark loan have been fulfilled.

B. Fiscal and economic unity of Germany will be considered to have been restored when Allied Governments have taken the following measures :—

1. Restoration to German administration of the power which it enjoyed in occupied territories prior to January 11th, 1923.
2. Restoration to owners of all industrial and other undertakings exploited by Allies since January 11th, 1923.
3. Withdrawal of organisations established for exploitation of pledges.
4. Removal subject to Rhineland Agreement of restrictions on the movement of persons, goods and vehicles.
5. Readjustment in interests of German fiscal and economic unity of ordinances passed by Rhineland High Commission since January 11th, 1923.

[Articles II. to X. are here omitted.]

ANNEX IV. Agreement between Allied Governments.

Article I. provides for :

(1) An American citizen to sit on Reparation Commission when Commission considers anything arising out of Dawes plan.

The American citizen to be appointed by unanimous vote of Reparation Commission, and in default by President of World Court.

(2) Appointment of Arbitral Commission by same means before which

decisions of Reparation Commission regarding German default may be brought if the decision has not been reached by unanimous vote of Commission.

(3) In case of default Reparation Commission may take the Allies' recommendation as to action to be taken.

Article II. Sanctions will not be applied unless flagrant default has been established.

In case of flagrant default Allies shall confer as to nature of sanctions.

Article III. In case of sanctions Allies will safeguard specific securities pledged to service of loan. Service of loan to have absolute priority as regards any moneys of Germany so far as such moneys have been subjected to general charge in favour of the loan, and also as regards any resources that may arise as a result of imposition of sanctions.

Article IV. Any dispute arising out of Articles II. or III. can be submitted to World Court.

While the conference did good work and was a technical success it cannot be regarded as an unqualified success. There is nothing to be gained perhaps in dwelling too much on the dangers inherent in the continued military occupation of the Ruhr for another monstrous twelve months; but wise men, of course, are constrained to postpone their congratulations for precisely that period.

One of the remarkable features of the conference was the loyalty with which the French delegation stood by the French acceptance of the Dawes Plan. "Le Plan Dawes" became in fact as much of a juridical fetish as the Treaty of Versailles had been. French opinion had battled against the Dawes Plan on the ground that it was a modification of the Treaty of Versailles; once, however, the plan became an accepted instrument, its literal execution became a matter of French honour. A French ironist remarked with much wisdom: "Two years hence M. Poincaré will have the text of 'Le Plan Dawes' before him and will be quoting Article so-and-so, paragraph so-and-so, in opposition to a British attempt to revise the Plan."

The French sense of detail was illustrated as much in this latest conference as in any of its predecessors. Every night the French correspondents telephoned to Paris long and elaborate accounts of the day's work which no English reader would ever have read. The *Petit Parisien*, for instance, had three correspondents, MM. Jullien, Massip and Dupierreux, who between them supplied an average of four columns a day, characterised by accuracy and completeness. Probably 99 per cent. of the population of England never even heard that an Inter-Allied conference was sitting in London, and would not have wanted to hear more, if they had. In France 50 per cent. of the population eagerly scanned their papers every morning to find out exactly what had happened in the various conference committees the day before. French detail and British mists are one of the fundamental problems of European diplomacy.

MEMEL CONVENTION RATIFIED.

An official telegram from Kaunas (Kovno) reached the Lithuania Legation in London on July 30th, stating that on that day the Lithuanian Parliament (Seimas) had held a special session and had ratified the Memel Convention. The Lithuanian ratification was the only remaining formality to be carried out before the Convention could become operative. The full story of the Memel negotiations has been given in this section of THE CONTEMPORARY REVIEW (April, 1924, pp. 514-523; May, pp. 645-648; June, pp. 790-1). It was in December last that the Memel question was referred to the League of Nations by the Ambassadors' Conference. A special commission of the League, which had Mr. Norman Davis as Chairman, visited the spot and drafted the Convention, which was signed in Geneva in March by the British and Lithuanian representatives. After the Ambassadors had then held it up for several weeks by objecting to the grammar of the draft, it was signed by the Allied Powers and Lithuania in May. It is now ratified. One result is that credentials will now be accepted in London from the Lithuanian representative, and in Kovno from the British representative, and for the first time in history there will be a Lithuanian Minister in London.

LONGING FOR PEACE IN NEAR EAST.

Experienced observers who have lately returned from visiting the Near East, as for instance Mr. Pember Reeves, testify to the longing for peace which is felt by the rank and file of the peoples there. This longing has been specially evident in the case of the Greek people, which fact makes it all the more deplorable that the Athens politicians cannot refrain from their recriminations and upheavals. What is wanted more than anything in Greece is a truce from politics, and an opportunity for quiet consolidation. Even on political grounds the chief need of the Republican constitution so lately adopted is for a burial of the hatchet. The overthrow of the Papanastasiou Government with its resultant crises is all wrong, and does Greece no good either at home or abroad. The desire to settle down has been evinced almost as strongly in Turkey as in Greece. The Turkish press has lately reflected a strikingly chastened state of mind, due, no doubt, to the increasing difficulties which confront the Angora Government. It was one thing to bluff the Allies into reversing the Treaty of Sèvres and putting Turkey into the virtual position of victor. It is an entirely other thing to attempt constructive statesmanship, especially when by the Treaty of Lausanne the Turkish territories have been deprived of their Greek elements, which were the only elements capable of developing those territories.

GEORGE G. G. ASGOW.

LITERARY SUPPLEMENT.

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THE CONVERSION OF DAVID JAMES.

IT was years ago that this particular manifestation took place in the pleasant plain of mid-west England. It was in the first week of September, and the great heat of August had hardly abated. Though the summer had been hot there had been sufficient rain to keep the pastures and the wide orchards green, and perhaps no pleasanter sight could be imagined than the wide lands of Mr. David James, the rich farmer, who was a sort of economic king ruling over a contented peasantry. British names abounded, and the broad faces of the people proclaimed a Celtic ancestry. They lived indeed amid broad acres and retained the stamp of freedom that the Saxon population, East and North-East, had lost. The Danes brought a new sense of peasant freedom, and carried it across the land even into South Wales, but the freedom of the Mid-West owed nothing to the newcomers. It was older than the Saxon freedom that the coming of feudalism had destroyed. These men were Brythons by stock, and stood and stand jealously by the common lands that were the ancient tribe mark of their prehistoric occupation of these green and pleasant lands. They were far enough from the Welsh border to be free of the harryings of the Marches, and knew nothing of the servile *trevs* or villages that were a feature of old Wales.

One slavery or serfdom they knew, and perhaps still know in dwindling fashion, the bondage of superstition. There were people

in possession whom the Brythonic Celts did not wholly eject, devil-worshippers of neolithic stock, strange non-Aryan tribes who gave something of their customs, something of their superstitions, to the newcomers. The witches of the West, the governance by women, the succession of youngest daughters, the knowledge and worship of devils that Saxon and Dane strove to stamp out, were the gift of these elder peoples, and traces still survive of all these things in lonely regions that even the advent of the motor-car has not wholly swept away.

There is something in the loneliness of Nature, even if it be fruitful, peaceful, untroubled Nature, that calls to mind that sense of unseen realities which is too often obscured in the busy hives of men. Communion with Nature, if it is not tainted, may bring forth, must, one would think, bring forth, the vision glorious of life that is not the peon of death. But such communion may be, and in most primitive communities is, tainted by the sense of Fear, which transforms, as a projection of actual calamities, the Sons of the Morning into the Daughters of Night. The conquest of this sense of Fear is the true business of education and civilisation, but the achievement comes slowly, and meantime we, by our very fear, create human devils and worship big devils such as Beelzebub and Mammon, and incidentally local little fellows such as the Rick Demon who played with the soul of David James, sometime freeholder of Meothorp farm and churchwarden of Baston.

Prosperity and kindness were the note of David James's life. Everything he touched, everybody that he stood by, prospered. A large, grave, kindly man with a fine and resourceful mind, he prospered by sheer devotion to work, attention to the myriad details of his duties, and by a large outlook on the principles that underlay all his ventures. Land that was derelict, that no man could farm, became, when he bought it for a song, fruitful beyond all reasonable measure. The secret was simple enough: he put his brains and his character into the land, in other words drained it, ploughed it, dunged it, chose crops for it, and loved it. His neighbours did not envy him, for they knew him, but secretly they said that it was a matter of magic, white magic, no doubt, but magic clearly enough. How otherwise could No Man's Land of thirty years before be the vast fruitful apple orchard that it was? How was it that the Devil's Triangle, forty acres of derelict bog, had become the finest grass land between Worcestershire Beacon and the Black Mountains? David James had no enemies, else these things and many other things might have been thought strange indeed. To some minds his prosperity, his Olympian serenity and kindness became objects of Fear. David James sometimes feared his own prosperity, prosperity in flocks and herds, in arable and pasture, in orchard, hops

and bees, and above all prosperity and exceeding happiness in that grange of his, the cheeriest of homes. He had, moreover, a Fear that transcended this vague fear of too much quiet success. To be frank, David James, godly man though he was, a stern upholder of the Established Church, an ideal churchwarden, and the very standby of the new rector, was afraid not of devils in general, in whom he disbelieved, nor of *the* Devil, in whom, as in duty bound, he officially believed, but of one special local pest, the Rick Demon. Reason with himself as he might, scornfully as he put from himself the absurdity, yet there, staring him in the face whenever he looked in a glass, was the ineradicable Fear of the Rick Demon. His father, his forebears for untold generations, had fought this fiend. The Rick Demon, say what one would, laugh how one could, was, deny it how one should, a reality.

His wife knew his secret Fear and fought for him and with him. His children had the Fear, though how they had it he knew not, for he never spoke before them of that strange brown-faced, misshapen figure in the red cap and farm clothes which haunted and destroyed the ricks at nightfall. They had the Fear and talked of it in secret. Little David, indeed, had seen the creature milking a cow in open afternoon, had shouted at him, and had seen him flee with hands held up to heaven. He told his father and his father was angry. It was Brian Lee the gipsy, he told the children. But from that hour he became gloomy, and it was not till the following Sunday, after a heart-to-heart talk to the parson, that he became cheery and hopeful again. The Rev. Henry Taylor whistled to himself after the interview. How could such a man believe such a thing? he said to himself. And yet he himself was destined almost to believe in the Demon that very day. Farmer James, arrayed in his very best Sunday clothes, and all his family attended church, but he was not to take the plate round that Sunday. Mr. Taylor, being determined to break down local superstition, was dealing with the Witch of Endor in decisive fashion from the pulpit when a farm-hand crept round to the churchwardens' pew and whispered to Mr. James. With an alacrity unusual in so robust and steadfast a man the farmer left the church, and the preacher saw that something had happened.

David James that morning had examined his hay ricks, a noble group of golden grass. There was no fear of over-heating. The grass was fully sun dried before the ricks had been built. They stood on a little elevation, and were a monument to the industry of the farmer. All was well at eleven o'clock, and yet the news that was brought to the church was that the central stack was on fire in half a dozen places and that all the golden store was in danger. David James's almost unreasonable fears and continual pre-

cautions were not only justified but were, as he had felt that they would be, useless. Ricks can be fired by careless tramps smoking, by reckless children striking matches, by almost inconceivable accidents such as a bit of broken bottle-glass acting as a burning glass, by arson, and by Rick Demons. Among the farmer's precautions was a fire pump and hose, fed from a huge pond. The hose was already at work before the farmer reached his ricks. The news spread, but before the congregation followed by Mr. Taylor reached the spot all possible action had been taken, and it looked as if the fire had been conquered. The parson and the farmer exchanged glances. What explanation could there be but one? The only stranger in the parish was the kindly gypsy little David had seen; accident had been eliminated; all was well as the church bell was sounding. The explanation of arson was as absurd as that of heating. The rick was still slowly smoking, but all active flame was extinguished before the farmer went to dinner, leaving the hose still in action. He was to be called if there were fresh developments.

The children were at Sunday School when the call came. The rick had suddenly burst into flames from its very heart, and ere David James had reached the spot a pillar of smoke rose into the sky and warned the whole countryside. The stack was beyond salvation, and in a moment, the result of wind it was thought at first, a second and even nobler stack burst into fire; but it was noticed quickly that the fire began on the side remote from the furnace of the first stack; then a third stack on the windward side ignited and soon it was plain that no amount of water could save much of these stacks. What could be saved was saved. They were pulled to pieces and a great field was spread with fragments. The only hope was that the wind would not change, and that the seven other stacks would be saved. David James, now that the worst could be faced, resumed his natural calm. The whole community was at salvage work, and the order had gone forth to unbuild the stack that lay nearest to the first victim, to guard against a change of wind and to carry the clean hay to a safe field, when this rick too was found to be on fire at a point facing the wind, and away from the danger point.

"Do you believe now?" said the farmer to the parson. "I do not," said the parson stoutly, but his face betrayed his words. He said evensong to himself and his family that evening, and the service was unadorned by a sermon. As Mr. Taylor went back to the farm he literally prayed for power to unravel the mystery. If it were not unravelled, superstition of the direst kind would devastate not only his parish, but the whole countryside. When he got to the scene, five great stacks were blazing, a pillar of fire

that could be seen for many a mile. The event, in his mind, was explicable only by arson or by devilry. The Fear had reached his mind, but he was determined to exhaust the possibility of arson before he took to prayers against devils. As he hurried along the great field he stumbled on something, and bent down and picked it up.

Meantime the scene of the fire was one that was unforgettable: the hissing of the water on the hay, the gradually apparent conquest of the flames by the flow of water, the deep guttural voices of the men at work, the orderly direction of the work by the farmer, still in his Sunday clothes, the *chiaroscuro* effects of light and shade, the groups of children, the far-off neighing of horses which sounded like the laughter of fiends, the uprising of the moon, the sense of Fear stamped on every face as the fire light fell on workers and spectators alike. It was a veritable fight with the powers of hell and darkness. Yet David James, knowing the worst, had lost all fear. His fathers had fought the Rick Demon successfully, and he was going to do the same. His was the one placid face lit with a new nobility of action as he fought hell and all its powers. Mr. Taylor saw the look as he came up to the farmer. "Can I have a moment alone with you, Mr. James? I want to show you something. The only devil in this tragedy is a human devil." Before the farmer could answer a shriek of horror went up from spectators and workers alike. Standing upright on the furthest stack, outlined against the moon, was a horned figure of singular horror shouting and waving a blazing stick. "Shoot it!" shouted a number of voices. "No, no," said the farmer. "Take a ladder and see what harm he has done, and bring the creature here if you can." Then he turned to the rector. "Well, Parson?" he said quietly. "Do you know this?" and Mr. Taylor pointed to a great tin receptacle. "Yes," said the farmer, slowly, "that is where oil for the house is kept. Why is it in the field? Yes, I see. It is not—not—" Mr. Taylor pointed to the struggle in progress on the slopes of the furthest haystack. "We shall soon know." "I know now," said David James with a shudder. "Davie gave me the warning when he told me of the cow and the man milking it. I was mad not to take it, mad to think of Brian Lee. This is the idiot from Greenside. Not altogether an idiot either, for he play acts. He was round at the house singing and dancing at ten this morning." "Well, this is his last act," said Mr. Taylor.

It was a true prophecy, but not quite in the sense that the rector had meant. He only thought of incarceration. The struggle on the stack, already half alight, was brief, and the man with blazing clothes slid to the ground and was picked up dead in the very ecstasy of destruction. His troubled spirit had gone forth in flames,

and going forth had laid the Fear of the Rick Demon. As they carried the body along in the flicker and smoke and dense air out of the field, the faces that watched had lost the Fear, and as the bearers reached an empty cottage down the long road to lay the body in, the moon shone down on a dead face that also had lost that fear of humanity which had made a broken son of man do this dreadful deed.

J. E. G. DE M.

REVIEWS.

THE COUP D'ÉTAT OF 1851.*

The Secret of the Coup d'État is a valuable contribution to our knowledge of an event which led to far-reaching changes of the map of Europe. This handsomely bound, well illustrated, excellently printed, and skilfully edited volume is mainly composed of the correspondence of the Comte de Flahault, whose romantic career as soldier, diplomatist, and lover is sketched for us in Mr. Guedalla's brilliant essay "1851" and Lord Kerry's scholarly Introduction. Flahault, as all the world knew, was a son of Talleyrand, and it was equally little a secret that he and Queen Hortense were the parents of the Duc de Morny. Thus his connection with the Bonaparte family was close enough to make him a figure of some importance, independently of the charm and brains which he possessed. After the military excitements of the First Empire, in which he took an active part, he wooed and won a Scottish heiress and became the father of several daughters, one of whom married the son and heir of the third Lord Lansdowne, "the Nestor of the Whigs." It is this marriage which explains the fact that his correspondence is preserved at Bowood, and that his descendant, the Earl of Kerry, now gives it to the world. It would be pleasant to hear more of the early and middle life of this remarkable man; but the present volume confines itself to the *coup d'état* of 1851. We learn from these pages that Flahault was one of the little band which prepared and carried through the revolution, and we also learn that he, like Morny, quickly realised that the new master of France was a much more selfish and ruthless individual than he had thought. Mr. Simpson has recently advanced all that can be said in excuse for the crime of December 2nd, and the police report printed in this volume clears up a doubtful problem by establishing the number of deaths of the civilian victims of the massacre of December 4th as 215—a far smaller total than that which his arch-

* *The Coup d'État of 1851*. Edited by the Earl of Kerry. (Constable.) 18s.

enemy Kinglake attributed to the perjured adventurer. But there is nothing in these pages to increase our respect for Louis Napoleon. "He has no real friendship for anyone," wrote Morny to Flahault after a few weeks' bitter experience as Minister of the Interior. "Recent events," replied Flahault, "have dispelled the illusion that we inaugurated a happier future on that day." It was the confiscation of the Orleans property which led the son to resign his post and the father to decline a place in the Senate. Among other topics connected with the overthrow of the Second Republic the rumour of an Orleanist *coup* receives fresh confirmation, though perhaps scarcely enough to dispel the doubts with which most historians have regarded it; and some interesting letters of Lord Palmerston, Lord Lansdowne, and Lord John Russell comment on the dismissal of the British Foreign Secretary for his unauthorised approval of the *coup d'état*. Lord Kerry's notes and brief explanations prefixed to many of the letters are models of editorial work, and readers of this delightful volume can best express their gratitude by asking for further revelations from the richly stored archives of Bowood. A life of the third Marquess, for instance, would throw as much light on the first half of the nineteenth century as Lord Fitzmaurice's classical biography of Shelburne threw on the last half of the eighteenth; and the present work shows that nobody is so competent to undertake the larger task as his great-grandson.

G. P. G.

CAMBRIDGE MEN.*

One day, or perhaps sooner than cautious critics think, a definitive history of the University of Cambridge will appear. Fuller will not satisfy the student even if brought up to date. Dr. Rashdall's section on the University in his wonderful history of European Universities has become out of date and is not immune from errors. Mullinger's history of the University has certainly not solved all problems. The real difficulty is that the material, the manuscript material, has not been classified and brought into usable shape. No one has faced the comparatively simple task of elucidating the first century of the history. No one has grappled with what seem at first sight the absurd legends about the early

* *Alumni Cantabrigienses: A Bibliographical List of all Known Students, Graduates, and Holders of Office at the University of Cambridge, from the Earliest Times to 1900*. Compiled by John Venn and J. A. Venn. Part I. From the Earliest Times to 1751. Volume III. Kaile—Ryves. Cambridge: At the University Press.) 150s. net.

A Peterhouse Bibliography: Being a List of Books and Manuscripts by or concerning Peterhouse Men. By Thomas Alfred Walker. (Cambridge: At the University Press.) 10s. 6d. net.

history. These legends are swept away with scorn, but legends that were in existence during the first two centuries of Universities that are perhaps eight centuries old cannot be dismissed with a laugh. In the year 1379, University Hall, Oxford, asserted that it was founded by King Alfred. It was not founded by that venerated monarch, but why did men believe five and a half centuries ago and more that he founded it? That problem is almost certainly soluble. It is one of many, and monographs on this or that phase of the history are gradually making difficulties clear that once seemed insoluble. A great step forward has been made in the marvellous *Alumni Cantabrigienses* by Dr. John Venn, whose lamented death occurred before the issue of the third volume of Part I. (covering the period down to 1751) now before us. This volume takes the names down to the end of the letter R, and Mr. J. A. Venn, who has been so closely associated with his father's monumental work, states in the preface that continuous progress has been made with the final volume. Nothing would have been further from Dr. Venn's wishes

"than that any departure from our previous standards should be permitted. . . . In Volume I. there were on an average forty-three biographies per page and in Volume II. forty; whilst in the present one these figures have again been reduced to thirty-eight, showing that the work grows steadily in fullness as it proceeds."

This is exactly what Dr. Venn would have wished, and doubtless the fact of the publication of the first great volume created a general interest in men associated with Cambridge which has resulted in more personal particulars being sent in to the editors. Mr. Venn is anxious that corrections and additions for inclusion in Volume IV. should be sent in during the present year. All those who have records of ancestors or others whose surnames begin with any one of the last eight letters of the alphabet and whose Cambridge lives came within the period ending 1751 should not delay in communicating with Mr. Venn. The chief value no doubt of this record is that it reveals with a wealth of detail hitherto unknown the relationship of Cambridge to every aspect of national life through many centuries. But the list of biographies reacts on our knowledge in many other spheres. The history of ancient schools can be rewritten by use of the material collected here. New light at every turn is thrown on the history, now much in public view, of the Inns of Court. The authorities of the various Inns can from these papers find material as to the history of many unsuspected members. The history of the medical profession will find new light in these multitudinous biographies and the same is true of the history of many famous corporations throughout the

land. To the genealogist, as to the social historian, these volumes are absolutely indispensable and it seems a pity to have limited the issue to five hundred copies.

But after all it is the picture that is presented of the influence of the University of Cambridge on national life that is so important. Perhaps for the first time the vague feeling of the ancient Universities as national institutions has given place to an acute realisation of the actual and diverse influence of these Universities on the structure and quality of national life. The future history of the University of Cambridge must inevitably be written from that point of view, and one day it will be possible to balance the comparative influence of Oxford and her slightly younger sister. Oxford has always bulked rather more largely in the vague feeling of the importance of the Universities to which we have referred, but when page after page is turned of these great volumes there arises a doubt as to the truth of this popular view. Cambridge seems to have been the home of the great movers of national life. If neither University can claim Chaucer or Shakespeare, Cambridge can claim Marlowe and Milton—to name only two of her many immortal poets—the very greatest names in the history of science, and some of the greatest in the history of politics. Oxford may or may not have been the home of lost causes, but Cambridge has certainly been the focus of more than national achievements.

The second book to which we are referring in this brief notice is Dr. T. A. Walker's *Peterhouse Bibliography* of books and manuscripts by or concerning men belonging to his ancient college. Dr. Walker, apart from his invaluable work in the field of the history of international law, has found time to elucidate a good deal of the history of the college. The present work was suggested by Sir Adolphus Ward, the late Master of Peterhouse, and is of a type that every college at Oxford or Cambridge should undertake. A complete Bibliography for the University of Cambridge would be the best of all supplements to Dr. Venn's *Alumni*. Take, for instance, one small case. Jeremiah Markland, the classical scholar, was a Fellow of Peterhouse in the year 1718. His biography (in eight lines) is given by Dr. Venn. Dr. Walker provides a full bibliography of his publications which extend from the year 1723 to 1769, a period when learning was supposed to be at a low ebb. The value of Dr. Walker's careful and almost exhaustive book is manifest, and certainly the other colleges at Cambridge should continue his work as a supplement to Dr. Venn's great compilation. The task will be easier than it was in view of the invaluable accounts of MSS. in Cambridge College libraries issued by Dr. Montague James. The task of producing a living history of the University is one that is becoming more possible year by year.

THE CHURCH IN INDIA.*

Dr. Chatterton has written a most interesting and comprehensive book dealing with the work of the Church of England in India during more than three hundred years of stress and strain. The Bishop says in his Preface that he feels

while writing it, like one who is asked to compose something in the nature of an elegy. For three centuries we have been the "Church of England" in India. To-morrow we may be known as "The Church of India in Communion with the Church of England." The change will not be merely one of name. It will mean the passing away of a long-established order of things and the entering in of a new one.

With such a change in contemplation it is well that the present generation should know something of the past history of "the Church of England in India," and Dr. Chatterton has set in order the birth, growth, and development of an organisation which at its start was intended simply to supply the needs of our own people trading and living in a distant land amongst non-Christian peoples. The missionary idea was not conceived of in those early days. England had no footing in India till 1608, when Captain Hawkins, carrying merchandise from London in his ship *The Hector*, brought a letter from James I. of England addressed to the Mughal Emperor Jahangir, asking permission for the London Company of Merchants to trade in the city of Surat and within his realms. Surat in those days was the foremost seaport of India and had "an almost world-wide reputation for trade and manufactures." It was also a meeting place for the annual gathering of pilgrims bound for Mecca, and was known as "The Gate of Mecca." Captain Hawkins presented his letter to the Mughal Emperor, who graciously granted permission to trade within his dominions. Notwithstanding this permission, the traders had to encounter strong opposition from their rivals the Portuguese, who bitterly resented the advent of the Dutch and English into a region that Vasco da Gama had opened to them more than a century before. The English were not to be beaten; the Elizabethan spirit was still alive, and under two indomitable captains, Best and Downton, they achieved a victory over the Portuguese, and secured a mercantile treaty which was confirmed by the Great Mughal a few months later. It was, however, no easy task that the first Ambassador from the Court of King James I., Sir Thomas Roe, had to perform; he was a man of great firmness and courage, and eventually he obtained considerable concessions for the merchants of the East

* *A History of the Church of England in India*, since the early days of the East India Company. By Eyre Chatterton, D.D., Bishop of Nagpur. With illustrations. (S.P.C.K.). 12s. 6d. net.

India Company. During these negotiations at Ajmer his chaplain, who came out with him from England, died. The Rev. Edward Terry was sent by the Company to fill the vacancy, and to him we owe the interesting description of the life of the English in India at that time.

Madras was our first settlement in India, and seven years later, in 1647, the first chaplain, Mr. Isaacson, was appointed. Bombay, for the possession of which, as Dr. Chatterton says, "the Company had long been scheming," came as a marriage dowry of the Infanta of Portugal, Katharine of Braganza, on her marriage to King Charles II. of England, and remained a Crown possession for seven years, when it was leased to the Company for the sum of £10 a year. The Company placed in charge Gerald Aungier, one of the wisest and best of Englishmen in India at that time, and to him we owe the foundation of one of the greatest cities of the world. He established Courts of Law where justice was administered to English and Indians alike; he was a great soldier as well as a great administrator, as the Dutch, who strove to drive the English from their new possessions, knew to their cost.

The East India Company fell on evil days during the closing years of the seventeenth and the beginning of the eighteenth century. They fought a losing campaign against the Great Mughal and lost nearly half a million by this war; their prestige had fallen, and in England there was a hostile feeling against them. A rival company was formed, and received its charter in 1698 during the reign of William and Mary. Envy, strife, and all uncharitableness continued until the year 1708, when the two companies were amalgamated into one and were known as "The United Company of Merchants of England trading with the East Indies." From thenceforth the company flourished, "and the name of England seemed really great in the eyes of the Indians."

Religion and education were not overlooked in the new charter, as "a minister and schoolmaster were to be maintained in every garrison." All clergymen sent out had to be approved by the Archbishop of Canterbury or the Bishop of London. Funds were collected as early as 1682 to build a church at Bombay, but no more was heard of it till the first stone was laid on November 18th, 1715. The building was completed and opened on Christmas Day, 1718.

The tone of Society at this time in Bombay was at a low ebb, and it was inevitable that those who cared for the things that matter most should come into conflict with those who cared for none of those things. The chaplains were not always all that could be desired, but it is well to call to mind such men as Richard Cobbe, who built the Bombay church, Henry Martyn, and many

others, who strove to build up the faith in these dark ages of the Church. The author deals as fully with Calcutta as with Madras and Bombay. The history of the Church of England in India is so bound up with the history of the East India Company that it is not possible to treat them apart. The foundation of the City of Calcutta dates from the abandonment of the factory at Hooghli and the final occupation of the village of Sutanuti on August 24th, 1690.

The Rev. J. Evans was the first chaplain of the Bay, and he, Streynsham Masters, President of Madras, and the Rev. Richard Elliott took an active part in the troublous affairs of the Company at this time. Mr. Evans, after an extraordinary career, more political than clerical, was on his return to England made Bishop of Bangor in 1701, and in 1716 was translated to Meath, the premier Bishopric of Ireland. The first cathedral in India was St. John's Church at Calcutta. The money for the building was raised principally by lotteries, and cost over a lakh of rupees. Warren Hastings laid the first stone on April 6th, 1784, the thirteenth year of his government. The Church was consecrated on St. John's Day, June 24th, 1787. The author gives an interesting description of the church and its construction.

Dr. Chatterton passes on to the missionary work of the Church, and refers at some length to two famous missionaries of the Roman Communion, namely, Francis Xavier and Robert de Nobili, both of noble birth, who exercised extraordinary influence amongst the people of India independently of all connection with Portugal. The Roman Catholic Church laboured hard for the conversion of India in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. It had been a revelation to the Portuguese to find in Travancore a non-Roman Christian community, and most unadvisedly they strove to destroy this ancient Syrian Church which had been in existence from the fourth century or earlier. The Roman missionaries made no such mistake. Their energies were entirely directed to the conversion of non-Christians. Xavier served ten years in the East, and four and a-half of these famous years were spent in India. He died near Canton in 1552. So great was his influence on the men of his time that he is still known as "The Apostle of India." Nobili had, perhaps, a more romantic career: he used methods for his work which could not be justified, and his own Church condemned them. Yet his devotion was unquestioned, and he made an extraordinary number of converts. At de Nobili's death 100,000 Christians are said to have belonged to his mission.

Not till the eighteenth century did any reformed Church take part in the evangelisation of India. It was only in 1815 that the first Bishop of Calcutta, Dr. Thomas Fanshaw Middleton, was appointed. The Bill for establishing this see was passed with

difficulty. The scale was turned by the eloquence of Wilberforce, who spoke for three and a-half hours in its favour. Reginald Heber succeeded Dr. Middleton in 1823, and died in 1826. He was followed by Bishop James (1827-1828) and Bishop Turner (1829-1831). Bishop David Wilson was the first Metropolitan of India, 1832-1858.

Dr. Chatterton devotes much space to the first bishops in India, and the theme has much modern value. They were certainly men of great reputation and devotion, as were many of the chaplains in the earlier days. Education was a subject of special interest. Bishop Cotton, the second Metropolitan of India, was educated at Westminster School and Cambridge, was an assistant master at Rugby, under Dr. Arnold, and eventually became the first Headmaster of Marlborough. He was consecrated Bishop of Calcutta in Westminster Abbey in May, 1858, and installed in St. Paul's Cathedral, Calcutta, in November of the same year. Dr. Chatterton calls him "A Great Educationist." Another name stands out amongst the chaplains.

Dr. Andrew Bell was regarded, both in India and in England, as one of the greatest educationists of the day. His books, entitled *An Experiment in Education* and *The Wrongs of Children*, were widely read both in England and America, and the system of teaching which he evolved after carefully examining the village schools in South India, lies at the root of the pupil-teacher system of to-day. During his lifetime he established and endowed a Bell Lectureship at Edinburgh in connection with the Theological Institution of the Episcopal Church of Scotland. He also gave £120,000 to found a college at St. Andrews, where he was born and educated. He was finally appointed to a Canonry in Westminster Abbey, where after his death a tablet was placed in his honour.

Of the wonderful work of the S.P.C.K., the S.P.G., the C.M.S., and the Bible Society there is much appreciation. There is hardly a name of a society or a missionary for which the reader will search in vain in this book. The references to the work amongst the Eurasians of St. Hilda's at Lahore, Mr. Purser's and Mr. Jackson's labours for the welfare of the blind people of Burma, are modern instances of this thoroughness.

The Bishop, in his concluding sentences, ends on a cheerful note. "The study of history is the best cordial for drooping spirits," as Bishop Lightfoot puts it. Difficulties have to be faced. Periods of transition in politics, both social and religious, are always difficult times, but there is no better cure than counting up the blessings and glancing back to "The Great Achievement, whereby the Church of the Factory has become the Church of the people of India."

THE PHYSICS OF THE EARTH.*

Though this learned work by a very distinguished Cambridge mathematician and physicist is highly technical, yet it has certain aspects of general interest to educated people that are not dependent on high mathematical and geological knowledge. Dr. Jeffreys points out that the subject has suffered hitherto from the lack of any systematic attempt to co-ordinate its various branches. "The main purpose of the book is to show how far the various modes of attack on the problems of geophysics have led to harmonious results. Accordingly, information from many widely separated fields have had to be collected." Here, as in most modern sciences, the processes of thought are related to other work in many fields. But it is clear that geophysics is "a single science whose data are harmoniously co-ordinated by a definite physical theory, and any theory that contradicts this one must be shown to co-ordinate all these data equally satisfactorily before it can be accepted."

Dr. Jeffreys, after analysing the nebular hypothesis put forward in a popular form by Laplace, declares that "the theory of rotational instability is, therefore, not a possible explanation of the origin of the solar system." He adopts the tidal theory of the origin of the solar system.

"The fundamental feature of the hypothesis is the approach to the sun of a star considerably more massive than itself. This raised two large tides on the sun, the greatest protuberances being at the points of the sun nearest to and furthest from the star. When the distance between the two bodies became sufficiently small the tendency to disruption due to the differences between the attractions of the star on the two opposite sides of the sun became greater than the sun's gravitation could counteract, and a portion of the sun was torn away. This afterwards condensed to form the planets and satellites."

Much of the matter drawn out in the encounter must have fallen back into the sun as the star retreated, but part "deflected transversely by the star, would miss the sun on the return journey and continue to revolve round it," while the mutual gravitation of the parts of a great planet would hold it together while the successive processes of liquefaction and solidification took place. Dr. Jeffreys makes it clear that any matter aggregated into the nucleus of a planet would be liquid.

"A number of liquid planets of varying sizes would be formed. They would move in orbits about the sun, all in one direction, and approximately in one plane. Their outward motion would not in

* *The Earth: Its Origin, History and Physical Constitution.* By Harold Jeffreys. (Cambridge: at the University Press.) 16s. net.

general be annulled during the passage of the star, so that after the encounter they have considerable velocities away from the sun; in other words, their orbits would be highly eccentric. . . . Most of the satellites were probably formed by the tidal disruption of their primaries by the sun when they passed perihelion for the first time. This hypothesis accounts readily for the general resemblance of the sub-systems of the great planets to the solar system as a whole, and for the dissimilarity of the sub-systems of the terrestrial planets. It suggests also that a number of satellites were detached completely from their original parents, and became for a time independent planets."

The origin of the moon is differently explained. It is a portion of the earth, of the same order of magnitude as the earth, detached when the earth, under the original strain following its separation from the sun, was in shape long and narrow. "When the rupture occurred the detached portion would have a considerable transverse velocity and therefore would not fall back into the earth."

But certain striking facts about our system are still unexplained, such as the retrograde motion of certain satellites and the formation of asteroids. Dr. Jeffreys thinks that the explanation lies in the existence of a resisting medium consisting of the lost matter ejected from the sun and dispersed throughout the system. This medium eventually drifted out of the system. The asteroids are attributed to the disruption of a primitive planet. The earth itself "probably became solid within 15,000 years from its ejection from the sun," while the age of the earth is "probably between 1.3×10^9 and 8×10^9 years" (eight thousand million years). These conclusions are derived from elaborate considerations of the data, and will no doubt give rise to considerable discussion. The point of interest for the general student is that the data are sufficient to lead to such comparatively definite results. Dr. Jeffreys goes on to discuss the thermal history of the earth, the bending of the earth's crust by the weight of mountains, theories of surface features, the figures of the earth and moon, tidal friction: all theories of immense complexity. The study of the earth has entered on a new phase with the publication of this remarkable book.

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THE ENGLISH ASSOCIATION.*

This volume is notable for the fact that it was collected by the late Professor W. P. Ker, "so distinguished a master of so many Literatures." The sense of loss not only to the English Associa-

* *Essays and Studies by Members of the English Association.* Vol. IX. Collected by the late W. P. Ker. Oxford; at the Clarendon Press.)

tion (of which Professor Ker was president in 1915) but to the world perhaps grows greater as time passes and the touch of discrimination also passes, but here at any rate that touch survives. The selected essays here collected are of singular interest, including as they do Miss Batho's essay on "The Life of Christ in the Ballads," Miss Morley's paper on "Joseph Warton," Mr. T. H. G. Grattan's essay "On the Teaching of Case," and Mr. Barker Fairley's study of "The Modern Consciousness in English Literature." It was certainly worth while to publish Mr. George Gordon's essay on "The Trojans in Britain." We do not realise to-day that "The English schoolboy or undergraduate three centuries ago began his British history not with Julius Cæsar and that trumpeting date of 55 B.C., but with Brute and his Britons 1100 years before Christ." To-day the undergraduate, at any rate, does not begin his history with Julius Cæsar but, in the charmed company of Dr. Rice Holmes, he nevertheless goes back to something like 1100 B.C., though not to "Brute and his Britons." What does it all mean? What is this pre-history which was once so full of the romance that came into historic being with Geoffrey of Monmouth, vanished at the touch of the scientific historians, and is now in the course of reconstruction from the material supplied by the dust and ashes of archæology? Mr. Gordon points out that Nennius, the late eighth-century historian of Britain, put together from translations and such writings and monuments as had then survived, his story of Britain, and brought hither Brutus, grandson of Æneas, Vortigern, Merlin, Arthur (no Trojan, but a Christian soldier). What did those stories mean? About four centuries later Geoffrey of Monmouth, another Welshman, told the story of the British kings derived (he said) from a book, written in the British tongue, brought by Walter, Archdeacon of Oxford, out of Brittany. The late Professor Haverfield believed that Geoffrey did not add one "new fact" to the record of the first five centuries. But Professor Haverfield was not a final authority on Celtic questions, and a careful sifting of Geoffrey's material may very well add something new and true. Geoffrey of Monmouth, "the first and by far the most successful of our historical novelists," must have had sources. Even the Brittany "book" was, at any rate, in Mr. Gordon's opinion, "by no means a total improbability." In all his fabling, Geoffrey is "something more than a lover of good stories. He was an enthusiastic patriot." The fact that the next generation of historians abused him is not evidence against his sources. Indeed, it was his success, not his sources, that was held up to ridicule. His success is written in the avidity with which his tales were incorporated not in English history but in English literature from

the days of the Tudors to the days of the Victorians. The Troy legend "took richer forms in this country than in any other beyond Italy. Our pageantry of kings is a luxury of the island," and our kings have not wholly scorned their descent from Æneas. Have these legends any historical as well as romantic significance? Mr. Gordon holds that "from whatever angle we regard these things, we must conclude that they have been too hastily ejected from all footing in our histories, and, so far as they are stories, too unfeelingly withheld from the eyes of the young." It is indeed possible, we may add, that these legends came in from the East with travellers long before the days of Pythias or even with the settlement of the Goidel and the Brythonic tribes. The persistence and accuracy of tradition has been often demonstrated. An immemorial local legend of a ghost in gold armour was confirmed in our own time by the opening of a tumulus containing a warrior and his horse of the bronze age dating back to about 500 B.C. If the memory of that burial persisted for 2,300 years, why should not other and more important memories have persisted until the days of Nennius, for a period, say, of 1,200 years? It is not at all inconceivable that Nennius had access to tribal memories containing some true record of early Aryan days.

Other essays in this invaluable volume are of great interest. Miss Dorothy Dymes boldly challenges Macaulay's view that the *Ancren Riwe* (which occurs in Latin, French and English versions) in its English version was a translation from the French. Miss Dymes, after an elaborate analysis of the evidence, writes, "There can, I think, be only one verdict: that the original version of the *Ancren Riwe* was written in English." She treats Macaulay in a fashion that that eminent critic would have appreciated, but we should like to have his reply in his best style. Professor Chambers's very learned paper entitled "Long Will, Dante, and the Righteous Heathen," deals with the spiritual growth of the writer of *Piers Plowman* between—a period of some sixteen years—the A-text and the B-text. Professor Chambers compares the spiritual growth and the power thereby acquired to achieve the quest for "Do-well, Do-better, and Do-best" with certain revelations as to Dante's spiritual growth in the *Comedy*. In the Heaven of the Just, Dante's spiritual difficulties are realised by the Just Rulers as the English poet's difficulties are realised by Imagination (the servant of Reason). But neither the Rulers nor Imagination solved the difficulty of each poet, how it was that Trajan entered Heaven, he having died before the coming of Christ. Each poet has to find an explanation, but instead of boldly saying that salvation is not a function of Time, they find the truth in "mystic interpretation of baptism." It is not the moment, but

the fact, of salvation that is relevant. This is the conclusion reached indeed by both poets, by a different and metaphysical pathway.

SHORTER REVIEWS.

The volume entitled "The Legacy of Rome,"* edited by Mr. Cyril Bailey, with an introduction by Mr. Asquith, contains a number of essays of very high merit making up an "endeavour to trace in many fields the extent of the inheritance which the modern world owes to Ancient Rome." Two essays may specially be noted: that on "Administration," by Professor Stuart Jones, and Professor de Zulueta on "The Source of Law." Professor Stuart Jones somewhat wisely refuses to discuss "the primitive monarchy," which he thinks is more convincingly proved by the survival of the *rex sacrorum* and the name of *regia* given to the residence of the *pontifex maximus* than by the current legends. But the early customary law, or perhaps the comparative treatment of that law, certainly shows that the regal period laid the basis of republican administration. The Tanist seems to run right through Roman history from the days of the kings to the latest emperor. Professor Stuart Jones lays stress on the continuity of Roman institutions. The popular respect for tradition "led them to supplement rather than discard the outworn organs of the body politic, leaving the new to find its *modus vivendi* with the old, and often to adapt old structures to new purposes, especially by the use of those convenient fictions which serve to disguise changes, to smooth transitions, and to economise thinking." Perhaps the word "outworn" can be criticised. The king's power in England to veto legislation has found new uses in the Dominions. If a thing is really outworn it disappears. Professor de Zulueta's essay should be read beside this paper on Administration. "The displacement of republican by imperial government was necessary for the evolution of the City-State into the Empire." Yet how subtly the change was made. The change was in fact, not in form. The Empire remained a Republic and republican law reached its height during more than two centuries of imperial rule. Professor de Zulueta has the courage to point to the danger of under-rating the importance of the *jus naturale* in Roman law. It deepened the meaning of the *jus gentium* and provided standards of common sense and common morality that have done much to secure immortality, directly and indirectly, for Roman law. The Hellenistic spirit secured "the clear formulation of the moral purpose of law and of the sublimity of the jurist's vocation." All the essays are of high excellence. Principal Barker on "The Conception of Empire," Mr. Bailey on "Religion and Philosophy," the late Mr. Bradley on "Language," Mr. Hugh Last on "Family and Social Life," will all be read with the deepest respect and interest, and the same may be said for the essays on "Science," "Literature," "Architecture and Art," "Building and Engineering," "Agriculture," and "Communications and Commerce," by Dr. Singer, Mr. Mackail, Mr. Rushforth, Professor Giovannoni, Mr. Heitland, and Mr. G. H. Stevenson, respectively. The book unfortunately lacks an index.

*Oxford: At the Clarendon Press. 8s. 6d.

Mr. J. E. Muirhead's richly illustrated "American Shrines on English Soil" will prove scarcely less interesting to English readers than to our American visitors for whom it is mainly intended. In less than 200 pages we receive an astonishing quantity of information relating to the places connected with the families of men who later made their mark beyond the seas, and we also learn of the residences and travels of distinguished Americans on their visits to the old country. Mr. Muirhead appears to have been everywhere and seen everything, and he possesses wide knowledge of history and literature, and most of his readers will be surprised at the richness of his harvest. He begins with a very valuable chapter on America's representatives in London, who make a list of which any country might be proud. Adams, Jay, Monroe, Quincy Adams, Gallatin, Everett, Bancroft, Charles Francis Adams, Motley, Lowell, Phelps, Hay, Choate, Whitelaw Reid, Page—such are some of the names in the long line of scholars and statesmen, several of whom rose to be President or Secretary of State. We next pass to the London landmarks, beginning with the Abbey and moving east to Southwark Cathedral and the City churches. Leaving London for the provinces, we trace Lincoln to Norfolk, the Pilgrim Fathers to the Midlands, Washington to Sulgrave, Franklin to Ecton, Penn to Jordans, Hawthorne to Liverpool, Yale to Wrexham. The associations of Cambridge fill some interesting pages, and Oxford, though less rich in American memories, can now boast of Rhodes scholarships. The volume closes with a long chapter entitled "Sporadic Shrines," and a short one on "Shrines of the Great War." This unpretentious little book should teach readers on both sides of the Atlantic to study more deeply and intelligently the lives and haunts of the men who, whether friends or foes, have helped to build up the proud edifice of Anglo-Saxon civilization.

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It is a pleasure to welcome a work of such genuine scholarship as Mr. Malcolm Letts' "Bruges and Its Past."† No living Englishman has a wider knowledge of the social history of Western Europe in the later centuries of the Middle Ages and the first two centuries of the modern world, and his mastery of language enables him to utilise the whole mass of original and secondary authorities on his subject. "Bruges remains to-day one of the glorious cities of Europe," he writes; but it is only a ghost of its former self in the fourteenth century, when it was "the great mart of Western Europe, the shaper of all Christendom." Its prosperity was based on wool; but its position as the gate of the Continent enabled its merchants to build up its wealth and power. The chapters deal with the growth of the town, its aspect in 1500, royal visitors, law and order, charters and privileges, guilds, foreign merchants, and, with the aid of admirable illustrations, help us to reconstruct the outward appearance of the city and the business and private life of its inhabitants. The causes of its decline are carefully explained, and the vital importance of the silting up of its outlet to the sea is emphasised. Those who already know Bruges will read this learned but lively volume with delight, and no future visitor should forget to take it on his pilgrimage. Mr. Letts possesses the enviable power of presenting the result of the researches of several years in the brief space of 150 pages, in which there is not a superfluous word.

* The Dorland Agency. 10s. net.

† Bruges: Charles Berjaert; London: A. G. Berry. 8s. 6d.

NOTICES OF BOOKS.

Students and scholars will alike welcome the translation in English verse of books IV. to VI. of the "Æneid of Virgil,"* by that veteran translator Dr. Arthur S. Way. This is the second volume of a notable version. It is very convenient to have the Latin text on the left-hand page. To the student who is really fit to read Virgil, no question of "cribbing" can arise, while the evils of a "crib" for a school boy are far less dangerous than the killing of all interest by the grinding out of a few verses day by day. We rather doubt, as a matter of poetry, whether Virgil is best translated in English rhymed imitation of classical verse. The dignity of English blank verse seems the true equivalent of the Virgilian line. Dr. Way has run on the broken line 322 of the fifth book with the following line. Was the line one of the blemishes that Virgil regretted or a deliberate pause? It would have been a subtlety to have imitated it.

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Mr. A. L. Irvine has edited with notes "The Loves of Dido and Æneas: being the Fourth Book of the Æneid translated into English verse by Richard Fanshawe."† In 1648 Sir Richard Fanshawe [1608-1666], the successor of John Milton as Latin Secretary, produced his version of the Fourth Book of the Æneid. It has never been reprinted since the seventeenth century. Mr. Irvine declares that it is "the only English version of Virgil in which I have ever been able to read a whole book with pleasure." It is written in powerful rhyming metre, each stanza containing nine lines, the last being an Alexandrine. The Latin text, as in Dr. Way's translation, is given on the left side of the page, and students should compare the two translations. There is a remarkable quality, still redolent of the Elizabethan age, about the Fanshawe version, while Dr. Way's is essentially modern with no attempt at archaic devices. Both are honest efforts in two remarkable English periods at rendering an imperial Latin poet. There is no question of one being better than the other, but comparison is fruitful.

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"The Church Catechism: its History and Meaning. A Text-Book for Teachers and Students,"‡ by the Rev. E. Basil Redlich, is a book likely to be of real use to all those who are interested in the individual parts of the Book of Common Prayer. The Church Catechism is one of the most important parts of the Prayer Book, for from it for generations children have learnt their belief, their duties towards God and man, and the ten commandments, until the knowledge and meaning of them become part of themselves, even if in the course of years the actual words are forgotten. "It is revered by many outside the English Church, as well as by people of very diverse views within, for its balanced wisdom, the simple dignity of its language, the happy exactness of its definitions." The author considers that the Catechism should be studied from the historical standpoint, "while," he says, "to understand the Catechism is perhaps the surest way of grasping the position, in regard to doctrine and practice alike, for which the historic Church of England stands."

* Macmillan. 5s. net

† Oxford: Basil Blackwell. 6s. net.

‡ Macmillan. 4s. 6d. net.

BACK TO THE COVENANT.

PERILOUS is his path who ventures lightly on interim judgments. Sometimes, however, necessity compels. Publishing dates take no account of international conferences, and all that can be done is to emphasise the involuntary temerity of a writer who attempts to assess the League of Nations Assembly while its seed is still being sown, knowing that his words will not be read till the harvest has been gathered in.

With that essential reservation, the tendencies of the League Assembly of 1924 as they have revealed themselves in the first half of its four-weeks' session can be traced with some confidence. The Fifth Assembly was sharply distinguished from its predecessors from the outset. It opened in an atmosphere of unprecedented expectation. Hopes altogether too high were set on it. The Prime Ministers of Great Britain and France had months before expressed their intention of attending, and though it was not entirely clear what their rôle would be when they did get to Geneva, it seemed manifest that they could not appear on the Assembly platform and stultify themselves by merely making ceremonial speeches declaratory of their general faith in the League of Nations.

The League Assembly, moreover, fell this year no more than a week or two after the conclusion of the London Conference. That Conference had been confined rigidly to one single problem, reparations. The other problem whose solution is imperative if Europe is to have real peace, that of French security, had still to be dealt with somewhere else. The declaration, thereupon, became universal in the Press that Geneva must finish what London had begun. That was asking a great deal of Geneva, the more so since the Note of the British Government on the Treaty of Mutual Assistance had shattered in advance the one proposal for security to which the French themselves attached any serious importance. It is not surprising, therefore, that those who had studied the security question most closely were seriously disturbed at the irresponsible encouragement of hopes for whose realisation there seemed to be no reasonable warrant.

Having opened in this general atmosphere, the Assembly took its note almost entirely from the speeches of the Allied Prime

Ministers. Let it be said at once that the Premiers, visiting Geneva for the first time, showed admirable discretion. They did not arrive at Geneva, as originally intended, on or before the opening day of the Assembly, when they would of necessity have been impatient witnesses of a good deal of inevitable preliminary formalities. They did not, as had been at one moment threatened, descend from Heaven to make a single pronouncement from the Assembly platform and then depart, leaving the delegates to make what they could of it. They duly arrived at the beginning of a morning session, sat silent for a whole day as ordinary delegates at the head of their respective delegations, and having made the expected speeches, stayed on to work out together a general resolution which in their absence their colleagues might endeavour to elaborate into some concrete scheme.

That, in a paragraph, is the story of the 1924 Assembly. In the matter of personnel the Fifth Assembly stands on a level well above its predecessors. The presence of Mr. Ramsay MacDonald, M. Herriot and M. Theunis had, of course, a good deal to do with that. But never before had so many European countries, apart from the three Allied States, sent responsible Ministers to represent them. Austria and Hungary had their Prime Ministers at Geneva while their affairs were being particularly discussed. Belgium, Holland, Czechoslovakia, Yugoslavia, Rumania, Bulgaria, Switzerland, Sweden, Finland, Poland, Esthonia, Ireland, Latvia, all sent their Ministers of Foreign Affairs, while Albania was represented by its picturesque Prime Minister, Bishop Fan Noli, and M. Stauning, the Danish Premier, was also present during some part of the Assembly. Geneva, therefore, in 1924 had in a measure so far unprecedented attained its ideal of creating a forum where not merely could notable speeches be made but notable decisions be taken by men with authority in their respective countries to carry them out.

Even so, the task that faced the Assembly was difficult enough. I omit entirely the mass of routine business which passes through the hands of delegates every year—such work as the Austrian and Hungarian and Greek reconstruction schemes, the administration of the Saar and Dantzig, the examination of the execution of the mandate article of the Covenant, or the minority provisions of different treaties, the various humanitarian activities of the League. All that has regularly to be passed in review, and if the Assembly never did anything but such routine business its hundred and fifty delegates would by no means have met in vain. But this year there was a definite problem to be faced, with more than ordinary compelling reason for facing it. Ever since the League was formed it has been casting about for means to carry out the

mandate in Article VIII. of the Covenant, which requires that a scheme shall be prepared for the reduction of the armaments of all States to the lowest level consistent with national safety and the enforcement by common action of international obligations. The first step taken in that direction was a rather crude and completely unsuccessful attempt to allot each State forthwith an army limited to a certain number of units, each representing 30,000 men. That was never a very hopeful plan and no real progress was made till the Treaty of Mutual Assistance took definite shape.

Over the details of the Treaty there is no need to delay here, for, as things have turned out, the Assembly has after all gone off down another road. But the principles on which it rests are as important as ever they were, and the much-discussed Resolution XIV. of the Third Assembly (1922), out of which the Treaty of Mutual Assistance took birth, remains as much as ever the foundation of any agreement the various countries represented at Geneva are likely to reach. The essence of that Resolution was the doctrine that security and disarmament must go hand in hand; that nations, that is to say, cannot be expected to reduce their armies unless some assurance is given them that help will be forthcoming from outside in the event of an aggressor taking advantage of their defencelessness. Hence the Treaty of Mutual Assistance, with its provision for general succour for any State thus attacked, on condition that the latter has at the time complied with the disarmament requirements of the Treaty.

When this Assembly opened, the Governments of France, Poland, Czechoslovakia had declared wholeheartedly in favour of the Treaty, Great Britain and her Dominions had declared wholeheartedly against it. And out of that direct conflict of opinion some way had to be discovered to effect French security, and indeed not less security throughout the east of Europe, and to achieve a general reduction of armaments. The outlook was far from promising. The London Agreement had indeed given rise to hopes that settlements might be reached where the way to settlement seemed obscure and difficult. But no magic formula presented itself, and it was only slowly and in the minds of scattered individuals that the doctrine which so soon became the central feature of the Fifth Assembly took shape. That doctrine was universal, or obligatory, arbitration—with various implications on which agreement is as yet by no means reached.

There is, of course, nothing essentially original about the idea of universal arbitration, but three factors combined to bring it prominently before the notice of the Assembly. One was the pressure brought on Governments, particularly in Great Britain, to ratify the so-called "optional protocol" of the Permanent

Court of International Justice. A second was the place given to compulsory arbitration (meaning, in reality, arbitration by consent) in the last resort in the Allied-German Agreement just signed in London. The third was a project drawn up by an able and active group of Americans, of whom General Tasker Bliss, Dr. David Hunter Miller, and Dr. James Shotwell were the most prominent, as an alternative to the Treaty of Mutual Assistance. The salient feature of this scheme was that it laid it down that the admitted difficulty of deciding who in a given case was the aggressor should be disposed of by the enactment that the aggressor was the party who declined to submit his case to arbitration. That device, which had been suggested independently in several other quarters, caught the imagination of M. Herriot in particular, and in his speech to the Assembly he laid marked stress on it.

Thus at the outset tendencies began to shape themselves. When Mr. MacDonald had made his speech they were a good deal clearer. When M. Herriot had followed, they were clearer still. By the time M. Theunis of Belgium, Dr. Benes of Czechoslovakia, Jonkheer van Karnebeek of Holland, and M. Politis of Greece (in a brilliant and exhaustive discussion of the whole subject) had made their contributions, a new foundation for the Assembly to build on had emerged. The old two-fold doctrine of security and disarmament had given place to a new three-fold formula—"Arbitration, Security, Disarmament"—with arbitration first and disarmament tending to drop more into the background as the ultimate consequence, rather than the simultaneous accompaniment, of the adoption of new international policies.

Problems, however, are not solved merely by formulæ, however ingeniously devised, and it took all the skill of Mr. MacDonald, M. Herriot and Dr. Benes to draft the comparatively colourless resolution which the French and British Prime Ministers presented jointly and the Assembly unanimously adopted on September 6th. The resolution was of necessity a compromise. The French refused to abandon the Treaty of Mutual Assistance. The Treaty, therefore, with the observations of Governments upon it, was sent to a special Commission for further examination, but—and this is of considerably greater importance—the Commission was instructed at the same time to study "the obligations contained in the Covenant of the League in relation to the guarantee of security which a resort to arbitration and a reduction of armaments may require." Simultaneously, another Commission was set to work "to consider, in view of possible amendments, the articles in the Covenant relating to the settlement of disputes," and the main resolution ended with the declaration that this action was being taken to strengthen the security and solidarity of the nations "by

settling by pacific means all disputes which may arise between States."

That is a far-reaching ideal, a little more far-reaching even than those of the Covenant itself, and it may be observed that it was put forward not by one of those theoretic dreamers of whom the League of Nations is in some quarters supposed to consist, but by the Prime Minister of Great Britain, supported by the Prime Minister of France. But the resolution itself does not fully reveal the spirit of the Assembly, a spirit which may be summed up sufficiently in the formula "Back to the Covenant." The Treaty of Mutual Assistance in its present form is almost certainly dead, but the discussions and controversies to which it has given rise have been of incalculable value. It has provoked salutary thought in every quarter. Those who have criticised it have felt the necessity of seeking in some other direction the means to achieve the ends the Treaty was designed to serve. In the course of that search they have taken to reading the Covenant again, and discovered how far greater than they had ever realised were the possibilities of that remarkable instrument. Notable utterance to that gospel was given at Geneva by Jonkheer van Karnebeek, the Dutch Foreign Minister, in the Assembly, and by Signor Schanzer, a former Italian Foreign Minister, in the Third Commission. Even supporters of the Treaty of Mutual Assistance were constrained to emphasise the fact that it is designed merely to give executive effect to doctrines already enshrined in the Covenant, and those who oppose the Treaty insist that no extraneous agreement must be allowed to detract from the compelling sacrosanctity of an instrument which contains within it already practically every element necessary for the salvation of the nations, and which can and must be amended—not supplemented—if some shortcoming or loophole be discovered.

So swiftly and hopefully the Assembly passed to tacit acceptance of a still further development of its new threefold formula, which must now be read "Arbitration according to the Covenant, Security conferred by the sanctions of the Covenant, Disarmament as the Covenant enjoins." But though that formula may be accepted, it gives rise to many questions still controversial. To begin with, arbitration under the Covenant is not at present universal to the point of making war absolutely impossible. The loophole is small, but it is there. For, according to Article XII., every member of the League engaged in a dispute with another member undertakes to submit the matter either to arbitration, or to judicial settlement, or to enquiry by the Council, and undertakes, further, not to resort to war till three months after the award has been given. War, then, between League members is not

absolutely excluded under the Covenant. The intention now is to exclude it absolutely by making both submission to arbitration and the acceptance of the arbitral award compulsory. (There must be no misunderstanding here. No sovereign State can be actually "compelled" by any other in such matter. What is in question is a general obligation voluntarily undertaken by everyone.)

And here comes the real point of difference, primarily between Great Britain and France. Let us agree, says M. Herriot—and the great majority of the States at Geneva are with him—that the aggressor is the party who refuses arbitration. How then is he to be repressed? Let us agree that arbitration must be universal. How then shall the State that refuses arbitration, or refuses to carry out an arbitral award, be dealt with? To that the British delegation replied at first in very uncertain accents. Mr. MacDonald spoke vaguely of the sanctions within the Covenant. Lord Parmoor declared bluntly that he did not believe in the importance of sanctions—barren sustenance to cast before the French, who came to Geneva thinking primarily of security.

But the transition from Assembly to committee changed many things. M. Paul Boncour, for France, delivered a studiously moderate speech in which he laid it down that under no circumstances must it remain possible for any State again to think it can gain its ends by an easy and a rapid war. Lord Parmoor made it clear that he was ready to exploit, or at any rate to explore, the sanctions embodied in the Covenant to the utmost. Sir Cecil Hurst, in another Commission, examined dispassionately the conditions under which the British Fleet might be in action on behalf of the League, and indeed demonstrated that if the Assembly pursued the road it had chosen there could in future be only two kinds of war for a nation, war against the League or war as an agent of the League. (A temporary reservation must obviously be made in regard to nations not yet in the League.)

How then does the Covenant stand regarding sanctions? They are far from being forgotten. There are quite enough of them to give the British delegation a whole armoury of debating-points. On the other hand, it must frankly be admitted they are not of a character to give a threatened nation the security it claims. For while the members of the League collectively undertake to do various things, individually no one is bound to do anything at all, and everybody's business more easily becomes nobody's business in international affairs than anywhere else. Thus, Article VIII. of the Covenant speaks of "the enforcement by common action of international obligations." By the well-known Article X. "the members of the League undertake to respect and

preserve as against external aggression the territorial integrity and existing political independence of all members of the League," but in the event of such aggression arising the Council has power only to "advise upon" the means of fulfilling this obligation. By Article XIII. members of the League undertake to carry out in good faith any arbitral award, and in the event of the failure of any one of them to do so the Council "shall propose" what steps shall be taken to give effect to it. And when we come finally to Article XVI., the "sanctions" article *par excellence*, it is to be observed that while the application of the economic boycott against an offender is immediate and automatic as soon as the Council has declared him in default, when it comes to military sanctions it is for the Council to "recommend" what forces each League member shall individually contribute to protect the Covenants of the League.

No one could suppose that that would satisfy the French with their realism and their genuine belief (be it well founded or not) in an external peril constantly overhanging them. That was why the Treaty of Mutual Assistance was drafted, to convert the common and undefined obligation of the Covenant into concrete and clear-cut undertakings on whose execution the threatened State could with confidence rely. The problem facing the League to-day is how these undefined obligations can be made definite within the four corners of the Covenant itself, or, failing that, through the medium of some protocol as closely associated with it as the wit of lawyers may find possible. The reason for the vagueness at the time the Covenant was drafted was clear enough. No State was willing then to part with more than a few outer and unconsidered shreds of its sovereignty. It would have been out of the question to give the Council power to do anything but "recommend" and "propose." Have we got far enough now for States to offer to set aside, in order "to protect the Covenants of the League," some part of their naval or military or air forces? That means assuring the Council that in case of need the forces of a particular State, either as a whole or up to some specified figure, will be placed at its disposition. Is Great Britain prepared to do this? Is France? And with what reservations or conditions?

To some it will appear little less than startling that such a contingency should be under serious discussion by the responsible Ministers of the States of Europe. The fact that it is, indicates, no matter what the outcome, the enormous strides the League has made as a practical instrument of international policy. It is hardly possible that a programme so far-reaching as has gradually emerged at Geneva should take final shape in a single year. But something will undoubtedly be achieved here and now. The

" optional protocol " will almost certainly be signed by the principal Powers with relatively innocuous reservations. That means that all such States give a general consent in advance to have carried before the Court all cases that concern them, provided they fall within the comparatively limited field of the Court's jurisdiction. The leak in the Covenant admitting of war between member States in one rare and remote contingency will probably be stopped. That means making arbitration in one form or another universal and deciding on the sanctions with which the arbitral tribunal shall be fortified. Whether that can be achieved before September is out seems doubtful at the moment of writing. But the League never sleeps. No piece of work great or small need ever be laid aside. If the will is there, and in this case there is every sign that there is, mechanism, which is the servant, not the master of man, can be adapted according to need. As things are, the spirit of practicality and resolve that has characterised the 1924 Assembly marks so sensible an advance on the by no means low standards of previous meetings that the future of the League—soon, it can hardly be doubted, to be enlarged by the accession of Germany—can be faced with well-founded confidence.

H. WILSON HARRIS.

NINE MONTHS OF LABOUR GOVERNMENT.

THE record of the Labour Government may be judged by various standards. In the eyes of the mere partisan it appears, of course, all black or all white; compared with the modest declaration of policy on February 12th, " quarried," as Mr. Asquith said, from the programmes of other parties, the achievement is not inconsiderable; but its inner meaning will be best understood, and we shall get most light on what it portends in the future, if we bear in mind always what is the chief preoccupation of the managers, namely, how to preserve the unity of the party and make an advance towards an independent and stable Parliamentary position.

There is nothing unique in this problem. All parties have, and always have had, to face it. The Conservatives even now have differences hardly concealed. It required the fusing heat of the fiscal issue to weld the Liberals together. But among the Government's supporters these difficulties, inherent in any organisation by parties, are unusually obvious and acute. Under what influences is the Labour Party? On the extreme Left and outside it is Moscow, whose spokesmen have not always been remarkably civil. On the Right is a battalion of ex-Liberals (there are four in the Cabinet) driven from their old allegiance because of its inevitable accommodations, but hardly happier in their new bonds, pursing their lips to frame the shibboleth, just managing to mumble, surely in some cases without much conviction, the economic catchwords which are still nominally the passport of admission.

Moscow is represented in this country by its own Communist organisation. As the Labour Party has refused affiliation to it, the accepted programme is one of permeation. The conversion is to come from within. Some measure of the strength of this movement is afforded by the " Minority " Conference held, as if in challenge, just before the Trade Union Congress.

Between the two extremes come the intellectuals, the theoretic Socialists who have proclaimed their position in the words " the inevitableness of gradualness." Their mission is to calm the Right and enhearten the drooping spirits of the Left. They must explain to the timid that Socialism cannot come for a very long time and to the eager that all this moderation is merely the building-up of a jumping-off ground. *Reculer pour mieux sauter*. It is the jumping that the Left doubts. They wonder if office in itself is not too attractive to their leaders, and they correctly take it into account as a factor in the situation.

Assuming these political trends within the Labour Party the question for the Prime Minister is how to shape his programme in order

to harmonise them and to muster sufficient electoral support to give hopes of an independent Parliamentary position. The potential followers are not, it may be assumed, the prey of definite politico-economic dogma. They are people with a sense of the hardship and injustice of things, idealists or victims, the disinherited, those on whom the war legacy of suffering has descended. The simplest way to please and hold them would be to fulfil the promises of the extreme Left. A pound a week increase all round, full Trade Union pay for the unemployed, houses at pre-war rents—any Government which could really give these would be established for ever. But the leaders know that this sort of thing is mere propaganda, often only proposed in order to destroy industry on a private basis, and they have no course open but to leave it alone and run the certain risk of condemnation by the "Minority movement" for pusillanimity and betrayal.

Again, is it to be hoped that the masses will be captured by the intellectual Socialists, whose remedies, however attractive, can only be tried out in the distant future?

The third course is radical reform. This at least offers the prospect of something immediate, dealing directly with urgent problems and appealing clearly to a large body of electors. Accordingly, as we shall see on looking in detail at the Government's achievement, it is in the main along those lines. This was the best that could be done to maintain coherence among the differing and even conflicting sections of the Party. It produced at least something tangible to attract the working-class voter who had been sickened of the Liberal Party during the period of Coalition, and was now to be seduced finally from his old love by the argument that here was at last the realisation of his Radical dreams. The plan would build up strength on the Right-centre in case the Left broke off altogether, and would undermine the position of the chief competitor for popular support, the Liberal Party.

At the same time, it must not be supposed that the Left was just to be abandoned to its discontent. The Session had here and there a "sop" or a "gesture" for them. And outside Parliament there was something too. Though the "Minority movement" resolutions were refused a place on the Hull agenda, fraternal delegates from Moscow were welcomed and the hope was encouraged that the rival Internationals were to be brought into line.

So far unity has been preserved. Can it continue? How long will those who ardently hold a revolutionary theory be content to be told that this Radical performance is merely intended to calm the public apprehension and that, with a real majority based on such a record, a programme agreeable to the Left will be carried

through? Further, they will be wondering "can any probable electoral result make such a programme feasible?" If not, is there to be a further period of compromise and moderation, or is the party to revert to the happy unfettered days of propaganda?

It is in the light, then, of this governing condition that the sessional record is best examined and the future forecasted.

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The actual events may be classified under four heads. For convenience, we may dispose first of the abandoned election pledges, and secondly of the measures which appear to have been dictated by inexperience and the consequent excessive influence of departments. Thirdly there is the considerable body of Radical legislation, and fourthly the demonstrations intended to allay the dissatisfaction of the Left.

First the pledges. The call to office came as a surprise to the Labour Party. It had done many years of propaganda work. Its members had not held and had no prospect, apparently, of holding responsible office, with the inevitable result that they became critics at large, like the young journalist in Lord Morley's story, professors of "general invective." In any appeal to the electors it was easy to point to wrongs, for which "Give Labour a chance" was their remedy. Indeed, it was the fashion to describe themselves as "the only party" which had a cure. The most flagrant case was the "positive remedy for unemployment" which, whatever may be said now, was certainly never thought by the unemployed to mean a gradual—oh, so gradual!—change in the structure of society. The Clydebank rents provide a further acute, if local, example. The responsible leaders of the Government will not pretend that even if they had an independent majority they would satisfy the rent-strikers' demands.

More specific cases are those of the old age pensioner, the pre-war pensioner, the officer-ranker, and the police striker. For three years in succession the Labour Opposition moved official declarations in favour of the complete abolition of the inquiry into the means of the old age pensioner, but when Mr. Snowden had the change to make, he found himself unable to do more than raise the money limit of disqualification—no doubt a great help to the pensioner, but by no means a redemption of the pledge. The case of the pre-war pensioner was similar. The first resolution proposed was sent back for enlargement, and was somewhat improved. If the standing orders had not forbidden unofficial Members to move increases of expenditure the way of the Government would have been even harder. Two instances of less importance, but flagrant of their kind, were those of the officer-rankers and the police strikers.

The most specific and authoritative pledges were given in both cases, by leaders who as Ministers are now in a position to carry them out. They explain that they were not in possession of all the facts.

These things are not just grist to the party mill. The opponents of the Government cannot say in every case that if they had been returned they would have been able to do what Labour merely promised. The Communist, of course, would have done all this and more also and the Left wing propagandist of Labour will talk of "office but not power," but this is a false and misleading argument. The main effect of the pledge-breaking has been a loss to Labour prestige rather than a positive gain to other parties. It will be said with truth that it has been proved to be necessary to discount Labour election pledges, and the slogan "Give Labour a chance" will be effectively used against those who invented it.

Let us now pass to the second category, that of measures which seem inexplicable except by reason of the inexperience of Ministers and their fear of conflict with their departments. These actions include the Traffic Act, the decisions of the War Office on such subjects as court-martials and Church parade, and particularly the building of the five cruisers. It must be remembered that a Labour Government taking office for the first time was in a position of peculiar susceptibility. The taunt "unfit to govern" had to be countered, and in conflict with fighting departments the party had no such tradition of proved achievement as would enable it to stand up to the permanent officials in matters which might be represented to the nation as being of vital importance.

Mr. Walsh was faced with a series of amendments to his Army Bill, some of which were reasonable, others impossible. His only safe course, so he judged, was to offer an inquiry, and on that ground refuse all amendments, good, bad, or indifferent. To give Army recruits an option as to the service in which they were to be employed was clearly impossible; to abolish the death sentence for cowardice was a more debatable proposal; to do away with compulsory Church parade was a reform worth making, for no one with experience of the Army has any illusions as to the spiritual value of this exercise. But the Secretary for War dug his toes in, and the most "advanced" Government in our history was put in the remarkable position of refusing all debate on the merits of reform. Mr. Gosling, on the other hand, inherited from his predecessors a ready-made London Traffic scheme which ignored municipal claims, and, though himself a municipalist of experience and conviction, he appears to have been compelled by office pressure to put it through as it stood.

The case of the cruisers is more obscure. The Cabinet resisted

the Admiralty view on Singapore, and yet adopted the policy of building ships which it was impossible to prove were necessary for national safety. No doubt the pressure of the engineers had something to do with it. The unemployment cry was raised at the outset, and it was not until the danger to European peace of such an argument had been made clear that the Government fell back on the plea of military necessity.

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It is, however, under the third heading, that of Radical legislation, that we must class the bulk of the achievement of the year. It was overdue, it was popular, it now forms the boast of the Government apologists, as witness Mr. Purcell's speech at Hull; it is supposed to be the earnest of what could be expected of a Labour Administration with an independent majority. And yet the most careful scrutiny will fail to find in it any preparation for a Socialist revolution.

There is the improvement in the position of the old age pensioner (the abolition of the thrift disqualification), and the promise of mothers' pensions in the near future. Both of these schemes are in the programmes of other parties. The Chancellor's failure to carry out the full measure of the promise has nothing to do with the minority position, or "office without power." The difficulty is lack of money, and Mr. Snowden has pleaded it as earnestly as any of his predecessors.

There is the outline of a scheme of national electricity supply. But here again Mr Lloyd George had anticipated the Government, not merely by his "Coal and Power" proposals, but by the earlier plans presented to Parliament by the Coalition, and much mutilated in their passage into law.

Again, the Unemployment Insurance Acts have been enlarged, the gap abolished, and the benefit increased. All parties, not least the Socialists, have expressed their dislike of the "dole," but it is necessary, and without it the country could not have survived the upheaval of the war. It is not Socialism, however. It is merely building upon foundations laid long ago by a Liberal Government and since adapted to the needs of the times by other Administrations. As to rents, one measure alone has been passed, and that was introduced by a Liberal Member. A proposal was made, of which something will be said in a moment when we are discussing the manipulation of the Left, but there has been no achievement at all, though a reasonable amendment of the Rent Restriction Act could easily have been carried.

Of Housing it is too early to say much. A long programme has been laid down, though there is no certainty that it will be carried

out. The same obstacles which confronted others faced Mr. Wheatley, and there is no evidence that he has overcome them. His only new contribution has been a scheme for a rent-subsidy to "Government" tenants.

The great success of the Session has been, of course, the Budget, the reduction of food taxes and the sweeping away of most of the vestiges of war-time Protection. For this work the Chancellor deserves whole-hearted congratulation. But here again there is no trace of Socialism and, indeed, in his rigid attitude towards expenditure Mr. Snowden has been a model Chancellor of an old-fashioned Liberal stamp.

It is curious to notice how unpalatable the principles underlying Radical finance appear to be to the Government's supporters, however much the benefits of it may be acclaimed on Labour platforms. "No Government had done so much from a working-class point of view," exclaimed Mr. Purcell at Hull. "They hoped that having accomplished this the Labour Government would now concentrate on the programme for which they called the Labour Party into being." More especially is there a lack of conviction in the matter of Protection. Mr. Graham at the Independent Labour Party's Summer School made some reference to the Tariff Reformers on the back benches. Though the lapse of the Safeguarding of Industries Act afforded no opportunity for Parliamentary debate, when Preference was being discussed it was made quite clear that Free Trade has no place in the creed of a considerable and influential section of the Government's supporters, and the Hull Conference showed the same division.

How far from the old Radical tradition the party has drifted was further shown by the vote on the Welsh Temperance Bill, which was indefinitely postponed by a majority composed of Labour Members, though the Chancellor and others spoke strongly in its favour. The removal of Mr. Dent from the Bench is another surprising example of contempt for what used to be considered ideals of liberty.

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In the field of foreign policy, Liberals generally approve the line pursued, with one important exception.

The presence of the Prime Minister at the League Assembly is applauded, and should his proposals for arbitration and disarmament take concrete form, and prove the basis of agreement, it will compensate for the disappointment felt at the curt rejection of the Pact of Guarantee. The Lausanne Treaty was accepted as an unpleasant necessity. The Irish Boundary question has been handled with honour, and in the very delicate matter of the Imperial partner-

ship in foreign affairs the Government have expressed a desire to follow the Liberal precedents, despite the clumsy improvisation for Dominion participation in the European Conference.

It is undeniable, therefore, that so far as concerns things done, the record on the strength of which the Party will ask for a further mandate contains little or none of the Socialism which is supposed to be their distinguishing brand. This fact is clearly recognised by the Left wing, and, as Mr. Purcell said, the time has now come for the Ministers to begin the work which it is alleged called them into being. That is the problem of growing urgency. There were many who thought that the party made a mistake in assuming office, and who dislike the continued effort (again I quote Mr. Purcell) "to win the smiles of the . . . superior classes." They desired for the time being to retain the great tactical advantage of irresponsibility and freedom for propaganda. They have been growing more insistent as the Session advanced, and to satisfy or at least to quiet them phrases have been offered and gestures made from the Front Bench. Mr. Wheatley has shone in this rôle. His Evictions Bill was moved with some of the fierceness of old days, and contained as its first clause a proposition for throwing upon houseowners, selected at random, the whole rent-charge of the unemployed, which was quite indefensible. This clause was a demonstration and no more, designed to hold the Left. Mr. Clynes and Mr. MacDonald made it perfectly clear that it would not be permitted to stand, and yet it was not withdrawn. The defeat which followed was intended to be used to put the Government in a strong position with the tenants,— "office and not power" again. Unfortunately, the persistent offers of the other parties to co-operate in a reasonable measure, all of which offers were refused, rather damped this election gunpowder.

Mr. Wheatley figured again in a demonstration of the cost of capital in house-building. He purported to show that it was the financier alone who stood between the tenant and a cheap dwelling. But no one could persuade the Government to give the views of the Cabinet on the matter, and it is hardly probable that Mr. Snowden favours the abolition of interest. The withdrawal of the prosecution of the editor of the *Workers' Weekly* was another bid for Left wing favour.

The pregnant instance, however, arose in Russian affairs. When the influence of Moscow is realised and the determined campaign waged with its approval is understood—especially as it is by permeation and minority movements, and not by conflicting organisation—it will be seen how vital it was that an agreement should be made with the Bolsheviks. There is nothing definite of any great importance in the documents. They amount to an agreement to agree and set up the machinery of bargaining. This machinery

may very well produce proposals to which no British Parliament would consent. It may be that in no circumstances could we lend money to Russia, but all that is to be the subject of further deliberation, and is not secured to the Soviet by the hastily affixed signature of the Prime Minister. The immense importance which was and is attached to the matter by the Labour Party appears really to mean that the agreement is urgently needed by the Union of Soviets, and that, the influence of that Government being behind the extreme Left wing of the Labour Party, a failure would precipitate the disruption of the party, which is the ever-present danger.

"How long can unity be preserved?"—that remains the predominating issue. The more persistent the purely partisan attacks, whether Liberal or Tory, on the Government, the more their followers are welded together. The longer they stay in and receive fair play the more difficult their task of keeping the party united. An election would help them. But even an election would not remove the difficulty, for there is no prospect of an independent Labour majority.

That is the puzzle. Unless some party gets an exceptionally lucky dip from our surprising electoral bran-pie there will be no majority Government for some time to come, that is, as things are organised at present. There are some who seek a solution in the ranging together of all other parties against the Labour Government, believing that thus they are fighting Socialism. To those who have studied the real composition of the support the Government receives, this plan appears mistaken and even fantastic. It is more likely that a slightly prolonged period of office will break the artificially united front and that the result may be to give independence to the Communists and bring into being a *Bloc des Gauches* which, representing the true majority views of the electors, might give us a stable Government for some years.

WEDGWOOD BENN.

LA FOLLETTE AND THE WISCONSIN IDEA.

THE audience was composed of American university students and instructors, with a sprinkling of townspeople, gathered to hear a "popular lecturer." The entertainer began talking at eight o'clock; at ten he paused a moment for those who desired to leave; two-thirds remained seated; he was still talking at eleven, when more left the hall; at midnight he stopped. He had talked for four hours, and the majority of a large audience had stayed to listen. His subject was treated seriously; statistics were frequently quoted; not a joke relieved the monotony of narrative and reasoning; yet these young people kept their seats. They were listening to Robert M. La Follette, and he was telling them about his fights with political bosses.

The speaker derived no advantage from an imposing presence; he is short, with a thick trunk and solid body, surmounted by a head reminiscent of a Knight Templar's helmet—caricaturists exaggerate the protruding brow and chin. His face is that of a fighter seamed by age and experience. The author of the *Mirrors of Washington* describes him graphically: "The face of an old Buddha and the squat figure of one as he sits in his conspicuous Senate seat, he lacks only impassiveness to appear Oriental." Impassiveness is not one of his characteristics. His body bristles with nerves; his eyes dance; one thinks of a dynamo and laments, as one student of politics does, that he is civilised, for "what a pirate or highwayman . . . might not this barrel of wildcats have made?"

The description does not belie his name; La Follette is no heir of a long line of stolid Anglo-Saxons. France gave him to America, when Louis XV. withdrew his troops from the Mississippi Valley and left a few families, among them the La Follettes, derelict in the wilderness. The son of these La Follettes possesses the wiry strength of the French-Canadian *voyageurs*, and his body might well have been toughened in following river courses in pursuit of furs or in guiding hunting parties across the Rockies. When his enemies call him too old to be President, he tells them that he will be campaigning ten years hence. Why not? There is the story of his century-old grandfather riding a thousand miles across the prairies.

La Follette's zealous fight for good government and his unflagging earnestness in the cause of civic righteousness have made him the spokesman of Western aspirations and hopes. Who is more fitted? He understands the West, for he is her child inheriting memories of her changes through generations. His father watched the coming of the first caravans of the English-speaking pioneers, and

his grandfather knew the country when, except for a few French, Indians were the only occupants of the rolling prairies. He was born in a log cabin, but his life has been passed in the midst of an earnest, hustling, practical, machine-using West that still clings to its pioneer idealism, to its belief in democracy, to its fondness for coerced righteousness. Every outburst of passion, every fight for self-interest or justice that has stirred the prairies has found a response in his breast. Birth and experience have united to prepare him, an industrialised Parsival or a demagogic Pied Piper, to lead the excitable Westerners on their quest of social justice.

During La Follette's youth and young manhood the Valley of the Mississippi was in a continuous political ferment. Just before he entered the University of Wisconsin the farmers' movement for social and economic betterment known as the Grange reached its zenith and began to wane. The year after his graduation the demands of the Grange were embodied in the platforms of two political parties, the National Farmers' Alliance and the Greenback party. His first service at Washington as a member of the House of Representatives, 1885-1891, came to an end when the West in a frenzy of discontent rallied in a really important third party, the Populists.

The conditions which produced Populism evolved out of the rapid growth of the far Western States—six of these States were admitted to the Union in 1889 and 1890. The extension of railroad facilities stimulated the farmers to competition in raising maize and wheat; over-production resulted, and a fall in price of all agricultural products. Those settlements which had pressed too far into the arid zone were particularly hard hit; payment of the 10 to 14 per cent. interest on mortgages held by Easterners was impossible. In earlier years there had been offered for those economically oppressed an escape to the frontier beyond them; but by 1880 free land, so lavishly given away, was occupied; and congestion of population began shortly to be felt. The farmers were trapped.

Contemporary with this development in the far West were occurring events which changed the American manner of living. Social customs based upon the self-contained family, such as Thomas Jefferson dreamed and wrote about, were dispersed by economic forces. Railroads with refrigerator cars, central milling plants, and grain elevators made possible the centralisation of industries. Families improved their diet but became dependent upon a complicated machinery of industrialised society. The commission merchants, the millers, and railroad magnates were exercising economic dominion where once lived free men dressed in homespun, housed in log cabins, and sustained by salt pork and cornbread.

The changed conditions of life affected other classes besides the Western farmers, particularly the labourers in the growing cities and mining districts, where were flocking crowds of immigrants from Europe, no longer easily absorbed. These latter brought with them strange doctrines, socialism, communism, anarchism, very dissonant with America's political philosophy handed down from the Fathers. They talked loudly of the sins of capitalism, and could point effectively to the increasing wealth of the *entrepreneurs* and the crowds of "wage slaves." Labour began to organise, first in the Knights of Labour and later in the Federation of Labour, which was an association of trade unions. Strikes and riots occurred. Abortive attempts were made to form a Labour political party. All these happenings alarmed the conservative East, whose pocketbook was threatened; and, when they culminated in Populism and its aftermath, alarm gave place to panic.

The third party movement of the Populists came to a head in 1892 after two decades of agitation. The party was composed of Western farmers and labourers, upon whom hard times threatened to bring poverty and even pauperism. It was not strange that a deficiency of money appeared to them to be the cause of their distress, and that they accepted the proposal for relief made by the mining States; the free coinage of silver would create more money, and bimetallism would beat Gresham's Law. The popular acceptance of the slogan of "16 to 1" has so exaggerated the importance of an ephemeral plank that the Populists' list of grievances and demands for reforms have become overshadowed. These demands are, however, most interesting to the historian, for they are the source from which liberal Democrats and Republicans, since that day, have drawn their inspirations. The Populists' platform reads like a calendar of twentieth-century reform measures. They demanded the loan of money by the Government, a graduated income tax, postal savings banks, Government ownership of railroads, telegraphs, and telephone. They affirmed their belief in the Australian ballot, tax reduction, an eight-hour-day for labour, the initiative and referendum, a single term for the President, and the direct election of United States Senators. Protection and subsidies they condemned.

This uprising of the common people in the West gave birth to two reform leaders of national prominence, one in the Democratic Party, the other in the Republican; they are William Jennings Bryan of Nebraska, a product of a State whose western border enters the arid zone, and Robert M. La Follette of Wisconsin, a State in the rich land of the Great Lake region.

The success of Bryan in forcing the plank in favour of bimetallism upon his party convention in 1896 and making himself the candi-

date for President is well remembered. The event is historically important, because it made predominant in the Democratic Party the ideas of the Western reformers and forced the Republicans to defend the more conservative position.

Two years earlier than Mr. Bryan's melodramatic appearance upon the national stage, Mr. La Follette began his active career of professional reformer within his own State, where he laid a solid foundation for his reputation by notable achievements. The limitation of his field of action is characteristic. Sometime in his life he learned the necessity of mastering a subject about which he must speak and act, or as he puts it himself: "It is always a question of digging out the facts upon which to base your case." To his mind the complaints and demands of the West indicated a disease, but he was not prepared to accept the current superficial diagnosis, nor was he willing to apply the popular nostrum. The case required study, he needed a laboratory wherein he could experiment and "dig out his facts." A small field for observation would serve his purpose better than a large one, the State of Wisconsin better than the Nation.

There is another trait of character that should be noticed. Mr. La Follette's mind, like that of the physical scientist, looks to the concrete and is fearful of the abstract. This explains somewhat his tendency to visualise the evils against which he contends in personalities. His *Autobiography* consists of accounts of one fight after another. He does not recognise the influences of his environment upon him, that is too abstract an idea; but he does see how the antagonisms of men have led him along the path of destiny. He declares that the turning point of his life was the result of a personal encounter. He is called "Fighting Bob," a popular justification of his own point of view.

Wisconsin, like every other State in the Union, was controlled by a State political machine, in its case the Republican. La Follette had become cognisant of the evil during his earlier campaigns. The bosses held the party together by the distribution of offices, and drew their sinews of war from the corporations, particularly the railroads. The whole machinery of government was intertwined with the business interests of the wealthy classes. In 1894 La Follette and his friends began the fight. Their purpose was to capture the State convention of the Republican Party wherein nominations for office were made. They were defeated by corruption, and also in 1896 and again in 1898, but on the fourth attempt in 1900 they succeeded; La Follette was nominated for and subsequently elected Governor. The event marked the beginning of a new era in the history of State Governments. What La Follette did in the office to which he was elected three times has been

succinctly summed up by Theodore Roosevelt: "Thanks to the movement for genuinely democratic government which Senator La Follette led to overwhelming victory in Wisconsin, that State has become literally a laboratory for wise experimental legislation, aiming to secure the social and political betterment of the people as a whole."

There has been nothing startlingly novel, nothing socialistic, in the changes La Follette has introduced into Wisconsin; in England he would sit with the Liberals. His reforms have been based upon simple honesty and common sense. The two evils of State government as he reads them are unregulated corporations and boss rule. The railroads, to take a particular and most important case, have been compelled to pay their just taxes and to submit to the regulation of their tariffs by a State commission. The second evil the Governor tried to remove by altering the machinery for nominating candidates; for the convention has been substituted the direct primary in which the people themselves name the candidates they favour. The loud voices of critics of these changes are still heard. It is claimed that the corporations have been driven to seek refuge in other States where their activities are not so carefully watched and their taxes not so heavy; and La Follette's opponents ascribe to the direct primary law the breaking down of the party system.

The "Wisconsin Idea," as La Folletteism is called, may be summed up in one sentence: So curb the greed of men that every individual may be offered under the protection and auspices of the State an opportunity for the fullest self-development. This is a logical outcome of a long experiment with the doctrine of individualism, whereby the tendency of the strong to encroach upon the rights of the weak has been abundantly proved. In Wisconsin the necessary restraint on corporations is exercised by State commissions which determine rights and enforce law and justice. The supplement of this restrictive side of the Wisconsin Idea is the fostering of self-help. Although little encouragement is given to State or city ownership of public utilities, individuals are urged and taught to co-operate in buying and selling. Accompanying this is the active promotion of the educational system from the State University downwards to the kindergartens. The University of Wisconsin reaches through its extension work, its bureaus of business and agricultural information, and its loan of books, every class within the State. The whole population is at school. Certainly political intelligence has been quickened; La Follette himself has acted the part of school teacher; and by long speeches filled with relevant facts and figures, which might be expected to repel the Johns and Jennies, the Hans and Gretchens of his audiences, he has educated his people and won their support.

La Follette's reputation as a fighter for the rights of common men spread throughout the Upper Mississippi Valley; and when he took his seat in the United States Senate in January, 1906, he represented a constituency reaching far beyond the confines of his own State; but in Washington where capitalistic interests dominated, he was a lonely figure. Woodrow Wilson said of him: "I love these lonely figures climbing this ugly mountain of privilege." As he climbed La Follette was nursing a high purpose in his breast. He proposed to repeat his Wisconsin success on a larger field, and to capture the national Republican Party for the cause of reform. Egoism? Yes! but it is magnificent. For the immediate realisation of his plan, he found an obstacle in the popularity of the magnetic President Roosevelt, whose influence was irresistible in the circles which La Follette must win over. The two men could never co-operate. They both must lead. Moreover Roosevelt, politician-like, was ever prepared to compromise his liberalism, while La Follette would never yield a principle to expediency.

During the administration of President Taft conditions became more favourable for the ambition of La Follette. He became the leader of the faction of Western "Insurgents" which gained coherence and power in opposing the unpopular high tariff bill. The contemporary outburst of sensational criticism in the monthly magazines gave the movement support. The "muck-rakers" told the stories of the trusts, exposed the iniquities of city government, and laid bare the corruption in State and nation. Republican insurgency was fostered by a shattering of the self-satisfaction and complacency of Americans. Criticism and reform had become popular.

As the year 1912 drew near, the hopes of the Insurgents grew stronger. The prospects of defeating in the Republican Convention the "Old Guard" and Mr. Taft appeared bright, and La Follette with the encouragement of Mr. Roosevelt was put forward as candidate for the Presidency. His campaign was received by the people with enthusiasm. The magnetic personage of Oyster Bay watched the rising tide of popularity and dreamed, and then watched again. Self-restraint and square-dealing were not his strongest characteristics; Mr. Roosevelt threw his hat into the ring; but La Follette did not withdraw. The two independent candidates neutralised each other. The Republican machine was triumphant; Taft was nominated, after Roosevelt with his faithful followers marched majestically from the hall to set up the "Progressive Party." Mr. La Follette remained a Republican, but like Achilles he kept to his tent and sulked. Wisconsin, the centre of Republican

insurgency and progressivism, cast its vote for the Democrat, Woodrow Wilson.

President Wilson was the heir of two reform movements, both Western, Bryanism and Republican Insurgency. During his first term of office he forced through Congress many of the measures long advocated; nor did Mr. La Follette refuse his support. The admirers of the latter claim, with much justice, personal honour for him in the passage of all recent liberal legislation. At the latest Republican Convention the Wisconsin delegates pointed out that there had been proposed by their predecessors during the last sixteen years thirty-one planks for incorporation in the Republican platforms, all scornfully rejected; yet of these, twenty-six had been made wholly or partially the law of the land.

Since the Wisconsin Senator loves the concrete fact and is suspicious of the abstract theory, his political thinking is nationalistic; and ideas of internationalism, desirable enough if they will prevent war which he hates, do not form an important ingredient of his basic principles. His constituency in the upper Mississippi Valley is composed of Americans of German and Scandinavian descent. For many reasons, then, he opposed the entrance of his country into an European war with all the vigour of his mind and body—he spoke in the Senate against one of President Wilson's measures for nineteen hours at a stretch. He made himself the most unpopular man in America. His later opposition to the Versailles Treaty and the League of Nations proved useful to the "Old Guard" of the Republican Party which was using every expediency to defeat Mr. Wilson. Their success brought with it a return of La Follette's popularity. In 1922 his constituents returned him to the Senate with a majority of 375,000.

The temporary alliance with the reactionaries of his party was with La Follette accidental and casual. Their triumph in electing Mr. Harding in 1920 was a defeat of his own hopes as well as of Wilsonism. It proved that the forces of tradition and reaction were too strongly entrenched in the Republican Party to be overthrown. Fourteen years of failure have convinced him of the futility of his early hopes. He has grown tired of playing the rôle of John the Baptist and has returned to the West to rehearse the part of Moses.

Shortly after the election of 1920, the "Farm Bloc" made its *début* in the Senate. It was led by La Follette and was composed of liberal Western members who were willing without reference to party obligations to take up the fight of the farmers. The disillusion of the War and Peace and the economic depression were stirring up in the West the same discontent that had been so evident in the last decades of the previous century. Centring in North

Dakota, the Nonpartisan League, composed exclusively of farmers, was spreading to the adjoining States. The labourers of the cities, having enjoyed high wages during the War, were opposing every effort of the employers to cut down the labour costs of production. They were insisting upon direct political action; and, despite opposition from their leaders, local Labour parties sprang up all over the country. In 1920 a national Farmer-Labour party was launched, but was almost swamped by the Republican tidal wave. Of all these *foci* of political agitation La Follette was the centre, just as Bryan had been in an earlier period. The differences in the two men indicates the changes that time has made; the thoroughly trained and practical La Follette replaces the oratorical and inexperienced leader of the 'nineties. In the Congressional election of 1922 the Wisconsin Senator, paying no attention to party affiliations, lent his support to every liberal and radical candidate. He did not fear to speak in Minnesota in favour of the Farmer-Labour ticket, nor did he withhold his influence from the Nonpartisans in North Dakota. The result of the election throughout the country was a rebuke to the reactionaries of the two major parties.

In the present campaign this energetic son of French sires, this "barrel of wildcats," is not so much the leader of a party as an expression of a state of mind. His past political record is his platform with the addition of a plank favouring public ownership of railroads and water-power sites. He has said in substance to the various groups of discontents: "I believe there are enough of you to found a new liberal party. Let's try. I am going to run for the Presidency, and I'll tag that Western Democrat, Senator Wheeler, of Montana, to run along with me. Now if you fellows are willing to cast off your variegated coats of peculiar 'isms' and follow me, come on." With one accord Socialists, Farmer-Labourites, Nonpartisan Leaguers, labourers of every description, discontented Democrats, liberal Republicans, anti-prohibitionists, anti-internationalists, pro-Germans, and anti-English have joined in the race. The West is a scene of turmoil and the East is in agitation. What the movement means beyond an expression of confidence in a remarkable personality it is difficult to say. Perhaps one common but vague longing emerges. These men and women are enthusiastically following Robert M. La Follette because they hope that under his leadership they can break through the entanglements of worn-out political and economic traditions and gain a "new freedom." The Wisconsin Idea has at last become a national issue.

CLARENCE WALWORTH ALVORD.

COAL AND POWER.

COAL AND POWER has now been published for some months. Its arguments and conclusions have had a very large publicity, of a popular kind, in the cheap shilling edition. It represents the work of a Committee established under the chairmanship of Mr. Lloyd George, to consider the question of unrest or inefficiency in the coalfields, which are the life-centres of British industry. That Committee felt itself compelled to pass on from the condition of the coalfields themselves to the condition of the supply of power—partly from the best possible utilisation of coal, partly from hydraulic sources or any other method in which at present power runs to waste. It was stimulated by reports received from specialists sent to investigate amongst Britain's trade competitors.

These reports (some of which are included in the appendices to the "Library Edition") reveal a furious energy in equipment and national development somehow lacking in this old England, which is jogging along on archaic methods. It seems as if the very calamity which had fallen on (say) France in her war devastation or Germany in her almost hopeless economic position after the Treaty of Versailles, had compelled these countries to reorganise their whole industrial systems in order to attain the "right to live." England, undevastated, and with currency on the whole maintained secure, settled down contentedly to the old ways, as if she never could be moved at any time. For a year or two these old ways enjoyed a furious "boom," in which wages soared and profits were harvested far above pre-War levels. Then came the crash—due not so much to any internal troubles as to the withering up of the demand for British exported goods—at least at the price at which alone Britain could export goods at a profit. England alone amongst all the big nations is almost entirely dependent for food, raw material, and prosperity upon the purchase of her commodities in foreign lands. This is most true of coal and of the trades which depend on power derived from cheap coal—especially the "heavy trades"—iron, steel and the like, and the great textile manufactures. There was started in Germany the cry of *Weg von Kohle* (away from coal), since modified, but creating large developments independent of what coal was normally used in producing power. There was started in France a demand—now almost satisfied—that the country should make itself completely free from its former dependence on English coal. The same desire was burnt into Italy by the experience of the price she had to pay for British coal for her manufactures during and immediately after the War.

The British coal miners and mineowners, organised into gigantic fighting organisations, for years occupied all their energies in fierce fighting over wages and hours and some undefined thing humorously termed "nationalisation" of the coalfields. They seemed blind to the progress of the time which, in combat over the right division of the spoil, appeared likely to leave them with no spoil to divide. Scientists and technical specialists had embodied these forebodings in a litter of Government Reports which no one read. Many, in giving evidence before our Committee, expressed their despair at their neglect and their fear that realisation would come too late for remedy.

Coal and Power is not a political document, although incidentally—as the Coal Trade is in the heart of politics and can never get out of it again—it is compelled sometimes to deal with suggestions which have become political. But it is a reasoned statement, by a body of men who have a right to speak and have taken infinite care to examine oral and written evidence of a scheme which alone, in its main outline, can save the industry of this land from increasing calamity.

And at present it seems to hold the field. No reasonable or convincing attack has been made either on its diagnosis of present discontent or its outline of possible remedy. As was to be expected, the leaders of fighting machines have issued speeches and manifestos against it. No one imagined that it would prove acceptable to such leaders, who are committed to different solutions. So far as the organisation of the coal industry is concerned, the report of necessity satisfies neither those who for many years have declared that the only solution to the problem is in complete upheaval, nor those, on the other hand, who declare that if agitators are suppressed and loyal men are assisted during strikes there is no problem which requires any solution at all. The Mining Association, therefore, has issued a rather absurd pamphlet demanding that the industry shall be kept out of politics, and practically asserting that if only the men could be allowed to settle down and work hard for long hours all would be for the best in the best possible organised coal industry in the world. Although the Miners' Federation have not issued any official reply as far as I am aware, they also have denounced our proposal as a "political stunt" designed to turn men's minds from the millennium which they preach, or to undermine their loyalty to those through whose activity that millennium will be speedily attained. The one party denounces the report as an alternative to nationalisation; the other, as half-way house towards nationalisation.

Meantime, neither marches towards industrial peace and pros-

perity. Wages in the unskilled sections of the mining world are miserably low. In a substantial number of the mining fields no profit is being made, but an adverse balance of hundreds of thousands of pounds is being heaped up against that "pool," which is ultimately to be divided by the last agreement between masters and men. Mines are being closed all over the country and the workers pitched on to the Unemployment Fund. Peace is only in the nature of an armed truce, with the leaders of the Union asserting that only the absence of the munitions of war prevents war being declared. The conception of the nationalisation remedy advanced by the committee of the Miners' Federation was so grotesque and unfair and unworkable that even the Labour Government refused to endorse it, and it was torn to pieces in Parliament and flung out by an enormous majority. Mr. Cook, the new Secretary of the Federation, in making an impassioned appeal for the immediate adoption of this nationalisation scheme as the first plank in the programme of Labour, found no response from the other organisations in the recent Trade Union Congress.

In this desolation, which is also an *impasse* at which the coal industry has arrived, it would seem that the arguments of any such body of men as those who were responsible for *Coal and Power* should be received with interest and treated with respect by all who understand something of the difficulties which are crowding upon us in the present system. We have not published our names or the names of our witnesses, although most of these would command authority as possessing some intimate knowledge of the problem in some or other of its aspects. We have had those who have in part been responsible for former reports and investigations, technical and scientific, as well as more general in character. We have had those who are or have been actual mineowners and, again, those who have been coal-getters in the mine. We have had at our disposal both special reports on special aspects made for our Committee, and also such vast masses of material as have accumulated in Government documents imperfectly studied, such as the "Coal Conservation Committee" or the enormous mass of evidence laid before the Sankey Commission. Although I have presided over many Government and private Committees on such subjects as these and have been a member of many others, I know of no one in which more trouble has been taken to disentangle reason from prejudice and to come only to impartial and dispassionate results. Further, we do not claim great originality for our proposals. In so far as any credit is due, it is in the gathering of those proposals into one united

scheme in which each separate idea could be fortified by references to arguments already advanced by others.

Coal and Power presents in a condensed form a policy covering the ground. That ground is the bringing of contentment and efficiency into the coalfields, the raising of the standard of life, and, it is to be hoped, the real wages also of the worker, the bridging of the gulf which now dismally separates employer and employed in the uniting of representatives of both in common activities for common welfare, and, finally, the introduction of the new methods of eliminating waste and introducing scientific appliances which may effect as great a revolution in the twentieth century in industrial development as was effected by the railways nearly a hundred years ago.

Although I do not wish merely to repeat the recommendations which are set out with admirable clearness at the commencement of the volume, I may perhaps explain the argument which led to these recommendations, and of necessity, without going into detail, group them together under their main heads. The contention on which all rests is that perpetual discontent varied by open warfare is as injurious to the satisfactory working of the coal estates of this country as any flaw or imperfection in the actual coal obtained. The human element is as important as the scientific, and the scientific as important as the quality of the material and its cheap and efficient conversion for the functions for which it is needed. And the neglect of that human element with its mixture of ignorance and intelligence, selfishness and high ideals, the spirit of self-help, the spirit of comradeship, the demand for justice, the craving for life, cannot be neglected, either in a denunciation of laziness on the one hand or of agitation on the other. Much of the potentialities of it is now being channelled into random and sometimes harmful action, or returns upon itself for lack of opportunity to use its energies for the public good. We have, therefore, recommended that in every possible fashion, through pithead committees, district committees, and a central mining board, there shall be selected men from both sides who are willing to give a study to the problem of the best development of the coal mine and the best improvement of the work and conditions of those who are engaged throughout their lives (with those dependent on them) in the actual getting of coal. We believe that problems may here be faced and in part solved quite apart from the continual wrangling over a scale of wages; and we propose that a very substantial sum of money, in part derived from a tax on the purchase price of the mining royalties and on the unworked minerals, in part from the continuance of the levy now operating on each ton

of coal, shall be put at the disposal of these councils and committees, for the welfare and general amelioration of the life of our population which depends on coal mining for its livelihood.

Here we are indeed proposing nothing sensational. In the Coalition Government suggestions of 1921, national boards, district boards, and pithead committees were proposed. These latter were first rejected by the men, and afterwards, when the men desired them, rejected by the masters. We propose that all of these shall be endowed with certain functions and powers of recommendation. And there is no reason why, if they prove in actual working useful and desirable instruments for peace and improvement in the coal industry, other functions should not be added to them in the light of such experience.

We propose that the nation shall resume possession of its own mineral property, in other words, shall become the owner of the mining royalties and the ungotten coal, and of coal which may in future be discovered but whose very existence at present is unknown. There is nothing revolutionary in such a proposal.

In many conservative countries, such as France, the Government owns all the coal. Indeed, but for an unfortunate error in an Act of the seventeenth century coal would have been in the same position as gold is to-day, and, if discovered, be the property of the State. It is curious to find the Mining Association concentrating in an attack upon our proposal of the State acquisition of royalties. The Sankey Commission was not exactly a model judicial body, consisting as it did largely of unedifying wrangles in public between those who were supposed to represent the employers and those who were supposed to represent the employed. There was evidence that most members on each side had come with preconceived ideas on the main issue, and were entirely careless of any evidence which was submitted to which these ideas were hostile. But on one point the whole Commission showed an amazing unanimity. The majority report of the Socialists and miners' representatives was not more strong than the minority report of the representatives of the mineowners and great captains of industry in recommending not only pit committees and district and national councils, but also that the State should acquire the ownership of coal. This demand is set out in pages of unchallengeable argument in the report signed by Mr. Evan Williams, the Chairman of the Mining Association, Sir Adam Nimmo, another representative of the coal owners, as well as such captains of industry or representatives of industries dependent on coal as Mr. Arthur Balfour, Mr. Cooper, and Sir Alan Smith. Sir Arthur Duckham, who played a lone hand and propounded a scheme of his own containing many resemblances to that outlined in *Coal*

and Power, places as the first paragraph of his independent report: "The private ownership of minerals has not been and is not in the best interests of the dominion." He goes on to comment upon the "heavy losses of coal," the "inefficient working," and the "unnecessary difficulties in the winning of the coal" caused by the fact that it is performed by more than fifteen hundred separate interests working over three thousand collieries.

Our report perhaps too readily assumed that this agreement is practically accepted in principle. It was followed by the approval by all parties in the State on the invitation of the Coalition Government, in a Parliament overwhelmingly Tory, of a policy whose first plank would be the State ownership of coal. And the only difference between the various parties concerned was the question of what compensation, if any, should be paid to the present owner. The amount suggested as "just compensation," varying from the condition in which royalties are being paid in connection with coal actually being worked, and, on the other hand, coal whose existence is unknown and does not enter into the price of the land beneath which it lies, is fully set out in *Coal and Power*. Our report defines in detail some of the immense advantages in cheapness of working, improvement of output, and removal of waste which could be derived from a community thus becoming master of its own property in its own house.

Not least among these would be the improvement of the life of the mining populations. One of the most interesting sections of *Coal and Power* deals in detail with what may be called the more human, as distinct from the scientific, side of the problem. This is especially included in a masterly report by Mr. Scott James and Mr. Ifor Evans, published as an appendix in the "Library Edition." It represents an impartial enquiry made by personal investigation during the past summer in all the great coalfields of England and Scotland, of the actual conditions of life and housing of the miner when he is not working in the pit, and his wife and children who are living in them all and every day.

Except in Lancashire and certain limited parts of other coalfields, the miners live as a race apart, in mining villages almost detached from the great towns and the rest of industrial England. The growing girls do not go out to work, as in the textile trades, except in Lancashire. The families are large and on the whole healthy. The miner has a deep-rooted prejudice or conviction, very much to his honour, that his wife should do no work about the mine, and the comparative lowness of the death-rate is in part due to the fact that she neither works when she is a prospective

mother nor feels herself compelled to go back as speedily as possible after a baby is born. The hours of actual work, seven hours, for men and boys, and rarely for six days a week, is less than that in any other trade in Britain. Under such conditions, with so much leisure in the twenty-four hours and with so active and vigorous a population of non-wage-earners, you would think that the mining districts would be something like models of working-class villages, with every kind of comfort and amenity both inside and outside the home. Until recently wages have been high, and by the pooling of the earnings of father and boys in one cottage, there has come in an amount which would make many low-grade trades envious. There is no natural congestion of land monopoly due to overcrowding as in great cities, which have converted parts of east and south London and other big centres into gigantic slums. Sites for houses should be obtained in these remote villages at almost the price of agricultural land. Gardens, recreation grounds, institutes, libraries should be everywhere prevalent, cottages should be real homes.

And yet the facts as here revealed are quite otherwise. A miner's house and the conditions surrounding it are worse than those of any other worker in the country. Mr. Scott James gives a list of the special requirements of a miner's home: "A warmth-giving grate, a satisfactory coal-cellar, a copper in a scullery for washing clothes, or at least an adjacent washhouse, a bath-room on the ground floor, a suitable place for drying his working clothes, so that they may not foul the air of a room where people sleep, and a handy water supply." The truth of his next sentence: "These are not things he often gets," is expounded in the rest of his report.

Miners, owing to the fact that they work at a laborious and grimy trade, need more washing facilities than the rest of the population. They get less. In countless streets the elementary convenience of water laid on inside the dwelling is lacking. In almost every district described, a proportion of the inhabitants have to get the water from outside. In many, water has been only recently laid on; and it must be remembered that even in districts where the pithead baths are supplied and made use of, the miner's wife has to do more laundry work than other women. The miner needs more cubic feet of air and more light since his work is underground. Over and over again the rooms in which he lives are described as "low," "dark," "overshadowed," "built back to back," and always too few and overcrowded. In Lanarkshire, 61,000 houses consist of one room. In many others, two or three rooms seem to be the rule, inhabited often by two families or one family and lodgers. Scotland, as a whole, has

the worst housing, but Durham and parts of Wales run it close. The fuel indoors, the water outside, the privies public, the whole place ramshackle, damp, unsafe, dark; with these overwhelming drawbacks one wonders at times that investigators find disapproval left for the universal ugliness and dinginess, the unplanned, crammed conglomeration of houses that call themselves villages and towns, the monotony of long rows of featureless one-storey dwellings, the utter absence of any visible focus for communal or civic life. Yet who can doubt that these deficiencies in their turn contribute to that aggrieved condition of mind that is one of the acutest problems of the whole trade? The courage that still makes headway against this desperate squalor, that sends out the children clean and neat, and achieves a clean floor and furniture seems marvellous, and the inevitably frequent collapse of standard only a thing to be expected.

Certain districts have undoubtedly special difficulties, such as the Welsh coal mines in the steep narrow valleys. Mr. Scott James is probably right in suggesting that the great mistake was in attempting to form cities here at all. It would have been better to build in more suitable places and bring the men to their work by quick conveyances. But in many places pits were sunk in open country, and nothing but blind haste and misplaced thrift is to blame for the existing squalor. In new coalfields some kind of planning and a better standard of house are attempted, with immediate improvement in the whole mental atmosphere. The frustration of decency and the impossibility of cleanliness involved by the conditions of some of the places described, where family is heaped on family in long dismal rows, must produce either bitterness or surrender. Both are almost equally disastrous socially.

And it is not necessary that the mining population should be forced to this choice. In such places as Mansfield, in Douglas Water, at Clock Face in Lancashire, decent houses which a woman can keep clean and places where children can play have been provided, recreation rooms and clubs are available, and the result is shown in the pride and satisfaction of the people. Every mining town and village could have been a garden village; yet "mining village" is a synonym for ugliness and squalor.

Perhaps the most anxious aspect of the matter is the fact that things are getting steadily worse. In the latest census, there were over 34,000 people living more than two to a room in Wigan and St. Helens. Ten years ago there were only 27,000. In spite of restricted markets and other trade difficulties the mining population is increasing, and the housing is falling back. With the failure to maintain the necessary number of houses goes the failure to provide adequate school accommodation or the more elementary humanising

accessories of communal life; places for games outside, rooms for meetings or recreation or music. In many villages the ubiquitous cinema provides the only amusement or window into another world. The men, it is true, talk and discuss at their work. To the women, shut in their tiny dwellings, even this exercise for the mind is inaccessible. "Oh yes, I always go to all the meetings," said a miner's wife in by no means a squalid district to the present writer during an election. "Let me see. When was the last? Oh, the Mothers' Union three months ago."

It is said that all the miners care for is an increased wage. This report goes far to disprove that somewhat facile generality. Man shall not live by bread alone. And it is quite evident that conscious or half unconscious revolt against present conditions and a demand for life more civilised and humane is very largely responsible for that unrest which is not only in itself a tragedy but also the greatest force injurious to the satisfactory working of the coalfields of Britain. In any case, our report expresses a determination to see that these conditions are improved, together with some definite suggestions of a "way out."

The section on power is perhaps of more general interest than that on coal. It offers, with its appendices descriptive of development in other nations, a great scheme combining the utilisation of waste in coal itself, and energy now running to waste outside for a huge electrical development whose limits it is difficult to foresee. It is no scheme devised in the brain of a faddist or a madman, for already gigantic preparations are being made for its utilisation among our trade rivals, and to a substantial if rather dimly limited extent in our own land. It proposes the use of coal in high-power stations where much of the product of the mine can be used which is now not used at all. It proposes the utilisation of hydraulic power, and the combination of coal power and hydraulic power where that is possible or desirable. It does not propose, as the Socialists have quite foolishly and unfairly declared, that the advantage of this new power should drain away into the pockets of private persons, nor indeed that the power stations shall of necessity be run by private companies. For if, on the one hand, it holds up the Great N.E. Power Station, which is the product of private enterprise, as an example of what can be done, it selects for praise, on the other, the Power Station of Manchester, which supplies cheap electricity to the city and its neighbours, and is purely a municipal and publicly managed concern. But it demands activity and energy; the giving of Government loans; the spending of large sums of money, which incidentally will find work for skilled and unskilled labour; the breaking down of all vested interests—including small

private companies and small local authorities, which stand in the way of most efficient working. It visualises gigantic electric main cables, some perhaps along the great new motor roads which are coming, some along the present railways, which will carry electric power from the places of its generation to every corner of the country, to be available, not only for energy in the factory, but for light and heating and power in every home.

One sees the vision of a transformed England; of smokeless cities with the waste eliminated as well as the discomfort which the smoke of the cities to-day brings; of small towns being able to develop into garden cities because in the position to tap easily a cheap source of energy; of a revival of rural England by the development even in villages of the old rural industries which have been driven into the great towns through the absence of such a source of power; yes, and even a revival of agriculture itself, in the placing of power instead of crude unskilled inefficient human labour in the hand of the farmer himself or of any who will undertake the intensive cultivation of the land. And if it be asserted that these are but dreams and visions of men intoxicated by the possibility of scientific discoveries, we can easily answer that every one of these things is actually being done to-day in some portion or other of the civilised world; generally under far less naturally favourable conditions than in this little crowded isle of England.

The projects in *Coal and Power* are, therefore, seen to open out larger horizons than that of mere technical questions of the cheap production of one and the multiplication of the supply of the other. It is the vision of a new England which is outlined in these reasoned and non-rhetorical pages. Much, indeed, may be varied in detail both on the organisation and the scientific side, and many years and much hard work in Parliament and out of it will be required for anything like its full consummation. But it offers an escape from the vision of a slowly dying industrial England, with increasing class hatred, as trade declines and wealth diminishes. It is a fulfilment of the amalgamation of collective ownership and control with the stimulus of private enterprise; and is the ideal of one of the great reformers of a century ago: the harnessing of human fellowship and goodwill with the scientific discoveries of human intelligence in the service of man.

CHARLES F. G. MASTERMAN.

BRITISH JUSTICE AND NATIVE RACES.

IF you ask a Yoruba in Lagos, a Bechuana in the Kalahari desert, a Creole in the West Indies, a Singalese in Ceylon, or an indigenous inhabitant of any territory in the scattered Dependencies of the British Commonwealth what is the unquestioned benefit his people have received at the hands of the British race, he will, in nine cases out of ten, say—British justice. Second in pride of place a dozen advantages will jostle each other for pre-eminence, but none compete in the mentality of aboriginal races for the outstanding position occupied by the administration of justice. The British race is justly proud of its record in this respect and rightly jealous of anything which may dim the lustre of this record. It is because of this that a good deal of uneasiness is being felt at the effect of certain measures and actions in territories under the British flag in the African continent.

Most experienced Colonial Administrators agree that there are three main essentials to safeguard in the administration of justice:—

- (a) That judicial matters should be settled by judicial officers independent of the Executive.
- (b) That judicial officers should only be removable with the sanction of the Secretary of State.
- (c) That in the administration of justice, penalties imposed for crimes should be inflicted without regard to race, creed or colour.

These principles have so long formed the accepted pillars of colonial administration of justice that the general public learns with something of a shock that the African Dependencies have witnessed during the last few years grave departures from them, involving the deplorable consequences of an impaired faith in British justice. The most ominous of these consequences is to be found in Kenya Colony, where recently Mr. Justice Sheridan, in giving judgment in the Molo case, stated that although the type of case then before him was rare, yet "the lesson of the Courts had not been learned by the accused," whilst in Rhodesia Mr. Justice Tredgold, comparing the treatment of whites with certain excessive punishments inflicted on natives, said: "It is a grave matter to do anything which may discredit the system which so long as it is maintained should be administered fearlessly and without favour." It is clear that the time has come for the people of certain other territories, with or without the assistance of the Home authorities, to put an end to shocking cases of sheer ruffianism which defame the fair reputation of the British

Administration. The procedure cannot be defended under which it is possible to flog natives to death, and then by the process of calling it "Hurt" inflict penalties only applicable to assault—even "Simple Hurt," instead of murder. The education of native races is advancing at so rapid a pace that they are now beginning, not merely to comment, but to propagate widely their unfavourable comments, upon the lowering standards of justice under the British flag.

COUNSEL BARRED.

The Nigerian system which denies to prisoners the right to engage Counsel to defend them has now had a fair trial during the five years of its operations, and the House of Commons awakened with somewhat of a shock to the fact, first brought to the notice of Members by Mr. Sidney Webb, that under its operations twenty people, including apparently two women, had been sentenced to death and eighteen of them hanged in public without a single one of them being either tried by Jury or defended by Counsel!

The reform of the Judicial system of Nigeria was undertaken by Sir Frederick Lugard in 1919. Before this date the system then in existence had led to delay and to abuses upon a scale which demanded far-reaching reforms. The lack of integrity amongst native Court officials had apparently led to corruption and to grave results in the administration of justice. Sir Frederick Lugard in 1919 gave to Nigeria the reformed system which has resulted in substantial improvements in several directions, but he would probably be the first to admit that the time has now come when modifications might be considered. The three Courts in Nigeria are: (a) the Supreme Court; (b) the Provincial Courts; (c) the Native Courts. Under defined conditions cases may be transferred from the Provincial Courts to the Supreme Court, but how far prisoners are aware of this possibility, and, when aware of it, competent to obtain a transfer, is doubtful. The Provincial Courts are almost entirely under the control of *Political* Officers without legal training, but they are compelled to pass an examination both as to their knowledge of law and of the native language. Counsel is altogether debarred from appearing in the Provincial Courts, and also from cases which have been transferred from the Provincial Courts to the Supreme Court, except by leave of the Chief Justice or presiding Judge when there is any legal point in dispute. Counsel is also debarred from appearing in the Native Courts. The resentment aroused by this debarring of Counsel appears to be much deeper and more widespread than is generally supposed by the Nigerian Government. From the general standpoint, it is important to remember that the practice is now being adopted in

other Dependencies; thus one of the fundamental safeguards in the administration of justice is being undermined.

According to Mr. Thomas, the following executions took place in Nigeria, without any of the accused being allowed the assistance of counsel:—

1920	...	...	...	...	...	...	107
1921	...	...	...	...	...	...	97
1922	...	...	...	...	...	...	87
1923	...	...	...	...	...	...	90

That is, 381 persons were executed in four years, not one of whom had professional assistance in preparing any defence; this total of executions among 17 millions of people is, of course, far in excess of executions in the British Isles with a population exceeding 40 millions.

The three principal reasons for adopting this practice were: (a) the avarice of the legal community; (b) the love of litigation inherent in the African race; (c) the lack of legal training by the Political Officers who preside over the Provincial Courts. The fact that the legal fraternity in West Africa demand fees which rarely take into sympathetic consideration the resources of their clients must be conceded, but are they alone in this? That in former years many of them surrounded themselves by limpets who touted for them is emphasised by all responsible officials, but surely some measures might have been taken for dealing drastically with such a pernicious practice short of depriving prisoners of the help of legal assistance. It is difficult to escape from the view that the lack of legal training on the part of the Provincial Political Officers was the most powerful reason for this decision. This view was set forth by Sir Edwin Speed in language which lacks nothing in clearness:—

If he (the Political Officer acting as Judge) is to be continually bullied (I am not using the word offensively) by counsel raising objections on technical points with the bearing of which he is but imperfectly acquainted, his usefulness is likely to be considerably impaired, and his activities circumscribed in a manner which will not tend to the benefit of the community.

Moreover, having regard to the fact that the judges of the Provincial Courts are mostly not professional men, the presence of counsel taking part in the proceedings having higher professional qualifications than the Bench is not fair to the latter as tending to impair its authority and destroy public confidence in its decisions.

It is true, of course, that capital sentences are referred for confirmation to the Governor, and there is every reason to suppose that the Governor and Council give to such cases the most painstaking attention, but the facts of the Oron and Calabar hangings throw a flood of light upon the working of the judicial system in Nigeria.

The question arises whether without grave damage to British prestige in West Africa a judicial system can be permanently tolerated under which British subjects can be *charged*, *tried*, and *executed* by Political Officers without the controlling influence of a jury or any assistance whatever from legal advisers—the Oron hangings seem to provide a most conclusive answer.

Whilst the very drastic reforms were being inaugurated in Nigeria, a process had been set in motion in Sierra Leone which seems to be tending towards the abolition of the jury system, to which the people are strongly attached, and substituting for it that of Assessors—a system under which the Judge is free to set aside at will the verdict of the Assessors. The most recent case tried under this system was that of George Fitzgerald—in this case a white Official. The charge was that of larceny, and the sum of money concerned quite small. Fitzgerald was tried in May last, and found *Not Guilty* by the unanimous voice of the Assessors, but a verdict of *Guilty* was given by the judge, and Fitzgerald sentenced to six months' imprisonment with hard labour.

FLOGGING TO DEATH.

In the most recent cases of flogging to death, the victims received lashings far in excess of physical endurance. It will be remembered that under the German Administration of East Africa not more than twenty-five strokes could be administered in one day. In Nigeria the Legislative limit is twelve strokes. Those who have been compelled to witness the flogging of Africans will agree that by the time twenty-five lashes have been given by hide-whips or reims on the bare flesh the victim is, in most cases, unconscious. Mr. Justice Krause, a South African magistrate, recently refused to allow more than four lashes, because, he declared, "the physical pain inflicted by six or eight lashes is as much as the human frame can bear." In the Watts-Betschart case, in Kenya, the flogging was repeatedly administered alternately with "ducking" in the river, until the victim was inert; whether he had actually died before being spread-eagled, or before being burned, appears to be open to some doubt. In this case the two accused were convicted by the judicial process peculiar to Kenya, of "*Simple Hurt*," only; one of the accused being "bound over" and the other fined 1,000 rupees. The Magistrate declared, "I have never heard of such brutality in all my experience," and both the Governor of the Colony and Lord Milner expressed regret at the result of the trial.

The remarkable manner in which these charges of homicide are reduced to varying degrees of "*Hurt*" is best illustrated by the most recent case, of which details are now available. The accused

was Jaspar Abraham of Molo, and the native flogged to death was named Kitosh. The jury returned a verdict of "*Grievous Hurt*," and the judge sentenced the accused to the appropriate penalty of two years' imprisonment. The flogging took place in June, 1923, and the trial only recently concluded. It was alleged that the man Kitosh had ridden a mare in foal, but the Assistant-Superintendent of the Police stated that he examined the horse, but found no signs of injury. Kitosh was thrown on the ground and then flogged by Abraham until he was too "fagged" to continue; he then called three natives, one after another, to carry on the flogging. Kitosh was unconscious during the last flogging, but even then his sufferings were not ended, for upon recovering consciousness he was further ill-treated, then bound hand and foot with ropes. He died the following evening.

The Duke of Devonshire, in a Despatch now available, expressed his abhorrence of the crime, and observed that his legal advisers were of the opinion that:

"a verdict of anything less than manslaughter is quite irreconcilable with the facts. A verdict of manslaughter would no doubt have involved a more adequate punishment."

And the Colonial Secretary concluded:

"So long as this condition of affairs remains, the jury system can only be regarded, so far as cases of this nature are concerned, as on its trial. I share the reluctance of my predecessors to interfere with an institution which is so closely bound up with British traditions of justice; but it is clear that in the special conditions of Kenya the working of the system requires to be carefully watched.

"I must, therefore, lay it down as a definite instruction that, in any future High Court cases in which a native or a non-native is charged with causing death or bodily hurt to a non-native or native respectively, a shorthand report of the trial must be furnished to me, in order that I may be in a better position to judge, with the assistance of my legal advisers, to what extent justice is being impartially administered between the two races."

The procedure by which a charge can be varied seems to be as follows. The judge can add charges to the original charge of murder or homicide, for example "*Grievous Hurt*," or "*Simple Hurt*." The jury cannot vary the charge, but they decide on the facts which are sustained, and on the facts so sustained the Judge has to state the charge to which these facts apply. It is apparently only in Kenya, amongst the Dependencies, that it is possible to vary the charge.

The most recent case of flogging to death in other British territories is the Southern Rhodesian case at Mbeza, which also occurred in June, 1923, and this case shows the terrible physical

effects of flogging. The native flogged to death was named Maragacha. He had been accused by his employers of stealing, a charge stoutly denied by the man, who was evidently a big and thoroughly healthy native. The man was flogged severely, but to nothing like the extent of Kitosh in the Molo case. Mr. Justice Russell asked Dr. Burnett, who had found the body perfectly healthy, to state concisely the cause of the death of the man, whereupon he replied: "Death was due to inhibition of the heart due to shock of the nervous system caused by beating in the condition in which the man probably was, by being first tied by the neck and then on the floor." The accused were fined £25 and £5 respectively. Another striking contrast to the Rhodesian flogging case is that brought to light by Mr. Justice Tredgold. In this case two natives "were trapped into selling 1s. worth of Kaffir beer." It was the first offence in a country district, yet each was sentenced to pay a fine of £25 or four months' imprisonment! That is £50 for selling 1s. worth of Kaffir beer in the very same territory in which two men convicted of culpable homicide (flogging a native to death) are fined £25 and £5—£30!

The facts of these cases illustrate grave departures from Britain's high standard of justice; they are being denounced by native communities not only in Africa but in other countries where coloured men congregate. It is passing strange, however, that protests against these unfortunate incidents is being left almost entirely to Judicial Officers. It is idle to close our eyes to the fact that with increasing economic competition race prejudice is seriously on the increase; every effort, therefore, must be made to secure a high standard of judicial procedure. It is an open secret that Lord Milner expressed himself strongly about certain cases of extreme brutality in Kenya Colony. Surely the time has come to intimate that any future case will be met by deporting from British Dependencies as "undesirables" any persons found guilty of these practices. It is due to the Colony itself and due to every decent-minded settler in the Colonies, no less than to the British public, that action of this kind should be taken.

JOHN H. HARRIS.

A CENTURY OF ENGLISH FRANCISCAN HISTORY (1224—1324).

THE seven hundredth anniversary of the coming of the Grey Friars to England* was commemorated at Canterbury on September 10th last in a remarkable series of religious services, addresses, and meetings, which bore witness to the permanent influence of the Franciscans in England and stimulated interest in their history. In the following pages an attempt is made to indicate some sides of their life and work during their first century in England.†

When the Friars Minor came to England on September 10th, 1224, the fraternity to which they belonged had already gone through several phases. The happy band of brothers, who had begun to follow Francis of Assisi in 1209 in his practical attempt to live again on earth the life of Christ and His apostles—a real "Imitatio Christi"—to whom "love was an unerring light and joy its own security"—had grown into a great Order, extending beyond the bounds of Italy into France and Spain and Germany and Hungary: and the mere increase in size and numbers had necessitated changes in the nature as well as in the organisation of the brotherhood. The introduction of the year's noviciate had brought the movement more into line with regular religious communities. The appointment of a Cardinal Protector and the solemn confirmation of the revised Rule by Honorius III. in 1223 brought it into direct and permanent relation to the Roman Curia. The great annual meeting of all the brethren had given place to a small general chapter attended by the leading men. Further, the friars were beginning to settle in permanent habitations. The practice of manual labour as one of the means of livelihood was falling into disuse, and the friars were coming to depend on alms, in return for spiritual services, as their sole means of support. And the care of the lepers, which had characterised the movement in its earlier years, had receded into the background. The entry of many learned men into the Order, and the call for intellectually trained teachers and preachers were already modifying the primitive simplicity. The Order, however, as yet still remained essentially a body of laymen.

For some of these changes St. Francis was directly responsible: others he viewed with alarm and resisted as far as he could. The

* See *The Grey Friars of Canterbury, 1224 to 1538: a Contribution to the Seven-hundredth Anniversary of their Arrival in England.* By Charles Cotton. (British Society of Franciscan Studies, Extra Series, Vol. II., 1924.)

† Most of the subjects here touched upon, and others, are treated at greater length in the writer's *Studies in English Franciscan History.* (Manchester University Press, 1917.)

establishment of permanent houses, the promotion of learning and possession of books he foresaw must be fatal to the absolute poverty which he had made the foundation of his Order. The rule of one man over others was repugnant to his nature: he wished that the "ministers" (or heads of the provinces) should really be "servants" not rulers of the brethren, and taught that the penance to be inflicted on an erring brother should be the simple injunction: "Go and sin no more." When urged to take a strong line and punish his opponents, he replied: "Since I cannot persuade them by word and example, I will not become an executioner like the rulers of this world." He withdrew more and more from active participation in the government of the Order and contented himself with showing in his own life what the life of a Friar Minor ought to be: "and at the end his spirit did herein find rest and comfort."

The mission to England differed somewhat in its origin from the earlier missions. They had been the outcome of popular enthusiasm at the great general chapters. Thus in 1221 the call for volunteers for Germany was answered by ninety friars, of whom twenty-seven were ultimately chosen. The mission to England was decided on by what was probably the first of the small general chapters, in which the provincial ministers and the custodians were the constituent members. The work of organising the English mission was entrusted to Agnellus of Pisa, who would have been present at the chapter as custodian of Paris. He appears to have chosen his fellow-workers in conjunction with the Minister of France. Thus we hear of the latter asking a young English friar of his province if he would like to go to England. The band was a small one, consisting of nine persons—four clerks and five laymen, with only one priest among them.

All the clerks, except Agnellus, were Englishmen, and thus the language difficulty, which had seriously hampered earlier missions of Italian friars to other countries, was avoided. Of the laymen, who were all foreigners, one deserves special mention. Lawrence of Beauvais was a smith by trade, and continued to practise his art after he entered the Order, as the Rule enjoined. "Afterwards he returned to St. Francis and was privileged to see him often and to be consoled by his conversations; at length the holy father most generously gave him his tunic and sent him back to England gladdened by a most sweet blessing." Lawrence lived for many years in the country of his adoption, dying in London about 1260. It will be remembered that St. Francis received the stigmata in the very month in which the friars first came to England—so that Brother Lawrence's conversations with him took place after that event. He forms perhaps the closest link between St. Francis and the English Province.

We are fortunate in having a very remarkable Chronicle of the early Franciscans in England—a "Treatise (to give it its full title) on the coming of the Friars Minor to England and their spread and multiplication there."* It was written by Friar Thomas, generally but on insufficient evidence called Thomas of Eccleston, who entered the Order about 1232, but who had been in close contact with the friars for some years earlier. The Chronicle was completed in 1258 from notes which, the author says, it had been his joy to jot down for the preceding twenty-six years. It was begun, therefore, within eight years of the coming of the friars. So far as the doings of the friars in England are concerned, Friar Thomas is entirely trustworthy. His statements can in many cases be checked by contemporary records, and in every case of this kind he is found to be correct.

The first thing that strikes one in turning over the pages (alas! too few) of Eccleston's Chronicle is the amazing rapidity with which the Order spread. Within two months of their landing at Dover the friars had established settlements in Canterbury, London, and Oxford—the capitals of the Church, commerce, and learning. In the first six years some sixteen houses were founded. In 1256 there were forty-nine Franciscan friaries in the province, generally situated in the towns, and the friars numbered 1,242. In the early years the small band of the original missionaries was materially increased by the advent of many Englishmen who had entered the Order abroad—such as Haymo of Faversham, the future General Minister—but in England itself recruits—nobles, scholars, merchants, clerks, and laymen—pressed in from all sides, and benefactors were found in all classes. The explanation is the compelling attraction exercised and the enthusiasm roused by the example of men sacrificing all to the ideal of life which was generally admitted to be the highest. The methods adopted by the Friars also assisted this remarkable "spread and multiplication." They were not bound by the rule which prevailed in other religious Orders (including the Dominican) that twelve brethren were needed to found a convent: there were no rules or customs about the architectural arrangements of a friary—except that it must be as small and poor and simple as possible; a church formed no part of a Franciscan settlement when the friars first came to England—they attended the parish church. So a hired or lent house or a single room, with two or three friars, and perhaps a novice or a layman at the head, was sufficient to form a Franciscan "place" and be a centre of spiritual life.

* *Tractatus Fr. Thomae vulgo dicti de Eccleston de adventu fratrum minorum in Angliam.* Ed. A. G. Little. (Collection d'Etudes et de Documents, Tome VII., Paris, 1900.)

The Friars Minor were bound by their Rule to observe absolute poverty. This is one of the points in which the friars differed from the monks. The individual monk might not possess property, but the community might, and most monasteries were large landowners. With the friars the prohibition against the possession of property applied to the community as well as to the individual. Their very houses and sites were not their own. "At Canterbury," says Thomas of Eccleston, "Alexander master of the Hospital of Poor Priests gave them a site and built them a chapel of fair proportions for the time; and since the friars could own nothing for themselves, it was made the property of the community of the city, but lent to the friars at the will of the citizens." This became the usual practice in England, though sometimes the ownership remained vested in the original donor. It is not exactly true to say that the towns or donors acted as trustees for the friars; the friars held "at the will of the lord," just as a villein held his land.

Now there was nothing to prevent the friars becoming holders of large estates on these terms. It is, however, clear from Eccleston that the first friars refused to accept any more ground than was required for their immediate needs. Thus at Gloucester Agnellus decided to reject a large part of the site offered. A somewhat different policy was recommended by Haymo of Faversham when he was Provincial Minister (1239-40). "Under him in several places the areas were enlarged; for he said that he would rather that the friars should have ample areas and should cultivate them, in order that they might produce foodstuffs at home, instead of begging them from others." But most of the Franciscan friaries in England during the whole course of their existence held only a few acres of ground; the few which possessed more were generally the smaller houses situated in sparsely populated or impoverished districts. Thus while the little house at Llanfaes held some thirty acres of arable and pasture, Winchester had less than three, and the great London friary less than four acres.

Poverty in buildings was likewise insisted on by the early Franciscans. Agnellus (1224-1235) would allow nothing which exceeded the barest necessities. He had the infirmary at Oxford built so low that a man could hardly stand upright in it. He punished a friar who had painted the pulpit at Gloucester and the guardian who had permitted it to be done. His successors were equally strict. Albert of Pisa (1235-39) "destroyed the stone cloister at Southampton, though with great difficulty because the people of the town resisted." The elaborate chapel at Reading with its "gold-starred" ornamentation he could not pull down because the King had built it, but "he hoped that it might be

destroyed from heaven." William of Nottingham (1240-54) carried on the crusade; in his zeal for poverty he caused Lawrence Cox, who had built the friars a house at Shrewsbury, to remove the stone walls of the dormitory and to make mud walls, which Lawrence did "with great devotion and sweetness and at very great expense."

These extracts from Eccleston show what difficulty the friars had in maintaining their ideal of poverty. Admiring benefactors forced gifts upon them. It was not in human nature to resist this pressure for long, and the friars succumbed to it. Most of the English friaries seem to have been greatly enlarged or entirely rebuilt between 1270 and 1320. The increase in the number of friars—from 1,242 in 1256 to about 2,000 in 1300—necessitated some enlargement, but the demands of the friars under the influence of their well-wishers had grown: William of Nottingham sagely remarked that it was necessary to keep rigidly to the Rule—"otherwise superfluities will grow in the Order, insensibly, as hairs grow on the chin." The maintenance of their establishments and the higher standard of living strained the friars' resources. They were forced to devote more and more of their time and energy to begging for mere material things to the detriment of their spiritual activities. On the other hand, the practice of mendicancy brought the friars into intimate touch with the people among whom they ministered. "You cannot be a priest if you do not know how people live, and the best way to find out about people is to beg from them." These words are quoted from a recent book by a Bengali Brahman: they are as applicable to mediæval Europe as to modern India.

The spiritual activities of the friars consisted chiefly in hearing confessions, preaching, and teaching. For within a few years of the friars' arrival in England, the Order had entered on another phase. The community, which at its beginning was predominantly lay, had become predominantly clerical. The chief landmark in this development was the decision of Haymo of Faversham when General Minister (1240-1243 or 1244) to exclude laymen from office: and in the latter part of the thirteenth century the great majority of Franciscan friars in England were certainly in Holy Orders and probably actually priests. Long before this every friary had its church.

The Lateran Council of 1215 made auricular confession to the parish priest at least once a year compulsory on Western Christendom. The secular clergy were generally not fitted by their training and often not fitted by their character to carry out the duties imposed on them. The Mendicant Orders supplied trained confessors: many handbooks on confession were compiled by friars in

the thirteenth century for the instruction of priests. The bishops and the secular clergy welcomed the assistance of the friars at first. As the friar-confessors became more numerous and their Papal privileges increased this friendly co-operation was turned into bitter antagonism. After much controversy and many vacillations on the part of the Roman Court, it was finally settled in 1300 that friars must obtain episcopal licence to hear confessions: the bishop thus acquired a certain control over the friar-confessors in his diocese.

It would, of course, be ridiculous to accept literally the exaggerations of fourteenth-century satirists on the friars:—

They say that they destroy sin,
And they maintain men most therein;
For had a man slain all his kin,
Go shrive him at a frere,
And for less than a pair of shoon
He will assoil him clean and soon
And say the sin that he has done
His soul shall never dere [harm].

But the chief confessor among the first generation of friars in London was visited by qualms of conscience on his death-bed because he had imposed too light penances on the rich. It is a danger to which the "voluntary system" is peculiarly open. The general principle, however, of the friars appears to have been not to "make the punishment fit the crime," but to make the penance fit the sinner. One does not naturally turn to Duns Scotus for direction in the ordinary affairs of life, but his advice to his theological students is worth summarising. If you have to give a penance to a poor man who has to work for his living, do not impose fasting, for that will weaken his bodily vigour, or long prayers, for that will take up too much of his time, but attach the penance to his actual work; in other words, let him as a penance work longer or work better.

The friars preached not only in their own churches, but also in streets and market-places and recreation-grounds, and, with the consent of parish priests and bishops, in parish churches and cathedrals. The English bishops granted licences to friars to preach, but such licences, though convenient to both parties, do not seem to have been necessary. At certain seasons of the year the friars held missions throughout the country, and diocesan synods gave instructions that, "since the preaching of these friars and their holy life are known to have produced no small fruit in the Church of God, they shall when they pass through our diocese everywhere be welcomed reverently and honourably." There is evidence that these itinerant preachers were less popular with the parish priests than with their parishioners.

The art of preaching was carefully studied by the friars. Many collections of notes for the use of preachers compiled by English Franciscans in the Middle Ages give a good idea of the subjects dealt with and the methods employed. One of them—dating from the first half of the fourteenth century—is divided into seven parts, each treating of a vice and its corresponding virtue: Part I., on pride and humility; Part II., on anger and patience; Part III., on envy and charity (this includes chapters on the life and death of Christ); Part IV., on avarice and voluntary poverty; Part V. on *accidia* and the means by which it can be overcome; these include (as well as "good occupation") the Mass, penance, confession, prayer, alms, faith (which suggests a chapter on sorcery), prudence, hope, charity, and fortitude; Part VI., on gluttony and sobriety; Part VII., on sensuality and chastity. The moral is generally driven home by some illustrative *exemplum*—an amusing or horrible story, a historical instance, an analogy from natural science, or some allusion to everyday occurrences—the games of children, trading transactions, the lawless conduct of the swash-bucklers or "schavaldours" of the time. The attention of the congregation must be caught. "There is," says our friar, "the case of the poor little spinster who takes wool to spin, but compelled by necessity, as she has not enough to live on, she sells some of the wool, and when she has to take the spun wool back to her employer she moistens it to make up the weight. Now that is what *we* ought to do in our dealings with God." One may be sure that the auditors were all alert to hear the moral.

The sermons of friars were often interspersed with simple prayers put into rime to assist the memory:—

Lord, for Thy holy blessed name
Shield us all from sin and shame,
And grant us grace of clean living
That we may have in heaven our dwelling. Amen.

If the English province had no preachers to be compared with Berthold of Ratisbon or Bernardino of Siena, it produced in the first century of its existence an array of thinkers and men of learning who in their numbers and distinction excelled not only those of any other province in the Order, but those of all the other provinces put together. This development, which was very far from the ideas of St. Francis, was due more to Robert Grosseteste than to any other individual. Grosseteste was already among the most famous scholars of his time, when, though not himself a friar, he was induced by Agnellus to become the first lecturer to the friars at Oxford. "Under him in a short time," says Eccleston, "they made incalculable progress, both in problems and in the subtle moralities suitable to preaching. . . . He said sometimes that

unless the friars devoted themselves to study they would certainly suffer the fate of other religious, whom we see alas! walking in the darkness of ignorance." He turned the spiritual exaltation of the friars into the more permanent channel of intellectual work.

An elaborate system of education was instituted by William of Nottingham, Provincial Minister 1240-54. He arranged that each convent should send a student to one of the universities, and from these students lecturers should be chosen to teach in the convents. Details of the working of the system are scarce; one instance may be given. Thus we find soon after 1250 Friar Henry of Wodstone (who afterwards attained some prominence in public affairs) residing as student of the convent of Salisbury at Oxford; he was at this time a priest and was appointed penitentiary by the Bishop of Lincoln, and taught as well as studied at Oxford; among his students (and penitents) we hear of a secular priest. Later on a central school for the more promising students was set up in each of the seven "custodies" or groups of convents into which the English province was divided.

Grosseteste's pupils were soon in demand as lecturers abroad as well as at home: and it would be easy to make out a long list of English Franciscans who were sent to teach theology in the houses of their Order established in the principal seats of learning in France, Germany, and Italy. Nor were they confined to houses of their own Order. Several became lecturers in the Roman Curia. Others were appointed to teach theology in English monasteries—especially in monastic cathedrals, such as Christchurch, Canterbury, and Worcester. Others, again, lectured and disputed in the schools of secular cathedrals, such as St. Paul's and York Minster. The influence of the Franciscan School was thus very widespread.

Three men stand out pre-eminently as original thinkers among the English Franciscans—Roger Bacon, Duns Scotus, William of Occam. They are alike in one respect—namely, in the narrow limits which they assign to the unaided human reason, in contrast with the wide field allowed to it by St. Thomas Aquinas and the Dominican School. Roger Bacon insists that argument cannot give certitude: certitude comes from "experience of the things themselves"—whether spiritual or physical—and experience is an illumination for the physicist as for the mystic.* Both Duns Scotus and William of Occam drew a sharp line between theology and philosophy, and maintained the inadequacy of the rational proofs of the truths of the faith—e.g., the immortality of the soul. But William of Occam headed the reaction against the "subtle

* See Prof. R. Carton's studies on Roger Bacon, especially *L'Expérience mystique de l'illumination intérieure chez Roger Bacon*, in Professor Gilson's *Études de Philosophie Médiévale*, II., III., V.: Paris, 1924.

distinctions" of Duns Scotus, on the principle that *entia non sunt multiplicanda praeter necessitatem*, and brought back philosophy to common sense.

In general these three men represent partly independent, and partly opposed, modes of thought, and the fact is indicative of the mental activity of the English Franciscans. Roger Bacon carried on the Grosseteste tradition both in the study of natural philosophy and in the study of languages. Thus his principle that natural philosophy must be founded in mathematics had already been clearly set forth in a short treatise of Grosseteste. And Bacon fully acknowledges his indebtedness to Grosseteste and his successors. When one realises that doctrines such as this were not merely the views of an isolated individual but were taught to generations of students in the Franciscan School at Oxford, they acquire a new significance in history.

Roger Bacon's chief works were written round about 1267, and he died an old man at Oxford in or soon after 1292. It is possible that Duns Scotus was at this date a student at Oxford, but the details of his life remain obscure. Some doubtful points have recently been established. He was certainly a Scot (not an Irishman) by birth, and a friar of the English Province. There seems no reason to question the claim of Duns near Berwick to be his birthplace. It is probable that he entered the Order at Berwick and was sent as a promising student to the central school of the northern custody of the English Province at Newcastle-on-Tyne. He was studying at Paris under Friar Gonsalvo of Bilbao from 1293-1296. The special privileges which the Mendicant friars enjoyed at Paris permitted them to spend four or five of the nine years of study required for the B.D. degree away from Paris in some other convent of their Order. Duns Scotus returned from Paris to Oxford, c. 1297-1301, where he lectured on the *Sentences*. In 1300 he was one of twenty-two friars presented by the Provincial Minister to the Bishop of Lincoln for licence to hear confessions, but was not among the eight selected. At this time he must have been a priest, and according to the statutes of the Order must have attained the age of thirty years. In 1302-3 he was lecturing on the *Sentences* at Paris as B.D., and at the end of 1304, when the turn came for a bachelor who did not belong to the Province of France to be presented for the Doctor's degree, he was promoted to the doctorate. He was sent as *lector* to Cologne, probably in 1307, and died there on November 8th, 1308.

William of Occam belonged to a younger generation and cannot have been a pupil of Duns Scotus. He may have derived his name from Ockham (Surrey)—or more probably from Oakham, often in the Middle Ages spelt Ocham, in Rutland. He was born towards

the end of the thirteenth century. About 1320 he delivered his two-year course on the *Sentences* at Oxford as "baccalaureus non formatus," and then continued to hold disputations as "baccalaureus formatus." His teaching scandalised the university authorities (not apparently his own Order) and the Chancellor laid charges of heresy against him before the Papal Court. Occam was summoned to Avignon in 1324. A list of fifty-one propositions taken from his commentary on the *Sentences*, and recently discovered in the Vatican,* was drawn up by the Dominican Archbishop of Aix: these were submitted to a committee of masters of theology (including the Chancellor of Oxford) and declared worthy of condemnation, in 1326. In 1328 Occam escaped from Avignon. From this it is clear that Occam never received the degree of Doctor at Oxford, and never taught at Paris. Further, the censured articles relate to purely theological and philosophical questions, and have nothing to do either with the dispute about evangelical poverty, the quarrel between the Pope and the Franciscan Order, or the relation between the civil and ecclesiastical powers. It was during his captivity at Avignon that Occam became interested in these questions, and it was after his escape to the Court of the Emperor that he began to issue his great series of political treatises. Many of these have been printed for the first time in the last few years.† Among them may be noted a discussion of the question, "Whether the King of England is justified in using the goods of Churches for the war?" (written evidently at the beginning of the Hundred Years' War) which seems to have escaped Occam's bibliographers. With all this fresh material available, the time seems ripe for a new study of the life and works of William of Occam.

With Occam ends the first and the creative century of English Franciscan history. For the next two hundred years the Grey Friars played a not unimportant part in the religious and social life of the people. But the intense spiritual fervour and the intense intellectual activity which had distinguished them in the earlier period had passed away.

A. G. LITTLE.

* By Monsignor Pelzer: *Revue d'hist. ecclésiastique*, Tome XVIII. (1922.)

† By R. Scholz, *Unbekannte Kirchenpolitische Streitschriften aus der Zeit Ludwigs des Bayern*, 1911, 1914; and Dr. Mulder in *Archivum Franciscanum Historicum* XVI., XVII., 1923-4.

ROME AND REUNION.

I.—THE VATICAN VIEW OF THE CONVERSATIONS AT MALINES.

WHEN the last Lambeth Conference passed a resolution in favour of working for Reunion with all Christian bodies, it did not exclude that which is the most numerous, the most uncompromising and the most powerful of them all. And while some Anglicans were approaching other bodies, it was right that those who most approximated to the Catholic position should do as others had done already and attack the problem with regard to those whose religion was most congenial to them.

There are few in the Church of England more sympathetic to Papal claims than Lord Halifax, and Lord Halifax is a very old friend of the Abbé Portal, a Parisian priest who has devoted his life to sympathetic studies of the Anglican position. When the Abbé was visiting him, Lord Halifax discussed the possibility of a formal conference. The Abbé Portal suggested it to Cardinal Mercier, who approved of the suggestion. Most of what happened afterwards was made known by the Archbishop of Canterbury in a letter published in *The Times* of December 26th, 1923. But there is much in what has happened that by lack of information, or even by prejudice, has been obscured from the minds of Englishmen. The present article, which has been referred to the highest authorities in the Vatican, is the endeavour of a Roman Catholic layman to place some necessary statements and considerations in the light.

It was surely a most happy circumstance that the Conferences should have taken place under the roof of Cardinal Mercier. The Cardinal is Primate of a country which is attached to England by special ties: he had devoted himself with remarkable courage to the cause of his country when England was fighting at her side, and England shares Belgium's admiration of his heroism: he is a personal friend of the Archbishop of Canterbury: he is a philosopher and theologian of the highest eminence, and he has never wavered in his devotion to the Holy See.

Being a Belgian, moreover (and it is a matter of the most eminent importance), he, like the other men he chose to represent his Church, was free from those prepossessions on religious subjects which are the inevitable inheritance of inhabitants of the British Isles. The history of Great Britain and Ireland has necessarily left its result on what is human in the minds of Catholics as of others. The great buildings that were built by men who loved the

Mass and the Madonna, and were in communion with the Holy See, were handed over to an alien worship: and this was done when either the rope or the rack, or the fire and the sword, were accepted by each side as the most effective weapons of controversy.

Furthermore, as Disraeli was fond of pointing out ninety years ago, and as Mr. Stirling Taylor has reminded us to-day, many powerful Englishmen regarded a return to Catholicism as a menace to the titles of their estates. This and other causes of hostility continued bitterness for generation after generation in both Ireland and Great Britain. It is not yet a hundred years since Catholic Emancipation, it is hardly more than fifty since the Protestant Church was disestablished in Ireland; in over two hundred years the present King is the first man who has not taken a Coronation oath which was an insult to the dearest beliefs of many millions of his loyal subjects. And in Ireland a bitter political struggle has been associated up to our own time with the religious differences which would have been fiery enough in any case when the Irish temperament was flavouring them.

By a curious fate, also, at the very period when Catholics were emancipated in Great Britain, there arose within the Church of England a Catholic movement which, while it has done much to familiarise the country with Catholic forms, practices, and even doctrines, gave controversial animosity a new battle-ground. And while Anglicans have been distracted by changes and controversies affecting the most cherished forms of their belief and worship, the Catholicising party, which has been more and more victorious among those Anglicans who go most to Church, has not made it easier for plain discussion with the historic Catholicism of the Roman See. It is difficult, indeed, to carry on a discussion without almost any term being challenged; for ever more obnoxious to either side has become the claim of the other to represent Catholicism in England. The present writer deplures controversial arguments: and he relies upon the courtesy of his readers to allow him to use the term *Catholicism* for the Roman Christianity which spreads through so many more countries than any other religion.

So much irritation has been caused, such eager rivalry exists, that conversations between Anglicans and Catholics have more chance of being reasonable and charitable outside of the British Isles than within them. The Catholics of the Continent look with more sympathy on the Church of England, and are more patient with Protestantism, than those of England could possibly be. Reasonable and charitable discussion on points of disagreement must be of the greatest value wherever there has been misunderstanding: to say that a thing is true in one place, and not in another is excessive as an extension of toleration; for it is nonsense:

if there is any religious truth it can only be misunderstanding that obscures it. The Conferences at Malines made such discussion possible. Several of them took place in which a scholar on each side made a careful statement of some point at issue: and there was a short discussion on which Cardinal Mercier summed up, thanking each contributor for the part he had taken in removing misunderstandings.

And to what does it all lead? That question was put to the Archbishop of Canterbury by a leading Catholic peer. The answer is surely obvious: the Conversations tend towards elucidating truth. A few individuals representing one party in the Church of England cannot compromise their comprehensive Church, but they can do a service towards their countrymen as a whole. They can flash language into obscurities which generations of mutual animosity and suspicion have made almost impenetrable. Their work has not been unappreciated. While some Anglicans, and one or two Nonconformists, at first protested, those best in a position to judge have been able to decide that amongst both Anglicans and the Protestants who do not conform to their Establishment, the opportunity of reasonable and charitable discussion has been welcomed. Among Anglican Bishops, only one protested*: if the Archbishop of Canterbury had refused cognisance of the Conversations, he would not only have discouraged an opportunity for honest study and discussion: he would have denied the name of Christian to Christianity's historic Church. He took the safeguards which his high reputation would have led men to expect: he was content to do what was right: and he may leave the result to the future.

But if the witness of passing months has already been such as might reassure His Grace from the dominant Protestant bodies as well as from inside his own communion, might he not complain that many English Catholics were far from sympathetic? But here, if something very like discourtesy greeted the Archbishop, he may now learn that such expressions, though not surprising to a student of human nature, are directly contrary to the counsels of that authority whom Catholics are bound devotedly to revere. Graciousness and charity have always been preferred to controversy by the Holy See, which knows, as St. Augustine knew, that dialectic is not the means of salvation. When Cardinal Mercier consulted the Vatican authorities about the Conversations, he was told that the Holy Father wished with all his heart to encourage such Conversations: and they did not begin without the Pontifical blessing. At the conclusion the Pope was happy to hear from

* His protest has been given undue prominence by his ability to get his articles into the Reviews and newspapers.

Cardinal Mercier that the desired result had been obtained, for the differing parties had become more friendly. The Reunion of Christendom the Pope announced in his first Encyclical as one of the principal objects of his reign. Amiable discussions, such as these Conversations, he has especially approved. In the Encyclical *Ecclesiam Dei*, dated November 12th, 1923, His Holiness wrote to the whole Church with the full weight of his fatherly authority that he deprecated controversy. While he desired earnestly to encourage both Catholics and all others to work for unity with all their power, he wished them to understand that unity was best to be attained not by the driving power of arguments, but by the examples and offices of a holy life, and above all by charity, commending especially that ideal of St. Paul: having the same charity, being of one mind and opinion, and doing nothing for strife or vainglory, but each deeming the other to be superior to himself, and thinking not of his own things but of those of others. And furthermore let them strive with especial earnestness, said the Pope, "to rid themselves of prejudice and suspicion, of contrarities and enmities, and all those movements of heart and mind (adverse to Christian love), by which nations are divided amongst themselves."

To this subject the Holy Father returned once more, in the Consistory of March 24th, 1924, when he created the two new American Cardinals, the Archbishops of New York and Chicago. "We are," he said, "especially grateful to all Catholics, who for the brethren who disagree with them, have striven, under the influence of Divine grace, to preserve that road which leads to the adoption of a kindred faith, by removing prejudice, and explaining Catholic teaching, and especially showing in themselves that which is known to mark the disciples of Christ, which is charity." He mentioned his hope of unity once more when he received the English pilgrims on April 2nd, and Cardinal Bourne next day, in repeating to Monsignor Pucci the Pope's words about removing obstacles and multiplying charity, pointed out that as an attempt in this direction, the Conversations at Malines made an especial claim upon Catholic sympathy.

It is clear, therefore, that any Catholic who disapproves of these Conversations speaks not for his Church but rather to express a personal opinion which the authority of that Church deprecates.

There can, in fact, be little doubt that the Conversations will continue at some opportune time. The authorities on either side are agreed in hoping for more amity from them. They will probably continue at Malines under the presidency of Cardinal Mercier. If a number of foreign priests were to come to Lambeth, it might still cause an unnecessary amount of sensation.

II.—A BASIS FOR CHRISTIAN ACTION.

So far the Conversations at Malines have dealt with points of difference: in any discussions between different denominations, it is these differences which strike people. Can there indeed be agreement between Christians which would make a unity at least of all men of goodwill? The Bishop of London, speaking in March, referred to the Conversations and reminded his hearers of the need of Christianity becoming a united power which could exercise an influence against war.

Indeed, when we consider it, denominations, even if divided, can work together against war as they can against drunkenness. The Catholic Church, with its admirable organisation spreading from Rome in all directions, can indeed do much, and does do much; though she never boasts that her conflict with the destructive element in human nature is yet a triumph. The Society of Friends has nobly performed the work of providing for the destitute, to which the late Pope summoned the world; and, in fact, in all countries, but not least in Germany, England, and France, Protestants have often responded better to the Papal exhortations than Catholics themselves.

That fact undermines all the narrow and rigid conceptions of denominationalism which the devout in their lazier moments inevitably indulge. And in the light of it the whole subject of the reunion of Christians assumes a different aspect. If on a point so important as not merely the conduct of individual life but the principles which insure the salvation of society, there is something like agreement between Christians as a whole, and more between moral men in the world as a whole,—if, in fact, all agree that what now threatens the stability of Europe could be removed by the Pope securing the announced object of his pontificate, the peace of Christ in the reign of Christ, why cannot that paramount consideration overrule, if not actually remove, the differences that now divide Christianity?

Roman Catholicism, which more definitely and solemnly than any other denomination unites dogma and devotion with the precepts of the Evangel, is a body which cannot refuse an answer to that question. Let us hear what she says. Her philosophy is complete, her dogma definite, her system evidently adapted to something perennial in human nature not alone in one country or one continent. In range of time and place and thought and types of men, she is still more comprehensive than the Church of England. She does not speak idly or at hazard.

She looks at men and the external world and sees in both a certainty of vicissitude and corruption: but this system of changing

things is upheld by law, and finds its origin in a *causa causarum*, and this law and this cause are, she says, wise and good, as men can find out for themselves if they take enough trouble. The ultimate and omnipotent Being who is this law and cause is indeed the sum of all perfections, and identical with every attribute in a way such that the human understanding of attributes or perfections cannot fathom, absolutely distinct from all that can fail or be corruptible. He is omnipotent power, He cleaves by an immutable act of will to the sovereign good which is no other than Himself: perfect wisdom, He knows Himself with a knowledge as perfect as Himself, a knowledge He generates in His Logos or His Son: unfailing love, His presence is realised in a Divine influence, a Spirit of holiness, of peace, of love, which proceeds from the relation between the Father and the Son. Such is the power which created and sustains the universe; but created things have in them that tendency towards disintegration which comes from their origin, which is nothing. Man can be saved from this tendency by an identification with the Divine Being which became Man and applied Divine indefectibility to human life by a process so thorough that to complete it God Himself must die. Nor could this redemption be the process only of a season: on the other hand, in all His intimacy and His power, the Incarnate Word is the saving principle of ever-increasing numbers of corruptible men, of men who are a subtle compound of body and of soul. Saving them as men, He touches them as men; He speaks to them as men; He claims their human emotions. But in all these He is Himself incorruptible, indisputable, and perfect.

Such is the Catholic conception. No one should deny it to be noble: it unifies in a remarkable way its insistence on Divine victory with its sense of God's intimate love. It deserves something more than the respect that courteous people accord to sincere convictions. And it will be seen at once how to those that believe in it, its worship, which is the voice of the Spirit, and its dogmas which are His instructions, are not human things to compromise: they are the voice of the love and truth of God. If its inviolate order were to be broken, if its truth were to be compromised, the world would cut that umbilical cord with ultimate perfection by which it grows to the stature of perfection. All love and mercy in its own redeeming power upon human nature, the sanctified instrument must yet maintain its essential otherness from anything which could disintegrate it. No voices but the voices it can guarantee must ever speak as its voice, none but those who accept its system must ever avail themselves of its outward ministrations, no offices but its own can be admitted in any way to desecrate the bond with

perfection that it secures. As a body the Catholic Church can obviously be nothing but uncompromising.

"I have sought for Thee that my soul should live." A religion which provides moral ideals without at the same time captivating the imagination, gaining the heart, and satisfying the mind, in their relation, when united, to perfection would be building upon a basis too insecure for the improvement of civil society because unsatisfying to individual life. The peace of Christ in the reign of Christ implies infinitely more than Europe avoiding war and economic dislocation: it is beyond any housing scheme or the completest payment of reparations. It seeks to provide for human society the serenity of an indefectible order: it is to realise the moral welfare of human society inasmuch as it acquires for it those unseen things which are eternal.

Catholicism claims to provide a system by which this object is attained, and never wavers in showing its faith to be substantial in act and power. It is, in fact, in its venerable tradition of power and of increasing thoroughness something which invites the attention of all practical men, even from a human point of view. "There is not, and there never was upon this earth," said Macaulay, "a work of human policy so well deserving of examination as the Roman Catholic Church."

And there is another consideration which makes it with regard to Reunion a factor of unarguable importance, which justifies beyond all controversy the attitude of the Archbishop of Canterbury towards the Conversations at Malines: although it is uncompromising, the Catholic Church is not unreasonable. The very logic with which she defines the scope of her guarantees is applied with the same directness to the fact that God being infinite is a mystery, and that human nature is unspeakably complicated. Although she maintains the sacrosanct nature of all her offices as the revelation of God in relation to man, she does not and she could not maintain that the gifts of grace or the opportunities of good are limited to her visible organisation. In fact, when we look into her formularies, we see that they are as generous in their application as they are definite in their terminology. All her exclusivenesses are qualified. "Outside the Church is no salvation," she says, but the Church is invisible as well as visible: no unbaptised person is a Christian, but there is a baptism of desire: the Canon Law forbids Catholics participation in any official form of worship other than that of the Church, but it allows them to join in private prayers; the Catholic Church acknowledges no other temple or denomination, but it asserts that all sincere devotion is accepted by Almighty God; the Pope is infallible, but only when as Teacher and Father of Christians he defines a dogma concerning faith or morals to be

held by the Universal Church; the Virgin Mary is free from original sin, but only by a special application of her Son's redeeming office; Christ is present upon her altars substantially, but substantially means in act or power; the Orthodox Church is no part of the visible Church, but it has valid Sacraments; valid Sacraments work *ex opere operato*, but they mean condemnation to those who are not in a fit state to receive them, and no one is fit without sincere faith; the Holy Spirit gives grace normally through the Sacraments, but yet of greater import is His influence in the charity of all holy souls; no guarantee can be extended to the ministrations of the Church of England, but faith makes her offices an occasion of grace so that a good Anglican would receive grace worshipping as an Anglican, while a bad Catholic worshipping as a Catholic, and even receiving the Sacraments, would not receive it. In fact, while Catholicism insists upon the sacrosanct power of its own system, it insists also that grace is given to all good men in so far as they are good, and merit is attained by them in so far as their wills respond to grace; and that it is impossible for men to assess the place that one or another, Catholic or non-Catholic, may hold in the spiritual kingdom.

E voi, mortali, tenetevi stretti
A giudicar: chè noi, che Dio vedemo,
Non conosciamo ancor tutti gli eletti.
Ed enne dolce così fatto scemo
Perchè 'l ben nostro in questo ben s'affina,
Che quel che vuole Dio e noi volemo.*

So did Dante express the teaching of St. Thomas Aquinas. In short, the Catholic Church is the logical development of her faith that the Babe that rested in the arms of Mary is God Almighty, and reigns Incarnate with authority ever more manifest over corruptible nature; and that He is also the Light that lighteth every man. So that in His operations He is constrained neither to be visible, nor to be invisible. Only it is the function of Catholicism to guarantee His complete visible expression of Himself.

Turning back to the question of Reunion, we can now clearly see how Rome is related to it. Able in no way to compromise her august assertion of her uniquely sacrosanct nature, she can welcome truth wherever she finds it and give all good the credit which is its due. With those whose faith, whose morals, whose worship closely approach her own, her relation is close indeed. "They are all one," says St. Augustine, "who see and love the one true light."† Their unity may be invisible but it is not the less a valid spiritual reality. To those who honestly differ from her the

* *Paradiso* XX. 133-138.
† *Confessions* X. 34.

Catholic Church is not ill disposed. Her casuists have even argued that in their most virulent denunciations her seeming enemies may have gained merit by devotion to the truth as they conceived it. She admits the position of many good Protestants to be inevitable. "It is my consolation," wrote Cardinal Manning, dealing with sincere non-Catholic Christians, in *Sin and its Consequences*,

"to believe that hundreds of such persons are in good faith and that God in His mercy will make allowance for them, knowing what are the prejudices of childhood, of an education studiously erroneous, what is the power and influence of parents and teachers, of public authority, of public opinion, and public law; how all things create in their minds a conviction that they are in the right, that they believe the true faith and are in the one Church in which alone is salvation."

And yet as non-Catholics read such a statement, they are hardly reassured. They cannot allow that their education was "studiously erroneous." Yet is it not possible that they still misunderstand? The object of grace and revelation is to give a favour, not to withhold it. Catholicism maintains more than other religions the closeness of humanity to the perfect holiness distinct from it. But even though it must define for itself, and guarantee its own functions, on some other points it must yet remain agnostic: agnosticism, however, must not be confused with aggressiveness. The negative spirit does not dominate Catholicism. What it denies is small in comparison with what it confirms.

Nor does its conception of the closeness and goodness of God ever deny the weakness of what is human in the Church. The Catholic Church acknowledges that wherever she is a human institution, she is influenced by what is corruptible in nature. *Peccavi nimis in cogitatione, verbo et opere* is the daily confession of the infallible Pope: he proclaims himself dependent upon the help of the prayers of his people: and what is true of the Pope is true of the Church as a whole. *Lex orandi lex credendi* is her maxim, and her official prayers are full of petitions that God will cleanse and defend her. She pleads daily that He may look not on the sins of her people but on that Faith which is His gift, and grant her the peace and unity which are His will.

In this admission of human weakness, therefore, is to be shown the distinction between precision in statement and aggressiveness. Not all Catholics make it: they may be no better than other people, and being no better, they must, according to their own standards, be worse. They have had unique advantages and ignored them: and then in their human weakness, they confuse the claims of their Church with personal pride. There are many who refuse to say *Our Father* with a Protestant or join in any general works of mercy:

and make in fact an approach to Pharisaism which neither Canon Law requires, nor courtesy approves, and outsiders are innocently involved in their confusion.

It may sometimes be even misleading to say that Rome can offer no terms of union but absolute surrender: the distinctions of her terminology are often misunderstood. Holy as the instrument of the true and incorruptible, she is made up of erring men and women, and from their nature, which is the nature of all of us, there arise many obstacles which it is the business of her own people to remove: the fruits of their lives will show the tree from which they draw their sap: but beyond all this there were at the time of the Reformation many Catholics who made others stumble. There are, as we have seen, some still. Catholicism's worst enemies are still those who should be the faithful, though a Counter-Reformation was carried on within the Papal fold itself; and abuses, such as the sale of indulgences, were put down. In fact, the protests of the Protestants were not all without effect. And though Protestants may as a whole be slow to accord the attention invited by Macaulay, this is acknowledged by many of their successors to-day.

If a Conference such as that at Malines, even if it were to include not only members of one party, but of all English denominations, were to seek the highest common factor of affirmation, it would be no negligible statement. In fact, in the Conference on Christian Politics, Economics, and Citizenship recently concluded at Birmingham, speeches were made, and in particular that of Lord Eustace Percy, which were a paraphrase, doubtless an unconscious one, of passages in the last Papal Encyclicals: resolutions—though sometimes vaguely phrased—were passed such as gladden the heart of the Holy Father. If the Conferences at Malines, then, instead of confining themselves to an urbane and scholarly statement of their differences,—valuable as that is,—were to arrive at statements,—first perhaps along the lines of the Birmingham Conference,—of what Roman Catholics hold with at least some other Christians, a great deal could be done to turn the invisible unity of the Spirit into a practical reality, and to give Europe that protection of a moral ideal without which the League of Nations and even international obligations are a formality, perhaps a farce. The preparations being made for the reopening of the Vatican Council, which is to meet with the object, as the Pope defines it, of finding a remedy for the evils attending the convulsion of civil society would offer an objective to the scope of the Conferences. The noble project mentioned by the Bishop of London could then become an effective scheme. A great moral and spiritual enthusiasm could dominate and preserve European society, which is the

Pope's desire for 1925, the Holy Year. And it is not improbable that this sort of co-operation in which all could join to make 1925 a Holy Year would do more than anything else to remove the theological misunderstandings which at present divide the denominations of Christendom. We learn by study, by knowledge, not by controversy: to understand we must appreciate.

The perfect society, the true light are attained by the keeping of the moral law which charity fulfils. Virtue, as the Pagan Cicero wrote in the treatise we all read as boys, provides a basis for amity: *et conciliat amicitias et conservat.*

And if virtue feeble were
Heaven itself would stoop to her,

added the English Milton. The New Testament is more explicit: we grow to our true stature, it says, by working the truth in charity.* These words were written by a prisoner in chains in Rome: and from Rome they are repeated still by those solicitous, like all true seekers of the truth, to keep the unity of the spirit in the chain of peace.

R. GORDON GEORGE.

* Ephes. IV. 15, in Vulgate: *Veritatem autem facientes in caritate crescimus in illo per omnia qui est caput Christus.*

KANT AND THE UNITY OF MANKIND.

ON April 22nd a large international company celebrated at Königsberg the bi-centenary of the birth of one of the greatest and most international thinkers of all time. No thinker in modern times ever combined more perfectly elements drawn from all nations than Immanuel Kant. His grandfather, who spelt his name with a C, had migrated from Scotland; the chief intellectual influences which moved him were, in science Newton and Wright of Durham, in philosophy Hume, in politics Rousseau; he was German in language and forms of thought, but rather un-German in his comparative insensibility to art, his remoteness from the enthusiasm and sentiment which centre round the great contemporary figure of Goethe. He stood for pure reason, for hope and Humanity.

We are thinking of him here as the most rational prophet of the League of Nations, in the fifth year of the efficient working of the League which he foresaw. He reached his conception of the League, a conception very close to the reality, by following the lead of a penetrating reason which started from the simplest known laws in the sphere of mathematical astronomy and went on to demand a corresponding order in the realm of human activity. The famous comparison of the Starry Heavens above us and the Moral Law within, is more than a magnificent ejaculation: it gives the keynote of his mind. There is a comparable order in the whole world of our thought. It rises from the material and mechanical to the animate and human. It is accessible to our reason, and the highest function of the mind is to trace it to its issue. The issue is a realisable ideal of human unity, a state in which mankind, coming at last to perpetual peace, will be able to enjoy all its powers and happiness in the community to which it is clearly destined by Nature as interpreted by Reason.

The final picture recalls Dante's *De Monarchia*, and there is much in common between the minds of the two great thinkers. Dante sums up the mediæval ideal in much the same form that Kant projects into the future as the goal of modern action. But a great difference parts them. Dante sees his ideal State as already given, in the organisation of the Church and the Empire, God's actual habitation on earth. Kant sees it truly, as an object of endeavour, the end of a long and arduous journey, the crown not of a religious system but of the modern structure of self-governing yet interconnected republican States. In this, as in so much else, he is the first great modern thinker: he is contemporary with us in politics, as he is in science and philosophy.

His thinking began with physical science, and with mathematics, its fundamental framework. In his first publication in 1747, when he was twenty-three, he discussed with acuteness and balance of mind a purely mathematical question, the right form of expression for the amount of a force. In the next stage he advanced beyond pure mathematics and attacked a question of celestial mechanics. This was in 1754, when the Berlin Academy had offered a prize for an Essay on the question whether the earth's motion on its axis had shown any alteration of speed. He did not send his essay in, but published it in a Königsberg journal. It was the first suggestion that the action of the moon in raising the tides had caused a slight retardation of the earth's motion and that the fact of the moon's always showing the same face to the earth is due to the same cause. The former theory, like other great thoughts of Kant, was demonstrated by later thinkers in ignorance of his priority.

This essay was only an introduction to the great work of 1755 on the *Theory of the Heavens* in which Kant showed himself a worthy continuer of Newton, in some ways a superior anticipator of Laplace. To this work he had been stimulated by Thomas Wright of Durham, just as later Hume provoked him to the *Critique of Pure Reason*. In 1750 Wright had published *An Original Theory or New Hypothesis of the Universe founded upon the laws of Nature*. Wright's idea was to turn the Newtonian laws of gravitation on to the so-called fixed stars. These were not scattered haphazard through space, but drawn to a plane by the operation of some law. "They are closer together, the nearer we come to the Milky Way, so that of the 2,000 stars which we see with the naked eye, the greater part will be found in a narrow zone of which the Milky Way is the middle." Kant developed from this hint his theory, called somewhat loosely a nebular hypothesis, that the material Universe was once full of matter in the finest state of division and that this matter came together by gravitation round certain points. By centrifugal force, also present from the first, the growing masses were thrown off and revolved round their centres in nearly the same plane and the same direction. Note the brilliant anticipation of later thought; but note, still more carefully for our present argument, the kinship with his later explanation of racial evolution. Like the heavenly bodies, human beings are subject to contrary forces, tending to and from a centre, and the order and purpose of the Universe consist in their balance and reconciliation.

In these early years, before 1770, Kant was a free lance, lecturing and writing on what he pleased. It was not till 1770 that he obtained the Chair of logic and metaphysics at Königsberg which determined the bent of his later work. Before that time he con-

tinued to write and speak mainly on physical topics, and the list of his books shows a marked break between 1770 and 1781, the date of the *Critique of Pure Reason*. In 1755 there was a treatise sketching a theory of an elastic and subtle matter, the ether, by means of which bodies were able to operate upon one another. As both heat and light are modified vibrations of this substance, we see in it clearly another anticipation of later thought. It lacks, indeed, the all-important element of electricity, which could not be added until the discoveries of the end of the century. In the same and following years he published some tracts on the causes of the recent earthquakes and in the latter year, 1756, an Essay on the Theory of the Winds, in which, quite independently of other thinkers, he showed how the varying velocity of rotation of different zones of the earth's surface explained the phenomena of periodic winds. He was here fully in accord with later and still accepted science.

He maintained his interest in astronomy throughout. Many years later, in 1785 and 1794, he published tracts on the Volcanoes in the Moon and the Influence of the Moon on the Weather. He argued that the conditions on the side of the moon turned away from us must be quite different from those on this side and that the centre of gravity of the moon must be on the further side. He made a guess, too, at the existence of another planet which was afterwards discovered by Herschel in 1781 and is now known as Uranus.

The change which comes in 1770 when he obtained the Chair at Königsberg, diverted the larger part of his thought from external observation and speculation to introspection, from the Starry Heavens to the Moral Law, but it strengthened the underlying unity of his mind: it led him to give the first place to problems of human life as a part of the whole system of Nature and prepared the way for the *Sketch of Universal History from the Cosmopolitical Standpoint*.

The Essay called "The Dreams of a Ghost-seer (or Clairvoyant) explained by the Dreams of Metaphysics," published in 1766, is an interesting bridge to the later position. One sentence gives the keynote of his thought as leading to the Unity of Mankind;—"Aristotle says somewhere, 'If we are awake, we have a common world, but in our dreams each man has his own.' The converse of the second statement is true. We may say that, when among different men each has his own world, it is to be presumed that they are dreaming." Whatever the mind or soul may be in itself, its findings or dictates are the same for all men if they are awake and sane. It is on this universality of our mental outlook that the Moral Law is built and ultimately the peace and federation of the world will arise.

From 1770 onwards, as Professor of Logic and Metaphysics at

Königsberg, Kant began the career which made him the best known philosopher in Europe and the greatest force in modern thought. He became more and more absorbed in metaphysics, less and less conscious of the world around him. It is recorded that he never sailed out into the Baltic, never travelled more than forty miles from Königsberg, disregarded music and all the beauties of Nature or the amenities of society. Of the sixteen or seventeen works published since the date of his Professorship, all but two or three relate strictly to the development of the principles which he began to lay down in the *Critique of Pure Reason*, published in 1781. Yet even in this pre-occupation the old interest in natural science does not disappear. The three streams of thought flow unbroken to the last; the old belief in an ordered universe nurtured on mathematics and astronomy, the theory of universal dictates of reason common to all mankind, and the study of contemporary wars and politics.

All sides of Kant's mind are seen in this bi-centenary year to be of vital and permanent interest to mankind and all are interconnected. It is interesting to note that at the same moment when we are celebrating here his international importance, a recent writer* tells us that "not only are his philosophical views of extreme importance for science, but they are more important now than when Kant arrived at them a hundred and fifty years since. Eddington would go so far as to attribute every element in our experience of the external world, except that of atomicity, to our own mental processes, an interesting conclusion in view of Kant's insistence on the plurality of things in themselves." Man, in fact, gives unity to the world, and the whole theory of relativity might be deduced from Kant's teaching as to the part which the mind plays in imposing its own forms on the manifold of perception.

This is the link which binds the Kant of the Cosmogony to the Kant of the League of Nations. Man is a universally reasonable being, and as he grows, imposes the same sort of unity on his social evolution as we have found to prevail in the physical universe. The little treatise on *Universal History from the Cosmopolitical Standpoint* which was published in 1784 begins with this very argument. It was translated by De Quincey in the *London Magazine* for October, 1824, the year of the first centenary of Kant's birth and is reprinted in De Quincey's collected writings.† It is so interesting and important that it is worth modernising a little: what follows is a faithful version based on De Quincey, but breaking up the sentences and omitting the more redundant parts.

Human actions, he says, taken on the large scale, are as much

* J. B. S. Haldane, *Nation*, April 26th, 1924, and in *Dædalus*.

† Vol. XIII. of the edition of 1859, Vol. IX. in that of 1890.

under the control of universal laws of Nature as any physical phenomena. If we look at them separately they may seem incoherent and lawless; taken collectively, they are seen to exhibit a slow but continuous development. Statistics of births, deaths and marriages, for instance, and, in fact, all general social phenomena, are just as conformable to a law as the oscillations of the weather. We may note here an advance on the very telling passage in the *Theory of the Heavens* which begins:—

“It seems to me that man here on earth can, with intelligent certainty and without presumption, say: ‘Give me matter and I will construct a world out of it,’ i.e., give me matter and I will show you how a world shall arise out of it. We have matter in existence, endowed with an essential force of attraction. It is not difficult to determine the causes that may have contributed to the arrangement of the system of the world as a whole. . . . But can we boast of the same progress even regarding the lowest plant or insect? Are we in a position to say: ‘Give me matter and I will show you how a caterpillar can be produced?’ . . . The formation of all the heavenly bodies, the cause of their movements and, in short, the origin of the whole present constitution of the universe, will become intelligible before the production of a single bird or caterpillar by mechanical causes will become distinctly and completely understood.”

But, since the *Theory of the Heavens* was written, some laws affecting the evolution of animate beings, and even of man, had dawned upon him. There is a suggestion in the *Critique of the Judgment*, published in 1780, i.e., before this sketch of Universal History. “The analogy of forms,” he there says, “seems generated from a common origin and strengthens the supposition of a real relationship between them and in their production from an original parent form.” This is the germ of a theory of evolution, which in regard to human society he carries further in the little treatise before us. The future Newton or Kepler of history, to whom he appeals, will know that men do not obey, like the lower animals, a law of instinct, and he will seek in vain, among men as a whole, a rational, preconceived plan being carried out, such as advanced thinkers are constantly framing for mankind. At first sight, in fact, the history of mankind might strike him as a mass of follies, vanity and wickedness with an occasional ray of wisdom here and there. Where will he find the clue?

Then Kant turns back to the old Aristotelian conception of a given or destined end for every living creature which explains all its actions and characteristics. What is this for Man? Clearly it is the full development of his reason. He is the sole rational creature on earth. His reason is the faculty which extends his powers beyond the scope of instinct, and it appears quite illimitable. But it is developed by degrees, tentatively and by practice, and as the

individual does not live long enough to carry out the whole process in his own case, it demands a series of generations, each handing on its quota to the next.

As soon as Man realises this inheritance of reason, a fresh stage is reached. He can foresee a further growth and the idea of Progress is born. It is essential for continued and rational development that he should foresee, because the progress depends upon his efforts. Physically he is rather badly equipped because the purpose of Nature is that he should wrest all his happiness and protection from the difficulties of the situation by his own rational efforts. His development and his rational self-esteem are the goal, and this can only be secured by the co-operation of the whole species. Individually he is mortal, as a species immortal.

The course of social progress, however, is not a simple and direct one. Man's nature itself contains antagonisms, as well as the world without. He is unsocial as well as social. Though conscious that only in the social state can he realise his true nature, yet he is always fighting for himself and resisting others who are doing the same. From this competition for personal ends—in money, honour or place—arise the first upward steps in culture, and by this competition, his talents are unfolded. He comes to see that a moral union founded on choice must take the place of the social concert which had been forced upon him by the early necessities of his case. It is in realising the union of these apparently opposite tendencies of Man's nature that his greatest triumph consists, and Kant shows his greatest power in seeing the underlying common purpose in the diversity and opposition of the facts. Man needs the greatest possible freedom for his individual growth and at the same time the strongest possible social compulsion to keep his anti-social tendencies in check.

We go on from the problem of individual freedom *versus* social coercion to consider where Man is to find the master who is to curb his will. We know where Dante found him. It was God's two Vice-regents on earth, the Emperor to rule his body, the Pope to rule his soul. Kant's solution is not so ready nor so simple. He starts by assuming merely that Man's master must be found in his own species. A perfect solution, he says, is impossible, for no supreme power can be always or certainly prevented from abusing its authority. Out of wood so crooked as man is made of, nothing absolutely straight can ever be wrought. But Nature bids us come as near to it as we can, and for any successful attempt three things are needed; first, a just notion of what a good civil institution is; second, great experience; third, a will favourably disposed to its adoption. A good civil institution for each State is not sufficient: we have to advance from that to a condition of just relations between

the different States. Separate States may indulge, often have indulged, in the same sort of lawless and uncontrolled liberty, towards one another which individuals use in a savage state. But through war and the evil consequences of war, Nature drives nations on to experiments and expedients of union which abstract reason might have suggested without this loss. Idealists, like the Abbé de St. Pierre and Rousseau, who have entertained such views, can only be criticised for their optimism in thinking that the goal was nearer its attainment than it really was. That it must come at last is a necessity of our being. Brutal liberty, whether in the individual or the State, must be given up, and peace and security sought in a civil constitution founded upon law. It is surely more reasonable to assume such an issue from the development of Man's nature than to regard the course of history as a fortuitous concourse of atoms from which in the end a harmonious State may, or may not, arise by accident. We see a final purpose at work in the parts of the world of life, are we to deny it in the highest region?

But Kant points out that no such world-federation would be exempt from danger. If it were perfectly safe, the powers of the human race would go to sleep. It is sufficient that there should be some principle within the federation capable of restoring its equilibrium and preventing the two contending activities of Man from destroying each other. Before reaching this final state of equilibrium we seem in the deepest abyss of evils and the deceitful semblance of external prosperity.* Unless Man takes the final step of his ascent (he quotes Rousseau here), the condition of the savage is to be preferred to that of the civilised man trembling on the brink. We are highly *cultivated* in arts and sciences. We are *civilised* to excess in the graces and decorums of life. But to be *moralised* much remains to be done. The idea of morality is involved in that of culture, but it is restrained in its scope, and needs to be extended to embrace the activities of States which are at present devoting all their energies to idle plans of aggrandisement by force.

The last section of the little treatise is given to the conception of "world history."

We are right to regard the history of the human species as a whole as the unravelling of a hidden plan of Nature for accomplishing a perfect state of civil constitution for society. Can we, he asks, observe any traces of such an unravelling? "Some little," is the answer. The argument is the same as the astronomer uses in tracing the course which the sun and planets pursue among the heavenly host. He sees but little: he is justified in assuming the whole.

* This was written, we may remark, in 1784, not of the Great War.

In the case of human history our interest extends to the remotest epoch in the future, and is increased by the fact that we can by our own intellectual arrangements accelerate the advance. The present condition, though imperfect, is not unhopeful. All States are so linked together by human devices that no one of them can become stationary or retrograde without affecting the rest. If civil liberty is arrested, all social activities sicken and the State is weakened, both internally and in its external relations. But liberty is not being curtailed. On the contrary, it is growing, now as when Kant wrote in 1784. Then for Germany, he said, that the Governments had no money free for education because the estimates for the next war had absorbed the whole in advance. We have heard almost the same words in our own days. But then as now the turn came and society began afresh the upward path. And Kant foresaw that the issues of war would become so involved, as well as painful and burdensome in their results, that other Governments not immediately interested in the quarrel would offer their services as mediators, and thus a great primary State body, a Cosmopolitan Areopagus, would arise beyond any precedent in earlier history.

This movement in the framework of mankind which Kant could then detect, has now become an established fact, and the League of Nations is seen to be not only the supreme political necessity of the world, but the goal of universal history.

It becomes then a reasonable project to compose a Universal History of mankind with this in view, and such a work would help forward the very purpose of Nature. Some might say that we are planning a romance when we talk of a history on the idea of a course which human affairs would take if adjusted to certain reasonable ends. But assuming a reasonable purpose in the world, such a plan would give us the clue to trace something like systematic unity in the greatest abstract of human actions, which else appears a chaotic and incoherent aggregate.

Kant's first sketch, with which he ends, takes its beginning from the history of the Greeks, who seem to sum up and guarantee the validity of all previous history. Then it goes on to the Romans who swallowed up the Greeks. We should study both the merits and the defects of the Roman State, and the influence of the Romans upon the Barbarians who succeeded and destroyed their Empire. Other countries would come into our circle as they enter the circle of these two enlightened nations. Through all the vicissitudes of Western history a germ of illumination would be found preserved which was more developed at each revolution and opens up a consolatory prospect into futurity. If we may not indulge such hopes, what does it avail to praise the magnificence and wisdom of creation in the irrational kingdom of Nature if we are

obliged to turn our eyes away in displeasure from the contemplation of its highest stage, and if, in despair of ever discovering in it a perfect and rational purpose, we are left to look for it only in another world?

Condorcet, and many later writers, have essayed the task since Kant. With our present vast extension of knowledge, especially on the side of early Man, these later sketches become both richer and truer. They will continue to improve in every age. Let us hope they will retain the sure hope and philosophic insight which Kant first showed. His warning and the general indication of his purpose hold good. He would not, he said, be thought to discourage the cultivation of empirical history in the ordinary sense. On the contrary, any philosopher who would execute the plan should be well versed in history. The work is in fact only an extensive survey of history, taken from a new station. The extreme detail with which the history of every nation is written in our own times must make the question urgent. How will posterity be able to cope with the enormous accumulation of historical records which a few centuries will bequeath to them? No doubt they will estimate the value of historical details of times remote, simply by the good or the evil done by those earlier nations and their governments from the cosmopolitan or human point of view. They will demand the history of civilisation, in order to know what in the past has tended to the unity and progress of mankind. And this demand will act also as a stimulus to governments and their agents in the future, for it will direct their eyes to the only means of glorifying themselves in history.

F. S. MARVIN.

INTERNATIONAL PROBLEMS AND POLITICAL PHILOSOPHY.

A TURNING-POINT has been reached in our experience of contact between peoples, similar to that which was passed at the Renaissance. Bodin, in his statement of the nature of sovereignty, explained facts and gave a new impulse to action. Sovereignty has been the dominant political conception ever since. Now we need something more. The old conception has not failed; for it performed its historic task and still remains useful within defined limits. But the facts of international life make it quite inadequate to explain the actual relationship of States, and policies too studiously modelled upon the tradition of sovereignty tend to be ineffectual because they give no attention to the internationalism of finance, commerce, and intellectual intercourse.

Sovereignty, when it was first conceived, was a brilliant contribution to exact thinking and therefore to effective action. It displaced the old vague cosmopolitanism or catholicism of the Middle Ages. It gave precision to the authority which abolished feudal anarchy. It expressed what men needed and, in part, what they already had. Kings had learnt to claim absolute authority as the only practical method of effective government; and the peoples, so far as they were politically conscious, valued the certainty which was thus given to civil law. They were willing to allow obvious self-seeking on the part of the absolutist, as a price for the exercise of real power against all comers. The lesson had been spread abroad from Italy; and in the larger areas of government in France and England the new doctrine appeared even more excellent because the sovereign prince could there enforce his peace for the benefit of a more widespread population.

Sovereignty was what men conceived as the ideal of every State. It involved a single authority over all subjects and a complete independence of that authority with respect to similar authorities in other States. The contact between sovereigns was to be that of equals, each alone competent to look after his own affairs. The relation, although it was that of separate units, was more clearly conceived than the old subordination of rulers to a mysterious single authority had been; and the beginning of diplomacy shows that sovereignty was a step forward in defining and making practically manageable the intercourse of governments. Thus sovereignty, even in its reference to foreign affairs, was an instrument of international progress and not, as some thinkers seem to imagine, an obstacle to peace.

The immense value of this conception in the past is the measure of our present need. We have many competent historians of inter-

national affairs and many more brilliant students of current events. To complete their studies we require such guiding conceptions as sovereignty once was. We should be able to envisage the new situation by reference to some significant factor in it, which makes the mass of facts fall into an intelligible pattern. What we need is not necessarily a single word like sovereignty, nor even a single idea like that of evolution in biology; but it must be a clear perception of a law or a general fact underlying the variety of events. The need is not less in practical politics than in the study.

Practical politicians, who, especially in regard to foreign policy, prefer to call themselves by the Renaissance name "statesmen," have no new conception comparable in precision and general usefulness with sovereignty. There is much beating about the bush with words like Nationalism and amalgams like Self-determination; but these are generally used as nineteenth-century versions of sovereignty. Fantastic mythology about the Will of the People and the Family of Nations is obviously more useful in perorations than in diplomatic documents. We may hope that the passion for Small Nations, whatever was intended by its wartime advocates, has by now blown over. But there is no new governing idea by which the mass of current events in international relations may be made manageable. Mere complaint of such a deficiency is futile. That is not our purpose here. The intention is to focus, in a more general sense of what is needed, the requisite attention upon the problems of international life. Clearly the practical politician cannot wait for a complete political philosophy to arrive before he deals with these problems; and in fact they are dealt with by a sort of rule-of-thumb as they arise. For example, jurisdiction on the high seas outside territorial waters, the domicile of companies, commercial contracts, financial interlocking of banks in different countries, emigration, epidemic disease—all these are problems which cannot be solved by any one State acting alone. They are distinct problems, one of which hardly affects the others; and they are dealt with separately, often by officials who see only the particular problem and not its setting.

The result is rule-of-thumb, which works well enough in normal times but is useless in a crisis because it is not based upon any clear conception of the relation between States and governments. Again, because there is no such clear conception, the peoples are without any knowledge of international affairs. The experience of officials or Ministers of State who meet at international conferences has not been made available for the majority of the citizens even in the most enlightened communities; and therefore it often happens that diplomatists find themselves hampered in their progress towards an understanding with foreign governments by the

suspicion or the ignorance of the people they are supposed to represent.

It is sometimes said that the peoples desire peace; and it is implied that small groups of interested persons do not desire peace. But even if it is true that the will of the peoples is vaguely directed towards peace, that will is ineffectual not because of sinister influences but because there is no clear popular conception of what peace means. Peace in the modern world cannot possibly mean that each people is to live separate, happily cultivating its own patch of the earth's surface. Peace is not a name for a sentiment; it is a name, in the modern world, for a particular form of inter-State organisation. But the peoples are not able to imagine a relationship of governments distinct in character from that of Renaissance sovereignty.

Practical politicians, therefore, "wobble" from one form of policy to another. In detailed specific issues they use a new form of international principle, which they hardly yet understand, and in large issues they hark back to the older, simpler conception of States as separate units. For example, in the critical years 1919-1920 the Allied statesmen allowed the Supreme Economic Council to pass foodstuffs into Germany, although some pressure indeed had to be put upon statesmen to make them act upon the principle of the interrelation of peoples: but in the drafting and in the manner of presentation of the Versailles Treaty these same statesmen harked back to the Renaissance or to some even more primitive time. The same tendencies continue to co-exist. In issues on which the peoples are not greatly moved the League of Nations does well enough; but in fundamentals the older principles are easier to use. Of course, it is not to be imagined that practical politicians think out general principles. That is not their business, as it is not the business of a shipowner to acquire a knowledge of economics. But no man can help the implications of his action. The principles of which we are speaking are implied in the different policies adopted and are to be discovered only after careful thought. Nevertheless, the apparent confusion of events and policies in the post-war years can be made intelligible if we have in mind the old principle of sovereignty and the timid beginnings of a new order of thought and action. These two different principles are the assumptions underlying the two very different views of the same situation in Hanotaux's *Traité de Versailles* and Nitti's *Decadence of Europe*.

If an attempt were made to analyse the actual policy which implied the new principle it would be found that a governing conception existed, at least as important as that of sovereignty. It is the principle of real international policy; and may best be explained

by a comparison. When a national Parliament is elected, the members represent different parts of the country, but each has a view of the common interest of the whole nation. Each represents not so much local interest as the view of a particular locality in regard to the common interest: the member for Derby, then, speaks not merely for Derby's interest but for Derby's view of England's interest. In international affairs similarly there may be a view which is England's view; but it should be not a view of England's interest merely—it should be England's view of the common interest of all or of many nations. In practice our greater diplomatists have this international view; but it is not continuously operative, largely because we do not really yet grasp the significance of the State-system of modern times. The so-called "organic" idea of the State in political thought should conclude with the statement that any State is an organ within an organic system of world politics. The practical utility of this idea is that by bearing it in mind problems of finance, transport, commerce, and labour can be dealt with in an atmosphere free from the mere *quid-pro-quo* juggling of the older diplomacy.

But the case of international affairs is as bad in the world of thought as it is in practical politics. No clear governing conception has set in order the chaos of information at present at our disposal. A mere knowledge of the habits of foreigners is almost irrelevant for a political philosophy which is applicable to international life. The record of events provides by itself no clue. The assumptions of International Law have never been examined since the days of sovereignty. Our ideas in fact are inherited from an earlier world, and the position of political philosophy is therefore peculiar. New facts have accumulated in what may be called political science. For example, there are many new examples of Federation; government has been extended to provide education, preventive medicine, &c.; the relations of political to industrial organisation are much more complicated than in the days of J. S. Mill. And in the international sphere also new facts have come into existence. Commercial treaties, emigration, international trusts, and governmental organisation such as the Universal Postal Union and, finally, the League of Nations—all these provide material for a new scientific analysis. In moral science or ethics the general principles are being applied to the position of agents of the State such as diplomatists and to industrial workers and employers. Again, psychology has transformed our understanding of the machinery of government. The creation and manipulation of public opinion is now subjected to scrutiny: and the psychological assumptions of political theory from Plato to Mill and Green are not now allowed to pass uncriticised. All this may, of course, affect the whole of

political philosophy and we may hope to have somewhat less crude conceptions than those of nineteenth-century democracy, representation, obligation, &c.

But in international affairs political philosophy is most strikingly crude. Contemporary facts are often completely disregarded. For example, in Mr. Bosanquet's *Philosophical Theory of the State*, as well as its refutation, Professor Hobhouse's *Metaphysical Theory of the State*, the external relations of all States are either omitted or undervalued. In Mr. H. A. L. Fisher's book *The Common Weal* there are chapters on international affairs; but the governing conceptions are still those of Plato and Aristotle. The citizen is related to his own State; but his duties and rights in regard to other States are not closely examined, although, of course, their existence is implied by the very word "international." The problem of service in war, for example, is obviously not one which can be treated as an issue between the citizen and his own State only: it is meaningless unless there is some moral relationship to the citizens of other States. It is an important fact that each State and its citizens are continuously affected in the modern world by what is done by all other States and their citizens. This is a fundamental fact for all political philosophy, and is the beginning and the end of that part of political philosophy which touches on what is called foreign policy. But no reference is made to it in the traditional conceptions. Clearly at one time the relations between States were less important than they now are and we may therefore forgive Plato and Aristotle and even Bodin and Grotius because of the circumstances of their times. But what is to be said of the continuance of the same methods? Plato deliberately makes his ideal State self-sufficing: his "warriors" are to keep off enemies. And yet the character and policy and purposes of these outsiders is never once discussed. In the *Politicus* (309a) it is said that there was a time when no such warriors were needed. In the *Laws* some contact with non-citizens is allowed to exist, but it is regarded as dangerous to the State.

Aristotle is just as hopelessly out-of-date in reference to modern conditions. The State for him too is to be self-sufficing: but in actual experience Aristotle knew that even the States of his day took account of foreign trade. He must supply some foreign policy, therefore; and the whole of it amounts to the principle that no government ought to rely on foreign aid and that the legislator should learn from foreign examples (*Pol.* 1294 b and 1325 a). The only foreign relationship which is emphasised is that of war (*Pol.* 1265 a).

In mediæval times a sort of international structure was assumed to exist; but it was not carefully analysed and in any case the

structure, such as it was, has disappeared. When the modern State began, it was readily assumed that States were naturally hostile to one another. Thus Machiavelli says that States are "necessarily led to expand" at the expense of other States (*Discorsi* I. 6); and Hobbes made the famous statement—"In all times Kings and Persons of Sovereign authority, because of their independence are in continual jealousies and in the state and posture of gladiators . . . which is the posture of war" (*Leviathan* II. 13). Grotius in founding International Law had to assume that Hobbes was wrong in saying that between States there was no "just and unjust"; but he never worked out the moral theory implied in the *jus gentium*. All through the late Renaissance, therefore, the inter-State system, which was already growing up, was hardly noticed; and Rousseau leaves the whole subject to one last sentence in his *Contrat Social*. Kant with his theory of Federation (*Perpetual Peace*) and Hegel in his *Philosophy of Right* still assume that States are essentially segregate; and yet international commerce had already gone far to make each people dependent upon every State.

The nineteenth century, however, saw a transformation. The modern State, which had been in embryo since the Renaissance, really came into existence in the middle of the century. There are some faint recognitions in political philosophy that a new situation had arisen; for Sidgwick actually admits (in a note!) that foreign contracts influence domestic policy (*Elements of Politics* (ed. 1897) p. 237); and Green in his lectures on Political Obligation (par. 167 and 172) implies that an inter-State system exists, for he regards war as a violation of the State's nature rather than as the natural "posture" of any State. Bosanquet, however, simply omits in his *Philosophical Theory of the State* any reference to the plurality of States; and Jellinck (*Das Recht des Modernen Staates*) refers to international associations but does not develop his interesting phrase (p. 722):—"Any interpretation of sovereignty which identifies it with the absolute independence of the State is irreconcilable with the historical development of States related in a system of treaties."

And so we come to the war and after. The inter-relation of States was proved up to the hilt in the various inter-Allied organisations of both sides in the conflict; and the League of Nations Secretariat carries on some of the experience which was gained in the inter-Allied Commissions for specific purposes. The whole situation shows that the modern State in at least some of its functions is a part of a larger system; and yet we still continue to discuss whether or not sovereignty is limited. The time has surely come to think in new terms. Even the existing League of Nations cannot be explained in the old terminology; and its legitimate development

waits for the clearer understanding of what we mean by the word "international." In political philosophy its meaning should be based upon the experience of contact, in certain issues only, between the interest of peoples of different races under distinct governments. A very peculiar structure of a psychological character is coming into existence in human society, corresponding in some way with that set of circumstances which Graham Wallas has called "the Great Society." Shall we call it the international mind? If so, the phrase must not be regarded as a specific for the solution of practical problems, for it points the way but does not indicate what we shall find at the end of our investigation. We may expect the international mind to be an active force in the solution of the problems of the Ruhr and the Balkans; but it is a general psychological force whose effectiveness depends upon the exact knowledge possessed by its agents.

It may be argued, therefore, that political philosophy should devote attention to the underlying forces, for example, in the Labour Internationals, in the joint interests of shareholders of international companies, in the intercourse of scientists and artists; for under the influence of these the new State system which has displaced Renaissance sovereignty is being consolidated, in spite of adverse currents of nationalism and imperialism.

C. DELISLE BURNS.

A QUEEN AND HER CONSCIENCE.

ONE of the most interesting of the many branches of historical study is the comparison of the men and women of the past as revealed by themselves, with the traditional representation of them that has been handed down from one historian to another. Such a comparison is not always possible, since autobiographical records do not always exist; but where it is possible—where papers and letters have come to light in the course of years—many of our judgments require to be reconceived and restated.

The writer of the article in the *Encyclopædia Britannica* on the sister Queens, Mary and Anne, has evidently been influenced—whether consciously or unconsciously—by Miss Strickland's prejudiced account of the wife of William III., whom she holds up as an example of personal ambition, filial ingratitude and sisterly hatred; for in describing the misunderstanding between the sisters, he says that it "began in trifling questions of etiquette, quite fitted to the calibre of both minds." This contemptuous verdict on a woman whose judgment was as sound as her conscience was tender, ought to be reversed in view of the evidence afforded by Mary's own Letters and Journals.

Miss Strickland's animosity against the daughter of James I. and the man whom she calls "her ungraceful and ungracious little partner" arose from the fact that she was a believer in the Divine Right of Kings, and that, therefore, in her eyes, they were mere usurpers, and the settlement of the succession upon them by Parliament was irregular and schismatic. Mary, according to her, had a "heart of marble," and to quicken our sense of her enormities, her father is spoken of as the "old" king, though he was no more than fifty-five—an age when most men are in the full tide of activity. "His letters," she says, "in their parental simplicity, must have been heart-rending to anyone not exactly provided with a heart of marble. The evident failure of physical strength expressed by the father, the worn-out hero of many a hard battle, while making ready to repel the hostility of his children, ought to have been agonising to the daughter." If the Journals and Letters preserved among the Hanoverian State Papers had been published during Miss Strickland's lifetime, she would have been placed in an awkward predicament. If any composition may be justly called a "human document" it is these Journals, for here the "marble heart" is shown to have been full of tender anxieties and torn with doubts and fears, and the cold-blooded schemer for her own advantage is revealed as a prey to the most acute pangs of conscience. So intimate are their pages that it almost seems sacrilege

to make them public, yet they are so complete a refutation of the charges made against her that it is impossible to wish that they had been left in the dusty seclusion of the Hanoverian Chancery, even though we know that their author meant no one to see them, since she says that in a time when her life was in danger from plots, she kept them "in a bag ty'd by my side, resolving if anything happened to have them ready to burn."

Far from being unfilial, it is clear from the Journals that Mary's mind was constantly exercised by the problem—could she and her husband be justified in accepting the crown? The opening sentences plunge us straight into the mental conflict through which she was passing:—

"*Reflections on my life for the year 1689.* When I look back on what I was last year and what I now am, it amazes me to see how well I ended the last and how ill I began this year. I was then in good temper of mind. The melankolly prospect for me to see my husband and father so far engaged against each other, took off all the satisfaction I could have in this world and made me find by experience that it was not the place of rest or content. The sad example of my father shewed sufficiently it was not greatness could secure me, which example touch me so much the more by the nearness of the concern I had every way in it. On the other side I saw my husband in a prosperous way and blessed God for it and was sorry I could not so much rejoyce as his wife ought; neither was I so sad as became the daughter of a distressed king. I bless my God decided between the daughter and the wife and shewed me when Religion was at stake I should know no man after the flesh, but wait the Lord's leisure and trust His goodness for the event. And when self love made me shed a flood of tears at the thought of leaving a country where I had the esteem of the inhabitants, where I had led a life so suitable to my humour, and as I think, not unacceptable to my God, where in a word I had all earthly content and sufficient means to bring me to Heaven, abundant cause to make me love it and no small reason to doubt if I should ever be so happy in my own country, yet even then such was the grace of God, I checked myself and was angry at so much mistrust of God's mercy and resolved to abandon myself entirely to His Providence and sacrifice my will entirely to His Divine pleasure."

A visit from the Elector and Electress of Brandenburg showed her, she says, her "weakness," for she "took so much care to be civil to the Elector and divert the Electress" that she neglected her devotions and as soon as they were gone—"I bless my God I returned to my old solitary way of living, and found myself very sensibly touched with a sense of my neglect during their stay. One thing pleased me very much, which was that though I had seen the Electress dance, I was not tempted, so that I believed I had overcome that which used to be one of my prettiest pleasures in the world, and that I feared might be a sin in me for loving it too well." It is impossible when reading this passage not to be

reminded of the charming picture that Pepys gives of the Princess Mary in the days when no anxious scruples had as yet arisen in her mind: "April 2nd, 1669. Stepping to the Duchess of York's side, to speak with Lady Peterborough, I did see the young Duchess, a little child in hanging sleeves, dance most finely, so as almost to ravish me; her ears were so good: taught by a Frenchman, that did heretofore teach the King and all the King's children."

At the time of the Elector's visit, William was in England, arranging matters with the Parliament, and Mary was in constant fear for his safety, while at the same time she was racked with anxiety as to the justice of their course. When the summons to join her husband at last reached her, the Journal exhibits none of that "disgusting" elation of which Miss Strickland accuses her:—

"Feb. 1st, 1689. The Admirall Herbert came with the yacht out of England and a letter from the Prince to loose no time of coming to him as fast as I could; this, tho expected, surprised me and gave me much trouble. I did not sleep the whole night, but lay thincking how much I should suffer in leaving a place where I knew how happy I could be—I knew the persons and the way of living, I had some reputation in that condition which I did not know if I could maintain in my own country where I was now grown a perfect stranger; then the uncertainty of what might be done there, the misfortunes of my father, the thought of coming in his place,—all this together made me very loath to leave Holland. I wisht of all things to see the prince, yet I had rather have seen him there than in England, but the more I considered the more I found the necessity of my going to him and the little likelihood there was of ever coming more to Holland. Thus I passed the night; but when my first passion was over, I saw my fault and asked pardon of my God and begged Him of His mercy to give me a more resigned will to wean my heart from the world; with much ado I calmed myself and brought myself as I thought to an entire submission."

She concludes her account by saying that she "embarckt and left the Hague with a grieff I cannot expresse."

That she was callous to her father's position cannot be believed in view of her own statements—statements, it must be remembered, that were intended for no eye but her own—and the joy that she showed on taking possession of his palace is here explained as having been assumed that people might not think that she was mortified by the Government being put into her husband's hands while she was the nearer heir to the crown. When she arrived in England, she says, she felt

"a secret joy, which doubtless proceeded from a natural sympathy, but that was soon checked with the consideration of my father's misfortunes which came immediately into my mind. The joy of seeing the prince again strove against that melancolly and the thought that I should see my husband owned as the deliverer of my

country made me vain; but alas! poor mortal! thought I then, from whom has he delivered it but from thy father. Thus were my thoughts taken up and while I put the best face on, my heart suffert a great deal."

She goes on to speak of her happiness in meeting her husband:—

"Here I was guilty of a great sin, I let myself go on too much and the devil immediately took his advantage, the world filled my mind and left but little room for good thoughts. The next day after I came, we were proclaimed and government put wholly in the prince's hands. This pleased me extreamly, but many would not believe it, so then I was fain to force myself to more mirth than became me at that time, and was by many interpreted as ill-natured pride, and the great delight I had to be a queen. But alas! they did little know me who thought me guilty of that; I had been only for a regency and wished for nothing else.—I protest, God knows my heart that what I say is true, that I have had more trouble to bring myself to bear this so envyed estate than I should have had to be reduced to the lowest condition in the world. My heart is not made for a kingdom and my inclination leads me to a quiet, retired life, so that I have need of all the resignation and self-denial in the world to bear with such a condition as I am now in."

Sir John Dalrymple, in *Memoirs of Great Britain and Ireland* (1771), comments on the "womanish levity" that the Queen showed on her arrival, but since he had not seen the Journals he had not the clue to her conduct, and he quotes a Memorandum of Lord Dartmouth's which shows what those in William's confidence thought of her attitude towards her father:—

"The Duke of Leeds told me that King William, before he went abroad, told him that he must be very cautious of saying anything before the Queen that looked like a disrespect to her father, which she never forgave anybody; and the Marquis of Halifax, in particular, had lost all manner of credit with her for some unseasonable jests he had made upon this subject.—The earl of Nottingham, who was much in her confidence, told me he was sure if she had outlived her husband she would have done her utmost to have restored her father, but under such restrictions as should have prevented his ever making any attempts upon the religion or liberty of his country."

Far from finding enjoyment in the glory of her new position, the Journal is filled with regrets for the simpler life that she had led in Holland, and the "vanity" and "lacke of seriousness" in England troubled her extremely, while at the same time she was condemned "by those who cannot see the heart and are apt to give the worst construction to outward appearances" for that very alteration in her mode of life which was causing her such distress. When the King's birthday drew near, she found that it was expected that she should give a ball—"though I really thought it no proper time when war was round about and my father himself

ingaged against us. This is a thing of such a nature as I thinck should inspire us only with prayers and learn us to humble ourselves under the mighty hand of God; yet such is the depravation of this age and place where I live, none seems to thinck of such things and, ill custom prevailing, there was a ball."

At the end of the year she takes stock of her position—she has been given a crown, "which it may be would be thought a happiness by many, but I don't loock on it as such," and great power is in her possession—"but it is not in my inclination to medle in bussiness, so I thinck the prudentest thing I can do is to let it alone. For besides my not understanding these matters, there are abundance of buissie people in the world who would endeavour, as I have but too much found already, to make divisions and mischief." But gladly as she would have kept aloof from business, it was forced upon her, for when William went to take command of the Army in Ireland, it was considered right that she should be appointed Regent:—

"I only desired he would take care I should not make a foolish figure in the world. I told him that the thing in effect was the same, for I being wholly a stranger to bussiness it must be the Privy Council would do all things. I did not say this as mistrusting him in the matter (for I really left the thing to him and would make no choice) but because I was in real fear of it, for I am sensible a person in my station cannot make an indifferent one, for if one does not make a very good, I am sure one must make a very bad figure."

It is the perfect frankness of the Journal that makes it of value, but if by any misfortune it had been seen by the Queen's contemporaries, dire results must have followed. After the King's departure, she writes of her grief at the condition of affairs and of the feebleness of the counsellors by whom she was surrounded:—

"On the 4th the king went, which was the terriblest journey to me that ever he took. When he came out of Holland there was hope that a Parliament might decide all, but here was no room for anything to flatter oneself. Nothing but a battle could decide here, and what the event of that might be, God only knew. Then the concern for his dear person, who was so ill in health when he went from hence, the toil and fatigue he was like to endure, the ill air of the country he was going to, his humour when I knew he would expose himself to all dangers—then again the cruell thought that my husband and my father would fight in person against each other and if either should have perished in the action how terrible it must have been to me. These were the cruell thoughts I had upon his going, which none can judge of that have not felt the like. When I loock on myself I had no better, for I found myself now at Whitehall as in a new world, deprived of all that was dear to me in the person of my husband, left among those that were perfect strangers to me; my sister of a humour so reserved I could have

little comfort from her; the Great Council of a strange composition, the Cabinet Council not much better. Lord Stuart I found meack and obstinate, made a meer tool of by a party; Lord Chamberlain to lazy to give himself the trouble of bussiness, so of little use. Lord Pembroke is as mad as most of his family, though very good-natured, and a man of honour, though not very steady as I found in the bussiness of Lord Torrington. Lord Monmouth is mad, and his wife, who is mader, governs him. I will say nothing of Lord Marlborough because t'is he I could say the most of and can never deserve either trust or esteem. Sir John Louthere, a very honourable but weacke man, yet chief of the Treasury."

Anxious as her situation was, she showed no lack of royal courage: the Lord President asked her what she would do if there was a rising in the city, and she notes down her reply—"I said I could not tell how much frightened I might be, but I would promise not to be governed by my own or others fears, but follow the advise of those I beleved had most courage and judgment—let what would happen, I would never go from Whitehall." The King's return filled her with thankfulness and his approval of her conduct during his absence was a crowning satisfaction; yet she was happiest in being able to resign the reins of government: "I can't but wonder at what I have often heard said, that when anybody was once used to it they could not give it over. For my part I quitted it willingly, and the trouble it is to be askt about it, which makes me unwilling ever to ask the King anything."

The sensitive strain, almost amounting to morbidity, that ran through her character is shown by the next passage:—

"What the Lord does design for me this year that is coming, He only knows; but I can't help thincking t'is some great tryal he is going to put me to, since I find in myself the same dispositions He was pleased to bless me with when I was to be assaulted by boocks and letters about my religion, and when my husband was to undertake this great worck. Twice before have I found this same heavenly-mindedness and entire resignation. I feel now in a manner beyond expression, God be praised for it. I hope He will sustaine me, and then behold the hand-made of the Lord, be it unto me as He thincks fit. I am ready to do His will. So I end this year 1690."

Courageously fought fear is a far higher quality than indifference to danger, and an entry in May, 1691, shows what a power of self-control she possessed: there were plots on every side, William was away with the troops, her sister was conspiring against her, and she was charged with the delicate task of preventing her brother-in-law from going to sea against the King's wish: "I confess my weackness was so great that I was heartily troubled and frightened, but I kept it to myself. I loockt over all my meditations and burnt most of them, fearing that they might fall into hands I did not like. I prayed constantly and heartily, and committed myself to

God as into the hands of a faithful Creator, and so went about my business thinking as long as I was carefull to do my duty to God and man, I might rest satisfied that whatever happened to my body, my soul would be happy." And again, in the next year—"I was told of dreadful designs against myself and had reason to believe if their success answered their expectations my life was certainly at an end, that I own I was in very great apprehensions. I am naturally extream fearfull, and now I had so much reason for it that had I not been supported by God's special grace, I had dyed almost with the apprehensions."

This is followed by one of those entries which show how her heart and conscience were ever troubled by the problem of her father's position:—

"This was the only thing I dreaded to thinck of, my father and husband might once more meet in the field, and the fear that my father might fall by our arms, or either of them fall where t'other was present, was to me the dreadfulest prospect in the world. But in all that I must ever bless God that I trusted in Him. I did not see, humanly speacking, how this could be prevented, but I had a great confidence in God."

On August 10th there is an entry which shows that all the virtues were not on the side of her father as her detractors would have us believe: a French conspirator had been tried, and she records:—

"I received Grandval's tryall, in which I saw that which must afflict me while I live, that he who I dare no more name father was consenting to the barbarous murder of my husband. 'Tis impossible for me to express what I then felt. I was ashamed to look anybody in the face. I fancied I should be pointed as the daughter of one who was capable of such things and the people would believe I might by nature have as ill inclinations. I lamented his sins and his shame; I feared it might lessen my husband's kindness to me. It made such impressions upon me that I was incapable of comfort. As for the printing of the tryal, I could not tell what I should do. The Lords all thought it necessary, I saw it was so, I knew it would be printed beyond sea, but I thought it was a hard thing on one hand for me to publish my own shame, and it might loock as ill on the other to conceal the mercys of God in saving my husband. So I kept the paper by me till the French one came over printed, of which blame was laid upon Lord Nottingham, who was not in fault, and I had the trouble of seeing it come out and the fear of displeasing my husband. But he was so kind as not to take it ill of me or not to love me less for that my great and endless misfortune."

The Journals are not the only documents that have been rescued from the Archives of Hanover, and, in examining the letters, it is curious to find the Electress Sophia (mother of the future George I.) claimed as a friend by the ex-King James on the one side, and on the other by Queen Mary. On September 2nd, 1691, James writes:

"to lett you know how pleased I am at your haveing drawn your troops from those of the Confederates;" he hopes the other princes may follow the example of the "Duke of Hannover," "that they may no longer contribute to support the vsvrper, who has brought nothing but ruine and desolation over all Christendome." Mary, for her part, writes of the Battle of the Boyne and the Siege of Limerick in a strain which shows that she had no doubts of the sympathy of the Electress, and in a letter dated January, 1692, we find her saying: "*Vostre amitie m'est bien chere et j'espere que nous serions tousjours amies, comme vous dites, malgre tous les changements du monde.*" In the next month, James writes, "I make no doubt of the continuance of your good wishes for me, and that it will not be your fault if the good understanding between France and my cousin the Duke of Hannovre should not continue."

That Mary was sincere in her belief that the Prince of Wales was not really her father's son is shown by a passage in a letter dated June 19th, 1693. After condoling with the Electress, whose sons had just departed for the war, she adds: "I am a very ill judge of this sort of affection and can no more comprehend it than that love of a brothere, which I never had."

Her childlessness was the sorest of trials to her, as is proved by a passage in her Journal, even if there were no other evidence of it. After quoting a text from St. Luke's Gospel with regard to the promised child of Zacharias and Elizabeth, she writes: "*Bien que j'aye été mariée environ 13 ans, je sçay que le Seigneur peut encore m'en donner un, ou plusieurs, s'il le trouve à propos—il sçait pourquoi il m'a si longtemps refusée cette benediction, et il sçait pourquoi il continue ce refus.*" That the bitter disappointment did not in any way lessen her love for her husband is shown by her description of the cruel shock she felt when he told her that if he were to die it would be her duty to marry again:—

"He could not himself pronounce these words without shedding tears and during the whole interview he showed me as much tenderness as I could desire, so much so, as I shall not forget it in my whole life. The trouble I was in made me answer confusedly, but I assured him that I had never loved anyone but him and would never be able to love another. I told him that I prayed God that I might not survive him and that if I were to do so, as it had not pleased God to give me a child as his wife I did not wish to have one if it were through an angel."

There is no doubt that William shared her disappointment to the full, but it is somewhat strange to find that as early as 1689 he had made up his mind, not only that his own union would be childless, but that the Princess Anne's marriage would equally fail to secure the succession, in spite of her having already given birth to possible heirs. In a letter to the Electress dated April, 1689, he says:

"*Vous estes si interesse en ce qui peut concerne le bien de ces royaumes puis que selon les aparances un de vos fils y regnera un jour que je puis faire conte que je trouveres des bon allies a toute la maison de Lunembourg.*" In view of the fact that Anne and her husband had no less than seventeen sons and daughters, it is remarkable that this prediction should have been verified.

That William's grief was deep and sincere when the small-pox robbed him of his wife, there is no reason to doubt; nor need we suppose that the immense number of eulogistic sermons and orations, memoirs and pamphlets, that followed her death, were mere matter of compliment. A study of this mass of literature cannot but convince the mind that she was indeed, as one of the funeral preachers put it, greater by her virtues than by her birth and dignity, and that the royal blood that flowed in her veins was one of the least things that ennobled her. But such evidence as this is not necessary in forming an estimate of her character; the outpourings of her own heart are sufficient, and the personality that they reveal to us is not that of a proud and ambitious princess, callous to the sufferings of others and complacent in the contemplation of her own virtues—it is as a loving and lovable woman that she appears, tenderly devoted to her husband in spite of his faults, and tortured by the knowledge that fate had forced her into becoming the supplanter of her own father; a woman with a heart so anxiously schooled into submission to the Divine Will, a conscience so exquisitely sensitive to the shortcomings that she detected in herself, that the closing sentences of the last Journal fitly epitomise the whole of that unquiet inner life which lay concealed under her calm exterior:—

"I continue still in an earnest desire of doing good, but alas! I do not find that I have made any great progress therein. Oh! my God, if it be my fault, pardon me, I beseech thee, and give me grace to increase in zeal, and do thou assist me and put the same earnest desire into my husband and all such as can in any wise contribute to it. Pardon, oh! my God, all my sins and infirmities, increase in me all Christian graces that if it be thy will to add any days or years to mine, I may spend them entirely in thy service and to thy glory."

MARY BRADFORD WHITING.

THE SLUM-DWELLER'S GROWTH TO MANHOOD.

THE age for "growing up" is not for everyone the same. History abounds in instances of alarming precocity, a form of promise, however, frequently unfulfilled. Dr. Johnson was so conscious of the relative maturity which his remarkable, if tiresome, qualities conferred on his mind and character even in infancy, that he is said whilst a mere baby to have assaulted his governess for venturing to see him home from school. On the other hand, as we know, some of the rarest blossoms flower late. But, apart from the individual exceptions in either direction, there are established differences in this matter in convention if not in fact between various classes and peoples. The time for proving life is as varied as the method all the world over.

The cockney of the elementary school, like his Roman forerunner, assumes the toga in his 'teens. It is true that the Law knows little of his new citizenship. For the purpose of voting at elections, entering into legal contracts, or getting married without the consent of his parents, his importance is as null as it was when his elder sister wheeled him in a soap-box as a perambulator. But for all that his emancipation with one qualification is a very real thing. That qualification is that he should obtain employment. His status in the society of the home, like that of the citizens of many other and wider societies, is a pecuniary one. As soon as he can bring in ten or fifteen shillings a week to swell the family exchequer, he becomes a person of consideration. The larger his earnings in amount, or in proportion to those of any other member, the greater his prestige. In a bound he passes from servitude to the ranks of the freemen; from the unconsidered subordination of "the kids" to a position of privilege and regard. Yesterday ignored, fed at convenience, packed off to bed or shooed into the street to play, scolded, or as he would say, "rowed," "walloped," compensated for his injuries with pennies; to-day he enters into the full rights and freedom of the principal domestic caste.

The transition is, of course, too abrupt; its results most frequently disastrous. This is due as much to his new-found consequence as to the relaxing or withdrawal of old restrictions. His life, indeed, has not in the past been markedly under restraint. The discipline of a factory or workshop is different in kind rather than in degree to that of public elementary schools, which, admirable as they are in most things which the devotion or ingenuity of their teachers can accomplish, cannot have quite the same standards in this matter as the public boarding-schools, military colleges, or training ships of other spheres or conditions. At home the boy has known something, and occasionally a good deal, of punishment,

but little of discipline. There have been pretty definite limits to the extent to which he may make a plague of himself to his family in the house; but for obvious reasons very slight ones to his going into the street and learning to become a nuisance to everyone perhaps for life out there.

His home in itself has never meant anything in particular to him. He is too often a stranger to the affection that some people know for the agglomeration of bricks and mortar where their childhood was spent; he has no "sense of rooms," and he takes no particular joy in the atmosphere of his domestic hearth. That atmosphere is indeed remarkable for pervading many things sooner than joy. This does not mean that he is devoid of affection—far from it. But it does mean a lack of that local and traditional *pietas*, which plays, and still more has played, so great a part in other spheres of our national life.

Two or three generations of bad housing, of evil overcrowding, of daily confinement in stuffy and clamorous offices and workshops have sown their seed. Psychologically and mentally, as well as physically, the breed has changed. New traits and gifts have been called into use; old ones smothered or lost. Apprehension has replaced reflection, adaptability, tenacity, opportunism, design. Loyalties are fewer and more lightly held: diversion during the short hours of freedom becomes a thing of first importance, the narcotic of over-taut lives. Now no one of ordinary understanding will condemn the Londoner for this. Rather will they find in their hearts a corner of sympathy for the losing fight he has been compelled to make; of admiration for the fundamental solidity and gameness of the qualities which have enabled him to persist and lose—and yet to laugh.

The result, however, is serious. There has been a grave declension of values. There are so few things that really seem worth while conserving: so few others that any have power or spare energy to improve; that pride in conservation or an enduring passion to reform have, save in exceptional cases or amongst those caught fast by a revolutionary fever, almost disappeared. Little is precious, little important save what will distract the mind for the moment or secure one's personal advancement up the social or economic ladder. Indeed, the capacity to hold firmly to the pursuit even of these is often weak.

Yet if this were given as a complete picture of the Cockney as he goes out into the world, it would, of course, be false. In these matters there is always, since man has in himself the seed of the Divine, another side—and the other side in humbler London is sometimes a very splendid thing. Hardened and hard-pressed indeed is he who cannot find a copper for a "kiddies' treat"; or if he is in any decent work a shilling or two to help a "pal"

particularly down on his luck, or a neighbour whose breadwinner has gone to hospital or gaol. By the standards of the exterior world he frequently seems over-indulgent to any offence not tarnished with tyranny or cruelty; but his charity is for all this often a more real thing than that of his neighbours. For it is of the heart: and despite the discord, the unloveliness, and the violence that sometimes beset his ways there is in it something of that greater harmony which, since it vaunteth not itself, succeeds in covering a multitude of stains.

The new citizen's recreations, though fairly numerous, are uniform; gambling, football, girls (otherwise "birds"), clubs, gossiping, going to the "pictures," and, when shillings are plentiful, to the music-halls and sometimes the suburban race-courses.

It is rash to say that any strong instinct like the gambling fever is itself inherent in human nature. Of the making of such generalisations there is no end, and to the folly of the makers seldom a corrective. But it is at least so strong and so deeply rooted that it is and will for long remain far beyond the bounds of any expedient of restraint; an almost immortal derision to moralist or social reformer who would draw sword against it. As Dr. Jacks has told us the only real cure for it is to harness it to the service of society. But till the day of that achievement comes—and it will scarcely come until Slumdon at least with its overcrowding and unemployment are things of the past—the efforts of the wise and prudent will be directed rather towards limiting its excesses and the circumference of its consequences than towards vain attempts to wipe it out.

As a result of its universality, however, there is unfortunately one profession in whose ranks it is always possible for resourceful boys to find work or rather wages; that, of course, of the bookmakers. In this, owing to the heavy casualties suffered at the hands of the police, there is a constant call for new recruits as touts or runners. Now quite apart from any consideration of the ethics of "tipstering," no sensible person would ever wish to see a boy for whom he or she had any feeling go into this kind of work. For it not only brings him into perpetual danger of a collision with the police, but by its casual nature, its complete lack of technicality and its vicious environment tends to unfit him for any employment of a greater dignity or finer skill.

The attraction, however, of gambling as a pastime rather than as a profession knows no limit, and appears almost at school age. The febrile psychosis which slum-life induces is, no doubt, in itself a sufficient explanation of the swift response to its allure. But the value of a few extra pennies in a wilderness of cheap shops and somewhat inhospitable homes affords a never-failing stimulant for flagging desire. The emancipation of a "job" brings a fresh incen-

tive rather than a diversion, for with the demands of home swallowing up anything from two-thirds to three-quarters of his weekly wages, in return for what to sixteen seems the unromantic and even negligible services of board and lodging, the need to supplement the slender balance in a world of new and sometimes expensive standards becomes clearly urgent. At the same time the passion for relief from the monotony of work is even greater than it was at school. For hours are long and only in a small percentage of cases is the job that is available either interesting to the sharp boy or stimulating to the dull one.

So it is that almost every "click" or party of boys, who, in their own phrase, "go together," is either in itself a gambling "school" or contains one or more in its circle. These "schools" meet in a great variety of places, though each one has some favourite haunt to which it establishes something of a prescriptive right as against all others. Bedrooms and backyards, being specially shielded from the police, are, of course, very popular when parents are complacent enough and domestic circumstances allow; but to find both these permissive conditions in combination is rare. Beyond these, the corners or "cat-patches" of secluded courts or stables, pieces of waste ground, and, better still, the flat roofs of blocks of flats or tenements afford in very varying degree the necessary qualities of isolation and security. In the less protected spots one or two of the members have to play perpetual sentinel against the coming of the foe; and the approach of any suspicious-looking stranger immediately galvanises the whole party into paroxysms of concealment or flight.

This peril acts as a pleasant *apéritif* to the game. The police are just sufficiently zealous and astute to endow operations with an appreciable amount of risk and to call for the exercise of considerable circumspection, if not of guile, in conducting them. That real glamour of adventure which keeps a man's heart young and his spirit keen is not wanting. But on the other hand the Law is indulgent enough to the lesser cases, provided they are decently cloaked, and the handicap is on the whole so much against it as to make the risk still worth taking under conditions of relative exposure. The result is, of course, to generate the gambling spirit more strongly than before. For the game is in itself a dual hazard; the stake before one and the danger of detection behind. Is there any wonder that it is so popular?

It is difficult to estimate how much colour and force such things give to the influences of an environment in which the great gift of solitude plays no part. Sharing a room and often a bed with one or even several brothers, meals in overcrowded kitchens, and work frequently to the accompaniment of a continual din or clamour keeps the nervous tension always high. All life becomes a whirlpool of

odours, noise and tumult; a continual stirring and excitement. What opportunities can there be for deepening and enriching the interior soil; or of developing the sterner virtues of self-restraint and control? There are probably many people whose contact with such questions has been mostly on a theoretical basis who would answer, none. And if we are to make any long estimate of the prospects of a community so circumstanced they would probably be right. Yet a very real moral stamina does succeed in surviving these adverse conditions and is even no doubt in some measure reinforced by them. The evidence that was afforded of it during four years of war is familiar to everyone and may well be some inspiration to the least optimistic spirit; and that it was not merely a desperate rally to standards which had ceased to command fealty in everyday life can be discovered by anyone who will give a little time and trouble to investigation.

Apart from the heavy or moderate drinkers who for various reasons become teetotallers it is always easy to discover men, and even boys, who in a relatively short time have dropped from a large daily consumption of tobacco to a very small one or to being non-smokers: while in every gambling school or party will be one or two rather surprising individuals who, regardless alike of popular opinion and obvious temptation, can abandon the game at a given point of gain or loss. Trivial as these examples may sound in words, no one with any experience of life in congested districts and the passion for reaction and relief which it needs will under-estimate their significance when translated into action.

But, when all has been said that can be said of the fine fibre that always runs through the Cockney character, there is no disputing the strength of the forces which work adversely upon it. These forces tend to engender a superficiality and emotionalism which, though they may not directly destroy the finer ore with which they mingle, may in any period which fails to produce a sufficient antidote seriously atrophy or corrupt it. A stamina may get "bred out," as biologists say, from a community which for too long has lacked the resuscitative fields needful to preserve it in vigour.

This emotionalism bred in crowded and unclean homes and in long working hours in a feverish atmosphere is, of course, indescribably stimulated in the cinema and the illicit gambling school, by the "blood" story and the street bookmaker. Were it, however, but the transient flame of a few tumultuous years leading by a natural course of development to wider and stabler horizons none would waste time on it with so many greater problems lying at hand. What is serious is that it is the spirit which sustains the boy right through adolescence and early manhood and through marriage to paternity: till one day, all too soon for his sons, it

fails and vanishes, leaving nothing in its place save the ghost of former passions now exhausted by an undue profusion in their virile years. A ghost capable for the most part of but a faint interest in a very pedestrian life; and knowing but few diversities from labour other than those which somewhat sordid nocturnes in the nearest public house, or the *News of the World* on a long Sunday "lie" can afford.

How many people in England, one wonders, realise even now the pitifulness, still less the greatness, of the loss that is involved in all this? We and our fathers before us have grown up so much under the shadow of its custom that we have come to regard it as a natural element in the social structure and, even where we deplore it, have been still so far bemused by the growing complexity of that industrial system of which it has always been an integral part that we have felt ourselves powerless to effect a remedy.

Does that mean that the loss is trivial? That, of course, we shall deny. We have now reached a point of civilisation at which we slowly disengage ourselves from the belief that a low standard of spiritual and mental efficiency amongst the mass of our people is a matter of little account. Vaguely in the recesses of our minds we know with a growing certainty that it is far otherwise. We realise that all progress depends, and all safe progress vitally depends, on our raising the mean standard of such efficiency to its highest possible level. If we are Christians it has become obvious that anything less than this is incompatible with the Christian ideal, though that be an aspect of our faith to which we are still somewhat strange. If as Rationalists we insist that we are in no wise inferior to our Christian compatriots in our loyalty to a high social principle, then this is our only line of advance.

Are we, on the other hand, powerless to effect a remedy? This is a harder question to answer. Nearly all persons of practical experience are now agreed that the old methods of relief, missions, clubs, scout troops, innumerable Church activities, valuable as these are, are alone inadequate for the task. They grapple with the problem in its forms rather than in its origins: with the sapling or the full-grown tree rather than with the seeds from which they spring. At the best they deal only with a limited number of individuals and with most of them for only a part of their lives. More has been done of permanent value in the last two or three decades by the elementary schools than by all the voluntary bodies put together, but if the whole task is to be left to them they can still only be regarded as on the threshold of their adventure.

When we look into the question we shall find three main conditions which together form the most adverse circumstances of the slum-dweller's life. The first of these is overcrowding in the home, which drives the man to seek refuge in the publichouse, the boy

and girl to find their only playground in the street. But it has also direct moral and spiritual consequences of a still greater importance. Frayed nerves, swift tempers, depressed minds and wills may, taken singly, sound trivial enough to middle-class ears. But viewed in their effect on the individual either as he experiences them himself, or endures them in others, they are disastrous. The atmosphere of the home is vitiated, character undermined or distorted, and, above all, that family unity which is happily on the increase in more fortunate homes and which should be the inalienable right of us all, is weakened and often destroyed.

The second condition is the effect on moral and character of unemployment, or of inadequate earnings either for the individual himself, or for those on whom he or she is or should be dependent for support. The evils and temptations which attend upon idleness and poverty need no dilation; for where one, in thirty amongst individuals and probably as large a proportion of families live upon the destitution line much of them is bound to be known.

Thirdly, we must include the influence of blind alley employment and purely mechanical labour, inevitable in many industries and for many persons, upon human psychology as a whole.

As the years pass it becomes abundantly clear that these conditions must be transformed if Democracy with us is to be worthy of its great responsibilities and free from the corruption of internal bitterness. More still if a commonwealth worthy of our purpose is to be built.

There is nothing profounder in human thought than Victor Hugo's great saying: "There is one thing that is stronger than armies, an idea whose time is come." And there can be little doubt to-day amongst all careful observers that the idea of a relatively high standard, spiritual and intellectual no less than material, for all human beings has in this country passed through the period of travail and come to birth. Not only is pure sentiment increasingly gathering behind it, but the slow permeation of scientific knowledge is giving it a foundation and a force that ere long will be irresistible. The greatest danger of such an idea is that it should be expressed in practice by sporadic and unco-ordinated efforts, now too weak, now too strong, dangerously swaying our fortunes as they rise and fall.

Such is the great task which lies beneath the hand of creative statesmanship to-day. There is, indeed, no greater amongst those which fall to men, and though in the storm of party feeling and party rivalries which dominate our politics it seems now to be obscured, it must sooner or later become the arbiter of the situation. The need is not for new and fantastical remedies which may well destroy more than they can ever hope to construct. The lines of advance may well be, indeed must be, commonplace; but they must also be continuous and sustained.

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There will in any case be three or four main lines which remedial measures must pursue. Improvement in housing conditions so long overdue will in itself do something to raise the standard of living; but it will not do enough. There is, indeed, something more important than the standard of living, which is a material concern, and that is the standard of life, which is primarily a spiritual and intellectual concern. So it is that there must simultaneously be a parallel advance in the sphere of education. But equally we must remember that no forward movement here will be of any avail unless material conditions are such as to provide it with a favourable seed-ground and atmosphere for growth. The process of interaction then is clear; an advance in one sphere requires and still more tends to create a demand for a like advance in the other.

But obviously even these two cannot suffice to create the new commonwealth. There must be the means of support for the community thus slowly and painfully evolving. Any Government sincerely and powerfully concerned for this task and for the need of a lasting as opposed to a temporary economy in national affairs might well consider the establishment of a permanent board or commission of experts to study the relation of industry to the population,—an investigatory and reflective body which, as a result of careful and continuous survey of the economic conditions developing amongst civilised peoples, and of the actual and potential markets of the world, would be able to give direction and stimulus here and a check there to the industrial and commercial enterprises of the nation. Further, by co-ordination with the work of other departments, they might some day be able to discover a remedy for that surplusage of population which in proportion to its size must always be so heavy a weight on the fortunes of the State, and so great an obstacle to the development of that real unity which in the future must be our chief concern.

In this connection we may perhaps find that, when the first storms of prejudice and passion which suggestions of such a nature must always excite have died away, a wise system of birth-control may well provide some solution for the misfortunes, individual and national, which are at present the certain inheritance of our least fortunate fellow-citizens.

Such suggestions may seem to strain too far ahead of our times. But events, with the knowledge and resources of men, have moved in the last few generations with such bewildering rapidity that it is clear they may destroy all that we prize unless we ourselves can assume a control of them. If we of this generation, already tested in a great experience, cannot bequeath the sure foundations of security to our successors, we shall, despite all that has been achieved, yet fail.

J. H. MARTIN.

THE POETS OF TRAFALGAR.

THEY are many and various. They range from the popular strains of S. J. Arnold's

'Twas in Trafalgar's Bay
We saw the Frenchmen lay,
Each heart was bounding then——

to the chaster, more elegant melodies of Tennyson, Wordsworth, Meredith, Palgrave, Newbolt, Hardy, and Rossetti. It is a sufficiently noble and inspiring theme, and its exponents began to raise their voices even before the hero of heroes had been laid to rest in St. Paul's. Thus, it was actually before the close of 1805 that one of the anonymous authors of "a right merry Book of Garlands" burst into song on the subject of *Britannia's Revenge*. After depicting Britannia as overwhelmed by grief and sorrow, this writer goes on to say:—

She ceas'd, and now great Nelson's name
From ship to ship resounded.
While France and Spain, enrapt in flame,
Astonished and confounded,
Feebly oppose the vengeful ire
In British hearts excited;
In vain to glory they aspire,
His death must be requited!
The equal to the conflict's heat,
Tho' greater numbers fill their fleet,
See! they strike! vengeance sweep,
Rushing down th' unfathom'd deep,
Victory! Victory!

If these lines are not precisely on the summits of literature, what shall be said of a long narrative poem of nearly 150 pages issued in 1833, which, its anonymous author modestly announces, "was suggested to me by reading Southey's *Life of Nelson*, which so greatly increased the admiration with which I have always regarded the achievements of our great naval hero that I could not refrain from adding my small and inadequate tribute"?

Down from the mizzen-top a ball descends,
Strikes that brave form, that gallant breast it rends!
The hero falls! The ocean feels the blow,
And groans responsive thro' his caves below!
Thus to the earthquake yields the rooted rock,
Thus the slant lightning strikes the forest oak.
Instant one shout th' assembled Frenchmen raised,
And shouted victory!

On the night of the November day when the news of Trafalgar reached London, the acting-manager of Drury Lane Theatre, a Mr. Wroughton, spoke a few lines composed on Nelson's death; while

a few nights later, on the stage at Covent Garden, Mrs. Johnston delivered an epilogue "from the respectable pen of Mr. Fitzgerald." Also in 1805, the Right Hon. J. W. Croker, M.P.—noted rather as the inventor of the percussion cap than as a poet—penned no fewer than four *Songs of Trafalgar*. These are slightly prolix, but they close with the admirable sentiment:—

Worthy of Nelson of the Nile,
Of Nelson of the cloud-capped Isle,
Of Trafalgar and Vincent's heights,
Of Nelson of the hundred fights!

At or about the same period a former Lord Hawke, then the Hon. M. B. Hawke, produced some mediocre lines entitled "Nelson's Last Triumph." A reference to "where glory weeps o'er Nelson's shrine" occurs in the opening canto of Scott's *Marmion*. The elder Charles Dibdin appropriately wrote two Nelsonic sets of verses. Miss Landon ("L.E.L.") apostrophised Nelson's Hardy as "he who received the latest clasp Of Nelson's dying hand," and in 1806 Wordsworth composed his *Happy Warrior*:—

And, while the mortal mist is gathering, draws
His breath in confidence of Heaven's applause:
This is the happy Warrior; this is he
That every man in arms should wish to be.

It sounds a far cry from George Canning to George Meredith. Yet it was these two, the statesman and the poet-novelist, who shone conspicuous for their imagery of the glory of Austerlitz dimmed by the smoke of Trafalgar. It may be recalled that Napoleon's triumphs of Ulm and Austerlitz were gained several weeks after Nelson's victory and death, and that news travelled slowly in those days. The Right Hon. G. Canning's somewhat flamboyant effort, entitled *Ulm and Trafalgar*, was published in 1806, only a few months after the battle. It calls for mention here merely by reason of the political distinction of its author. Far otherwise is it with George Meredith's splendid poem, probably the finest single lyric devoted to the subject. Note the essentially Meredithian phrasing, qualified by the gorgeously-worded comparison of the battle and its effect upon Napoleon's land-strategy:—

Uprose the soul of him a star
On that brave day of Ocean days;
It rolled the smoke from Trafalgar
To darken Austerlitz ablaze.
Are we the men of old, its light
Will point us under every sky
The path he took; and must we fight,
Our Nelson be our battle-cry!

He leads: we hear our Seaman's call
In the roll of battles won;
For he is Britain's Admiral
Till setting of her sun.

It is difficult to read Tennyson's exquisitely phrased compliment to the hero without recalling Nelson's remark to his "band of brothers" on the eve of the battle of the Nile: "By this time to-morrow, gentlemen, I shall have a peerage or Westminster Abbey." When, seven years subsequently, "Nelson's spirit went to God" in the cockpit of his *Victory*, he was interred not in our British Valhalla of Westminster, but in cold and gloomy St. Paul's to which Tennyson refers:—

Render thanks to the Giver,
And render him to the mould.
Under the cross of gold
That shines over city and river.

Some delightful lines, all too brief unfortunately, occur in the works of Dante Gabriel Rossetti. They speak of "The last three from Trafalgar":—

. . . For in the flagship's weltering cockpit, he
Who was the Battle's Heart without a peer,
He who had seen all fearful sights save Fear
Was passing from all life save Victory.

Note, too, the lilting refrain of the Boatman's Song in Thomas Hardy's inimitable *Dynasts*, treating of the storm after Trafalgar:—

The victors and the vanquished then the storm it tossed and tore,
As hard they strove, those worn-out men, upon that surly shore;
Dead Nelson and his half-dead crew, his foes from near and far,
Were rolled together on the deep that night at Trafalgar.
(All) The deep,
The deep,
That night at Trafalgar!

For the sake of one particular lyric, Francis Turner Palgrave, editor of the *Golden Treasury*, must be accorded high place among the poets of Trafalgar. The following is a typical stanza:—

Heard ye the thunder of battle
Low in the south and afar?
Saw ye the flush of the death-cloud,
Crimson o'er Trafalgar?
Such another day never
England will look on again,
When the battle fought was the hottest,
And the hero of heroes was slain.

We may now turn to Sir Henry Newbolt's picturesque and spirited ballad of *The Fighting "Téméraire"*. Students of the battle will recall that Captain Eliab Harvey's *Téméraire* had the post

of honour in Nelson's line, that of "second" to the *Victory*, and that she closed so rapidly on the flagship as to cause Nelson to admonish her, "I'll thank you, Captain Harvey, to keep your proper station, which is *astern* of the *Victory*!" The gallant Harvey accordingly had to drop reluctantly "*astern*," but he kept so close that his ship's jib-boom, in his own words, "almost touched the stern of the *Victory*!" Eventually the *Téméraire* was reduced to a wreck, and both her prizes, the *Redoubtable* and *Fogueux*, foundered in the storm after the battle. Captain Harvey was one of the pall-bearers at Nelson's funeral, and rose to be Admiral Sir Eliab Harvey, K.C.B. He jeopardised what remained of his career in 1810, when at the unfortunate affair of the Basque Roads he went on board Lord Gambier's flagship and told that individual exactly what he thought of him.

Sir H. Newbolt's poem makes direct reference to the old ship's final fate, when she was broken up in 1838:—

Now the sunset breezes shiver,
Téméraire! Téméraire!
 And she's fading down the river,
Téméraire! Téméraire!
 Now the sunset breezes shiver,
 And she's fading down the river,
 But in England's song for ever,
 She's the *Fighting Téméraire!*

She was actually sold out of the service for £5,530, one-twentieth of her original value. As she was being towed up the Thames "to meet her destined end off Rotherhithe," J. M. W. Turner, Clarkson Stanfield, and other friends saw her as they were boating off Greenwich marshes. "There's a fine picture for you, Turner!" quoth Stanfield—and the sequel was Turner's masterpiece, that immortal painting which figured at the Royal Academy in 1839 under the somewhat awkward title of *The Fighting "Téméraire" tugged to her last berth to be broken up*. Turner, says Mr. Edward Fraser, "added these lines, composed apparently by himself":—

The flag that braved the battle and the breeze
 No longer owns her.

It was this noble example of Turner's art that Ruskin characterised as "of all pictures of subjects not involving human pain, the most pathetic that ever was painted"—and if Sir H. Newbolt be the lyricist of the *Téméraire*, Ruskin is essentially her prose-poet.

"This particular ship," says he, "crowned in the Trafalgar hour of trial with chief victory, prevailing over the fatal vessel that had given Nelson death—surely, if anything without a soul deserved honour or affection, we owed them here. Those sails that strained so full bent into the battle, that broad bow that

struck the surf aside, enlarging silently in steadfast haste, full front to the shot, resistless and without reply, those triple ports whose choirs of flame rang forth in their courses into the fierce revenging monotone, which, when it died away, left no answering voice to rise any more upon the sea against the strength of England—those sides that were wet with the long runlets of English life-blood, like press planks at vintage, gleaming goodly crimson down to the cast and clash of the washing foam—those pale masts that stayed themselves up against the war-ruin, shaking out their ensigns through the thunder, till sail and ensign drooped—steeped in the death-stilled pause of Andalusian air, burning with its witness-clouds of human souls at rest—surely for these some sacred care might have been left in our thoughts, some quiet space amidst the lapse of English waters? Nay, not so, we have stern keepers to trust her glory to—the fire and the worm. . . ."

Characteristic indeed!

That charming poet Miss E. Nesbit (Mrs. Hubert Bland) has sung the fame of Nelson in lines that deserve to live if only for their direct and simple appeal to all that is best in a nation of sea-conquerors:—

Wherever the gleams of an English fire
 On an English roof-tree shine,
 Wherever the fire of a youth's desire
 Is laid upon Honour's shrine,
 Wherever brave deeds are treasured and told,
 In the tale of the deeds of yore,
 Like jewels of price in a chain of gold,
 Are the name and the fame he bore.

Wherever the track of our English ships
 Lies white on the ocean foam,
 His name is sweet to our English lips
 As the names of the flowers at home;
 Wherever the heart of an English boy
 Grows big with a deed of worth,
 Such names as his name have begot the same,
 Such hearts will bring it to birth.

To another poet, Miss Evelyn Underhill, came the vision of Nelson at England's hour of need. In *The Naval Reserve*; August 4th, 1914, she sees how

Rank on rank, the admirals
 Rally to their old commands:
 Where the crash of battle falls,
 There the one-armed hero stands.
 Loud upon his phantom mast
 Speak the signals of the past.

Among various Nelsonic publications of the centenary year 1905, the first place must be accorded to Sir H. Newbolt, who was induced to write for Mr. John Murray the prose story of the campaign of

Trafalgar; this he happily supplemented with several of his own poems on the subject. These included "The Hundredth Year" and, from *The Island Race*, "The Quarter-Gunner's Yarn" and "Northumberland"—the latter in spirited allusion to the "boast of old Northumberland he sent to lead the van"—

Himself by *Victory's* bulwark stood,
And cheered to see the sight;
"That noble fellow Collingwood,
How bold he goes to fight!"
Love, that the league of ocean spanned,
Heard him as face to face;
"What would he give, Northumberland,
To share our pride of place?"

"No one need be surprised," says Sir H. Newbolt, "if it should appear upon examination that the greatest battle in our history has not produced the greatest poem in our language—the common belief that wars are the prolific seed of literature is a mistaken one." To this it may be permitted to hazard the opinion that Sir Henry himself rises to something like heights of poetic greatness in one or two of his Trafalgar lyrics. Take, for example, his glowing suggestion "for a cenotaph":—

Lover of England, stand awhile and gaze
With thankful heart, and lips refrained from praise:
They rest beyond the speech of human pride,
Who served with Nelson and with Nelson died.

PERCY CROSS STANDING.

FOREIGN AFFAIRS.

THE RUSSIAN TREATY.

AFTER a dramatic shipwreck something was saved on August 6th of the Treaty which the British and Russian delegates had been trying for four months to bring into port. British opinion is sharply divided about the precise value of what has been saved; but neither the financiers nor Mr. Lloyd George have argued that no bread would have been better than half a loaf.

The full story of what happened at the Conference from its opening on April 14th to the deadlock which it reached at the end of May has been given in this section of *THE CONTEMPORARY REVIEW* (May, pp. 657-660; June, pp. 783-790; July, pp. 109-115). The Conference was mostly submerged during June and July, and so far as the Russian delegation was concerned, could quite well have gone on being submerged for an indefinite period of time. Mr. Ponsonby, however, decided at the beginning of August to force a decision one way or the other, and a meeting was held on August 4th which lasted twenty hours and went on uninterruptedly through the night. The Russian delegates thrived on the long-drawn-out discussion, for there is nothing a Russian loves so much as sitting up all night talking. But they did not agree. The crux of the discussion was, of course, the problem of debts, on which subject Russian and British ideas are as fire and water. Where the Russian delegates joined issue was in refusing to acknowledge their liability as a general principle; that is to say, they refused to regard British claimants on Russia as a homogeneous body all equally entitled to satisfaction, and wanted to reserve the right to treat individual claimants on their merits; at the same time they protested their inability in any case to settle every single claim. Clearly Mr. Ponsonby, having tried for twenty hours to shake them from such an attitude, had no alternative but to accept the sponge. Mr. MacDonald was at that moment in the throes of a fight for life in the London Reparations Conference, the German delegation having prepared, on the very day of the Anglo-Russian failure, a formidable broadside against the Allied proposals, particularly against the continued military occupation of the Ruhr; and he no doubt felt that any failure at such a moment was a bird of ill omen.

He therefore got up at 5 o'clock the next morning (August 6th) and began some rescue work. By breakfast time he had sent out a long personal letter to every delegate, Russian and British, appealing to them to reconsider the matter. As on the stage, so in diplomacy, vigorous business, especially if unexpected, stirs up slumber. In this case the delegates, who doubtless were sleeping

off the effects of the last two days, got up and made a new start. The British delegation met at the Foreign Office, the Russian in their hotel. They rang each other up on the telephone and made tentative approaches till luncheon. After luncheon the approaches widened into letters carried by special messengers. After tea Mr. Ponsonby and Mr. Rakovsky congratulated each other on having changed their minds and decided to sign an agreement.

Mr. Ponsonby went to the House of Commons that same evening and announced the *volte face* to an astonished audience, which the day before had been reading the official chronicle of the breakdown. He announced that a general and a commercial treaty had been agreed on; that the commercial treaty gave unconditional most-favoured-nation treatment to British goods in return for Russia's admission to the British Exports Credits scheme; that the Soviet Government admitted liability for the claims of British bondholders, and gave an assurance that they would negotiate with the bondholders; that miscellaneous claims were to be investigated and a lump sum decided on; that a joint commission was to investigate property claims and decide about compensation; that when a lump sum was agreed on as Russia's liability for miscellaneous claims, those claims would be embodied in a subsequent treaty, and contingently on such a treaty the British Government would submit to Parliament a proposal guaranteeing a loan to the Soviet Government; that no pledges had been given to Russia either about the conditions or about the amount of the loan; that the questions both of Government debts and of intervention claims were left in cold storage. The treaty was promptly described by a wit as an agreement to agree if and when the parties could agree to agree; and the observation was sound in so far as the cardinal points of debts and the loan were left for subsequent treatment. Those students of affairs, however, who are more concerned to grasp at any straw in the sinking condition of Europe than to cavil at the frailty of the straw, found matter for congratulation even in the avoidance of formal failure.

Moreover, the treaty was more than that. It provided for a settlement of the fisheries controversy off the Murmansk coast, and embodied certain commitments on the part of the Soviet Government which are likely to make a difference to the future problem of dealing with Russia. The Russian delegation, for instance, agreed to make an exception to the operation of the Soviet decrees for the nationalisation of property, which means that Russia accepts responsibility for the past confiscations of foreigners' property, and probably that only Russian property for the future will be subject to confiscation. In practice, of course, the Soviet Government could never confiscate Russian property and allow foreign property to go

scot free: for the Soviet Government is made up of politicians who, as other politicians, are dependent in the last resort on the goodwill of their peoples. Indeed, the Soviet Government has already given abundant proof that the crude and childish ideas in economics with which it started have long since been abandoned. The latest advance towards common sense is an apparent resolve on the part of that Government not again to attempt the unprofitable task of suppressing private capital, but to attempt instead to prove to the people of Russia that State enterprise is a better and safer form of capitalism, and one capable of beating the capitalists at their own game. Whether the babies who rule in Moscow will succeed in this difficult adventure is, or will be, another story.

DETAILS OF THE TREATY.

In Article 6 of Chapter III. (Claims and Loan) of the Treaty, the Government of the U.S.S.R. declares that "it will satisfy, in the conditions prescribed in the present Treaty, the claims of British holders of loans issued or taken over or guaranteed by the former Imperial Russian Government, or by the municipalities of towns in the territory now included in the Union, payable in foreign (non-Russian) currency." As an offset against this declaration the British Government in the same article "recognises that the financial and economic position of the Union renders impracticable the full satisfaction of the claims referred to." The terms on which the claims are to be satisfied are referred for subsequent agreement, such agreement to be included in a second treaty "provided that His Britannic Majesty's Government is satisfied that such terms have been accepted by the holders of not less than one-half of the capital values of British holdings in the loans referred to." Government loans and claims on either side are similarly referred to subsequent agreement, claims, that is, arising out of events which took place between August 4th, 1914, and February 1st, 1924, namely:—

- (a) War loans advanced by the British Government to the former Russian Imperial or Provisional Governments;
- (b) Gold belonging to the former Russian Imperial or Provisional Governments, and handed over to the British Government by either of those Governments;
- (c) Russian gold handed over to Germany under the Supplementary Agreement to the Treaty of Brest-Litovsk;
- (d) Sums owed by the former Russian Imperial or Provisional Governments to British Government Departments, or *vice versa*;
- (e) The claims advanced by the U.S.S.R. on the ground of intervention between November 7th, 1917, and March 16th, 1921.

The claims of private nationals "in respect of loss or injury due to events which took place between August 1st, 1914, and the coming into force of the present treaty," which are dealt with in Article 8, "shall, in view of the admitted preponderance of the claims of British nationals, be finally settled as between the contracting parties by the payment of a lump sum by the Government of the Union" to the British Government, the distribution of this sum to be effected by the British Government "in such manner as they shall consider just." It is provided in Article 9 that a commission of six "properly qualified persons," three Russian and three British, "shall make a joint examination of the claims [of private nationals], and shall report to the two contracting parties the amount at which they consider the lump sum should be fixed." The important sentence (in Article 10) which refers to the nationalisation of property in Russia reads thus: "The Government of the Union will, by way of exception to the decrees nationalising industrial businesses and land, negotiate with British nationals (including juridical persons) in respect of industrial businesses or concessions which have been nationalised or cancelled by it, in order to arrange for the grant of just compensation for such claims." It is true that this sentence is important only as an admission on the part of the U.S.S.R. that compensation is due to foreign capitalists whose property has been nationalised. How far such an admission will lead to cash for the expropriated is as undecided as every other practical aspect of the chapter which deals with debts and money.

The second Anglo-Russian treaty which was contemplated by the signatories on August 6th will therefore, if it goes according to plan, consist of three main clauses, one dealing with Russia's liability to British bondholders; one with the amount and method of payment of compensation for private nationals; and the third with an agreed settlement of property claims other than those directly settled by the Government of the U.S.S.R. It is only when this second treaty is signed that the question of a British loan can arise. Article 12 of the first treaty clearly stipulates that "Upon the signature of the treaty referred to in Article 11 His Britannic Majesty's Government will recommend Parliament to enable them to guarantee the interest and sinking fund of a loan to be issued by the Government of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics. The amount, terms, and conditions of the said loan and the purposes to which it shall be applied shall be defined in the treaty provided for in Article 11, which will not come into force until the necessary Parliamentary authority for the guarantee of the said loan has been given."

The reasonings of party politicians are sometimes hard to under-

stand outside the hot air of the hall in which their speeches are made. One recognises, of course, that, in this imperfect world, the first object of any party political campaign must be to discredit the other party or parties and pave the way for a government of that party's own; and that in office the politicians begin to think and act more objectively, at any rate in foreign affairs. But it is impossible for any student of foreign affairs not to regard it as melancholy that Mr. Lloyd George, of all politicians, should be heading a campaign against the Russian treaty. The country is committed to precisely nothing by the treaty; its whole point being the moral and perhaps even negative one of avoiding positive estrangement between Russia and Great Britain. When Mr. Lloyd George was Prime Minister the whole spirit of his administration was exactly the spirit which has now produced the Russian Treaty; and all progressive people admired him for it. He, too, wanted to go as far as possible towards making an arrangement with Russia, and he, too, failed, but did what he could. His difficulties were far greater than those of Mr. Ramsay MacDonald, and all he could do was to conclude a Trade Agreement with Russia. Was it a "fake" to conclude only a Trade Agreement because he could not conclude a political agreement as well?

The preamble to the Trade Agreement of 1921 began with words which make interesting reading now: "Whereas it is desirable in the interests both of Russia and of the United Kingdom that peaceful trade and commerce should be resumed forthwith between these countries, and whereas for this purpose it is necessary pending the conclusion of a formal general Peace Treaty between the Governments of these countries by which their economic and political relations shall be regulated in the future that a preliminary Agreement should be arrived at between the Government of the United Kingdom and the Russian Soviet Government" When Mr. Lloyd George's Government accepted that wording, the question of debts had not even been discussed, and the Russians had not promised even in principle to honour their debts. The furthest that Mr. Krassin went was to recognise in principle that the Russian Government "is liable to pay compensation to private persons who have supplied goods or services to Russia for which they have not been paid." Was the agreement therefore a "fake"?

Mr. MacDonald's Government has not only attempted to carry out the very development postulated in Mr. Lloyd George's Preamble, but, having in its turn failed to do so, has in some ways repeated exactly what Mr. Lloyd George did. The Lloyd George Preamble of 1921 would literally apply to the MacDonald Treaty of 1924. Both Treaties left for the future the settlement of the

important practical problems. One recalls the attacks that were made on Mr. Lloyd George throughout 1920 and in the spring of 1921 precisely because of his half-a-loaf policy towards Russia. And he answered his critics with his accustomed acumen. If the Labour Party wants to use the most telling arguments against Mr. Lloyd George's present criticisms, let them read Mr. Lloyd George's speeches of 1920 and 1921 in answer to analogous criticisms then made against himself. It was Mr. Lloyd George who, in 1919, proposed to hold a conference on the island of Prinkipo with the Russians—the long-haired, whiskered, bloody bogeys of 1919—who, in 1920, brought the Russians to London, in 1921 concluded an agreement with them, in 1922 fought the French Government tooth and nail in order to bring them to Genoa. Yet they had not paid their debts; and they were the same uncivilised Government then, only more so. If the MacDonald Government had committed us to a loan for Russia, Mr. Lloyd George's present campaign could be understood; but that is precisely what the MacDonald Government has not done. It is eminently right for Mr. Lloyd George to turn out the Labour Government if he wants to and if he can; but his choice of the Russian Treaty as his chief ammunition is a disappointment to those who, like the present writer, admired his own Russian policy when in office.

The fact that Mr. Asquith has fully endorsed Mr. Lloyd George's attitude to the treaty does not touch the question of Mr. Lloyd George's inconsistency. Mr. Asquith himself, of course, is without a past in this respect, and the criticisms here made do not apply to him.

The results of the Anglo-Russian Conference were drafted in two documents: (1) the Draft of the Proposed General Treaty between "Great Britain and Northern Ireland" and the U.S.S.R.; (2) the Draft of the Proposed Treaty of Commerce and Navigation. When the White Papers containing the two texts were issued, there were old-fashioned people who had not yet moved far enough with the times to be able to distinguish between British Labour and Russian Bolshevism, and who saw red spots when they discovered that the drafts opened with the formula: "Great Britain and Northern Ireland, of the one part, and the Union of the Soviet Socialist Republics, of the other part, Being animated, &c." They read no further, and promptly accused the Government of having thrown over His Majesty. In the texts, however, the British Government was regularly referred to as His Majesty's Government or as the Government of His Britannic Majesty. The old-fashioned people, not having read the full text of the Anglo-Russian Treaties, had to wait till the text of the London Agreement was published before their fears were allayed. The London

Agreement was duly concluded, among the other parties, by "The Government of His Britannic Majesty," and all was well.

The General Treaty with Russia contains four chapters. The first catalogues the Anglo-Russian treaties which are confirmed, and those which have lost their force, and the multilateral treaties which are to be regarded as binding. Chapter II. deals with "the fishery in waters contiguous to the northern coasts of the territory of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics." While safeguarding the international principle of the three-mile limit, it gives satisfaction to the reasonable anxiety of the Russian fishermen, and by a system of police vessels makes provision to avoid for the future such lamentable incidents as those of last year. (See CONTEMPORARY REVIEW, June, 1923, pp. 777-779; June, 1924, pp. 785-786.) Chapter III. deals with Claims and Loan, Chapter IV. with miscellaneous matters, one of which (Article 16) must be quoted here for its soothing effect on the reader: "The contracting parties solemnly affirm their desire and intention to live in peace and amity with each other, scrupulously to respect the undoubted right of a State to order its own life within its own jurisdiction in its own way, to refrain and to restrain all persons and organisations under their direct or indirect control, including organisations in receipt of any financial assistance from them, from any act overt or covert liable in any way whatsoever to endanger the tranquillity or prosperity of any part of the territory of the British Empire or the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics or intended to embitter the relations of the British Empire or the Union with their neighbours or any other countries."

Even on this ground of mutual wonder, love, and praise, one can find an analogy in the Lloyd George Agreement of 1921; with this difference, that Mr. Lloyd George had a much more savage state of affairs to pacify, and, consequently, his safeguards had to be more drastic: "Each party refrains from hostile action or undertakings against the other. . . . [Russia] refrains from any attempt by military or diplomatic or any other form of action or propaganda to encourage any of the peoples of Asia in any form of hostile action against British interests or the British Empire, especially in India and in the Independent State of Afghanistan. . . . That all British subjects in Russia are immediately permitted to return home. . . . Both parties agree not to impose or maintain any form of blockade against each other . . . , &c."

The difference in tone between the 1921 and the 1924 documents is a measure of the mellowing process through which Russia has passed.

FROM LONDON TO GENEVA.

The London Agreement, of which the main details were given here last month, was signed at the Foreign Office on August 30th. Something, therefore, imperfect as it was, had at last been achieved towards a solution of the triangular problem of Western Europe. Its main importance, perhaps, lay in its starting a new fashion, the fashion of doing things instead of squabbling. Apart from the exigencies of the next General Election, whenever that may be, there was a generous disposition, irrespective of party, to give Mr. MacDonald his meed of praise. His predecessors in office had been experienced Ministers, and had belonged to parties with long traditions both of office and of affairs. Mr. MacDonald was a pioneer, hampered not only by his own, but by his colleagues' inexperience, which, in the case of his colleagues, led to some oddities and embarrassments.

It is all the more to Mr. MacDonald's credit, therefore, that (1) in his early days he successfully reaped the fruits of some good sowing (by Lord Curzon) in the Palatinate; (2) that he conducted a conference which achieved something by putting the Dawes scheme into operation; (3) that he successfully cultivated, if he did not engender, America's renewed interest in Europe; (4) that he kept Russia as a friend, even though he was unable (who else has been able?) to induce Russians to think as we do about money. Mr. MacDonald has served his country well by dint of astonishingly hard work and concentration, spiritual faith in human nature (even in French human nature), and a determination to seek peace above all things. His shortcomings are well-known, and have been chronicled faithfully and well in many newspapers. If Mr. MacDonald had been a boxer or a polo player or a tennis or golf champion and had held the British flag as high as he has held it in politics, cinema audiences would have stood on their feet in their excitement. Being a politician, his main appeal to the big public is as a gag on the music-hall stage, mainly on account of his undulating moustache; even though in real life it does not and never did undulate.

At the beginning of September the scene of diplomatic action shifted from London to Geneva, Mr. MacDonald having had a few days' holiday in Scotland receiving deputations. Great hopes had been formed of this, the fifth, meeting of the League Assembly. The appeal to the imagination was due to a common realisation that the biggest problem of diplomacy, that of security, was to be tackled publicly in the presence of the representatives of forty-one nations, headed by the Prime Ministers of Great Britain and France, the two countries on whom mainly depended the chances of peace and disarmament in Europe. Mr. MacDonald and

M. Herriot had agreed together, when they met at Chequers on June 21st, that this problem of security should be the second objective in their joint attempt to put Europe on her feet again, the first being reparations and the Dawes scheme, the third Inter-Allied debts. The first objective having been achieved (more or less satisfactorily) by the London Agreement, there could be no better setting for the next stage than that of the League Assembly at Geneva. The mere fact that the stage was set where it was represented a moral asset for success. Not that the stage was perfect, or the conditions ideal. Within the past twelve months there had been disquieting reminders, the chief of them the deplorable Corfu affair, that the League of Nations could be prostituted to base ends.

And Mr. MacDonald, in his opening speech on September 5th, ruthlessly exposed the weak spots in the League's foundations: "Germany cannot remain outside the League . . . we cannot afford to allow her to remain out. There is not a single discussion upon armaments, upon the conditions of peace, upon security, upon the safety and the guarantee of the existence of the small nationalities—not a single one that we can sit together and discuss amongst ourselves and have a menacing vacant chair in our midst." The expression "menacing vacant chair" was worthy of Mr. Lloyd George's best form at Genoa two and a-half years before. Russia's exclusion was shown to be another weakness, but a harder one to put right. Mr. MacDonald did, however, argue that Russia's recent desire for diplomatic understandings with other nations might herald her coming in and becoming "a part of the co-operating European system." (In addition to being recognised by Great Britain and concluding a treaty with her, Russia has made a treaty with China, is preparing to negotiate with Japan and with France, and has been recognised by Denmark.)

Having boldly given his view of the League's weakness, Mr. MacDonald did not hesitate to give his view on the policy which ought to be adopted by an effective League of Nations, although he must have known that his view, already known privately to M. Herriot, must have made M. Herriot wince when publicly expressed. That was a typical occasion, however, when sham or fake could do nothing but harm, and the issue had to be joined between the British and French theses. M. Herriot explained the French thesis with equal frankness, and the French Press changed its tone about Mr. MacDonald. The issue has been joined, and is not yet resolved. There is more in this than a divergence of opinion between London and Paris about the most effective means to security. It is more a divergence between British mentality and Continental mentality. Mutual guarantees and military pacts,

whether concluded with or without League authority or approval, appeal more to Continental minds than does the British theory that armaments are the very destruction of security. British opinion has perhaps never fully understood the deep-rooted distrust of Continental nations of anything except shining swords, the explanation being, of course, that the English Channel, whether or no it be now reduced to a ditch in a military sense, still bounds the imagination of most British people. A Continental people, surrounded by other peoples, and divided off by frontiers which in war simply disappear, naturally find it a bigger draft on their faith in God or, which is the same thing, in human decency, to trust their skins to any other protection than their own weapons. That, of course, is the League's main problem. The tragedy is that "security" in the Continental military sense is "mortal's chiefest enemy," and always defeats its object; whereas "security" in the Shakespearean sense is the direct opposite to what Shakespeare himself defined it as.

The sense of security without armaments, such as Mr. MacDonald advocated at Geneva, is largely a matter of education. M. Herriot went so far as to accept, with crippling reservations it is true, the principle of arbitration; which is something. The international conference on disarmament decided on at Geneva will be something more, whether or not it achieves practical results now; and especially if Germany participates. What is gained is that the nations of Europe are thinking on these lines, and are thinking at Geneva, a circumstance which may subtly inoculate them with the League idea. When the League idea is dominant the rest follows naturally.

MR. CUMMINS AND MEXICO.

The British Government has published the full correspondence which passed between Mexico and London about the relations of Mr. H. A. C. Cummins, British diplomatic representative (*Chargé d'Archives*) in Mexico, with the Obregon Government. State archives contain few parallels to the shocking story therein unfolded. A British subject in Mexico, Mrs. H. E. R. Evans, a widow, owned property of some 2,700 acres, known as "San Pedro Coxtocan," and situated some twenty miles from the city of Puebla, for which at the end of last year Federal and rebel forces were contending. At that time Lord Curzon was still Foreign Minister in Great Britain, having turned a deaf ear to the insistent propaganda which advocated a British diplomatic recognition of the Obregon Government of Mexico, a propaganda which elicited some sympathy from certain British business quarters. The business men argued that the valuable Mexican market was being captured by

the United States, although two European States, Germany and Sweden, had joined in the running, and trade delegations from Norway, Denmark, Finland, and Spain had been investigating trading possibilities on the spot. If, argued the business men, they were only backed up by Government recognition of Mexico, British cotton manufactures, agricultural machinery, railway and transport requisites could find a ready market in Mexico. The opportunity for trade was represented as comparable with that which was presented by Chile and the Argentine forty years ago, and which has been turned to remarkable profit by England.

Lord Curzon, however, stuck to his philosophy, whether the case in point were Russia or Mexico, that you cannot recognise a Government unless it conforms to your own standards of morality or stability. The Obregon Government was even then grappling with a revolution, and the recent history of the country has been one long chapter of revolution.

When Mr. MacDonald became Foreign Minister, his attitude to such matters was less that of a schoolmaster and more that of a realist. The pompous folly of refusing to recognise facts and realities has done harm in more than one instance. The harm was done by the time Mr. MacDonald came on the scene. Already in December the Mexican Government had vented its pique for the British failure to grant recognition, against two persons, one Mr. Cummins, the other Mrs. Evans. In December Mrs. Evans's farm was pillaged and burned. Mr. Cummins, faithfully interpreting his duties as British diplomatic representative in Mexico, made the proper protest to the Obregon Government. His Notes on the subject were returned to him in original by the Mexican Government, which alleged a lack of politeness in their tone. The charge was wholly unfounded, as may be seen from the White Paper just published (Mexico, No. I., 1924). The fact was that Mr. Cummins had carried out his duties in a difficult position with a correctitude worthy of regular British diplomats, Mr. Cummins himself not having that status.

He had been subjected to hardly concealed blackmail, which gave him to understand that his private interests would be served or harmed according to whether or no the British Government were persuaded to grant recognition. Finding him unmoved by such methods, the Mexican Government began to plot for his recall from Mexico, and transferred its blackmailing essays from Mexico to London, where the gospel was sedulously preached that the great obstacle to friendly relations between Mexico and Great Britain was Mr. Cummins's personal antipathy to Mexico and his rudeness to the Mexican Government. Lord Curzon would no doubt have been fortified thereby in his determination not to recognise the

existence of such people. Unfortunately, the only effect of such ostrich diplomacy is to make things still worse. As if by a malignant fate Mr. MacDonald, in all innocence, equally did the wrong thing. Granted the unfortunate effects of Lord Curzon's policy, the abominable treatment meted out to Mr. Cummins by the Mexican Government and their attempt to have him replaced for the better prospect of maltreating British subjects with impunity, it was certainly deplorable that Mr. MacDonald's first act in dealing with the Mexican question was to send to Mr. Cummins the following telegram (April 15th):—

"Recent developments in Mexico have led His Majesty's Government to the conclusion that the time has come to arrange for an independent report on the position of the country as it affects British interests with a view to enable them to come to a decision as regards recognition of the present Administration. For this purpose they have decided to send Mr. Hohler [Sir Thomas Hohler], who is exceptionally qualified on account of his previous experience and knowledge of the Mexican problem, on a special mission to Mexico. Mr. Hohler will go out as soon as possible after completing his arrangements here. I should be glad if you would inform the Mexican Government of Mr. Hohler's impending arrival, which it is hoped will be agreeable to them, and request them to afford him all the facilities necessary to enable him to fulfil his task."

A month before, the Mexican Government, having failed to give any satisfaction to Mrs. Evans for the pillaging and burning of her farm, proceeded to commandeer two hundred hectares of her land—land which she legally owned and which she and her late husband at great expense had developed into a highly valuable property. Nor was there any question of compensation. There were other cases. Federal army officers requisitioned horses, saddles, and fodder from British subjects, in spite of the fact that the treaty of 1888, concluded between Great Britain and Mexico, exempted British subjects in Mexico and Mexican subjects in Great Britain from all requisitions of such a kind. The Mexican Government, on the strength of Mr. MacDonald's message, was naturally delighted, made exaggerated preparations for giving Sir Thomas Hohler a courteous reception and all facilities for his mission, and was soon accusing Mr. Cummins of having sent false reports home to London as well as rude notes to General Obregon. Mr. MacDonald was not slow in realising the effect of his message of April 15th, nor in disillusioning the Mexican Government. The Mexican Government was invited to substantiate the charges which it had made against Mr. Cummins, and was then informed that it had failed to

substantiate them and that Mr. Cummins had behaved in a manner wholly satisfactory to the British Government.

On May 13th General Obregon took the step of informing the British Government that Mr. Cummins was *persona non grata*, and of demanding his immediate departure. After General Obregon's conduct during the preceding five months it was hardly surprising perhaps that he now showed himself to be ignorant of the usual procedure which is followed by respectable Governments which do not approve of foreign representatives accredited to them. The usual course is to convince the foreign Government of the reasonableness of its case, it being the accepted convention that the foreign Government itself decides whether its representative shall stay on or not. It is true that there are clauses in the Carranza Constitution of 1917 which confer on the President full discretion in the ejection of foreigners, but no one outside of Mexico could ever have anticipated that those clauses were meant to apply to the foreign diplomatic representatives.

In answer to Mr. MacDonald's invitation to make a case against Mr. Cummins in the usual way, the Mexican Government contented itself with further abuse; after further but unavailing appeals to the Mexican Government to take a more moderate and reasonable line and to avoid a rupture, Mr. MacDonald informed the Mexican Government of the gravity with which the British Government regarded its attitude. General Obregon thereupon (June 6th) ordered Mr. Cummins's expulsion, giving him a time limit of four days to quit. To cut the story short, the Hohler mission was cancelled, Mrs. Evans was submitted to the most intolerable injustice, but with the help of an American citizen, Mr. Camp, bravely offered armed resistance to the intruders on her property; Mr. Cummins was recalled by the British Government, and, with the help of the American Ambassador in Mexico, left Mexico and reached London in safety. Mr. Cummins before leaving wrote a personal letter to Mrs. Evans, begging her to give in to the armed bands and Federal troops who had been ordered to eject her from her estates. "The result of this long struggle may be forfeiture of your life without any advantage that can be regarded as worth the loss." Mrs. Evans was, in fact, foully murdered on August 2nd. It would be a long search to discover so iniquitous a chapter in the history of any country as that in which the Mexican Government and the armed bands for whose behaviour that Government was responsible persecuted and finally murdered a woman, who, though also armed and a formidable shot, was none the less a woman and alone. It is from such causes that international ill-

feeling is generated. The question of a British recognition of Mexico is relegated to the Greek Kalends.

SPAIN AND MOROCCO.

Spanish troubles in Morocco are an old story, but there are important new aspects to the present war between the Spaniards and the Riffians. British opinion was mostly uninterested in the conflict until the Paris correspondents of British newspapers began sending alarming reports of Spanish reverses and of an impending Spanish collapse. The alarms reached their climax in the second week of September.

British interests are indirectly involved in the issue between the Spaniards and the Riffians to such an extent that it is important for British opinion to remember that the Moroccan question has radically changed since the War. In some ways it has been unfortunate that our Paris correspondents have taken so pronounced an interest in the conflict, although it is easy to understand why they have done so. The Quai d'Orsay thinks almost as much about Morocco as it thinks about the Treaty of Versailles; and French propaganda is a lively organism. It was humanly impossible for British correspondents in Paris to live in an atmosphere where Morocco is so prominent a subject of thought without being caught up in it. In recent years there has been a vast literature on Morocco published in Paris, and if one recalls what happened, for instance, at the Tangier Conference which was held (appropriately enough) in Paris at the end of last year, one realises that the French interest in Morocco is more than academic.

British students of Spanish affairs nowadays discount heavily, if they do not entirely ignore, all news about Spain which arrives via Paris. This is not a criticism on France, for she is of course entitled to take as much interest as she likes in anything; but she will not misunderstand if in this particular case British opinion takes the trouble to make its own investigations. When, for instance, on the first serious news of Spanish reverses in Morocco, Paris reports exaggerated the news and Paris newspapers began suggesting that British as well as French military action might be necessary to safeguard the interests of the Tangier enclave, the French commentators, no doubt in all innocence, were, in effect, tendencious.

Before the war the French diplomacy of obtaining predominance in Morocco was mainly opposed by Germany, who stood for international equality. When in July, 1911, the German gunboat *Panther* was sent to Agadir, its ostensible motive was to safeguard German property and German nationals, its more important motive

being to warn the French that any attempt to extend French influence in Morocco would be actively challenged by Germany as a violation both of the Algeciras Act of 1906 and of the Franco-German Agreement of 1909. The situation, which nearly forestalled Sarajevo in lighting the tinder in Europe, was saved by Great Britain's formally taking her stand by the side of France (just as many people think the 1914 situation might have been saved by similar action). After the war, however, Great Britain has stepped into Germany's shoes as the defender of international equality against the French thesis of French predominance. One of the important aspects of the present conflict between the Spaniards and the Riffians before Tetuan is that if Spanish influence in Morocco is curtailed, French influence automatically is enlarged, the Sultan of Morocco, who is traditionally pro-French and anti-Spanish, being, of course, wholeheartedly sympathetic to such a development. A Spanish catastrophe in Morocco would play into French hands, especially if French military action were taken to protect Tangier. The Riffians, however, are well-informed enough to understand this. They have never gladly accepted the Sultan's authority, and they realise that to play the French game is also to play the Sultan's game. Abd-el-Krim, who is in command of the Riffians' forces, is not expected to commit the tactical blunder of invading the Tangier enclave, although it is never safe to prophesy, especially in matters of war in which commanders often follow instead of lead.

The actual details of the fighting are not worth printing. General Primo de Rivera, the President of the Spanish Directorate, went to Morocco to take personal command of the army, and at the moment of writing was understood to be preparing operations for the relief of the congestion before Tetuan.

The full story of what has happened in Tangier since the war broke out was given in this section of THE CONTEMPORARY REVIEW last February (pp. 239-245). It was there shown how the French administration in Tangier took the opportunity created by the war and usurped control, Great Britain standing loyally aside and not interfering. The French, however, refused to give up the spoils after the war, combated the British policy of equality, and refused any longer to countenance the principles of internationalisation to which she subscribed, when a few months before the war she signed the abortive International Statute. For several years after the war she refused even to accept a conference to decide the future *régime* in Tangier, finding her existing control too much to her liking. All the public services in Tangier were in French hands; the administration of the natives, customs, public works, the Post Office (except the British and Spanish postal agencies), were 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 Tangier Administration 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. At the conference which took place in Paris towards the end of last year her position was so strong that Lord Curzon had to make important concessions, which I recorded at the time (*loc. cit.*). The two most important concessions are: (1) the administrator of Tangier for an initial period of six years is to be a Frenchman; (2) the Sultan of Morocco (in quality a French officer) is to be represented at Tangier by a "Mendoub" who will be entrusted with the administration of the natives.

The Convention which gives effect to the new arrangement is due to begin operating on November 1st of this year. The fact that neither Italy nor the United States have yet seen their way to accept the invitation of Great Britain, France, and Spain to adhere to it is not expected to delay its operation. The position of Tangier at the entrance to the Mediterranean leaves the British Government with no alternative but to beware lest any single Power shall gain, or in any circumstances exercise, any form of dominant military control.

GEORGE GLASGOW.

LITERARY SUPPLEMENT.

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REVIEWS.

THE CAMBRIDGE ANCIENT HISTORY.*

The first volume of this remarkable work started with "the remote and dim beginnings" of organised human life, and showed not only the methods and practice of research in dealing with prehistoric ages, but linked the still obscure origins of the Aryan and Semitic races with the story of Egypt and Babylonia, carrying the student down to the dark days at the opening of the sixteenth century before our era when the alien Hyksos peoples, the "shepherds" from Asia Minor, were in possession of Egypt, and the Aryan Kassites had occupied Babylonia and had swept away the Golden Age of Hammurabi. This second volume carries on the record for a further period of six centuries, a vital section of this "first part of a continuous history of European peoples" which is intended to lay a basis for the Cambridge Medieval History still in course of publication, and the almost classic Cambridge Modern History. Some fifteen hundred years (down to the victory of Constantine in A.D. 324) remain to be dealt with, and indeed this lengthy period includes the most fascinating aspects of all history, the story of Greece and of Rome, the story of the awakening of Central and Western Europe, and the later records of Northern Africa.

* *The Cambridge Ancient History*. Edited by J. B. Bury, S. A. Cook, and F. E. Adcock. Volume II., *The Egyptian and Hittite Empires to c. 1000 B.C.* (Cambridge: at the University Press.) 35s. net.

But the present volume, which carries the reader down to the dawn of the Homeric Age, is full of fascination. Dr. Peter Giles deals in introductory chapters with the peoples of Asia Minor, both Hittite and Indo-European, and the peoples of Europe. He emphasises his well-known and apparently incontrovertible view that the Aryans or *Wiros* came from the plains of Hungary.

"The district was a centre from which the *Wiros* of Europe might most easily spread, and also might easily pass, as they undoubtedly did, in wave after wave to Asia Minor and the East. We can only guess at the causes which led to their spreading over the lands in which we find them when history begins. The most probable is the increase of population beyond the bounds of subsistence. It is impossible to believe that so many languages, with so complicated a grammar, could have developed on so closely similar lines, unless the speakers had spent a long time in contact with one another and shut off from their neighbours, as in the area mentioned they were, by mountains which offer comparatively few means of access. How far their civilization had reached before separation took place is not easy to define precisely. It may be supposed that they were passing out of the stone age into the bronze age but were not yet familiar with the working of iron."

It may be suggested, however, that the taming of the horse, implying new methods of conquest and transport, was one stimulant to dispersion. The date of the taming of the horse can, perhaps, be placed some centuries earlier than 2000 B.C. A co-ordination of the customary law of the scattered peoples would seem to show clearly—as indeed the *Rig Veda* indicates—that before the dispersion customary feudalism had reached an advanced stage. The fact that the great Western dispersion of the Goidelic and Brythonic peoples shows such different stages of evolution rather indicates that the less advanced peoples were the first wanderers. This supports the idea of dispersion in search of subsistence. But the dispersions in every case maintained the tribal structure.

Professor J. H. Breasted takes up the story of Egypt from the expulsion of the Hyksos. Dr. Hall, in the first volume, had carried the record down to the Hyksos conquest and occupation. A new Egyptian period began with the expulsion by Ahmose (1580-1557 c. B.C.) of "the Asiatic invaders, whom the Egyptians neither forgave nor forgot." For five centuries these shepherd kings, who perhaps had come into Africa under the stress of the great Aryan thrust into Asia Minor about 1800 B.C., ruled parts of Egypt. They did not long hold Upper Egypt, and Thebes, which stoutly fought them from the beginning, was destined to expel them under the founder of the eighteenth dynasty. Josephus regarded their expulsion as the original of the Biblical story of the Exodus, and Dr. Hall

accepts this view. With the accession of Ahmose the customary feudal system practically disappeared, and Egypt became a military State with an elaborate civil administration for the collection of taxes, a bureaucratic nobility, and a highly developed professional priesthood. Professor Breasted describes the expansion of Egypt. Thutmose I. (grandson of Ahmose) carried his Empire from the third cataract of the Nile to the banks of the Euphrates. His daughter Hatshepsut is "the first great woman in history of whom we are informed." She certainly had a great personality, which the destructive efforts of her husband and half-brother after her death have not obscured. She had reigned twenty years or more, and her reign was one of peace. Thutmose III. determined to consolidate the weakening Asiatic influence of Egypt, and succeeded in a series of campaigns, which made his name proverbial in Asia. His reign marks an epoch "not only in Egypt but in the whole Near East. . . . The genius which rose from an obscurely priestly office to accomplish this for the first time in history reminds us of a Napoleon. He was the first to build an empire in any real sense; he was the first world-hero." He died in 1447 B.C., having reigned fifty-four years. His body still survives in the Valley of the Kings. He wrote his own noble epitaph: "I have not done anything . . . against which contradiction might be uttered."

So we come to the days when Egypt is mistress of the East and, under Amenhotep III., the dictator of human civilisation. Ikhnaton, the son of Amenhotep the Magnificent, neglected Asia and absorbed himself in the reform of religion, substituting realism in religion and art for realism in politics. He was succeeded by his son-in-law, the now famous Tutankhamon. The dynasty died out, and that of Rameses II. came into power, renewed the hold on Asia, and smote the Hittites. But the decline and fall of the Egyptian Empire was at hand. With appalling swiftness it fell as soon as the great emperors had gone. But with the disappearance of military dominance the best had not gone: "in terms of *culture and civilisation*, the leadership which Egypt had gained and held from the rise of the earliest civilisation in the fourth millennium before Christ, she continued to hold, and maintained her civilised supremacy until the leadership of the early world passed finally to Greece in the sixth century B.C." The influence of Rome after the fall of the Western Empire, an influence still dominant, is a parallel case in the history of Empires. The spirit of civilisation survives the imperialism that begets it.

The story of Assyria, of the Hittites of Asia Minor, of the Early Levantine peoples, of the struggle for the Mediterranean coastlands are in a sense footnotes to the history of the Egyptian Empire.

A new note is struck by the rise of Israel on the one hand and that of the Cretan and Mycenæan civilisation on the other. Dr. S. A. Cook, in dealing with Israel, lays stress on the possible influence of Ikhnaton's pure religious idealism on the Hebrew faith. The Cretan glories faded, yet they laid some bases for solidifying the conquests of the Achæan Aryan hosts, who brought new faith, new art, new thought, and old tribal solidity to the mercantile capacity of the conquered peoples of Mycenæ and the Isles. So we are brought to Homer, on whom Professor Bury writes, to the Greeks, who in their thought were so destined to affect Hebraic faith as to make possible a unity in Christian thought of Semitic and Aryan idealism. This volume enables the student to begin to realise how streams of tendency in religious thought and art poured out from the almost forgotten centuries that seem at first sight chiefly notable for great conquerors like Thutmose the Invincible, Amenhotep the Magnificent, Solomon the Great, but are perhaps more significantly manifested in Hatshepsut the Queen, Ikhnaton the Monotheist, and David the Singer.

* * *

THE EAST INDIA HOUSE.*

The author of this book gives a very full account of the "East India House," a "local habitation" of a famous company, from whose small beginnings have sprung our vast Indian Empire. Every Englishman and woman should know the history and associations of this Company, which first received its Charter from Queen Elizabeth in 1600. It is a wonderful record of trade colonization, and is so bound up with the history of our own and other nations that it cannot fail to be a subject of interest from all points of view.

Mr. Foster goes into detail as to the premises occupied by the East India Company. For the first twenty-one years of its existence it found a home in Philpot Lane, Fenchurch Street. For another seventeen years it leased the well-known Crosby House, Bishopsgate Street, which lease expired in 1638, and as the Earl of Northampton demanded terms which the Company considered exorbitant, they accepted the offer of Sir Christopher Clitherow to occupy his house, into which they moved in November, 1638. They remained at Clitherow House till 1648, when the Company became the tenants of Lord Craven at Craven House. In 1651 his estates were forfeited by the Long Parliament, and in the December of

* *The East India House: Its History and Associations.* By William Foster, C.I.E. (John Lane.) 12s. 6d. net.

that year the Commissioners for Compounding decided to make a valuation of the house and let it to the Company on a seven years' lease from the State at the rent of £140. The Company continued to rent this house under a new landlord, John Sweeting, till the Restoration in 1660, when the property was also restored to its former owner, the faithful Loyalist, Lord Craven, who granted further leases of the house from time to time. In 1733 it was purchased from the third Baron Craven for £4,000. Thus Craven House passed finally and completely into the hands of the Company.

The author tells many amusing anecdotes of the vicissitudes through which the East India Company passed before acquiring this property. In 1665, the year of the Great Plague, it was decided to shut up the East India House altogether for a time, but the pressure of business was such that it could not be altogether closed, though at several meetings there were not sufficient members to form a quorum. The Great Fire which followed the Plague did little harm to the Company. The Court's account of it, contained in a letter to Madras, dated September 14th, 1666, closes with the following: "In this sad calamity God was pleased to be very favourable to the Companies interest, having preserved most of our goods, excepting some saltpeeter and our pepper at the Exchange cellar."

The weavers' riots of 1696-97 were worse enemies to the Company than fire or plague. The revocation of the Edict of Nantes had driven a large number of Huguenot artisans to England, where many had settled in the east of London, and there founded a flourishing manufacture of silk. The East India Company threatened, as they alleged, the destruction of an important industry: "When the East India ships come in, half our weavers play." The distress among the weavers increased, and in November, 1696, "they petitioned Parliament against the Company for bringing over great quantities of wrought silks to the prejudice of their trade." A Bill was introduced to remedy the grievances, but finally abandoned. As a result they made an assault on the India House, but were dispersed. Mr. Foster explains very clearly the measures that were passed for the protection of the home industry. These were a decided check to the East India Company for a time, but an extraordinary flood of prosperity set in soon after the Restoration, and the dividends of the original stock leaped up by starts and bounds. Amusing descriptions of the staff in the seventeenth century, with extracts from the Petty Cash books, are also given.

The account of the famous members of the establishment and their careers in connection with the Company forms most interesting reading. Foremost amongst them were John Stuart Mill,

Thomas Love Peacock, and Charles Lamb. A delightful sketch of the latter in pen and pencil is given in the chapter devoted to him. The account of the founding of the Royal East India Volunteers, of the rebuilding of the House, of the Staff in the later nineteenth century, and finally of the dissolution of the Company, on June 1st, 1874, when "the stockholders were given the option of taking Indian stock in lieu of their holdings or of being paid off at the stipulated rate," concludes an instructive and amusing record of a great House and a valuable footnote to history.

* * *

ETRURIA AND ROME.*

This thorough piece of research work on the relations of Etruria and Rome is a good example of the standard demanded at Cambridge to-day. Mr. Fell has not only gathered together, co-ordinated, and judicially examined the extant material relating to the origin and fortunes of the Etruscan Power in Italy with judicial examination of the various theories on the "Etruscan question," but he has visited and examined all the Italian sites and monuments, a necessary supplement to the examination of texts and theories.

Mr. Fell has, fortunately, no new theory of origin to offer. The ancient authors, with the exception of Dionysius of Halicarnassus, adopt the assertion of Herodotus that the Etruscans came from Asia or more particularly from Lydia. Dionysius speaks of the Etruscans as "not having the same language or manners as any other nation," and Mr. Fell admits that "so far none of the partial resemblances which have been found between the Etruscans and other peoples amounts to a proof of identity." Niebuhr in 1853 challenged the theory of the Lydian origin, and advanced the view that the Etruscans crossed the Alps, and this view of a Raetian origin was accepted by Mommsen as not wholly improbable and as partly supported by the survival of an Etruscan dialect in the Alps. It has since been doubted if the Raetic dialect is Etruscan. If, however, the Raeti were Indo-Europeans of mixed Celtic and Illyrian stock, as has been argued, this might give a common origin to the Raeti and the Etruscans, while the Etruscan elements in the Raetic dialect need not be explained by Etruscan dominance in Northern Italy.

However this may be, "of late years there has been a clear reaction towards the Lydian theory." Dr. Giles declares in the *Cambridge Ancient History* that till more light can be obtained,

* *Etruria and Rome*. By R. A. L. Fell. Thirlwall Prize Essay, 1923. (Cambridge University Press.) 8s. 6d. net.

"we may adhere to the belief that the Lydians, the Etruscans, and the authors of the remarkable Lemnian inscriptions were part of the "Peoples of the Sea" whom the Greeks vaguely called Pelasgoi, and we may believe that in Lydia and in Etruria they established themselves on great mainland territories, possibly from an island home." Dr. H. R. Hall in the same work speaks of "the probable racial kinship of the Etruscans to the Hittites." Professor Peet declares that little progress has been made towards a solution of the problem, but rules out the Raetian theory by the late appearance of Etruscan products in the Bologna area and the Po valley. This latest theory leaves the Raetic dialect unexplained. Mr. Fell himself declines to identify Hittites and Etruscans, but declares that the resemblances between the two "give some support to the tradition that the Etruscans were an Asiatic people." He, however, admits that ethnology is against a complete identification of the Etruscan with any Asia Minor race. His working hypothesis is that "the germ of the Etruscan nation was a body of invaders from Asia Minor who landed about 850 B.C. on the west coast of Italy, north of the Tiber, where their oldest monuments are found and their civilisation was most fully developed."

This is not the least inconsistent with the Etruscans being a mixed Celtic and Lydian stock, a backwash of the Aryan European stocks that swept into Asia Minor in the second millennium before our era. Even at Boghaz Keui, the Hittite capital, tongues with a strong Indo-European element were spoken. The Etruscan language may well bear the stamp of the Asiatic branch of the Indo-European tongues, just as the Tocharish tongue bears the stamp of the European branch. Mommsen was not prepared to deny that Etruscan was an Indo-European tongue.

On any reasonable hypothesis the Etruscans came to Italy later than and in a far more advanced stage of civilisation than the Roman tribes, and to this fact may be attributed the great part that the race played in the building up of the Roman Power.

"The possession by the Etruscans of practically all the copper, tin, and iron which is found in Italy, together with abundant timber for fuel, and with a remarkable ability in working metals, must have contributed largely towards their early predominance in Italy, and to their high place among the trading and manufacturing peoples of antiquity."

Etruscan art was of a high type, and there was close intercourse between Greece and Etruria from the early part of the seventh century B.C. By the sixth century the Etruscan peoples were dominating Latium, and Mr. Fell makes it clear that "her Etruscan rulers first made Rome a city both materially and morally." The characteristic Asiatic city-state was, it might be

reasonably suggested, introduced into Italy by the Etruscans, and certainly their influence survived the fall of their political dominance.

Mr. Fell dates the Etruscan occupation of Rome at about the year 600 B.C. They not only taught the Romans to build and (almost certainly) introduced the arch; they brought with them the first Greek influence, they were probably the first organisers of Roman industries and urban life, public games, and the stage, while the political prestige of the growing city steadily grew under their influence. Yet, by the middle of the eighth century B.C., the Etrurian dominance in Central Italy had gone. The Tarquins had failed both in Rome and Latium; Porsena still retained the Etrurian hold on Rome, but, with a new Latin League, Rome herself became free and able to expand by endless war against the nation to whom she owed so much. Southern Etruria was swallowed up by 340 B.C., and the rest of Etruria and Umbria were absorbed when the Metropolis of Volsinii fell in 264 B.C. Vortumnus, the principal god of the Etruscans, became a Roman deity with a temple on the Aventine.

Etruria could conquer others, but she had never conquered herself, had never placed her civilisation of scattered cities under the bonds of a central authority. Rome, one of these cities but alien in heredity, swallowed up her and her unstable dominions. The Asiatic origin of the Etruscans is, perhaps, best proved by their rapid rise and their mysterious disappearance. They had, like so many Asiatic powers, lost their tribal and structural strength in the development of their commerce. The Romans maintained their tribal structure sacrosanct while absorbing strength and humanism from every quarter. It was not luxury or depravity but loss of the power of structural growth that destroyed Etruria. That is the story of the East as opposed to the story of the West. It is a lesson that modern Western peoples may wisely lay to heart to-day. It can be read at large in this admirable book.

J. E. G. de M.

THE SAXON SHORE.*

This is a book of many charms. The descriptive passages showing how Mrs. Mothersole went about from fortress to fortress on the Romano-British "Saxon Shore" to see for herself the fragments that remained are charming. The illustrations from her pen and brush are not less charming. She has projected the dying

* *The Saxon Shore*. By Jessie Mothersole. With twenty-four illustrations by the author. Maps and plans. (John Lane.) 8s. 6d. net.

days of the Roman domination of Britain into our own days with a literary skill that should secure for the book a permanent place in many libraries. The theme of *The Saxon Shore*, though often dealt with, has never apparently been the subject of an entire book and she seized the opening. Her technical apparatus is supplied by various recent works dealing with the Roman occupation of Britain, but Mrs. Mothersole, wisely, has also turned to the records of the various archaeological societies. The material in the recent books, in fact, does not always include conclusions and discoveries made locally. The history of the Roman occupation of Britain has not yet reached any conclusive shape. Much tribal history remains to be unravelled and until this is done a good deal of the phenomena of the Roman occupation is inexplicable. The social history will also remain incomplete until it is possible to ascertain the extent to which Italian artificers settled in Britain and to what extent discharged legionaries obtained grants of land in return for protection and service.

Mrs. Mothersole visited the forts of the Saxon Shore—Richborough, Reculver, Dover, Lympne, Pevensey, Porchester, Brancaster, Burgh Castle, Walton Castle, Bradwell-Juxta-Mare, to use modern names—with the definite purpose of regarding them as a connected series of defences intended to cope with the onslaughts of the Continental tribes. The *Notitia Dignitatum* drawn up in 428 A.D.—such are the ironies of empires—after the Romans had ceased to concern themselves with remote Britain mentions the Count of the British Saxon Shore and the names of nine of the forts that he commanded. The forts themselves "can be traced round the coast from the Wash to Portsmouth Harbour." The system of defence is mentioned by Ammianus in 367 A.D. and the forts themselves "bear in nearly every case the stamp of the fourth century." The forts named in the *Notitia* are not all identified. Mrs. Mothersole tentatively adopts the fort at Bradwell as *Othona* and places *Portus Adurni* at Porchester.

"At least eight out of the ten Saxon Shore forts were built with bastions, and of five of these forts there are very substantial remains, namely, Richborough, Pevensey, Porchester, Burgh Castle, and Lympne. Their main gates seem never to have exceeded two in number, any additional entrances being small posterns, and the gates, so far as is known, were single openings. The walls are usually from 9 to 14 feet thick, and still show, in some instances, as much as 25 to 30 feet high. On the average the area enclosed by them is greater than in the case of the auxiliary forts of earlier times. . . . In situation, these forts followed a general rule. With one exception, they lay either low down near the sea, or else only slightly elevated above the sea-level, and always within reach of a good sheltered harbour. The exception is Walton Castle, which stood on a cliff 100 feet high.

They were all built so as to command the mouth of a river or estuary, or (as at Porchester) an almost land-locked harbour. Two of them (Richborough and Pevensey) were on small islands.

Mrs. Mothersole does not give her authority for the statement as to island forts. There seems an inherent improbability in the suggestion.

What were these forts? Were they bases for attack? The *Notitia* does not call them "forts." They seem to have been called "ports." It was not the habit of the Romans to await attack. It may be suggested that they were ports where fleets were built and prepared for sea and whither fleets retired for refitment. However, the reader will come to his own conclusion on the obscure evidence and will thank Mrs. Mothersole for having provided a book full of observation that takes the mind back to the earliest record of Britain as a sea-power.

* * *

AFRICAN RACE PROBLEMS.*

Mr. Willoughby's book on African race problems should be considered in relation to the number of volumes issued since the conclusion of peace on almost every variety of African race and scientific problems. Hunters, naturalists, missionaries, ethnologists, students of tongues are all busy revealing the secrets of Africa. It can truly be said that in the first quarter of the twentieth century we have learned more of Africa and its peoples, its fauna, flora and pre-history than had been revealed by former observers from Herodotus downwards. Mr. Willoughby's excellent book is written in the light of the mandatory system which the Treaty of Versailles applied to native races. "In the new mandatory system that the League of Nations is applying to Africa, tutelage, trusteeship, and the just treatment of the native inhabitants are dominant ideas. But if the tutor does not understand his pupil, or the trustee his ward, he will fail to be just, however honourable his intention." It is therefore the duty of the British race to understand their wards. Moreover, it is most true that "the security of the Empire consists in the mutual sympathy and faith of its varied communities." There is a scientific outlook on the native races that is essential. Mr. Willoughby is specially concerned here with the Bantu race which occupies that vast African area south of a line that may roughly be drawn from Fernando Po on the Atlantic to Mombasa on the Indian Ocean. The region, one-

* *Race Problems in the New Africa: A Study of the Relations of Bantu and Britons in those Parts of Bantu Africa which are under British Control.* By the Rev. W. C. Willoughby. (Oxford: at the Clarendon Press.) 15s. net.

third of all Africa, is unimaginably vast, and apart from Bushmen and Hottentots it is occupied by the Bantu race, so scattered that they speak no less than 226 languages and dialects, which however represent one ultimate tongue of a people who, according to Sir Harry Johnston, probably originated about two thousand years ago on the water-shed of the Nile, Shari, and Congo, from a fusion of Negroes and Hamites of the Galla, or Eastern and inferior type. The whole of the race represents an ultimate spiritual unity with an immense power of reproduction and a tendency to split up and wander and combine under able leaders such as the terrible Chaka who, in the early nineteenth century, organised the famous Zulu tribes. But the people, however scattered, form a racial unity, and Mr. Willoughby rightly insists that:

"Until we see what Bantu life really is, we cannot know how greatly it needs the aid that can be given by the best elements in British civilization and Christianity, still less can we discover how to render such service. The straight, clean life of a good man is of value to any Bantu tribe in which he happens to dwell; but earnest and good men have also wrought mischief through failing to understand the life of the people around them. . . . Tribes that have been shut off from the rest of humanity for about two thousand years provide interesting material for the psychologist, the theologian, and the study of comparative jurisprudence; but the primary purpose of this book is to give busy men an interpretative glimpse of the inner life of people who have come under British control, and to consider questions of race-contact in the light of that vision."

Here are gathered together the results of prolonged residence and research collated with masses of older literature, forming a most careful picture of Bantu life and thought. Here the reader can grasp something of that conception of spirit influence as it lies behind the Bantu as behind the Australian tribal life. The Australian parallels are so extraordinarily close that it is more than tempting to see a common South Asian source. The parallels are indeed so close that it is probably that we shall have to premise a later date of distribution from the common Asian home of all those races than is usual in considering the Australian evidence. These comparative questions are, however, not dealt with by Mr. Willoughby. His business is to make us see the Bantu as they are.

A new problem arose, and grows more difficult to solve every day, when the Europeanisation of Bantu Africa became inevitable. Two races in entirely different stages of human evolution are in almost daily contact. How should the dominant race deal with these primitive people? "Some British Governments in Africa are aware of the value of the elementary school as a civilising agency in Bantu life; but others are unable to see through the fogs of race prejudice." British East Africa spends less than a penny per

annum per head on native education, while Cape Colony has taken over the whole cost of educating the native children and native teachers, and agrees that "the education of Bantu youth should remain in the hands of men with a Christian purpose." Wisdom has in fact grown from experience, since a century ago the Cape was as unwise as East Africa. It is education dealing with spiritual values that is needed, not mere learning. Mr. Willoughby declares that the purpose of education is—

"to show the pupil the meaning and value of life, and to put iron into his will to live effectually . . . the pupil is to be helped to discover what life ought to mean for him; not what it ought to mean for people whose lot is cast amidst more auspicious surroundings. In applying this principle to Bantu tribesmen, it should be the aim of Government to fit the millions for their work in their world and to provide them with intelligent leaders of their own race. It is absolutely certain that the Bantu will have leaders of their own race, and that the leaders will be men of natural ability."

The race has produced great destructive leaders. We can give them leaders of their own stock with constructive gifts. That is the note of this able book. The business of the missionary is "to play his part in the team-work of founding and building the Christian Church of Africa." This is the crucial test of the quality of his work. Mr. Willoughby makes this clear. It is a great educational problem; perhaps the greatest in the world, and when it is solved, when—

"the Bantu have awakened from their mental slumber and done their own thinking for a while, they will write their own creeds in phrases that appear adequate to their mind and metaphors that appeal to their imagination, and will frame their own Church polity, as European nations did, on the models of their secular institutions."

Thus the inchoate humanism of the Bantu will find its natural spiritual goal.

J. E. G. DE M.

* * *

MR. ROBERT SMILLIE.*

This cheery and optimistic record, by a man who has gone through some of the severest trials of the miner's life in his early days, and has encountered his fair share of the misrepresentation which comes to public men, should give us additional confidence in the capacity of the Labour leaders, not only to find solutions of some of our political problems, but also to understand and consider

* *My Life for Labour*. By Robert Smillie, M.P. Foreword by J. Ramsay MacDonald, M.P. (Mills & Boon, Ltd.) 4s. or 2s. 6d.

the point of view of those to whom they are offered. For the effort to do justice to his personal opponents is one of Mr. Smillie's most remarkable distinctions. Again and again, he admits that this or that person, whom he had condemned severely, appeared to have qualities that he had not at first realised; and he eulogises more than once the power of statement of an opponent, with whom he disagrees. The savage anonymous attacks on him, which were accompanied by actual threats of violence, are attributed by him, partly at least, to real feelings of patriotism. And this generosity and fair dealing has its reward. Opponents who had shrunk from him as a "dangerous man," came to respect him, while the enthusiastic faith in "Bob," felt by his comrades and followers, comes out on more than one occasion.

Of course his career has shown an excess of independence, and he has repelled offers of official position which might seem to have given an opportunity for useful action. But, while one respects the feeling which prompted this attitude, and while it is impossible to judge for another man in such a case, I think one can see that it has occasionally narrowed his point of view, and even led him to justify actions on behalf of particular measures which are in contrast with his usual sense of fair play. May not this exceptional failure show the dangerous effect of the party system, and may it not suggest to some the hope that we shall ultimately discard the party system in favour of a choice of candidates on somewhat the same ground as those on which we choose our friends and advisers in ordinary life?

C. E. MAURICE.

* * *

THE INNS OF COURT.*

In this excellent and well-produced book the story of the two Temples is told by Mr. Benham, that of Gray's Inn by Sir Plunket Barton, while Mr. Francis Watt gives us the story of Lincoln's Inn. Each Inn has its own romance and its own fame, but they are inseparable, and Sir Plunket Barton, in a remarkable introduction, emphasises the sense of unity of a group of colleges which have always formed a legal university. Their earthly domain is small—a strip of territory "surrounded on the east by the Old City of London, on the west by the City of Westminster, on the south by the River Thames, and on the north by streets and lanes of Holborn." How was it that the law students and the lawyers settled here outside the City? King Henry III. prohibited the

* *The Story of Our Inns of Court*, as told by the Rt. Hon. Sir D. Plunket Barton, Charles Benham, and Francis Watt. (G. T. Foulcs & Co.)

holding of any school of law within the City, and the Pope forbade the clergy to teach the Common Law of the land. Their law was the Civil Law. Meantime, Magna Charta led to the founding of the Court of Common Pleas at Westminster, and the lawyers had to find a convenient home. How and where they were lodged in the earliest days of the Court can only be guessed, but we may suspect the district of Holborn, for when the Knights-Templars were dispossessed of their Round Church and their neighbouring lands at the beginning of the fourteenth century, their successors, the Knights of St. John of Jerusalem, leased the estate, so we must believe, to a body of lawyers from Holborn, and they were well settled in, never to be dispossessed, by the year 1347. The earliest official records have vanished. We do not even know when the Temples were divided into the Inner and the Middle, though there is a good deal of evidence that the division into separate houses took place before 1400.

Meantime, other companies of lawyers settled down on the estates of the Earls of Lincoln and the Barons Grey de Wilton. The extant records of Lincoln's Inn begin in 1422, and the society was then well established; probably Gray's Inn was at least as old, for in 1370 the present site was already an *hospitium*, a term which seems to mean an inn or hostel for students. Before 1400 we find mention of "Greysyn." At the date of Sir John Fortescue's famous work *de Laudibus legum Angliæ* all four Inns of Court were very much alive "in the full plenitude of power, reputation, and usefulness." Perhaps the Inns of Chancery were still older. We might hazard the suggestion that they were the hostels whence the elder lawyers sallied forth to found the great Inns of Court. It is certain that they were for centuries the recruiting grounds for the lawyers. It was the practice for a man to pass from Oxford or Cambridge to an Inn of Chancery and thence to an Inn of Court, and so onward to fame or failure.

The Inns have always, however, been centres of legal education. In the old days the training was strict, and combined legal scholarship with training for practice. The Readings by great lawyers—some fifteenth-century Readings are still extant—were supplemented by formal Moots and by more informal legal discussions in the various Halls. In our own time the ancient Moots, which died out after the Restoration, have been revived by Gray's Inn, and have proved so successful that it is surprising that the other Inns have not followed this excellent example. But learning was not all. The Inns were great social centres, and the Revels were very famous. This social side was natural enough, as many men of great social position were in successive ages associated with the Inns, and it was the fashion for men who had no intention of

practice to have a legal training to fit them for the responsibilities of life as landowners or legislators. Sir William Blackstone's great work lays stress on the value of such a training, and to-day there is a revival of the idea of legal teaching as a necessary part of a general education.

This volume gives an accurate but quite popular account of the life from age to age in the Inns of Court; of the social significance of the life; of the famous men who have adorned that life, whether as lawyers or legislators, or as men of letters or men of affairs. Mr. Benham tells the detailed story of the Temple with enthusiasm; Mr. Francis Watt devotes his skilled and learned pen to the life of Lincoln's Inn, while Sir Plunket Barton shows us his Gray's Inn from age to age, and lays special stress on the great Elizabethan epoch and on the time of Francis Bacon and his brothers. "It is a proud reflection for the members of Gray's Inn that so great a man as Francis Bacon made it his home, his chosen place of study and relaxation, and the peaceful background of the whole of his wonderful life." But each Inn can show its heroes, its galaxy of great and patriotic men. All the Inns, "like the Universities . . . are the heirs of splendid traditions," and splendidly they serve the cause of justice and the reign of law.

SHORTER REVIEWS.

In "The Awakening of Italy, the Fascista Regeneration," * Signor Luigi Villari once more sings a hymn of praise to Mussolini. Readers of this Review do not need to be reminded of the articles which he has contributed to these pages, and the present volume tells the same story at greater length. Whatever we may think of the Italian dictator, he has at any rate the power to arouse enthusiasm among his supporters. "The Fascista spirit is youth," writes our author; but his own discipleship proves the appeal of that spirit to men of middle-age and mature experience. He would, we imagine, hardly claim impartiality for this interesting volume, which indeed is so obviously an eloquent *plaidoyer* that it is needless to caution even the most uncritical reader against its bias. Foreign students—and foreign friends—of Italy will not be tempted to adopt his almost idolatrous enthusiasm for the Chief, or his systematic blackening of his opponents. Giolitti, we learn, cares merely for power; the Socialists are unpatriotic; Orlando was lukewarm in the prosecution of the war; Nitti adds to his other vices that of physical cowardice. The fury with which Signor Villari pursues Nitti will awaken repulsion rather than conviction in many of his readers. "One man alone Mussolini cannot forgive,—Nitti." We can well believe it, and doubtless Nitti finds it equally difficult to forgive the man whose followers have broken into his house and chased him out of his country. Signor Villari's heroes, next to the Chief, are Corradini, the founder of modern Italian Imperialism, Sonnino, and

* Methuen. 10s. 6d

d'Annunzio. President Wilson's denunciation of Italian ambitions in Fiume appears to him "outrageous," and the bombardment of Corfu in time of peace found Italy "unanimous." That unanimity, we may remark, does not make the incident in the eyes of Englishmen any less criminal. That the Ministers who attempted to rule Italy after the war were lacking in firmness, and that revolutionary Labour was thoroughly out-of-hand, is true enough, and these pages once more explain why Fascism came, saw, and conquered. Mussolini's ability and patriotism are beyond all cavil, and he could desire no more eloquent or powerful presentation of his case. But there is another side to the story. The blood of Matteotti was shed since this volume was completed. The verdict of the historian writing a few years hence will probably be that Fascism had to come and had to go.

* * *

Professor Helen Wodehouse's "Survey of the History of Education" * deserves a warm welcome. The theme, of course, is not new, and there are excellent current works on it by Professor William Boyd and Professor J. W. Adamson, but Professor Wodehouse has a special and attractive treatment of her own, and whether she is dealing with the first millennium of Christian education or the modern era, she is very careful in her detail; she relates education to the life of the individual and the nation in a way too rare with the historians of education, and she brings out the influence of philosophic conceptions on both educational idealism and educational practice. There are occasional statistical slips. Professor Wodehouse says that about one child in ten of the 6,000,000 children at the English elementary schools enters a secondary school. Would that it were so. In 1922-23 there were 385,515 children in English secondary schools recognised as efficient by the Board of Education, and of these 331,820 were in schools on the grant list, the only secondary schools frequented by the scholars from the elementary schools. The number of free places in these schools was 113,405, and it would be an excessive figure to say that in all, including fee-payers, 150,000 pass from the elementary to the secondary schools. If, however, we adopt this excessive figure, it means that one child in forty of the 6,000,000 children in the elementary schools pass into the secondary schools. One in fifty is about the exact figure—2 per cent. instead of the 10 per cent. hopefully premised by Professor Wodehouse. A correction should be made in the next edition. A special chapter on the history of the education of women is also to be desired.

* * *

In "The Periodical Essayists of the Eighteenth Century; with illustrative extracts from the rarer periodicals."† Dr. G. S. Marr attempts "an approximately complete and detailed survey of the periodical essay of the eighteenth century and its writers." The early history of this popular kind of literature is full of interest, both in regard to the writers and the subjects on which they wrote. The short articles on phases of London life, the sarcasm, and witticisms on absurdities, the poems and the letters, all contained in these papers attracted, amused, and irritated "the Town" (the phrase by which Addison so constantly describes London), in ways which no epic could have done. Yet the short lives of the papers show that there was no real market for them, they were but a nine days wonder. On the other hand, however, the constant birth of fresh periodicals with new names,

* Edward Arnold. 6s. net.

† James Clarke & Co., Ltd. 8s. 6d. net.

and sometimes new, and sometimes old authors, indicates that there was not only an ever-growing band of writers attracted by this mode of expression, but also that there was a constant, if small, stream of people who appreciated and asked for some such literature. Dr. Marr shows by means of many extracts the deep thought often hidden in satire, the wit and humour, and the criticisms of morals and of persons to be found in the work of these eighteenth-century periodical writers. The names of Steele and Addison, Johnson and Goldsmith, alone show what masterpieces of English prose, and what variety of tone and method await the readers of these early periodicals. In his preface the author states that "up to the present time no work has appeared devoted exclusively to this subject, and limited to this period." The work of Nathan Drake, carried out over a century ago, is only a partial exception to this statement." This fact should make the present volume of peculiar value to students of eighteenth-century literature; as well as making very enjoyable reading for the ordinary public. Two lists of periodicals, one chronological, the other alphabetical, have been added at the end of the book; a third index of names would have enhanced its value.

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"The Londoner's Education: being one of a series of popular hand-books on the London County Council and what it does for London,"* is in reality a guide to the provision made by the London County Council for the education and training of every kind of child, from the most brilliant to the mentally and physically deficient, whose parents reside within its jurisdiction. It deals with the Elementary and Central Schools, Secondary Schools, as well as Technical and University education. Apart from the ordinary schools and colleges, we note the general welfare of the children and the special schools for the afflicted; the work done by the school doctors and nurses; the voluntary workers of the Children's Care Committees; the open-air schools in London parks, at the seaside, and in the country. The Council has only four Industrial schools, and no Reformatory schools. Arrangements have therefore been made which enable London children whose needs require such schools to be sent away from London. The life lived at these schools is not the prison-life imagined by many people who know nothing about them; but is that of an ordinary healthy school with plenty of useful, congenial work, as well as ordinary lessons. That small but selfish section of Londoners who deplore the money spent on the education of the poor, do not, or will not, realise that the aim of the County Council is not only to teach the elements of education, but finally to enable all boys and girls to become proficient in the trades or crafts that they may enter, and so enlarge that standard of thoroughness and good workmanship for which British industries are famous. This handbook should be of great interest to all concerned in education and citizenship; a foreword has been written by the Clerk of the Council. The book has many interesting illustrations.

* * *

Ellen Countess of Desart and Miss Constance Hoster in "Style and Title"† have produced "A Complete Guide" to Forms of Social Address. A book of this type has something to be said for it, as it is foolish to make mistakes in social conventions. People of all classes, and certainly not

* University of London Press, Ltd. 9d.

† Christophers. 2s. net.

least in the so-called "upper classes," are often guilty of the absurdest solecisms. One has heard of a baronet, and not a new baronet, who insists on his servants addressing him as "Sir Baronet." This little book deals with the spoken word (it does not encourage the "Sir Baronet" form of address) and the written word (in respect to invitations, letters, and envelopes). A word on the subject of title-pages of books would be useful. Why, in the present book, is Lady Desart entitled "Ellen Countess of Desart" while the lady who collaborates with her has no description at all? It is most desirable on a title-page to describe the status of the author and yet here it is done in one case and not in the other. This book does not clear away all doubts. Normally, of course, a peeress in her own right who marries a peer of a higher order bears her husband's name. But would this be so if she is addressed officially? Then there is the case of the divorced peeress. It is clear to-day that she can retain her married title. The question of "Canon" is a difficult problem. In some dioceses, at any rate, it is wrong to address a residentiary canon as "Canon." The practice is to use "Mr.," while an honorary canon is always addressed as "Canon." "Mr. Dean" is right, but "Mr. Archdeacon" is unusual except in very formal conversation. Much depends on current custom and choice. The Archbishop of Canterbury is a knight, but his wife is Mrs. Davidson. Changes also are always taking place. "The Hon. and Rev." has (out of common decency) become "The Rev. the Hon." In the case of schoolboys, we believe that neither "Master," "Mr.," nor "Esq." is now ever used in addressing letters to the school. It is different in the case of girls.

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Professor J. A. Smith (the Waynflete Professor of Moral and Metaphysical Philosophy at Oxford) has written in "The Nature of Art" an "Open Letter to the Professor of Poetry in the University of Oxford" in which he demands in a very wordy fashion from that Professor "a theory of what poetry and all its works are." Poetry or art is a spirit, he tells us, and so what he really demands is a theory accounting for the existence of the spirit. "Wrong theories of Poetry are the ultimate causes of all the bad poetry and the unpoetry that cumber the world." It does not follow that there is a theory at all, but apparently the Professor of Poetry had admitted the necessity of a theory. Professor Smith first of all considers that there is an identity of all the Arts with one another and with Art itself, and that Art is quite other than Philosophy and Morality and is not one with Science or Religion. Art is essentially an active knowing and not a doing. "Hence Art is not an exercise of will" and has no goal, but is "a successful or triumphant contemplation." But the object is not that of the philosopher. It is purely individualistic. The cynic might say that Art is therefore the quintessence of selfishness. So the *reductio ad absurdum* is reached. Poor Art, poor Philosophy.

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Miss Beatrice A. Lees has done excellent work for historians in producing her scholarly and admirable edition of the famous "Anonymi Gesta Francorum et Aliorum Hierosolymitanorum."† The Latin text of this "primary authority" (to use Dr. Ernest Barker's phrase) for the First Crusade was first printed in 1611, and there are two modern texts, that of the *Recueil des Historiens des Croisades* (1866), and Heinrich Hagenmeyer's text issued from Heidelberg in 1890. Miss Lees'

* Oxford: at the Clarendon Press. 2s. net.

† Oxford: at the Clarendon Press. 7s. 6d. net.

edition is based on Bongars's text of 1611, with emendations from the various twelfth-century and other MSS. and from Tudebad, an early plagiarist, "who probably had access to the original manuscript." (A French version of Tudebad by S. de Goy appeared in 1878). The MS. in the library of Gonville and Caius College has been re-examined by Miss Lees, and the text now given is probably as near the original as textual criticism can make it. The *Gesta Francorum*, "the short, simply written record of an unknown soldier pilgrim," is now recognised (as apparently it was not recognised by Gibbon) "as one of the main sources from which the mediæval historians of the First Crusade drew their inspiration, a source whence the stream of Crusading literature began to flow even before the First Crusade was at an end." The anonymous author reveals himself as a layman, a knight (and later through poverty a foot soldier), a straightforward warrior, "practical, observant, fair-minded, sagacious," and full of the faith and the superstition of his great adventure. His very simplicity of diction and of mind is his claim to fame as a true authority for those far-off days of chivalry.

NOTICES OF BOOKS.

Mr. Keith Feiling's "History of the Tory Party, 1640-1714,"* is a masterpiece of style, scholarship and judgment. His subject is the original Tory party, which was bound up with the Stuarts and the Anglican Church, and was buried in the grave of Queen Anne. The first hundred pages of this massive and learned volume trace the origins of the party from Elizabeth to the Restoration, when the main narrative begins, and when the author enriches his survey with original material from the archives of London and Oxford. Four great names stand out from the crowd which surges across the stage—Clarendon, Danby, Harley, Bolingbroke. All of them live again in these vivid chapters; but Clarendon is the favourite of our author, and he will be the favourite of his readers. It is true that he ceased to grow after middle age and that his dictatorship became intolerable, even to his own partisans; but his stature as statesman, writer and thinker is beyond controversy. The later portion of the book covers the reigns of William III. and Anne. With the Revolution of 1688 the old Toryism became out of date, and it finally committed suicide by its flirtations with the fallen Stuarts. Mr. Feiling is a master of vivid narrative and portraiture, and his impartiality is admirable. His clear duty is to write the full-length history of the later Stuarts, which we once hoped to receive from Sir Charles Firth.

* * *

"The Life-Work of Lord Avebury"† forms a welcome supplement to the official biography by Mr. Horace Hutchinson published some years ago. Sir John Lubbock's interests and achievements were so multifarious that they can only be authoritatively described by a committee of specialists; and his daughter, the Hon. Mrs. Adrian Grant Duff, the editor of this little volume, has chosen her colleagues well. After two introductory chapters, which give a charming picture of the early and

* Clarendon Press. 18s.

† Watts & Co. 6s. net.

later years of one of the most lovable of men, we come to the main theme of the book. Sir Bernard Mallet writes of his work in politics and economics, and Sir Michael Sadler contributes a chapter entitled "Education and Letters," in both of which we admire the unselfish, fruitful labour of the good citizen. To many readers, however, the most valuable portions of the volume will be the five chapters, each by an eminent authority, on Anthropology, Geology, Zoology, Entomology, and Botany, which collectively offer an astonishing record, not only of scientific observation and experiment, but of literary production. Sir John Lubbock's distinction as a zoologist and botanist is universally recognised; but Sir Arthur Keith argues forcibly that he was no less a master and even more a pioneer in anthropology, and emphasises both the originality and the abiding value of his two great books on *Prehistoric Times* and the *Origin of Civilisation*. Few men have lived so happy and useful a life as this great scholar and great citizen.

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Mr. C. H. Gripling, an Oxford man who for the past thirty-five years has done notable social service in Woolwich, has published a booklet entitled "Fifty Years of Pioneer Work in Woolwich,"* which surveys the wonderful work achieved in this busy and once dark centre of industrial life. The great part of the institutional work done is voluntary, and the results achieved are almost, perhaps quite, miraculous. The Trades Unions, the co-operative system, the numerous civic associations, the city developments of Woolwich are notable growths of the sense of social solidarity and social service. The actual human developments in the last thirty-five years have been great. In 1890 Woolwich had the highest death-rate in the London sanitary areas; by 1917 it had the lowest infantile mortality and the lowest general death-rate of all the London boroughs. The educational activities have been very remarkable, while Mr. Gripling points out that "Woolwich has been held to a unity of life, beyond many of our crowded centres, by the strength of its religion." These notable achievements owe very much to Mr. Gripling and his group of workers. This book (the profits of which are devoted to settlement work) shows how much voluntary public service can do for the great industrial centres in respect to spiritual and social growth.

* * *

Mrs. Lee, whose writings and plays as Miss Amice Macdonell are so well known, has written a very charming little "Morality Play for the League of Nations" in one act entitled "The Sacred Fire,"† which has already been acted with success in Oxford. The play touches the beginning of things when man, fighting the forces of nature and the beasts, finds the need for social combination. A vivid picture of the dim beginnings of social life is presented, and cleverly, too, are presented the discordant human forces tamed by need and love. The idea of plays on such themes is new, but is capable of considerable development. The coming of religious faith is not touched on in this play, but in fact such faith in some form is rarely absent in simple peoples. Perhaps "The Needle" might be the next play. The inventor of the needle stands next to the smith as a maker of social life.

* Woolwich Settlement Publications, 71, Rectory Place, Woolwich, 1s. (postage ad.).

† Basil Blackwood, Oxford. 1s. net.

THE DISSOLUTION.

NO more difficult task could have been committed to any man than an effort to write concerning the future of Parliament and of parties, when even the General Election has scarcely begun and the nature of the new House of Commons will be known before the article is read. The wise man will carefully avoid prophecy in a contest in which, from the character of these affairs, all parties boast until the last minute of their success, not because each of necessity believes in it, but because of the ingrained conviction of politicians of all countries that there are millions of electors who desire to be on the winning side.

In any case there is a general agreement, both in the inner world of politics and among those concerned with commerce and industry and the revival of British trade, that three General Elections in two years represent something like an outrage upon the unfortunate people of this island. And if only they could fix the responsibility upon any one party to-day, as they fixed the responsibility upon the Conservative Party a year ago, that party would undoubtedly be at the bottom of the poll.

For myself, I must confess that the particular and frantic plunge taken by the Labour Prime Minister, against the advice of the saner minds of the Labour Cabinet, came at the last with some surprise. We had seen difficulties brewing during the recess concerning this queer Campbell case. We had seen further difficulties to be encountered, in some six weeks' time, concerning the guaranteed Loan in the Russian Treaty. Both of these difficulties were made by the present Government; and both not so much by the subject of the controversy as the method by which they had handled it. But neither of these was in the least degree insuperable, had candour and friendliness prevailed. The idea that the Liberal Party and the Tory Party came back to the House with a fixed determination to throw the Government out of power is one which is purely the creation of phantasy or fear. Chance once more seems dominant in human affairs. But for a few questions clumsily answered by the Attorney-General in a manner which excited general resentment, the House of Commons in its short week's Session would have confined itself entirely to the implementing of the Irish Treaty, on which the Government and the Liberal Party

were more completely agreed than on any question raised during the whole life of this Parliament. Even after this exposition of clumsiness, the situation might have been saved but for the arrogance and petulance of Mr. Ramsay MacDonald. No Liberal and no Labour men of importance wished for an Election. The blundering into it resembled nothing so much as the blundering into the European War ten years ago.

But in the semi-hysterical speech made by Mr. MacDonald to the Labour Party outside the House of Commons, there was a sudden revelation of psychology which threw a light upon the whole failure in nine months of work between those who desired an approach from Labour to Liberalism on the one hand, and those who responded to an approach from Liberalism to Labour on the other. Apart from the grotesque exaggeration with which Mr. Asquith made such friendly play in the House of Commons on the day of the Government's fall, such as the denunciation of an inquiry by the House of Commons as the use of the boot, the thumbscrew, and the rack, the Prime Minister exhibited the brooding discomfort and subconscious anger of his own soul.

In January he had announced that Mr. Asquith's speech, which advocated giving Labour a chance even in a minority in the House, and the generous treatment of a minority by the other two parties, was an utterance not of momentary value but of permanent fame. Taking office under such conditions, he now informs us that since the first day of his call to high position, he was indignant at, in his own paraphrase, "eating out of Mr. Asquith's hand," and that he desired the indignity of such a system to come to an end as soon as might be. This fact may account for his continual absence from the House of Commons; his refusal to co-operate in any way with the Liberal Party; his bitter attacks on that party in the country; his abstinence from such methods of friendly agreement as enabled Mr. Snowden to pass his Liberal Budget, and Mr. Wheatley to pass his rather ridiculous Housing Bill, and Mr. Thomas to unite all progressive sections in declaring that the word of Britain in respect to Ireland should not be treated as a "scrap of paper."

He complains that Mr. Asquith had never held consultation with him concerning the long negotiations with Russia, which occupied many months of last summer, and as to which no information could be elicited by question or debate in the House of Commons. He must have known that Mr. Asquith, the most placable and indulgent of men, would have only been too pleased to consult and give advice on the whole subject, had that advice been under any circumstances desired. In all these things, he has obviously been a subject for the psycho-analyst. These have been combined with his curious isolation, his contempt for and hatred of many of

his own colleagues, and his amazing vanity. He is making popular displays, and may possibly come out as a great figure as the result of this Election. But he has destroyed, either morbidly or deliberately, the immediate chance of any Liberal and Labour Block; and if, after the Election, Liberalism is either in a majority or is in control over selection between the other two parties, it may safely be assumed that it will not support a Government whose leader is Mr. Ramsay MacDonald.

The Campbell case will probably be forgotten by the time these lines are read. Yet it will take its small niche in history with Jenkins' apocryphal ear and other queer incidents which go to make up the amazing record of mankind. It has brought the first Labour and Socialist Government in England tottering to the ground. Nine out of ten Liberals will agree that there never was any need for the prosecution at all; that these ebullitions of half-crazy nonentities had better be left alone. Nine Liberals out of ten will also agree that if the Government had honestly acknowledged that they had made a mistake and withdrawn the prosecution, there would have been no need for any controversy. Unfortunately, or fortunately, the House of Commons, with all its excellencies and inefficiencies, possesses a desire that it should be told the truth; and in this case, instead of honestly owning up to the fact, and defending the fact, the Attorney-General misled the House by a series of extraordinary and contradictory excuses; and the Prime Minister also misled it, and was compelled to acknowledge that he had done so, in a halting explanation at the beginning of the Debate in which the Government fell. He explained that his failure of memory was owing to resentment and temper at the Question which had been asked him. But the Question was not asked in the heat of the moment nor was the answer given on an impulse of anger. In reply to a query of which he had been fully forewarned, he stated definitely: "I was not consulted regarding either the institution or the subsequent withdrawal of these proceedings." He was compelled to acknowledge that he had not only been consulted in his own room by the Attorney-General and the Public Prosecutor, whom he had apparently sent for in the afternoon of the fatal day, but that in the same evening he had brought the whole matter before the Cabinet and that it was on the instructions of the Cabinet that the prosecution was withdrawn.

No one knows to-day what really happened. The Communists openly assert that they had brought pressure to bear on the Prime Minister, through the influence of certain named Members of Parliament, who had threatened to split the Labour Party in two if the prosecution was not withdrawn.

These Members were all in the House on the day of doom, and though repeatedly challenged to give their version of the proceedings, remained obdurately silent. It was quite evident that the Attorney-General had compelled the Prime Minister to correct his first statement. But here emphatically was a case for a friendly inquiry, if only to vindicate Mr. MacDonald and his Government in the face of Britain and of Europe. Had such an inquiry been held, it is quite probable that all concerned would have been vindicated from everything but a certain recklessness and stupidity. Without that inquiry, Europe, Britain, and posterity will continue to wonder why Mr. MacDonald dissolved.

Campbell has disappeared, beyond plummet's sounding; so also has his Communist Party, fiercely ejected from the Labour combination through the indignation of the normal Trade Unionist and his determination not to be tarred with the Bolshevik brush. So also has the Russian Guaranteed Loan; which has found no friends anywhere during a month of controversy, and which the Labour Party itself during the Election has tried to minimise in every possible fashion. The suggestion was an outrageous one from the beginning. The granting to the Bolsheviks of British guarantees, which are refused to our own Dominions, to our own Allies, and have not been raised for schemes of national development, was so repugnant to the British people that a plebiscite or referendum would probably have resulted in a majority of ten to one against. But Elections are not fought on Campbells or Russian Guaranteed Loans. The mass of the people not only care nothing about either, but are utterly bewildered as to the nature of both. Go down among the populous multitude of the great cities, as all men have been compelled to go in these times of Election, and you will find a bewildered company whose thoughts are on far other things; of how they can get security of work; of how they can get a reasonably decent house to live in; of how they can obtain enough wages to support themselves and their children; and of how they can contrive that these wages shall not be eaten away by a continual rise of price in the bare necessities of life. On these subjects, in reality, a General Election is being fought; and by those who in the popular belief are most willing to provide remedy for these discontents will the General Election be won.

There is no need for me to deal with the programmes of the respective parties. There is no great dominant issue. These programmes resemble nothing so much as those audaciously and flagrantly contrived as the platforms of the various American political parties for the purpose of catching votes. The Conservatives are trying, as far as is compatible with the fierce eagerness

of their Protectionists, who alone have any "fire in their bellies," to place Protection respectfully in the background, washing in vague stuff about Imperial Preference and the extension of the Safeguarding of Industries. The Labour Party, on the other hand, are endeavouring to coo like any sucking dove; dismiss the Capital Levy, which was supposed to be the fundamental plank of their financial scheme, and issue no paragraph advocating the nationalisation of all the means of production, distribution, and exchange. This was the flag nailed to their mast for many decades, and it is curious to see how they have replaced it by vague advocacy of Widows' Pensions or the production of national electric power.

Briefly, it may be stated that in pious sentiment and in actual advocacy of reform, the Manifestoes are not widely asunder. And it may be interesting to note how every constructive scheme is either a development or a legitimate child of the various measures, such as, *e.g.*, the great Insurance scheme, of the most famous of all Liberal Governments, which occupied a position of power for the eight years preceding the War. The outsider might think that with such a concentration upon Liberal ideas, a Liberal Government would inevitably be called to office for their realisation. He would be ignorant of the clumsy futility of the British electoral system; of fierce hatreds in provincial cities; and of the fact that a large majority of those who were in the two extreme combinations were really only maintaining their programme with their tongues in their cheeks, and were in conviction desirous of a class war either of the poor against the rich, or of the rich against the poor.

If the Election, therefore, results in the Liberals being returned to power as the largest party in the State, there may be some possibility of stable government. There will also be the certainty of efficient government; for in talent, energy, and experience, undoubtedly the Liberals in Parliament are superior to both the other two parties combined. If the Conservative Party are returned with an absolute majority, we shall be confronted with an administration singularly lacking in Parliamentary distinction; which, at the end of its time, may leave us with an Imperial Preference scheme, difficult, when once imposed, to overthrow without Imperial controversy, which may mean the beginning of the end of the Empire. If Labour is returned with an absolute majority, it will be almost compelled to start one or two schemes, such as the nationalisation of the mines, of the meaning or the difficulty of which it has no conception, which may ultimately result in a vast disillusion amongst those it proposes to help. But I suppose most people believe that no party will be returned with such an

absolute "working" majority—which means a surplus of at least forty or fifty over both the other parties—as to secure its stable, secure, and continuous rule. And, under such circumstances, the country will be confronted with as grave and critical a situation as when the Whigs tried to force the Exclusion Bill upon Charles II, or when, again, the Tories threatened William IV with almost open revolt if he consented to make peers in order to avert revolution.

Was the Great War the Sicilian Expedition of England, and are we destined to exhibit as rapid a decline from a height of unparalleled greatness as Athens or Rome or Spain, in a shorter space of time? A Liberal-Labour Block is still possible if Labour is prepared to divorce itself from those dark forces and impossible politicians which have caused its sudden downfall. A Liberal-Tory Block is possible, and perhaps the most probable of conceivable results; but it would be repulsive to very large numbers both of Liberal and Tory voters. It would be alien to the long tradition outside the London Clubs, in which the two parties have fought for so many centuries; it would carry with it no elements of permanent stability. Even the incredible chance of a Tory-Labour Block has been angled for by queer persons on both sides. The Die-hards have discovered, or think that they have discovered, that the British working-man is naturally a Protectionist. And Mr. MacDonald, in artless confession, has affirmed how much he prefers the old nobility of this country, with their generosity and their good manners, to the crude and vulgar crowd who stand for the historic Liberal tradition.

Despite these genial suggestions, however, I should regard this as the most unlikely of all combinations. For of one thing I am convinced, the great mass of the people of England are Liberal, as they always have been, and Liberalism is their dominant sentiment; with the defiant individualism hating all external compulsion whether from State or organisations of employers or employed. In this they stand alone in Europe. For Germany was practically in spirit a Socialist State before the War came, although the German Socialists did not know it. And Italy and Russia have been content to reel back under Dictatorships not dissimilar in suppression of free opinion and persecution of their opponents the one from the other. This does not of necessity mean that the bulk of the electors will vote for that Liberal Party which is the only guarantee and bulwark for Liberalism's survival. For that party has been hopelessly divided by the disastrous consequences of the War; and no one realises what the follies of Protection and the tyrannies of Socialism will mean until they have had hard experience of their application.

Whatever the result, the first duty of Liberalism will be to keep the party in being, in spite of the attraction of those who promise work for all as one form of panacea or doles for all as another. Liberalism may indeed perish, as it has at times in other lands. That decease will not mean that it was not essential to human welfare. It will mean that the British Empire, like other Empires, will have been content to commit suicide. But it possesses the secret of all human endeavour and the only ultimate conceivable human ideal, divorced from the rule of an aristocratic or plutocratic control on the one hand, or the appalling insect state of the Socialist conception on the other. Meanwhile, to any dispirited person who may see, from whatever result the Election may provide, nothing but clouds and darkness before us, a study of history may well be commended as a remedy for despair. This old England of ours, with its tenacious stock, its determination on realities, its enormous capacity for work, its distrust of formulas, and its ultimate revolt against a wash of words unaccompanied by action, is still not only the best country to live in, but the land which has most capacity for strong security and endurance; while as at present the hills and mountains are falling; and over great areas of human occupation the sun is turning to darkness and the moon into blood.

For to any visitor abroad who confesses himself a Liberal, "Junkerism I have seen," is the query of the intelligent, "and Socialism I have seen. But who are ye?" Every sane man yearns for what he believes to have been a dominant force in the British development; no tyranny by the State autocracies, no mad belief that a nation can flourish when a State destroys freedom in the quest for comfort; but a combination of that liberty which illuminates and enfranchises all human endeavour, with the determination to rescue from desperate and submerged life those who walk in darkness and under the immediate shadow of death. When we freely gave Pensions to those who could no longer work through the coming of old age; when we elaborated in a few months a system of Insurance against unemployment, which no nation had previously attempted; and a system of Insurance against disease more complete than that in any Continental kingdom, investigators and writers from all over the world were praising with a kind of startled amazement the work of Liberalism. The names of men received with tawdry contempt by the ignorant—Cobden, Gladstone, Bright—shine like stars in the impartial verdict of those who live outside this island. Cobden because, had his advice been followed, there would have been no European War; Gladstone, whose mighty spirit still walks unchallenged in the lands which he saved for liberty against intolerable wrong; Bright, because he

could declare, in perhaps the greatest of all British oratory except Lincoln at Gettysburg, that, although there was much to be accomplished for the common people, "famine made by law" had been abolished from this land.

But whatever may be the result, Liberalism has shown in its noble fight that it has been faithful to the traditions of its past and sensible to the needs of the future. All its programme—of freedom of trade, of freedom against State tyranny, of improvement of education, of equal opportunity for all, of national development, of adequate grappling with the land system in town and countryside, with the interests of the community placed above those of the private person—is in the line of its great past tradition and was largely foretold by its great past leaders. Little men, like Mr. Willy Graham and Mr. Ben Spoor, friendly men and generous men, have been telling us politely that Liberalism is dead and inviting those of us of the Left, with amicable gestures, to abandon a forsaken creed and join up with the Socialists, who alone have the secret of human progress. But Liberalism has seen a hundred Socialisms flare and fade in the astonishing march of the human race towards some unknown goal, and the question which should confront all such pleasant enticements is not whether our faith is worthy of us, but whether we are worthy of our faith: whether we indeed can claim that whole-hearted service towards the greatest of all human ideals, bred from the eternal wisdom which laid the foundations of the world, which will last as long as time endures.

Nearly three hundred years ago, the Parliament of England, in its appeal to the people, declared in historic words: "We cannot but acknowledge that we are not yet at rest; nor can we believe we have enjoyed or seen enough to accomplish the ends of God." That Parliament was destroyed, and a situation arose through which no men could see light. Yet the people continued in steady improvement of condition at home, and in making an Empire, "in a fit of absence of mind," such as the world has never seen before. That Empire is a Liberal Empire. Those ends and benefits were accomplished by Liberal ideals. And although rest is an impossible dream in the midst of a perpetual conflict, in which, as Bacon said, "only God and His Angels are permitted to be spectators," we may be confident that we shall yet enjoy and see enough if we remain faithful to our ideal.

C. F. G. MASTERMAN.

THE PROTOCOL AND THE COVENANT:

AMENDING THE COVENANT.

THE utmost caution is necessary in writing about the proceedings of the Assembly of the League at Geneva. The subjects discussed are many; all are important, some of the greatest importance to the world at large; the time is limited, a month; the discussions voluminous; the Press, with all the good will in the world, cannot possibly devote the number of columns necessary to a full daily report. The utmost they can do is to send capable representatives, and trust to the accuracy of their summaries of the proceedings.

This year has been more important than its predecessors, and, unfortunately, there has been a practical break-down of the system of communications; for no apparent reason the reports have been extraordinarily confused, and in some cases contradictory. The most remarkable instance was the rumour that Lord Parmoor had put the services of the British Fleet at the disposal of the Council for the enforcement of its decrees—a rumour so persistent that emphatic denial was necessary to set it to rest. I think there is an explanation, though an unsatisfactory one. What is generally known as "a good grounding" is essential before you can talk intelligently on any subject; and of the Covenant of the League few people, beyond those who have made it their special study, have any grounding at all, much less accurate knowledge. By those who are earnest believers in the high destiny of the League it is regarded as the modern Gospel of Peace; they look on the unbeliever as representing an exhausted militarism, as one who is preparing for himself the penalties which are the portion of the depraved cynic.

Yet I wonder how many of those who sincerely believe in the League know much more about the Covenant than the fact of its existence? What duties its articles prescribe for the Member-States, what pains and penalties it threatens for breach of those duties—of these, few, I am certain, have any but the most general notion. In this, to compare secular with sacred things, the articles of this new faith hold very much the same position as the Thirty-nine Articles. They are unread, almost unknown, but accepted as part of the faith. The League is beginning to occupy so great a position in world-thought, seems to be assuming that dignity to which all who wish it well consider it entitled; every one of us, therefore, should be able to give a coherent answer to the question—By what means does it hope to achieve its aim? What is there in the scheme of the League which inspires so great a hope of uni-

versal peace that Kings and Prime Ministers should deliberately weave reliance on it into their foreign policy? What is it that inspired King Ferdinand to declare that "Roumania will always be ready to support the League in assuring in the world the triumph of the ideals of humanity and justice which the League pursues"? When Lord Grey of Fallodon proclaimed his belief that "short of an attack upon British territory, the British people would only fight in support of the Covenant of the League," what is the concrete image which the soldier will see before him, as the Crusader saw the Cross, and seeing will be sustained on the field of battle? If it is answered "the Covenant," I come back to the point from which I started: nowhere in the Covenant is there to be found a concrete formula which one can take hold of and say "This means Peace." On the contrary, there will be found a series of articles whose meaning is often so vague, at times so contradictory, that it has led one earnest student to declare that "The oftener one reads the Covenant the more one makes mistakes about it,"—a dictum which I, having read it a hundred times, am constrained to amend thus—"The oftener one reads the Covenant the more mistakes one finds in it."

The conditions under which it was drafted were not favourable either to clear thinking or lucid expression. Since the Assembly first met it has accepted fourteen amendments, some of them essential, some mere matters of course; but owing to the very cumbersome ratification procedure only one of them has come into force.

And now comes "the Protocol," which professes to give that formula for which we have been seeking—"Compulsory Arbitration." It is a lengthy document which has emerged this year, after much travail, from the labours of the Fifth Assembly; it has been made public so recently that it is impossible to deal with it comprehensively till thought has matured. But one question which is probably in the minds of many may be answered at once—"What is this Protocol?" It is a subsidiary Covenant, to be read alongside of the old, and, in so far as they differ, improving it: "enriching" it, as it is said in the Report of the Committee:

"Such of its provisions as relate to Articles of the Covenant will, as soon as possible, be made part of the general law by amendment of the Covenant effected in accordance with the procedure for revision laid down in Article 26 thereof. The signatory States which are Members of the League of Nations undertake to make every effort to this end. When the Covenant has been amended in this way, some parts of the Protocol will lose their value as between the said States; some of them will have enriched the Covenant, while others, being temporary in character, will have lost their object. As the League realises its aim of universality, the amended Covenant will take the place, as regards all States, of the separate régime of the Protocol."

There is much virtue in your Protocol: a blessed word of many meanings. It has travelled far since, as the Encyclopædias tell us, it indicated the first leaf glued on to a manuscript to set forth by whom and under whose direction the work was written—the progenitor of all the title-pages. Now it comes last, is a summary of things which have happened in regard to the subject with which it deals. In this latest development it has been applied to a document best described as a "Remodeller," or, to speak quite frankly, a "Getter-out-of-Difficulties"; and it has fulfilled its mission in rather an ingenious way. Yet I am not sure (the wish is assuredly not father to the thought) that it may not prove to be an "Entangler." That it will have a crop of difficulties of its own is certain, man being the disputatious animal he is. In conversation, language, meaning, thought, are never quite in due correlation, the parties are never quite *ad idem*; and when that disturbing factor, translation, comes upon the scene and takes charge, chaos, as often as not, results. Even on the morrow of agreement there are rumours that some words in the Protocol are capable of varying constructions; the traditions of Babel have already begun their work.

The question has, however, to be answered, why the labours of the Assembly have resulted in a Protocol with, as the Introduction tells us, a "separate régime" of its own; separate, that is to say, from the régime of the Covenant. Does it mean that henceforward the nations are to be divided into "Covenanters" and "Protocolists"? Will some be both; and some neither? If this is so, the further question must be asked, Was it wise to invent this new confusion in international affairs? Was there no other way of solving the problem which the Assembly resolved to set itself on September 6th, to find the way "to facilitate the reduction and limitation of armaments provided for in Article 8 of the Covenant of the League of Nations by guaranteeing the security of States through the development of methods for the pacific settlement of all international disputes and the effective condemnation of all aggressive war?" Bearing in mind the pretentious language in which the aim of the League is set forth in the preamble to the Covenant, are we to conclude that performance has fallen so far short of promise that the *lacunæ* cannot be filled up by the ordinary process of amendment? that the new end in view, which, after all, does not differ from the old aim, but only in the means whereby it is hoped to achieve it, could only be accomplished by a new Covenant, for that is what the Protocol is? that (to put it crudely), the old Covenant has already proved insufficient for its purpose, and a stumbling block? A prolonged and critical study of the Covenant has convinced me that the former is true; and that the Committees of the Assembly found it very troublesome to fit the

new ideas in to it. But the Covenant still exists, and it is almost impossible to get rid of it. The new Covenant has been devised; and in so far as its provisions relate to (*i.e.*, are inconsistent with) the Articles of the Covenant, they will, "as soon as possible," be made part of the general law by amendment of those Articles.

The question of amending the Covenant is the subject with which I propose specially to deal. I will be as little technical as possible; but I have said enough to show how important the question is. On the face of it, two *régimes* are likely to prove a hindrance to effective action. If the Assembly is really to use the new weapon to defend the world's peace with which it has armed itself, it must be forged of the most finely tempered steel; there must be no possibility of mistaking the language in which the threat to use it is expressed. The would-be aggressor must know with certainty that it will be used.

One of the difficulties which probably led to the resort to the Protocol can be explained at once. The Covenant, as most people know, is Part I of the Treaty of Versailles; it is also, as not many people know, Part I of the Treaty with Austria (St. Germain-en-Laye), of the Treaty with Bulgaria (Neuilly-sur-Seine), and of the Treaty with Hungary (Trianon). I doubt if any one now has any clear idea why. There only remains the impression current at the time that President Wilson insisted, and that the other Plenipotentiaries yielded because he threatened to go home if he did not get his way. Looking at the question as one of Treaty draftsmanship, it was a blunder outweighing any benefit, real or imaginary, which could result from the incorporation of an independent agreement in the text of any Treaty, much less in the text of four Treaties; for the references to them in the Covenant are few. If it was imagined that by attaching it to the Treaty it would serve as a perpetual reminder of their obligations to the nations, there was a perfectly regular method of doing it; by incorporating it in the preamble, not by reference merely, but *ipsissimis verbis*. But the incorporation was done in the most clumsy manner possible. It was a special agreement between the Allied and Associated Nations "of the first part"; yet it appears, with a preamble of its own, as part of the general agreement by "the High Contracting Parties," which includes Germany, Austria, Bulgaria, and Hungary. Thus the enemy States became parties to the Covenant, though they were not original Members of the League, and could only be admitted with the approval of two-thirds of the Members. Germany is not yet a Member. And there is another anomaly: the "Invited Members" by subscribing to the Covenant adhered to one of the Parts of a Treaty with which they had no direct concern.

And now, at last, I come to my text, the question of amending

the Covenant. It was foreseen that the necessity might arise, and Article 26 provides that

Amendments to the Covenant will take effect when ratified by the Members of the League whose Representatives compose the Council and by a majority of the Members of the League whose Representatives compose the Assembly.

No such amendment shall bind any Member of the League which signifies its dissent therefrom, but in that case it shall cease to be a Member of the League.

On the face of it, a most careless piece of drafting, for it omitted to indicate how amendments were to be made. It is not much use talking of the ratification of amendments, and the consequences of non-ratification or dissent, unless you are told how amendments are to come into being. It is not even said whether the preliminary right of accepting an amendment is vested in the Council or the Assembly. Further, the time within which ratifications must be sent in is not specified. The whole question being left in the vague, an attempt to overhaul the Article was made by the Second Assembly in 1921. The power to accept an amendment was given to the Assembly by a three-fourths majority, which is to include the votes of all Members of the Council present at the meeting; and the completion by ratification is to be by the States who were represented on the Council when the vote was taken and by a majority of the Assembly. The necessary ratifications must be received within 22 months, otherwise the amendment "shall remain without effect," that is to say, shall lapse; but any Member who has not ratified within that period may notify its refusal to accept an amendment within a year thereafter, "but in that case it shall cease to be a Member."

Unfortunately the new procedure is as cumbersome as the original Article was vague; and an unforeseen difficulty arose. This amendment cannot come into force unless it is ratified in accordance with the old procedure, and this has not yet been achieved. But a constitutional question of great importance is involved. It cannot be doubted, on general principles, that when in any document power is given to amend its provisions by a prescribed procedure, the grantee of that power cannot alter that procedure without the authority of the grantor. The grantors of the power to amend the text of the Covenant are "the High Contracting Parties" to the Treaties of which the Covenant forms part; Article 26 can therefore only be amended by their authority. It is curious that the consent of a non-Member, Germany, should be necessary to the amendment of the fundamental law of the League. Regretfully, therefore, we are forced to the conclusion that, until the procedure is regularised, the "amendment" of Article 26,

as far as it has gone, is *ultra vires*, and the old clumsy Article still governs the question of ratification. To this, as to all other amendments, the new time limit does not apply, and their coming into force may be delayed *ad infinitum*. Things have thus gotten themselves into a pretty tangle, which certainly is not to be unravelled by the curious measure said to have been adopted by the Assembly for obviating the manifest inconvenience, which has been aggravated by the dilatoriness of some States in sending in their ratifications. According to a statement in the Introductory Note to the edition of the Covenant issued by the League of Nations Union, the Assembly has decided that, pending ratification of the new basis of amendment, all the newly adopted amendments, and not the original text of the Covenant, are to be considered authoritative. A statement which should have been followed by three notes of exclamation. It is a Gordian knot, which can only be cleanly cut by a properly sharpened instrument. A blunt knife always leaves frayed edges.

Clearly some means must be found to enable the Governments to approve what their representatives agree to at Geneva; but the procedure by way of ratification seems to have allowed full play to the departmental pigeon-hole; and the period of 22 months which is proposed is inordinately long, for it may postpone the coming into force of the most important amendment until the second Assembly after the one at which it was voted. Something more practical must be discovered. It should be possible to adapt to the amendments of the Covenant the procedure customary at meetings of public companies, which has passed the test of efficiency and sufficiency these many years. A reasoned notice of an amendment might be given six, or even twelve months, before the meeting of the Assembly at which it is to be considered, together with the names, quite easy to ascertain, of the States which intend to support it; and voting by proxy should be allowed. An amendment would then be "backed" like a Bill in Parliament.

This certainly would make for expedition; and for something even more important, the efficiency of the League. The danger which must be constantly in the minds of its earnest supporters is that lukewarmness may attack the Members; and lukewarmness is catching. Moreover, the danger is very real, as may be gathered from a study of the Table of Ratifications which was issued by the Information Section at Geneva giving the number of ratifications *per capita* which had been received up to January 23rd, 1924. From this it appears that none of the 14 amendments which had at that date been voted had received a sufficient number of ratifications; none were therefore in force, which led the Assembly to take the strange decision already noticed, and also to issue a special appeal

to the States to exercise a greater diligence.* The lists given in the Table are most disheartening. Belgium, Bulgaria, Denmark, Finland, Portugal, Siam, Sweden, and Switzerland alone have ratified all the 14 amendments; China, Czechoslovakia, Esthonia, Hungary, Japan, New Zealand, and Roumania follow with 12 ratifications; Great Britain and the other four Dominions, with 8; France with 7, and so on. But there were nineteen States who had "o" standing to their discredit. Bearing in mind that in the Assembly of the League of Nations, as in the Comity of Nations, the principle of equality of States obtains, this can only be described as a formidable and distressing array. Is it due to callousness, or to a weakening of faith in the League? Something is wrong somewhere; and unless there is a drastic reform of the amending procedure, adopted in the only constitutional manner, with the approval of those parties to the Covenant who are parties to the Treaties, the state of confusion into which the Covenant is falling will go from bad to worse. Something, however, is to be said for the dilatory nineteen. It is conceivable that what is called the delay in ratification may be due to some fundamental objection to the amendments. By the last paragraph of the new Article dissent is only contemplated after the period of 22 months, and then the dissenting State ceases to be a Member of the League. To withhold ratification is therefore the only safe way of expressing disapproval. If many States dissented, it would be the first step towards the break-up of the League.

It is unfortunate that the greater number of the Articles dealing with the scheme to prevent war should stand in need of a thorough overhauling. Possibly, resort to the method of the Protocol has, in a most ingenious way, saved the situation, and the puzzles which would have resulted from any attempt to bring the Covenant into line with the Protocol have been postponed. Even now it is difficult, in spite of the optimism of the Introduction, to see what will happen when the Protocol and the Covenant clash. There is something pathetic in the statement that the provisions of the Protocol which relate to the Articles of the Covenant will be made part of the general law by amendment of the Covenant "as soon as possible." It is early days to predict what will be the fate of the Protocol when the condition precedent, a successful issue to the Disarmament Conference, has been fulfilled. It has been well received, in some countries with enthusiasm. Its aim, the universal adoption of arbitration instead of war for settling international disputes, is the only way in which international peace can be secured. It would be a grievous calamity if "as soon as possible" were found to be synonymous with the Greek Kalends.

* A document issued on September 1st shows that the appeal has had some result; yet only one of the 14 amendments has come into force.

NOTES ON AMERICAN AGRICULTURE.

A VISIT to the United States during the past summer gave me some opportunities of inquiring into the position and prospects of American agriculture and American agriculturists. The tripper who, on the strength of a brief sojourn in a country, feels justified in generalising about its political, economic and sociological problems is very rightly scorned. I make no claim to have been able to do more than collect a few impressions, but I was fortunate in the fact that the circumstances of my visit enabled me to come into personal touch with those who were especially qualified to enlighten the darkness of a sympathetic enquirer.

There are forty-nine States in the American Union and I did not visit more than half a dozen of them, although I travelled by rail and road some three thousand miles. I saw something in detail of the farming in Wisconsin, New York State and Virginia, and so much as may be seen from the railway in journeys from New York to Madison, Chicago to Washington and New York to Niagara. At Cornell and Wisconsin Universities I met and addressed on several occasions classes of the Summer Agricultural Schools which are a regular feature of the vacation at these and other universities. I also had the opportunity of visiting and giving two lectures at the North Western University near Chicago.

The total population of the United States (excluding outlying possessions) as returned at the last census in 1920 is 106,000,000. That census marked an epoch. For the first time in the history of the nation the urban population outnumbered the rural. The classification of "urban" inhabitants varies in different countries—a fact which sometimes leads to erroneous comparisons. In the United States urban population is defined as that residing in cities and incorporated places having not less than 2,500 inhabitants. On this basis the progressive urbanisation of the population is shown in the following percentage of the urban population in successive census years—1880, 28.6; 1890, 35.4; 1900, 40.0; 1910, 45.8; 1920, 51.4. The continuance of this process is inevitable and the shifting over of the majority of the people from a rural to an urban interest must in due course react on the political life of the nation.

At present, however, Federal politics are still largely dominated by the agricultural interest. In the "platforms" of both the Republican and Democratic Parties great prominence is given to agriculture, while the third party appears designed to appeal especially to farmers. It is true that party programmes appear to count for less in the United States than in this country. Their

adoption is part of the formalities of the Conventions, the real business of which is the nomination of Presidential candidates—a process which, as in the case of the Democratic Convention this year, may be prolonged and lively. The real issues which affect the result of elections seem, to an outsider, to be more personal than political, and men, not measures, seem to be the determining factor in American politics. Nevertheless, it is reasonable to assume that the pledges given in the authorised party programmes represent as a rule the general trend of policy favoured.

The Republican Party in the platform adopted at Cleveland declared in favour of the creation of "a government marketing corporation to provide a direct route between farm producer and city consumer and to assure farmers fair prices for their products." They also stand for "the protection and aid of co-operative enterprises by national and State legislation," and for "the public ownership of railroads." The Democratic platform adopted at New York pledged the party "to stimulate by every proper governmental activity the progress of the co-operative marketing movement and the establishment of an export marketing corporation or commission in order that the exportable surplus may not establish the price of the whole crop," "to secure for the farmer credits suitable for his needs," and "to reduce the margin between what the producer receives for his products and the consumer has to pay for his supplies, to the end that we secure an equality for agriculture."

I quote these passages because, whatever value may be attached to them as indications of legislative or administrative action if either party is returned to power, they certainly represent what, in the opinion of astute politicians from all over the country, are the political desires and aspirations of American farmers.

Nevertheless, there is one subject which engrosses the thoughts of American farmers to a greater degree than any of those above-mentioned, *viz.*, that of taxation. The subject is not overlooked in the pronouncements of the two political parties. Both, of course, are in favour of drastic reduction of "the unjust burden of taxation" and both asseverate that they have schemes which will satisfactorily effect this desirable object. But if the farmers are able to estimate the amount of relief which they will obtain if either party secures a majority they are more skilled in the interpretation of ambiguous phraseology than I am.

The State of Wisconsin may be taken as fairly typical of the Middle West. There are probably no better farmed districts or more efficient farmers than are to be found in the southern part of the State. I spent about a fortnight at Madison, where I met many members of the Faculty of the University connected with Agricul-

ture and Economics, in both of which subjects the University of Wisconsin has a world-wide fame. I also met classes of the Summer School, which included graduates of the University from a wide area, many of them engaged in farming or as teachers in rural districts. In addition to formal addresses I had the opportunity of discussing with them the economic problems which they were studying and with regard to which they were well-informed. I had also opportunities of seeing a good deal of the farming within a radius of some fifty miles of Madison. That district, and indeed a great part of Southern Wisconsin, is devoted mainly to dairying and the farmers are generally fairly prosperous. But in Northern Wisconsin, of which I heard full accounts from those who knew it well, the position is deplorable. A large part of the State consists of "cut-over" land, *i.e.*, land from which the timber of the original forest has been cut and on which the tree-stumps remain. Much of this land has been occupied and farmed in a crude style, but the farmers are confronted with difficulties of which the inferiority of the soil and the pressure of taxation are the greatest.

It is not easy to form a definite opinion as to the extent of this burden of taxation on agricultural land and how far it is accountable for the failure of farmers and the abandonment of farms which have occurred on a wide-spread scale during the past three or four years. I found a consensus of opinion that inability to meet taxation has been the direct cause of much agricultural land being left derelict. At a Congress summoned at Duluth last January by the Governors of the three States, Wisconsin, Michigan and Minnesota, Dr. R. T. Ely, the well-known economist, made the startling declaration that "taxes on farm lands are rapidly approximating the annual value of farm lands. Unless there is a check on the movement, the farmer's land in most States will be confiscated by the State and farmers will become virtual tenants of the State." Scarcely less alarming is an official statement issued from Washington by the Federal Department of Agriculture in July last:—

State and country real estate taxes since 1920 have absorbed a large proportion of the income from rent on farms in various parts of the United States. There is reason to believe that taxes on many of the less favoured farms have absorbed all the income from rent. This conclusion is based on a tax study made in twenty-six States for the year 1919 and on the fact that since that year taxes have generally increased while rents have been reduced. Local rather than State taxes are held responsible for the greater part of the burden. In most counties property taxes are levied chiefly to support schools and public highways.

Those with whom I discussed this question were much interested in an explanation of our system of differential taxation of farming

land for local expenditure. The practicability of the adoption of such a system in the United States does not appear to have been considered, but it can be readily understood that it would be impracticable over the greater part, at any rate, of the rural districts. Where almost all the property is agricultural and all the people owners or occupiers of agricultural land any differential system would be inoperative. In general, suggestions for reform follow along three lines: (a) State ownership, (b) State subsidies, (c) an extension of indirect, and a reduction of direct, taxation. Economy in public expenditure is universally advocated and as universally neglected. Protests against the increasing outlay on social improvements are continually made, but more taxes are continually imposed for "social-welfare" expenses, and, according to one authority, this tendency "is greatly accelerated by the fact that the vote has been given to women."

It is necessary always to bear in mind not only the immensity and diversity of American agriculture but also the wide difference in the land system as compared with this country. In the United States there are about $6\frac{1}{2}$ million occupiers of farms and 61 *per cent.* own their land. Of those who rent their farms about three-fourths hold them on a share basis and only about one-tenth of the whole number of occupiers hold their land on a cash rent only. In England, notwithstanding the marked increase since the war of farmer-owners, about 85 *per cent.* of the farms are held by tenants on cash rentals.

Next to the burden of taxation, and sometimes even before it, the American farmer attributes his difficulties to the machinations of middlemen, amongst whom he includes the railways. The complaints are familiar enough here but in the United States they have led to a definite movement towards the adoption of co-operation. It is somewhat remarkable—or it would be if our ignorance of what is happening across the Atlantic were less complete—that in our ample discussions of agricultural co-operation its development in the United States has been very little noticed. The example of Denmark has been abundantly exhibited for English imitation. But, as has been frequently pointed out, Danish farmers have to organise for an export trade. The problem of British farmers is to organise for the supply of a home market. This is also the problem of the American farmer, and an immense amount of detailed investigation and careful thought have been devoted to its solution. At Washington the Federal Department of Agriculture in its admirably equipped and extensive Bureau of Agricultural Economics has a special division for agricultural co-operation working in conjunction with the several marketing divisions of the Bureau. A mere catalogue of its activities would occupy a

page of this REVIEW, but it may be said generally that they embrace a close and continuous study of co-operative enterprise at home and abroad; systematic service to producers in farming associations; investigation of the causes which make for success or failure in particular districts or in relation to particular commodities, and the regular issue of helpful literature, including a weekly bulletin or journal entitled *Agricultural Co-operation*. In the issue of this journal for August 25th it was announced that an International Institute of Co-operation is projected, and a scheme for its establishment is to be laid before a Conference of co-operative associations next December at Chicago.

The work at Washington is supplemented at the State Departments of Agriculture which are in most cases attached to the State Universities. Every University—State or private—has a College of Agriculture with a qualified staff of Professors and teachers. At Cornell University, for example, where I spent a few days, instruction in agricultural subjects has been part of the work of the University since its foundation in 1865. The present "Staff of instruction and extension" of the College of Agriculture includes 115 Professors, 62 assistant Professors and 99 Instructors, the subjects ranging from Botany, Zoology and Economics to Pomology, Farm Management and rural social organisation.

At Cornell co-operation is included in agricultural economics, special courses being given in co-operative marketing and collective bargaining. In the State of Wisconsin farmers have adopted co-operative methods, especially in connection with dairying, very extensively. The progress of the movement is largely due to the initiative and energy of the Staff of the College of Agriculture at Wisconsin University, some of whom have specialised in the subject and are recognised as authorities upon it.

That the troubles of American farmers have been very real is undeniable, although as, in other countries, they have suffered very unequally. In the main they arise, as in other countries, from the universal dislocation of economic conditions following the war. The post-war boom and slump hit them very hardly. Those who relied mainly on grain were the worst sufferers. It was stated by the Federal Agricultural Department last year that "in fifteen wheat and corn-growing States an average of 8.5 per cent. of farmers lost their farms because of financial troubles and crop failures." It was stated further that "more than 15 per cent. were actually bankrupt but were hanging on through the leniency of creditors."

If these statements are approximately accurate they imply that about 6 per cent. of the farmers in the United States—or about as many as the total number in England and Wales—were either

ruined or in serious financial straits. The distress to individuals which this involves is lamentable, but from the national point of view there is a still more serious consequence. For the abandoned farms there are, in a large number of cases, no applicants, and the problem of the derelict land is perplexing. At the present moment no practical solution has been evolved. Amongst other agencies closely studying the problem is the newly-established Institute of Land Economics, which includes on its Board such well-known men as the Chief of the Federal Bureau of Agricultural Economics, the Professor of Political Economy at Wisconsin University and the Director of the School of Forestry at Yale University.

Adversity is mentally disturbing, and its effect on American farmers has been to lead them to wander after strange economic gods. Many of them in the Middle West who found wheat-growing unprofitable for two or three seasons became obsessed with the idea that they were being exploited by the buyers of the exportable surplus of their crop. The price which they obtained was, as they rightly surmised, not fixed by them nor even by the Chicago wheat market, and they assumed that it was arbitrarily fixed at Liverpool. They argued that as the price offered for their exportable surplus fixed the marketable value of the whole crop, the remedy was to avoid having an exportable surplus. If only just sufficient wheat were grown to supply the home market they believed that the price would be fixed without regard to the value of wheat in the world's market. This idea was accorded the dignity of being the subject of a report by a Committee set up by the Wheat Council, which gave it more or less support, but without suggesting any administrative method for giving effect to it.

Another nostrum which finds favour among American farmers is what is plausibly termed "price stabilisation" by Government control. This, in effect, means the socialisation of the wheat trade in the interests of the producers at the expense of the consumers. This interesting application of Socialist theory, which is favoured also in some unexpected quarters in this country, would, if adopted, last—like the Agriculture Act—until the bill was presented to the taxpayers. It will be noted that both the Republican and the Democratic Parties have given, in vague terms, what might be construed as support to this idea, but it may be fairly assumed that if either obtains office they will not attempt to stabilise prices in this way.

I had not been a week in the country before I was asked by the inevitable interviewer to make a comparison between the English and the American farmer. To attempt to do so would be presumptuous folly. I can only make, as with regard to every country I have visited, the trite remark that the most casual observer can

see almost everywhere evidence of good and bad farming side by side. I have seen nothing to shake the opinion I have constantly expressed that the average standard of British farming is nowhere excelled. But in comparing a vast agricultural area with the tiny space devoted to farming in the British Isles I also adhere to the view that this country is less justified than any other in allowing land to be neglected or inefficiently farmed.

To sum up in a few words: The chief impressions I brought away were the multiplicity, activity and efficiency of the Federal and State Agricultural Departments, including the Universities; the wide extension of interest in co-operation, particularly for marketing on a commodity basis, and the general attention which is now given to the sociological problems of the country districts. On this last subject much might be said did space permit. The Country Life Commission appointed by Roosevelt, with its slogan of "better farming, better business, better living," started a movement which, retarded by the war, is now going forward vigorously. A division of the Bureau of Agricultural Economics is doing valuable work in analysing the essential factors and collecting information, while the various State Colleges of Agriculture are also devoting much attention to it. There are forty-eight State Colleges of Agriculture and forty of them have courses in rural sociology, while fifteen of them employ full-time instructors in the subject. This, at least, demonstrates a general recognition of the fact that there are sociological, as well as political and economic, factors to be regarded in studying the rural problem in America.

HENRY REW.

THE ANTI-RISORGIMENTO:

Risorgimento v. Fascismo.

THE WORK OF FASCISMO IN ITALY.

"WE who have always without prejudice shown ourselves completely careless of those names and labels to which the bigots of other parties cling like limpets, who have had the courage to ride rough-shod over the political categories of tradition, calling ourselves in turn aristocrats and democrats, revolutionaries and reactionaries, proletarians and anti-proletarians, pacifists and anti-pacifists, we have established a true and working principle of political relativity, and our action makes a direct appeal to all that is real and living in the spirit of Europe. Our unwillingness to bind ourselves to any programme, even granted that we should declare in it not so much our intentions as merely our point of view and general stand and position in the political situation; our attitude of agnosticism towards the established order; the fact that we have taken from each party what pleases us and what profits us, and have rejected what seems to us useless or harmful; the clean sweep we have made of all Socialist and Communist hypotheses on the subject of the unprognosticable future—all this constitutes a declaration of our relative and selective attitude of mind. For our activities we need one single taking-off point—the nation: and that suffices. The rest will take care of itself."

BENITO MUSSOLINI.

Anyone who studies this pronouncement of the leader of *Fascismo*, will understand why, in spite of his many appeals for national harmony, no kind of collaboration has ever been possible between the supporters of this movement and its opponents. On the one hand, we have the members of a party which, basing its policy on a revitalised Hegelianism, i.e., on the philosophy of "the present-day idealism" prevalent in Italy,* proclaims this gospel of "unprejudiced selection," making an idol of the Nation as others made an idol of the Proletariate. On the other hand, stand those Italians who see above these idols a heaven of fixed values, the working of a moral law which governs the evolution of parties as well as of nations.

The struggle, which has been brought before the eyes of Europe by a tragic crime,† is far more serious and deep-seated than the meagre notices in the foreign Press imply. It may therefore be of interest just now to hear the voice of those Italians whose creed it is to defend, help and strengthen the best and worthiest Italy—the Italy of the heroes and thinkers of the *Risorgimento*, whose lives were modelled on the teaching of Giuseppe Mazzini. To Mazzini, this godless nationalism appeared the greatest possible

* The philosophy of *idealismo attuale*, under the leadership of Giovanni Gentile, former Minister of Public Instruction of the Fascist Government.

† The Matteotti murder.

danger to Europe, and he strove to stir up a vast crusade against it from every quarter, not only of Italy but of all countries, so that progress might triumph over back-sliding, and the universal moral law over the relative principles of nations and of classes. We feel, too, that not only is an account of this struggle of interest to foreign peoples, but that it is the duty of such Italians to draw attention to the effort they are making, since the good name of Italy suffers just now from the impression created abroad that she has abandoned herself without protest to the slavery of a dictatorship.

I.

"Has not *Fascismo*," one often hears asked, "done a great good to Italy by reacting against Bolshevism and bringing the country back to law and order?"

We have not the least intention of denying the practical political results of *Fascismo*:—the speeding-up of the business of regaining balance after the Bolshevik incursion; the recall of the governing class and of parties to a sense of their political responsibilities, first by the example of personal sacrifice and then by a rather more brutal and insolent method; and, finally, a superimposed restoration of order in the working classes and in the administration of the State railways, then in a state of chronic upheaval. We, however, who approach these problems in a spirit very far removed from that of certain superficial observers, put an entirely different valuation on such a policy and deny categorically that the country has returned to law and order in the traditional sense of the word.

In all countries after the war, but particularly in those where the habit of political liberty was newest, the masses and a considerable part of the upper classes showed themselves incapable of settling down under the discipline and co-operation which alone could ensure the triumph of the new spirit of peace. The general spiritual ill-health, the impatience for realisation, the illusion of being able to conquer in civil life, as in war, by dint of physical courage—effects of the violent and abnormal life of four successive years, which disinclined people for work, for the life of the community, indeed, for civilisation itself—all these were fatally certain to foster extreme and drastic tendencies and the negation of problems rather than their patient solution. Rancours and outbursts, brutal appetites and a faith in miracles were the characteristics of the masses everywhere after the war. The general wave of Bolshevism was the most typical expression of this psychological state, and Italy—one of the nations most severely pressed, economically speaking, by the war, who had seen the fruits of her victory depreciated almost to nothing by the extremists of the Left, and the nationalists of the Right; Italy, with her traditions

as a united State not yet firmly rooted in the consciousness of the masses—could not remain unshaken.

What country, indeed, escaped, in the general chaos? Not England, whose strikes in the years that followed the war seemed more than once to bring her to the edge of national disaster, though by a process of reaction she emerged gradually from the danger.

Italy, too, emerged, although certainly more slowly than England and with more evident dislocation of her forces. Between squalls of pessimism and in the teeth of savage criticism, she was already, at the end of 1920, thanks to her own strength and the recanting of some of her Labour organisers, disentangling herself from the morass of mob rule, that sure prelude to barbarism and complete disorganisation. Only a Government actuated by a policy of magnifying the power of one man over the collective and healthier forces of a nation, could have failed to recognise the resistance made against the onset of social dissolution by the more enlightened of the workmen and their leaders, whose experience of the unsuccessful occupation of the factories in 1919 had not been in vain. Moreover, the *Fascisti* saw fit to ignore the efforts to restore order made by several parties, among which was the "Popular Party" (now unfairly remembered only for the extremism of the *Migliolisti**) and by the Socialists themselves. The latter, at the Congress of Livorno, supported by the *Confederazione Generale del Lavoro* (the National Labour Union), openly dissociated themselves from the Communists, thus dealing that party the severest possible blow.

The waning of the Bolshevik power, however, did not mean that law and order were restored to the country. As in the case of the railway strike, when private citizens had done what they could by offering voluntary help, so now against the occasional outbreaks of violence and bloodshed there was a reaction on the part of the soldiers, who invoked the name of those patriotic ideals for which they had fought in the war, and also on the part of others who were to be the first recruits of *Fascismo*, with the result, as we said, of hastening the return of some mental balance to the masses.

No sooner, however, had the emptiness of revolutionary talk and its poverty of ideals been exposed on the one side, and on the other the weakness and confusion of a Parliament that reflected the critical condition of the nation but did not control it, than these disinterested and public-spirited men found themselves anticipated, over-reached, officered and directed by leaders of the same

* The left wing of the Popular Party, led by the Deputy Miglioli, in the campaigns of North Italy, often made use of the same methods as the Communist party.

mentality that had originally provoked the Bolshevik outbreak. Such mentality can be found at the source of every movement which seems original and unique, but which is, in substance, much akin to the Bolshevik upheavals that occurred in many countries when an impulse towards isolation, not untinged with bitterness, had led single nations to withdraw from that European unity which certainly prevailed immediately after the war.

Propaganda, elections and Parliamentary campaigns, in fact, all the machinery usually employed in defence of political programmes, were set aside, on plea of the much abused "State necessity" of *Fascismo*, which preferred—as Bolshevism had done before it—to take the government by assault, profiting by the weakness of its opponents, and thus bringing itself and the nation into slavery to its own armed force.

Now, for the restlessness and the appetites of the proletariat—which had too deeply offended, and had ignored the sufferings of the *petite bourgeoisie* returning ruined from the war—were substituted the restlessness and the appetites of the unemployed lower middle classes who demanded recompense for the services they had rendered. These *Fascismo*, or rather their leader, knew well how to gather into the fold, together with those generous spirits who really suffered at the thought of the country's plight. For the slogan "Land for the farmers," was substituted the cry "The State (that is, employment) for the ex-soldiers," a formula which, thanks to the pressure of the so-called sacred rights of the revolution, tended to even more precise expression in the form of "The State for the *Fascisti*." One remembers in this connection how the Royal Guard was dismissed in favour of the so-called Volunteer Militia for National Safety, composed entirely of *Fascisti*.

In this atmosphere of special privileges created by a party which had gained power by force of arms, in this atmosphere of falsity which resulted from the identification of the cares and interests of *Fascismo* with those of the nation, was it possible for that spirit of law and order, which is the basis of every civilised community, to triumph?

A superficial order had certainly been established among the railway workers who, up till then, to the serious discredit of the country, had been conducting themselves in the most disorderly way possible. A working basis had also been arrived at in those farmers' unions and workmen's associations which had violently sought to profit by the confusion of the country and the uncertainty of the Government. But the cause of this equilibrium was not a steady infusion of strength into the members of the executive body, it was rather unpunished violence and the undisputed omnipotence of crowds and of party men. The virus of the mob-spirit,

so dreaded and so accursed, entered thus into the very heart of the country's organism.

What political life has Italy actually had under the *Fascist* régime?

At the heart of it has been a Chamber of Deputies debased, insulted and publicly threatened, forced to prepare the way "legally" (with the approbation of a law that is purely factious) for a new Chamber with a *Fascist* majority, chosen by a Pentarchy*—a majority of which some members are to-day shadowed by the fear of prison, and which was imposed upon the nation by a system of elections which precluded all possibility of the country making a sincere political declaration.

In the provinces the so-called *ras* "pendants" of the Bolshevik satraps, were masters of the prefectures and of the life and death of their various communal administrations. Of these, more than two thousand were disbanded in the first year and about another three thousand in the second. Are these episodes to be considered negligible and without significance? Is it possible that these acts of violence do not indicate a complete subversion of the spirit of the law even when not accompanied by bloodshed but perpetrated on free administrations? No city government which did not at once adhere to the *Fascist* cause could boast immunity from the danger of sudden dissolution—from the larger municipalities like that of Turin, which had given the *Fascisti* a lesson in the method of combating the Communists in a civilised manner and which was one of the most efficient and honest administrations in the country, to the smaller municipalities, who often saw their local councils deposed for purely party motives and officials of *Fascist* sympathies put in their places. And, finally, there was everywhere the constant threat of the *Fascist* militia, whose performances in Libya, so often recalled by Mussolini, did not suffice to absolve it from being of a purely party character—a character amply attested by its leaders and by the Prime Minister himself.

II.

The militia is one of the most serious obstacles in the way of the country's return to normal conditions. It is not therefore to be wondered at that its dismissal was one of the first demands made by the public, indignant, and stirred to protest by the Matteotti crime. Mussolini's speech in the Senate after the murder promised the reform of the militia. What reform was this?

* The list of the *Fascist* majority was chosen by a committee of five persons, called the Pentarchy, composed of the Deputies Finzi, Acerbo, Bianchi, Giunta and Com. Rossi. After the Matteotti murder, Signor Finzi was obliged to hand in his resignation as Under-Secretary of State, and Com. Rossi, the Superintendent of the Press, was imprisoned.

The telegrams of the generals of the militia to Mussolini, renewing the expression of their "unfailing loyalty as soldiers"; the organ of the Prime Minister, which, on the occasion of the rally of the militia at Milan, warned the Opposition to have no illusions as to its transformation, "since the Black Shirts cannot be constrained within the limits of ordinary conscripts' regulations, and movements are accepted or rejected *en bloc*"; and, finally, the actual pronouncement of Mussolini before the grand Fascist council, that "the militia must not and cannot lose its characteristics, that is, its attractions, its spirit and its style"; all these declarations make it certain that there can be no substantial reform to satisfy public opinion.

It is true that the oath of the militia, up till now sworn to the leader of the *Fascisti*, will henceforward be sworn to the King, for the first time at the next solemn commemoration of the March on Rome; but the much-discussed incorporation of the militia into the army will not improve the situation but rather aggravate it, since it entrusts to a militia that will remain a purely party concern the preparatory military instruction of the whole nation.

The Prime Minister's Press has every right to pride itself on a victory. "Not only," it writes, "is the militia not disbanded, not only is it neither curtailed nor humiliated, but it is actually strengthened and endowed with fresh prestige. When one remembers also that the militia will naturally continue at the disposition of the Chief, it is only right and legitimate to conclude that the '*Fascistisation*' of the State has made another gigantic step forward."

The truth is that throughout *Fascismo*, from the *generalissimo* to the private, it is the spirit of faction that prevails rather than that of the nation. "The only normal state possible to us at present is that of *Fascismo*," declared Mussolini himself recently. What use are ministerial reforms if the desire of the Chief is not for legality, as all civilised nations understand it, and if, in the event of a Parliamentary triumph of the Opposition, even under such absurd conditions, he promises to bring into action the seventy-five provinces where, according to his own pronouncement, *Fascismo* indisputably holds the field?

Those who hope that *Fascismo* and its Chief will slowly and steadily come back into line with normal conditions are deceived. All their latest declarations have been in the nature of a challenge to those who would preserve the constitution. In the various assemblies of the Black Shirts there are continual threats of a "second outbreak, whose object it will be to convince the country how strong *Fascismo* still is." Daily the Prime Minister's Press makes it known that "the best battles are still to be fought," and

that "the day on which the Leader launches his '*A noi*,'* not merely as a salute but as an order and a challenge, will be no happy one for unpatriotic constitutionalists."

In order to understand the spirit of *Fascismo*, which makes life so bitter for those who feel the dignity of Italy, one has only to read the words of one of the most famous and acclaimed provincial leaders, the Deputy Farinacci:

"Let there be no more talk of normalisation until there is an end of this dangerous and illegal activity that disguises itself as patriotism, and as long as the vengeful wiles of our enemies continue. *Dux!* Say the word! Renew our faith. Strengthen again our enthusiasm."

And again: "Friends, even considering for a moment the hypothesis that we should remain a minority in Parliament, *we would not relinquish the power to anyone*, as we are certain of having the majority of the country behind us."

And again: "They talk impossibilities when they demand the dissolving of Parliament and the disbanding of the militia, which latter is so vital to the revolutionary programme to which we cling. Pacification is all very well, but it must be with complete recognition of the rights of the victors towards the vanquished."

III.

This is the expression of the national Fascist idea—the country divided into victors and vanquished. The victors have the right to adapt the laws to suit themselves, to render them null and void if they please, and, with the forces at their disposition, to command and punish the vanquished. For the vanquished there are two alternatives—conversion to *Fascismo* as the only possible form of patriotism and a true love of Italy, or exile from political life. And such will always be the character of all relativistic movements—a character profoundly materialistic, in spite of the mystical language adopted and abused by its followers. Such movements, relying on nothing absolute, become, even though they are established to combat tyrannies, tyrannies themselves, and finish by identifying themselves with their own idols—class or nation or whatever it may be.

When Russia began—on a large scale—the expulsion of her intellectuals, Trotsky declared that intellectuals could be divided into three classes; the Bolsheviks, of whom there was no necessity to speak; the Waverers, who, for the sake of positions or salaries continued to gyrate in the Bolshevik orbit; and the Irreducibles, who, being opposed to the Communism that ruled in Russia, should by rights have been exterminated as enemies of the State, but had been exiled for the sake of humanity.

* "To us," the Fascist war-cry.

Transport this point of view into a country rich in ancient and widespread culture, accustomed now for more than half-a-century to constitutional life and therefore possessed of forces more capable of instinctive reaction against dissolution, and one may state that the exponents of public life in Italy equally divide themselves into three classes: into *Fascisti*, whose true enemy is the liberal democratic State, become now for Mussolini and his followers the synonym of national degeneracy and impotence; into philo-*Fascisti*, or hangers-on, who have to be reminded every now and then, with buffetings, of the impurity of their origin, but who, thanks to the position they hold in the Parliamentary lists and in public administration, gyrate now in the *Fascist* orbit; and into anti-*Fascisti*. These last, from Communists to constitutional democrats, from republicans to dissident ex-soldiers, from "populars" to Liberals, are described collectively as subversive and anti-national; ungrateful to *Fascismo*, which in its humanity has permitted them to live, and generally deserving of the condemnation of all patriots and of exile from public life—exile which does not take the form of a personal banishment, but means the imprisonment of spirits no longer equal before the law, nor free to defend themselves and fight for their own faith.

"When all is said and done," Mussolini recently declared at the great *Fascist* council, "what do our adversaries do? Do they organise partial or general strikes, or public demonstrations, or attempts at armed revolts? Nothing of the kind. Their activity takes the single form of a newspaper campaign. It can do nothing else."

Even this activity has now been bridled, in the name of the interests of the country, and we have reached the stage of existing under a Press edict notorious throughout Europe. As is well known, the Italian State allows any citizen to publish a newspaper, with the single proviso that he does not commit any action punishable by law, on pain of answering for it in public trial to the civil authorities and being liable for the costs of the proceedings. The new decree, of a still severer nature than that of July, 1923, which the King signed and which was suspended for a year, puts the papers into the hands of political authorities, who have the right not only to refuse to allow any citizen to fill the position of editor or manager, as they think fit, but also to give them formal warnings when, according to their judgment, the editors have printed something injurious to the State or the Government. And after two such warnings a newspaper may be suppressed!

It is well known with what severity the decree has been put into action against the newspapers of the Opposition, which are far from having to their account anything like the definite and un-

deniable incitements to violence that are printed in *Fascist* papers, for example, in the organ of the Prime Minister, the *Popolo d'Italia*. The recent invasion of the Press Association, following on the continual threats and acts of violence perpetrated on Opposition papers (personal attacks, burning of papers, etc.) proves, if proof is still needed, how in this field also the mentality of the *Fascist* leaders is antipathetic to that of the men of the *Risorgimento*, starting with Cavour, to whom the "suppression of a single paper amounted to a disaster for the State."

IV.

"Yes," one has often heard it said, "from an ideal point of view you are absolutely right. But politics are matters of stern reality, and what alternative is possible to the *Fascista régime*?"

I answer that although there may not be many men of out-standing personality among the Opposition, there are yet plenty capable of governing the country. And, moreover, those faithful preservers of established institutions, who, although not giants, contrive not to interfere with the free political and intellectual activity and the moral progress of their people, are of more use than those sons of the same country who, to use a vivid phrase of Burke, are enthusiastic to the pitch of wishing to cut their old father up into little pieces and cast him into the magic cauldron, in the hope that with their poison juices and their barbarous incantations they will revive the paternal constitution and renew the old man's existence.

The problem is to find men who can govern; but not this alone. For the organism of the State has been thrust outside the tracks of legality and constitutionalism, and although this may be the result of the efforts made to save her, to put her back on the single true road to salvation is impossible without another revolution and without the complete demobilisation of the *Fascist* spirit.

The dilemma is genuinely tragic, and looms forebodingly on the political horizon. It is tragic because no one of the Opposition, if one excepts the Communists, could wish for new upheavals, new bloodshed and fresh party struggles—though the motive arise from love of his country and not from fear of the head of *Fascismo*, proclaimed as "all powerful and invincible." It is tragic, on the other side, because no one who resists the coma of illusions can imagine *Fascismo* to be capable of sacrificing its own spirit for the sake of the nation.

Even the coalesced Liberals—after two years of the most patient collaboration, which has ended in suicide for themselves—now raise their voices, as the campaign in the *Giornale d'Italia* bears witness, and declare that they would prefer a rupture to sharing

the responsibility of establishing a despotism of party over nation. And, lately, one of the most popular war cripples in the country, Carlo Delcroix, at the Congress of Fiume, addressed the following words to the Government :

" If you, who have taken up this solemn charge before the nation, follow the ways of peace and the ways of law, all disabled soldiers and all Italians will be with you. But if you cannot or will not do this, remember that Italy is a great people, capable of all miracles and all daring, that all are necessary but none indispensable, and that the country will find in her own conscience the force to fight her last battle and win her ultimate victory."

This warning in the mouth of a man who until yesterday was touring the cities of Italy to give the *Fascist* Government the support of his burning and pathetic eloquence, is a proof of how the drama is working itself out and of how it touches the deepest chords in every stratum of society.

Notwithstanding the ironical protests of *Fascismo* against a liberty " that is a mere abstraction," or a liberty that " the people are neither interested in nor demand," the Italian people feel to-day that the problem of *Fascismo*, as the nation's most vigilant spirits saw from its earliest developments, is a problem of liberty, that is, of national dignity. " True liberty," once wrote Alessandro Manzoni, " consists in the citizen being assured, by means of just laws and stable institutions, both against private violence and against the tyrannical use of power, and in the power itself being outside the grasp of an oligarchic society and not subject to the pressure of crowds, either casual or deliberately enrolled."

For us Italians who have come back from the war with our faith in humanity and democracy still unbroken, the struggle against *Fascismo* appears to-day, before every other consideration, our most pressing moral obligation. It matters little that we are few in number and without Parliamentary influence, for many vital pages of Italian history, such as the unitarian movement of Mazzini, the Socialist and democratic movement of 1890 to 1900, and the interventist movement of 1914-1915, have been written by a small minority, often reviled and sacrificed and almost always excluded from the official life of the country.

And in a moment when nationalism has led in Poland to the murder of the President Narntovic and the setting up of his assassin; in Germany, to the suppression of Luxembourg and of Liebknecht and the assassination of Eisner and so many political prisoners; in Spain, to the liberticide demonstrations of the military dictatorship of Primo de Rivera, we hold that a battle fought for the dignity and liberty of our people will place its fighters in the forefront of the progressive forces of all Europe.

UMBERTO ZANOTTI-BIANCO.

THE ANGLO-GERMAN ALLIANCE PROPOSALS.

THE new instalment of the collection of illuminating diplomatic documents, covering the period from the establishment of the Empire to the outbreak of the Great War, which the German Foreign Office is publishing with the title *Die Grosse Politik der Europäischen Kabinette, 1871-1914*, tells the story of the last of the abortive negotiations for an alliance between this country and Germany. The earlier overtures, dating from 1879, had originated in Berlin, and had been received in London with at most a courteous tolerance. The final advances came from the British side, and it is noteworthy that they followed closely on the historic episode of the Kruger telegram.

With the exception of the colonial disputes of 1884-5, which were happily adjusted in the end on a sensible give-and-take basis, Great Britain and Germany on the whole worked together very harmoniously down to the close of Bismarck's Chancellorship in 1890. The " new course " initiated by the second Emperor left undisturbed this good relationship, until the despatch of the telegram of January 3rd, 1896. That act—more foolish, as Lord Salisbury once said, than the raid which led to it—created an estrangement that was never quite healed. Yet to the Emperor's credit must be placed the fact that he did his best to atone for his mistake, and his service to this country during the later developments of the Transvaal difficulty was invaluable. Not only did his Government repeatedly urge Kruger, through the Dutch Foreign Minister, to make such concessions as would satisfy the British Government, warning him against " an unequal struggle the issue of which cannot be doubtful," but, this advice having been disregarded, he refused to act as mediator when invited. In the ensuing war official Germany maintained a neutral attitude, yet gave not a few signs of a strong desire to keep on good terms with this country; while the Emperor was profuse in privately-uttered wishes for the success of British arms, and when the end came he showered honours on our victorious generals.

Regard for historical fact requires these admissions, but the same regard compels doubt of the genuineness of the Emperor's professions of good-will. The Editors of *Die Grosse Politik* speak of " the extraordinarily characteristic marginal notes of Kaiser William II, which prove how very much he ' let himself go ' in emotional utterances without giving practical effect to his inmost feelings "; and referring to the South African War, they say :

" In spite of his outspoken condemnation of British policy, which led him to wish that the English would ' get into a thorough mess,

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and India, Asia and Abyssinia take part in the row,' during the entire Transvaal crisis, in accord with the official directors of German policy, he carefully avoided everything which might have caused embarrassment to the British Government."

All that this means is that in the existing circumstances reasons of State imposed on the Emperor restraint; that he would have acted differently had the conditions been favourable can be proved by his own words. Thus there is a note in his own hand of a conversation with the Marquis de Noailles, the French Ambassador to Berlin (October 28th, 1899), in which he justified his quiescence during the war by the weakness of his navy:

"In 1896," he said, "the British Navy was unprepared and a third weaker than now, and the country was completely surprised by my telegram. If at that time all the States had joined together, something might have been done. But his (the Marquis') predecessor, Herbette, the 'Richelieu' of France, Hanotaux, and Prince Lobanoff disdainfully turned their backs on us, and everybody hoped for a collision between England and us. Now the position is quite different—England's navy equal to any coalition, Germany as good as without any navy at all. I am therefore not in a position to forsake complete neutrality, and must first create a navy. Twenty years hence, when it will be ready, I shall hold different language."*

There is, indeed, much evidence in these volumes to support the view of the Emperor William II as a man of two personalities, two minds, and, politically, of two moralities. A quarter of a century ago, however, contemporary statesmen still took him more or less at his own valuation, and to trust him was to trust his Government, since, as he wrote to King Edward VII, when the newspaper war between Germany and this country was at its height, "The Press is awful on both sides, but here it is of no consequence, for I am the sole arbiter and controller of German foreign policy, and the Government and country must follow me, even if I have to face the music."

Hence it was that in 1898, when Russia was pursuing aggressive designs in China and Persia, and France, her ally since December, 1893, was overriding or challenging British interests in Egypt, Madagascar, West Africa, and elsewhere, several members of Lord Salisbury's Cabinet, foremost amongst them Mr. Chamberlain, the Colonial Secretary, revived the question of an Anglo-German understanding. After suggesting to Count Hatzfeldt, the German Ambassador, ideas for his Government's consideration, Mr. Chamberlain publicly advocated the abandonment of a policy of isolation and the conclusion of "an alliance with Powers whose interests are identical" (i.e., the Triple Alliance).

* Twenty years later the remnant of the German navy was sunk in Scapa Flow. (June 21st, 1919.)

These overtures were made, however, while the Prime Minister was abroad for reasons of health, and after his return no more was heard of them.

Even had Lord Salisbury favoured an alliance at that time, the German Foreign Office under Count (later Prince) Bülow, Imperial Chancellor since June, 1897, was indifferent, preferring a waiting attitude, in the belief that Great Britain's difficulties and therewith her need of Germany were bound to increase. No more practical result followed Mr. Chamberlain's conversations on the same subject at Windsor, in November of the following year, first with Bülow and afterwards with the Emperor, and a further speech in which he earnestly advocated a "new Triple Alliance between the Teutonic race and the two great branches of the Anglo-Saxon race." In the meantime the two Governments had concluded the inoperative convention of August 30th, 1898, dividing the Portuguese colonies in Africa into spheres of interest.

The alliance question was discussed with Bülow in 1900 by Count Paul Metternich, while in charge of the German Embassy in London during the illness of Hatzfeldt, whom he later succeeded. Metternich, who was a despatch writer *Dei gratia*, prepared for his chief several elaborate memoranda on Anglo-German relations. They were marked by considerable acumen, and not a few of his judgments hit the mark with bull's eye precision. He was entirely free from the conception of Great Britain as maliciously egoistic, which was as common in Berlin as was that of a perfidious Albion in Paris. "British policy is not very mobile," he wrote. "It follows rather the negative principle of 'Let sleeping dogs lie.' " Yet he did not take our countrymen cheaply. "The Englishman loves peace, but he will defend his skin if he must. He would (then) resist a European coalition, as he did at the beginning of last century." He even confessed, at a time when Germany was capturing British trade right and left, "There is in England more goodwill towards Germany than there is in Germany towards England—I speak of the peoples, not the Governments." With rare generosity Bülow comments that he formed the same impression "in a high degree" when visiting this country in November, 1899.

Bülow, however, convinced that the position of Great Britain was that of a petitioner who had no choice, was still for treating dilatorily overtures which Bismarck would have tried to clinch at once. Like religion, the foreign policy of even the most powerful and self-confident of nations—and of them perhaps more than of others—needs periodically "a new refreshment from the spheres." In the case of German foreign policy the need was long overdue, since it had become firmly rooted in certain obsolete dogmas which

led its official exponents, again and again, into fatal blunders. One of these dogmas, to which both Bülow and Baron von Holstein, the genius of suspicion and crookedness in the German Foreign Office, clung with obstinate tenacity, was that Russia and Great Britain were natural enemies, destined to go more and more apart. Bülow, indeed, regarded the position of this country as so desperate that it could only hope to have permanent peace with Russia and France by gradually abandoning Asia in favour of the former and Egypt and the Mediterranean as a sop to the latter (February 7th, 1900); while even so level-headed a diplomat as Metternich believed that the British Empire was only held together by the navy and the Dominions' consciousness of inability to stand alone. In Bülow's opinion, in particular, England was, in insurance phraseology, a "bad life," which it would be wise for the German Empire to decline, or at least, to insure only in consideration of a heavy premium. Though no progress was made at the time, later in the year the friendlier relations which had grown up between London and Berlin led to the conclusion of the Yangtse agreement (October 16th), by which the two Governments pledged themselves to work together for the maintenance of the open door and the existing territorial status in China.

The following year saw the alliance conversations resumed, but also finally wound up. On January 18th, 1901, Hatzfeldt, back at his post in Carlton House Terrace, reported to Bülow a meeting of Baron von Eckardstein, the First Secretary of the Embassy, with Mr. Chamberlain at the country house of the Duke of Devonshire, on which occasion the Colonial Secretary told him that

"he and his friends in the Cabinet were now clear that for England the time for a policy of 'splendid isolation' was past. England must for the future look for allies, and the choice lay between Russia and France and the Triple Alliance. Both in the Cabinet and among the nation there were men who wished for and eagerly advocated agreement and close co-operation with Russia, and were prepared to pay a very high price if this object could be attained. He was not one of them, but regarded as preferable co-operation with Germany and membership of the Triple Alliance, and he would do everything in his power to promote a gradual movement in that direction."

As a first step Mr. Chamberlain proposed a secret agreement between the two Powers in relation to Morocco on the basis already discussed with the Emperor at Windsor in November, 1899, viz., Tangier to fall to Great Britain and Germany to have compensation on the Atlantic littoral. He was wishful that discussions on the subject should be opened with Lord Lansdowne (Foreign Secretary since the preceding November) as soon as Lord Salisbury had gone abroad, but added that if a lasting co-operation with

Germany proved impracticable he, too, would seek an understanding with Russia.

In his report to Bülow, Hatzfeldt supported the mode of procedure suggested by Chamberlain, and expressed the charitable hope that the late coolness between Great Britain and the United States, in consequence of an apparent growing intimacy between that country and Russia, would increase, and so drive the British Government more completely into Germany's arms. Bülow was still for holding back, not rejecting the overtures outright but allowing them to increase in urgency, with a view to better bargaining, and he instructed the Ambassador accordingly.

Circumstances at this time brought the Emperor again on the scene. On receiving news of Queen Victoria's serious illness he had hurried to England on January 19th, remaining at Osborne until after her Majesty's death and her burial on February 4th. He went well fortified for political discussions, however, and wrote to Bülow on his arrival, "God give me the right thoughts and words, that I may be able to express myself aright, so that what we have discussed may tend to the welfare of both countries." The situation seemed favourable for another attempt to hasten conciliation's halting steps, for the Emperor's thoughtfulness had touched the heart of the emotional British nation and for a time old scores were forgotten.

He wrote to Bülow immediately on arrival that he had had a cordial reception from the Prince of Wales, who specially wished that he would see Lord Lansdowne, as well as the Prime Minister. Eckardstein, whose heart was set on something more than a *rap-prochement*, and who had reason for believing that events were tending his way, had told him that

"Chamberlain has intimated in confidence that it is 'all over' with 'splendid isolation' and that England must choose between the Triple Alliance and Russia-France. He (Chamberlain) wants the former *à tout prix*, a part of the Cabinet the latter. The Foreign Office is likewise for the former, but for a diversion to the Dual Alliance only in the event of our unwillingness. So it looks as if they are coming—which is what we have been waiting for."

To Bülow, who believed, like Holstein, that Chamberlain's threat of a possible agreement with France and Russia was "a bogey invented to frighten us," this eagerness in a cause for which he felt no enthusiasm was unwelcome, and he discreetly applied the wet blanket. In a letter so characteristic as to justify a long excerpt he replied:

"Your Majesty is perfectly right in thinking that the English must come to us. They have suffered badly in Africa; America shows herself uncertain, Japan is unreliable, France filled with hatred, Russia perfidious, and public opinion in all countries hostile

... Now the consciousness is gradually dawning on them that they will not be able to maintain their world-wide empire* with their own unaided strength against so many enemies. Everything depends on our neither discouraging the English nor letting ourselves be prematurely pinned down by them. England's perplexities will further increase in the coming months, and therewith will increase the price that we can demand. We should not show England too great *empressement*, for that would only raise the English terms, and diminish our prospects of gain; yet we must keep them in the conviction that we wish for the continuance of a powerful England, believe in the solidarity of German and English political, cultural, and economic interests, and, given a right attitude on England's side, would be found ready in due time to come to an understanding of some sort. Hence a dilatory attitude is urgently to be desired. . . . In view of the general world situation and of our own vital interests your Majesty would have executed a really masterly stroke if you succeeded in leaving British Ministers hoping for a future firm relationship with us, without as yet prematurely binding or definitely committing yourself."

The Emperor told Eckardstein that in the ensuing "long political talks" with King Edward the two were "quite agreed," and further that "the King had a strong aversion to both Russia and France and expressed himself in that connection in the most pointed language." His report to Bülow of his conversation with Lansdowne suggested that he had administered to the Foreign Secretary a professorial lecture on the true principles of British foreign policy. He certainly got home with one of his thrusts when he charged British diplomacy with concerning itself with only one question at a time, forgetting everything else, "just like an English lord who had landed a salmon on his hook," instead of keeping the entire world situation under continuous review. It may be remembered that the Prince Consort, in a conversation with Lord Granville, once singled out the same habit as the "principal weakness" of British statesmen. When Lansdowne remarked that "England held the balance of power in Europe," the Emperor promptly corrected him. "I am the balance of power," he said; "the balance of power rests with the twenty-two German army corps." He added that the Foreign Secretary had "made a good impression on me," and that his own utterances had "made a visible impression" on that patient listener. Lansdowne's account of the interview might even yet be equally interesting.

Hatzfeldt, and more energetically Eckardstein, kept the ball rolling. On February 7th the latter had a conversation with Lansdowne on the question whether Germany would be willing to join Great Britain and Japan in calling on Russia to desist from

* *Weltreich*—a typical use of an innocent yet persistently mistranslated word; when applied to German imperialism, it is usually but unfairly regarded by illiterate people, and others who should know better, as implying world or universal dominion.

aggression in Manchuria. The Ambassador thought the proposal "not sufficiently thought-out"—Holstein described it as "naïvely egoistic"—but wondered whether it might not lead to the reopening of the larger question of a formal alliance. "If Lord Lansdowne agrees to a discussion hereon," he wrote, "it will always be in our power to protract the negotiations by advancing heavier conditions." The reply eventually given was that the German Government was willing to warn China against the conclusion of separate territorial or financial treaties with any States until it had given sureties for the due fulfilment of its liabilities to all States together, and with this Lansdowne was perfectly satisfied.

Once more the alliance negotiations stuck at the dead-point, the British Foreign Office letting "I-dare-not wait upon I-would," the Wilhelmstrasse holding to its determination that any serious proposals in that direction should come spontaneously from London, and that Great Britain should pay a high price for the favour, part of it "cash down," in African territory. Holstein, pulling the wires at every turn, wrote to Hatzfeldt on February 11th, "You are just the man to make Lord Lansdowne understand what is needful . . . a firmly-secured reciprocity and some concessions at once." On which Bülow comments, "And very material ones, too. . . . Facts, sir, facts!" Yet Bülow and Holstein were never weary of carping at England's alleged egoism.

At the end of February King Edward visited Berlin, and in the following month Lansdowne sounded Eckardstein, in confidence, as to whether Germany would be prepared to enter into a "defensive arrangement" of long duration, adding that several of his most influential colleagues in the Cabinet, including, of course, Chamberlain, were favourable to the idea. Three days later Lansdowne assured Hatzfeldt that Lord Salisbury himself had accepted the principle of a defensive alliance "strictly defined," also that a *pro-memoria* on the subject had been drawn up and discussed, and he inquired as to the form and conditions of such a pact which would commend themselves to the German Government. Compelled now to come into the open, Bülow replied that the most practical form of alliance for all parties would be Great Britain's adhesion to the Triple Alliance, the *casus fœderis* to apply only in the event of one of the allies being attacked by two or several Powers, and the agreement to be an open treaty, formally ratified by the Parliaments of the several countries. He also suggested that Japan might be brought in.

Though now apparently so near to serious negotiations, the two Governments nevertheless drifted apart for a time owing to disagreements over the Chinese indemnity arrangements. Hatzfeldt reported (April 6th) that M. Paul Cambon, who had succeeded

Baron de Courcel as French Ambassador in London, in 1898, was assiduously exploiting the incident, fomenting distrust and suspicion of Germany to such an extent that he had been assured that Mr. Balfour had asked the head of a London financial house whether he thought it possible that the Emperor had suddenly gone over entirely to Russia's side against England. The Kaiser's marginal comment upon this suggestion of bad faith was: "The devil take it! To think me capable of such a thing! . . . I do not understand the Britons! Such a lack of principle is absolutely monstrous. These people are hopeless!"

It was this episode which gave rise to the vehement outburst in the course of a conversation with Sir Frank Lascelles, the British Ambassador in Berlin, wherein he spoke of the statesmen who had credited him with duplicity as "unmitigated noodles." King Edward, with his usual tact, tried to pacify his irate nephew, assuring him that the report which had been circulated must have been greatly distorted, and protesting "the fullest confidence in your integrity and the loyal friendship you entertain towards me and my country."

A little later Lansdowne informed Hatzfeldt that Lord Salisbury, while he had scruples against undertaking liabilities in respect of Austria and Italy, was disposed to enter into defensive agreements with Germany alone. He added that it was now time that the long-protracted discussions should pass from the academic into the practical stage, and suggested that a draft agreement should be reduced to writing; but neither he nor the Ambassador seemed willing to take the initiative. Lansdowne does not appear, in fact, to have followed up the question, leaving Bülow to revive it in the middle of June in the course of a conversation with Sir Frank Lascelles. The German Chancellor may have been influenced by a long memorandum sent to him by Metternich, wherein he uttered a warning against a policy of playing fast and loose with Great Britain and Russia. "It is open to us," he wrote, "to choose neither of them. That, however, would eventually be dangerous, because England may then escape us altogether."

Nothing came of this conversation, and whatever chance there may have been of a successful issue to the negotiations which had been carried on intermittently since 1898 was finally destroyed when Chamberlain, angered by the calumnies levelled by the German Press at the conduct of the military operations in South Africa, made his pointed but perfectly justifiable reply to them in a speech in which he defiantly turned the tables upon a world of enemies, and then washed his hands of the business. The support of the prime mover withdrawn, the idea of an Anglo-German alliance ceased to be a practical proposition. In a despatch written

in December, Metternich tells of a conversation with Lansdowne, who said that he had again discussed the idea of Great Britain joining the Triple Alliance with the Prime Minister and several other colleagues, and they thought it "for the present rather too big a fence to ride at." Lord Salisbury in particular, he said, was now more convinced than ever before that "England's security depended not so much on alliances as on her chalk cliffs and her navy."

It may be a disputable question whether the Prime Minister had been fully informed of the lengths to which his colleagues had carried the negotiations, but his negative attitude was decisive. There can be less doubt that the announcement thus made to the German Government would lessen the shock of the news—if it was news at all—that Great Britain had concluded an alliance with Japan, when told of it through Metternich a few weeks later. By this time Metternich, too, had been cured of his alliance sympathies, and in March, 1902, he pleased Bülow with a private letter in which he said (in English) that he "wouldn't give two-pence for Anglo-German relations." That was about the valuation to which the alliance project had fallen in both countries, and the feeling of relief common to all the negotiators can probably be best expressed in the words used by Queen Victoria when similar discussions came to nought in 1879—they were "well out of it."

The two rulers continued to exchange visits, and their Governments to act together on occasion in foreign questions of common concern (*e.g.*, the dispute with Venezuela, culminating in the blockade of December, 1902); but the chance, such as it was, of a full reconciliation of interests had passed, never to return. Events were making for a reorientation of British relations in another quarter. The Fashoda episode, climax of a long series of irritating acts of unfriendliness and aggression on the part of France, seemed for a time to presage a European convulsion. Actually it proved "the last cloud of an expiring storm," and the Convention of March 21st, 1899, "cleaned the slate" so far as the territorial claims of Great Britain and France in Central Africa were in conflict. Not only so, but it brought into view wider possibilities of understanding and harmony. M. Delcassé in Paris and M. Paul Cambon in London were working to that end; the *entente cordiale* was already on the way; and the prospect of British reconciliation with France held the promise of a corresponding agreement with Russia later. Yet when the Convention of April 8th, 1904, determining Anglo-French relations to Egypt and Morocco was concluded no British statesmen, at least, dreamed that the era of so-called "encirclement" was coming, and after it the deluge.

WILLIAM HARBUTT DAWSON.

ANTHROPOMORPHISM: ITS USE AND MISUSE.

HOW far, if at all, are we constrained or entitled to interpret the Universe—that is, to explain its origin, constitution, and meaning—in terms of Personality, when all that we know of Personality is derived from our human consciousness as finite individuals emerging within and conditioned by the world-order to which we belong? Our fundamental experience is that of the relationship, becoming ever more far-reaching and systematic, between the conscious Ego and that which it treats as the objective world. Neither term in this relationship is reducible to the other. Whence, then, does conscious Personality derive its being? From the objective world to the terms of which it cannot be reduced? Or is there a universal and all-embracing Consciousness from which all finite intelligences are differentiated, though not separated? If so, is this Consciousness personal? And, are the relations of this supreme Personality to Reality as a whole shadowed forth by those of finite personalities to the limited environment by which they are encompassed? In other words, is human personality, with all its powers, a projection of the Divine into the terrestrial order, and is God to be conceived, with all due reservations and enhancements, in terms suggested by human nature?

This is the age-long issue of Theism, and from the dawn of reflective thought down to the present time it has encountered objections on the score of its anthropomorphism. The criticism of Xenophanes, the Eleatic philosopher, is well-known. "Men," he said, "make gods in their own image; those of the Ethiopians are black and snub-nosed, those of the Thracians have blue eyes and red hair. If horses, or oxen, or lions had hands and could produce works of art, they too would represent the gods after their own fashion." The most recent version of this criticism has been given by H. Vaihinger in his work, *The Philosophy of "As if."* Founding himself upon Kant, and emphasizing the sceptical elements of the Kantian philosophy, the writer argues that the Categories of the Understanding and the Ideas of the Reason are merely serviceable fictions, as is the case, according to him, with all our accepted conceptions and principles in every sphere of life. "The logical function," he says, "discovers that the sensory mass can be far more easily viewed as a whole and brought into order if thought of in terms of certain analogies." These analogies, however, cannot possess a theoretical value. "All these categories are analogies, applications of an analogous, though in the last analysis unfitting relationship to objective circumstances. Such

analogies, where complexes of experience are regarded as if reality behaved in a similar fashion, are all pure fictions."*

In some respects, the criticism of Xenophanes is less relevant in modern than in ancient times. The growth of inwardness and spirituality prevents civilised men nowadays from making fictile representations of God. Moreover, the idea of humanity, as a whole, is superseding the racial distinctions which, in ancient times, imposed their limitations upon religion and were in turn deepened by religion. Not only so, but we conceive, to-day, consciousness to be continuous from its lowliest to its highest manifestations. Hence, any enlightened Idea of God, however anthropomorphic, must be fashioned by what is highest, inmost, and most universal in spiritual life, and must accentuate unity rather than distinctions. Yet in one respect the criticism has become of greater importance. The crudely conceived gods of old times were only invoked to a very limited extent to explain Reality. They were agents, *within* the universe, endowed with but limited powers and presiding over but limited provinces, whereas to-day God is conceived, if at all, as the Sole Author and Sufficient Reason of all that is. Hence the greater need, in so momentous a matter, of taking due care not to transgress the boundaries of legitimate human thought either in the form of our conclusions or in the assurance with which they are held.

Yet religion in its highest forms, and not least of all Christianity, attributes to God alike powers and affections that are suggested by human personality, and also relations to the Universe which are suggested by those of men. Only subsequently does religion introduce qualifications, according to the reminder of the Hebrew prophet, "My thoughts are not your thoughts, neither are your ways My ways, saith the Lord." Hence the question of questions is, How far does limited personality *within* the Universe point to an eternally perfect Personality *above* it? How far, if at all, is human thought, when purged of accidental blemishes, justified in treating what becomes manifest in human consciousness—the powers and affections of human personality—as a clue, reliable though inadequate, to the constitution and government of the Universe? To use the expression of Xenophanes, Have men made the gods, because God makes Man?

How then does the matter stand?

1. In the first place, it must be borne in mind that religion and the theologies which describe and formulate its content have not been created deliberately or with the primary contention of furnishing a world-explanation. Their origin is earlier, their sources deeper, broader, and more manifold than this. However mediated

* *Op. cit.* (English translation. p. 173).

and however crude in its earliest forms, religion springs from the haunting or arresting consciousness of Another, reaching to the inmost depths, sanctioning the social order, and stretching out to the external issues of life. This is the fundamental fact which creates tribal religion with its classic formula, "I am the God of Abraham, of Isaac and of Jacob," culminates in the highest mystic experience, and finds expression in the lines of Wordsworth:

And I have felt
A presence that disturbs me with the joy
Of elevated thoughts; a sense sublime
Of something far more deeply interfused,
Whose dwelling is the light of setting suns,
And the round ocean, and the living air,
And the blue sky, and in the mind of man.

The application of religion, or theology, to world-explanation is only one of its uses, though success in interpreting the Universe must be a most important means of verifying its trustworthiness and discovering its meaning.

2. Upon this assumption it must be premissed that the Universe to be explained is the Universe *experienced*. The Universe equals the sum-total of experience *plus* all possibilities of experience. To use the phrase of Berkeley, its *esse* is *percipi*. Even though it may be true that reality transcends all the powers of *human* experience, yet that which is beyond human experience must be either experienced, or capable of being experienced, by beings more richly or differently endowed than man. Power to manifest itself to consciousness seems to be the only intelligible definition of existence. If so, it follows that human experience furnishes a trustworthy analogy by which the possibly richer and different experience of other beings must be conceived.

3. In a far-reaching way, the Universe is constituted by the powers, the conjoint activities of which make up the experience of it. The world as made manifest to us is the world as perceived through our senses, cognised by our intellect, valued by our affections, acted upon by our will for the various needs of our being or well-being. Apart from the activity of all these the world is, for us, nothing. In proportion to the fully-developed and harmonious action of all these the world comes to mean ever more and more. Above all, the meaning of the world is to be found in the values, the presence and prevalence of which makes it progressively satisfying to advancing human experience. All these powers, which constitute experience, are the active expression of personality. The mark of personality is the power of *appropriation* through all the faculties and for all the purposes of human life with an ever-growing range and import according to the spiritual development of man.

4. Yet the Universe thus made, *i.e.*, constituted, by experience is made *for* experience. Man appears *within* it; his nature is supplied by it and he is cradled by it. All his powers, whether perceptive and intellectual, or affectional, appreciative and selective, are nurtured by the world and called into activity by the environment which they experience and subsequently set themselves to interpret.

5. Hence there is community between man and the Universe. His environment may be either harmonious or provocative; yet, speaking broadly, in both respects it is friendly. Even when the world thwarts, or even endangers us, it awakes and develops our powers, calling forth, above all, the personality that is behind them. When its opposition is permanent and ineluctable the world elicits and refines spiritual affections, which, since they add grace and beauty to character, have not merely relative but absolute worth. Not least of all, the world as experienced provokes and promotes dissatisfaction with itself, by means of the personality it evokes and the values it suggests. Thus it points beyond itself both to a subsequent transformation and fulfilment, and not less to an eternal Archetype, that is the complete realization of the values the world has suggested but not satisfied.

6. All this creates a presumption that the Universe is to be interpreted by means of and in terms of the powers it has supplied and nurtured, stimulated and provoked for the experience of itself. Such interpretation is needed, since the presence and functions of personality in the world will not tolerate the explanation of their origin and growing ascendancy by terms lower than themselves. Is not rationality on the side of those who maintain the trustworthiness of the powers thus evoked to provide the satisfaction they demand, especially when all these powers, in their highest exercise, intuitively and instinctively assume their universal import?

If the Universe is to be explained at all, the only alternative lies between the choice of the more elemental attributes of human personality and the application, with due criticism, of its entire range and especially of its highest powers to the task. When Tyndall saw the complete explanation, "the promise and potency," of all things in Matter and Motion, and when his successors offer it in terms of the latest version of these two supposed entities, they do not thereby escape from anthropomorphism. What they really do is simply to select the lower and elemental contents of human consciousness for their purpose, and to exclude the higher as irrelevant and misleading. When, for example, the manifold phenomena that are presented to perception are unified as Matter, this conception is, in fact, derived from the human sense of inertia—the resistance to change and the unwillingness to put forth effort. The World so conceived as in space, may then be *described*,

as in time, in terms of succession, invariable or otherwise. But when effective causality is attributed to the invariable antecedents of any change in phenomena, the conception of effectiveness is projected into nature from the subjective consciousness of will and of its power to overcome resistance in producing purposive change. When Herbert Spencer, taking up a somewhat higher position, treated the Unknown and Unknowable as the ground of the knowable Universe he was simply using, consciously or unconsciously, the analogy of self-hood, which is indeed unknown and unknowable, save as that which unifies all the phenomena of actual or possible consciousness. There is no escape from this projection of the humanly subjective into the realm of the non-human objective. The attempt to do so results in rudimentary anthropomorphism, which, while violently or contemptuously excluding that which is highest in human personality from the work of world-explanation, clandestinely makes use of the residuum, without sufficient psychological knowledge to recognise its source.

As a matter of fact, both scientific inquirers and theologians have frequently, though from different standpoints, been involved in a common error. They have treated themselves as outsiders from and onlookers upon the Universe. They have converted the distinction between the Ego and the Non-Ego into an absolute schism. The scientific inquirer, in seeking freedom from all pre-conceptions and bias, has endeavoured to set himself aside, and to treat consciousness as a mere window from which he may look out upon a world that is independent of him and complete without him. Then, when his work thus undertaken has been concluded and the sense of personality has returned upon him in full force, he has either fastened down this consciousness, with all its content, as a product to be explained in terms of that which is lower than and elemental within itself, or, recognising the illegitimacy of this procedure, has treated consciousness, with the whole of its rational, moral, and spiritual content, as an ineffective and meaningless epi-phenomenon which merely accompanies and masks reality.

The theologian has often been a victim, though in a different way, of the same misleading dualism. While recognising and emphasising the higher content of his personality, he has devised an elaborate and enclosed system for satisfying its needs, quite apart from any consideration of the Universe from which he comes and to which he belongs. Then when he has passed on, at a later stage and in pursuit of a subordinate aim, to world-explanation, he has continued to consider himself as an outsider looking out upon and utilising the world, has treated the world as merely instrumental to himself, and has then proceeded to find in his own attitude towards the world a trustworthy analogy of the way in

which God has acted upon it *from without*. In prosecuting this endeavour, he has magnified the conceptions of causality, design, and contrivance, as exemplified by artificers, and those of sovereignty and governing management taken from the social order, and has applied them to God without recognising how inadequate and inferior they are. Hence both science and theology have provided abundant examples of the misuse of anthropomorphism, and as the result of their contrasted misuse of it have faced one another in antagonism, because each has been unaware of or has rejected the means of reconciliation.

It appears, then, that while the content of personality is our only means of explaining the Universe, yet the particular use of this content has often been faulty. The elements selected may be badly chosen, unduly emphasised, isolated from other elements that co-operate with and qualify them, or applied without due recognition of the difference in relationship and consequent procedure between finite individuals within the universe, and the infinite Author of it. This has been the case particularly with the prominence that has been given to crude conceptions of Causality in world-explanation. The concept of Causality has been derived from man's deliberate action upon his environment in moulding it to his needs and desires. He acts *upon it*, in the case of matter through natural or artificial mechanism; in regard to men by authority and mastery. Hence men have explained changes wrought independently of them and beyond their powers, as the work of spirits more powerful than themselves. Finally, they have arrived at the conception of a First Cause, Who is the Sufficient Reason for the Universe, and have imagined this First Cause as working by means of mechanism and mastery. God has been termed, above all, the Almighty, in the sense that while man's external control is narrowly limited, that of God is absolute and perfect. Then, when this conception has been found not to work, because it is inadequate and misleading, they have invented reasons to account for the disappointment of their mistaken expectations.

This conception of Causality is, in truth, faulty alike in regard to the Universe, to God, and to man.

1. *To the Universe.* The Universe, as we come to know it, is an organic, and not a mechanical, whole. In it, physical life and spiritual consciousness emerge from and are related to what we regard as a material and unconscious order, which fosters them though they transcend it. This wholeness is not that of an ordered and static system, but of an energetic evolution that culminates in the highest manifestations, achievements, and aspirations of spiritual life. The Sufficient Reason of such a Universe must be, not merely theoretically adequate, but in keeping with the nature

of which it is the explanation—with the way in which existences appear and disappear, become and are organically related to one another. Mechanical and magisterial mastery are out of keeping with the product to be explained.

2. *To God.* Such mastery can be no complete explanation of the relationship in which God stands to His world. Causality, as we know and conceive it, is not originating, or determinative, or immanent in its operation. It stands for action upon material that is given and that may be refractory. To treat this conception as the best clue to the relation of God to the Universe is true neither to the highest experience of religion that "in Him we live and move and have our being," nor to the origination which gives existence, life and law to such a Universe as is being revealed to our experience.

3. *To Man.* Even man's causality, for what it is worth, is reduced in importance, or rather is altered in direction and method, when he seeks to produce either a spiritual, a moral, or even a biological effect. That "Force is no remedy" is a conclusion that is at last becoming generally accepted, even in the political sphere, by civilised mankind, disillusioned by the results of its exercise. Influence, exercised either directly or indirectly through such establishment of relationships and modifications of environment as are conducive to its purpose, is more potent than force, because more fundamental and vital, more penetrative and far-reaching. Influence stands, not for the externality but for the immanence of human relationships. It is an expression, not an imposition. And influence works in a two-fold way. First of all, by means of the self-realisation and self-manifestation in which the will operates to affirm, fulfil, and express the highest values as they are apprehended. And, consequently, through self-giving, through the sympathetic forth-giving of personality in communicating its best. This is not a limitation of human power; it is its highest manifestation, its adaptation to the highest purposes that are to be fulfilled.

Hence from the convergence of all these considerations the conclusion is reached that while spiritual anthropomorphism is the only and the trustworthy, though limited, means of interpreting the Universe, yet it is only through the highest and most vital reaches and exercise of personality that a satisfactory result can be attained. It is in them, if anywhere, that the meaning of the Universe is revealed.

Assuming this standpoint, the question at once arises, In what terms can the Universe—being such as we know it with its spiritual concomitant and culmination—be most adequately explained? The answer is, Through the Fatherhood of God. This idea of God

and of His relationship to the world, though it was the constitutive truth and principle upon which the whole life and teaching of Christ were based, was gradually lost sight of in subsequent ages, and the inferior conception of autocratic sovereignty substituted for it. Hence came the prevalence of those unsatisfactory systems of world-explanation to which allusion has just been made. The gradual revival of the doctrine of the Fatherhood of God was the result of a reaction against the harshness, and indeed unspirituality, of the doctrine of Divine Sovereignty as commonly held. Hence the Fatherhood of God was restored and came to be held in a sense that was limited to the relationship, whether special or universal, of God to men. Its restoration was brought about by the growth of human sympathy. As the result of these formative influences, the doctrine gained ground rather as the satisfaction of spiritual sentiment than as being for thought the highest and most comprehensive account of the relationship of God to His world. The limitation of piety has been reinforced by the attitude of many systematic thinkers, who have either passed by the Fatherhood of God or have rejected it as negligible for thought because of this superficial sentimentality, and still more because the analogy of human fatherhood is in itself inadequate to set forth the immanence of God and His constitutive sovereignty over the Universe. Yet, when taken in its highest sense—that of the New Testament—the doctrine of the Fatherhood of God is the comprehensive culmination of a doctrine of God which, while primarily a rendering of spiritual experience, was also a serious and sustained attempt to explain the origin and nature of the Universe as well as the history of mankind. The doctrine should, therefore, be taken far more seriously for this purpose than has been hitherto the case.

What are the essential contents of the doctrine? They appear to be the following:

1. That God is the eternal and perfect realisation of those highest values, which the evolution of the Universe works towards in actuality, in spiritual vision, and in aspiration. He is the Archetype of the True, the Beautiful and the Good, the spring from which their manifestation issues, the guarantee of their authority and permanence.

2. That in the Divine nature self-giving and self-manifestation are conjoined with self-realisation, as constituting the eternal perfection of God. "God is Love."

3. That in the exercise of His self-giving God constitutes the Universe of, through, and unto Himself; conferring, in growing measure as its evolution proceeds, independent worth and freedom upon His creatures.

4. That the authority and ascendancy of the highest values,

the evolution of the Universe towards their manifestation, and the instrumentality of the lower in evoking and provoking them, are due not to the merely external will and power of God, but to His immanent self-impartation, influence, and guidance.

5. That, therefore, the activity of God in fulfilling His purpose and manifesting Himself must needs be, not mechanical and magisterial, but spiritual and vital.

6. That His law is not an imposition from above and from without, but is His life as supplying the inmost spring and the ultimate ideal of creatures, who "live and move and have their being in Him."

7. That the Divine self-giving is to the whole Universe as a coherent system which reaches its culmination in the manifestation and gradual universalisation of the highest spiritual life.

8. That the means which God employs in realising His ends are the immanent constitution of nature, the evocative influence and the provocative pressure of environment upon spiritual beings, and thereby the growing revelation of values to their apprehension, aspiration, and achievement.

9. That because of all this, the filial mark is upon all things according to their measure and worth. In man this means the supremacy of faith, hope and love, as the only way of self-realisation and mastery for beings that are constituted by and dependent upon God. Throughout the lower realms of existence, it means dependence, systematic inter-relation; above all, subordination and subservience to the spiritual values of which they are the instruments.

10. That the highest, and not merely the lowest as materialism holds, is imperishable.

All this is but a bare and imperfect outline. In especial its application to the apparently accidental features, the grave tragedies and the hard cases of our experience needs to be wrought out. Difficulties must remain in this as in every other explanation of the Universe that is within the reach of finite beings. Yet it must be borne in mind that the Fatherhood of God is not a mere construction of the intellect, still less an idol of the sentiments of men. It came by way of an uplifting consciousness of saints and seers, which reached its highest and fullest expression in Jesus Christ. And so far as world-explanation is concerned it does at least four things for us. (1) It rids us of the external and mechanical conceptions of all lower and incomplete anthropomorphism. (2) It recognises the organic unity of the Universe, supplies confidence in its stability, and an ultimate reason for its evolution. (3) It answers to the inwardness both of true religion and of true science. (4) It accounts for the gradual non-coercive progress of

the Universe stage by stage with the play of spontaneity and freedom within it. All this is due, not to the weakness or carelessness of God, but to His spiritual purpose and to the only means by which such a purpose can be fulfilled. Some may speak of such a Divine Fatherhood as involving the self-limitation of God. But to those who realise the full meaning of the saying "God is Love," it will appear as the only worthy expression of His eternal perfection.

Of course, the acceptance of the Fatherhood of God and its application to the interpretation of the Universe is the acceptance of anthropomorphism in its highest and fullest sense. Yet, as has been seen, it shares this feature with all other and lower methods of world-explanation. Man cannot get outside himself to explain the Universe. It means a venture of faith; but so do all explanations, though this necessity is overlooked where the consequences of the venture are less momentous. To the contention of Vaihinger that all attempts at explanation involve the use of analogies "as if" Reality "behaved in a similar fashion," and are, therefore, "pure fictions," several rejoinders must be made. To begin with, a measure of truth must belong even to an analogy, if it be applicable at all, while a fiction that is essential to the understanding and handling of life must be believed for the moment and for the occasion if it is to be acted upon. Furthermore, what is Reality when man has been excluded from it? Only a bare and meaningless abstraction. Again, what are the "complexes of experience," apart from their relation to consciousness and its activity? In what respect are these "complexes" more real than the "fictions" which make them intelligible? In any case, they are dependent upon faith equally with the "fictions" that explain them. In some forms of mental disease they appear but as a phantasmagoria upon which the will refuses to act. Imagination must needs enter into all our "fictions" and a venture of faith must attend both their formation and the reliance that is placed upon them. Yet the Universe itself, from which man springs and to which he belongs, prompts and compels this venture at all times and for all purposes. It is irrational so to separate man from the entire context of Reality, that his characteristic and essential forms of thought are without justification in its nature. Above all, the highest venture, which both satisfies the spiritual and ethical demands of men, and accounts most fully for the organic unity of a world that culminates in spiritual values, cannot be originated by men in independence of Reality. In such an issue, the way of faith is the way of reason. Hence faith in the Fatherhood of God is the highest and the legitimate use of inevitable anthropomorphism, not its misuse.

J. SCOTT LIDGETT.

THE SCHOOLMASTERS' POSITION.

THE first "Burnham Settlement," after five years of loyal observance by the one side, and repeated infringement by the other, is approaching its dissolution; and a second Committee to consider the whole question, again under the presidency of Lord Burnham, is now in session.

The teachers, considering the many operations and amputations to which the first "settlement" was subjected, in violation both of the letter and the spirit of the agreement, are awaiting the findings of this new Committee with considerable anxiety. There are many among them who feel that their persistent loyalty in the past, in the face of repeated provocation, has earned them no credit, except that of being a profession whose ability to "turn when trod upon" is inferior even to that of the proverbial worm; that the struggle for rights, under present conditions, can only be won by hard hitting, and that ruthlessness must be met by ruthlessness.

That such a fighting spirit should have developed in this peace-loving academic world is a phenomenon of some import; and, far from being deplored, it is to be welcomed as a sign of vitality and of the germination of a healthy self-respect in the profession—heralding emancipation from that subservience in which it has been for so long content to move and have its circumscribed being.

The whole hope of a national settlement of the salaries question hangs on the deliberations of this second Burnham Committee. And if the proposals are such as the Teachers' Associations feel they cannot accept, the policy of collective agreement will receive an irretrievable blow, and the education of the country will be back again in the chaos of local bickering and unrest from which it emerged with such thanksgiving and hopefulness only five years ago.

It seems then in every way desirable at the present moment to lay before the public a clear statement of the teachers' present position, and the steps by which it has been reached.

Most people have come to regard the whole question at issue as merely one of a multitude of wage-adjustment cases arising out of the abnormal conditions due to the War. But the teachers' salary question—or more correctly (especially in regard to secondary schoolmasters) the campaign for the improvement of the status of the teaching profession—dates back long before the Great War.

Whereas in the case of primary teachers a certain standard of qualification may be said to have been established (though not universally enforced), in the secondary sphere qualifications might be any or none; and there were undoubtedly many instances of men of inadequate capacity, employed at very small salaries, or

even on what was known as "mutual terms." On the other hand, there were also in the profession many, who, while their academic qualifications were negligible on paper, were none the less men of sound knowledge, high character and teaching ability; many of these men had won their way by sheer merit, and, in some cases, were occupying positions of the highest responsibility.

Now, so long as the secondary side of the teaching profession was so indeterminate, and no standard of qualification was insisted upon, it was obviously absurd to talk of the profession having a status at all. To meet this defect two measures were adopted, one supplementary to the other, and intended ultimately to be merged in it. The first, and the main step, was the registration of all teachers. A Register was accordingly compiled (to embrace primary teachers also), insisting provisionally on certain qualifications for admission, which for a preliminary number of years were tempered to meet the case of most *bonâ-fide* teachers already in the profession, but were subsequently to become more stringent. The second step was to insist that in future those joining the profession should undergo a course of training in Pedagogy, and qualify by a Teacher's Diploma. This was ultimately to be included as a condition of registration. The first Register, compiled under the auspices of the Board of Education, having incurred a certain amount of odium through its dual system of classification, as between elementary and secondary teachers, besides various extraneous groupings, was presently discarded, and a single Register was established, under the management of a Teachers' Registration Council; and the time was confidently looked forward to when Education Authorities would confine their appointments exclusively to men whose names were enrolled in the professional Register.

Such had been the progress made before the War in the matter of the status of the profession.

The question of an improvement in the salary of the schoolmaster such as would enable him to maintain a position alongside members of the other professions, had also been slowly maturing. Through the strenuous efforts, extending in many cases over half a life-time, of the older members of the profession (who, after spending their lives in circumstances that forbade the expansion necessary above all to a teacher, and rendered matrimony an unthinkable risk to the cautious, or a crushing burden of anxiety to the venturesome, were still whole-heartedly devoting themselves to furthering the cause of the profession for future generations) the goal was at last coming into clear view—when the War broke out.

The part borne by schoolmasters in this great national effort,

whether in the field or at home, will favourably compare with that borne by any other class of the community; while the domestic privation and hardship, due to financial anxiety, during those years weighed exceptionally heavily on them. But, collectively, they bore it in silence. The agitation for salary reform was suspended till the hour of the nation's trial was over, and the goal that had been sighted was once more hidden from their eyes.

But their patience was rewarded; and, at the close of the War, the dawn that had been so long watched for began to appear. A Committee, under the presidency of Lord Burnham, was set up to examine the whole question of the remuneration of the teaching profession, and in due time bore fruit in the issue of a series of recommendations which, though in many respects falling short of the *desiderata* put forward by the teachers, gave sufficient promise of *providing a national settlement* to warrant acceptance even at the price of some sectional sacrifices. Also, it was felt that the fact that the scheme put forward was deliberately framed on a minimum basis gave hope of its scope being widened and extended till ultimately it would establish the teachers once and for all as a recognised and adequately paid profession.

How these hopes of the teachers were fulfilled will now be told.

There were from the very first two features about the findings of the Burnham Committee which were destined to cause trouble. In the first place, in view of the varying conditions in the profession, the recommendations as to salary were, as I have said, laid down on a minimum basis, and it was open to any Education Authority to arrange their schemes on a more liberal scale if they so desired. This provision was in theory sound, and was welcomed by the Teachers' Associations. On the other hand, unless the Board of Education definitely accepted the Burnham recommendations, and took practical steps to enforce their adoption by withholding their grants from any schools that ignored them, educational peace would still be disturbed by local reactionaries, whose conduct was bound to occupy the attention of the Teachers' Associations at the expense of their educational work.

That the Board had no intention of doing this soon became evident; and when it went further, and refused to meet with corresponding grants any payments by Education Authorities in excess of the minima, it was clear that the whole scheme would soon be endangered. (But I am anticipating.)

When the scheme was first made public, it was greeted with general approval; and, as time went on, it was found that, on the whole, the recommendations, in their minimum form, were very widely adopted. And in most cases a generous attitude was taken towards the long-service teachers, in whose case retrospective

allowance was made, either all at once, or in three stages, for past years of service—a process known as the “carry-over.” Furthermore, teachers at present engaged, who had been enjoying the higher scale of salary (where such scales were in force), were by many Authorities automatically placed on the higher scale in the Burnham Scheme—a scale which was in the future to be granted only to those possessing high honours degrees.

It will be readily understood that the atmosphere of the teaching world had been considerably disturbed during the long discussions between its representatives and the Burnham Committee. The life of the teacher had become one of continual meetings, *questionnaires*, and heated discussions. Accordingly, to relieve the situation from a continuance of restlessness that militated seriously against educational peace and the restoration of efficiency—one of the most urgent needs of the country after the War—there had been included in the terms of the Burnham Report a five years' truce, to expire in 1925. Under this, the Teachers' Associations, secured, as they thought, in the undisturbed enjoyment of the provisions of the Burnham Scheme, pledged themselves to suspend, and refrain from, all further agitation till the expiration of the said period.

Freed, at last, from the wasteful drain on their energies caused by the salary question, the teachers, with a sigh of relief, had settled down once more to their proper function of studying and solving the educational needs of the country. A new and promising horizon had been disclosed by the Education Act of 1918 (discounting certain obvious imperfections which time might rectify), and the country seemed on the verge of a great educational revival.

How, as regards the 1918 Act, the new dawn proved a false dawn, and the Act, with all its far-reaching possibilities for good, was crippled almost at its birth is common knowledge, and need not be described here. How the period of rest granted to the teachers was rudely broken into, in defiance of all pledges, and finally shattered is not so generally understood, and demands a full exposition.

After having crippled the 1918 Act, and threatened the fruition of the Burnham recommendations through their supineness in taking no steps to ensure their adoption, the (then) Government presently revealed their real policy, and developed a subtle flank attack on the recent settlement by mooted a 5 per cent. contribution from teachers towards the pensions established under the Act. Now, the pension prospect had been recognised as a powerful factor in the recent negotiations, and had materially contributed to the teachers assenting to the terms offered by the Board, inducing them to waive certain claims which they would otherwise most certainly have maintained.

The principle at issue was felt to be a cardinal one; and when it suddenly became the subject of a debate in the House of Commons, resulting in the defeat of the Government, the teachers, supported, by a considerable section of the Press,* congratulated themselves, and the country, on the triumph of right and the sanctity of pledges.

Among other papers that supported the teachers' cause, the *Manchester Guardian* went so far as to forecast that they need have no further anxiety, as far as the then Government was concerned. And the question was considered as, if not settled, at any rate in abeyance till 1925.

But events proved otherwise. The Government, undismayed by their defeat, having tried the front door, and found it barred, proceeded to a side door—to wit, a special committee of adjudication—which just succeeded in squeezing them through (by a majority of one), a proceeding which, on such a question of principle, was a most flagrant travesty of justice.

Pensions were accordingly declared to be outside the Agreement, and the teachers were at once confronted with the 5 per cent. contributory scheme. Had they stood out for their rights on this matter, their position was a very strong one, and would have commanded the support of all who uphold the sanctity of agreements, and who believe that the circumventing of a difficulty by a breach of faith, however well it meets the needs of the moment, is a precedent as fraught with danger to social peace as is the "scrap of paper" theory—so hotly condemned when initiated by the Kaiser—to international peace.

However, the Teachers' Associations—which are essentially educational in their organisation, and are not equipped for, nor readily disposed to, fighting wage questions on trades union lines—failed to organise their resistance, and, in the end, yielded the position.

* The following quotation taken from a leading article in the *Observer* (April 8th, 1923), headed "The Teacher's Battle," is only one of several instances of the encouraging sympathy shown to the teachers at that time: "His (the teacher's) zeal and perseverance are the one steady factor that has never failed the cause of progress. . . . There have been transient champions in the official world and sporadic enthusiasts outside. But it is the teacher's ideals and interest in his work that have steadily conquered the ground. And in fighting for his interests he is in the main fighting for his ideals, because he knows that a higher economic standard will attract a higher standard of attainments in the recruiting of his profession, and that its work will in the long run be better done."

"There are very few callings indeed which are qualified to throw stones at the teacher on the score of class selfishness. He is only just emerging from his long purgatory of disparagement and underpayment, and he feels that if he should slip back, education may slip along with him. In many cases the two issues are inextricably joined. . . . Relieve the teacher of the misgiving that a wave of purblind 'economy' may engulf himself and cripple the work of his profession, and his Conferences will be no more pre-occupied with salaries, pensions, and so forth than are those of lawyers or medical men."

It was a fatal mistake. In place of strong support in the major part of the better class Press, they found themselves confronted with a growing attack on their whole salary position. The less scrupulous journals represented them as war-profiteers in salary, who were luxuriating in incomes double or treble those received before the War. The whole case on which the amelioration of the teachers' position rested, the fact that the improvement in their salaries was a very much overdue pre-War adjustment, became forgotten or deliberately ignored, and teachers were ranked indiscriminately with all the many industrial groups that had, since the War, been fighting the wage question. The consequence was that, in spite of their hard-won truce, they found themselves involved in the general campaign for the reduction of wages.

The Government, with their confidence in their ability to ride rough-shod over agreements now thoroughly restored, and with a subservient section of the Press barking at the heels of the teachers, now proceeded to widen the breach they had achieved in the Burnham settlement. In spite of the fact that the Burnham recommendations had been put forward as a minimum basis, the Board of Education embarked on the policy, already mentioned, of refusing the additional grants entailed by any Education Authority that adopted more generous salary schemes. Among other consequences of this action—which came like a bolt from the blue on the unsuspecting teachers—the most serious and far-reaching in its injustice was the withdrawal of the "high honours allowance" from all teachers in the profession whose paper qualifications fell short of the standard required. This was a most unexpected and discreditable betrayal of the men who had given their lives to their work, and to helping on the profession, many of whom, though senior members of their staffs and in positions of the highest authority, now found themselves rated below colleagues junior to them both in years and standing.

This betrayal was the most disheartening and demoralising thing that could happen to the teachers; but they could do nothing but watch the ever-widening breach, hoping still that the bulwark of at least the minimum Burnham recommendations was secure.

But even this hope was to be denied them. For, now that the Teachers' Agreement had gone the way of other "scraps of paper," and the salaries of teachers had been definitely included as a fair and open sphere for the operation of the general economy campaign (initiated by the Geddes Committee), a suggestion gradually began to take shape that the profession should voluntarily surrender 5 per cent. of their salaries to tide over the immediate financial stringency.

(Was there ever such a Five Years' Truce in the history of collective negotiation? And what had become of the peace and quiet essential for the revival of our educational efficiency?)

By this time the still small voice of the teachers' supporters was drowned in the clamour of a virulent Press, and the teachers found themselves counselled, even by their well-wishers, to secure their position in the country's favour by this timely act of generosity, an act which would be their surest, if not their only, means of saving the main provisions, still intact, of the Burnham Agreement, when the "truce" expired in 1925 and the whole question came up for reconsideration.

Once more the teachers yielded—though there was many an honest voice that hotly repudiated the hypocrisy of terming their compulsory surrender a voluntary gift. A chorus of laudation in the Press greeted this final sacrifice, and the teachers resumed the narrowed, but *at last* (as they hoped) peaceful tenor of their ways.

But there never was security yet won by weakness (under whatever name cloaked), and the profession now finds itself once more on the brink of a crisis. The year 1925 is approaching. The second Committee under Lord Burnham is now sitting; and Rumour is already bestirring herself.

But the teachers have learned a lesson. And this time there is not a shadow of doubt that a proposal of terms inadequate to the status that they rightly claim for their profession will mean a withdrawal of their representatives from the Teachers' Panel, the disruption of the Burnham Committee, and the indefinite postponement, if not the final annihilation, of all hopes of a national settlement.

STANLEY ROWLAND.

THE NEW GOSPEL OF THE AIR.

I.

WE are being told a great deal too much of the destructive powers of aircraft and far too little of their civilising powers. Our vision is distorted. We are prevented, altogether, from gaining any sense of proportion. We are led to think that nothing but ill can come of man's conquest of the air: whereas, made use of in the right way, this conquest of an element which knows no barriers, and which flows, uninterruptedly, over the whole surface of the globe, has powers which may bring us salvation rather than destruction; which may enable us to drive still farther into the background the menace of any future war.

There are factors which are now about to transform flying as we have known it hitherto. There are wonders dawning which will open up a new page in the world's history. It is an era in which we shall feel ourselves super-men. To-day we send words flashing over cables, or through empty space; but when we ourselves move from point to point—when we have to travel to some far corner of the globe—it is not a question of hours or days, but of weeks of ceaseless travel. It is here that development has languished—in the swift transport of passengers over vast distances. But what science has done in regard to cables and wireless, the most significant of our sciences, aeronautics, is now to accomplish for our bodies. And this is what one means when one speaks of "the new air age."

It is a vision great and splendid! It is a new world we glimpse. Picture what we shall enjoy in aerial pleasure trips. Saturday to Monday in the South of France! A long week-end in Northern Africa! As for our summer vacations, in the popular era of the "skyway," who could put a limit to our roamings? Imagine what it will mean when, in our holidays, we are wafted, magically, to and fro between London and those beautiful islands of the far Pacific.

II.

No one can realise, save those behind the scenes in flying to-day, what strides are being made. Towards the end of the war we were building certain parts of aeroplanes of metal. To-day, after wonderful researches, we are beginning to produce complete aeroplanes of steel. Having a strength and a durability impossible otherwise to obtain, such flying machines of steel, with their long working lives, are now being turned out actually lighter than similar machines of wood.

How is it done? Well, no secret in an air factory is guarded

more carefully than that of the precise methods employed in "making steel fly." Fundamental principles are known generally to experts; but it is the intricate manufacturing processes and methods of assembly which great technicians evolve individually, and protect against infringement or imitation. Primarily, it is a question of imparting strength to thin strips, or "ribbons," of high-grade steel. This is done by a very modern and expert adaptation of a principle which has been known for something like a hundred years. The strips of steel are corrugated. Instead, that is to say, of being left flat, after being drawn from the solid steel, they are passed through dies and bent into a series of longitudinally extending "waves," reminding one of that corrugated paper in which delicate parcels are packed. When a strip of very thin steel is corrugated according to a formula of curves which can be learnt only by arduous research, it combines strength with lightness in a way which is amazing. Such corrugated strips are built up into wing spars. Other featherweight strips are bent over in tubular form to constitute ribs. Then, by all sorts of other clever processes, a complete wing is constructed of steel; while bigger and stronger tubes go to the making of the fuselage, or body.

Not only are aeroplanes of a size possible, in steel, which would have been impossible in our pioneer phase of "wood and wire," but such weight-reductions can be achieved that a big aeroplane can be built of steel which is so light—compared with previous methods—that its cargo-capacity is enhanced considerably, and a much more promising aspect put upon the transport of freight by air.

There is another factor which, when allied to steel construction, is to transform all previous notions as to the cost of aeroplane transport. After a research in which private enterprise has been reinforced by the Government, we are on the eve of the practical use of a new engine for aircraft. This motor, which looks like a huge motor-car engine, is designed on the semi-Diesel principle. The oil engine, as it has existed so far, has been heavy and slow running—admirable for marine propulsion, but unfitted for aerial use. Faced at times by difficulties apparently unsurmountable, the new research has been to take the crude-oil engine, with its advantage of using a cheap fuel, and transform it till, instead of being heavy, it is light, and instead of running slowly it revolves at the pace of a petrol aero-engine, and whirls round an aerial propeller at, say, 1,000 or more turns a minute. At the same time the fundamental principle of the engine, the use of a low-priced fuel, must remain unimpaired.

Such has been the problem—a work, naturally, of years to solve. To-day this aerial oil engine exists in its first practical form—a

great, simple, rather gaunt-looking monster. Externally, at a glance, it looks little different from the crude-oil engines such as drive vessels upon the surface of the sea. But actually it is an engineering marvel—a sign-post along the road to the new era of the flying merchant ship; of the cargo-carrying aerial "tramp"; of vast, luxurious, ocean-going "liners with wings." This leviathan engine has, by secret magic in the use of metal alloys, and after laboratory and other tests innumerable, been turned out, now, practically no heavier than one of our existing petrol-using aero-engines such as have been considered marvels of lightness hitherto. The new giant runs, furthermore, just as fast as aerial exigencies may require.

This new monster-motor, representing probably the most important step forward that flying has taken, is not to use as its fuel any costly high-grade aviation petrol. It will, on the contrary, run on a form of crude-oil fuel which, instead of costing 1/11½ a gallon, as does the best petrol for aeroplanes, will cost a few pence only a gallon. And as the cost of fuel is one of the biggest items in running an air service, it is easy to imagine what a revolution will be brought about in operating charges when we have these oil engines actually adapted to regular airway use. They will alter the complexion of everything. Flying will become cheap as well as rapid. It will be possible to carry air-loads at rates considered impossible only a little time ago.

Experiments with steel spars for the wings of aeroplanes are to bear fruit in the construction of the giant airships it has been decided Britain shall build. So far in advance of anything produced before, in size, speed, and weight-carrying, will be these super-giant airships that they will inaugurate a new era in this field of air development. Their hull-frameworks, housing gas-bags containing 5,000,000 cubic feet of hydrogen, will be of a size permitting the use of hollow girders of specially-tempered steel. These will combine strength with lightness in a manner never obtained before. The new hull-structures, when complete, will in fact be engineering triumphs. Not only will the steel frames be almost unbelievably light, and almost incredibly strong, but they will have an endurance never gained before in airship structures.

This fact, combined with the use of big simple motors burning oil fuel, will put a fresh aspect on the cost of airship operation. Steel airships with oil motors will have such a long working life, and will run so economically, from the view-point of fuel consumption during long flights, that all previous figures will go by the board.

Some idea of what these monster ships will mean, from the aspect of load-carrying, may be gleaned from the fact that their

gas-capacity will give them a gross lifting power equal to approximately 150 tons. Of this as much as 75 tons will be available for fuel, crew, passengers, mails, and cargo. Actually, on the London-India route, which is to be experimented with first, the airships will carry 200 passengers, as well as 11 tons of freight and urgent merchandise. So luxuriously will they be equipped that there will be less noise and motion than in an express train. The airships will have sleeping cabins, dining and smoking-rooms, and even such luxuries as bath-rooms.

What Dominion representatives are most interested in is the scope offered by giant oil-engined airships of steel in solving the problem of transport in the establishment of new communities, overseas, in areas distant from the nearest railhead or centre of supply. It is believed there will be such a reduction in working costs, with staunch-built airships of steel, using crude oil fuel, that it will be practicable to maintain, by the use of weight-carrying aerial " transports," a complete system of communication between any new Empire township and the nearest city or sea-coast station.

Not only passengers, mails and general cargo, but machinery for mining and other operations, could be carried in such airships as are now envisaged. They offer a solution in themselves to that problem of distributing population more evenly throughout the Empire. Not only would they bridge gaps of hundreds and thousands of miles, passing above oceans, seas, mountains, or forests, but they would rob far-distant settlements of that feeling of isolation which weighs so heavily, sometimes, upon those who pioneer in the wilds. Great air transports, flying to and fro, would enable folk in otherwise lonely settlements to travel frequently to and from the cities where they would see life and movement. Money spent on the development of large airships ought, therefore, to be an Imperial investment of the most valuable kind.

III.

The ideal constantly before air enthusiasts, and drawing steadily nearer, is for the world to be girdled, regularly, by 100-miles-an-hour airways, operating by night as well as day. It is such hopes, such ambitions, which breed a *camaraderie* of the air tending, already, to eliminate national prejudices. It is a new spirit, this. Vigorous, progressive, it animates our airwaymen. It is the flame of hope, clear-burning, which illuminates a weary darkness of misunderstanding.

Here is an instance. Half-a-dozen young men, dissimilar in almost everything save their enthusiasm for the air, were, the other evening, in eager conclave, triumphing—thanks to their own

smattering of languages, and the friendly services of an airwayman who was a master of tongues—over the fact that they represented among them as many as five different nationalities. Two of these young men were English. The others comprised a Frenchman, a German, a Dutchman, and a Russian. If they had been talking about anything save flying, they might soon have been at loggerheads, but they were air pilots to a man—skilled drivers of those winged " expresses " which annihilate distances in ever-extending flights. They had this bond of perfect unity. They longed ardently, each and every one of them, for the development of airways. This, to these young men, represented their life's work. Nothing else, in their youthful fervour, mattered.

Here, plain to see, is the portent. In their burning desire to quicken transport, and to inaugurate a high-speed era, these young airwaymen are already becoming denationalised. They forget that they represent all these different nations. Europe, to them, is no longer a patchwork of countries, talking and thinking differently. It is merely a series of ports of call in the unbounded ocean of the air.

It is impressive, this! Especially when these young men, speaking impatiently of the, to them, narrow-mindedness of earth-bound politicians, denounce anything which, in their opinion, retards the progress of airways. The most striking thing of all is that the airman belonging to the country impugned does not hesitate for an instant in joining the general condemnation. Speak slightly of any other of his country's institutions, and he would be up in arms, but remind him of a reactionary tendency of his Government, so far as flying is concerned, and his criticism is as merciless as though he were a visitor from some other planet.

These airwaymen, our new world force, are to do something more than cleave their way above country after country. They are, if their ambitions are realised, to bring with them a new language. The idea is that a universal tongue like Esperanto, or some adaptation of it, should be the regular form of communication upon international airways, not only for technical terms and routine signals, but for the transmission of wireless telephone messages between land stations and pilots in flight.

It is not suggested that nations should, for normal domestic purposes, abandon national tongues. All airwaymen want to do is to save confusion and delay when " air expresses " traverse, say, half-a-dozen countries at 100 miles an hour. But this idea of a new air language, though employed at first only for airway working, will, I believe, appeal irresistibly to travellers who, by their increasing use of the winged express, find they are journeying about Europe with the same facility, and in the same time,

as hitherto they have travelled by train between London and the Midlands. Great, wide-spanned bridges of human understanding, ever-extending though invisible: it is as such, now, that we should visualise our air-lines, bringing nations into a more intimate touch than has been possible hitherto, and, by the spirit they foster, combating the jealousy and ignorance which are seeds of war.

Plans now being developed by Imperial Airways, our £1,000,000 national organisation, together with the tests decided upon with huge airships, enable experts not only to map fresh links in air-lines which are to girdle the globe, but to sketch time-schedules for complete round-the-world journeys by aeroplane express and airship liner. Already technical staffs are concentrating upon extensions of routes which are to stretch south-eastward across Europe. These are to be continued steadily, link by link, according to a great State-aided plan, till mail-planes, goods-planes, and aerial *wagon-lits* rush day and night from London to Australia.

The Air Ministry, having obtained tenders from British firms for the building of multi-engined flying transports, are now ordering the construction of machines of the new types, which will represent a fresh era in air design. Carrying a big load, they will have such a fuel-capacity that they will be able to fly long distances without alighting. Several of the giants, equipped with an engine-plant which frees them almost entirely from any risk of a forced landing, are, it has been decided, to be built throughout of metal. The latest weight-saving schemes, which have been developed recently, during our construction of warplanes of steel, will be incorporated in these new trans-Empire craft.

While construction and experiment are proceeding, an expert survey is being made of the problem of operating day-and-night air routes from London through to Sydney in Australia. It is reckoned, now, that our airways of Empire should operate over a series of stages. Such air-links are now planned as follows:

	STAGE.					MILES.
London-Malta	...	...	...	...	...	1,500
Malta-Cairo	...	...	...	...	...	1,050
Cairo-Baghdad	...	...	...	...	...	900
Baghdad-Karachi	...	...	...	...	...	1,500
Karachi-Calcutta	...	...	...	...	...	1,400
Calcutta-Rangoon	...	...	...	...	...	700
Rangoon-Singapore	...	...	...	...	...	1,200
Singapore-British N. Borneo	...	...	...	...	...	1,100
British N. Borneo-British New Guinea	...	...	...	...	...	1,000
British New Guinea-Pt. Darwin (Australia)	...	...	...	...	...	900
Port Darwin-Sydney	...	...	...	...	...	1,900

A first time-table has been prepared for this route across the globe, passing for more than 13,000 miles above land and sea. The total time of the winged "express," as apart from the time spent in halts at stations, will not be more than 131½ hours, or rather less than six days of continuous night and day travel through the sky. If necessary, on long stages, refuelling will be carried out in mid-air, winged "tankers" rising from intermediate stations and replenishing the stores of the expresses and cargo-planes by means of special flexible-tube connections.

What has been prepared, in view of the forthcoming tests across oceans with new-type airships, is a tentative time-table for a complete round-the-world journey, starting from London by aeroplane, and making use of airship "liners" over such stages as the Atlantic and Pacific. According to this time-table a traveller, ascending from the London air-station in the morning in an aeroplane capable of 105 miles an hour, would, flying *via* Paris, reach Constantinople on the following morning, and Cairo by noon the same day. Then, in a long-distance-machine, with sleeping as well as day accommodation, he would speed to Australia, arriving there on the ninth day after leaving London. The Pacific, to San Francisco, would be crossed in a big airship "clipper of the clouds." The next link would be by trans-American air express, New York being reached on the fifteenth day. The Atlantic crossing to Europe would be made by a great airship liner, the voyage being scheduled so that world-travellers, gliding down at London, effect in seventeen days what Jules Verne's imaginary hero took eighty to accomplish.

IV.

Our new air age promises to be a high-flying age. The 100 miles-an-hour of present-type aeroplanes will, it is considered, be exceeded greatly by adapting machines so that they can take full advantage of the lessened resistance of the air at high altitudes. Before long we may look back on flying machines of to-day, driving a laborious way through retarding lower air, with that same pity with which a traveller in the blue-and-gold Riviera express would let his thoughts wander back to the times when, sitting in open trucks, the first railway travellers jolted along with cinders from the engine blowing into their faces. Wonderful results are rewarding an eight-years' research in sending aeroplanes up to high altitudes and there making them fly miles an hour faster than would be possible in dense air near the earth's surface.

What science is profiting by, now, are experiments, prosecuted assiduously, in perfecting a "turbo-compressor," or light, small, high-speed turbine, the function of which is to "super-charge"

the engine of a high-flying 'plane. What latest triumphs imply is a virtual abandonment of flying near the earth's surface, and an elevation of regular aerial movement miles above our heads. Hitherto, 'planes flying at great heights have failed to profit in speed from the lessened air resistance of high altitudes because their motors have fallen away in power. But the "turbo-compressor" supplies the engine with high altitude air at such pressure that the thinness of this air, as compared with low-altitude air, is compensated for, and the engine preserves its power even at great heights.

In recent experiments remarkable results have been achieved not only with super-charged engines, but also with propellers having variable-angle blades designed to function efficiently at immense altitudes. Sending up 'planes till they have been miles high, experts have been able, lately, to increase their normal speed by more than 30 miles an hour.

Scientifically, the quest now proceeds along the following lines. Experiments are to be made in increasing still further the height of "super-charged" flying, while another research will be to design and perfect saloons in which passengers can be carried through the air at enormous heights and speeds. Such saloons will be supplied automatically, under pressure, with air rendered just as breathable as that at low altitudes.

Scientists, enthusiastic as to the possibilities of immensely rapid flying through thin air at vast heights, now predict that researches will culminate in the institution of regular "super-express" airways, miles high, along which globe-girdling craft will hurtle at 250 and 300 miles an hour. Aerial "soundings," by aeroplanes and balloons at heights as great as six, seven, and eight miles above the earth, reveal enormous upper winds moving at speeds infinitely greater than are attained by those at lower levels. One test-pilot has found himself in a high altitude gale blowing at nearly 200 miles an hour.

Can such "trade winds" of the upper air be harnessed to our purpose in the acceleration of aerial journeys above oceans? This is another question science is now to test. Engines and propellers will be made to function efficiently at heights unattainable hitherto, while high-flying "explorers," in snug cabins, will be supplied automatically with oxygen when they reach heights of 20,000 feet and more above the ocean. A trans-ocean "air express," manœuvred into a vast, swiftly-rushing "tide" of the upper air, is expected to devour distance at five miles a minute, and carry passengers from New York to London in fifteen hours.

This, therefore, is our prospect. It is to send up vast winged ships of metal till they enter "wind-ways" moving at heights

and speeds almost incredible to lowly earth-folk. Manœuvring from one to another of the immense "tides," in which their own speed will be augmented by that of the body of air in which they are moving, these "magic carpets" will so annihilate distance that ultra-modern adventurers, vanishing skyward beyond human view, may girdle the globe not in eighty days, as did imperturbable Mr. Fogg, but in a new air age record of about a hundred hours!

Fantastic, till we are accustomed to them, will be the time-tables of tremendous, slim-hulled air-liners, soaring up from London for their high altitude rushes across the world. Calcutta in thirty hours! Capetown in less than forty hours! Australia in a journey in which the weeks of earth transport will shrink to something like sixty hours!

V.

When flying is cheap as well as swift and safe, as it is certain now to become, it will mean that the world will take to the air. Aerial navigation will become universal. We shall, by degrees, adopt and use one international airway language, which will be the tongue used by all who fly, and which will enable people of all nations to exchange ideas with an ease impossible to-day.

What will all this mean? It will mean that the peoples of the world will get to know each other in a way that has been literally impossible hitherto. They will become friends. They will learn to understand each other's point of view. They will meet each other constantly. They will be as much at home in foreign capitals as they are in their own familiar cities.

What will be the ultimate result? Well, those who have spent their lives in developing this science of aviation believe that men of different nations will grow to know each other so well, and to respect each other so thoroughly, that they will shrink aghast from the very idea of war. It will be a horrible idea for the people of one nation to think of killing and maiming the people of another, and for the simple reason that instead of being more or less strangers they will have become real friends, speaking a common tongue and visiting each other constantly. Evil conditions which go to make war will have been removed. Knowledge will have replaced ignorance. Unscrupulous power-seekers will be unable to foment that prejudice and suspicion which have been used, too often, in setting one nation against another.

Here, then, lies the salvation of the world—in the development of the flying machine as a great and growing method of communication rather than as a weapon of war. This art of flying has, one contends, been sent into the world to be a final test of mankind.

If we misuse it persistently, if we turn it deliberately to purposes of destruction rather than of construction, then civilisation will tumble into chaos after the cataclysm of another world-wide war. But if we prove worthy of this power, the full fruits of which are now about to be reaped, we shall move swiftly into a great era of peace, happiness, and world-wide progress. Gone will be racial antipathies. Gone will be international misunderstandings. The world will be divided no longer into separate "tribes," or great groups of people talking and thinking differently. Those relics of a barbarous age will be banished once and for all. In the air age the world will be inhabited not by masses of people cut off from each other by barriers of oceans, mountains, and a confusing babel of tongues. They will speed at five and perhaps eight miles a minute, high above every earthly barrier or restriction, and, using their common language of the air, will grow by degrees into one vast, happy family, talking and thinking alike, and all working resolutely for the common good.

But is not this still a dream? Is not this still merely a hopeful fantasy? My reply is—a thousand times no! We who have spent the best years of our lives in aviation, and who know, now, what flying is to become, declare with every emphasis, that, given only the right spirit in the hearts of men, this great and golden age is now actually dawning.

We stand, to-day, at its threshold; and if only we think rightly, and act rightly, we can pass across that threshold into a new age in which life, at last, will be worth living for everyone.

HARRY HARPER.

A HOLIDAY IN BOSNIA.

BOSNIA now forms part of the Kingdom of the Serbs, Croats and Slovenes, popularly known as Jugo-Slavia. The chief harbours of the Kingdom are in Dalmatia and it was *via* Dalmatia that the journey about to be described was made.

The best jumping-off ground for Dalmatia is Venice, where the winged lion should be well studied, for he will be seen on rock and rampart all down the Adriatic. There is a service of Italian boats from Trieste and of Jugo-Slav boats from Fiume, both of which ports can be reached by sea from Venice. The Italian boat sails on Saturday morning from Trieste and at one o'clock reaches Pola, now shorn of its former glory as the Portsmouth of the Adriatic.

At Pola on the day we called a large company of youths and girls came on board, many wearing green and yellow hats of velvet with a long peak, and rows of silver medals jingling round the crown. All wore in addition rosettes of the Italian tricolour. They were from the Pola Gymnasium, and were going to visit their colleagues at Zara for the week-end. Zara has been left as an Italian town surrounded by Jugo-Slav territory. When the big Triestino-Lloyd came alongside at Zara at nine o'clock that night, patriotic songs were sung on ship and quay, coloured fires and rockets were discharged, and *carabinieri* in pairs bestowed their blessing on the scene. As we rounded the point on our way south and saw the long, lighted front of Zara facing the sea we could still hear the cheers and singing from the streets. Meanwhile we carved a track in moonlit water and went on among the low islands over a sea as smooth as glass. At dawn we called at Spalato, and those who waked could see the walls of Diocletian's Palace in the faint light. But the Italian boats do not stop long at Spalato. "It is Jugo-Slavia now," the stewards say mysteriously, as if that were next thing to being plague-ridden.

Kurzola, where the best building stone comes from, was passed about nine o'clock, and here were seen Serbian uniforms on the quay and the lion of St. Mark on the fortress above. About the middle of the morning the ship turned into a channel between two islands, and then for a couple of hours steamed slowly up narrow waters to Gravosa, the port of Ragusa. From the islands came the scent of sage, thyme, rosemary and the other herbs with which they are covered down to the water's edge. There is deep water close inshore. The mountains are higher and bolder in the neighbourhood of Ragusa than further north. The lower slopes are covered with vines, grown like currant bushes. Olives and planes have also made their appearance, and cypresses, aloes and cactuses

show that we have reached a true "Mediterranean" climate. The higher slopes of the mountains are very bare and stony, and this is the prevailing impression of Dalmatia. The Serbian name for Ragusa, "Dubrovnik," is, however, said to have originated in the pine forests which formerly clothed the mountains behind the town. Some of the islands are still pine-covered, notably Lacroma just off the town, where the Serbs have installed a sanatorium for consumptive children.

After passing one of these little wooded islands, the harbour of Gravosa opens up and the vessel soon slips alongside the quay, which is the terminus of the narrow gauge railway to Mostar, Sarajevo and Brod. The port and railway are an outstanding monument to Austrian rule, although, as the present owners say, "It was all done by exploiting us." The inscription to Francis Joseph on the rocks above the port has been obliterated.

The porters of Gravosa are like porters all the world over, and it is a relief to get out of their clutches and away in a ramshackle victoria, or even a noisy car, towards Ragusa. The road climbs over the cliffs and then drops down again to the northern gate of the town. We went to a hotel on the far side of the town, and consequently skirted the battlements along a road cut through the rocks outside the walls. No wheeled traffic goes through Ragusa, and the famous Stradone remains unique—a High Street monopolised by pedestrians.

The Stradone is perhaps the one perfect thing in the whole of Jugo-Slavia. From one end to the other it is unspoilt. It is all built of the grey stone from Kurzola, and each shop has a little arched window at the side of the door, no larger and no smaller than its neighbour. The Franciscan church is at one end of the street and the *Dogana* with its arches at the other. Carvings, fountains and archways entice one from side to side.

From the hotel one walks across the terrace on to the rocks and dives into twenty feet of dark blue water, so clear that every stone and sea urchin on the bottom is visible. Seawards the wooded island of Lacroma stands black against the sun, and to the right the bastions of Ragusa break the line of the horizon. The little harbour of Ragusa lies below the battlements, but is only used by fishing boats and small coasting steamers.

Boatmen told us that times are now hard for them. Tourists no longer come in large numbers to Dalmatia, and costs of living are high, particularly for clothes. As one of them said, it is possible to live in the summer when one needs very few clothes, but in winter it is miserable enough. Last year, he said, thousands of Czechs (Bohemians) visited Dalmatia, but the Serbian papers wrote so much against them for taking advantage of the low rate of the

dinar that this year they had all gone to Italy. "They are mad in Serbia," explained the boatman. "They can't manage their own country and interfere with ours."

As far as Gravosa is concerned, things are in some respects brighter. Gravosa is the principal port of Jugo-Slavia and does a larger trade than before the war. Over seventy British ships called last year, against a solitary vessel during 1913. When the new line from Vardishte to Uzhitze is completed there will be direct rail connection with Belgrade without going through Brod. This will tap a large new area in Western Serbia, and will be particularly useful to the plum export trade. What is at present needed at Gravosa is an extension of the deep water quay and more railway sidings. The principal exports are Bosnian timber, cement and dried plums.

The train for Herzegovina and Bosnia leaves at seven o'clock in the morning. Each first and second-class compartment of the train contains four seats, two on each side of the centre gangway. The seats are comfortable, and compared with third class travel in England second-class travel in Bosnia may be considered luxurious. There appears to be very little difference between first and second class. A notice in each compartment requests passengers in the event of seeing any specified forms of vermin to call the guard immediately. We did not see any. Paint has apparently not been applied nor the upholstery renewed since the Austrians left. Nevertheless, the traveller who thoughtlessly puts his feet on the frayed seat will be fined ten *dinars* as in the good old days. It is said that a number of new coaches are shortly to be delivered from Germany.

The route from Gravosa to Mostar, the capital of Herzegovina, is a remarkable one. The line turns east from the port along the shore of a deep-water loch about two miles in length. At the upper end a cascade issues from the mountain and a power station has been installed here. The line climbs over this power station in a series of sharp turns, and issues on to the top of the range of mountains, the Dinaric Alps, which shut off Dalmatia from the interior. The top is bare and arid in the extreme, being in parts nothing but a waste of stones and rocks on edge. In places the stones have been cleared from some hollow and a crop sown in the red soil at the bottom. Some of these fields are about the size of billiard tables. On the other side of the ridge the line runs down into the valley of the Trebinizza, a mysterious river which comes down from Montenegro, floods this wide valley for the greater part of the year, and, finding no exit, disappears into the ground. In the summer the entire valley dries up. A Russian refugee in our carriage told us that there were fish which dived into the

ground after the water and reappeared in autumn when the valley was reflooded. He also told us that a very large vulture inhabited this part of the valley and was never far away from the line. In fact, shortly afterwards a huge brown vulture rose from the rocks a few yards from the line and flew heavily over the train.

At the end of the valley, the railway, like the river, dives into the mountains; but, unlike the river, emerges in the valley of the Narenta. Here there were wide marshy lakes in which people were fishing in boats, and when we crossed the Narenta and arrived at Gabela a quantity of excellent fish, ready fried, were offered for sale. The country here is fertile and was covered with sprouting maize. The peasants were mostly taking their midday rest in the shade. From here on minarets and mosques appear, for Dalmatia was left behind on the hills, and Herzegovina is principally Mahomedan.

Mostar has, as its name denotes, a bridge. This is a very striking Roman structure which crosses the deep valley of the Narenta in a single wide span. There is another modern bridge more easy of approach for the benefit of motorists. Mostar has also its bazaar, its mosques, its fezzed and turbaned men (who look like Turks, but who speak the purest Serbian) and its extraordinarily costumed women. In addition to the black veil they wear a hooded cloak, which projects over the forehead and at the sides of the face in a manner at once grotesque and terrifying.

Above Mostar the railway enters the defile of the Narenta, where the river has eaten a channel through the limestone to the depth of some thousands of feet. To appreciate fully the wildness and grandeur of this defile one should see it from the road, which, like the railway, keeps close to the bed of the river. Side valleys disclose further vistas of crags and pinnacles all grey, but blackened here and there by pines and lit higher up by dazzling patches of snow. Ahead towers the wooded summit of the Iva Planina, over which the road climbs. The railway tunnels under it, after reaching a height of 3,000 feet by the help of a cog-wheel attachment.

A couple of hours by road or rail from the top brings us to Sarajevo, the capital of Bosnia. The two-mile drive from the station to the centre of the town discloses, through clouds of dust, vistas of enormous white breweries, timber yards, flour mills, and other signs of thriving industry, not forgetting the tobacco monopoly. Sarajevo is, in fact, an important centre, and here will be found good shops with modern requirements from Austria and Germany, as well as the bazaar where tinsmiths, goldsmiths, sandal makers and tailors sit at work in their booths, looking as if they had never heard of such a place as Europe.

Our route lay east to the Bosnian frontier at Vardishte, and thence over the mountains into Serbia. On the way we were prevailed on to visit friends at Foca (pronounced Focha) near the borders of Bosnia, Montenegro and Novi Bazar. A pair-horsed carriage climbed with some difficulty from the hotel at Sarajevo to Bistrik station, where the big latticed Turkish houses stand in gardens on the hillside. From here the city is seen spread out below with the river intersecting it, and the public buildings, some of them in eastern style, on its banks. On the hills across the valley are more white Turkish houses, mosques and minarets. Inside the station a crowd of white costumed peasants squatted on the platform, and an incoming train brought another large crowd, mostly women going to market. Their baggage was very strictly inspected by the excise officers, with an eye to tobacco smuggling.

The line from Sarajevo to Vardishte is one of the most romantic in Bosnia. It climbs the hills, passes through forests of pine and beech, crosses Alpine pastures (which only need cows and cow bells to turn them into Switzerland), skirts steep hillsides and plunges into countless tunnels. The station of Rumania was burnt by the Serbs during their advance on Sarajevo in 1914 and has never been completely rebuilt. From here can be seen across the upland plain the high bare crags of the Rumania mountains. The line then enters a limestone gorge, frequently crossing from one side of the river to the other, and tunnelling through the precipitous sides of the defile. The station for Foca is Ustipracha on the Drina, a tributary of the Sava. From here one can take the post-motor, a handsome closed car of Austrian make, delivered as reparations; or one can hire a carriage and travel more leisurely in the open air. The road follows the bank of the Drina and is well laid, like all the roads in Bosnia; but is less carefully maintained now than in the days of the Austrians.

This applies to all the public services. "We have not sufficient funds," say the officials. These officials, appointed by the Ministry at Belgrade, are responsible for everything. Shortly before our visit the vestiges of local self-government had been abolished in Bosnia. "Now," we were told, "everything has to go through Belgrade instead of Sarajevo. It takes months longer; and they know nothing about us and care less."

An evidence that the health administration is in working order was afforded us on the way to Foca. We overtook a man in peasant dress to whom we gave a lift. He was the medical officer's assistant at Foca, and had been out to a hill village, where a case of smallpox had been notified, to put the village in quarantine. "No one," he said, "is to go from the village into Foca till further notice, and all between certain ages are to be vaccinated."

Foca is a quiet old town lying at the junction of the Drina with a small river which rises in the sandjak of Novi Bazar. In one of the mosques is some fine carving on marble and an enormous green flowered carpet, a present from Francis Joseph. It was the policy of Austria to favour the Mahomedans in Bosnia and repress the Orthodox Christians. At present Christians and Mahomedans live, as they say, "like brothers," and in Foca itself we were shown a boarding school for both Christian and Mahomedan boys, the first of its kind in Bosnia. At a workshop close by Mahomedan girls were weaving carpets, such as decorate the walls of Serbian houses. The colours are bright and the designs geometrical.

At Foca almost everyone appears to be a potential mine-owner. He has claims staked out in mountains, where, had he only the capital, he could extract fabulous wealth in brown coal, copper, lead, zinc "and perhaps also gold and silver." We were taken to see some of these prospects on the hills towards the Montenegrin frontier. We rode at first along a cobbled Roman road on the old route between Salonika and Spalato. Then we climbed up stony tracks through beech scrub and forest to pine woods. We crossed glades covered with orchises, pansies and gentians and came out at length on an open grassy crest where there were the remains of an Austrian blockhouse. From here there was a magnificent view over valley and mountain. The sandjak lay to the east and the snow-covered peaks of Montenegro to the south. The district is evidently very rich in timber, and should be rich in cattle, for everywhere there are splendid alps for summer pasturage. They are apparently used to some extent, but the country must be much understocked.

The mine workings were close by. A short tunnel had been constructed in each case and workmen were there extending them and erecting props. They obligingly knocked off chips from the walls for our inspection. One was copper ore and one lead. There is no doubt about the mineral wealth of Bosnia, but difficulties of transport stand in the way of its exploitation.

We made a rapid return journey from Foca to Ustipracha in the post-motor, starting in the early dawn. From Ustipracha it is an hour and a half's run to Vishegrad, the last part through another very fine gorge. The Drina becomes a big stream after joining the Lym. In fine weather it is dark green, but we saw it brown and muddy with storm water from the hills. Timber rafts are constantly going down on their way to the Sava and Danube.

The line stops at present at Vardishte on the old Austro-Serbian frontier. We were told there was a post-motor from here to Uzhitze, but on arrival found nothing but a very wretched cart,

with an empty box in it as seating accommodation. A typical Serbian peasant who was in charge said this was the post conveyance. A young commercial traveller who was also going to Uzhitze had two large suit cases, but these were stowed to the satisfaction of the driver by lashing them on top of the back springs of the cart.

The change from Bosnia to Serbia was immediately evident in the quality of the road, which got worse and worse all the way to Uzhitze. The prefect at Uzhitze, however, classed it as a good road. A new one has been begun on a different line across the hills, but work on it has stopped for some time on account of lack of money. The new railway line is being pushed forward energetically and is expected to be open at the end of the year. Russian engineers and refugees are in charge of some of the sections, and on others there is a miscellaneous and not very prepossessing crowd of labourers. There are two sets of hills to tunnel through.

On the way we had heard a good deal of the bandits and highwaymen on this road, and although Milan, the coachman, laughed at the idea, we noticed that he was wearing a revolver. As we passed through Mocra Gora at the foot of the Shargan hills someone shouted, "So they haven't killed you yet, Milan!" There appears to be, in fact, a good deal of lawlessness in this region, partly owing to discharges from the railway camps and partly owing to bad times in general. On the other side of Shargan we passed through an area which was being harried by four escaped prisoners. They went about armed and uniformed like gendarmes. Sometimes they held up people on the road, but of late since more gendarmes had been drafted into the district these men had taken to making night descents on villages and rifling the strong box of the mayor (*presednik*), or holding up a group of unarmed peasants.

At one village seventeen men had been tied up at a tavern by these four bandits while their note cases were rifled. The proprietor of a neighbouring inn came out with a gun and was shot. We saw him afterwards at Uzhitze with his arm in a sling. The peasants were loud in their complaints at lack of protection, but they agreed that some peasants must be harbouring the robbers. A reward of 120,000 *dinars* had been offered for their capture dead or alive.

The reason that it pays to hold up Serbian peasants is that large amounts of reparations have recently been distributed among them. Some of the men robbed had as much as £20 on their persons. The commercial traveller told us that trade was much better in Serbia than in Bosnia and that his customers there would pay cash for large orders. Shopkeepers in Uzhitze also told us that they

had no complaints to make on the score of trade. We said we had heard bitter complaints of hard times in Bosnia. "The Bosnians are never satisfied," we were told.

Although Serbia is in a more prosperous condition than Bosnia travelling there is less pleasant. At Uzhitze our hotel had a large and strident orchestra but small and verminous bedrooms. The waiter, however, said it was a much better place to live in than Detroit, where he had spent several months making some of the Fords which bounce from hummock to hummock along the Serbian roads.

The railway from Uzhitze is narrow gauge as far as Stalach. The carriages are very poor compared with those in Bosnia. There is no illumination at night except an oil lamp which the conductor lights by hand in each compartment. Traders who were travelling with us said that the despatch of goods was subject to great delay.

We were bound for the ancient monastery of Studenitzza, founded by the first king of Serbia, Stephen Nemanya, in 1170. We left the railway at Kraljevo, on the river Ibar, and took a carriage into the mountains. On the way we passed gangs of Russian refugees working on a new road from Kraljevo to Rashka, which will be continued eventually to Novi Bazar and Montenegro. The Russians were many of them men of fine appearance. They had constructed excellent little houses for the engineers in charge at various points along the road, and wooden pavilions for the "labourers" who, of course, are men of all social grades. At one place a large wooden hospital had been erected by the side of the swiftly flowing Ibar.

The monastery of Studenitzza is perched upon a bluff above the Studenitzza stream, a tributary of the Ibar. It was here that Stephen Nemanya retired as a monk after his abdication. His tomb is in the church which he built. The church is of white marble from an adjacent quarry and is richly decorated in the Byzantine style. The original tower was destroyed by the Turks, but the fine south and west doors remain. The west door is now inside the church, as the building was extended to the west by Saint Sava, Stephen Nemanya's son. This door has figures of the Virgin and Child supported by two angels over it, and smaller figures of the twelve Apostles round the arch of the door. The faces have been destroyed by the Turks, and the columns at the sides of the door broken. The interior walls of the church are covered with frescoes, many of them of early date. These have also been a good deal defaced. The baptistery is a treasure-house of early Serbian art, and, indeed, the whole monastery is a reminder of Serbia as she was before the Turkish invasion. Elsewhere in the country one is struck by the modern and rather tawdry appearance of public and private build-

ings, due no doubt to a constant ravaging in the various wars and insurrections.

Visitors are made heartily welcome at Studenitzza by the abbot and his five monks, who also keep open house for all the sick and needy of the neighbourhood. The monastery has wide lands, including forest, field and vineyard; but the abbot, like other landed proprietors, does not find the present time a very easy one.

We returned from Studenitzza to Kraljevo by way of Banja (literally "Bath"), a small spa on the banks of the Ibar. There are many of these spas scattered throughout Serbia, where mineral baths and waters may be taken. These spas are well laid out with wide tree-planted streets and shrubberies. At Banja we found, to our surprise, an airy terrace restaurant, with a waiter in an immaculate dinner jacket. A few people were enjoying a Sunday outing from Kraljevo, but there seemed no great abundance of resident visitors.

About two miles nearer Kraljevo, across fields covered in May with meadowsweet and bordered by hedges of wild roses, lies Zhicha, where the kings of Serbia are crowned. King Alexander is expected to be crowned there this year. In olden times a fresh doorway was made for each new king, and we saw several in the church which had been bricked up.

All this part of Old Serbia is completely different in its outlook and manner of life from Bosnia or Dalmatia, and the sudden union under one Government has raised problems which do not yet seem in the way of solution. The Belgrade Government by its insistence on centralisation is not making its own task easier, and on our return journey through Bosnia we obtained additional evidence of the extent of the dissatisfaction. Those most favourable to the Government pointed to their enormously increased responsibilities, the small reserve of administrative skill and financial resources on which they had to draw and the comparatively short time in which they had been in control. A small man is carrying a big load.

ANTHONY DELL.

NOTE.—The above article was written before the fall of M. Pashitch. The new Democratic Government at Belgrade apparently intends to reverse the policy of centralisation.

THE THREE-PARTY SYSTEM IN SWEDEN.

IT may, perhaps, seem presumptuous of a Swede to lay before the English public his views on such a subject as Parliamentary government, a matter into which the English have penetrated more deeply than any other nation. It is true that Sweden, like England, has unbroken Parliamentary traditions ever since the Middle Ages—our “Model Parliament” belongs to the year 1435—but apart from a period of some few decades during the eighteenth century, when the Crown was entirely pushed into the background and “Hats and Caps” alternately formed Parliamentary party governments, it was only quite lately that the Parliamentary system, in any strict sense of the term, became firmly rooted in Sweden. But in any case, this article owes its existence to the fact that the division into three parties which has now arisen in England, and which has thrown the British Parliamentary system out of its old tracks, has prevailed for ten years in Sweden.

Since the year 1914 the Liberal Party in Sweden has been crushed between two larger and more extreme parties, neither of which, however, has commanded an absolute majority in the *Riksdag*. We have made experiments with Social-Democratic and Conservative Ministries, with a Liberal-Socialist Coalition Ministry resting on an absolute majority in the *Riksdag*, and with “non-political” Ministries. During the greater part of this period a policy has been followed of a more or less pronounced Liberal complexion, though there has been no such thing as a purely Liberal Ministry.

From the principle that the largest party should form the ministry, even if it is without an absolute majority, has come a succession of ministerial crises and awkward political situations. A check has been given to party bitterness; but the moderation which those who are “in office, if not in power” have to impose upon themselves may also easily assume the appearance of vacillation, of undignified compromise with their own convictions. Hence we ask ourselves whether the confusion which the new division of the electors has caused in Parliamentary life is unavoidable or whether we can adapt ourselves to the new state of things. I believe that every practical politician instinctively feels that the latter alternative must be possible. We cannot, of course, get away from the difficulty by means of a return to the classical two-party system. A division into three or more mutually independent parties, none of which commands an absolute majority, is just as “normal” as its distribution into two parties, even though it be a novelty. The electors can hardly be transmogrified merely to

clear away the technical difficulties which are based upon the fact that the population takes leave to think in more than two ways in political matters. We have to build up a stable system of government on a new basis.

How, then, should the principles of Parliamentary government, which are unalterable in essence, be properly adapted to the new conditions? In the course of a discussion in the Swedish Press in 1917, I put forward certain considerations on this question in the Liberal paper *Dagens Nyheter*, based on a statistical survey which I had made of the votes cast during recent sessions of the *Riksdag*. As Swedish politics during the subsequent years have given me no reason to change my opinion, I venture to submit it to an English public.

What is the fundamental principle of Parliamentary government? In my opinion, it is that the responsibility of government shall fall to the strongest party, that is to say, the party which has the greatest possibilities of carrying out its wishes. In the days of the old two-party system the largest party was obviously the strongest party. Even if there are more than two parties, the largest is automatically the strongest if it commands an absolute majority. But suppose no party has an absolute majority. The distinction that we have to make, and which seems so obvious, appears not to have been observed by those who consider that the largest party in a Parliament is bound *sans phrase* to undertake the responsibility of government. Here, it is evident the tradition from the days of the two-party system plays its part. But the distinction is necessary. For if no party commands an absolute majority, the *situation* of the parties, and not their *size* is the decisive factor. If we imagine the parties arranged along a line, from the extreme “Right” to the extreme “Left”—as indeed they usually are—that party will be the strongest within which the middle point of the line falls. As it is only exceptionally that wing parties work together against the intermediate party, the majority in a division is nearly always formed by the parties which stand near one another. Hence, this majority must stretch over the middle point; and from this it follows that the centre party must for the most part have the decision in its hands, regardless of the question whether the party is large or small. It must be admitted that this line of argument loses some of its practical value if the parties show a tendency to arbitrary grouping. But, speaking broadly, no firm Parliamentary régime can be maintained if party conditions are chaotic.

On a superficial view it may be thought to be unreasonable that quite a small party should carry more weight than a large one; and attempts have been made to discredit the whole system by

selecting an extreme case and criticising it—the imaginary case that a *single* person stood between two equally large parties and thus held the balance of power. Even so, the machinery would, as a matter of fact, work much more satisfactorily than if this middle man were lacking, and there were two equally large parties face to face with one another. In the latter case the result of the division would depend upon pure chance; in the former it would depend upon the more or less consistent notions of a single person. The solitary man, who has emerged in Norway on some occasion or other, will probably not put in his appearance yet awhile; but the situation in which a small party controls the decision is not inconceivable. Nor would such a situation involve anything contradictory to the conception of “the people being master in its own house.” For if public opinion is divided between two almost equally strong “popular wills,” then, for the will of the people to be realised, it is a matter of comparative indifference which party gets the upper hand, and the power of a small intermediate party to turn the scale cannot be branded as oligarchy in the ordinary sense of the term. For it is within this party that the *centre of gravity*, so to speak, of public opinion really lies. It is true that, if the intermediate party is extremely small, a certain degree of uncertainty may arise, just as when, in the days of the two-party system, one party had only an insignificant majority. In such a case, of course, it is always possible to appeal to the country in the hope of getting a more definite expression of opinion.

On the supposition that no party commands an absolute majority, the intermediate party will, of course, be powerless, as stated above, if its neighbours to the Right and to the Left combine to form a majority. It makes no difference whether the intermediate party is the largest or the smallest. There is another possible case in which the intermediate party would be powerless. Suppose it to be the smallest of the three. Each party has its special point of view in some question, and in a preliminary vote the motion of the middle party might be defeated. After that we have only the motions of the extreme parties to choose between, and yet, even in this case, it may well happen that the motion of the intermediate party was the one which made the most general appeal. The issue of the division, then, was due to technical imperfections in the method of voting.

The two exceptions here mentioned from the general rule that the middle party is, from a Parliamentary point of view, the strongest, are not of such a nature as appreciably to discredit this rule. They are far too rare. In point of fact, the struggle lies mostly between two motions only, and here the middle party and one or other of the extreme parties work with one another. This

co-operation has led to the accusation that the Liberal Party in the *Riksdag* has shown a disposition towards a vacillating, zig-zag policy. This accusation may be justified if the three-party views were to be compared with three parallel lines, and the two extreme parties had faithfully followed their own line, while the middle party pursued an angular course and wavered first towards the left outer line and then towards the right-hand line. But three separate political views do not mean three separate ways of conceiving the solution of each problem. Two parties can quite well work together in any individual case without either of them tampering with its convictions. If the co-operation is the result of a compromise, however, there is no reason to suppose that such a compromise is chiefly made at the expense of the middle party.

The following facts would seem to show that the conception of the possibility of the middle party which has been put forward above is not a mere chimera. During the “summer session” of the *Riksdag* in 1914 and the ordinary sessions of 1915 and 1916 none of the three parties in the Second Chamber (corresponding to the House of Commons) possessed an absolute majority. Moreover, the Liberal middle party was the smallest of the three. An examination of the division-lists of these sessions yields the following surprising results. (I have included only those divisions in which it seemed to me quite clear that party lines were substantially followed.)

In 1914 (second session), party lines were followed in thirty-seven divisions. In seventeen the Social-Democrats plus the Liberals were victorious; in fourteen, the Moderates (=Conservatives) plus the Liberals; in four, the special motions of the Liberals were carried, and in two those of the Moderates. Consequently, thirty-five out of the thirty-seven divisions were in favour of the Liberal motions, seventeen in favour of those of the Social-Democrats, and sixteen of those of the Moderates. In 1915, out of thirty-five divisions, the Liberals won in twenty-nine, the Social-Democrats in twenty-three, and the Moderates in fourteen. In 1916, out of thirty-four divisions all thirty-four turned out as the Liberals wished, while twenty-three were in accordance with the wishes of the Social-Democrats, and eight with those of the Moderates. If we add together the division figures for all three sessions, we get 106 divisions, in which the Liberals scored ninety-eight victories, the Social-Democrats sixty-three, and the Moderates thirty-eight.

Here we have treated only those party measures in the *Riksdag* in which the decision was made by a division. In the far greater number of cases where no decision was desired, the issue was regarded as self-evident; and accordingly the majority was probably formed throughout in the usual manner, *i.e.*, one component consisted of either the Social-Democrats or the Moderates while

the other always consisted of the Liberals. During the three years mentioned, therefore, the actual power of the Liberals in the Second Chamber was considerably stronger than is indicated by the above figures.

During these three years the Liberals were in Opposition. As a matter of fact, though they were the smallest party in the *Riksdag*, they should have been in office, as they were by far the strongest party. The Liberal Government which retired in 1914 had been supported by a Liberal Party which at that time was the largest in the *Riksdag*. The Liberals then had the responsibility of government on the strength of the doctrine that the largest party has the obligation of assuming it. And yet even then they had not an absolute majority and were as much dependent on their neighbours as after 1914.

There are valid reasons against government by a flank party which does not command an absolute majority. Thus it may be said that it is as improper to give a government responsibility without power as it is improper to give a government power without responsibility. A MacDonald Ministry, for instance, would be powerless the very moment it sought to realise any specifically Socialistic schemes. It could be successful only so long as it pursued a Liberal policy, and surely it is a sound Parliamentary principle that Liberal policy should be carried out by a Liberal Government.

One thing more. In the case of two outer parties, it is not a matter of course that that party is strongest which is the larger, but rather that party with which the middle party most usually co-operates. Consequently, the largest party need not necessarily be even the second strongest. Thus the superiority of the Social-Democrats over the Right in the *Riksdag* during the years dealt with above was not due to the fact that they had been one man stronger than the Conservatives, but that they were nearer to the Liberals in their political conceptions. Here, too, therefore, quantitative considerations must be accorded a secondary place.

Influenced by these quantitative considerations, the Swedish Liberals have consistently declined governmental responsibility during the last few years. Probably they have feared that governmental standing would in the long run still further diminish the already decimated party. Nobody can say, of course, how things would have gone if they had assumed office; but their holding aloof has brought them no good. Under-estimating their own power, they have been regarded by others also as a negligible quantity—and the electors have not been particularly kind to them. Moreover, the sense of impotence has weakened their power of holding together.

It might be objected to this "centre-of-gravity Parliamentarianism" that the stimulating competition for power between the parties, which has hitherto been one of the distinguishing marks of Parliamentary government, might easily become dulled if a middle party attained such a privileged position. But we must deal with power factors as they are; and, moreover, the existence of more than two parties need not deprive any of them of the hope of attaining an absolute majority at a general election. May it not also be said that "centre-of-gravity Parliamentarianism"—which, perhaps, should be entirely built upon and form the logical consequence of a thorough-going system of proportional representation—creates a Government whose foundations are firmly laid in the centre of the parties? This is obviously the best expression of the will of the people, inasmuch as the minority parties also play a certain part in the creation of the majority that the Government must have in each particular division in the House. Does not this *via media* Parliamentarianism, which causes the ship of State to steer its course in the middle of the fairway, form a precious guarantee of continuity; and can it not bear comparison with the classical system of Parliamentary government, which causes the ship of State to veer violently, sometimes towards one shore and sometimes towards the other?

GUNNAR GYLLANDER.

A RESTATEMENT OF THE MALTHUSIAN DOCTRINE.

MALTHUS AND POPULATION.

IN the year 1798 the Rev. Thomas Malthus, a Church of England clergyman, and curate of Albury, in Surrey, published a most remarkable book, entitled *Essay on the Principle of Population as it affects the future improvement of Society*. The influence of this work on all subsequent economic thought has been profound, and to-day the theories of Malthus are being discussed more anxiously than ever before. It is surely necessary for all who are interested in social conditions to know something of the thesis presented and its relations to present day problems.

In order to present the theories of Malthus in small compass it will be necessary to give only the barest outlines, but these will suffice for a general idea. Previous to his time the question of whether the earth would always be able to supply sufficient means of subsistence for mankind had been discussed in a somewhat desultory manner by philosophers, who had come to the satisfactory conclusion that, in the event of a great increase of population, science would be able to increase the means of subsistence, or reason would prevent an inordinate growth of population. This was the proposition that Malthus examined, and his conclusions were sufficiently startling to rivet attention upon his work. He maintained that the fear of over-population actually becoming a menace to mankind was a real one. Nature had implanted in man the instinct of reproduction which, left to itself, must result in starvation and death, by reason of the numbers of people outstripping the possibilities of food production. In this constant pressure of the sheer weight of numbers of humankind on the resources available for food, we find, he averred, the real key to the history of all nations, the secret of man's misery and his unending woes.

Malthus formulated his theory in mathematical form by asserting that population increases by geometrical progression, subsistence by arithmetical. That is to say, the first is represented by a geometric series, where each successive member is a multiple of the previous one. The second series increases in arithmetical progression, that is, by simple addition. The two series, the first of the increase of population; the second, the increase of the means of subsistence, may be illustrated thus:—

1.	2.	4.	8.	16.	32.	64.	128.	256.
1.	2.	3.	4.	5.	6.	7.	8.	9.

Each term represents a period of 25 years, and it will be seen that, according to this, population will double every quarter of a cen-

tury; while the means of subsistence only increases by an equal amount during these periods. Thus in a period of 225 years, as shown in the table, population has increased to twenty-seven times the means of subsistence.

At first sight such a proposition may appear to be out of the question. It is now one hundred and thirty years since Malthus published his startling thesis, and as we look around to-day we find that, except in certain areas, such as portions of China, though our populations have increased enormously, yet our supplies of food have kept pace with them, and there is sufficient to feed us all, and a little over; indeed, there is more food to-day than in Malthus' time. But before we dismiss the whole subject in so summary a fashion we may pause a moment and examine the problem a little closer. In the first place, was he correct in saying that population tended to double itself every 25 years? Such, at least, is the biological law of generation. Malthus regarded a family of six children as being a normal one, which it was in his time, although in our own and other countries this figure would be too high for the present day. Of these six, two will die before attaining marriageable age, or will not marry at all; so that we have four who will in turn, some time before or after they attain their twenty-fifth year, become parents themselves in the proportion just given. We might argue that such is impossible; but when considering it carefully, we shall see that it is by no means impossible; it is, in fact, inevitable. Man is one of the least prolific of all the animals, and yet he is able to increase at this rate; when one thinks of the more prolific, the imagination begins to be confounded.

THE LAW OF DIMINISHING RETURNS.

Is he equally correct in his second assumption that the means of subsistence are only increasing in arithmetical ratio? This question is a little harder to answer satisfactorily, but even in this we may still affirm that Malthus is correct.

It is a commonplace of economic theory that after a certain point has been reached agriculture is conducted on a scale of diminishing returns. That is to say, that a given piece of land will produce under given circumstances only an ascertainable maximum of food-stuffs; and if the effort to produce more is persisted in, the results will not be commensurate with those efforts, but will tend to diminish. Thus, supposing a farmer experimented with an acre of land for growing wheat. The first year he uses no fertiliser at all, and he reaps 15 bushels. The next year he puts in a certain amount of fertiliser and reaps 20 bushels. The year after that he puts in a double dose of fertiliser and reaps 30 bushels. There is

no reason why he should not continue to increase the amount of fertiliser he uses each year and reap greater and greater returns; in fact, it is upon record that in experiments conducted at Cambridge, 96 bushels of wheat were grown from one acre, and 110 bushels are reported from the Experimental Farm at Ottawa. But, as every farmer knows perfectly well, such production is not economic; because there comes a time when, although you are increasing your output, yet you are doing it at a very rapidly increasing cost, a cost greater than the increase in production.

There is, moreover, another side to this doctrine of diminishing returns. The world is reaching out every year farther and farther in its search for new regions of food production. The great plains of the United States and Canada have been overrun in the lifetime of those still living, and now only perhaps Siberia remains as the last granary of the human race. Each time new territory is reached the effort becomes greater, the haul to the centres of population longer. In its extensive form the law of diminishing returns also functions; to produce a like amount from the new land as from the old a greater effort is necessary. The production of foodstuffs has certainly increased stupendously since the days of Malthus, but it has been accomplished by an unceasing effort to press forward to new lands, by use of machinery and mechanical devices for transportation and storage, all of which have merely hastened the exhaustion of the soil and accelerated the action of the law of diminishing returns.

THE PROOF OF THE THEORY.

That Malthus was at least theoretically correct in his thesis is admitted by mathematicians, and we may here give a mathematical proof that has been formulated by one of the foremost statisticians in the world, Mr. G. H. Knibbs, formerly Commonwealth Statistician of Australia. The steps by which Mr. Knibbs sets out to prove the truth of the Malthusian doctrine are as follows. An increase of population at the rate of 1 per cent. per annum is often regarded as unduly slow; the increase for the United States between 1790 and 1860 was nearly 3 per cent. per annum, a rate which has recently been attained in Australia. That this rate cannot possibly last even five centuries is a fact, however, that, though immensely important, is not realised.

It has been contended in reply to Malthus that experience has shown that food production will advance even more rapidly than the growth of population. It can do so for only a very limited time. The false inference has been drawn from this fact that therefore almost any population can be provided for. The point demands attention, for the argument is a plausible one. Notwith-

standing that, it is invalid, as can easily be shown. If the earth's present population be taken as low even as 1,500,000,000 persons (which is, of course, an underestimate), and its land area, excluding the Arctic and Antarctic continents, be assumed to be, say, 33,000,000,000 acres; and if, further, it is supposed that by some means it is possible to make the whole of this land-area yield an average of as much as 22.8 bushels of wheat per annum, the total yield would be only 752,400,000,000 bushels.

In Australia, and in fact generally, the wheat consumption is on the average about equivalent to 5.7 bushels per annum, *viz.*, one-fourth of the amount above assumed as the production per acre. This means that the total population which could be fed with 5.7 bushels of wheat per annum, together with other foods in like proportion, would be only 132,000,000,000, at a rate of increase of population of 0.01 per annum, somewhat less than the rate for all countries which have accurate statistics; and it would require only 450 years to exhaust the food requirements mentioned (more exactly 449.96 years). That no possible increase of the earth's productiveness can materially affect the question can also be readily shown. For, to postulate the impossible, let it be supposed that every acre of area on the earth's entire surface could produce as much as 228 bushels, that is, ten times the above amount, with other foods in like proportion, this being done, it would take less than 700 years (681.37 years) for the population to exhaust the food supply. The fundamental element in Malthus' contention is thus seen to be completely established. Even a low rate of increase must soon exhaust the possible food supply.*

So far we have followed Mr. Knibbs in his calculations, and we may now conveniently amplify somewhat his conclusions. It is to be noted that he has postulated that the whole land area of the globe shall be put under cultivation for wheat growing. Of course he does not really imagine that such is possible, he merely assumes such for the sake of his argument. As a matter of fact, a moment's reflection will show that this is utterly impossible, since a large amount of the earth's surface is totally unfit for the growing of foodstuffs. From that total we must subtract those areas which are waste, mountainous or swampy, or covered by cities or towns, and we shall find the area potentially available for the raising of foodstuffs very sensibly diminished. A calculation of the amount of land in the United States actually or potentially available for food raising has lately been made by Professor East, and we may assume that what is true of the United States is more or less true of the whole globe.†

* *The Mathematical Theory of Population.* By G. H. Knibbs. Commonwealth Census of Australia. Appendix I. (Melbourne, 1917.)

† *Population.* By Professor E. M. East. *The Scientific Monthly.* (June, 1920.)

Professor East says that the whole land area of the United States amounts to 1,903 million acres; and 47 per cent. is now included in farms, although only about 55 per cent. of the area of these farms is improved. There remains 1,023 million acres as a reserve supply. Of this, 468 million acres is arid land having an annual precipitation of less than 15 inches; 200 million acres must be preserved as forest lands; 15 million acres is swamp, with perhaps 40 million acres permanently unusable, and 41 million acres is already in cities, roads and railroads. There is, then, a grand total of 749 million acres which must be withheld from agricultural use permanently, without allowing for urban and transportation increase. But from this we must subtract a total of 40 million acres which will become available through irrigation, leaving a total of 709 million acres which will never be available for the raising of foodstuffs.

Now 709 million acres is 37.2 per cent. of the total land area of the United States, and if we may safely draw a comparison between the United States and the rest of the world (and it is quite reasonable to suppose we can), from the total land area of the globe we must subtract 37.2 per cent., that is to say, from 33 billion acres we must subtract 12,276,000,000 acres, leaving a total of 20,724,000,000 acres of the globe's total land area outside of the Arctic and Antarctic continents available for foodstuffs. Then, taking Mr. Knibbs' figure of 22.8 bushels of wheat raised from each acre, we arrive at the sum of 472,507,200,000 bushels as the ultimate maximum of the world's food production, which, allowing 5.7 bushels per annum as the requirement of each individual, allows for a maximum world's population of slightly under 83 billions, instead of Mr. Knibbs' estimate of 132 billions. Assuming that the world's population will increase at the rate given by Mr. Knibbs, namely, 1 per cent. per annum, a small mathematical calculation will reveal the fact that the present estimated world's population of 1,500,000,000 will have reached 83 billions in about 170 years, not the 450 years that Mr. Knibbs reckons.

FEEDING THE PEOPLE OF THE WORLD.

But our conclusions based on the calculations of Mr. Knibbs may be supplemented by further inquiries as to the possibilities of feeding the colossal populations of the future. We have already spoken of the law of diminishing returns in agriculture and we may now return to the subject. It is common knowledge that pioneer agriculture is wasteful and impoverishing to the land. Such is inevitable, and the pioneer can hardly be blamed for it. With generally little capital, he is forced, in order to secure himself, to produce as much as he possibly can. Wheat is the ideal crop for

such a purpose on such land as the Canadian western prairies. It can be grown comparatively easily, can be marketed readily and gives the largest return for its bulk of any field crop except rice. Naturally the pioneer raises wheat, and continues to do so as long as his land will yield a return sufficient to pay him. But land that will yield 30 bushels of wheat when it is virgin soil, will not give as bountifully in after years, and, by continual cropping of the ground without rotation, soil exhaustion very soon approaches to that point where it is not profitable to raise wheat. Great tracts in the Red River Valley, perhaps the finest wheat lands in the world, have been so exhausted that they no longer produce wheat, but have been turned over to mixed farming. In the Canadian West, the mixed farming country is creeping steadily westwards as soil exhaustion increases. So far as Western Canada is concerned we are now living in a period of rapidly diminishing returns. True, the crops are still very great in volume, and are even increasing in size. This does not arise, however, from greater fertility, but rather from a greater extent of land put under tillage.

The fact that Canada is rapidly turning from a grain raising to a mixed farming country is not without its significance to the problem of food raising for the world. It is a fact not generally realised that a meat diet is a comparatively wasteful and expensive one, not adapted to the support of a very dense population. The American farmer grows corn and feeds it to cattle and then eats the cattle; but one ox eats as much as five men, and requires five times as much land for his support. The ox that consumes as much as five men lives at least two years and will not produce over 750 lbs. of meat. If we reckon that an average ration of meat is a quarter of a pound a day, which is a somewhat low estimate,* we arrive at the conclusion that the ox provides 3,000 days' rations, while the amount that he has eaten would represent 3,750 days' rations for the cereal eater, which simply means that 750 days' rations are lost to the world by every ox raised for the market.†

Perhaps it may be objected that all these small calculations are somewhat fanciful, and that they really do not bear upon the subject in hand. A little reflection will, however, clearly demonstrate that all we have said is very pertinent to the problem of the future population of the world, and the possibility of feeding it. We may now go a step further and show that in the United States at least the raising of cattle is in a state of diminishing returns. According to Professor East, who takes his figures from the Year Books

* The regular army ration is 20 oz. per man.

† J. Russell Smith. *Industrial and Commercial Geography*, p. 26. (Holt and Co., New York.)

of the United States Department of Agriculture, the production of swine in the United States was only two-thirds in 1916 of what it was in 1880. The production of sheep in 1916 was not much more than half what it had been in 1900, and beef cattle had declined more than one-third in the same period. He demonstrates that the acreage production of the great cereals has not appreciably fallen, although the *per capita* production has declined;—

And this in face of a tremendous increase in the use of fertilisers, a wide-spread propaganda for better methods of cultivation which was not without its results, a constant influx of improved machinery, and a continuous production of new and better yielding varieties. There is but one conclusion. Diminishing returns in agriculture are operating, and with a continuously and rapidly increasing population they will become more and more in evidence.

The conclusions to which Professor East arrives are weighty enough to merit our most serious attention :

If pressure upon the means of subsistence is beginning to be felt in this relatively new country, if misery and suffering due to overcrowding is approaching—and who can face the facts and continue to doubt?—what a dire prospect exists for the older countries of the world! And a sad feature of the case is the fact that, though there be a continuous emigration to these portions of the world where unexploited natural wealth still remains, but slight temporary relief will be afforded the countries from which the emigrants go. Long before the sparsely populated lands are filled, in the next half-century in such prosperous countries as our own, there must be a shift of population from the cities to the farms. Coincident with this industrial change there must be a simplification and probably a lowering in what we are pleased to call the standard of living. Technical industry cannot take the burden of this shift and still continue to furnish the whole of the people with the comforts and luxuries they have come to deem necessary.

An investigation of great mathematical interest to which we can only briefly refer is that of Drs. Pearl and Reed into the probable increase of population in the United States.* Without attempting to follow the authors in their very intricate mathematical processes, we may simply state that they conclude the limit of population in the United States to be 197,000,000. Reckoning that a man requires from 3,000 to 3,500 calories *per diem*, this population would require about 260 trillion calories *per annum*. The United States at the present moment is producing somewhat over 137 trillion calories *per annum* in the form of human food, both primary and secondary, that is, vegetable and animal. The authors continue :

Unless our food habits radically change, and a man is able to do with less than 3,000 to 3,500 calories per day, or unless our agricultural production radically increases, it will be necessary, when our

* *On the Rate of Growth of the Population of the U.S. since 1790 and its Mathematical Representation.* By Raymond Pearl and Lowell J. Reed. Proceedings of the National Academy of Science, June, 1920. (Washington, D.C.)

figure for the population is reached, it import nearly or quite one-half of the calories necessary for that population. It seems improbable that the population will go on increasing at any very rapid rate after such a condition is reached, and is it at all reasonable to suppose that at such time, with all the competition for means of subsistence which the already densely populated countries of Europe will be putting up, there can be found any portion of the globe producing food in excess of its own needs to an extent to make it possible for us to find the calories we shall need to import?

THE FALLING BIRTH-RATE.

It may be objected that it is a well-known fact that the birth-rate is falling very swiftly in many countries, if not in all, and that within a comparatively short time the population will have adjusted itself so that any excess will be guarded against. The instances of France and China will be given, where in both cases we have a stationary population, the first arising from a desire to preserve a certain standard of living, the second, from the fact that the actual limit of the possibilities of sustaining the population has been reached and the increase is checked of mere necessity. Both these instances are very true and much to the point, and yet we may reasonably doubt whether they really have any particular bearing on the problem now before us.

When we speak of the fall in the birth-rate, race suicide, and all the other gloomy things that are inseparable from the phrase, it is quite likely that we are not always fully conversant with the subject. Now it is perfectly true that we are living in an age of almost universally falling death-rates. What is really happening is that, although fewer babies are being born, more babies that are born are living to grow up and take their place in the population. In proof of this assertion we may refer to the figures given in the last census of England and Wales. While the birth-rate in 1901 was 28.0 *per 1000* of the population, and in 1919 was 19.0, showing a drop of 25 *per cent.*, yet the average excess of births over deaths in the five-year period 1901-5 was 404,341, while in 1920 it was 491,652. It is, of course, only fair to say that there was undoubtedly a great increase in births immediately after the war, and that it is entirely unlikely that the excess will continue at such a high figure. But even then we are perfectly justified in concluding that for many years to come the excess of births over deaths will continue even in so densely populated a country as England.

We may well wonder how it is that England can continue to increase her population at this enormous rate every year. The answer is not hard to find. She does it by being able to dispose of her surplus to a very large extent through emigration. In the years 1911-1912, the peak of the emigration movement, the United Kingdom lost over 241,000 of her population through emigration,

and after the war the figures are beginning to creep up very high again, in 1919, 152,000, in 1920, 166,000. But even with this constant flow of her population outwards, during the period 1911-21 the population increased in England and Wales by a total of 1,814,750, and that in spite of the enormous losses during the war, reckoned as regards England and Wales as about 560,000.

But if the war had never taken place, that number of people would have emigrated; consequently we come to the inevitable conclusion that the war has not had any appreciable effect whatever upon the population of Great Britain. It would, of course, be impossible to argue the same with regard to Europe as a whole, where it is highly possible that there has been a net reduction; but even there the immense emigration to America was entirely cut off for five or six years, and it is not too much to suppose that the population of South Eastern Europe is as great to-day as if the war had never taken place. The same is hardly true of France, a country with a very small rate of emigration; but even with France's low rate of increase it will not be very long before she is back to a pre-war population level. The conclusion at which we are inevitably forced to arrive is that, although the birth-rate is quite undeniably falling in most if not in all countries, this fact will not prevent the increase of the world's population up to that point where subsistence will not longer permit of an increase, and that this point is far nearer than we imagine at the moment.

THE ULTIMATE STAGE OF AGRICULTURE.

A curious social phenomenon is to be found in the almost completely static condition of such Eastern races as the Chinese. There we find a people, industrious, intelligent and with an age-long tradition of culture, who seem to have halted, to have even turned back in the path of progress. When the Western nations were mere barbarous tribes, the Chinese were a civilised and cultured race. There are few modern inventions which had not been anticipated many centuries ago by the Chinese, for instance, printing. Not only have they not progressed, they have even retrograded. It is well known that centuries ago Chinese doctors understood the principles of anæsthesia for the performance of difficult surgical operations, to mention but one instance. To-day the Chinese doctors are the crudest of their kind, they have forgotten their ancient arts. Of course, it is easy to point to Confucianism, to the worship of ancestors, as providing the necessary stabilising force, but a little reflection will show that such can only be a symptom and not a cause. We must look deeper.

China, India and large parts of Japan have enormous populations which are able only by the most assiduous application to

agriculture to support life at all. These countries have reached the ultimate stage of agriculture, where all the efforts of the population are required to win from the soil a livelihood just sufficient to support so many and no more. Having reached that stage, society with them has become static; even the struggle to retain, to remember their ancient arts and learning becomes almost too much for them, their energies are absorbed in the one preoccupation of winning from the earth their daily food. But, it may be argued, the agriculture of China, the transportation system, the means of distribution, are all primitive. Production there is on a small scale, with modern methods it would be possible to support a far greater population than at present. In answer to this two replies may be made: in the first place, the population is already so dense that if new methods were to make possible a still further increase in numbers the newcomers would have to seek a livelihood by emigration. Secondly, if the new methods did permit a greater population, then the Chinese would, in a very short space of time, breed up to the new possibilities of subsistence and the last case would be as bad as the first. From whatever way we look at it, we must see that China, and a large part of India and Japan, have reached the ultimate stage beyond which it is practically impossible to go.

A contemplation of this may well arouse within us long and serious thoughts of the ultimate stage of the world's population, when it shall definitely have reached the point when no more people can be supported and the energies of vast numbers are devoted to the support of life, not to the production of a surplus. Economically speaking that will mean the extinction of most if not all free capital, that is to say, surplus wealth destined for the production of further new wealth. Progress in invention will be halted, the creative mind of man, his ingenuity and his daring, his restless ambition and his spirit of adventure will be baulked, it will turn back upon itself. It is no accident that the Chinese are a pre-eminently unwarlike people; they have no time for war, they must work to keep body and soul together.

And so, if our forecast is correct, such will be the state of the world two centuries hence, when men will beat their swords into ploughshares and their spears into pruning hooks for the compelling reason that only thus may they support life. A period of vast disorder, an age of strife, political and industrial, as nations and classes, men and women, feel the oncoming and relentless grip of growing scarcity and rising prices; and then, slowly and inevitably, the coming of the ultimate state of society, the static.

H. MICHELL.

GREEK AND ELIZABETHAN DRAMA.

BECAUSE the classical drama has a certain prestige of priority it is the convention that a comparison of it with the productions of the romantic genius should take the form of a defence of the latter. As though to lay the ghosts of the unities incantations are muttered to their disparagement and eulogies sung to the freedom for which romanticism stands. But an appreciation of Shakespeare does not consist in his praise at the expense of Æschylus; it is not by their points of difference wherein one surpasses the other that each should be valued but by that worth that makes both attain the common ground where all greatness meets. Nowhere more clearly can the mistake be seen of regarding as spurious all that does not derive from the classics than in French literature. Corneille and Racine smothered their genius for shame of the schism in their minds between its natural bent and the obligation of an imaginary duty. The fact that the literary world of the day encouraged them in doing so, and that they still receive the respect due to great and original genius, illustrates the still general subservience to the masters of antiquity.

An integral "personality" indisputably belongs to the classics, with romanticism it should be no less so. Criticism that estimates only in terms of comparison cannot but be inadequate. In this instance, failure to appreciate the *τό τί ἦν εἶναι* of Romance independent of classical origin is loss of the true value of both. The following extract from Schlegel expressing this is particularly interesting:

"Human nature is indeed in its basis one and indivisible, but all investigation declares that this cannot be predicated in such a sense concerning any one elementary power in all nature, as to exclude a possibility of divergence into two opposite directions. The whole play of vital emotion rests upon attraction and repulsion. Why should not this phenomenon recur on the great scale in the history of mankind likewise? Perhaps in this thought we have discovered the true key to the ancient and modern history of poetry and the fine arts. They who assume this invented for the characteristic spirit of modern art, as contrasted with the *antique* or *classical*, the designation *romantic*. And not an inappropriate term either: the word is derived from *romance*, the name originally given to the popular languages which formed themselves by intermixture of the Latin with the dialects of the Old German, in just the same way as modern culture was fused out of the foreign elements of the northern national character and the fragments of antiquity, whereas the culture of the ancients was more of one piece."

Since the drama is the most comprehensive form of poetry, a criticism of any country's literature based solely on its plays would give no inadequate idea of its literary position. That it is also the highest form is, perhaps, a little more open to dispute, but in

the main the claims of Aristotle for it hold good. Lyric poetry by reason of its more easily attained excellence and its less general import cannot be considered as a serious rival. Epic is alone of sufficient estate to question the supremacy of drama, but the latter is superior in that it comprises all the epic elements with the addition of spectacular effect: "the histrionic art attains its end within narrower limits; for the concentrated effect is more pleasurable than one which is spread over a long time and so diluted."*

It is generally allowed that the romantic drama has greater freedom of form (and incidentally of subject) than the classical. But it ought at the same time to be remembered that a lack of definite rule in art, as elsewhere, entails a great responsibility on the individual. The artist must be a Solon unto himself and his work must bear no conscious mark of the government.

By their rejection of that most distinctive feature of Greek drama—the chorus—the romantics prepared for themselves an obstacle which only the most excellent have been able to overcome. Artificial as this device may be, it gets over two of the dramatist's outstanding difficulties: the explanation of how things stand at the opening of the action and the representation of the audience's point of view. Used thus, the chorus is both "confidante"—always an unsatisfactory *rôle*—and "reliever of the tension," by voicing the common-sense outlook when the action begins to overstep the decent limits of "pity and terror" or threatens the maintenance of the *μηδεν λείαν* so dear to the Greek.

In English drama, Shakespeare has more than once made his fools serve these ends, and it is to be noticed that in doing so he tacitly affirms the value of the chorus in principle. In French drama, on the other hand, no one having the imagination to find a substitute that would at the same time be an addition to the "personnel" of dramatic literature, Corneille and Racine fell back on the "consdante," a colourless familiar of the principals, through whom the bald function of the ancient chorus is served and its sheer æsthetic beauty totally lost.

Next to the disappearance of the chorus, what would most impress—and depress—an Attic Rip Van Winkle in the romantic drama would no doubt be the violation of the unities. And in his horror of the licence to which our literary "decadence" had led us, there would really be a good deal more to be said for his point of view than most partisans of the romantic school would own. Little has been gained in dramatic literature by the violation of the unities. If it is fair to judge by a modern play, *Milestones* may be taken as typical of what the disregard of the unity of time, for one, may lead to. No sooner does the actor accomplish the

* *Poetics*, xxvi. 5.

illusion necessary to all dramatic representation than we are asked to begin all over again, as it were, and think ten or twenty years ahead into the bargain. In our satisfaction at the advance of stage-craft we strain at the Elizabethan "This is a wood," but swallow the modern "Twenty years later"—a conception that demands far more imagination from the spectator than the filling-in of a blank curtain with visualised trees. The modern dramatist in asking the audience to compass in fancy great stretches of time and place, asks too much. Although he has supplied—we might say glutted—the eye with a luxurious *mise-en-scène*, he draws on the imagination far more extensively than the older masters with their inadequate scenery and staging.

Apart from the present-day drama, to which we are too close to be impartial critics, the lesser Elizabethans show plentiful instances where observance of the unities would have raised a mediocre play to a great one. Marlowe's *Tamburlaine*, with the condensation that Aristotle laid down as one of the chief superiorities of the drama, would be a masterpiece instead of a curiosity. With the other University wits and the dramatists of the later decadence, it is the same; a compression of the action of their plays would have rendered them readable nowadays, to a public larger than the scholastic one, which itself can extract little but historical interest from them.

Stripped of its choric songs and dances and expanded beyond the limits of its unities, the Greek play is far from being a romantic one. There is an individual essence in both which is of more vital significance than divergent form. A comparison of two plays, chosen from the master dramatist of each civilisation and with subjects strangely analogous, will illustrate how widely their treatments of the same problem differ and how totally apart are the conceptions of the ancient and modern mind. In both the *Orestes* of Æschylus and the *Hamlet* of Shakespeare, the hero is faced with the problem of his father's murderer—in both cases the murderer is his mother and has married his father's enemy. There is a difference, of course, between the characters of Gertrude and Clytæmnestra; Gertrude is a weak, selfish, sensuous woman, while Clytæmnestra has killed Agamemnon in revenge for his sacrifice of Iphigenia. She considered such revenge was her duty to the gods. But here the likeness ends; the ancient mind saw the conflict of emotions in the avenging son, but also saw clearly that his duty lay in fulfilling the vengeance of the gods, and in the end his guilt of matricide is acquitted by the Areopagus. The modern mind is more analytical and introspective. Hamlet's duty is clear, but the play dwells on his knowledge of this and his failure to fulfil it, while there is no *deus ex machinâ* to put things right.

Throughout Æschylus the law of *ἀναγκη* is supreme. In the Oresteian trilogy the hero suffers because it is necessary that the ancient sin of Pelops be expiated. *Sic diis immortalibus placet.*

Prometheus Bound is, again, an instance of the difference of conception that exists between the minds of ancient and modern thinkers in dealing with similar material. To quote Schlegel once more:

"*Prometheus Bound* is an exhibition of steadfast endurance under suffering and that the immortal suffering of a god. The notion of a deity delivering himself up as a sacrifice has been mysteriously inculcated in many religions in dim foreboding of the True One, but here it stands in most fearful contrast to our consolatory Revelation. For Prometheus suffers not upon an understanding with the Power that rules the world but in atonement for his rebellion against that Power, and the rebellion consists in nothing except the design of making man perfect. Other productions of the Greeks are tragedies, but this, I might say, is tragedy herself: her inmost spirit revealed in all the prostrating and annihilating force of its austerity, the mitigation of which was reserved for others, not for Æschylus."

The Modern, brought up under softer influences than the Greek, rejects *ἀναγκη* in the acceptance of belief in Divine Love. And undeniably this Christian influence, which is the basis of romanticism, has inspired all that is best in modern art. It has been said of Christ that He more than anyone else in history wakes in us that temper of wonder to which romance always appeals. And again, of His life, that there is nothing for pity and terror in the entire cycle of Greek tragedy to touch it. So He has dominated art as no Greek god ever did, for in His personality there are all the colour elements of life: mystery, strangeness, pathos, ecstasy, love.* And so the religion of Pity has won men from the doctrine of Necessity. From only one book of our national literature can an idea of anything akin to the Greek insistence on this force of *ἀναγκη* be gained—and that book is one of our own generation, Mr. Thomas Hardy's *The Dynasts*. I quote from the chorus of the Overworld spirits in the "fore-scene":

Spirit of the Earth:

What of the Immanent Will and its designs?

Spirit of the Years:

It works unconsciously as heretofore,
Eternal artistries in Circumstance
Whose patterns, wrought by rapt æsthetic rote
Seem in themselves Its single listless aim,
And not their consequence.

And later, when the tragedy of Napoleon has been worked out to its bitter catastrophe, the spirits hold commune again:

* *De Profundis.* Wilde.

Thus doth the great Foresightless mechanise
 In blank entrancement now as heretofore . . .
 Yet seems this vast and singular confection
 Wherein our scenery glints of scantest size,
 Inutile all—so far as reasonings tell.

Spirit of the Pities:

Thou arguest still the Inadvertent Mind,
 But even so shall blankness be for aye?
 Men gained cognition with the flux of time,
 And wherefore not the Force informing them,
 When far-ranged aions passed all fathoming
 Shall have swung by and stand as backward years?

Due perhaps to the *μηδεν λείαν* the ancient mind observed in all paths of life, a certain coldness is inevitable in all classical art, it is plastic where romance is pictorial—and the cold perfection of marble statuary has not the facile appeal of the bright canvas. But there is not a coldness of dead life about the theatre of the Greeks, it is more of a "preserving lack of heat." There is far less "date" about any existing play of Æschylus, Sophocles and Euripides than about any production of the Elizabethans, Shakespeare excluded. The "boisterousness" which Elizabethan ardour sometimes comes down to for a modern mind has none of the vital interest that a Greek play can still inspire. Pity and terror are emotions to which we are still susceptible—and may be for a good time yet! And the means by which the Greeks raised them are of more vital stuff than any to which the Elizabethans had recourse. There may be more "colour" in the scene that harnesses Asian kings to the chariot of Marlowe's conquerer, but it has not the tragic quality of Agamemnon's home-coming. It shocks us or thrills, but it does not excite the purging emotions, as Aristotle calls them, of pity and fear.

The coldness of classical art has so often been called into question that it cannot be too frequently pointed out that it is not of a sort that has made for deadness in the classics. The Greek genius is marked rather by an austerity unknown to the romantic.

Of the Elizabethan playwrights, it is hardly just to any other school to select Shakespeare as typical. His is a genius that transcends time and circumstance. He is in little a measure of his age. Marlowe with all his exuberant brilliance is far more the essential romantic, typical of

That splendid age
 When England's hope was high,
 The world was half unknown
 And heaven and hell were nigh.*

In him we have to the full the romantic distinction of "colour,"

* John Davidson.

With a riot of passionate abandonment to some one desire, his *Tamburlaine* and *Faustus* fill the stage. He does not avoid the besetting danger of romanticism: eccentricity, and he has little of the saving influence of humour wherewith to balance the tendency towards the grotesque. The classical drama, by its rigid exclusion of the accidental and the unbeautiful, could afford to portray the sheerly tragic of life, but for the romantic a mingling of humour is essential. There is a tendency even where Shakespeare is concerned to regard the comedy as something apart from the tragic action of his plays, but it is really inseparable from them. The French dramatists were horrified at these diverse elements in Shakespeare and the Elizabethans, but they missed the point; the longer, less confined plan of a romantic play must provide some relief to the dramatic tension it arouses: the choric odes removed, the fool must take their place. The presence of the comic element in a romantic tragedy is not so much an addition to it as a necessary complement. The comedy of the Greeks was kept strictly apart from tragedy, except where it overstepped the circle in burlesque, and even then it is to be noticed that only bad tragedy was submitted to its ridicule. The function of comedy has been raised to a higher significance by the romantic school. With Aristotle it was only the imitation of the actions of meaner persons, but nowadays the best comedy is acknowledged to be of deeper purpose.

Both the forms of drama under discussion had their beginnings in religion and both travel far from it. Euripides, the last master of one, is accused of impiety; and in England the theatre of the later Elizabethans was avoided by stricter Churchmen. The romantic drama owes nothing of its origin to the Greeks. It grew to its fruition in Shakespeare through the Miracle and Morality plays, which in their turn were but developments of the Mysteries—presentations of scenes from the Bible and Apocrypha. As was inevitable, the tone of these plays soon became more secular and their representation was taken over by guilds. The Church still retained the interest in them of a "sleeping partner," so to speak, so long as the subjects were still drawn from its stock in trade, but with John Heywood we have the appearance of the Interlude, a performance so popular that laws had to be passed for its regulation. With the Chronicle-histories and these Interludes, the divorce of Church and theatre in England is complete.

The Greek drama developed in much the same manner through the Dionysia—the Vintage feast of Dionysius; a speaker is evolved from the mass of worshippers to represent the god, while the chorus sings a dithyramb in appreciation of the exploit he describes. This is the germ of drama—poetry and action.

The explanation of the growth of both the Greek and the Elizabethan drama still leaves open the fundamental question as to the necessity or desire that brought each into being. Aristotle explains the birth of poetry in general as due to the instinct of imitation and the joy felt in things imitated. This statement, however, cannot go wholly undisputed. It leaves little room for the "divine frenzy" of the poet who "sings because he must." And also it is not the desire to imitate, so much as to surpass, something existent that makes the poet. Finding inadequate for his ideals the forms about him, Pygmalion creates a Galatea who shall surpass them. So the poet seeks to transcend what he finds in existence but is held down to imitation because of the human frailty which cannot enjoy full vision of the Archtype it desires. The most realistic of artists adds something to the model he professes to reproduce in entire truthfulness—and it is right that it should be so, the *τό τί ἦν εἶναι* of art is dead when it becomes photography.

"The masters cannot be excelled" is the cry we hear about us in these days when the meridian splendour of our civilisation seems to have been passed; all that can be done has been done so well already. Perhaps it is so, in the two main currents into which the literature with which we are familiar has evolved from the mass of human intelligence. But why should we rest here? The mind of man is daily proving itself a thing capable of unlimited progress. In literature, as in many another activity of life, there is no reason to believe we cannot yet do as well as has been previously done. We cannot out-Shakespeare Shakespeare, but there is room for the creation of an art as strange to him as his would have been to Æschylus.

The great age of classical literature has been with us and passed on: the makers of romance, always a little homesick, have returned to find

Beyond the gateways of the day
Dominion and ancestral sway.

But above them there remains yet the material that the endless possibilities of life provide ready to the hand of the chosen genius who shall mould it in the name of art.

The form remains, the function never dies;
While we, the brave, the mighty and the wise,
We men, who in our morn of youth defied
The elements, must vanish; be it so!
Enough if something from our hands have power
To live and act and serve the future hour.

ROSALIE GLYNN GRYLLE.

FOREIGN AFFAIRS.

ABORTIVE CONVERSATIONS WITH ZAGHLUL PASHA.

SINCE Lord Parmoor in the House of Lords and Mr. MacDonald in the House of Commons made their statements in June upholding the independent administration in the Sudan, and upholding the British pledges given to the Sudan, no move had been taken by Zaghlul Pasha towards an understanding with Great Britain, and the invitation which had been sent to him in the spring asking him to meet Mr. MacDonald in London seemed to have become a dead letter. (See CONTEMPORARY REVIEW, August, 1924, pp. 245-248.) Suddenly, however, at the beginning of September Zaghlul sent a message to say that he was coming to London, that he would arrive on September 23rd, and would be "at the disposal" of Mr. MacDonald on the 25th. That was good news, for, cryptic as it was, the message could only mean that Zaghlul was coming to discuss the future of the Sudan and the other points that had been left outstanding in 1922 when Egypt was declared an independent kingdom.

The touch-and-go nature of the prospect was, however, illustrated on the very morning after Zaghlul's message was received in London. In all simplicity, and forgetting the delicate history of the preceding few months, several London newspapers announced that "negotiations" were pending between Mr. MacDonald and Zaghlul. The word "negotiations" almost created a crisis. It was, however, averted by some sustained inspiration on the part of the British Foreign Office, which widely advertised the distinction that Zaghlul was coming, not for negotiations, but for discussions, and thereby succeeded in reassuring Zaghlul. One recalled that in June Zaghlul had been nervous lest "the fact of his having entered into negotiations would be brought up against him," and Mr. MacDonald's tactful answer had been that neither party could be held to have prejudiced its position by taking part in free and friendly "discussions," whether those discussions resulted in agreement or not. So the word "negotiations" became taboo, in deference to the brittleness with which at times the diplomatic thread becomes affected.

In authorising the declaration of Egyptian independence in March, 1922, the British Government had clearly explained that on four important points the *status quo* was maintained, pending an agreed revision between the Egyptian and British Governments. The four reserved points were:

- (1) The security of the communications of the British Empire.
- (2) The defence of Egypt against all foreign aggression or interference direct or indirect.

(3) The protection of foreign interests in Egypt and the protection of minorities.

(4) The Sudan.

It was therefore expected that Zaghlul was coming to London to discuss those questions, and moreover, as the British Government had already made its position clear, it was assumed that Zaghlul was prepared to discuss the British as well as the Egyptian point of view. Otherwise it was a little difficult to explain his coming.

Zaghlul duly arrived at Victoria Station on the afternoon of September 23rd. He was greeted by an organised demonstration of Egyptian students several hundred strong, who wore the green and white colours of their country and who yelled their nationalist cries with a creditable volume of sound. It had been advertised beforehand that the demonstration would be a joint affair of Egyptians and Sudanese. Such an affair seemed to promise something extremely interesting, and therefore I went to Victoria Station on that occasion and carefully explored the platform looking for the Sudanese. I discovered only three. None the less, as Zaghlul stepped out of the train, looking a rather tired and pale old man, an Egyptian student choregus set the pace in a concerted chorus of "Long live Zaghlul! Long live Egypt and Sudan! Long live King Fuad, King of Egypt and Sudan!"

One could hardly help reflecting at the time that it is by such emotional demonstrations as those that the hands of diplomatic leaders are tied. Zaghlul had come to London to discuss, among other things, the future of the Sudan; he must have known that provocative intransigence was bad diplomacy; yet his followers clearly showed that they would measure his success precisely by the degree to which he showed himself intransigent, even though in the event he should return empty to Egypt.

The first meeting was held at Downing Street on September 25th, when for three hours Mr. MacDonald alternatively "hobnobbed" (according to his usual method) and tried to discuss the business in hand. The two Prime Ministers started on the subject of the Suez Canal and the security of British communications, which was the first of the reserved points. Mr. MacDonald invited Zaghlul to specify the modifications he wished to introduce into the *status quo* in this respect, and Zaghlul answered by demanding simply the complete withdrawal of British forces from Egyptian territory. Mr. MacDonald explained that in frankness lay the best hope of achieving results, and at once informed Zaghlul that such a proposal could not be looked at. British services had been placed at the disposal of Egypt for the improvement of Egypt in her internal affairs, particularly as regarded the waterways. If

Egypt would rather do her own work at her own expense, well and good; but if British services were not wanted for Egyptian purposes, they would at any rate be retained for British purposes, such purposes being wholly consistent with Egyptian independence and territorial integrity. The Suez Canal, explained Mr. MacDonald, is of vital importance to British communications and "absolute certainty that the Suez Canal will remain open in peace as well as in war for the free passage of British ships is the foundation on which the entire defensive strategy of the British Empire rests." Would Zaghlul not place at the disposal of British forces a small strip of territory on the express understanding that the exclusive purpose of those forces was to protect the Canal? No, said Zaghlul; not a single British soldier must remain on Egyptian soil. The argument that if the Canal was not protected by British forces, it would fall into the hands of French or Italians or Turks made no impression on Zaghlul, whose inelastic extremism made all serious discussion impossible. At one point Mr. MacDonald asked if Zaghlul would agree to an arrangement whereby the Canal should be protected jointly by Egypt and Great Britain; and the clouds seemed to lift a little when Zaghlul accepted the proposition as a basis of discussion. When, however, in the course of that discussion, he explained that the most he would allow would be that the British forces should be stationed in a spot wholly removed from the Canal, whether in Palestine or elsewhere; that the Canal zone should be occupied by Egyptian forces exclusively; but that in case of trouble or of any attack on the Canal he would undertake to advise the British commander and invite him to come and help the Egyptians—then the idea of co-operative protection apparently had a wholly different meaning to the minds of Zaghlul Pasha and of Mr. MacDonald, and the attempt at an understanding had to be abandoned.

Although Zaghlul declined to put in writing the exact modifications he wanted in the *status quo* in Egypt (presumably because writing is a proper incident of negotiations, not of discussions) Mr. MacDonald was led to understand that his demands were as follows:

- (a) The withdrawal of all British forces from Egyptian territory.
- (b) The withdrawal of the financial and judicial advisers.
- (c) The disappearance of all British control over the Egyptian Government, notably in connection with foreign relations, which Zaghlul Pasha claimed were hampered by the notification of His Majesty's Government to foreign Powers on March 15th, 1922, that they would regard as an unfriendly act any attempt at interference in the affairs of Egypt by another Power.

(d) The abandonment by His Majesty's Government of their claim to protect foreigners and minorities in Egypt.

(e) The abandonment by His Majesty's Government of their claim to share in any way in protecting the Suez Canal.

Such were Zaghlul's demands, as enumerated by Mr. MacDonald in a subsequent Memorandum which he gave to Lord Allenby; and Zaghlul himself, in an interview with a French journalist in Paris, later confirmed the accuracy of Mr. MacDonald's recollection. The British case as put to Zaghlul was thus recapitulated by Mr. MacDonald in the same Memorandum:—

"I promised in the course of our first conversation to be perfectly frank with his Excellency. Then and subsequently I left him under no illusion as to the position which His Majesty's Government are compelled to take up in regard to Egypt and the Sudan. Your Lordship will recall that when His Majesty's Government withdrew the British protectorate over Egypt in 1922, they reserved certain matters for eventual settlement by agreement. Though I have by no means abandoned hope that on further consideration, the basis of an agreement acceptable to both countries can be found, the attitude adopted by Zaghlul Pasha has rendered such agreement impossible for the present. I raised the question of the Canal straight away because its security is of vital interest to us both in peace and in war. It is no less true to-day than in 1922 that the security of the communications of the British Empire in Egypt remains a vital British interest, and that absolute certainty that the Suez Canal will remain open in peace as well as in war for the free passage of British ships is the foundation on which the entire defensive strategy of the British Empire rests. The 1888 Convention for the free navigation of the Canal was an instrument devised to secure that object. Its ineffectiveness for this purpose was demonstrated in 1914, when Great Britain herself had to take steps to ensure that the Canal would remain open. No British Government in the light of that experience can divest itself wholly, even in favour of an ally, of its interest in guarding such a vital link in British communications. Such a security must be a feature of any agreement come to between our two Governments, and I see no reason why accommodation is impossible, given good will.

"The effective co-operation of Great Britain and Egypt in protecting those communications might, in my view, have been ensured by the conclusion of a treaty of close alliance. The presence of a British force in Egypt provided for by such a treaty, freely entered into by both parties on an equal footing, would in no way be incompatible with Egyptian independence, whilst it would be an indication of the specially close and intimate relations between the two countries and their determination to co-operate in a matter of

vital concern to both. It is not the wish of His Majesty's Government that this force should in any way interfere with the functions of the Egyptian Government or encroach upon Egyptian sovereignty, and I emphatically said so. It is not the intention of His Majesty's Government to assume any responsibility for the actions or conduct of the Egyptian Government or to attempt to control or direct the policy which that Government may see fit to adopt."

A second and equally abortive meeting was held three days later, when Zaghlul showed himself to be as intransigent on the subject of the Sudan as he had been on that of the Suez Canal. He contented himself with the demand for a complete British scuttle from the Sudan, and for Egypt to be given a free hand in the Sudan. Now the Sudan is a separate and independent country. Cromwell once made the famous remark: "Every sect saith 'Oh, give me liberty!' But give him it, and, to his power, he will not yield it to anybody else."

The issue had to be brought to a head, and on October 2nd a meeting was held of the Imperial Defence Committee, which was attended by Lord Allenby. Lord Allenby cuts an interesting figure nowadays. One remembers the part he played in helping the Curzon Foreign Office to agree to the declaration of Egyptian independence; how at one point he came to London with his resignation in his pocket, ready to hand it in unless the Government did the generous thing by Egypt; how, side by side with his liberal attitude as British High Commissioner, he was determined to stamp out the inflammatory activities of Zaghlul and had him deported and imprisoned in Gibraltar and elsewhere. Zaghlul in office is not quite the firebrand he was as a nationalist agitator, his latter-day intransigence being largely due to the fact that, like many other nationalist "leaders," he follows and does not lead his wild men.

After the meeting of the Imperial Defence Committee Lord Allenby reported to Mr. MacDonald the British military view of the Suez Canal; and on the following day, October 3rd, Mr. MacDonald again met Zaghlul, this time for a decision one way or the other. Only one good thing came of that meeting, namely, an official communication which stated that Zaghlul was about to leave London because of the inclemency of the weather. As October 3rd was the very model of a perfect day, the first decent day, bringing with it the first sun we had seen or felt for months, the joke was a good piece of work. For the rest there was no news but bad news. Zaghlul had refused to budge from his impossible position, and there was nothing for it but for him to go home. He left a few days later, after paying a visit to the Wembley Exhibi-

tion. Whether as another joke or for some heavier reason, he did not enter the Sudan section at Wembley. Clearly Zaghlul needs more time for reflection before the outstanding points which were left for arrangement between Egypt and Great Britain in March, 1922, can be profitably discussed.

It will no doubt do good in some ways that Zaghlul should have had personal experience in the meantime of what the British Government feels about the Suez Canal and about the Sudan; and that he should have discovered that a British Labour Government is fully as jealous of, and fully as capable of upholding, British vital interests abroad as any Conservative or Liberal Government. Indeed, Mr. MacDonald offered a tougher front on such issues than ever did Lord Curzon. Throughout the Middle East it has become an article of faith that British Governments will concede anything in the face of unbending intransigence, a faith for which we have to thank Allied treatment of Turkey since the Armistice and British acquiescence therein. Mr. MacDonald has done his bit in shaking that delusion, at any rate as far as it was entertained by Zaghlul Pasha.

It was on October 7th, in conformity with the usual diplomatic practice whereby the Foreign Office reports to British representatives abroad on matters which affect their province, that Mr. MacDonald wrote his detailed despatch to Lord Allenby, His Majesty's High Commissioner for Egypt and the Sudan, informing him of what had taken place.

That part of it which refers to the Suez Canal has been quoted above. Mr. MacDonald's account of what was said about the Sudan is as follows:—

"As regards the Sudan, I drew attention to certain statements which his Excellency had made as President of the Council of Ministers before the Egyptian Parliament during the course of the summer. On May 17th, according to my information, Zaghlul Pasha stated that the fact that a foreign officer was Commander-in-chief of the Egyptian army and the retention in that army of British officers were inconsistent with the dignity of independent Egypt. The expression of such sentiments in an official pronouncement by the responsible head of the Egyptian Government has obviously placed not only Sir Lee Stack as Sirdar, but all British officers attached to the Egyptian army, in a difficult position. I also had in mind that, in June, Zaghlul Pasha was reported to have claimed for Egypt complete rights of ownership over the Sudan and characterised the British Government as usurpers.

"His Excellency observed that in making the above statements he was merely voicing the opinion not only of the Egyptian Parliament, but of the Egyptian nation, and I gathered that he still

adhered to that position. Such statements, however, must inevitably have affected the minds of Egyptians employed in the Sudan, and of the Sudanese personnel of the Egyptian army. They have indeed made it appear that loyalty to the Egyptian Government is something different from and inconsistent with loyalty to the existing administration of the Sudan. As a result, not only has there been an entire change in the spirit of Anglo-Egyptian co-operation which has in the past prevailed in the Sudan, but also Egyptian subjects serving under the Sudan Government have been encouraged to regard themselves as propagandists of the Egyptian Government's views, with results that if persisted in, in the absence of any agreement, would render their presence in the Sudan under the existing régime a source of danger to public order. . . .

"So far as my conversations with Zaghlul Pasha turned on the question of the Sudan, they have only served to show his persistence in the attitude disclosed in his previous public utterances. I must adhere to the statements I made on the subject in the House of Commons. About that neither in Egypt nor in the Sudan should there be any doubt. If there is, it will only lead to trouble.

"In the meantime the duty of preserving order in the Sudan rests in fact upon His Majesty's Government and they will take every step necessary for this purpose. Since going there, they have contracted heavy moral obligations by the creation of a good system of administration; they cannot allow that to be destroyed; they regard their responsibilities as a trust for the Sudan people; there can be no question of their abandoning the Sudan until their work is done.

"His Majesty's Government have no desire to disturb existing arrangements, but they must point out how intolerable is a *status quo* which enables both military and civil officers and officials to conspire against civil order, and unless the *status quo* is accepted and loyally worked until such time as a new arrangement may be reached, the Sudan Government would fail in its duty were it to allow such conditions to continue.

"His Majesty's Government have never failed to recognise that Egypt has certain material interests in the Sudan which must be guaranteed and safeguarded—these being chiefly concerned with her share of the Nile water and the satisfaction of any financial claims which she may have against the Sudan Government. His Majesty's Government have always been prepared to secure these interests in a way satisfactory to Egypt."

PACIFIST DIPLOMACY IN RELATION TO EGYPT.

Mr. MacDonald's last important act as the First Labour Foreign

Minister of Great Britain was to register a failure; but a failure which increased the respect in which he was now held by students of foreign affairs in this country. He had shown a stiff front to Zaghlul, and, as he explained to Lord Allenby, he had "conceived it to be his duty to conserve unimpaired" the position which the British Government was compelled to take up.

It may be asked: Was Mr. MacDonald's attitude to Zaghlul Pasha consistent with the principle of diplomatic pacifism with which he had started his office as Foreign Minister nine months earlier? Was not the shadow of the War Office cast across the Foreign Office conversations? In this section of the *CONTEMPORARY REVIEW* for March (pp. 373-376) I recalled that Mr. MacDonald's predecessors at the Foreign Office had equally had pacifist aims, but had not used pacifist methods; that Great Britain had no intention of going to war under any Government, Labour, Liberal or Tory; but that where Mr. MacDonald scored was in turning this fact into an asset instead of allowing it to cripple his diplomacy. "His argument (I wrote) 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." In the particular case of Franco-British diplomacy, which was at that time the case at issue, it was an obvious argument in favour of Mr. MacDonald that France was the strongest military Power in Europe and Great Britain the most disarmed. To transfer diplomacy to the War Office therefore was clearly to play into French hands. Has Mr. MacDonald been consistent? He started by relying, not on the usual diplomatic lever of military force, but on world opinion, as mobilised by the publication of documents. Witness the full publication of his lengthy correspondence with M. Poincaré early in the year. Throughout his period of office as Foreign Minister he had kept the British War Office severely in the background in his diplomatic exchanges, and his diplomacy had scored notable successes.

It was indeed just as well, for those who wanted to understand Mr. MacDonald's philosophy, that he should have had a case such as Egypt to deal with before the dissolution. His conversation with Zaghlul was a good illustration of what pacifism in practice amounts to. An analogy may be taken from private life. Most of us at times have private enemies, or think we have; but we do not run about with a bayonet to shove into their stomachs. In private life *Live and Let Live* is the motto; but if a ruffian takes us by the throat we descend to his level with alacrity. Diplomatic pacifism is the application, so far as possible, to international

affairs, of the ordinary form adopted in private affairs. When Zaghlul Pasha proposed that the Suez Canal, which is the throat of the British Empire, should be cut, or exposed to the risk of being cut, pacifist MacDonald perfectly logically invoked the War Office. These things are of course a matter of degree. It is true that before private life was protected by law, the aim of everybody was to "get his fist in fust"; it is equally true that international affairs are still a lawless sphere (the present League of Nations being a mere tentative beginning of law, incapable as yet of effecting anything). But the difference between Mr. MacDonald and the old diplomacy was that he primarily devoted his energy and thought in the direction of pacifism. Where the old diplomacy ran about with bayonets (and thereby made unpleasantness inevitable) Mr. MacDonald shook hands with everybody, not as a matter of sentiment, but of habit and commonsense, knowing that in the long run it is habit and fashion that decide the big, as the small, issues. What is odd is that men who in private life adopt a certain commonsense form of behaviour, whose method of expressing the maximum of ill-feeling is to ignore (not to kill or even to black-guard) the object thereof, adopt a wholly different behaviour in international affairs; and not only adopt it, but defend it on grounds of reason. In the one sphere they are not only civilised, but well-behaved men; in the other, uncivilised hooligans. It is a matter of evolution and education. Where Mr. MacDonald served his generation well was in attempting (with some small success) to introduce into international affairs the standard of good form which gentlemen adopt in private life. It is a remote ideal. We shall probably not in our time see the end of international hooliganism; but what matters to the individual is the scale into which he puts his weight. The old gang, whether in Germany, in France, or even in England, always acted on the assumption that gentlemanly behaviour in the international field is impractical and dangerous. Mr. MacDonald by contrast has proved that gentlemanly methods are not only as desirable in foreign as in private affairs, but are as expedient and necessary, and are ultimately practicable.

THE OUTLAWRY OF WAR.

During the whole of September a Committee of the Assembly of the League of Nations discussed a draft "Protocol for the Pacific Settlement of International Disputes," the final text of which was published on October 2nd. Much cry and little wool is perhaps its best epitaph. In some ways its importance was comparable to that of the Anglo-Russian Treaty, its meaning being mostly negative and atrophied with reservations. During the

course of the conversations at Geneva many people in London became needlessly alarmed by the bogey that Mr. Henderson and Lord Parmoor were transferring the control of the British fleet from the British Admiralty in Whitehall to the League of Nations Council in Geneva. The excitement subsided when the text of the document with its long and involved stipulations was published. The country could not in any case have been committed at Geneva to any scheme for granting to European Powers, under the cloak of the League, a measure of control over British forces. The thing, of course, was ridiculous. The British Government had never contemplated, had never countenanced, and did not sign, anything of the kind.

When, at the meeting of the Assembly, the British delegation, in common with the others, was invited to participate in a scheme for outlawing war in conformity with the 1919 Covenant, a scheme, that is, which would specify more clearly the existing obligations of the contracting parties to the Covenant, it could hardly be surprising that the British Government accepted. The alternative would have been to repudiate the 1919 Covenant openly before the world. At the same time the British Government recognised that so long as the United States remained outside the League, and so long as the League was debarred from modifying the peace treaties, no satisfactory scheme for policing the world or for outlawing war was possible.

It was clear, for instance, that any watertight scheme whereby the Council of the League could name an aggressor State and institute an economic boycott, might involve war with any of the big Powers which happened not to be members of the League; for the boycott even of a small State would imply the cutting off of its relations with all the big Powers. The first British Labour Government had many faults, but it was never capable of declaring war on the moon or risking a naval war with the United States in the supposed interests of universal peace. The fact was, as those will see who read carefully the draft Protocol, that there was nothing in it that committed us to anything beyond what we were already committed to by the 1919 Covenant. The Protocol is therefore not worth considering in any detail. What is true perhaps is that the original Covenant itself is a silly and even dangerous enough document; at any rate, Article 16 of it, if literally applied in present circumstances. It was a wholly different instrument when the signatories included the United States. The British signature was appended in the knowledge that the United States had also signed, and in the belief that the signature of the United States would lead to the participation of the United States in the execution.

As matters now stand, the United States being outside the League, it is easy to work out a potential contingency in which (if the world were mad enough to drive its logic to so fantastic an end) a military challenge would be thrown down to the United States by the operation of the Covenant. The British Labour Government, therefore, following in this respect in the footsteps of its predecessors, chose to put its blind eye to the Covenant, pending an international scheme for disarmament and for the outlawry of war which could be participated in by the United States, by Germany and by Russia. Only on such conditions can there be any sense in a scheme for the outlawry of war. On those conditions any scheme for the outlawry of war would be a triumphant and automatic success. It may be that the Disarmament Conference which the 1924 Assembly proposed to organise for June, 1925, may be the thin end of the wedge for the realisation of such conditions. What was wrong with the Assembly's 1924 Protocol was that it made an attempt to put the roof on the building before the foundations had been laid, that is, before the League had become a complete and universal League of Nations.

It was considerations such as these that had made Mr. MacDonald on July 18th give an unfavourable answer to the proposed Treaty of Mutual Assistance, and which made Mr. Henderson, in September, acting presumably on a previous definition of Cabinet policy, insist on the entire sting being taken out of the Protocol before he accepted it. Even that acceptance was non-committal; for the Protocol would have to be scrutinised by the British War Office and Admiralty and ratified by Parliament before the country could be committed to it. The British delegation's contribution to the League Assembly of 1924 was to mark time and keep the present lop-sided and futile League alive until it can develop into a true League of Nations.

The Protocol as signed was as much a "fake" in the Lloyd Georgian sense of the word as the Anglo-Russian Treaty. It could not come before the British Parliament even as a proposal except on the condition that the 1925 Disarmament Conference had been successfully held. Article 21 of the Protocol says: "The Protocol shall come into force as soon as the plan for the reduction of armaments had been adopted by the Conference provided for in Article 17 [that is, the 1925 Disarmament Conference]. If within such period after the adoption of the plan for the reduction of armaments as shall be fixed by the said Conference, the plan has not been carried out, the Council shall make a declaration to that effect; this declaration shall render the present Protocol null and void. The grounds on which the Council may declare that the plan drawn up by the international Conference for the reduction

of armaments has not been carried out, and that in consequence the present Protocol has been rendered null and void, shall be laid down by the Conference itself." The point here is that if a successful Disarmament Conference were held, and were participated in by all the nations of the world, and if the resultant plan for universal disarmament were shared by all the nations of the world, then the Protocol by a few verbal alterations could be tightened up into an effective instrument for preventing war, because it would be able to crush at a moment's notice any aggressor State. In such circumstances it would not even be necessary to apply the Protocol, for no nation would "aggress" if, by the mere fact of such aggression, it automatically declared war on Great Britain, the United States, France, Italy, Germany, Japan and the rest, all at once.

As an example of the indecision of the present wording of the Protocol one may quote Article 11, which says: "... Those obligations shall be interpreted as obliging each of the signatory States to co-operate loyally and effectively in support of the Covenant of the League of Nations, and in resistance to any act of aggression, in the degree which its geographical position and its particular situation as regards armaments allow."

The only phrase in the whole Protocol which could by any stretch of imagination be regarded as dangerous occurs in that same article. It states that "in accordance with paragraph 3 of Article 16 of the Covenant the signatory States give a joint and several undertaking to come to the assistance of the State attacked or threatened, and to give each other mutual support by means of facilities and reciprocal exchanges as regards the provision of raw materials and supplies of every kind, openings of credits, transport and transit, and for this purpose to take all measures in their power to preserve the safety of communications by land and by sea of the attacked or threatened State." All that, however, was implicit in the original Covenant. Even Article 13, which deals with the "contingent military, naval and air sanctions provided for by Article 16 of the Covenant" binds the signatories to no practical sort of commitment whatever. All it says is that "The Council shall be entitled to receive undertakings from States determining in advance the military, naval and air forces which they would be able to bring into action immediately to ensure the fulfilment of the obligations in regard to sanctions which result from the Covenant and the present Protocol. Furthermore, as soon as the Council has called upon the signatory States to apply sanctions the said States may, in accordance with any agreements which they may have previously concluded, bring to the assistance of a particular State which is the victim of aggression their military, naval and

air forces." The verb "may bring" (as opposed to "must bring") riddles the last sentence of all meaning in so far as obligations go; although it would justify any single State, as for instance France, in going to the separate assistance of another State, for instance, Czecho-Slovakia, in accordance with other treaties.

During the Election a certain amount of play has been made against the Government on the score of the Geneva Protocol; but the text of the Protocol fully bore out Mr. Henderson's answer when he said: "The control of the navy is, of course, entirely with our Government. All we do is to undertake to co-operate with other signatory Powers to punish an aggressor. The manner and extent of our action rests with the British Government. The Council of the League of Nations may recommend whatever in its judgment is the most effective naval or military assistance which the State may render, such a recommendation being founded upon the knowledge voluntarily deposited by the Governments of the respective States with the League."

For the rest, the Protocol contained one creditable attempt at fun. "In conformity with the spirit of the present Protocol (says Article 15) the signatory States agree that the whole cost of any military, naval or air operations undertaken for the repression of an aggression under the terms of the Protocol, and reparation for all losses suffered by individuals, whether civilians or combatants, and for all material damage caused by the operations of both sides, shall be borne by the aggressor State up to the extreme limit of its capacity." If the motive was not fun, it was a tribute to the sanguine simplicity of human nature, and of the relative impotence of cynicism, that in 1924 a body of politicians should have solemnly decided who should pay reparations in a hypothetical contingency.

THE CANARD AND THE RUSSIAN TREATY.

Although the Russian Treaty is dead, having been automatically killed when Mr. Asquith endorsed Mr. Lloyd George's initiative in joining forces with the Conservatives against it, and although it can be revived only if the Labour Party is returned with a clear majority, it is perhaps as well to be clear about the substance, if any, which has underlain the vague protest against the Government's undertaking, even, as Mr. Asquith said, a "contingent" undertaking, to ask Parliament to guarantee "the interest and sinking fund" of a loan to Russia.

A contingent promise is no promise at all; it all depends on what the contingency is. What, then, does the treaty actually provide?

(1) In the first place (Chapter III—Claims and Loans), it is

stated that the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics "will satisfy, in the conditions prescribed in the present treaty, the claims of British holders of loans issued or taken over or guaranteed by the former Imperial Russian Government, or by the municipalities of towns in the territory now included in the Union, payable in foreign (non-Russian) currency."

(2) The main condition referred to above is that the British Government "recognises that the financial and economic position of the Union renders impracticable the full satisfaction of the claims referred to in the preceding paragraph."

(3) The proposal of a loan to Russia does not even arise, is not in any sense provided for, in the treaty. It is to be included in a second treaty, to be negotiated at some future date "provided that His Britannic Majesty's Government is satisfied that such terms [*i.e.*, 'the terms on which the claims referred to in the first paragraph of this article shall be satisfied'] have been accepted by the holders of not less than one-half of the capital values of British holdings in the loans referred to in this article."

In other words, the whole question of a loan for Russia is made dependent on the City of London expressing itself as satisfied that the Russian Government has honoured its former debts. The decision even to ask Parliament to guarantee a loan will therefore rest, not with the Government at all, but with the City and the banks.

(4) Claims by nationals of one State against the other [*i.e.*, of course of British citizens against Russia] are to be settled by the payment of a lump sum by Russia to the British Government, the distribution of the sum being left to the British Government. The amount of this sum is to be the subject of expert investigation by three British and three Russian financiers, who, if they cannot agree, are to present separate reports instead of an agreed recommendation.

(5) A second treaty is to be negotiated to incorporate the conditions and settlements provided for above.

(6) "Upon the signature of the treaty referred to [*i.e.*, the second treaty], His Britannic Majesty's Government will recommend Parliament to enable them to guarantee the interest and sinking fund of a loan to be issued by the Government of the Union of the Soviet Socialist Republics.

"The amount, terms, and conditions of the said loan and the purposes to which it shall be applied shall be defined in the treaty provided for in Article 11 [*i.e.*, the second treaty], which will not come into force until the necessary Parliamentary authority for the guarantee of the said loan has been given."

It will thus be seen that the Government cannot even ask Parlia-

ment to guarantee a loan until the majority of the existing bondholders have declared themselves satisfied, *i.e.*, until those bondholders have been paid what they themselves regard as a satisfactory settlement of their existing debts.

To make the matter still more watertight a final stipulation says: "The provisions of this chapter constitute a single and indivisible unit"; in other words, if any part of it falls through, if, for instance, the bondholders are not first satisfied, the whole chapter and all question of a loan falls to the ground. In short, the Anglo-Russian Treaty simply did not provide for a loan to Russia.

CAN LOANS ANYHOW BE JUSTIFIED?

It is, of course, arguable that a loan to Russia, even assuming the precedent condition of Russia's having reasonably satisfied her existing British creditors, would be a risky proceeding, and an indefensible case for a Government guarantee. It is at any rate abundantly clear to all who, like the present writer, have argued the point with responsible Russians, as, for instance, with Mr. Rakovsky, that the average Russian has no more sense of the sanctity of national debts than has the average Frenchman or German or Turk. It is the British way not to argue about debts, but to pay them. In France, a private person, Monsieur A, who owed, say, £100 to Monsieur B, would violate the accepted standard of honour if he said to Monsieur B: "I cannot pay my debt to you unless and until I have had paid to me whatever other people owe me." Yet in French public life such an argument is accepted as both reasonable and honourable. The German, having been beaten in a war and having signed a reparations liability (whether just or unjust is beside the point), has evaded payment as far as he possibly could, irrespective of the separate question of French damage to his assets. The Turk laughs at honesty in money matters; and the history of the Ottoman Public Debt has been the history of unsuccessful attempts on the part of Turkey's creditors to obtain satisfaction.

Russia is no exception to the general Continental rule of regarding external debts as a legitimate pawn in realist diplomacy, to be paid if expedient, or if they can be used as a lever for exacting something else. Russia, during the negotiations of the past summer, used a promised settlement of her pre-war debts as a lever for forcing a Government guarantee for a further loan. When the British delegation in the first instance (May 20th) declared at the conference table that "any assistance which the British Government could give towards the floating of a loan would of necessity be very much limited, and that there could be no question of any Government guarantee," its object was to give Mr. Rakovsky

an opportunity to do the right thing in the City of London, irrespective of the question of a loan. Mr. Rakovsky refused to take the opportunity.

Whether in the end the Government's decision to countenance the principle of a Government guarantee for a Russian loan contingently on Russia's previous satisfaction of existing debts was explained by some axiom of British economic necessity, is a question for economists to express their opinion on. Is it possible for the people of this country to avoid starvation without incurring potentially bad debts abroad? I, for one, am incompetent to answer this. One only wonders why Great Britain always does lend money, and always does incur bad debts, unless there is some practical reason for it.

In the meantime it would be interesting to have an economist's moral drawn from two collateral pieces of information which became known at the end of September. One was that on September 22nd Mr. Bizauskas, the Lithuanian Minister, and Mr. Mellon, of the United States Treasury, signed an agreement for funding the Lithuanian debt to the United States on conditions analogous to those adopted in the case of the British debt to America, Lithuania thus following in the footsteps of Great Britain, Finland, and Hungary. The other was that "Soviet Georgia" had prepared a bill for 120,170,000 pre-war roubles (£12,017,000) for presentation to the British Government as damages for the British Government's share of responsibility for Allied intervention in Russia. Whether Georgia could still be held to be a part of the Russian Soviet organisation or whether the bill bore any relation to reality, are other, less interesting points. To the plain man the interesting thing was that those two items of information seemed to illustrate the contemporary fashion whereby, on the one hand, debts are paid to the United States, and, on the other hand, Great Britain is expected to pay all conceivable liabilities, proved or unproved, without reference to and without even any discussion of debts owed to her. In other words, they seemed to illustrate the hard-faced Biblical maxim that to him that hath shall be added, and from him that hath not shall be taken even that which he hath. What was, perhaps, even more symptomatic of the prevailing state of mind in these matters was that the French share of the damage in Georgia was estimated by the same assessors at about one sixtieth of the British share, although everyone knew that the French Government had taken the leading rôle in the damaging crusade. No doubt the explanation of this amazing arithmetic was that little practical importance could be attached to the precise figure of any bill presented to the French Government.

October 14th, 1924.

GEORGE GLASGOW.

LITERARY SUPPLEMENT.

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REVIEWS.

THE ENGLISH CONSTITUTION.*

Sir John Marriott wisely has issued in separate form the introduction to the new edition of his *English Political Institutions* originally published in 1910. At the present political juncture it is especially timely to have a learned summary "of the most recent stage in the evolution of our ever-changing Constitution." This summary deals with the changes since 1910 under the main and natural headings of the Executive (the Crown, the Cabinet, the Administrative Departments), the Legislature and the Electorate, National and Local Finance, the Liberty of the Subject and the Rule of Law, and finally, the Overseas Empire. In the case of the Crown, the Parliament Act, 1910, transferred further power to a Parliamentary Cabinet but

nevertheless, on balance, the Crown has gained in political significance during the last fourteen years. This has been due partly, no doubt, to public appreciation of the extraordinary devotion with which the King and Queen and their children have fulfilled the functions, increasingly arduous, imposed upon the Royal Family, but not less to the Great War and to the subtle changes which have taken place in the relations between Great Britain and the overseas Empire.

As early as 1917, General Smuts "belonging himself to the autonomist or nationalist school of colonial statesmen," declared that "you cannot make a republic of the British Commonwealth of Nations." He affirmed that the election of a President for the

* *The English Constitution in Transition, 1910-1924. Being a New Introduction to English Political Institutions.* By Sir John A. R. Marriott. Oxford: At the Clarendon Press. 1s. 6d. net.

Empire would present an insoluble problem, and Sir John Marriott holds that the abolition of the Monarchy would mean the dissolution of the Empire. Most people, indeed, feel that it is necessary to have as the rallying point of the Empire a Sovereign who is entirely detached from politics and has as much sympathy with Labour as with Liberal or Conservative aspirations for the common good.

In the War period it was found that the old Cabinet system which had developed steadily and without interruption for two centuries from 1714, had ceased to be efficient. So in 1916 Mr. Lloyd George devised an inner or War Cabinet of five or six persons, but in October, 1919, the old pre-war type of Cabinet was quietly resumed. The inner Cabinet was obviously a change that placed too much power in the hands of a small group. Triumvirates have never been consistent with national freedom, and in 1919 Parliament resumed her reign but with new burdens in the shape of a greatly increased bureaucracy and various new Ministries.

Sir John feels that by the Act of 1910 we are left "in the absence of a reconstructed Second Chamber, with the *torso* of a Legislature." Not only has the House of Lords become inefficient for the purpose of legislative checks, but the House of Commons has been revolutionised by the Reform Act of 1918. "In comparison with this Act previous Reform Acts almost sink into insignificance. The Act of 1832 added about 450,000 electors to the register. That of 1918 added nearly 13,000,000, of whom 9,000,000 were women. The total electorate, even excluding Southern Ireland, was thus increased to 21,000,000." The effect of these changes cannot yet be measured. Has the Executive gained at the expense of the Legislature? Sir John thinks that "should the three-party system be stereotyped, the Executive might be weakened and the Legislature might regain much of its power." It is interesting, in view of this statement, to notice that the current political struggle turns upon an alleged abuse of the executive power intensely resented by a large majority of the late Parliament.

The burden of Parliamentary work has involved devolution of the power of Parliament not to subordinate representative bodies but to administrative Departments. President Lowell, of Harvard University, declared in his famous work on the *Government of England* that "this involves a striking departure from Anglo-Saxon traditions with a distinct approach to the practice of continental countries." On the other hand, it has to be remembered that the upgrowth of a system of administrative law is strongly opposed throughout the country by all parties; that every attempt (and there are many) of Government Departments to withdraw cases from the Judiciary is bitterly resented and in most cases checked.

It is difficult not to think that as the old Cabinet system has been restored and with it the supremacy of Parliament, so that supremacy will be able to resist the present insidious attempts to undermine the general authority of the Judiciary. Parliament has become strong enough to enable the Executive to overcome the "Direct Action" Movement, and it will be strong enough to enable the Judiciary to have the final word in the enforcement of the law. The Art O'Brien case in 1923 shows that the Rule of Law still remains intact, and the present political crisis over the case of the *Workers' Weekly* shows that the House of Commons is more than alert on the whole question.

* * *

EUROPE IN THE XIXth CENTURY.*

Students of modern history all over the world will join in congratulations to Professor Alfred Stern on the completion of his *magnum opus*. The first volume of his *History of Europe from 1815 to 1871* appeared in 1894, and the tenth has now been published in his seventy-eighth year. It is but rarely that a scholar, after winning his spurs in other fields, undertakes a work of such magnitude in middle age and lives to finish his task. Its merits have long been recognised, and the last volume shows no sign of failing power. From his home in Zurich the Professor has paid repeated visits to the European capitals, and his pages are enriched by the spoils of the archives of Vienna, Berlin, Paris, London, Florence, Copenhagen, Berne, and other cities. No work at once so detailed, so authoritative and so impartial, has ever been devoted to the early and middle decades of last century. We live in an age of monographs; but there is still room, and still need, for encyclopædic surveys, if only we can find scholars with the courage and capacity to undertake them.

The present volume opens with chapters on Austria and Germany after their duel in 1866. The author does not confine himself to the foreign relations of the Powers, but presents us with a careful picture of their domestic affairs, their parties and their statesmen. The account of the Constitution of the North German Bund is excellent, and we are reminded how much more assistance Bismarck received in its formation than is commonly realised. With the third chapter the stage widens to embrace France, whose ruler nearly came to blows with Germany over the question of Luxemburg in 1867. The fourth chapter summarises the history of Italy from the war of 1866 to the Vatican Council. The remainder of the volume, of which it fills more than two-thirds, is devoted to a narrative of the origins and events of the Franco-Ger-

* *Geschichte Europas, 1815-1871*. Vol. 10.

man War. Perhaps the most valuable chapter in the book is that which relates, with the aid of fresh material, the attempts of Louis Napoleon to form an anti-Prussian *bloc*, offensive and defensive, consisting of France, Austria and Italy. Francis Joseph was still smarting under the humiliation of Sadowa, and his Minister, Beust, whom he had imported from defeated Saxony, shared his sentiments to the full. Neither of them dreamed of a single-handed attack on their victorious foe; but with the help of France there seemed to be a fair chance of reversing the verdict of 1866. Since the cession of Venetia, moreover, there was no longer any need to fear another flank attack from Italy, whose ruler, indeed, was not disinclined to take a hand in another adventurous game of which Rome might be the prize. The Archduke Albrecht journeyed to Paris to discuss plans of campaign, and the French Emperor responded by the despatch of General Le Brun to Vienna. But although the two Powers agreed in principle to join in an attack on Prussia and sketched out several drafts of a treaty of alliance, no agreement was reached on the vital question of a simultaneous declaration of war. Moreover, Bismarck, who discovered what was going on, made what would now be called a "gentleman's agreement" with Alexander II to intervene if Austria broke the peace. Thus Napoleon III was encouraged to pursue a challenging policy by a mirage of a coalition which faded away when the hour of danger had come.

The story of the Hohenzollern candidature for the throne of Spain and its tragic results has been told for English readers with incomparable mastery by the late Sir Adolphus Ward, but it is of great interest to compare his account with that given in these pages, written ten years later after access to new materials. The two scholars agree very closely in their verdicts. King William of Prussia comes well out of their searching scrutiny, and Napoleon III appears a greater bungler the more he is known. He never really made up his mind whether he wanted to fight or not, and his military preparations for the struggle which he launched were as inadequate as his diplomatic guarantee. The Duc de Gramont, the French Minister of Foreign Affairs, appears as an ardent inciter to war, and the Empress, who was present at the final councils, was not far behind him. Bismarck's skill in profiting by the errors and provocations of his clumsy antagonist is beyond all praise, whatever may be thought of it by the political moralist.

The volume ends with the suppression of the Paris Commune and the signature of the preliminaries of peace. Professor Stern rarely obtrudes his opinions; but on the closing page he contrasts by implication the settlement of 1871 with that of 1918. "It was a sign of the inexhaustible vitality of France that her capital

quickly recovered from its ruins. An even stronger proof of her energy was the surprising rapidity of the healing of the wounds of war, and the payment of the indemnity before the appointed time. The Treaty of Frankfort, it is true, imposed very onerous conditions on France, but it did not condemn her to paralysis or slavery. It demanded neither disarmament nor a permanent limitation of armaments. It left her the whole of her navy and mercantile marine. It left untouched her colonies and the property of her nationals abroad. It did not subject her to the tutelage of alien officials. It fixed the costs of reparation at a definite sum which, despite its magnitude, proved no obstacle to the economic recovery and prosperity of the country. Despite her losses France remained one of the strongest and richest members of the society of nations." The moral of the story is that all nations, large and small, have an equal right to live, despite the blunders and even the crimes of their rulers, and that the best peace is that which enables the combatants to bury the hatchet.

G. P. G.

* * *

THE RELIGION OF THE RIG-VEDA.*

Students of the early history of the Aryan peoples will turn with interest and instruction to this work by the Secretary of the Council of the American Presbyterian Missions in India. He has lived nearly thirty years in the Punjab, the settling place of the Vedic Indians, and he approaches his theme with invaluable local knowledge and atmosphere. Mr. Griswold deals successively with the antecedents of the Rig-Vedic Age, with the Age itself, and with the text of the Rig-Vedic book, then turns to the contents of the book, to a region of gods and demons, to Varuna, the Over-God and Lord of all good things, to Agni, the intercessory God, to Indra, the God of battles, to the Lady of the Dawn, and so forth, and finally deals with the significance and value of the Rig-Veda.

Mr. Griswold refuses to commit himself to any theory of the original *habitat* of the Aryans, though he thinks that they were "strangers" from the north-west. He conjectures that the dispersion from an uncertain centre began about 2500 B.C. He suggests that it was practically certain that the following customs prevailed before the dispersion:

The joint family system organised on a patriarchal basis, the authority of the head of the family being absolute over life and death, polygamy to some extent, especially among leading men, early marriage of girls, prejudice against widow remarriage, exposure of female infants, the frequent going of a wife with her husband in death, or in other words *sati*, feeding of the dead, human

* *The Religion of the Rig-Veda*. By H. D. Griswold. Humphrey Milford. 12s. 6d. net.

sacrifice, especially of captives, worship of ancestral spirits, and the worship of the personified phenomena of nature such as sky, sun, moon, wind, fire, water, lightning, etc. Such were some of the customs which our I.E. ancestors practised.

We are not prepared to accept this list, which is to some extent based on the theory that India is the land of archaic survivals, and that it is safe to read into the Indo-European life before the dispersion customs that have left no signs on other Aryan races. It is well known that the dispersed tribes acquired by contact everywhere customs of races in a lower degree of culture, and it is more than probable that the more revolting customs (such as *sati* and human sacrifice) were acquired from the black peoples of the Punjab and India. It is not safe to do more than find the common elements of the dispersed tribes, largely to be drawn from the customary law of those tribes. But these common elements give a larger and a nobler list than that supplied by Mr. Griswold, including a highly-developed customary feudal system and a high ethical standard.

Mr. Griswold tentatively assumes that the Aryan tribes entered the Punjab in a series of incursions extending possibly from 1700 to 1300 B.C., and in the struggle between the tribes and the Dasyus and between the successive tribes, he thinks that some Aryan clans sank to the level of the black people. The Dasyus were probably of Dravidian stock. It is assumed here that the sharp division of colour was one of the causes that lay at the foundation of the caste system. This is rather a doubtful assumption. The conquest of the Punjab certainly hardened the feudal element in the settled tribes. Mr. Griswold holds that the priesthood was well-developed before the Indian and Iranian clans separated, and that the Rig-Veda represents the views and practices of the leaders and priests only, and not those of the tribesmen as such, a very doubtful conclusion if some of the hymns are studied. That there was mingling of blood with the black people is certain, and therefore there was "an ancient as well as a modern Eurasian population." This conclusion shows how dangerous it is to read Indian "archaic survivals" into the customs of the original *habitat* of the Aryans.

Mr. Griswold is on safer ground when he deals with the Rig-Veda critically. It certainly contains popular material, and is therefore of some use as a guide to tribal as opposed to aristocratic life. The date of this earliest collection of more than 1,000 Vedic hymns must be earlier than 800 B.C., but how much earlier it is impossible to say. It must, however, have been after 1300 B.C. The language of the poems is regarded as a vernacular speech, a somewhat difficult conclusion considering the formal character of the poems. The

vernacular Greek of the informal New Testament is not a parallel. If the hymns are aristocratic and priestly one would not expect the vernacular to be used in formal poems. But Mr. Griswold gives weighty authority for his view: "What was first simply the dialect of a district became the language of a caste and a religion, and afterwards (in the form of Sanskrit) the language of religion, politics and culture throughout India." We do not doubt this, but was the language of the Rig-Veda the vernacular of the people during the periods when the successive hymns were composed? That is what we doubt. As to the age of the Rig-Veda, it is surely impossible to doubt a comparatively late period. It must have been after the taming of the horse, and that can be dated at perhaps not very much earlier than 2000 B.C. The horse was not known in Egypt till a good deal later than this date. It is therefore almost nonsense to speak with Winternitz of the Vedic literature going back to the third millennium B.C. Max Müller's chronology, which places the earlier hymns between 1200 and 1000 B.C. and the later hymns not later than 800 B.C. is now very generally accepted. For the study of the hymns we should suggest that in addition to the different points of view indicated by Mr. Griswold, the customary law point of view should be taken into account.

J. E. G. DE M.

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RELIGIOUS LIFE IN ANCIENT EGYPT.*

Sir Flinders Petrie has now written a companion volume to his work on Social Life in Ancient Egypt, issued in 1923. Both volumes, he tell us, are popular summaries of the material gathered in "Descriptive Sociology of Egypt," which will soon appear in accordance with the will of Mr. Herbert Spencer. In this new popular volume religion is regarded as part of the daily life in its social connection:

"The more primitive and popular beliefs are placed together, as representing those earlier stages which must be grasped before we can understand the growth of the system of later times. The amount of new material of the early ages which has been found in recent work has greatly extended our vision of the origins of the religion and institutions; it is here linked with the historic records already familiar to us."

The early popular material is very valuable for comparative purposes. The earliest deities, personifications of the sky and earth, were not represented by physical forms. The sky goddess *Nut*, the earth goddess *Geb*, the atmosphere deity *Shu* were held in memory down to the thirtieth dynasty, and yet never had any

* *Religious Life in Ancient Egypt*. By Sir Flinders Petrie. (Constable.)

physical representation or personal worship. Osiris and his family, known as the children of Nut and Geb in the first prehistoric age, are not personally worshipped till late in time. *Osiris* came with the Libyan people from the West. *Ra* (sun worship) came from Asia, and it is suggested that this worship entered Egypt with the second prehistoric civilisation. But surely the first settlement was in its origin Asiatic.

The oldest known statues of the gods are the three limestone figures of *Min* from Koptos. They are attributed to an earlier date than the first dynasty, to the earliest settlement of dynastic people. The forms of these figures accord with the Red Sea route of the people from Punt, who carved them. When once statuary was introduced the temples and the temple service and organisation rapidly developed. These and the religious rivalries that arose are fully described by Sir Flinders Petrie. His account of the priesthood and its duties will be read with interest. The priests were the leaders and exponents of religion and moral duty and the sources of education. The local priesthoods were centralised when the New Kingdom was formed, and "in the political convulsions of the Ethiopian and Arabian occupations the priesthood formed a nucleus of order, like the Papacy in the barbarian invasions."

But how did there come to be a priesthood at all? Sir Flinders regards the "wise woman" as the primitive type of priest. The names for priestesses, such as the "Great Ones," the "Commander" indicate what we may call a matriarchal source. This contention is perhaps strengthened by the fact that the priest had many civil duties. "The office of priest was more often developed from civil than from religious functions." But the priestesses were limited in quite early days. Even in the Old Kingdom the priests tended to dominate, though at Upuaut there were three priestesses and no priest. We may perhaps note that in Gaul much later there were dominant groups of priestesses, the existence of whom was recorded by Pytheas in the fourth century before our era. By the time of the eighteenth dynasty priestesses had entirely disappeared in Egypt, though women continued to be musicians in the temples. Oracles, the interpretation by priests of the rule of the gods, doubtless came early, but the great development of this method of religious control only came with the twenty-first dynasty.

The family life as indicated by Sir Flinders shows strong traces of a matriarchal system. The early codes of morals do not mention marital or parental duty. The house belonged to the wife. In the earliest records there is no mention of a "master" of a house. It is always the "mistress" of the house. But marriage seems to have been for life. "The general humanity of the Egyptian was higher than that of most ancient peoples." But altruism was

accompanied by great pessimism in times of darkness, and the fear of social decay was ever present, a fact that accounts for the age-long preservation of tribal customs. The faith of the early people was a strong one. The gods were very human but very powerful, and could only be met in their courses by magic. The universal animal worship is attributed by Sir Flinders to "a sense of kinship between a tribe and some particular kind of animal, an idea found in many lands." The cat was introduced in the eighteenth dynasty, and in the twenty-second dynasty cat figures became very common. Polytheism was due to the introduction of many strange gods in successive invasions.

There was a gradual growth of the idea of immortality, of the scattered parts of a man's personality being reunited in the kingdom of Osiris. Greek writers from Herodotus onwards affirm the Egyptian belief in immortality by way of the transmigration of souls, but there is no purely Egyptian evidence of this. Yet there was certainly at a very early date a belief in a future life among the stars, and prayers to the sky goddess *Nut* for this gift occur in the Book of the Dead. The conception of judgment as a test of fitness for entry into the kingdom of Osiris comes, of course, later. In the prehistoric graves there is full provision for a material after-life. Mummification appears very early. "The earliest preserved body that has been noted is that of the queen of King Zer (first dynasty). . . . The earliest fully resined body is that found at Meydum, undoubtedly in a tomb at the close of the third dynasty. . . . This is the earliest preserved body known, and is in the Museum at the Royal College of Surgeons." Sir Flinders provides a full and attractive account of the famous burial ceremonies. It is interesting to note that "in some parts of Upper Egypt there was the same belief as now in Central Africa, that the soul wandered about and needed shelter and food." The hut provided for the purpose in the earliest cases was modelled on a Bedawy tent. The tent-type indicates a nomadic people and points to a Libyan invasion from the ninth to the eleventh dynasty. The faith of the people was certainly tribal, and this is made clear in the interesting chapter on the Folk Beliefs.

* * *

RELIGION AND NATURAL LAW.*

Mr. Russell, a schoolmaster as well as a divine, has chosen to carry out the main duty of the Hulsean "Christian Preacher," and in these lectures to speak frankly to men and women as a

* *Religion and Natural Law: Hulsean Lectures, 1922-3.* By C. F. Russell. (Basil Blackwell, Oxford. 5s. net.)

Christian apologist rather than as a theological expert. He speaks to those

"who, while they realise the imperative necessity of religion, are yet unwilling to accept Christianity whole-heartedly because (as it seems to them) it fails to come to terms with that scientific point of view which is the most insistent factor in the intellectual attitude of thoughtful people to-day. As I have stated in the first lecture, I am convinced that of all the causes which lead men at the present time to hold aloof from organised Christianity, the most potent is the unwillingness of Christian teachers to recognise frankly and fearlessly the claims of modern knowledge, and to present the truth of the Christian religion without doing violence to the equally sacred demands of truth in other fields. I have tried, in the case of certain fundamental Christian doctrines, to show why I believe that a man may still hold them in the twentieth century without surrendering in the least degree his passion for intellectual honesty or his determination to follow truth wherever it may lead."

Mr. Russell might have been still more emphatic. In the mid-nineteenth century the lines of scientific truth and religious truth were in fact divergent. Towards the end of the century they became practically parallel, while scientific and religious research have shown them to be definitely convergent to-day. Once the Darwinian theories frightened the religious. To-day the Darwinian conclusions, apart from certain broad views as to evolution, are hardly acceptable and the origin of species still remains an unsolved mystery. On the other hand, the destructive critics of the text of the New Testament have lived to find that the text is stubborn stuff, and Dr. Harnack admits the extraordinarily early date of the salient documents. Criticism, indeed, has brought us in the way of documents within a decade of the Crucifixion. The cleansing of fundamental things has taken place on the lines both of theology and science, with the result that we can see convergence where once in clumsier days we seem to see divergence.

We can go further than this to-day and see in natural law, that is to say, the fundamental rules of human relationship, qualities that are inseparable from what are called the laws of nature. There is an element in natural law which is as invariable as the invariable element in (say) the law of gravity, and it is possible to trace this to an invariable element in human personality which it would seem is as much an intrusion from without the temporal series as the invariable element in the laws of nature. If we premise a creative force it will fully account for these invariable elements, while if we also premise free-will it will account for the surface variations in natural law from tribe to tribe, from nation to nation. Mr. Russell, while not approaching his subject from this point of view, drives home the lesson from observation that "the ideas of power and order in God must not be separated; that power with Him,

does not mean arbitrary interference, but the mighty working of One Who eternally knows His own mind." To power and order we must add beauty and beauty of character. These are the attributes of God and they are revealed in Christ. "The doctrine of the Divinity of Christ is not so much a source from which ethical consequences flow as a summary statement of religious language of an ethical position already achieved." That is true, but it is also true to say that if the Creator gave to man potential powers to reach, in the course of the operation of free-will, a stage of Godlikeness, it was necessary for the perfect model of what could be achieved to be revealed at some stage or other of man's struggling upwards. The standard had to be set, and that standard had to represent both God and Man. Mr. Russell says that "it is an aspect of the eternal reality to which we give the Name of God." That no doubt is true, but what plain people feel after is the Personality of God. Mr. Russell shows that Personality in its trinity of phenomena—the world of nature, the world of human life and the world of human thought. God is written in all three groups of phenomena. There is a threefold relationship between God and Man, and the Church has attempted to frame the fact in the doctrine of the Trinity. "The doctrine of the Trinity is the charter of the right of free inquiry, the vindication, from the side of religion, of the claim of knowledge to be consistent with itself." But this doctrine strengthens the sense of the Divine unity because experience shows that it is only by means of the trinitarian conception that we can find God at all.

In his second lecture Mr. Russell attacks effectively the doctrine of determinism, but probably very few people really accept that doctrine in days when few accept Hegelian idealism. None can doubt the fact of human interference. Mr. Russell restates the doctrine of Divine Providence. Is it inconsistent with the universal reign of law? The answer is "that every life, in virtue of its subjection to the laws of the universe, is under Divine control, and is wrapped round by Divine Providence as a profoundly significant reality. . . . We see the providence of God in everything." "Thy will be done" is "the battle-cry of the King's crusade."

It is possible to disagree with Mr. Russell's distinction between two senses of the word law, one a rule and the other an inevitable sequence, but this point we have dealt with above. Divine judgment is not arbitrary, but it does not follow that human judgment is arbitrary. The essence of human judgment is not arbitrary at all. Human judgments should and will approximate to Divine judgments, but no doubt it is the very character of Divine judgments that has been leading free will through infinite variations during hundreds of centuries towards invariable principles of judgment.

Man more and more ranges himself with the purpose of God and does it through those attempts of free-will, those methods of trial and error which are checked by an invariable characteristic of human personality. Man's judgment is all the while feeling out towards the standard of Divine judgment. Given free-will as a condition of non-automatism evil is a necessity, but it is a necessity that free-will can overcome. To complain of God because evil exists is to complain that we are not mere wave-lengths in the manifestation of an Hegelian idea. Evil is an intimation that we are not exercising our free-will rightly. Evil involves punishment, else we could not be free men. We do not know if Mr. Russell would accept this view, but it seems implicit in his statement that "it is the possibility, not the existence, of evil which is involved in the fact of freedom." We trust that this book, which should have been noticed earlier, will be closely studied by those who feel religious difficulties by reason of the sorrows and darkness of the world. Christianity, and Christianity alone, does meet the sorrows and the darkness, not only in the revelation of a perfect process of social betterment, but in the revelation of an individual life which is not dependent for its persistence on the temporary tabernacle of the flesh.

J. E. G. DE M.

* * *

MEDIAEVAL SOUTH WALES.*

Mr. William Rees, in this patient and lucid study of the structure of mediæval life in South Wales and the March has added much to the knowledge of Welsh life not only in post-Conquestual days but in earlier periods when kingship began to overshadow tribal life. Mr. Rees has considerably supplemented Professor J. E. Lloyd's masterly reconstruction of early Welsh institutions. He rightly points out that folk life is not destroyed by conquest:

"The student of economic conditions sees a folk still virile and strong, often taking the conquerer himself into slow captivity within its social folds. . . . Social life in Wales, already in process of internal change, continued to flow in a very large measure in its original channels, though deflected by the influence of alien rule. The changes noted in succeeding years must not be attributed entirely to the Conquest. They were partly economic in origin."

Indeed, the persistence of the fundamental ideas of kinship, and even servile kinship, survived for centuries. In the present year there has been detected the existence of Goidelic numerals used in the numbering of sheep, a sure sign of what was originally a

* *South Wales and the March, 1284-1415: A Social and Agrarian Study.* By William Rees. (Oxford University Press. 15s. net.)

servile community. During the late war, in order to evade the law as to agricultural wages, the kin gathered once more and on the ground of blood relationship defied what seemed in Wales an oppressive change.

Mr. Rees makes it clear enough that customary feudalism culminating in kingship was in full swing in Wales long before the Edwardian Conquest. He puts the problem with which he has to deal in a phrase when he says that "the problem of the economic history of Welsh Wales during the mediæval and post-mediæval periods lies in the direct transition from the stage of tribute to that of individualism without an intervening manorial stage with its particular complications." The Welsh, he points out, "remained a pastoral and a hill people without firm roots in the soil. Such conditions assisted in the preservation of a highly organised kindred system, each kindred freedom-loving and jealous of its own interests, an efficient protection for the individual in a country where centralisation was difficult." But the history of the great Edwardian Manors shows that while in the economic productive sense the people had no "firm roots in the soil," on the other hand, they held, and still hold, with an intensely jealous hand the rights of pasturage. Even to-day most complicated law cases arise out of these immemorial rights.

The problem of the structural or economic history of Wales is the supplementing of the material contained in the extant Laws (which "only portray tribal society in so far as that society conformed to the royal pattern") with material drawn from many other sources. The growth of feudalism, in Mr. Rees' view, was due to "elements foreign to Welsh society." It, no doubt, was so in specific instances, but feudalism is inherent in tribal societies all the world over, and the loss of political power by the kindreds in Wales is paralleled in many Aryan races and not least in the history of Rome itself, and is a loss inherent in tribal structure by the processes of growth. "The eve of the final conquest of Wales, therefore, saw the elements of feudalism present, but, owing to the strength of the kindred system, unco-ordinated."

The catastrophic effect of the Norman Conquest were mainly felt by the feudal chieftains. In the purely Welsh areas the community life persisted under new lords. This was not true of the English areas. There was consequently no fusion, and it took centuries to bring the two races on to the same economic plane "as rent-paying individuals." Indeed, "the chief agent in the dissolution of Welsh society is not found in the conscious action of English monarchs but in the economic changes of the thirteenth and succeeding centuries."

In the second part of this survey Mr. Rees deals fully, with

ample authorities, with the economic organisation of the Lordships of Wales in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. It is an extraordinarily detailed piece of research, dealing successively with the Castle, the Manor, and the Welsh lands (the Welshry, or Patria). The last section will attract special notice among students of the persistence of organised Welsh life, dealing as it does with "the primitive family organisation, Indo-European in origin, introduced into the British Isles by the first Celtic conquerors." Here we see traced the gradual decay of the collective rights into the individualism that marked the Englishry. The subject, dealt with, as indeed the earlier themes are considered, with such learned and painstaking thoroughness, is too technical to be analysed in this place. Tribal blood is the key to much of the position, but in Wales, as in Ireland, the non-tribesmen formed important factors. Apart from "Strangers" (so familiar in Ireland) how far do the non-tribesmen consist of q-peoples speaking a q-tongue? That is not an unimportant question, and it is closely related to ultimogeniture.

How far did the Great Death of 1349 and the "Deaths" of 1361, 1369, 1375, 1379, 1389, 1390-91, 1393, 1407, and 1413, affect the community and tend to break it up? The Death of 1349 was very severe. There were certainly startling changes, but Mr. Rees arrives at what is now generally recognised to be true for the whole country, that the effects of the Black Death were indirect rather than direct and stimulated changes already in operation. We venture to suggest tentatively, however, that in respect to the community life of the Welshry the cumulative effects were direct in this sense that they had great results in breaking up the kinship groups, especially among the unfree communities. The rapid succession of deaths would seem likely to unsettle the structure, and tend towards economic individualism. There were certainly escheated lands not claimed by the next of kin. Mr. Rees points out that the former rights of the communities to escheated lands were upheld by the Welsh when the question became acute as the result of the Black Death and the Glyndwr Rebellion. This seems to the present writer to settle the question of the direct effect of the pestilence on the break-up of tribal life. Mr. Rees indeed admits that the Black Death was an important factor in the break-up of tribal holding. It is impossible in a brief space to do more than note some of the more salient aspects of a book in which research is combined with literary charm.

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MASTER RICHARD QUYNY.*

Any matter, however small, which throws light upon the life and work of our greatest poet is worthy of consideration. The three dozen unpublished letters which Mr. Fripp deals with so fully, will certainly help to make the dead bones of the comparatively scanty record of Shakespeare and his family live again in the environment of the friends and neighbours amongst whom he spent his days at Stratford-upon-Avon.

The author of this work introduces his readers to many of the originals of Shakespeare's well known characters, and it is most interesting to see how the minor events and characteristics of his intimates were turned to account when remodelling a character from some older play, perhaps, which he had in hand in preparation for the stage. Shakespeare knew intuitively that only truth can live, so whether it were a curate, a schoolmaster or a lawyer he must go to the living model for his inspiration. As in painting so in literature, the artist, be he ever so great, who is content with the "uses" of the imagination repeats himself. Nature, like Cleopatra, never makes this mistake. "Time cannot wither, nor custom stale her infinite variety."

Mr. Fripp is the Editor of the "Minutes and Accounts of the Corporation of Stratford-upon-Avon, 1553-1620," and his researches amid these chronicles make him acquainted with the worthies—or unworthies—with whom the records deal. From amongst them he has singled out "Master Richard Quyny, Bailiff of Stratford-upon-Avon, and the friend of William Shakespeare." Abraham Sturley, the lawyer, Old Adrian Quyny and his son Richard, were the principal burghers in Stratford during these fruitful years. Richard's son, Thomas Quyny, married Shakespeare's daughter Judith, and their first child was named Shakespeare. In that manner the two families were knit together in relationship as well as friendship. The Quyny correspondence here quoted will shortly appear as a companion volume to this present one under the joint editorship of Mr. Richard Savage and Mr. Fripp.

The story of the Quyny family and their connection with the Shakespeare family is described at length in this book, and much of it dispels the illusion as to "the illiterate relatives" among whom and "the bookless neighbourhood" in which the early years of Shakespeare's life were supposed to be spent. Mr. Fripp surmises that Shakespeare joined "the great Earl of Leicester's troupe" in 1588, the year of the defeat of the Spanish Armada. "The Troupe" travelled from place to place, Dover, Plymouth, Bath, Gloucester, Coventry, and, with little doubt, Stratford. It

* *Master Richard Quyny. Bailiff of Stratford-upon-Avon, and Friend of William Shakespeare.* By Edgar I. Fripp. (Oxford University Press. 10s. net.)

was a year of storm and flood, and Shakespeare could not have missed seeing the havoc wrought in his native town, the flooded area and broken bridge. "We read in Welford Church register: Old Father Porter, being 109 years of age, never knew the Avon so high by a yard and a half in the house. It broke down Grange Mill, the crack whereof was heard at Holditch. It broke up sundry houses in Warwick Town and carried away their bread, beef, cheese, butter, pots and pans. It took away three wains with the furniture of Sir Thomas Lucy. It broke both ends of Stratford Bridge: three men going over when they went to the middle of the bridge could not go forward, and then returned but could not go back." To Richard Quyny, Acting Chamberlain at this date, fell the task of repairing the bridge.

The Quyny letters do not reflect much light on the history of the time. There is a passing reference in "A hundred horsemen set out for Tilbury furnished by the gentlemen of Warwickshire," and among the "Footmen raised in the town" were William Baynton and Richard Tyler, Shakespeare's friend, "who wore swords and daggers." It was a time so fraught with import to the nation, that one wonders how the literature of the period was so little influenced—as seems the case with Shakespeare—by the change which had encircled both religion and politics. These letters reveal, as do the Paston Letters, the attitude towards the existing state of affairs. Wars and rumours of wars passed over the Burghers' heads, too busy with their Bailies, and their Burgesses, their marrying and giving in marriage, with baptisms to follow, to be much stirred by news that was slow in the coming, and which affected them personally but little in their midland town. It needed an exodus from the narrow outlook of a provincial city to the wider centres of activity to find a larger life. Shakespeare by joining "the troupe" of players, found himself.

Richard Quyny died during his bailiwick. "1602, May 31. M(aste)r Richard Quyny, Bailey of Stretforde." Shakespeare at this date was probably writing *Hamlet*, and his love for his friend found expression in those well-known lines addressed to Horatio:

"Give me that man

That is not passion's slave, and I will wear him

In my heart's core, ay, in my heart of heart,

As I do thee."

Mr. Fripp has written and compiled an interesting book overflowing with references and surmises, showing that the folk of those days are not so far from the present, and showing, too, how the small events of the past stand out and link generation with generation, and will continue to do so as the years ebb and flow. All important tradition depends on tiny links.

S. DE M.

SHORTER REVIEWS.

In "Pygmies and Bushmen of the Kalahari,"* Mr. S. S. Dornan provides an excellent account "of the hunting tribes inhabiting the great arid plateau of the Kalahari desert, their precarious manner of living, their habits, customs and beliefs, with some reference to Bushman art, both early and of recent date, and to the neighbouring African tribes." The Kalahari area in this book is used to define the portion of South Africa lying between the Upper Molopo River and Lake Ngami on the north, Palapye on the east and Rietfontein on the west, some 140,000 square miles. It is an arid country, and in the north of it is the great game region, where dwell the remnants of the herds and carnivora that once roamed over all South Africa. The Bushmen who inhabit the area are the remnants of a race that once formed the population of all Africa south of the Zambesi, and are of the same stock as the Pygmies of the Ituri Forest. They are a hunting people, and on the disappearance of game they took to attacking the herds not only of the Dutch but of the native pastoral races, with the result that they were finally driven into the desert. Some tribes of Bushmen seem to have low mentality, but this may be due to environment. The race has real artistic talent, as their rock paintings and carvings show. Their religion is a sort of dualism of good and evil. They have the clan system with some traces of Totemism. Their tongue differs from the Hottentot tongue, though the two languages have mingled and may have had a common origin in the Victoria Nyanza region. There are two strains, light and dark, among the Bushmen as there are among the Pygmies. The strains are mixed, but the dark strain remains pure round Lake Ngami and seems to be the inferior race. They call themselves *Khwai*—compare Wachua, the name of the Pygmies—a word that means simply Man. The race includes the Maderassena, a fine race of men, but pure Bushmen. Neither size nor colour is any criterion of Kalahari Bushmen. Marriage takes place within the clan but not within the same totem. In the same clan there may be several different totems. They believe in some sort of immortality, a spirit world where men and women live more happily than here. There is a god, Thora the Great One, and there seem to be inferior gods. There is also an evil spirit, Khauna. There are spirits everywhere. Transformation of living beings is also accepted. This is an excellent book and of great value, describing as it does very fully, with admirable illustrations, a race of great significance in the field of ethnology. The chapter on the Bechuanas is of much value, and emphasises the educable capacity of this remarkable people. Khama, their famous Christian Chief or King, who died last year at the age of ninety-six, exercised a wonderful moral influence.

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Among our literary benefactors of the day must undoubtedly be included Mr. P. G. Wodehouse, who, in his latest work, *Ukridge*,† not only provides a stream of inextinguishable laughter but presents an example of an art in which he certainly equals if he does not excel Mr. W. W. Jacobs. The character drawing of the book is most excellent. Mr. Stanley Featherstonhaugh Ukridge is an example of an irresponsible Micawber who, in the multitudinous crises of his life, rarely fails to shift

* Seeley Service and Co. 21s. net.

† Herbert Jenkins.

the evershifting burden on to shoulders capable of bearing it. He was what Indians would call a failed public school boy, and failure is written all over his successive ventures until the last, and Mr. Wodehouse leaves the reader in doubt on the point. His plans are superb, it is only some detail that always makes them fail, and his friends always rush to the rescue. His training school for dogs was an idea that ought to be taken up: "What I am aiming at is a sort of Dogs' College. . . . The demand for performing dogs is universal throughout the civilised world. . . . My aim, laddie, is gradually to get a monopoly of the trade. . . . I don't see why eventually dog owners should not send their dogs to me as a regular thing, just as they send their sons to Eton and Winchester. . . . Fellow with a dog entitled to wear the Ukridge collar would be in a position to look down on the bloke whose dog hadn't got one. . . . The thing would become a landslide." Fortunes have actually been made from less noble ideas. Yet fortunes were not for Ukridge, but not because there was something about him "that dulled the moral sense." The character is really alive and there are many Ukriges in the world. His friends, George Tupper, of the Foreign Office, Lorney Coote, the man of means, his acquaintances at Clapham Common, the malign creditor—a superb creation—Battling Billson, a man in a million, the really terrible lady novelist, the awful aunt, the amazing Lady Lakenheath, all make up a real world of real people, though it is not exactly a Euclidean world. But Ukridge had no use for the non-practical Euclidean world: "Degenerate, laddie, absolutely degenerate. No self-respect. No vision. The old bull-dog breed has disappeared entirely." He had always a vision of "a big, broad, flexible outlook."

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In "Parish Architecture"* (with sixty-four illustrations, chiefly from drawings by the author, and a map), Mr. E. Tyrrell-Green has produced an admirable work which will give the lover of churches sound knowledge for understanding the buildings that he examines in any part of England, and, indeed, in some parts of the Continent. The introductory chapter emphasises the importance of architecture as a living art, true architecture being defined as "sound construction suitably adorned." . . . Of all styles Gothic architecture best corresponds to the definition of true architecture, for it is the one architecture in which ornament is structure and structure ornament. Its anatomy, like that of the human body, is all organic, with every member an essential part of the life of the whole." But in the Middle Ages "all men were in love with building . . . popular enthusiasm centred in the art. No effort was too great, no toil too arduous, if it was required to complete the structure that was to be the crowning glory of a city, and an enduring monument of the piety of the community and its love for God." It was marked by freedom, by variety, and it expressed the best life of the period. "Gothic architecture was the result and the expression of the lives of the most gifted men of the Middle Ages." The English parish churches are "remarkable for the excellence of their work, and in this respect even village churches attain as high a level as the cathedral." The type varies according to its environment; it is essentially local. This is a distinctively English feature. There is no attempt to reproduce, as on the Continent, the special features of great cathedral or abbey churches. This local individuality reproduces an aspect of Eng-

* S.P.C.K. 8s. 6d. net.

lish character: the local goes to make up the national character. Mr. Tyrrell-Green analyses the plan of the English church, goes into elaborate detail of the material, which varies from district to district (though Purbeck marble was carried far: it is used in Stone Church). He then deals with the successive styles, beginning with the pre-Conquest Romanesque style in wood (as, for example, the nave of Greenstead Church, Essex) and stone (as at Bradford-on-Avon), which follows the wooden form. There are only about ten complete Saxon churches, but there are about fifty others in which part of the fabric is Saxon, and some seventy Saxon west towers. We are then taken successively to the Norman-Romanesque style (from about 1075 to 1175), the starting-point of Gothic. The latter half of the twelfth century was the period of transition into Pointed Gothic. The pointed arch was, in fact, reached by 1150 or earlier. The Early English style followed, a period that was ending in the last quarter of the thirteenth century, when the Decorated style succeeded it, and reached its magnificent height about the time of the Black Death in 1349. The final development of mediæval Gothic architecture was the fourteenth century Perpendicular.

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Dr. W. C. D. Whetham, in his volume entitled "Matter and Change: an Introduction to Physical and Chemical Science,"* brings his wealth of knowledge to the useful but very difficult task of giving "a short and simple statement of the methods and results of modern physical and chemical science." Such a handbook is necessary to the thoughtful reader. It is impossible to understand, perhaps, the most interesting parts of even the daily press to-day without some grasp of the main advances of science. Dr. Whetham draws from his long experience "the most profound belief that the difficulties, the failures and the triumphs of the laboratory and the observatory form some of the best material for modern literature." Unfortunately, few scientists have that gift of literary exposition that made the works of Sir Michael Foster so fascinating a study. Dr. Whetham has the same type of gift, and so assuming in the reader "the simplest schoolroom mathematics" he is able from facts and reasoning to introduce the student to the study of the new world of science. We say "new" for we are only to-day beginning to understand quite old conclusions. It was not until 1915, when Einstein applied his theory of relativity to gravitation that we understood why the weight of a body is proportional to its mass. About the same time it was discovered that the curious periodic table of the elements of matter has a real physical meaning. Dr. Whetham's account of Matter is followed by a discussion of its dynamics and physical properties: "If we come to think (which often leads to unexpected results) . . . the structure of the Universe is not necessarily adapted to the schedule of an elementary examination." In considering Time and Space, we are, in fact, face to face with Relativity. A closely written chapter on Heat and Energy closes the obvious. Electricity and Magnetism are not obvious in their ordered fashion. From the days of Gibert (*d.* 1603) to Faraday (*d.* 1867) some knowledge of the forces involved was gathered; from the days of Faraday to our own the electrical basis of things has become gradually apparent, and so Dr. Whetham inevitably carries the student into that wonderful region of investigation and thought where the chemist and the physicist are revealing the

* Cambridge University Press. 6s.

inner structure of the universe. Miss Margaret Whetham supplements her father's work by dealing with the latest and perhaps most wonderful field, that of Bio-chemistry.

NOTICES OF BOOKS.

Normandy and Brittany are very favourite holiday places of the British public and we, therefore, welcome Mr. Clive Holland's pleasing and useful book, "Things seen in Normandy and Brittany,"* which contains "a description of many of the charming spots in the two duchies, the interesting people and their ways, their quaint customs and picturesque costumes." In Brittany they speak the old tongue of Cornwall (the only Celtic tongue spoken on the Continent of Europe), and not to know Normandy is not to know much that is necessary for the understanding of English history.

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Mr. Alexander Carlyle has edited a number of very interesting letters of Thomas Carlyle to John Stuart Mill, John Sterling and Robert Browning.† Carlyle became acquainted with Mill in 1831 and these letters were written from Craigenputtock between 1831 and 1834, before Carlyle settled in Chelsea in 1834. The two "were strongly attracted by their common love of truth and honesty, which formed the real bond of their friendship." Sterling, whose life Carlyle came to write in a very perfect biography, was a friend of Mill's. Browning was introduced to Carlyle by Leigh Hunt in 1840, and the friendship survived till Carlyle's death. Carlyle wrote to the poet in 1856: "If you took up some one great subject, and tasked all your powers upon it for a long while, vowing to Heaven that you *would* be plain to mean capacities, then —! — But I have done, *done*. Good be with you always, dear Browning; and high victory to sore fight!" This was really like the kettle asking the pot to be white.

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The "S.P.E. Tract No. XVIII."‡ continues the struggle, uphill and almost hopeless, for securing pure English undefiled. Mr. H. W. Fowler tilts against the use of the English subjunctive, save in the few cases where "those uses are alive." It is a little difficult to follow his argument. The wrong use of the subjunctive is, of course, wrong, but it is difficult to condemn the right use of the subjunctive, with its subtle significances, simply on the ground that it seems to Mr. Fowler dull, formal or pretentious. It has the merit, at any rate, of checking slipshod English if it is rightly used. Wrongly used it is, of course, ridiculous. The French subjunctive is still full of power and so should be the English equivalent. The tiresome subject of the use of "alright" is discussed at length. One writer thinks that it will "almost inevitably establish itself in the long run," but all the writers condemn it as all wrong. In fact, it is very rarely used. This Tract reprints the Poet Laureate's prefatory statement to his "Chilswell Book of English Poetry" compiled and annotated by him for use in schools.

* Seeley Service and Co. 21s. net.

† T. Fisher Unwin 25s. net.

‡ The Clarendon Press. 2s. 6d. net.

THE GENERAL ELECTION.

I. BY THE RT. HON. SIR EVELYN CECIL, G.B.E., M.P. II. BY THE RT. HON. IAN MACPHERSON, K.C., M.P. III. BY DR. HUGH DALTON, M.P. IV. BY SIR ALFRED HOPKINSON.

I.

IN some respects the unprecedented occurrence of three General Elections in Great Britain within two years ought to provide exceptional data for the historian who wishes to study the working of democratic institutions, just as the world conflict of 1914-18 supplied unrivalled chances for increased knowledge of beneficent surgery. For purposes of comparison I have looked up my three Election addresses of 1922, 1923, and 1924, and also referred to my original address when I first entered Parliament in 1898. The latter is of lesser interest as conditions and the franchise have so much altered, though even there there is a note of stability not out of touch with the present day. This, however, is perhaps due to innate conservatism. But the three last Elections afford more comparative material for historic reflection, at any rate from the point of view of the operation of democratic machinery.

The fundamental cleavage at all three contests was between moderation and extremism, and yet, in 1923, owing to fortuitous events, the true bent of the country's predominant feeling was in some measure side-tracked. It has been urged by a good many people that that Election was unnecessary: other people are to be found who argue that the latest Election was unnecessary: and "men in the street" and tradesmen whose business always suffers by General Elections say, bluntly, that both were unnecessary, particularly as the nation is now, to a considerable extent, back at the *status quo ante*. I do not myself see clearly what improvements could be made in the Constitution to avoid the curse of frequent Elections. Dissolutions depend upon the temperaments of Prime Ministers, upon therapid changes and storms of the political skies, which refuse control and defy prophets, upon the Press, and upon the moods of the country. Public opinion may sometimes put a drag on political passions and occasionally exercise a steadying restraint, but from the days of Horace populaces have been fickle, short-memoried, and often ungrateful, and the popular will as expressed by Parliamentary voters must be expected to reflect their failings as well as their genuine merits. On the whole, I suppose public opinion is the surest safeguard against repeated Elections within brief periods, together with the reluctance of Members and candidates to be always facing heavy expenses and great physical stress.

So far as my experience goes, this last Election was less free than its predecessors from rowdyism and recrimination. How to check rowdyism is ever a problem. "Chuck 'em out," exclaims one. "Turn on the hose," shouts another. "Announce that there will be a collection," proposes a wit. And still the evil remains. And accusations of falsehood or grave distortions of truth came last October from opposite quarters all over the kingdom, and they, unfortunately, appear to be ugly, inseparable, and ever-extending accompaniments of every Election nowadays. There is, perhaps, a tendency on either side to goad the other on in the art of misrepresentation when excitement runs high, but would that candidates could agree to enforce fairer methods and succeed in doing so. Speaking at Barry, on October 17th, Mr. Ramsay MacDonald, in anticipation at that date of a Socialist victory at the polls and criticising the then Opposition, said that "a party who are on the verge of being beaten and disgraced always tell lies." A week later some of his opponents' speeches were flinging back the remark at himself.

Humours of the Election are not always forthcoming, and not always suitable for one reason or another to reproduce if they are. One canvasser, who was told to go to h—, replied with promptitude, "Thank you, I do not propose to call on your friends this evening." Irish humour may be traced in the figures from Fermanagh and Tyrone. In 1923, the Nationalist and Sinn Fein candidates got in by a majority of about 6,000 over their Conservative Ulster opponents. On the late occasion, however, the same two Conservative candidates triumphed over their Sinn Fein Republican adversaries by a majority of 37,904. And this strange phenomenon occurred in counties reported to be racked from end to end by the Ulster boundary dispute! An explanation may be hazarded through the circumstance that many Nationalist voters boycotted the Election as they could not countenance de Valera's action in putting up Republican nominees, while others may have voted Conservative; but a prosaic and materially-minded Briton may, perhaps, also risk the conjecture that life is more tolerable in Ulster where income tax, tea and other duties are lower, and unemployment benefit and old age pensions higher, than over the boundary in the Free State.

The Conservative and Unionist success is almost without parallel in British annals, a majority of 211 over all other parties in the House of Commons. It was not foretold even by the most acute pundits of electoral forecasts; nor could it have been influenced by that body of doubtful electors, who were alleged to exist when Elections extended to three weeks (as before the Act of 1918), and were inclined to vote for the winning side,

according to the daily results. The decision is overwhelming.

Yet in the hour of a triumph let us take a long and not a short view. Be it noted that the decision was negative rather than positive: it was an emphatic condemnation of revolutionary policy rather than an approval of any very specific programme. It registered a vigorous resentment at the propaganda of Soviet Russia in this country, and a convinced distrust of its credit and promises. It demanded a period of stability, patient and energetic statesmanship, and industrial peace and goodwill. Accordingly, Mr. Baldwin's Government, with their immense opportunity, have a weighty responsibility in making practical use of the blank cheque they have received.

The responsibility is by no means the less because of the virtual elimination of the Liberal Party. The electorate did not forgive Mr. Asquith and his followers being elected last December to resist the Labour-Socialists, and by their first vote in Parliament deliberately putting them into office, and keeping them there. But the outcome is that the Socialists with their extreme section and its leaders are to-day the only possible alternative to the present Government. Most people have had General Elections enough to be ready to wreak vengeance on any Prime Minister who advised one or brought one about within the next four years, yet the prospect is not entirely a matter for equanimity. Every Ministry falls some day; there were a million more voters for Socialists at this last Election than in 1923; and if by the end of the new Parliament Liberalism is a sufficient entity to join in an alternative combination of more moderate elements in preference to a violently Socialistic Cabinet, the minds of a number of cautious people would be more at rest. I have no knowledge of Mr. Asquith's hopes; and the political kaleidoscope is a very curious instrument.

What, then, is the task of Mr. Baldwin's Government? I am quite sure the Conservative Party does not want reaction, or anything approaching to it, but on the contrary, wise progress. Were it otherwise, there would soon be another kind of reaction, to the extreme Left. Unemployment, so distressingly long with us and many parts of the world, has, of course, no instantaneous remedy. What is required is incessant pressure at the root-causes of the trouble, and the new Government must grip the nettle firmly. We need to bring about revival of confidence in trade, certainty of outlook, lower taxation, a greater disposition to submit to friendly arbitration before strikes or lock-outs, and a readier acceptance of impartial findings when given. These transformations only unfold through persistent fostering, judicious legislation, and tact. So far as our Imperial trade is concerned,

I think few people here appreciate what a strain was put on the Empire last summer when the House of Commons, under the auspices of the late Government, completely turned down Imperial preference. I have lately returned from Canada, and can speak from some experience. Imperial unity, Imperial preference, Imperial foreign policy in consultation with the self-governing Dominions are of the utmost importance. The housing problem, again, calls for constant study and watchfulness, and no one is likely to give it more sane, unstinted, and expert attention than the new Minister of Health, Mr. Neville Chamberlain. It cannot be settled by a wave of the magician's wand, or a single stroke of the pen before breakfast, or by mere expenditure of money too regardless of business realities which—if I may say so without offence—seems to me to have been Mr. Wheatley's failing. Careful examination of new materials and methods of construction will no doubt be undertaken, and it is much to be desired that this should also lead to making a practical start for the improvement of slums. The cost of foodstuffs and of their distribution is another matter demanding inquiry; why is it that their prices remain so high? Is it the fault of middlemen, or railway freights, or what other cause? Or is public criticism itself at fault? A Royal Commission might throw much light on these questions.

In education, in which, as a member of the old London School Board my interest was stimulated early, a policy should be pursued essentially for the good of the child and its wholesome upbringing: providing scholarships for able children as ladders to promotion (particularly serviceable where the parents cannot afford the fees), and developing secondary schools. Above all, I would plead for maintaining and cultivating a sound Christian moral atmosphere in schools and in the home, which means everything to the future of the nation, an atmosphere which is social in the sense of training a child to see the best points among his fellows and give them credit for the best, as opposed to some of the Socialistic theories of class hatred and Soviet folly recently expounded by several Socialist leaders. Let us level up, certainly, but not by such evil counsels, which inevitably spell levelling down. And lastly, but not least, economy must be ubiquitous in administration.

Enough has been said to illustrate the trend of Conservative and Unionist policy as it emanates from the polling-booths. If shrewdly carried out, and broadly supported by many level-headed men, I trust it will steadily reconstruct our national prosperity on firm foundations, for the mutual welfare of all classes.

EVELYN CECIL.

II.

THE crashing victory of the Conservative Party can leave no dubiety in any mind as to what the country, for the moment, meant. It was determined to place in an unassailable position the party which in its judgment was most assuredly opposed to what it regarded as insidious and obnoxious doctrines of foreign origin; it was equally desirous of establishing in power a party which might save it, if it were sufficiently powerful, from the nightmare of three elections in two years. The doctrines which I have mentioned were repugnant in themselves, but the disclosures which accompanied them as a buttress, aroused the passions of the country. Indeed, they may well be regarded as having aroused a panic. This was obvious to those of us who took an active part throughout the campaign and had the opportunity of addressing and watching audiences all over the country.

When the then Prime Minister decided to appeal to the jury of his fellow countrymen, he went, to use the celebrated contrast of Thucydides, upon a pretext (*πρόφάσις*)—the alarming incident which is now known as the withdrawal on alleged political grounds of the prosecution against the *Workers' Weekly*. The real reason (the *αἰτία*) was the Russian Treaty and its certain defeat three weeks later. The country undoubtedly took a deep interest in the Campbell case, and, like many others, I was asked to explain it fully. Equally certain is it that the country was anxious and excited over the Russian situation so far as it was disclosed at the hour of the Election. Many Liberals took the view that the *Workers' Weekly* was too insignificant to bother about and that the initial prosecution was a mistake—indeed, was stupid, and would do more harm than good. But the general view was that the instinct and attitude of the Government were right in both cases—right to prosecute for what was described by their own lawyers as a grave offence, and right to refuse a guarantee or loan to a discredited Government without any definite stipulation whatsoever. During the first part of the campaign what disquieted the average elector was the feeling that, in both cases, the Government had been driven not only to vacillation and prevarication, but to what was regarded as worse, by forces inside and outside Parliament which were unknown to him, and the more they were unknown the more they were suspected of being inimical to the best interests of the country.

A crisis is but a culmination of causes, and the culmination was reached when the Zinoviev correspondence appeared. It made the deepest impression. From the moment of its appearance, the experience of such of my friends as I have been able to consult, as

it was the experience of myself, was that every day and every hour were adding that important member of the community, the silent voter, to the anti-Socialist side. For him, the unknown forces were now revealed, and the doubts which were hurriedly cast, by Ministers and others, on the authenticity of the correspondence by means of violent outbursts and equally violent phraseology, and even by imputations against public servants who could not defend themselves, only served to strengthen the view that foreign insolence and foreign dictation were behind it all and could not be tolerated. The silent voter argued thus: If the damaging correspondence was not authentic why did the Prime Minister, in his capacity as Foreign Secretary, order the draft reply to be prepared; and why, in the midst of an arduous Election—doubly arduous in the case of the Prime Minister and Foreign Secretary—should he personally pay, as he admittedly did, such personal attention to the stiffening of the reply? And why were that reply and the original letter issued as a public document for all men to see by the appropriate Department of which he was the official head? For the remaining days of the campaign there appeared to be no other question, and I gather that the skilled electioneer devoted himself to emphasis of this, to the problem of the safety and security of the country and to the essential need of a Government that could at all times be relied upon to conserve and preserve British interests. Given a theme of that kind, he could, I am told, dilate with comfortable equanimity upon Government promises made and unfulfilled, upon Government pledges definitely given and broken.

In the turmoil (for such it became), I doubt whether there was much time allocated in many speeches, or, if it was allocated, if the appropriate portion of the speech was audible, to party programmes. The Socialists devoted themselves in the main to their Prime Minister's good record in Foreign Affairs, left Socialism as we know it severely alone (who heard a word about capital levy?) and, like the Unionists, when they did deal with a programme, it was with a programme which, in its essence and foundation, was filched from the Liberal Party, which they both affected to despise. And if we Liberals are, for the moment, as *rari nantes in gurgite vasto*, this consolation can at least be ours, that the great spirit of Liberalism which has meant so much to this country and to the world, stood so supreme a test in so desperate a conflict.

The problems of pensions, of insurance, of transport and development, of security to the country and to the worker, of peace and of progress, to which all parties are now pledged, have for long been problems which have been the special care of Liberalism. There was no new constructive programme except that suggested by the Liberal Party. Apart from Land and Coal and Power,

upon which it offered definite proposals and suggestions, there was its additional security to the worker against the vicissitudes of life and of his toil. Until he gets that security, he will never attain complete civic usefulness nor complete personal contentment and happiness. And strife, with all its distressing concomitants, will continue to threaten, if it will not destroy, the vast industrial life of this country, until personal incentive and initiative are encouraged (and so far as is humanly possible, guaranteed), by fuller and freer co-operation between employer and employed. But the fair discussion or appreciation of the proposals of the Liberal Party (or indeed of any other party if they had such constructive proposals) had very little chance in a "Trotsky Election" of this kind. The position in which the Liberal Party found itself militated against that. Right as its leaders felt its first vote to be in the last Parliament, eminently constitutional and obviously democratic and in the interests of fair play as that vote was, it left the party in a "correct" position in the House of Commons, but, as unforeseen events have shown, in a fatal position in the country. If there had been consultation in the House of Commons with Mr. Asquith—as one was entitled to expect from his own magnificent magnanimity—things might have been different; but there was, instead, petulance and insult in the House of Commons and, in the country, the Socialist slogan "Let us wipe the Liberals out." And, for the moment, Mr. Asquith is out—"the noblest Roman of them all"—and his absence means that the House of Commons has lost its greatest ornament and the country its wisest counsellor.

Liberalism had not only to bear the bitter positive attack of Socialism on the one hand, because Socialism longs for what it ominously calls the straight fight between the "Haves" and the "Have nots"; but it had to endure the secession of its friends who, for this occasion only, felt that the issue being what it was it was better to "take no risks." A friend of mine who never voted Unionist in his life, nor did his father before him, voted Unionist this time. When you consider on this particular occasion exceptional things of that kind, it is well also to consider the caprices of the electoral law as we know it. Under present electoral conditions, the balance is always preponderatingly against the Liberal Party. I take the Election before this one, and I take the county of Kent as a case in point. If I remember aright, the Unionists polled roughly 155,000 and as a reward they were enabled to put into the House of Commons no less than ten Members of Parliament. The Liberals polled no less than roughly 85,000 votes, and yet their representation was only one! As Principal Rainy said about the famous Scottish Church case, "There is something wrong somewhere" and, whether it is by Proportional Representation (now

a part of the Liberal Programme) or by the Alternative Vote, something has got to be done to ensure adequate and just representation.

There are, I think, two other points which deserve notice. First, the hills of Scotland and Wales have shown themselves impervious to the influence of Socialism, and if one looks at what is called an "electoral map" one can see how defiant what was once called with a gibe "the Celtic Fringe" is even now to the subversive doctrine. And, secondly, may I use the words of an able editor?—"Looking at the broad results, it must be borne in mind that the Liberals sacrificed themselves and their party in the national interests, withdrawing no fewer than 97 candidates from as many seats in order to give the Unionists every chance against the Socialists. The striking fact remains that in every one of these seats the Unionists were returned, whereas in the few cases where the Unionists left a free field as between a Liberal and a Socialist, the majority of the Liberals failed."

Hinc illae lacrimae!

IAN MACPHERSON.

III.

WE have returned, sharply and decisively, to the two-party system in Great Britain. This, I think, for the historian of the future, will be the most significant feature of these Elections of 1924. The Liberal Party, after several false starts, has at last gone down the wind, and Conservatives and Labour stand face to face in the political arena. The two great parties of to-day occupy this arena even more completely and exclusively than did the Conservatives and Liberals of the Victorian Age. For there is no longer an Irish Nationalist Party at Westminster. The Liberal remnant of to-day is barely half the size of the Irish Party of yesterday and seems to have small prospects of growth or even of survival. The British people appear to find a three-party system in politics as unintelligible and unsatisfactory as a football match between three teams. Impatience with fine distinctions and a preference for a straightforward "Yes" or "No" are deep-seated British characteristics, which are fatal to a multiplicity of political parties and groupings. A Labour Government, with a Parliamentary majority of its own, is now the only practical alternative to a Conservative Government, and is not unlikely to come into being about four years hence.

In the General Election of 1924 the Conservatives polled, in round figures, seven and three-quarter million votes, Labour five

and a half millions, and Liberals three millions. As compared with the Election of 1923, the Conservative vote rose by nearly two millions, the Labour vote rose by more than a million, and the Liberal vote fell by more than a million. One of the practical merits of our present electoral system is to magnify Parliamentary majorities from a strictly arithmetical to a politically convenient size. This tendency, which is displeasing to the advocates of Proportional Representation, but which alone makes it possible for Governments to carry out their programmes, has been strongly operative at this Election, and has given the Conservatives a majority so ample as to be almost embarrassing.

The relative votes of three parties are, however, to some extent misleading. Labour entered into no "pact," either express or implied, in any constituency. The Labour vote of five and a half millions is a solid reality, which means exactly what it appears to mean, namely, that one-third of the electors who voted backed the Labour Government and the Labour programme. The Conservative vote of seven and three-quarter millions is hardly less solid. It represents opposition to the Labour Government and the Labour programme. It is true that, especially in constituencies where a Liberal candidate was withdrawn under the operation of the "pact," the Conservative vote contains a certain proportion of votes cast by persons who would still call themselves Liberals. But this proportion is probably not very high. Moreover, in the present condition of the Liberal Party, a Liberal who votes Conservative does not differ much from a Conservative pure and simple. But the Liberal vote of three millions is largely an illusion. Though the Conservatives completely out-manœuvred the Liberals in the "pact" negotiations, especially in Scotland, yet it was only the "pact" which saved the Liberals from still more complete destruction. More than half the Liberals returned had straight fights with Labour and received large blocks of Conservative votes. Very few of these, perhaps only Mr. Lloyd George and Sir Alfred Mond, could have been reasonably sure of winning in three-cornered fights. The remainder are Conservative hostages. Their fate, no doubt, will be similar to that of the Liberal Members returned under local "pacts" by Conservative votes in 1923. Either they will vote steadily in the Conservative lobby and, in effect, abandon the Liberal Party altogether, as the so-called "Constitutionalists" have already done; or they will have to face a Conservative as well as a Labour opponent at the next election and, in such a situation, their chances of survival will be slender. The blunt truth is that the aggregate Liberal vote on this occasion is very largely a Conservative vote, lent to Liberals on condition that they behave like Conservatives. In those con-

situencies where the "pact" operated, I should estimate that considerably more than half the Liberal vote is really Conservative. This estimate is not a guess, but is based on observation of the fate of Liberal Members of the last Parliament, who, having enjoyed the benefit of the "pact" in 1923, were deprived of it this year. Most of these fell to the bottom of the poll in three-cornered fights.

I doubt whether any dispassionate observer can see any future for the Liberal Party in this country. We can see now that the Parliamentary revival of Liberalism in 1923 was a mere flash in the pan, due solely to the raising of the Free Trade issue by Mr. Baldwin. If this issue is raised again, Labour alone will be in a position to take up the Protectionist challenge. "*Acqua passata non macina più!*"

Meanwhile, the effects of this Election upon the political opinions of the rising generation will be very marked. Comparatively few young men and women have been joining the Liberal Party since the War. Fewer still will join it now. With every year that passes, Labour will draw new strength and idealism from youth's springtide, while the Liberal ranks, growing old, are thinned without replenishment.

The dominating episode of the "scarlet letter" in the recent Election is profoundly disturbing for many reasons. It is clear that the whole tale has not yet been told. It is equally clear that, in the public interest, a thorough and searching inquisition is called for. But, now that the stunt has served its base purpose and a change of Government has actually taken place, the opportunity for making such an inquisition effective has probably been lost. The electoral potency of the stunt was obvious. As Mr. Lovat Fraser truly remarked in the *Sunday Pictorial*, "it will be admitted that the *Daily Mail* had more influence upon the result than any newspaper has ever exerted at election times in the whole history of journalism." "Similarly," he added, "the *Daily Mirror* and the *Sunday Pictorial* by means of news and pictures brought enormous influence to bear, especially on the woman electors. The *Daily Mirror's* pictorial presentation of the choice between British and Bolshevik leaders was a stroke of genius, while the *Sunday Pictorial* slogan of 'Red Flag or Union Jack' was quoted everywhere and adopted by the Conservatives for their poster displays." Not since Mr. Lloyd George's performances in 1918, has there been such a wholesale fooling of the electorate. Millions of the electors, one must suppose, honestly believed that Labour candidates and members of the Labour Government were personally implicated in a "plot" to raise a "Red Army" in Britain, to drown the existing order of society in a "bloody revo-

lution," to destroy the Christian religion, to confiscate all private property and to "nationalise women." Under the influence of these fantastic delusions, which anti-Labour newspapers, leaflets and canvassers spread in every constituency where a Labour candidate was standing, a stampede took place in the last few days of the campaign. Waverers who had intended to vote Labour changed their minds and hundreds of thousands of electors, normally indifferent to all political appeals, many of whom, probably had never troubled to use their votes before and will never trouble to use them again, flocked in sheer terror to the polling booth and voted Conservative, or, where no Conservative candidate was available, voted Liberal. It is this wave of pitiful fear which has washed many Conservatives and some Liberals into their sea in the new Parliament. I canvassed one old lady in Peckham who when I announced that I was the Labour candidate, recoiled from her doorway and cried in trembling tones, "Good God, let me put the chain on!"

Such mentality, or the lack of it, will not endure. The Labour Party will increasingly overcome it by political education and propaganda. The younger voters, in particular, will find me blatant panic-mongering an unconvincing answer to the Labour programme. Even so powerful an influence as that of Lord Rothermere is not invincible. If five and a half million voters showed their disbelief in the *Daily Mail* at this Election why not seven millions or eight millions at the next? The task before the Labour Party in the next few years, both in Parliament and in the country, is not only to criticise any shortcomings of the new Government, but to elaborate and to preach its own constructive policies, both in the domestic, the imperial and the international field. Our task is to win over to our side, by argument and by moral appeal, two or three million additional voters before the next General Election comes. If we can win three million our majority in the next Parliament will be ample and secure. In the towns our position is far stronger than it seems at first sight. A comparatively small turnover of votes would give us sweeping gains. London, Liverpool and Birmingham, in particular, long counted as traditional Conservative strongholds, have done well for Labour at this Election and are full of promise for the future. In most of the country districts, on the other hand, though we have increased our polls surprisingly, we are still a long way from victory. We encounter special difficulties here: lack of funds for an expensive job; social pressure, often amounting to intimidation; our opponents' unfair advantage of massed cars on polling day. There are still gaps in our agricultural policy and it is still unfamiliar to many of those whom it would directly benefit. But

the quality and the courage of our rural supporters is an inspiration to those of us who have worked among them, and it will be no impossible task, given determination and persistence, to sweep large tracts of the countryside at the next election.

There may be dark days and grave perils ahead of us. It is greatly to be hoped that British politics in the next few years will remain political in the true sense. It is safe to prophesy that "direct action," as a substitute for political action, will receive no support from the responsible leaders of the Labour Party. Can Conservative leaders be equally trusted to discourage their Die-Hards and their "Fascisti"? Mr. Baldwin, no doubt, will wish to play the game. But some of his supporters inspire deep distrust. Events, however, may strengthen his hand. Among his windfalls of good fortune, even more valuable than his Parliamentary majority, may be a revival of trade and a favourable drift in international affairs. For the latter, if it comes, he will be deeply indebted to Mr. MacDonald's new and courageous initiatives in British foreign policy. These constitute by far the greatest achievement of our first Labour Government. To its minor achievements, in finance, in housing, in education and in its more sympathetic treatment of ex-Service men, must be added that of winning, for a while, a widespread confidence. That confidence, in spite of certain unfortunate incidents which our opponents have portentously magnified, is not dead, nor even sleeping, as our million new votes testify. At worst, it is somewhat weakened since last August. In the years ahead, as these nine months of Labour rule are seen in true perspective and the unessential falls away, that public confidence in Labour will revive and grow. We must so speak and act meanwhile, as to win it in the fullest measure and to be fully worthy of it when won.

HUGH DALTON.

IV.

AGAIN the nation has demonstrated by its action the wisdom of the old maxim—"Trust the people." They will do the right thing when the case is put clearly before them. In 1923 the issues involved in the Election were confused: as was pointed out at the time, special temporary conditions made it almost impossible to give a clear and definite verdict. This year there was no doubt what the electors had to decide. They wanted to have a stable Government based on popular will as expressed by representatives in Parliament, to maintain the Constitution as the safeguard both of order and liberty, and they saw that the only hope of securing this, under present conditions, was to give the

Conservative Party a working majority over all others combined. No one imagined that the result would have been so conclusive. It was not due to hostility to a Labour Government as such, nor to conspicuous failure by the late Ministers in administration, but to the fact that it had become evident during the last three months that the Government was really swayed by influences which were utterly opposed to all sound constitutional government. A claim was boldly put forward that the Government as well as Members of Parliament and all candidates of the Labour Party should give up all independence and submit themselves absolutely to the decrees of conferences or congresses which were not representative of the whole but only of a certain section of the community. The danger was pointed out long ago, but the country is slow at first in realising political facts.

"A new danger has arisen threatening the position of the House of Commons. It is that instead of a national policy being controlled by a recognised constitutional body elected according to definite rules and representing the nation, the real power of initiative and real directing force may pass to some other body or bodies unknown to the law and representing only a class. . . . The House of Commons, unless its constitutional powers and its independence are maintained, may become a body for registering and giving legal sanction to the resolutions of some conference or convention indefinite in its constitution but highly organised for the purpose of making representatives in Parliament mere delegates to carry out the proposals of the majority of those who were themselves acting as delegates of a section only of the community."

It is more than six years since these words were written and passed unheeded. Now at last their truth has become obvious. Had the late Government been free men can anyone imagine that they would ever have dreamed of consenting to guarantee a loan to the Russian Bolsheviks which would be used "to give effectual aid to insurrection and treason wherever they might appear in the world"?

The Election has also shown that party ties and party names count for less and less. The women electors in particular seem to recognise that an Election is not merely an exciting and strenuous game for mastery between "reds" and "blues." They understand that the result will affect their daily lives. It is to be noted that a far larger number of voters have gone to the polls than ever before. Even the wise Gallios who cared for none of these things so long as they were "questions about words and names"—the cant and the shibboleths of parties—rouse themselves to action now that it is a "matter of wrong and wicked villainy" such as the proposal to use British money to support the present Government of Russia, with which they are threatened. It is at

last understood that members who are in the same party differ from each other in their aims and methods far more widely than many of them do from the parties to whom they are supposed to be most opposed. One wing of the Labour Party, for example, desires class warfare, cares nothing for the misery that may be caused so long as their theories prevail. They know how starvation leads to revolution and how class warfare leads to starvation, and are willing to exploit the wretchedness of others to secure their advent to power. On the other hand, there are in the Labour Party men as sane and patriotic as the best members of any other party, who are ready to say boldly, as Mr. J. H. Thomas did last month in Sheffield: "Don't let us keep up this damnable talk about class warfare. In the hour of real trial this country was defended and saved not by one section but by all sections."

So if there are any in the Conservative Party who would treat or speak of the Election, or even think of it, as a triumph of any class or classes over others, they, too, will share with the extreme "reds" the responsibility for the anarchy and utter wretchedness which will descend upon us unless our people are ready to work together for the common good. The fear that the worst elements in the Labour Party were getting the upper hand was justified by the events of the last three months. It was this fear, provoked especially by the proposed Russian Treaty, that was probably the main factor in leading the people of our country to pronounce in favour of the Conservatives by such large majorities.

One good result of the Election, from the point of view of the old Liberals who still survive, is the complete defeat of the "Liberal" Party. It may be admitted that as regards ability—in speech, at least—the leaders of that party are probably superior to those of any other, and that the rank and file are on the average not inferior. Out of its members might have been formed a Cabinet which, taken man for man, would have been quite equal to that which Mr. Baldwin has selected from a much larger party. But the fact remains that the rout of the "Liberal" Party was a necessary preliminary to the revival of the true historic Liberalism which did so much for the country and for the world before the fatal decay began to set in about 1884. The old Liberalism was a blend of reverence for law and the constitution and of a passion for individual liberty and a firm determination that no special class and no person should for their, or his, own advantage be given by law any special privilege over others. After the decisive verdict given by the country in 1906 against Mr. Joseph Chamberlain's fiscal policy, the Liberal Party, soon after coming into power, deserted its own principles and became politically immoral. By the infamous Trade Disputes Acts they

tried to secure political support by placing Trade Unions in a privileged position above the law, depriving those who were wronged by agents of the Unions of any legal remedy, and then taking away the liberty of the members of such Unions by allowing the confiscation of their contributions and permitting organised intimidation under the name of peaceful picketing. A workman's political liberty is destroyed if he is compelled under penalty of starvation to contribute to political objects he detests. Instead of the sound financial policy of Mr. Gladstone the new Liberals passed the absurd Act for taxing "unearned increment." It was introduced by Mr. Lloyd George with the object of injuring a particular class, "robbing the hen roosts." Taxing unearned increment in a reasonable way to raise revenue may be a good thing, but the Act as passed cost the State far more than the duties brought in and the expense caused to private owners was enormous. There is no doubt that this legislation was one of the main causes for the shortage of houses at the present time.

Space forbids the enumeration of other examples of departures from true Liberal principles. The country has said "Bury that decayed Party," but the old Liberals will say, "Certainly, but write *Resurgam* on its tomb." Do not damn it finally, but after a period of purifying purgatory let it rise again* or, at least, let the influence of true Liberalism permeate and leaven the Conservative Party which stands primarily for resistance to foolish changes and for the maintenance of the Empire as the greatest bulwark of order and liberty through the world. Neither of these objects is incompatible with a Liberal policy in the best sense.

But, on the other hand, the Conservative Party in the hour of their victory should make no mistake as to the meaning of the popular verdict.

(1) It is not a case of a sudden change of opinion in favour of the Conservative Party. The talk about "the swing of the pendulum" and "reaction" is nonsense. There has been no swing of the pendulum, but a deliberate judgment has been pronounced having regard to the facts now existing. The country wanted peace, to be "godly and quietly governed," and it saw that the only chance of this, under present circumstances, was to put a Conservative Government in power with a majority over all other parties combined. Perhaps "Unionist" would be a better term than Conservative, meaning thereby union of effort and co-operation of all, as opposed to deadly class warfare, and also unity of the Empire.

(2) It is not to be taken as indicating any prejudice against

* Since these words were written the list of Mr. Baldwin's Cabinet has been published and shows that there may soon be real and urgent need for a strong, steady Liberal Party.

placing in the highest positions in the State those whose life has been largely spent in manual work and often in poverty. Most people who have worked in any capacity with those who are or have been manual workers know how fair minded, how judicial, how capable of understanding the position of others, as well as how able such men usually are, when a case is put properly before them. In the late Government many members did well in their Departments, quite as well as others who were supposed to have had better training. The worst appointment to the late Cabinet was of a Minister who had never been a manual worker, but belonged to the so-called "upper-classes."

(3) It is not to be regarded as an approval of the detestable doctrine put forward by a prominent member of the Conservative Party some time ago that "self-interest" ought to be or is the main guiding principle in life. It may be often so but not always, and as Dr. Jowett said long ago, "people may go to the Devil if they will, but they should not make a theory of it."

(4) It does not show that the nation is satisfied with present conditions under which some revel in luxury and others, without fault of their own, suffer bitter privation. The Conservative victory is not a victory of class or classes, of the "Haves" against the "Have nots." The only two classes to which the true Unionist is utterly opposed are, first, those who regard it as decree of a wise Providence that the few who never did any useful work, or who have even made fortunes by exploiting the wants of others, should have every material advantage while numbers are in need and distress, and, second, those who wish to promote class warfare and imitate the crimes of the Bolsheviks in their own country. There are some who still venture to say—in private, at least—let us keep the "lower orders" in their place. That evil spirit must be exorcised.

The position of the new Government and the new Parliament is one of tremendous difficulty. We ought not to shut our eyes to the fact that the time is one of real peril, that starvation may soon be threatening the nation; that every effort of a united people and the guidance of its wisest leaders will be needed to prevent it. There is a vast amount of practical work to be done, such, for example, as the encouragement of agriculture, which need not give rise to party feeling, dividing those who are sincerely caring for the welfare of the country and not for the advantage of a party, into opposite camps. Can we not have a truce to party warfare for three or four years until some, at least, of the urgent questions have been settled, so far as it is possible for the action of the Government or for legislation to deal with them effectively?

ALFRED HOPKINSON.

THE CASE FOR THE RUSSIAN TREATIES.

THE fall of the Labour Government is supposed to have killed the Russian Treaties. I am inclined to doubt it. The verdict of a British General Election has not solved the Russian problem. Russia, about a seventh of the land surface of the world, is still there. The Russians, a hundred and thirty million of them, are still there, and the imperative necessity for the renewal of normal relations with the Soviet Government is as pressing as ever.

Now that the dust and turmoil of the Election have passed it may be well to examine in a cooler mood and in a more dispassionate way the case for the Treaties. The storm of criticism they aroused has had the effect of obscuring the actual provisions of the Treaties and of creating an atmosphere of misapprehension and misrepresentation which in many cases it has been impossible to dispel. Before there was any question of an Election I found in a number of instances that fair-minded people, although at first predisposed against the Treaties, were ready to admit on closer examination that they gave good hope of an eventual settlement. When the Election came the prejudices of the ignorant were very easily and very successfully inflamed by the "Bolsky Bogey," which entirely queered the pitch for any fair consideration of the Treaties on their merits. More than half the electorate, who had never read a clause of the Treaties, were led to believe that their sole object was to present the Bolshevik Government with a vast sum of money.

The Trade Agreement of 1921 was admittedly a temporary expedient pending the conclusion of a formal Treaty. There was nothing, therefore, inherently objectionable in negotiations being opened with the Soviet Government. As a preliminary step the Labour Government formally recognised the Soviet Government, thus creating a friendly disposition towards a settlement. Against this no serious objection was taken. Ten other nations have since followed our example. The Soviet delegates came to London and the Conference was opened in April. The problem which confronted the two delegations was one of unprecedented difficulty. It had baffled international Conferences at Genoa and The Hague, and the continued delay had hardened the reciprocal feelings of suspicion and mistrust between the two countries and rendered the task of settlement more difficult. Russia in ten years had passed through events without parallel in any decade of history of any other country in the world. Autocracy, war, revolution, counter revolution, the establishment of a form of Communism, intervention for the overthrow of the revolutionary Government

connived at and supported by the Western Powers, famine, bankruptcy and ostracism. The Soviet Government had issued decrees of repudiation and of nationalisation of property without compensation. However much these might be objected to in principle they were facts which had to be taken into account. Surely no such tangle of complications and conflicting principles and such rudely shattered economic and political relationships were ever presented to a body of men who were charged with the task of restoration. And yet because they occupied three and a half months with their labours they were scoffed at and derided at every stage of the proceedings.

The anti-Bolshevik prejudice cannot be lightly dismissed, because it is very widespread and has been used as a substitute for reasoned argument. Frequently in the case of better informed people it suggests captious criticism where no such criticism would otherwise have been thought of. Russian "Whites," with their Press headquarters at Riga, are responsible for a good deal of it, although not infrequently they overstep the mark by their false reports, grotesque exaggerations and fantastic stories. But there is a large body of opinion here which is deeply impressed by the cruelty and intolerance of the Soviet régime and is genuinely frightened at the possible spread of the Communist creed. Now the Soviet form of Government is the sole concern of the Russian people and not our concern at all. Their methods may be repugnant to us, but Russian methods always have been. I could quote chapter and verse for imprisonments, exiles, executions and tortures in large numbers under the Tsar's régime which were never made an excuse for breaking off relations with the Russia of that day. As for the untrustworthiness of the Soviet Government—another accusation brought against them—I do not think there is any instance of their having failed to discharge an obligation which they themselves have incurred. Their repudiation concerned the debts and obligations of the former Imperial Government. Fear of the spread of Communism is natural in the Conservative mind, but few Conservatives realised how little chance such doctrines had here and how utterly negligible the British Communist party was so long as a Labour Government was in office. No better bulwark against the spread of revolutionary Communism can be imagined than a British Labour Government.

As we sat down to our work in the Conference all these peculiar and exceptional considerations were taken fully into account. At the same time I was dominated in my own mind by the overmastering importance of restoring normal relations between the two great nations for the sake of European recovery and world peace and incidentally also for the sake of the substantial relief to

unemployment here at home which would undoubtedly result from a settlement. I know that these ruptures and dislocations in international intercourse act detrimentally on the general well-being of all nations, and the more they are neglected the worse they become. Therefore to the plea, "wait till the time is ripe" I turned a deaf ear. After seven years of strained and even hostile relationships, no further delay would be wise. The Labour Government had the chance, the opportunity and the will. Mere technical obstacles were not going to bar the way.

With recent failures in our minds, we rightly resolved in the Conference to confine our attention strictly to Anglo-Russian relations and not to attempt any general international solutions. Bilateral treaties were examined while, except in a few instances, multilateral treaties were set aside. A satisfactory fisheries agreement was reached which allowed our fishermen a large addition to the eventual settlement on international lines of the vexed question of territorial waters. A commercial treaty was drawn up sufficient to allow the machinery of trade to be set working on normal lines, and skilfully adjusted to the two different systems of trade and government without allowing the interests of British nationals to be detrimentally affected. The clause which gave personal diplomatic immunity to a few leading members of the Soviet Trade delegation was a new departure. A Government which held a trade monopoly was a new departure. And new departures are always hateful to a certain type of mind. As a matter of fact we were following the precedent of the Soviet-Italian Treaty. It is purely a matter of form, giving no special advantages to Russian trade and in no way handicapping our own. But it was just the sort of point which was capable of misinterpretation.

With regard to the question of the Russian war debt, it was obvious that a demand for payment from a bankrupt country, while prosperous countries were unable to pay, would have been utterly unreasonable. The whole question of inter-Allied indebtedness must be dealt with as a whole. So the debt and the Soviet claims on account of intervention, a policy strongly opposed by Labour, were reserved for future discussion.

In dealing with the three categories of debts it became obvious as the Conference proceeded that no cut-and-dried scheme of payment could be inserted in the Treaty. A form of procedure was decided on in each case, and the Soviet delegations expressed themselves ready to satisfy the claims and debts as an exception to their decrees.

Here we reach the main point of controversy—the guarantee for a loan. It is perfectly true that the Soviet delegation were in-

formed at the outset that a Government guarantee must not be counted on. As negotiations proceeded, however, three things became absolutely clear to me: that Russia must have a loan in order to be set on her feet; that the City on its own initiative would not be prepared to raise the money; that without a loan there could be no agreement. I therefore came to the conclusion that provided there was close Treasury scrutiny of conditions and full Parliamentary control of procedure there would be no risk of default, and the eventual guarantee of a loan would form a strong inducement for the Soviet Government to settle the claims and debt promptly. Needless to say there was no pressure by back bench extremists at this or any other stage of the proceedings. The Government agreed to the eventual guarantee of a loan in a future Treaty. The guarantee was not sanctioned in the present general Treaty. This is a point which has been persistently misrepresented. When half of the bondholders were satisfied at the method of payment decided on, when the compensation or concessions for property owners, and likewise a lump sum for meeting the miscellaneous claims, had been agreed upon to the satisfaction of the British Government, then and not till then would Parliament be asked to guarantee a loan, the conditions and security for this, and also the objects to which the money should be devoted being carefully safeguarded and defined. The Soviet delegates undertook that two-thirds of the loan, should it materialise, would be devoted to purchases of machinery, etc., in this country. It is difficult to understand what was objectionable in such an arrangement, more especially as there would be frequent opportunities for Parliament to supervise the future Treaty and to demand satisfactory assurances from the Government that the British taxpayer would not find himself the loser in the long run.

The truth is that while there were points for discussion, explanation and, perhaps, technical criticism, there was nothing whatever in the Treaties which justified the outburst of wild and abusive condemnation with which they were greeted. And here I am ready to admit that nothing could have been more unfortunate than the method and occasion of their presentation to Parliament.

Instead of a day being set aside for the discussion of what was undoubtedly a first-class issue, instead of that day being fixed to suit the Conference, instead of Parliament having before it the text of the Treaties, the debate was sandwiched in at the tail end of a discussion on the Appropriation Bill, the Conference suspended and resumed its sittings to suit House of Commons exigencies, no copy of the Treaty was presented to the House (which was not only unfair to the House but unfair to the Minister in charge, who, it should also be noted, was a subordinate Minister

not a Cabinet Minister); and, in addition to all this, the debate fell at a time when the Prime Minister himself could not be present. The fact that an agreement had been reached came as a surprise to the House and the Opposition parties therefore took full advantage of all the clumsy management of the business to launch an attack and pretend that the agreement amounted to nothing. Nevertheless I find it difficult to understand by what motive Mr. Lloyd George was actuated in leading the attack with such uncompromising violence. He must have known he had no united party behind him, and he must have known that if he drove the party with him he would drive them to destruction in a General Election. But it was not the first time that he made mischief in foreign affairs while Labour was in office.

So the Treaties without adequate discussion in Parliament were carried to the country. Plastered over with pictures of monsters, warnings about atheism and the nationalisation of women, red letters and black lies, there was little chance of them being understood, and yet they are supposed to have been rejected. Soviet Russia is therefore to be kept at arms' length while the extremist Communist element chuckle and grow. No property owner, bondholder and other claimant will now receive a sixpence, and the orders for ploughs, electrical plant, grain elevators and machinery of all kinds will not come to Great Britain.

France is on the eve of reaching an agreement with Soviet Russia, very soon all European countries will have resumed normal relations. Are we to remain isolated? The *Statist* (Nov. 1st) sums up the situation in two sentences:

If Europe is necessary to Russia, Russia is also necessary to Europe; until Russia's means of production are reconditioned and normal economic relations with the outside world are re-established there can be no stability in international trade in general. Hence the Conservative Government must take up the threads of negotiation with Russia.

I for one shall be very much interested in watching their procedure. I think they will find it difficult to move along lines substantially different from those adopted by the Labour Government.

There can be no question that the case for the Treaties suffered very considerably from the absence of Parliamentary discussion before the Election. As it was, the general ignorance of the Treaties gave the Press and the doorstep a great advantage over the platform. I am inclined to believe also that it might have been better to have made the general Treaty, or anyhow that part of it which dealt with debts and claims, into an agreement not requiring ratification. The commissions would have been set up and investigations with regard to claims would have been under-

taken forthwith on the signature of the agreement. When the second Treaty was drawn up the agreement would have been incorporated in it and ratified with it. This may be a minor point, but I venture to think that it is just the minor points of inadequate discussion, of form and of Parliamentary procedure which have damaged the prospects of a settlement far more than any inherent faults in the Treaties themselves.

On their merits I am confident they will stand the test of the most careful examination, provided that the mind which examines them is free from prejudice. There need be no idea of apology. The Treaties are an achievement of which Mr. MacDonald's Administration may well be proud. They are the sign-post to the road along which others will have to tread.

ARTHUR PONSONBY.

PRESIDENT COOLIDGE'S TRIUMPH.

BETWEEN an English and an American election the contrasts are usually far more striking than the similarities, but the world could not be expected to miss the coincidence of the Baldwin and Coolidge victories. The United States, like England, has had two avalanche-polls since the end of the War, and in the autumn of 1924 the two peoples have pronounced a popular judgment by which the future of civilisation must be deeply affected. In the recent experience of Britain chance would appear to have played an inordinate part. Not so in America, where the forces behind President Coolidge are manifestly those of the majority. In other words, they make the sum of those manifold influences which, steadily during the past ten years, have been carrying forward the United States to its present position as the most powerful single national State now confessedly standing upon the foundations of the last century.

One may venture the statement that Mr. Calvin Coolidge will have his place in the history of these times as an example of the curious working of a representative system. Every European writer on the American Constitution since de Tocqueville has had something to say about the types of men most liable to be chosen for elective offices, and especially for the highest of such offices, by the political democracy of the United States. Mr. Coolidge belongs to a type which, as Theodore Roosevelt would have said, is American and nothing else. Until five years ago he was a lawyer-politician belonging exclusively to Massachusetts. He had risen to the governorship of the State and, we may suppose, cherished only the modest ambition, considered appropriate to the good average governor, of being chosen by his fellow citizens to represent them in the Senate at Washington. The accident of the Boston police strike in 1919, and of an executive decision for which Mr. Coolidge has stated he was not directly responsible, coupled with an epigrammatic dictum on the limits of the right to strike, transformed Mr. Coolidge overnight into a figure of national prominence. He became, in the opinion of more than a few Americans, a possible candidate for the Presidency, yet he was content to stand for the Vice-Presidency. Although Roosevelt had broken the tradition which made of this office nothing but a blind alley, the notion was still prevalent. Mr. Coolidge, however, who has always believed in his own star, doubtless had in mind the considerable fact that one in every four of the elected Presidents had died in office. As Vice-President he presided over the Senate, and President Harding made a new rule which gave him the privilege of attending Cabinet meetings. For the

rest, Mr. Coolidge remained unknown to the American people; and unknown he was when, in August, 1923, he entered the White House on the death of Warren Harding.

President Coolidge succeeded to a much-damaged heritage. The fortunes of the Republican Party had been reversed at the mid-term elections in 1922. The mass vote of 1920 being artificial, the revulsion of popular sentiment was unusually swift. Mr. Harding's great majority was swept away; so that when Mr. Coolidge came into office, both Houses of Congress held a balance of parties, and the powerful western farm *bloc*, caring almost nothing for party labels, was being organised against the powerful financial and industrial interests upon which the Administration depended. Mr. Harding had used his majority for the carrying of the Fordney-McCumber Tariff, the schedules of which were a throw-back to the pre-Wilson, not to say the pre-Roosevelt, epoch. This was the one important measure of the half-term, while in the international field Mr. Harding had been identified with the Washington Conference for the limitation of armaments. He had not in other directions attempted to influence Congress (if we accept his deathbed appeal on behalf of the World Court); and as regards his Cabinet he had been so astonishingly easygoing that within a few months of his death the country was shocked by the revelation of personal corruption and departmental malpractices exceeding in gravity anything known in America since the miserable period following the Civil War. In January last, the disclosures in reference to the Teapot Dome naval-oil reserve came as introduction to the shattering series of scandals involving the Departments of Justice, of the Navy, and the Interior. They threw the President into a most difficult position. He had no responsibility for the Harding Cabinet; but as Vice-President he had been privy to its proceedings, and, although their records were well known in Washington, he had retained in office the head of more than one of the Departments involved. Mr. H. M. Daugherty, the Attorney-General, whose conduct provided the most sensational of all the disclosures, was not dismissed by the President until after the Press of the whole country had been ringing for two months with the actions and habits of himself and his disreputable associates.

Mr. Coolidge, again, stood in an embarrassing relation towards Congress. No man of his cautious character would avow a belief in the Roosevelt-Wilson theory of the President as the responsible initiator of legislation, but, all the same, Mr. Coolidge showed definiteness and courage in his dealings with the House and Senate. The lobbyists were making a great drive for the soldiers' bonus. Mr. Coolidge was against it, and said so. He gave

emphatic support to the taxation plan devised by Mr. Mellon, Secretary to the Treasury, but he had to accept its defeat and sign the bill drafted by Mr. Mellon's opponents. He was entirely against the reckless and insulting decision in the matter of Japanese exclusion, but he could do nothing against the Senate in its mood of obstinate chauvinism. He took up Harding's advocacy of American membership of the World Court, but was flouted by Senator Lodge and his isolationist allies. Mr. Coolidge, in a word, was not a party leader. The majority of the elected representatives of his party disagreed with him and were implacable in their hostility. No Republican President within memory had seemed to have so little contact with Congress and the rank and file. There was no means of judging to what extent Mr. Coolidge was being made to share in the disrepute of his party, but as to that disrepute, during the first half of 1924, there was not, and could not be, any serious difference of opinion among those who had opportunities of mixing with American people away from the Atlantic States.

Nevertheless, the nomination of Calvin Coolidge as Republican candidate was hardly for a moment in doubt. He had no competitor. Neither in Washington nor in the country was there another man in the Republican Party who stood even a shadowy chance of being named in the Convention that was held at Cleveland. The assembly accepted Mr. Coolidge by what is called acclamation—in this case, certainly, the most subdued form of unanimity one could imagine. It is probably true that at the beginning of June not more than one in three of the delegates thought it at all likely that the next President of the United States would be a Republican.

Mr. Coolidge followed his own line from the beginning of the campaign. At the Cleveland Convention he had caused the old guard of Republican bosses, who in 1920 had "put over" Harding, to be displaced by his own chosen backers. These Coolidge men were described as unpractised in party management. They were condemned for showing discourtesy to the elders of the machine. The "hard-boiled" Republicans were of opinion that the President's campaign director would ruin his cause, but they protested in vain. Nor was Mr. Coolidge to be turned aside from his own plan of action, or rather inaction, during the two months of electioneering. The reigning President, naturally, is at a great advantage in the campaign. Custom prescribes that he should do a fair amount of speaking, but the dignity of his office protects him from the harsher forms of attack. In Mr. Coolidge's case, it is true, there was not much to attack: it could always be argued that the abominations of Fall and Daugherty belonged to the

régime of his predecessor. The President himself was fully aware that his strength lay in silence and seclusion—in passively encouraging the legend of himself as the strong, cool, and taciturn ruler. In the country of advertisement it was left to Mr. Coolidge to discover that the most effective of all advertisements for a President may be to stand aside, to remain in the White House, and allow the American people to build up, in religious contemplation, the legend of its Chief Executive as a simple and pious doer of his daily duty.

Mr. Coolidge made the minimum of speeches. He preferred even not to speak to the millions of broadcasters. He dealt in the familiar commonplaces of his party. The aim of the Government, he said, would be to "maintain peace, promote economy, provide a protective tariff, assist the farmers, leave the people in possession of their property, and maintain the integrity of the courts." He contended that Republican administration, aided by the reinforced tariff, had brought an era of more than average prosperity. He thought it hardly worth while to defend the Administration against the energetic assault of the Democratic candidate, but he made play with the two things in the La Follette programme which, from first to last, the Republicans treated as evidence that the Progressive candidate was a revolutionary enemy of the American system. The public ownership of railways, said Mr. Coolidge, is "a most perilous undertaking, both to the welfare of business and the independence of the people." As to the powers of the Supreme Court, if they were to be limited as proposed by La Follette, the historian would close the chapter with the comment that the people had shown they were incapable of self-government and that the American Republic had proved itself a failure. When all is said, however, one may infer that the result of the election would not have been markedly different if the President had maintained an absolute, instead of a relative, silence. The vast electorate was for Coolidge and Safety.

The task undertaken by the Democratic candidate was of almost heroic dimensions. Mr. Davis, when nominated, was in no sense a political leader. He had been a law officer of the Wilson Administration, but had no popular standing as a Democratic politician. Diplomacy and professional practice had absorbed his energies, and the fact that he had been counsel for Pierpont Morgan was counted as a serious handicap. He was a last, and rather desperate, choice of his party. A corporation lawyer, a Virginian, an orator of elaborate manner, he is not at all the kind of candidate that party managers look upon as eligible. The solid Democratic South was his, as a matter of course. The more radical Democrats of the North were, of necessity, critical.

His Wall Street connections made it impossible for them to regard Mr. Davis as anything but a Conservative, with a bias almost indistinguishable from that of Mr. Coolidge. He had been Ambassador to England—a suspicious circumstance for the Irish Democrats of New York and Massachusetts, and for many racial groups besides those. He was decidedly for the League of Nations, and at the beginning of the campaign had made it clear that if elected he would do his utmost to carry the United States into the covenanted family at Geneva.

In this respect Mr. Davis was excessively hampered. The Democratic convention in New York had burked the issue. As the party of Woodrow Wilson it was bound to offer lip service to the League, but its remitting of the question to a national referendum, which everyone knew could not be held, was an evasion that Mr. Davis could not explain away. His party managers were plainly of the same opinion as the Republicans: namely, that there was one more electoral victory for a candidate who stood upon the platform of American isolation. Mr. Davis, with his known convictions, could not do other than ignore the party platform and make his own appeal. As the contest proceeded, however, he found it necessary to keep the League in the background—especially when the debate on the Arbitration Protocol and disarmament had given a confusing fresh start to speculations as to the control of the British Navy by the Council of the League. The opponents of Geneva in America wanted only that in order once again to denounce the League as a Super-State, with obligations so rigid that the member States would be required to surrender the vital principles of sovereignty.

Mr. Davis, again, nominee though he was of the party which controls the South, was honest and courageous enough to denounce the Ku Klux Klan. This could not make much difference in the South; but in the middle States where the Klan has become a burning issue, it was fatal to the Democrats. Nor could Mr. Davis win any large following in the world of organised Labour, despite its normal leaning to the Democratic side. His record in regard to anti-Labour legislation and trade-union policy was subjected to merciless scrutiny. It was impossible for him to equal the appeal to Labour which came from La Follette and the Progressives. Add the fact that the Democratic party is suspected by the "Drys" of an intention to repeal the Prohibition Amendment, or at least to modify the enforcement laws, and we have more than enough to account for the heavy defeat of a Democratic candidate recognised on all sides as able and attractive.

It is impossible, within the limits of a page, to do justice to the Progressive champion. For thirty years Robert Marion La Follette

has been an important American; for more than half that time he has been a power in the Senate. He is a product of the State of Wisconsin, in character an old-fashioned American independent, holding certain convictions which are to him the essentials of American doctrine. His enemies persist in regarding him as primarily an agitator. Mr. La Follette is anything but a mere agitator. He has displayed, what scarcely any agitator possesses or understands, a passion for social and political experiment. He is a concrete thinker, an inventor, in the twin spheres of education and government. The State system of Wisconsin is his monument; the Wisconsin Plan in action has, for the past twenty years, drawn students of civics and administration to the city of Madison from every land.

But in national politics Mr. La Follette has been for the most part a leader of opposition, all the more unmanageable because, until the present year, he has borne the Republican name and refused to sever his party allegiance. He did not join the Roosevelt Progressives in 1912. For four or five years from 1917 he was compelled to plough a lonely furrow by reason of his hostility to the war policy, and since 1919 there has been no more rigorous opponent than he of the Treaty and Covenant of Versailles. Europe he saw for the first time after the war. It left him an isolationist, but made him an earnest advocate of co-operation between the peoples.

A new effort in the direction of a third party was a practical certainty of 1924. The record of the Administration, the widespread belief that Mr. Coolidge is backed by the great monopolist interests, the apparent indifference of the Republican leaders to the blunders and misdeeds of the Harding Cabinet; the failure of the Democrats to respond to the challenge, and their choice, in Mr. Davis, of a candidate representing the party's Conservative wing; the insurgence of the agrarian West, the growing tendency of organised Labour towards political action, the remarkable energy and critical alertness of the radical intelligentsia in the great cities—these and many other influences combined to form the third-party movement, which, it should be noted, is at present a movement and not an organised party. Senator La Follette was the one possible leader, but he was not by any means easy of capture. He is an ageing man, within hail of his seventieth year, in uncertain health. His supporters—ranging from the Socialists who acknowledge the leadership of Eugene Debs on the Left, to certain survivors of the Roosevelt following on the Right—made an uncoordinated host. There was no party machine, and no fund. There was a candidate whose devotion, honesty, and intellectual force were balanced by a large measure of the Ishmaelite temper, an

angular personality, and a quite exceptional talent for making enemies.

But the need of organising a national protest and the marvellous enthusiasm of Mr. La Follette's adherents would not be denied. In June, nothing in America looked more forlorn than the independent Progressive candidature. By the end of September it had made headway in so surprising a degree that the Democrats had given up hope of electing Mr. Davis, while the Republicans were deeply troubled over the gathering evidences in favour of the theory that La Follette would win enough States in the West to deprive Mr. Coolidge of his clear majority in the Electoral College. If, until the last month of the campaign, the Progressives pitched their hopes too high, the explanation is to be found in the reiterated forecasts from Washington that a deadlock in the Electoral College was almost inescapable, in the quite genuine alarm of the Republican organisers, and in the tremendous expenditure of energy and money in the north-western States for the overthrow of the La Follette influence.

In the event, as we know, Mr. Coolidge was not only secure but triumphant. The American electorate, which includes the multitude of women citizens enfranchised at twenty-one, polled *en masse* on November 4th, as the British electorate had polled on October 29th. They rushed, as one correspondent picturesquely observed, to the furthest right-hand boundary of the Conservative reservation. Forgetting the Harding Cabinet and the Teapot Dome, the "invisible government" of monopoly, the fierce clash between farmer and industrialist, intensified by the Fordney tariff, the searchings of conscience that dated back to the great Republic's withdrawal from the European Peace; forgetting, it would appear, everything except the fear of Europe and of those American movements which they have learned to look upon as a menace to the American idea—the massed majority swept to the polling stations on behalf of President Coolidge.

The result suggests a large number of exceedingly interesting questions, three of which may be touched on very briefly in conclusion.

The first has reference to the foreign policy of the United States during the four-years period upon which we are now entering. There will be no hesitation in the mind of Mr. Coolidge as to the meaning of his victory in respect of one great problem. In his first message to Congress, last December, the President intimated that there could be no reopening of the question of membership in the League of Nations. For the American people, he said, the issue was dead. That statement stands, and we may assume that Mr. Coolidge will not add to it. He will have, after next year, a

Republican majority in Congress; but there is little probability that it will be of such a character as to enable him to carry his proposal that the United States should join the World Court at The Hague. Mr. Lodge's influence in the Senate will, in the normal course of events, be replaced by a Western influence not more favourable to such American participation as would be open to the suspicion of limiting American independence. Co-operation for mutual help, with entire freedom of action, is the principle frequently laid down by the President and the Secretary of State. American responsibility, of course, remains in respect of the experts' reparation scheme, the titular author of which, Mr. Charles G. Dawes, is the new Vice-President of the Republic. The Washington Government will continue to be represented on the non-political commissions of the League of Nations. There is no reason to suppose that President Coolidge's interest in the problem of Disarmament will be diminished. There is every reason to anticipate that the policy of refunding the European war-debts, on the model of the Baldwin settlement, will be resumed and quickened up.

The second question is concerned with that astounding development of post-War America, the Ku Klux Klan. Mr. Davis, like Mr. La Follette, denounced it. Mr. Coolidge did not. The upshot was that the Klan was a powerful influence in the defeat of Mr. Davis, and that Mr. Coolidge reaped the advantage of his own silence. In several States—for example, Kansas, Indiana, and Colorado—the election was fought, not upon political programmes, but upon the Klan; and in those regions the victory of the Coolidge forces counted as a victory for the Klan. Four years ago the Ku Klux Klan was a bad memory of the years of settlement after the Civil War. To-day it is an organised power, dominating the public life of at least one-fourth of the forty-eight States, and menacing the public life of at least one-half. It seems impossible to avoid the conclusion that during the second Coolidge term, the Ku Klux Klan will either be uprooted and destroyed by the sane conservative influences of the country, or else be enthroned as the American form of *Fascismo*.

Finally, there is the question of La Follette and the third party. The tendency, on our side of the Atlantic, is to infer that the immense poll for Mr. Coolidge means a complete and final judgment in favour of the two-party system. It may be so; but the nature of the campaign and the figures of the popular poll (not reflected in the College electoral votes) do not bear out this conclusion. The startling fact of 1924 is the impotence of the Democratic Party outside the solid South, and the relative smallness of the poll for Mr. Davis. La Follette's failure to win a single State

outright except his own Wisconsin, was a heavy blow for his supporters. But the total Progressive poll of five millions was, in the circumstances, not especially discouraging. It will be strange if the Progressives do not take it as a stimulus.

Considering the political map of the United States, a third-party movement would appear to be an inevitable development of the stage of transition for American politics which all observers unite in thinking has already begun. The exact point of balance between the urban and the rural communities has now been passed. In this vital respect the population of the United States stands to-day where the population of England stood in 1880. The South is being rapidly industrialised. The close control of immigration from Europe, coupled with the continuous rise of the Labour power, is a master-fact of the present situation. The present policy of restriction—an annual two per cent. quota for all European nationalities, based upon the census figures of 1890—is in origin a policy of conservative nationalism, largely dictated by the dominant school of socio-anthropologists, who are devoted to the idea of the great Nordic race. Designed as a measure of safety, and for the purpose of enabling the civic institutions of America to catch up with their work, it has the firm support of majority opinion. But any observer of social tendencies can see that, if persisted in for ten years, the policy of controlling immigration will have consequences, not only of vital importance, but of a character wholly different from that of the consequences which were foreseen by the framers of the policy. Its major result, undoubtedly, must be a vastly more integrated American community, from which most of the elements of racial conflict (apart from the Negro problem) will tend rapidly to disappear.

Political parties, in that event, cannot continue to resist the forces driving them towards a more or less definite relation to economic actualities. And, in the meantime, there is the immense system of national education, held as yet in tight bonds, but destined to break out in surprising flower and fruit before the young generation of to-day has reached maturity. The overwhelming victory of American Conservatism was inevitable. It may, in the long run, be salutary. It will assuredly be the prelude to a vastly interesting and significant period of American life.

S. K. RATCLIFFE.

THE POST-WAR JEWISH PROBLEM.

THERE are few things so painful to an Englishman as to be brought in contact with the Jewish problem in Central and Eastern Europe: and the more liberal his principles, the more painful is the contact. The ground seems to go from under one's feet. The accepted values totter and collapse. Unless one takes the part of cowardice and shuts one's eyes to the problem altogether, one is forced into improvisation and empirical dealing, in which it is difficult not to lose sight of first principles: and one is lucky if one does not find oneself drawn into bad company with professional Anti-Semites and others, from whom one has been accustomed to turn with abhorrence.

It would be difficult to name two organisations more instinctively alien to Anti-Semitism of any sort than the American Relief Administration, organised by Mr. Hoover to cope with the famines arising out of the British Blockade in Central and Eastern Europe after the war, and the Society of Friends. Both at the very outset of their relief work were necessarily confronted with the Jewish problem. It was strange to see how they dealt with it.

The A.R.A. had a system of Relief Parcels, which were distributed to necessitous persons in Central and Eastern Europe, and paid for by relatives or philanthropically minded persons in America. There were four types of parcel, varying in price. At the start there had been only two types; but it was found necessary to duplicate these, so as to provide separate parcels for the Jews. There were therefore \$10 and \$50 "Aryan" and \$10 and \$50 Jew parcels. Later—if the writer's recollection is not at fault—it was found that the sales in America improved if the Jewish philanthropist was offered a premium; and the tariff then became \$10 Aryan, \$8 Jew, and \$50 Aryan and \$40 Jew! In all this, though the ingredients of the parcels were slightly differentiated, there was no question of *kosher*: for there was no fresh meat in the parcels, nor, in many of the countries receiving relief, in Austria for example, were Jewish recipients *froom* (orthodox). It was merely that the Americans had come up against the difficulty, with which the rulers and the thinkers of Central and Eastern Europe are in contact all the time, of applying the principle of religious equality as between Jew and Christian in those lands.

The Friends during the same period had made themselves responsible, amongst other things, for relief of the students of the Austrian Universities. The writer recalls a Camp organised under their auspices, which he attended, where one unfortunate Jewish girl-student was boycotted by all the others because, being "non-Aryan," she had concealed the fact in applying for admission to

the camp! The Friends, too, in Vienna ended, like the A.R.A., in adopting the line of least resistance; that is to say, they accepted as a fact which they might deplore, but were not in a position to alter, the line of cleavage between the "Aryan" Austrian and the Austrian Jew.

To the average Englishman such stories seem rather incredible. If he must believe them, they seem to him extraordinarily petty, and perhaps a little sad. But the English and the other Western nations have no Jewish problem. Who knows or, if he knows, cares in England whether his friend or his neighbour or his colleague is a Jew? It is the commonest thing in England for two men to work together, or play games together, for months or years without the one discovering that the other is a Jew. But no Austrian, or German, or Hungarian, or Pole, will believe that, unless he has lived in England a long time and knows the English. It is incredible to him that English people should not have a "nose" for Jews, so that they can tell them at sight, as all Central Europeans have, and as English people develop—ask the Friends who worked in Vienna!—after about a year's residence in a Central European country.

"Anti-Jewish feeling," says Mr. Wickham Steed in the best study of the modern Jewish problem which is to be found in English (*The Hapsburg Monarchy*, Chapter III), "can almost always be expressed in terms of the percentage of Jews to non-Jews intermingled with the other elements of a community. When the percentage rises above a certain point—a point determined in each case by the character of the non-Jewish population—Anti-Semitism makes its appearance." Has the percentage of Jews in Central and Eastern Europe increased, it may be asked, since the war, to account for the marked intensification of Anti-Semitism, which is everywhere apparent? There is no evidence that it has. The revision of the United States' immigration quotas will no doubt have an effect in this direction, but it must be a year or two before the effect is felt. The increased rigidity of British restrictions on alien immigration since the war has blocked another outlet, which the ghettos of Eastern Europe could once command. But it may be doubted whether it is the Jews of the ghettos who are responsible for the present Anti-Semite reaction. In the past, Anti-Semite movements have often been economic in character. The enslavement of a depressed agricultural population to Jewish usurers, for example, has often led to revolts, as in Galicia. The periodic *pogroms*, which signalised the closing decade of the Tsarist régime in Russia, were directly due to the Pan-Slav policy of concentrating the Jews in the Pale of the Western Provinces, to a point which rendered the struggle for existence too acute. In

all these cases Anti-Semite feeling had an economic basis. But the present movement is not economic in character. It may become so; and if and when it does, it is likely to become acute. For the present it is primarily a social reaction, a moral rather than a material movement.

The Western nations do not yet realise the completeness of their handiwork in Central and Eastern Europe. The Peace Treaties and the Inflation, which the Treaties brought forth as surely as Sin brought forth Death, have together effected a social revolution not a whit less sweeping than the Bolshevik Revolution in Russia. The whole fabric of Governmental administration and control, in which before the war the life of the individual German or Austro-Hungarian subject was set as a fragment of the collective national design, has been, or is being, swept away; and the field is now nearly clear to an individualism more unlimited than anything which the sternest prophets of Manchester ever dared to preach.

To those who knew that paradise of paternalism which the old régime in Central Europe represented, or at any rate in retrospect appears, it is hard to bring home what Germany and Austria are like without officers and with a bureaucracy which no longer rules.

"In the Hapsburg Monarchy," says Mr. Steed, "the State has in certain respects made good its claim to be the protector as well as the warder of the public; and though in other respects it appears at times to be subservient to strong combinations of private 'interests,' the balance of its action is perhaps favourable to the general welfare of citizens. While it tacitly and expressly allows 'trusts' and 'rings' to levy contributions upon the purchasing public in the form of higher tariffs and higher prices than could be commanded in an open market, it limits on the other hand the activity of trusts and of all employers of labour, nay, even of individual artisans, by a complicated Industrial Code that smacks at once of the Middle Ages and of the Twenty-first Century . . .

"The tendency (of the police), as indeed the tendency of the lower tribunals, is to protect the servant against the master, and the lower against the middle class."

The above passages were written of Austria, but with slight differentiation they apply equally to the old régime in all the Central European countries. That régime is passing, and has largely passed; and Central Europe, except in so far as it is purely agricultural, is handed over to an industrialism which has—not tacitly but openly—assumed the reins of power let fall by the discredited bureaucracy, and is shaping its own course, thus far unchecked.

The triumph of industrialism is not of course another way of saying the triumph of the Jew. It is a very much greater development, and its social effects will be very much more important. The

big industrialists of Germany are not predominantly Jewish. The best known of them, the late Hugo Stinnes, was not a Jew. Nor is there anything characteristically Jewish about such concerns as the A.E.G., the Hamburg-Amerika, or a number of others which could be named, the directors of which are largely or exclusively Jews. It might be maintained that the Viennese Banks are characteristically Jewish. To suggest such a thesis in the case of German big industry would be merely ridiculous. There is no reason therefore why the reaction, which the present unchecked dominance of the industrialists is likely to provoke, should assume an Anti-Semite character. The present Anti-Semite movement is a separate, and so far a distinct, phenomenon.

It is none the less true that the triumph of industrialism is the Jew's opportunity. The gospel of economic individualism and revolt against State control, which the new rulers of Central Europe profess, has come to the Jew as the thunderclap which shatters his fetters and opens the prison door. He has recovered his liberty at last, that liberty which Kürnberger once defined as "the free fox in the free hen-roost"; and he is intoxicated at the prospect.

Hence the sudden rise to wealth and power of so many Jews in Central Europe since the Armistice. Nearly 600 new "Banks" came into existence in Vienna in the five years 1910-1924—a rate of growth which, it is sufficiently obvious, was not required for the financing of Austria's industrial recovery. These institutions were in fact for the most part no more than leeches which battered and (what was perhaps worse) enabled the public to batten on the profits of the Inflation. That a number of them have gone under with the stabilisation of the krone, and more recently with the unlucky speculation in the French franc, leaving the field the clearer for the Big Seven Viennese banks, means only that a number of small Jews have been swallowed by a few big ones. The balance of the Arvan v. Semite issue remains unaffected.

Contrast with the meteoric careers of a Bosel or a Castiglione under this system the slow and laborious climbing of a successful Jew under the old régime, as sketched by Mr. Steed in the work already quoted; and the revolution which has taken place in the conditions will be at once apparent:—

The career of such an official is typical of what is possible in Austria, and indeed in Hungary. The son of an obscure provincial Rabbi obtains, by luck or protection, some subordinate appointment in a Department of State. By dint of quick-wittedness and pliancy coupled with a capacity for making himself useful, he gradually rises in the bureaucratic scale and enters the bureau which, in several State Departments, is entrusted with the work of "informing" the Press. Hand in hand with the giving of "in-

formation" goes the giving of subsidies from the secret funds to "well-disposed" and "patriotic" journalists. The journalists—most of whom are Jews by birth—thus fed in money and kind, may be trusted never to bite the hand that feeds or has fed them: otherwise, awkward facts in regard to them might come to light. With their help, the active and hard-working official is able to establish his control over a great part of the Press and to render inestimable services to his chief, particularly if the chief be Prime Minister. Careful to keep all the wires in his own hands and to cow opponents by inspiring opportune attacks upon them in the journals at his disposal; careful, moreover, to obtain, through his growing influence, the appointment or the promotion of trustworthy protégés to other Departments of State than that to which he belongs, the official is always in a position to know what is going on in those Departments, and, by judicious use of his knowledge in the Press and otherwise, to defeat intrigues and ambitions of which he may disapprove, or to further aims and schemes that may appear to him worthy of encouragement.

In a word, he becomes indispensable and, within certain limits, omnipotent. With his help and support a Cabinet, or at least a Premier, can hold office long after its, or his, public usefulness has ceased: and when the end appears nevertheless to be in sight, the omnipotent wirepuller is able, by withdrawing his support from his "chief" and transferring it to some other candidate for the premiership, to hasten the disappearance of the one and the appearance of the other. With skill, this process may be repeated until the wirepuller has exhausted the possibilities of bureaucratic advancement and has tasted to satiety all the joys of semi-clandestine power. He has long since changed his Jewish for a German or a Magyar name. A timely conversion, preferably to Roman Catholicism; baptism with the support of authentic Catholic and, if possible, titled sponsors to whom he may have rendered in his official capacity some signal service; a marriage with a well-endowed daughter of some influential but not too prominent family; a recompense for his devotion to the State in the form of a Privy Councillorship that gives him the style of "Excellency" and entitles him to be addressed in the third person plural—these and other minor developments create for him a pedestal from which he is able to command an appointment to the House of Peers and to step into a lucrative position at the head of some economico-financial institute when occasion offers. In his new position he can at once acquire wealth and extend his influence over the financial while retaining his connections with the official world. Such careers have been, and are still possible in the Hapsburg Monarchy which, despite its reputation for conservatism, might with justice claim that it offers even to its humblest citizens a career open to talent, especially when the talent is that of the Jew.

The common man does not in general resent success: and he does not resent the success of the Jew. What he resents is the Jewish attitude to success. He feels instinctively that the high place which success holds in the Jewish scale of values is inconsistent with much of what he feels is best in his own civilisation,

in particular the Christian ethic. The principle of "backing the winner," which seems to dominate the whole social and political outlook of the Jew, is necessarily more apparent in its operation to the loser than it is to the winner. In the loser countries of the late war, that is to say, in Central and Eastern Europe, the *volte face* of Judaism has been so abrupt as to revolt the conscience of the common man. The common man in Germany believed in German "Militarism," as taught him for two generations from every editorial and professorial chair. He was militarist, as the nineteenth century Englishman was Liberal, not primarily for what he could get out of it—and indeed, though it brought him great prosperity, it imposed on him heavy burdens—but on considerations of the greater good of the community. It was not, taken as a whole, an ungenerous belief. He has been disillusioned, it is true, by the outcome. But when did disillusionment suffice to convince the genuine believer of the error of faith? The common man in Germany submits, like Job, to affliction, hoping for better days.

The alacrity with which the Jew in the same circumstances has hastened, not exactly to embrace the creed of the conqueror—since it is not very clear what the creed of the conqueror is, or indeed if it differs substantially from that of the conquered—but to seek anxiously for common ground with the conqueror, has startled the common man. The readiness with which those publicists and professors, who down to the end of 1918 were the loudest to acclaim the philosophy of the Bismarckian era, have turned to praises of pacifism and "West European democracy," makes him distrust everything they do or say. Are all our philosophies, he asks himself, no more to them than means to an end? If so, to what end? He does not know; and is left with that vague sense of alarm which is at the basis of mass panics. In the nineteenth century, he reflects, the Jews were Liberal, when Liberalism seemed the winning side in Europe. They became Bismarckian only when the cause of Bismarck had triumphed. In Russia they are backing the Bolsheviks. There have been occasions, in Austria, for example, in the latter days of Karl Lueger, when they have even backed Anti-Semitism. To men who believe in something as an end in itself nothing is so repugnant as the feeling that others believe in it only as a means. Religious persecutions have arisen before now out of just such repugnances: and it is the weakness of the Jew, the obverse side to his quickness of perception in things material, that he is proportionately obtuse in regard to the moral *imponderabilia* of the nations among whom it is his lot to wander.

O. DE L.

ANATOLE FRANCE.

THE life of Anatole France—we designedly do not say his work, for it is reminiscent of infinitely more—recalls sixty years of French literature. The 'sixties, which coincided with his *début*, marked the end of romanticism, to which Victor Hugo was erecting a final monument of pompous verbosity in *La Légende des Siècles*. Around the latter other monuments of more modest dimensions, impeccable in their form, rigidly sober in their inspiration, almost sepulchral in the austerity of their style, were arising to bear living testimony to Parnassian chisellers' art. When contemplating Anatole France's life we are borne back a long distance on Time's wings—to the days when Leconte de Lisle, albeit superbly isolated in his *tour d'ivoire*, was acclaimed—*sic transit gloria mundi*—by the youth of that day as successor of the exiled and already dethroned singer of *Odes et Ballades*, as herald of a new era in French poetry; when Théodore de Banville's *Odes funambulesques* were capable of exciting undiluted enthusiasm; when *Madame Bovary* was prosecuted for immoralism; when the author, last of the romanticists, of the *Contes à Ninon* and *Thérèse Raquin*, was still very far indeed from having attained his zenith; when Taine and Renan and Renouvier were uncontested masters of French thought.

As in a cinematographic picture we watch in Anatole France's life the literary, philosophical and political history of France during the last half-century glide before our eyes. It was an agitated period, which saw men's minds swayed to and fro between conceptions of life ranging from Berthelot's insolent dictum, *la science ne connaît plus de mystère*, to Pasteur's Hymn of the Infinite in his famous *discours de réception* at the Académie Française. The responsive chords struck on the keyboard of French literature varied as greatly in melody as they were unequal in sonority. Each author sought to grasp and express an aspect of things. The result is a tapestry of most variegated tissues and almost endless diversity of hues. But even when we join together such characteristically heterogeneous pieces as Baudelaire's sombre realism, Goncourt's laboured pretentiousness, Flaubert's complicated artificiality, Maupassant's limpid naturalism, Daudet's impressionist portraits sketched *sur le vif*, the poignant melancholy of Verlaine's and Rodenbach's lyricism, the incoherent and not unmusical vagaries of Mallarmé and Rimbaud, Loti's *pessimisme nostalgique*, the egocentric ancestral worship of Barrès, Bourget's aristocratic traditionalism—even then we only gain a fleeting vision of that flux of evanescent phenomena we call life. For life is too multi-

farious, too subtle, too rapidly changing, too unstable, too full of inexplicable contradictions, for mortals ever to be able to see it otherwise than in part and darkly.

Of the waters from all these, and innumerable other sources, Anatole France tasted. And he digested them all. No bitter herbs mingled with honey could disturb his serene enjoyment of a repast composed of human wisdom's most varied dishes, succulent or otherwise, but all testifying abundantly to culinary skill. Gall and wormwood alternating with ambrosial nectar merely expressed, for him, the inevitable diversity of human experience. An epicurean of unrivalled refinement of taste, he distilled for himself and others, by combining harmoniously a thousand scattered ingredients, a beverage unexcelled for spiciness and subtlety of flavour, discreetly perfumed, elegantly served-up, and lacking that pungent acidity which characterises the more strongly alcoholised concoctions of naturalism. A transcendent artist, he likewise possessed rare erudition, and being erudite, was a sceptic; being sceptical, and having consummate knowledge of human nature, he was essentially equitable, charitable, prone to leniency, inclined to temper severity with exquisite and benevolently malicious irony that disarmed hostility and silenced indignation. His evenly balanced mind was equally far removed from unreasoning prejudice, unseasonable levity, or ponderous solemnity. Disbelieving in virtue or vice, his wisdom was that of Figaro: "*je me hâte de rire de tout, de peur d'être obligé d'en pleurer.*" Which implies that Anatole France's satire was at times not untinted with sadness, and that the satirist could frequently exhale a deeply-drawn breath of genuine human sympathy. In other words, he was about as perfectly equipoised as could be expected of one so profoundly penetrated by the consciousness of life's vanity as the poet of *Le Jardin d'Épicure*. Like Voltaire, from whom he descended spiritually, Anatole France was a sage and a European, and the most appropriate epitaph on Anatole's tomb would be: "The Last European Sage."

Equipoise, harmony of proportions, lucidity, are typical traits of a classical mind, and it goes without saying that Anatole France belonged to the *grande lignée classique*. His greatest and most lasting service to literature and thought in his own country lies in the fact that amidst a seemingly inextricable chaos engendered by romanticism, naturalism, symbolism, *fin-de-siècle* decadence, mystic revivalism, the pre-war *roman d'action*, and other manifestations of a troubled age, he held aloft with unerring insight the banner of classical tradition. That tradition is nothing if not synonymous with discipline—whether of style or thought; with

measure and reasonableness and depth of psychological analysis. It implies creation of universal types. Or we can, if we will, define classicism as the antithesis of romanticism. By way of illustration we need only compare the personages of the one with those of the other. Romanticism is the inversion of the natural hierarchy of the mental functions—it is, as Charles Maurras aptly said of Michelet, "thinking with one's heart instead of one's brain." The consequence is that psychology is stood on its head, so to speak, that the entire standard of social and moral values is reversed. Hence the systematic glorification of all social "irregulars"—whether assassins or bandits or prostitutes—by romanticism, which regards them in the light of heroes and heroines of insurrection against a social order conceived as fundamentally unjust because all authority, according to romantic theory, begets injustice. Romanticism spells anarchy in every domain. As a counterpart to the glorification of revolt we find a not less systematic and unreasoning hostility to everyone invested in any degree with any particle of social authority—husband or *paterfamilias*, policeman or magistrate, priest or Cabinet Minister, factory foreman or landed proprietor. Romanticism thus gives us a gallery of portraits which are so many caricatures.

Psychological inversion, moral anarchy, social nihilism—these typical traits of romanticism find their explanation in that inherently rotten eighteenth century sentimentalism which gave birth to the French Revolution. Hence Rousseau and his jacobin and romantic acolytes could find no more convinced adversary than the creator of Monsieur Bergeret and Jérôme Coignard.

"On peut regretter que M. Coignard, qui connut toute espèce de personnes, n'ait pas rencontré d'aventure le jeune ami de Mme. de Warens. Mais cela n'eût fait qu'une scène amusante, un tableau romantique. Jean-Jacques aurait peu goûté la sagesse désabusée de notre philosophe. Rien ne ressemble moins à la philosophie de Rousseau que celle de M. l'abbé Coignard. Cette dernière est empreinte d'une bienveillante ironie. Elle est indulgente et facile. Fondée sur l'infirmité humaine, elle est solide par la base. A l'autre manque le doute heureux et le sourire léger. Comme elle s'assied sur le fondement imaginaire de la bonté originelle de nos semblables, elle se trouve sans une posture gênante, dont elle ne sent pas elle-même tout le comique. C'est la doctrine des hommes qui n'ont jamais ri . . . La folie de la Révolution fut de vouloir instituer la vertu sur la terre. Quand on veut rendre les hommes bons et sages, libres, modérés, gracieux, on est amené fatalement à vouloir les tuer tous. . . . M. l'abbé Coignard est peut-être, de tous les esprits du XVIII^e siècle, celui dont les principes sont le plus opposés aux principes de la Révolution."

Anatole France's wisdom penned these memorable lines in the

opening chapter of *Les Opinions de M. Jérôme Coignard*. And in *Les Dieux ont Soif*, masterpiece of psychological penetration and enlightened scepticism, he has depicted the Revolution in the making—remorselessly shown, with that intuitive flash of vision peculiar to genius, the inevitable concrete workings of a social philosophy vitiated at its very roots. Some were surprised, at the time, to find Anatole France in substantial agreement with Charles Maurras on the subject of the Revolution. But an author cannot assume responsibility for his readers' cecity.

Classicism, we have said, implies creation of universal types. It is capable of extracting ordinary personages, events of everyday life, from their environment—of "fixing" certain moments, certain types, of a given epoch and enabling us to recognise in them features common to every epoch. Chimène and Phèdre, Alceste and Tartuffe, Harpagon and the Bonhomme Grandet, Monsieur Jourdain and Monsieur Homais, are always with us at all times, and whenever an artist succeeds in presenting us with a universal, *i.e.*, human, "type," his work is to this extent, whether he intend it or not, "classic." The classical artist need not fear time, since he writes, not for his contemporaries exclusively, but for every age, and we of the twentieth Christian century can derive as much profit and pleasure from Pindar and Æschylus as did the Athenians of their day. Anatole France's pages reveal many such human types. Evariste Gamelin and his fellow-Jacobins bear a striking family likeness to certain politicians in *l'Histoire contemporaine*, and certain leaders of Russian Bolshevism, and numerous victims of Bolshevik regeneration have their prototypes in Brotteaux des Ilettes, in the Père Longuemare, in Athenais—a truly human and unromantic Sonia, and infinitely lovable for that. Fanaticism, greed, hypocrisy, lust of hate, naïve doctrinarianism, unpretentious heroism, eager self-sacrifice, stoical indifference to suffering and death, are not the monopoly of any particular period, for the nature of the human beast of prey cannot be changed nor the thirst of human gods for blood be quenched. If Evariste Gamelin incarnates the Revolutionary Terror, if the Prefect Worms-Clavelin resumes in his person Jewish-Masonic administration under the Third Republic, if Brotteaux des Ilettes and Jérôme Coignard and Monsieur Bergeret are immortal types of the philosopher who can justifiably boast, *nihil humani alienum puto*—*les Dieux ont Soif*, not less than *l'Histoire contemporaine*, is an epitome of human destiny. The experience of many a high-born Russian emigrant to-day shows how history repeats itself, even to the extent of the manufacture of dancing dolls, which was Brotteaux des Ilettes' last resource in dire distress. And it is

highly probable that a contemporary Russian's equanimity can be pushed to the extent of enjoying Lucretius, like Anatole France's *alter ego*, whilst awaiting his turn to be assassinated.

Here we reach the vexed question of Anatole France's attitude towards Bolshevism. Did this epicurean sage, this disabused sceptic, recant his incredulity—did he, in his old age, come to see light there where he had formerly seen nothing but darkness—was he, on eternity's threshold, suddenly filled with the new spirit from the East? It cannot be denied that some people take this problem very seriously, since we even find M. Clément Vautel, in one of those usually witty dissertations in the *Matin* which he dishes up for our daily edification at breakfast, protesting against a proposal to rename the Quai Malaquais, where the master was born, Quai Anatole France. It may parenthetically be observed that in any case, thanks to *Le Livre de mon Ami*, and apart even from the Palais Mazarin and Voltaire's statue, the Quai Malaquais has been immortalised. M. Clément Vautel's objection to a rechristening of the quay in question is based on the allegation that Anatole France was an apostle of Bolshevism—albeit M. Marcel Cachin, who ought to be well informed on the subject, has expressly denied in *l'Humanité* that Anatole France was ever an orthodox Communist. Be that as it may, we may well ask ourselves—notwithstanding M. Victor Basch and the Ligue des Droits de l'Homme—whether the matter is worth squabbling about.

Anatole France was seventy when the Great War broke out, and that cataclysm, by turning the world upside down, unhinged the minds of many. It would be unnecessarily cruel to recall the prophecies indulged in by certain prominent British Liberals from the moment they discovered that the war was a "holy" one, right down to the conclusion of peace, which did more credit to their phantasy than to their reasoning powers. In Anatole France's case it may plausibly be assumed that, after the first thrill of enthusiasm which caused him, a septuagenarian, to demand a rifle, he stood appalled at the spectacle of Western humanity run amuck, of the yawning chasm opened before him, into which all the acquirements of civilisation were ruthlessly and indiscriminately hurled. We can imagine Anatole France contemplating the unfathomable gulf separating promise from realisation, theory from practice, ideal from achievement—shuddering at the hollowness and hypocrisy of catchwords destined to whet popular passion and perpetually rekindle the lust of slaughter. And we can then, perhaps, understand that the disillusioned and indulgent scepticism, due to profound psychological intuition, of Jérôme Coignard and Monsieur Bergeret should have received a shock of

such elementary violence as to drive the sceptic, in unutterable horror and sheer blank despair, to seek refuge even in a dogma—provided that dogma be an emphatic and uncompromising repudiation of European society as hitherto constituted. *Dernier Refuge*—might not this title which Edouard Rod gave his touching story of the peregrination of two shipwrecked human beings, serve likewise, *mutatis mutandis*, as heading to the closing chapter of Monsieur Bergeret's life? Or maybe those last lines of Alfred de Musset's?

Jusqu'à mon repos tout est un combat;
Et, comme un coursier brisé de fatigue,
Mon courage éteint chancelle et s'abat.

But all such considerations and hypotheses are surely of quite secondary importance. What of Anatole France's rôle in the Dreyfus polemics? Who remembers his controversy with the Dominican Father Mamus? Or his speeches occasionally delivered from Socialist platforms before the war? Did they prevent his subsequently writing *L'Île des Pingouins* or *Les Dieux ont Soif* or *La Révolte des Anges*—so many unanswerable negations of Socialist illustrations? It is not as politician, but as artist and thinker, that Anatole France will live—it is around the brow of the poet and philosopher that immortality will entwine her wreath. When judging Lamartine, do we think of *Les Méditations* or of the Provisional Government of the Second Republic? Does Zola owe his reputation to the pamphleteer of *J'accuse*? The world war was enough to sap a giant's strength. But let us hasten to accept M. Marcel Cachin's assurances and leave to others the uncongenial, and by no means æsthetical, task of bickering over an uncertain political legacy—if, indeed, such a legacy there be.

Manifestly elements and principles of a political philosophy are to be found in Anatole France's work, since everything relating to human life is contained therein. But it would be a fatal error to seek in Anatole France, any more than in Nietzsche, a systematic profession of faith. Systems were fundamentally distasteful to him because every system, being too narrow to embrace more than an insignificant fraction of human life, belittles and consequently distorts reality. Little minds, anxious to prove their superiority by carping at creations of genius, may doubtless, forgetful of the fact that no supremely great artist is a logician, find satisfaction in discovering numerous contradictions between Anatole France's various attitudes. We can imagine the prospect tempting a German professor, who would then announce with a mien of portentous gravity that Jérôme Coignard was a mere hopeless dilettante. But although the dialectical effort, dogmatic

systematisation and unrelaxing seriousness of a Bossuet were wholly foreign to Jérôme Coignard, theologian and epicurean none the less belong equally to the *lignée classique*; and resuming, this time with the Bishop of Meaux in Elysium's refreshing shade—and not, unfortunately, for our benefit—those serene discussions commenced at Queen Pédaque's Rôtisserie, M. l'abbé Coignard may possibly persuade the illustrious author of the *Histoire des Variations* to adopt a more smiling view of human history.

After the verbiage and neurasthenia of Romanticism and Symbolism, Anatole France represents a return to intelligence, an assertion of the rights of reason as against the anarchy born of uncontrolled sentimentalism. What characterises his personalities is their normality; there is nothing about them resembling perverse monsters or inordinately virtuous blackguards. In the roaring cataracts that flowed from Victor Hugo's indefatigable pen, we seek vainly for a single lucid idea. Each of Anatole France's crystalline and incisive sentences bears the hall-mark of lucidity. But this essentially classical vindication of reason was likewise bound to bring Monsieur Bergeret into conflict with the young pre-war generation of Frenchmen, ardent enthusiasts of action and convinced worshippers of dogma, for whom "anti-intellectualism" was the *mot d'ordre*. In their zeal for action these fiery and generously inspired neophytes brushed aside contemptuously both intellectualism and art. As a logical corollary, the *roman d'action* was substituted for the psychological novel, however strongly the psychological tradition of classicism may have been represented by a Barrès and a Maurras, a Bourget and a Paul Adam, a Romain Rolland and a Pierre Lasserre, who, whatever the individual differences separating them, had this in common, that they were all in varying degrees guides and preceptors of pre-war French youth—and although it undeniably lived in isolated representatives of the latter, in a Henri Clouard, an André Suarès, a François Mauriac.

Nothing could be more abhorrent to the anti-intellectual intelligentsia in France immediately before the outbreak of war than the unrelieved pessimism of *Le Jardin d'Epicure* and *l'Île des Pingouins*, the serenely detached philosophy of a Jérôme Coignard, the attitude of delicately ironical scepticism towards Christianity assumed in *Sur la Pierre blanche*, which we find transformed into true Voltairian invective in *La Révolte des Anges*. The psychophysiological problem of love treated with the author's habitual pessimism in *Le Lys Rouge* did not attract a generation which, having re-entered the sanctuary of its ancestral faith, was anxious to place sexual relations on a more ethereal plane, and

in its irresistible eagerness for action found no time for psychological analysis. Not even the deliciously ingenuous *bonhomie* of a Sylvestre Bonnard could appeal to "youngsters" thus consumed by a devouring flame.

The clearest illustration of this antithesis between Anatole France and the pre-war *jeunesse intellectuelle* is furnished by their respective attitudes towards the past. Most profoundly did Anatole France venerate the past. He loved the luminous splendour of Pagan antiquity and appreciated the mellowed beauty of the Catholic Middle Ages. To select one gem among many, his evocation of Pagan life and thought at the dawn of the Christian era in *Sur la Pierre blanche* is unsurpassed as a model of realistic art. But his attitude was a purely contemplative one; it was that of a connoisseur who relishes beauty and of a philosopher moved by insatiable curiosity. Whereas the young French generation sought in the past a vivifying source of inspiration, a concrete guide to conduct, a tangible criterion of action. In his *Vie de Jeanne d'Arc* Anatole France takes pleasure in transporting himself, with that intuitive flash of vision of which we spoke, five centuries back, into an age of miracles and witchcraft and child-like faith, so as to be able to reproduce, to resuscitate, the environment which shaped the heroine, which yields up the buried secret of her magic personality. It is the effort of an æsthete infinitely interested in all things human. But for him, that past in which Jeanne lived is dead. Charles Péguy, on the other hand, offers the Maid of Domrémy to France as a living example, a living leader, a living mediatrix, spurring the nation on by her undaunted courage, rekindling in it the spirit of prowess and derring-do, prompting and compelling it by her inflexible resolution to accomplish its historic destiny. For Péguy, that past in which Jeanne lived is not dead. His is the effort of a man of action in search of an overpowering incentive.

If the standard according to which we judge a novel be a three-fold one, then Anatole France's novels, by the perfect synthesis of art, psychology and action realised by them, occupy a high rank among humanity's classically beautiful literary productions. No single one of these elements is unduly sacrificed to the other. Precisely because he was no theorist of Action (with a capital) in the "youngsters'" sense of the word, he knew how to blend action and art. Soaring to vertiginous heights of thought, from which man is seen in his true perspective as an infinitesimal speck on a grain of sand gyrating in boundless space, and all human creeds appear equally grotesque in their disproportion to the universe, this spectacle, whilst raising him far above dogmatic

pettiness, permitted him to understand more fully life's inevitable tragedy. Hence—as we said—his satire is never cruel, is invariably softened by compassion. But he will always remain a tantalising enigma for those whose narrow horizon is limited by dogma, and who are unable to comprehend the great lesson of tolerance taught by his scepticism. On the other hand, enjoyment of beauty—whether of music or pearls or wine or literature—being a privilege of the spiritually rich, the voluptuous bouquet of that sparkling wine which this epicurean was accustomed to offer contemporaries of another age cannot be appreciated by the coarser taste of materialist generations. Art involves leisure, and the world war has destroyed leisure. Anatole France's disappearance from the scene of his activities leaves a gap in French and European life which will not be filled. Human joys and sufferings and illusions will fade into darkness and oblivion, but his light will not be extinguished in the firmament of Time.

GEORGES CHATTERTON-HILL.

CHRISTIANITY & INTERNATIONALISM.

"Of holding many conferences there is no end and much deliberation is a weariness of the flesh."

I FEEL sure that if the cynic who wrote the Book of Ecclesiastes had lived in modern times he would thus have worded his famous aphorism. The historian of the future will mark as one of the features of the present age the craze for conferences. Yet it is a craze which admits of a very ample defence, for if conferences mean getting people together of varying outlook and different experiences it is hardly possible to overdo them. This is the formative period of the twentieth century, and the creative work of making up men's minds and forming the public opinion which results therefrom can only be done by bringing them together. Particularly is this true of different nations. Behind the schemes of statesmen and the activities of politicians there are the rank and file of ordinary men and women. They must have opportunities to express their hopes and exchange their thoughts, for on them ultimately depends what is possible and what is not possible in such great enterprises, for instance, as the League of Nations.

This mutual intercourse is peculiarly congenial and likely to be productive of results if there already exists a common basis of idealism between those who come together. Pre-eminently is this true where that common basis is Christianity. It is frequently said by those who have observed the course of the world during the last century and in particular during these opening years of the twentieth century that Christianity has failed. That is, of course, nonsense, for nothing is more obvious than that if its principles had been adopted as a working hypothesis most of our problems would have been so altered in their perspective that their solution would only have been a matter of time and a short time at that. When groups, national or otherwise, meet to discuss it is not so much the problem before them that matters as the assumptions which are at the back of their minds at the outset. If each group comes with the assumption that the objective is its own peculiar advantage, discussion becomes difficult. If, on the contrary, the assumption in the mind of each is that the supremely important thing is justice leading to fellowship, the situation is radically altered and the problem in question is far on the road to solution.

What is true, of course, is that Christians have failed to apply their principles. This has meant, in the first place, an intellectual failure. They have neglected to think out those principles both in themselves and in their application to the present situation.

Only too frequently Christianity has been regarded by its adherents as a comfortable and necessary insurance for the next world, and indeed a moral assistance in this one, but not as a challenge to the whole order in which we live. It is true nevertheless that the Church is now waking up to this fact and is preparing to give itself to the necessary thought with a new energy, and with a determination in many quarters to apply the results of that thinking to the difficulties with which we are beset. To this enterprise many groups of Christians have been giving themselves both at home and abroad during these last years. In our own country, for example, there have been several groups, such, for instance, as the Christian Social Crusade, which have not only been studying these questions for themselves but have been forming smaller groups in many towns and districts of the country, and these have in many cases had a considerable influence on the public life of the locality concerned.

The most prominent example of this in recent years has been the Conference lately held at Birmingham and commonly known as "Copec."* This was an enterprise of co-operative thinking on a scale unknown before. The preparation for it had extended for years. Large numbers of study circles made their contribution and some of the most able and experienced students of social science gave time and thought without stint. The Conference itself was inspiring to those who attended, but it gave an impetus to the whole movement for the rediscovery of applied Christianity, the effect of which is already widespread. Its Reports are peculiarly valuable because, on the one hand, they go to the root of things and endeavour to study the mind of God as unveiled in Christ, and, also, they point to practical ways of applying His principles which are available to all Christians here and now.

What Copec attempted to do, and indeed in large measure succeeded in doing in Britain, the World Conference on Life and Work will attempt to do in Europe. This Conference is to be held in Stockholm in August of next year. It is an attempt to kindle the mind of many Churches in regard to this social application of the Christian Gospel and to focus it on lines of action which may be fruitful in helping to form a worthy public opinion in the countries concerned. Its purview is not reunion. It has no connection with the Conference on Faith and Order, preparations for which have been going on for years and which is wholly concerned with the Reunion of the Churches. No one can doubt, however, that in so far as this Stockholm Conference is effective it will have an influence indirect but very real on the great move-

* Conference on Politics, Economics and Citizenship.

ment which is bringing the Churches together more closely than heretofore.

The prime mover in this Conference is one of the ablest and most versatile of Christian leaders in Europe to-day—Nathan Soderblöm, Archbishop of Upsala. The Archbishop has made his influence felt in many countries, not least on the intellectual side, for as a student of comparative religion he is well known in more countries than his own, and as an apostle of reunion his fame has extended beyond Europe to the United States. In co-operation with others he has planned this Conference for some years past. Every Church has been approached in regard to its interest and the sending of delegates when the moment arrives. The Roman Catholics have found themselves unable officially to take part but they view the project with interest and sympathy. Other great Churches of the world are preparing officially and otherwise for the event. Prominent among these is the Holy Orthodox Church of the East, and the Protestant Churches of the Continent, particularly in Germany and Switzerland. Here at home both the Church of England and the Nonconformist Churches are already participating, and this is true to some extent of the Churches in the Colonies. No more suitable or beautiful meeting place could be found than the Venice of the North (to use the name often applied to the beautiful town of Stockholm). The Crown Prince of Sweden is the chairman of the Committee of preparation in that country and the Swedish Government have shown every sign of interest and sympathy with the project. Owing to the limited time of the Conference—some ten days—and owing to the fact that more than one language must be employed, the number of subjects discussed must needs be strictly limited, yet if the Conference can define the Christian attitude in regard to international differences and mobilise the forces of Christian idealism it will be well worth the holding.

For there is no time to be lost. The world is rapidly becoming smaller. At a Conference of the Institute of Transport held at Wembley not long ago it was confidently predicted that in another two or three years a regular bi-weekly air service to India would be established, that within ten years this service would be extended to Australia, which should be reached in eleven days; that there would be a weekly service to the Cape in five and a half days; and that a regular service would be established between Great Britain and Canada with machines which would perform the journey in two and a half days. These predictions, whose fulfilment is almost certain, are signs and symptoms of the contraction of the world at least geographically. This must of necessity mean a much closer intercourse between the peoples, and opens out possibilities

at once dangerous and hopeful. For to bring the peoples into closer touch does not mean thereby deepening their fellowship. It may easily mean precisely the opposite. It may mean increased possibilities of disputes and wars which can only end in the destruction of civilisation. Indeed, this mechanical crushing together of the world's frontiers makes it more and more plain that the choice before us is between a more firmly based international fellowship and "a famished race of men, looting in search of non-existent food, amidst the smouldering ruins of civilisation." The need, therefore, for creating such a passion for fellowship as shall preclude this possibility is as urgent as it well can be.

And this means that every such opportunity as this Stockholm Conference provides for Christian propaganda is of vital moment. All human institutions, as Mr. Wells has told us, are made by propaganda, sustained by propaganda, and perish when it ceases. They must be continually explained and re-explained to the young and the negligent. This is just as true of Christian ideals and of the institutions by which they are propagated. For this reason, if for no other, such a Conference is deserving of sympathy and support. We do not blink the fact, of course, that it raises the whole question of the social implications of the Christian Gospel. There are multitudes still who hold with von Bernhardt that Christianity is only properly applicable to personal and private relations and that where the interests of States are concerned it is irrelevant. Yet Europe has suffered for the last three centuries and more from the fact that the nationalism which broke out at the time of the Reformation has hitherto gone unbaptized. It is clear that its exaggerations and distortions have been mainly responsible for recent wars; and that these exaggerations might have been curbed and purified by the influence of a Gospel which indeed recognises nations, but looks at them, not as potential enemies, but as contributors to the common weal of the great human family. If the national and international implications of Christianity could have been thought out three centuries ago, and if a propaganda in regard to them could have been undertaken, it is at least conceivable that the history of Europe might have been fundamentally altered for the better.

If nationalism has thus been allowed to encamp outside the circle of Christian influence is internationalism to do the same? That is the question for our generation and more particularly for those who are loyal to Christian ideals. For internationalism is here. It contains the seeds of infinite difficulty: indeed, the international class war which in some quarters is being deliberately cultivated may easily lead, as in one country it has already led, to destruction and death. Yet this internationalism can be inspired

to the highest things. This will not be done by hopes of an international State whose sole ambition is the material comfort of its members. It can only be assured by inoculating the international organism with the life-giving word of a religion which promotes international fellowship not with a view to wealth or comfort, though these would very probably follow, but as the purpose of God and the destiny of the humanity which He has created.

These considerations form the purview of the proposed Conference. It will have to face the facts. If it contents itself with a mere explosion of emotional idealism it had better not be held. Like Christianity itself it must face the facts; it must bring its Gospel down to the hard problems with which we are confronted, and our hope is that the men and women who collect there, and indirectly the Churches themselves, will be so inspired to fresh thought, investigation, faith, and then action, that the Conference may be a not undistinguished milestone on the road to international peace.

THEODORE WINTON:

THE UNITY OF WESTERN CIVILISATION

IT is a commonplace, but a commonplace that needs to be repeated, that every nation in Europe that can claim a history owes some part of its national characteristics to the others. During the long period of their life and growth together interaction has been going on, in the course of which each national type has begged, borrowed, stolen, imitated or otherwise acquired much that belonged originally to the others, while the others reciprocally have acquired much from it. It has been a vast, though for the most part unacknowledged, system of co-education.

This process of give and take has, of course, been far from uniform. Some nations while giving much have taken little, or have given most where they have taken least, or *vice versa*. France has given much to Russia but taken far less in return. Small nations, as a rule, have taken more from their great neighbours than they have given back, though some of them, like Holland and Switzerland, have exercised a notable influence all round. Thus, to quote an example at random, the English business man of to-day owes something of the qualities that contribute to his success to lessons learnt by his forefathers from the Dutch in the seventeenth century.

But while the process has been highly variable and complex, faint and slow in one relation, marked and rapid in another; here equal, there one-sided; here ended when B has borrowed from A, and there continued by B passing on the borrowed qualities to C—in spite of all this the process has been going on incessantly. There is not a single European type in existence to-day which can be explained or understood without reference to the rest. This is not to say, which would be absurd, that all the qualities that make the separate nations what they are, are borrowed; nor to deny, which would be the same absurdity, that each nation has qualities which it can claim as originally its own. If that were so there would have been nothing to take and nothing to give. None the less, the historian may affirm, and ought to affirm, that the original qualities of nations as they exist to-day have in every case been modified and sometimes transfigured by interaction among themselves. There is no nation, not even the most original, that can say, in presence of its own characteristic qualities, "these I owe exclusively to my own might and to the strength of my own right arm."

To the instructed historian this is a commonplace; but, as we have said, a commonplace that needs repeating. It needs to be repeated because History, to the disgrace of writers and teachers, has long been written and taught in a manner flatly at variance

with it. With few exceptions, now happily becoming more numerous, most national histories leave the impression on the reader, and are often intended to leave the impression, that the nation whose doings are recorded is *self made*. There are histories of England and (still more conspicuously) histories of America which remind one of a certain type of autobiography which self-made plutocrats, under the mistaken belief that their fellowmen are anxious to emulate them, sometimes perpetrate in their old age, for the purpose of glorifying the Ego. Everything accomplished by these self-constituted heroes is, of course, set down to their own valour or astuteness, in utter disregard of the fact that at every step they were climbing up on the shoulders of their fellows, and making use of forces which originated from better men than themselves. Every history written on a purely nationalist basis is infected with the same lie. It degenerates into a vulgar autobiography. No self-respecting nation would claim to be the exclusive creator of its own power, its own wealth, or even its own character. National histories written for the purpose of making good such a claim belittle the nations which suffer their historians to represent them in that way, just as the autobiographies just referred to, written for a like purpose of self glorification, only serve to bring their authors into contempt.

We are acutely conscious of this when reading the history of other nations written from the egocentric point of view: for example, the histories of Germany current in that country before the war, or the histories widely used in American schools with the object of inculcating the doctrine known as "a hundred per cent. Americanism." We feel at once that no great nation should allow itself to be misrepresented in a manner so grotesque. But though we are quick enough to detect the absurdity when perpetrated by foreign historians in the supposed interest of their own countries, we tolerate it on our own without protest. But not wisely. There is no kind of Englishman more likely to bring ridicule on his country than the "hundred per cent." variety when he takes to the writing of history. And the same may be said of the "hundred per cent." American, the "hundred per cent." Frenchman, the "hundred per cent." German. Was it not "the hundred per cent." German who brought about the Great War with its sequence of calamity for his fatherland?

Into the total make-up of man, it may be said at a venture, that not more than five per cent. of national characteristics can be introduced without making him something of a fool. Beyond that percentage his patriotism falls under a Law of Diminishing Returns, he grows progressively more ridiculous and more dangerous, until at the hundred per cent. level he becomes an insuffer-

able monster and deserves to be executed by his fellow countrymen as a traitor and a felon. Five per cent.—to be raised at a stretch to seven—may be freely allowed; and not only allowed but positively required as essential to the make-up of a good citizen. Everything in human life depends for its value on the other things with which it is mixed, and the ninety-three per cent. of our good Englishman (or American) which belongs to the world will not be worth much unless it be well salted with the seven per cent. which belongs exclusively to England and makes him distinctively English. A well written history of our native land should teach us this. But history—especially “as taught in schools”—has hitherto tended to obscure it, countenancing the other doctrine and sometimes explicitly proclaiming it, even to its culminating point of nonsense—the doctrine of “a hundred per cent.”

It should be obvious that so long as the purpose of history is regarded by historians as a means for grinding the national axe it will abound in distortions, half truths and falsehoods; and there is matter for deep satisfaction in the fact that a powerful and growing revolt has set in against this mode of writing it.

Of the figures conspicuous in this enterprise one of the most striking is Mr. H. G. Wells. That Mr. Wells' *Outlines of History* has many faults in detail is a remark that has now become customary before proceeding to praise his work, but for my own part I attach about as much importance to these “faults” as I should to missing buttons and deficient pipeclay on the uniform of a gallant soldier who had played a man's part at the storming of a fortress. In the buttons and pipeclay part of his business Mr. Wells is certainly deficient, and I am not sure that he has ever learnt his “drill”; but these things are secondary and Oxford and Cambridge can always be trusted to look after them. Mr. Wells has made a notable contribution towards shifting history from the national basis, where the facts are inevitably distorted, to the international, where alone the facts can be seen in their true perspective and mutual bearings; and in addition to that he has done wisely in exploiting—if I may use the word—his hold on the reading public to bring the matter home to the man in the street. Against the value of such a service the fact that he has “underestimated Christianity” or “misjudged Alexander the Great,” or “got up what he knows about the Seleucidae from the *Encyclopedia Britannica*,” counts, in my thinking, for very little. These are pedantic objections; and historians who know all about Christianity and Alexander and the Seleucidae, but have never done a stroke towards helping us to see the history of the world as a continuous whole, would be well advised to confine them to footnotes. Mr. Wells is a pioneer with the faults of a pioneer.

These will be readily forgiven him on a wide judgment of merits, while his grasp on the roots of the matter, which are comprehensiveness and continuity, will be reckoned to him for righteousness.

Another significant and extensive enterprise in the same direction has been made in some half dozen books which Mr. F. S. Marvin, with the help of a group of accomplished writers, has brought out under the title of the “Unity Series.”* Mr. Marvin himself has set his face against the megalomaniac distortion which has so long done duty for history in our system of education; he has seen the falsehood of it; knows something of the mischief it does; and has played a foremost part in opening our eyes to the neglected possibilities of using history as an instrument of human culture. His own book, *The Living Past*, is an excellent introduction to this higher and wider view of history, and has been the means of turning many tired students of it into enthusiasts. In the “Unity Series,” Mr. Marvin and his collaborators expand the general thesis (that the past lives in the present) into a comprehensive and articulated survey, in which the main watersheds of history are well mapped out, and the streams which have combined into Western Civilisation traced from their springs in remote ages and many lands to their point of confluence with the main current as it rolls by our doors. An Englishman, a Frenchman and a German might all read these books and receive the same impression. The impression of each would be that for everything which has made his own country dear to him it is a large debtor to the countries inhabited by the others. Each would feel the whole past of Europe, transfigured no doubt by contact with the genius of his own people, throbbing in his veins, and would think of himself thenceforward as a European and not merely as a member of this nation or that. Or, rather, he would perceive that membership of this nation or of that became immensely more significant when seen against the background of membership in the European or Western Community. Thus in becoming more of a European he would not become less of a patriot.

The motive which inspires these books is obvious. It is an honest desire to promote the peace of the world by revealing an actual unity, attested in history, beneath the differences which separate the nations and give rise to wars. The series belongs to the class of “reconstructive” efforts in which the war and the post-war periods have been so remarkably prolific, and may be

* The Unity Series. Essays arranged and edited by F. S. Marvin. (Oxford University Press.) Already issued: Vols. I to VI. I. *The Unity of Western Civilisation*. (2nd. edition, 1922. 6/- net.) II. *Progress and History*. (5th impression, 1921. 6/- net.) III. *Recent Developments in European Thought*. (3rd impression, 1921. 6/- net.) IV. *The Evolution of World-Peace*. (1921. 9/6 net.) V. *Western Races and the World*. (1922. 12/6 net.) VI. *Science and Civilisation*. (1923. 12/6 net.) In preparation: VII. *Art and Civilisation*.

justly said to represent the best that British thought has to contribute in that kind. In theory they are founded, though with varying degrees of explicitness in the different writers, on the evolutionary doctrine of progress, with significant traces here and there of a leaning to the "positivist" way of thought.

What is meant by the Unity of Western Civilisation is not very closely defined, and by some of the writers is loosely conceived, but the meaning emerges with sufficient clearness on a perusal of the series as a whole. History shows that all the nations of the West, and indeed of the earth, have and always have had an immense range of common interests; to begin with, the satisfaction of their "material" wants by economic and industrial activities, and beyond this a significant series of "spiritual" interests, of which science, art, philosophy, morals, government, education and religion are the chief. Many of these interests, especially those connected with "material" wants, have been a recurrent cause of quarrel, but beneath the quarrels and through them we are invited to believe that history reveals a constant tendency towards co-operation, a process Mr. Marvin himself is able to discern even amid the confusions and antagonisms of the Great War. This co-operating process we are urged to study; it is shown to us on all the lines of interest just mentioned; we see the nations that are parties to it drawing into closer relations and becoming more and more interdependent in their activities; and the "unity of civilisation" is the final result to which all this is leading up; a unity implicit and ineffective at present, while few men are conscious of it, but destined to become explicit and effective hereafter when the teaching of history shall have opened men's eyes and made them conscious of its reality and significance.

A certain fatalistic optimism is hereby revealed, or at least an optimism that would be fatalistic if it were addressed to indolent nations, but has rather the effect of stimulating effort when addressed to the strenuous and energetic. Even the constant recurrence of war in the historical process must not discourage us, for a point of view can always be found from which war appears as involved in the growth of unity, so that all wars may be interpreted, by the philosophical historian, as wars to end war—stages on the road to the final and lasting peace of mankind.

That the study of history conducted on these lines will have beneficent effects in assuaging the animosities that lead to war and in promoting effective unity among the nations, no sensible man will doubt. At all events the "hundred per cent." delusion, which is the most pernicious, as well as the most absurd, among the causes of international quarrel, explodes under the first ray of historical inquiry, and should be heard of no more.

In this kind of speculation there is, however, a danger of unduly forcing the pace, or, to change the figure, of thinking that we lay foundations where we only spin cobwebs. To baptise our secular sufferings with names that disguise their painful character is often an effective way of mitigating their intensity as far as it goes. But it does not go very far. There is a story of an American millionaire who had been studying the problem of evil and, having learnt from one of the apologists that evil is "imperfectly developed good," inserted the following advertisement in a Chicago newspaper: "A gentleman, suffering from an imperfectly developed good, named Gout, hereby offers a reward of two hundred thousand dollars to any physician who will relieve him of it." The reflections suggested by this story are obvious. But are they not suggested still more poignantly when the philosophical historian interprets strife as a necessary stage in the evolution of unity? The stage may be "necessary"; but we regret the necessity none the less; and if it be true that this or that conflict is "a war to end war" must not our comment be, "we would rather end it in some other way?" It was in a time of great mental distress, during the war, that phrases of this kind first became current, and it is not to be wondered at that some of the remedies we proposed to ourselves were desperate, and that some of the phrases then used sound rather hollow when we hear them now.

Extending the same comment further afield, I cannot refrain from saying that the series is a little onesided in presenting its account of the evolution of Unity. The unities presented refer without exception to real values, to those common interests of our civilisation which all men regard as good—to science, art, morality, political order and the rest. But is there not another side to all this? Side by side with the picture which shows the nations of the West co-operating in the evolution of the values peculiar to each or common to all, and approaching unity on those lines, might not another picture be drawn showing them in the act of egging one another on in error and co-operating in the evolution of national vice? Let us suppose that some historian, greatly daring, should write the history of jingoism, of industrial ugliness, of religious bigotry, of electioneering humbug, of commercial fraud, of diplomatic doublemindedness, a history even—for the thing is not inconceivable—of ignorance, a history, in short, of the *sinister* interests of the West. Would it not then appear that the process by which all these evils have reached their present head, like that of the contrary goods, has been throughout a process of international give-and-take? Consider the case of jingoism, as it exists in our own, or in any other country. It would be seen at once that jingoism is a phenomenon of European origin,

that the English jingo is a mixed product, containing elements derived from remote antiquity, and from many nations, not excepting the nations most offensive to English jingoes—in all respects as good an illustration of the “living past,” a product as truly international, as any more admirable type which might be chosen for the purpose. Of the jingo and all his works, as of the pacifist and all his, it would be true to say that they are European in their origin and not English only.

That such a story would spoil the important moral which Mr. Marvin and his collaborators wish to point I am far from saying. Possibly the moral would be reinforced. But in any case this second picture would remind us of something we stand in great danger of forgetting, namely, that the unifying process does not work automatically to a good result. At every stage it is beset by an alternative between the right road and the wrong; if uncontrolled it is more likely to take the wrong than the right; and it rests with us to determine which of the two roads shall be taken. It is conceivable that the unity of Western Civilisation may assume the form of a common and concerted movement towards anarchy and the bottomless pit—Carlyle thought it would. We must not forget that hell as well as heaven has its doctrine of unity. The difference is in the application. And that rests with ourselves.

I would also suggest that the contributors to these volumes are on dangerous ground when they insist, as some of them do, on the superiority of Western to all other forms of civilisation. That, I am persuaded, should be regarded for the present as an open question, in view especially of the unquestionable fact that without the friendly co-operation of the East the problems of the West are insoluble. Mr. Bertrand Russell may not be right in thinking that China is nearer the line of development to be taken by the future civilisation of the world than any nation of the West can claim to be. But at all events the Chinese will count greatly in whatever international synthesis destiny may have in store for our civilisation, and neither they, nor the Eastern nations generally, are in any mood to submit to airs of superiority on the part of Western writers. Western Civilisation is still on its trial and it is not yet clear how it will compare, in the final issue, with other civilisations, on which it is now too ready to look down.

If it is not presumptuous, I should like, by way of concluding what has been said above, to repeat the point I tried to make in my own very humble contribution to this series. Speaking of “moral progress” I said that, while believing in it as a fact of history, I cannot see that the actual amount of it achieved by the human race up to date is anything to boast of; and that our habits

of boasting should be abandoned. The human race has made some moral progress in the course of the ages no doubt, but not nearly as much as a race of rational beings ought to have made. For long man has trusted too blindly in the abstract truth of his rationality to save him, not realising that, in spite of his rationality, he is capable of acting like a born fool, and has so acted in the past to an extent that is quite appalling.

I am disposed to think that the teachers of Western “humanity” (to use Mr. Marvin’s term) have not been fortunate in their pupil; “humanity” has proved perverse, dull, recalcitrant and forgetful—the last especially: and the tragedy of the matter is that the best and wisest of the teachers “humanity” has had in the past are precisely those who have least reason to be proud of their following. Had the best and wisest teachers been properly attended to the unity of Western Civilisation would have been an accomplished fact long ago. They piped well, but “humanity” declined to dance, or, worse still, turned the dancing into an occasion for picking pockets. It is for no want of adequate teaching that Western Civilisation has recently had to fight through a horrible war in order to end war. A more effectual way of ending war was pointed out long ago. On this point there are grounds for affirming that the East has the better of it in comparison with the West. I do not say that the teachings of Buddha or of Mahomet are higher than the teachings current in the West, but I do say that the followers of Buddha or of Mahomet have proved on the whole less disloyal to their teacher and less forgetful of his injunctions than the followers of Christ. And that is an additional reason why the West should be careful to avoid airs of superiority when comparing itself with the East.

L. P. JACKS.

MAXIMILIAN OF MEXICO.*

NEARLY six decades have passed since the tragedy of Mexico, which once stirred the whole world. Incredible things have happened during these years and our contemporaries know but little about it. The Emperor Maximilian's sympathetic personality is so distant that it is difficult to recognise its outlines, and the tragic martyr's aureole, which once surrounded him, has faded into nothingness. Recently, however, an Austrian historian of Italian origin, Dr. Egon Caesar Corti, has recalled the figure of the hero of Queretaro from the mysterious depths of the Austrian archives. He has blown away the dust of more than half a century that covered the documents, collected innumerable *data*, and built up the figure of Maximilian, breathing into it the breath of life.

We are shown the Emperor through the clear, impartial lenses of the historian, robbed of the romantic nimbus which surrounded him in life, no longer a figure posing on the stage, but a man of many virtues and great faults. His wife, Charlotte, too, is brought to life before our eyes. Napoleon and Eugénie also appear, while, somewhat in the background, we see the Emperor Francis Joseph, King Leopold I. of Belgium, General Bazaine, Prince Metternich, Austrian Ambassador at the French Court, Count Rechberg, Austrian Foreign Minister, and the Mexican trio Gutierrez, Hidalgo, Almonte. To these must be added the Mexican ex-President, Santa-Anna, then living in exile. We also make the acquaintance of a mass of more or less interesting minor figures, such as the French generals Forey, Frossard, Félice Douay, the Minister Dronyn de Lluys, the Mexican generals and officers Miramon, Meja, and Lopez, Bishop Labastida, the English Ministers Lord Russell and Lord Palmerston. They all play their part in the tragedy, which holds us enthralled from the start, captures our interest more and more as the action develops, and leaves us finally, when the curtain has been rung down on Maximilian's bleeding corpse, shattered and plunged in meditation. . . .

Corti brings Maximilian vividly before us by his use of the whole of the correspondence bearing on the Mexican question. All that the present generation remembers of him is a knightly romanticist, who, with his wife, was a tragic sacrifice to Napoleon III. This conception holds good no longer, for we have now been taken behind the scenes of the tragedy. In sober daylight much of the romance which enveloped Maximilian disappears, while the gloom which shrouded Napoleon seems to lift. This book at once shatters

our picture of the romanticist. We find in his stead a keen observer and a clever diplomat. We are introduced to him as the diplomatic emissary of his brother, Francis Joseph, to the Court of Napoleon III. The Archduke, who was only twenty-four, carried out this task with surprising coolness and sagacity, and his reports might have been written by an experienced diplomat of ripe age.

His first impression of the royal couple and the tone which reigned at the Court in general was anything but favourable. This is not astonishing if one bears in mind that he was accustomed to the faultless machinery of the Austrian Court, with its ancient traditions and customs worked out to the smallest details, while the Court of Napoleon still reeked with the penetrating odour of new varnish, and was unable to conceal its *parvenu* character behind its splendour. His highly developed æsthetic sense was offended by Napoleon's unprepossessing exterior, which seemed to him "vulgar." Nor did Eugénie's vaunted beauty impress him greatly, especially when he compared it with the youthful charms of his sister-in-law, the Empress Elizabeth.

He never ceased to marvel at the "incredible embarrassment" evinced by Napoleon, which, strangely enough, communicated itself to Eugénie. Only towards the end of his eleven days' stay did the Emperor thaw, becoming even cordial, and thereby modifying Maximilian's first unfavourable impression. His visit was celebrated by many brilliant festivities—gala dinners, a Court ball, two great military reviews, and other functions. But these very festivities again and again awoke the spirit of criticism in the Archduke. In his eyes the service was bad, the whole mechanism of the Court functioned but indifferently, the tone was too free and easy. The frivolity of the plays performed at Court offended his taste, and he disapproved the unguarded language which Napoleon permitted himself before the servants. In his opinion, society at Court was hopelessly mixed, badly dressed and tactless in its behaviour, while Prince Jerome (Plon-Plon) seemed to him downright rude. Only the military review found some favour in his eyes, but even it was unfavourably criticised in his marginal notes. Beside these critical reports on the review, which he forwarded through a private channel to Vienna, he dispatched another, without any depreciatory remarks (except about Prince Jerome, who was in very bad odour with the royal couple) through the post, knowing that it would be opened, and that the Emperor would be duly informed of its contents.

At the time of the Archduke's visit, the Mexican question had not yet appeared on the horizon of French politics. The visit has, nevertheless, a connection with the Mexican tragedy, for it is doubtful whether the Empress Eugénie would have taken so keen

* This article is based on *Maximilian und Charlotte von Mexico*. By Dr. Egon Caesar Corti. (Amalthea Verlag, Zürich, Leipzig, Wien. 2 vols. 1924.)

an interest in Maximilian's candidature for the throne, if he had not won her liking by his sympathetic personality.

Though Maximilian's behaviour during this visit did not suggest a romantic tendency, it emerged when, some five years later, Paris tempted him with the offer of Montezuma's throne. The offer aroused an immediate response, all the more because it came at a time when he was particularly susceptible. Deprived of his sphere of action by the loss of Lombardy, whose *Statthalter* he had been; unsatisfied by his position of Chief of the Austrian Navy, because it was treated in a very stepmotherly manner by the State and left his love of action very little play; full of ambition, he saw a future beckoning him, which roused intoxicating hopes of glory and fame in his bosom. The fact that the throne offered him would be in a distant land was but an added reason for enthusiasm, since a passion for adventure burned in his soul, and a great longing for the magic of tropical countries, with which he had become acquainted on his recent journey to Brazil, held him spellbound. He was influenced, too, by the wish to escape from the control of his brother, for the political conditions in his home depressed and disgusted him, and his relations with Francis Joseph had never been cordial. His ambition and thirst for action were inconvenient to the Emperor, and he was not inclined to obey anyone but himself.

Yet, although everything combined to render the Mexican scheme marvellously attractive in his eyes, he did not grasp at it immediately. His healthy commonsense detected the difficulties and dangers that lurked around the throne, and his pride forbade him to embark upon a questionable adventure, and one unworthy of a prince of the House of Habsburg. He accordingly suppressed the desires which drew him so powerfully towards that fairy land, and declared himself ready to accept the throne only on the condition that the Powers interested in the Mexican question—France, Spain and England—would be the guarantors for the new Empire, and that the Mexican people would be content with his candidature.

If he had only stuck to these conditions he would have been spared all the grief in store for him. It was, however, difficult for him to do so. Napoleon, and still more Eugénie, had become enamoured of the idea of being the patrons of the future Emperor of Mexico, and had made up their minds that Maximilian was the right man. They held him fast, therefore, and were effectively supported by the diplomats, Gutierrez, Hidalgo and Almonte, three passionate Monarchists, who set great hopes upon the re-establishment of the Mexican throne, not only for their country's sake but for their own; they moved heaven and earth to attain

their aim. They had caught the Imperial couple in the glittering net of their prophecies, and hoped to enmesh Maximilian too. If they had prevailed with a cool, experienced diplomat like Napoleon, how much simpler must their task be with a young, passionately sensitive man, eager for action, like Maximilian. And they did succeed! With a skill and patience worthy of a better cause, they knew how to entice him and make him serve their purpose.

Yet it was no easy victory for them; not only because Maximilian's sound sense and foreboding mistrust were obstacles, but on account of other influences which countered their efforts. For there was no lack of sincere and earnest advisers who, impelled by real concern for the Archduke, warned him against the lies and promises of the Mexicans. Prince Metternich, the Austrian Ambassador at Napoleon's Court, who was as honest as he was intelligent, was one of the first to warn him, while Count Rechberg, the Austrian Foreign Minister, and the Austrian Ambassadors in Madrid and Washington, Count Crivelli and W. von Hülseemann, joined in the appeal. But warnings were not confined to Austrians. Lord Russell, the British Foreign Minister, described the Mexican project very accurately as being "*hérissé de difficultés*," and Sir Charles Wyke, the British Ambassador in Mexico, who knew the country from personal experience, told a very different story from that of Gutierrez, Hidalgo and Almonte, the two former of whom had not set foot in Mexico for many years and had, consequently, conceived an entirely false idea of the conditions existing there. Sir Charles Wyke, who called Mexico "*a hornets' nest*," went so far as to obtain an audience with Napoleon, in order to explain the difficulties of the undertaking, but in vain. Nor did Lord Russell's offer of the Greek throne, which had fallen vacant on account of King Otto's flight, as an alternative, meet with more success. The proposal offended Maximilian, whose pride resented the thought of accepting a crown which several princes had refused. Besides, the brilliance of that exotic Imperial crown had dazzled him to such an extent that a modest European crown offered no compensation.

Maximilian heard these well-meant warnings but paid no heed—all the less because the Mexicans, made anxious for the success of their plans by his opposition, fired, as a last attempt, a mine which they hoped would bring them victory. They suddenly changed their tactics. They had presented Mexico to him in rosy colours—now, all at once, they surprised him by the news that if he hesitated much longer, Juarez would seize the rudder, and all hope of re-establishing the Mexican throne would be at an end. This volley had the desired effect, and awoke a quick response. Maximilian would dispense with the guarantees of the interested Powers if he

could not obtain them, and would be content with Napoleon's troops for protection. And, further, he accepted the results of a farcical election, staged by the friends of the Monarchist party, to provide the illusion that the Mexicans were eager to have him for their Emperor. But, just at this moment, a fresh obstacle threatened to ruin all his hopes. Francis Joseph, not particularly delighted with the Mexican project, although the thought of disposing of his troublesome brother in a decent manner could not have been unpleasant, demanded that he should waive his claim to his right of succession, and made his brother's acceptance of this demand a condition of his own assent. Maximilian was loth to agree, thereby proving that he had his eye not only on the Mexican but also the Austrian crown. A serious quarrel arose between the two brothers, which threatened to end in an open rupture, for all attempts to make the Emperor change his mind were futile. Even Charlotte, Maximilian's wife, failed to persuade him in a three-hour interview.

An explosion was prevented by the intervention of Napoleon, who, much distressed by Maximilian's imminent refusal, saw his whole Mexican scheme threatened and himself face to face with a serious defeat which would injure his prestige in the eyes of the world. He therefore argued that Maximilian's honour demanded that he should keep his promise to himself. The appeal succeeded, and the Archduke declared that he was prepared to resign his right of succession to the Austrian throne. The strain of this conflict and the three years of discussion which had preceded it had shattered Maximilian's spirit so terribly, and the physical and psychical effect on his highly-strung nature had been so serious, that he was unable to receive the countless congratulatory deputations and farewell visits after the signing of the treaty with Napoleon at his castle of Miramar, in Trieste, and had to leave them to his wife. Even the journey had to be postponed on account of his health. When, finally, on April 14th, 1864, he commenced the fateful voyage, he was unable to restrain his tears, so deeply did he feel the parting from his home and his beloved Miramar.

Without the guarantees of the three sea-Powers which he had originally demanded, without the genuine assent of the Mexican people, Maximilian commenced his journey, trusting simply to Napoleon's written promise: "Whatever events may happen in Europe, France will never fail to come to the support of the new Empire." Long before he set foot on Mexican soil he had evolved great and far-reaching schemes. He meant to make Mexico the kernel of a vast Central American Empire, which would include all the small, hitherto independent, Central American Republics

Further, he conceived the idea that his youngest unmarried brother, Ludwig Viktor, should marry the daughter of the Emperor Don Pedro of Brazil, so that not only Central America should come under the sceptre of the Habsburgs but also the largest State in South America, thereby shedding lustre on the fading laurels of his House.

The conditions which met Maximilian in "his" country were in sharp contrast to these highflying plans, for it lacked everything—above all, order, peace and money. Party strife and corruption had poisoned and undermined the whole public life of the country. But he would not admit it to the world. He did not even tell the truth to his brother, Karl Ludwig (the father of Franz Ferdinand), to whom he sent many reports, but described the conditions which reigned in Mexico as being far more pleasant, in spite of many drawbacks, than those at home. Only to Napoleon did he speak freely of the difficulties which surrounded him on all sides, since he was anxious to enlist his help in a greater measure than had been promised. Although inspired by the noblest intentions and filled with the most useful plans, he was unable to accomplish anything in face of the corruption and enmity he encountered and his lack of money. Moreover, as he could not decide to return to the Catholic Church the estates confiscated by the Mexican Government, he lost the adherence of the clerics, who, being Monarchist, were his chief supporters. Face to face with a position which was daily becoming more and more hopeless, he implored Napoleon in every letter not to reduce the number of the French troops in Mexico, which was in any case inadequate. As Napoleon proved deaf to his appeals, the correspondence assumed a sharper tone on the part of Maximilian, who had begun by expressing his thanks and admiration in enthusiastic terms. Finally, Napoleon declared that he would be forced gradually to withdraw all the troops.

This was, of course, a breach of his promise; but his action did not arise from vacillation or perfidy, but was forced on him by the political conditions in Europe and the violent antagonism which was manifesting itself in France against the Mexican adventure. The French were tired of sacrificing money and men in a cause which promised neither gain nor glory. Moreover, the interest in the Mexican question was waning for another reason. Prussia's victory over Austria had already produced the slogan *Revanche pour Sadowa* in France, and the duel between France and Prussia was in the air. The attitude of the Washington Government was also no small factor in the case. After the final defeat of the Southern States, the North regarded the presence of European troops on American soil with still more unfavourable

eyes, and did not attempt to disguise their dislike of Maximilian. Napoleon did not feel strong enough to risk a naval war, and henceforth he had many excellent reasons for recalling his troops from Mexico, and for his own withdrawal from this disastrous undertaking. Thus, being in the painful position of standing between his political acumen and his personal sense of duty and honour, he chose the former. The statesman was stronger than the gentleman.

Deserted by Napoleon, and robbed of all hope, Maximilian decided to resign the crown which had proved a crown of thorns, and to leave the country. Unfortunately, however, he was not allowed to take this step. His wife, as ambitious as himself, but endowed with a stronger will, appealed to his sense of honour, and suggested that she should go to Europe and plead his cause there in person. He assented, and she left Mexico full of hope, never to set foot in it again. Her journey to Europe proved the road to an asylum, for under the strain of her discussions with Napoleon and Eugénie her passionate soul collapsed and her mind gave way. Maximilian, robbed of his comforter and adviser, informed of the failure of her mission, broken by the bludgeonings of fate, decided to return to his home, but he allowed himself to be persuaded by his suite to remain, while actually on the way to the coast. They, too, knew his weak point, and appealed to his sense of honour. That sealed his fate. The catastrophe of Queretaro followed. Colonel Lopez, his betrayer, gave him the chance to save himself by flight, but he did not take it. He hesitated where hesitation meant death.

On June 19th, 1867, this man who had been such a weakling when bidding farewell to his home, whose will had never been strong, started on his last journey with the firmness of a hero and the dignity of an Emperor. He died on the altar of his ambition, a sacrifice to his distorted sense of honour, which bade him remain at his post long after he had recognised the hopelessness of his situation. In the conflict between head and heart, his heart was always the conqueror, and thus he perished.

THEODOR VON SOSNOSKY.

EMPIRE AND COMMONWEALTH.

IT was a somewhat ironic coincidence that the management of a British Empire Exhibition should have fallen to the lot of a Labour Government, since opposition to imperialism in every form is a tradition of the Labour Party, and the word Empire cannot be dissociated from imperial, can with difficulty be dissociated from imperialism, imperialist. Both those words, however, became definitely degraded during the War, Germany and Austria being typical Empires in the post-Napoleonic sense: few now would care to be called imperialists, as some Liberals called themselves before 1914; and imperialism is now the name universally given to the spirit of a people desiring to dominate others. Empire and imperial would have been similarly degraded if there had not existed a British Empire, an Imperial Parliament: and Mr. Clynes' wish* that the term Empire might be freed from its savour of dominion by force is shared not only by the Labour Party, but by Liberals and Conservatives.

That wish is not unattainable, for the widespread idea that Empire must imply such dominion is mainly due to a wrong historical perspective, exaggerating the militarist and absolutist associations of the last century and a quarter, and ignoring many others, very different, of eighteen centuries before. But, as Seeley pointed out long ago, there is also a scientific objection to the use of the word to denote the community of the British Realms, which has much historical justification. The British Empire is a new political phenomenon, unlike any State hitherto known; and the revelation of a new phenomenon, the acquisition of a new object of thought, should involve the invention of a new term. Politics, however, being an art rather than a science, its craftsmen generally content with the words coined to describe the few types of States existing in the ancient world, that objection does not seem to have perturbed any prominent statesman till 1917, when it was elaborated in a speech by General Smuts.

The very word "Empire" is misleading. . . . We are not one State or nation or empire, but a whole world by ourselves, consisting of many nations, of many States, and all sorts of communities, under one flag. . . . All belong to this community . . . which I prefer to call the British Commonwealth of Nations. . . . No political ideas which have been evolved in the past will apply to this world which is comprised in the British Empire.

The term Commonwealth has since found much favour as an alternative for Empire. It has obvious advantages. Its original meaning is beautiful and fitting; it is almost unstained by history

* Debate on the Address, January, 1924.

(though, strangely enough, it was for long unpopular in England because of its association with the period when the government became, for the first and only time, both militarist and absolute); its recent appropriation by Australia has but enriched its content by a suggestion of a voluntary federation of free peoples; it is not defaced by long currency in the language of politics, and is therefore comparatively accurate, unspoilt by the ambiguity which is a real objection to Empire. Nevertheless, the complete disuse of the older term is inconceivable. For over two centuries the British Realms have been spoken of collectively as the Empire; the word and its adjective, imperial, could not be officially discarded without a break with tradition unparalleled in our constitutional history, and nothing could remove them from many historical documents. General Smuts might emphasise the theoretical advantages of "Commonwealth," but "Empire," not "Commonwealth," rings through Botha's call to action, nearly a year later:—

The Empire to which we belong is to-day fighting a righteous war, and is passing through the gravest crisis in its history. . . . While chivalry lives and honour remains, so long as duty has not become a byword, so long as a common destiny unites us to the Empire, such a call for help must and will be answered by the manhood of South Africa.

Since, then, the word Empire cannot be displaced, and will continue to be a name by which the British Commonwealth of nations is generally known, it is well to remember that many of its associations are good, though some are evil; that many are appropriate, though some are incongruous; that the finest characteristics of the British Empire have been foreshadowed, actually or ideally, by certain Empires of the past. It cannot be regarded as having any exact signification, definitely misleading; for a survey of its history, including that of its source and equivalent, *imperium*, shows that it has passed through four widely different phases. The first is that of the Empire of ancient Rome; the second that of the Holy Roman Empire of the Middle Ages. In the third there was no longer any Empire universally recognised, hence the word acquired various general meanings and came to be used with reference to various Powers, among them that of Greater Britain. The fourth is that of the modern European Empires of the two Napoleons, of the Russian Tsars and the Austrian and German Kaisers, and also that of our special application of the term to India; this phase overlaps the third, and is in point of time by far the least, dating only from 1804, affecting English speech and thought very little till towards the end of the nineteenth century.

The word *imperium*, originally meaning simply an order or command, then the right or power to command, and hence supreme

dominion, first became current in the language of politics as denoting the sovereignty, direct or indirect, of the Roman people: the authority of the victorious City over conquered nations, of a Roman general over his army and the territory it occupied, of the *princeps*, the *imperator*, over all the Roman world. Although that sovereignty was won almost entirely by the sword, nearly all the conquests of Rome were achieved under the Republic: in the modern senses of the words, therefore, the Roman Republic was more imperialist than the Empire. But in Latin no antithesis is possible between the words *imperium* and *respublica*; *respublica*—the commonwealth—never ceased to be a name of the Roman State. The terms were interchangeable: "Non enim respublica est in ecclesia, sed ecclesia in republica, id est, in imperio Romano," asserted St. Optatus in the fourth century A.D. The phrase *imperium populi Romani* remained in use; the emperors might be in practice the most absolute of rulers, but as late as the sixth century Justinian sanctioned the accepted theory of the jurists that though their decrees had the force of the statutes which of old were made in the assemblies of the people, it was only because the people had transferred to them all its own *imperium* and power. Yet, since the Roman Empire was essentially a militarist State, many of the associations of the word in this first phase are such as to afford ample grounds for prejudice against it. That Empire, nevertheless, rendered great services to mankind; and it was not its militarism and absolutism but its nobler characteristics which chiefly influenced European thought (and therefore language) in the centuries which followed its fall, when, amid the turmoil of the Middle Ages, men looked back upon it as the embodiment of their political ideal of peace and unity, even of liberty.

Cicero declared that the empire of the Republic was maintained, not by oppression, but by the benefits it conferred upon its subjects and allies; and the same praise might with truth be bestowed upon the principate. In spite of the need for constant vigilance and frequent fighting along the borders, of occasional strife between rival emperors, of rebellions and conspiracies cruelly suppressed, the centuries of Roman rule were the most peaceful the Mediterranean peoples have yet known. The word *imperium* received an enduring consecration by Virgil's frequent use of it in the famous passage of the *Aeneid* (quoted four hundred years later by Augustine, echoed after nearly nine hundred more by Dante) which culminates in the lines reminding his fellow-citizens that, while men of other nations might be greater as artists, as orators, as natural philosophers, they were supreme in the arts of government: "Tu regere imperio populos, Romane, memento." The *Pax Romana*, once established, was kept secure by other means than brute force,

to some degree foreshadowing what has been described as "the paradox of the British Empire, . . . a reign of the spirit not a reign of the sword," the root of the success of its statesmen being "not their material or their military but their moral strength."* The words are almost an echo of two lines written in the fifth century by Rutilius Namatianus,† exalting the Roman Empire above those of the ancient East because it had, not more men nor might, but more wisdom and judgment:

"Magni Parthorum reges Macetumque tyranni
Mutua per varias jura dedere vices:
Nec tibi nascenti plures animaeque manusque
Sed plus consilii judiciiue fuit."

The phrase *imperium et libertas* is borrowed with little alteration from Tacitus‡; and it might even be contended that the most fruitful legacy of the Roman Empire was the idea of the natural equality of all men, irrespective of birth or race, a part of the Stoic philosophy accepted by many Roman statesmen. One barrier was broken down when Rome forced the Greeks to acknowledge the supremacy of the barbarians they had once despised; others vanished as the Roman citizenship was extended till it was finally granted to all free men within the Empire, while the non-hereditary character of the principate ultimately made it possible for men of all races, for the sons of peasants and even of slaves, to ascend the imperial throne. All mankind are fellow-citizens, the whole world is one commonwealth, meditated an emperor, Marcus Aurelius, who had learnt to think of an equal commonwealth, with equal rights and equal speech, and of a monarchy where the liberty of the subject is the first consideration. As late as A.D. 603, Gregory the Great exhorted a new emperor so to rule that liberty might be restored, pointing out the difference between the kings of the nations and the emperors of the commonwealth: "*Reges gentium domini servorum sunt, imperatores vero reipublicae domini liberorum.*"|| And to the end nothing could be more unlike a typical despot or conqueror than the ideal Roman Emperor; as embodied, according to Marcus Aurelius, in Antoninus; as mirrored in the *Meditations* of Marcus himself; or as finally portrayed in St. Augustine's description,§ famous throughout the Middle Ages, of the Happy Emperor—remembering among his obsequious courtiers that he is but a man, preferring domination over his own greedy inclinations to domination over foreign peoples, doing all for love of eternal felicity, nothing for desire of vainglory.

Thus during its first phase the word *imperium*, despite its

* A. F. Pollard, *The Commonwealth at War* (1917), pp. 222, 228.

† *De Reditu*, Bk. i, ll. 85-8. ‡ See *Agricola*, 3.

|| *Epistolae* (Mon. Germ. Hist.), ii, 397.

§ *De Civitate*, v, 24.

original and lasting taint of militarism and absolutism, had already become associated with a highly complex group of ideas; and after the fall of the Roman Empire in the West the anarchy of the Dark Ages threw into strong relief its traditions of good government and peace, while its uglier aspects were forgotten. As it moved from that first phase to the second, the word denoted not only a union of many peoples, at peace within one commonwealth, but also the community of civilised men, contrasted with the barbarian world outside. When the Holy Roman Empire was founded, at the end of the eighth century, a common religion was the chief bond remaining of that community; and in the centuries which followed, while its elements were being differentiated into the nationalities of modern Europe, the ideal of the one Empire, no longer realisable in practice, kept its hold upon the minds of men because of its close connection with the living ideal of the one Church.* It persisted in spite of the failure of every attempt to make it actual, and left upon the mind of western Europe an impression so deep that when the word Empire first found a place in modern languages, as they gradually superseded Latin as the medium of political thought, all the meanings instinctively assigned to it were those of *imperium* as signifying the Holy Roman Empire. Those characteristics of the ancient Roman Empire which the ideal mediæval Empire did not share were explained away or ignored. William of Ockham asserted that the army of old had only elected the emperors by virtue of a commission from the Roman people; Dante that the Romans, setting aside that covetousness—"imperialism"—which is always the enemy of the commonweal, had loved universal peace and liberty, neglecting their own interests for the common good of mankind: "*Romanum imperium de fonte nascitur pietatis.*"

Political circumstances had helped to free the word from its baser associations. Frederick Barbarossa might claim that his predecessors had won the Empire by force of arms, and endeavour to revive the theory of imperial despotism set forth in the Civil Law; but he could not escape reminders that according to that law itself his power was derived from the people, and that, though he were "Lord of the World," his lordship was not ownership (*dominium*). It was exercised over men, God's rational creatures; it was subject to the manifold restraints of divine and natural law. In practice, the restrictions of local and customary law and of Teutonic ideas of kingship, added to the difficulties arising from the unwieldy size and heterogeneous character of their dominions, so limited the power of the elected mediæval kaisers that they were in reality less absolute than the hereditary kings of the rising nation States

* For the whole of this phase see Bryce, *The Holy Roman Empire*, especially chapters xv, xxii.

of the West. And, while all governments in the age of feudalism were in a sense militarist, the position of the Empire, as such, depended upon public opinion, not upon force. The mediæval Emperors claimed an authority supported by higher sanctions than their own prowess in war or the personal loyalty they might inspire in their warlike subjects: an authority whose non-military character is shown by the fact that the strongest assertions of their theoretical supremacy were made in the fourteenth century, when their actual power, political and military, had become little indeed.

The most famous of many treatises on the subject is the *De Monarchia* of Dante; a poet's vision, altogether at variance with historical fact, but therefore all the more significant as an illustration of the ideas which at the close of the Middle Ages had become associated with the word Empire. Dante believed that the Empire was intended by God to be His instrument for the preservation of peace upon earth. He conceived of mankind as organised in many communities, "households, villages, cities and kingdoms," and of the Empire as a world community including them all: a government by one Prince over all men in temporal matters, a jurisdiction comprehending in itself all temporal jurisdictions, bounded only by the Ocean. The Emperor must be the purest embodiment of justice among men because, being thus supreme, he could have no enemies nor any desire for conquest. According to Dante the end of the whole human race is the fullest use and development, both in thought and action, of man's capacity for understanding, the quality which distinguishes him from other sentient beings; and this cannot be attained by any one man, not even by any community of men, since the full realisation of every human faculty is impossible for any one of them alone. It can only be achieved by the complete harmony of mankind; and this, he thought, was impossible save within one all-embracing community, kept at peace by a monarch, "servant of all," with authority derived directly from God. For, he concludes—endeavouring to resolve the long discord between the Papacy and the Empire—two ends have been set by God's providence for man to aim at: the blessedness of this life, which consists in the exercise of his natural powers, and the blessedness of the life eternal, the Beatific Vision, to which by his own natural powers he cannot rise. Therefore a twofold guidance is necessary: that of the Pope, to lead mankind to eternal life, in accordance with the revelation of spiritual truth; and that of the Emperor, to guide mankind to happiness in this life, in accordance with the teachings of philosophy.

The date of the earliest examples given in the *New English Dictionary* of the use of the word Empire in one of the general senses characteristic of its third phase coincides very nearly with that of

Dante's impassioned plea for a cause already lost. Among those senses are: "supreme and extensive political dominion, including that exercised by a sovereign State over its dependencies," hence, "extensive territory, especially an aggregate of many separate States," which is "under the sway of a supreme ruler" or "sovereign State"; and, "a country of which the sovereign owes no allegiance to any foreign superior." The first is the sense with which we are most familiar nowadays, that of which "the British Empire" used to be an example. But it is the second idea that first arises in English political thought: when Anglo-Saxon kings claimed imperial titles; when Henry I was *gloriosus Cæsar Henricus*; when Bracton assumed that statements in the Civil Law about the Emperor applied to the king of England; when a fourteenth-century chronicler wrote that in a discussion among Edward I's counsellors as to the law by which the Scottish succession should be decided one pronounced in favour of the laws of England because there the king is regarded as Emperor (*Dominus rex . . . hic censetur imperator*); when the decree legitimatising the Beauforts was promulgated in Parliament by Richard II "come entier emperour de son roialme de Engleterre." Under the Tudors and in connection with the Reformation the assertion of this imperial status of English sovereigns became of much practical importance. The Act of Appeals, 1533 (cited in Parliament in June, 1917), declares that "this realm of England is an Empire . . . governed by one supreme head and king, having the dignity and royal estate of the imperial crown of the same." The phrase "the imperial crown of this realm" occurs in other statutes both of Henry VIII and Elizabeth; and the same idea prompted the use of the title "the King's Majesty" (majesty being a special attribute of the Emperor) and the frequent references to Tudor sovereigns as "the Prince," i.e., *Princeps*, the word denoting the Emperor in the Civil Law. But the implications, constitutional and religious, behind these phrases are irrelevant to our present purpose. The Tudor monarchy was certainly not dominion by force; and the use of the word in this sense barely survived the sixteenth century, and left no lasting associations outside the Acts which prompted Blackstone's statement that "The legislature . . . uses . . . Empire to assert that our king is sovereign and independent within these his dominions."

Before passing on to the second political meaning of the word in English it may be noted that, as Maitland remarked: "In the days when Queen Elizabeth was our Prince, she did not forbid her secretary (Sir Thomas Smith) to write in Latin *de Republica Anglorum* or in English of the Commonwealth of England:" "Prince"—Emperor—"and Republic"—Commonwealth—"were

not yet incompatibles"; and that some curious phrases linking together the two words are to be found in Harrington's *Oceana*, published in 1656: "If the whole people be landlords . . . the empire, without the interposition of force, is a commonwealth. . . . To ask whether it be lawful for a commonwealth to aspire to the empire of the world . . . is to ask whether it be lawful for it . . . to put the world into a better condition."

The second meaning is thus defined by Burke: "An Empire is the aggregate of many States under one common head, whether this head be a monarch or a presiding republic . . . a great political union of communities." Applied to various Powers, Anglo-Saxon, European, African and Asiatic, the word has been in common use in this sense ever since the fourteenth century. Protector Somerset was said to have proposed that the names Scotland and Scottish, England and English, should be suppressed, and the two peoples and the two kingdoms be united into one Empire, always to be called the Empire of Great Britain. Under James I the United Kingdom was called an "imperial monarchy" in a proclamation of 1604, and the phrase "British Empire" first appears in a petition to him that year. It was definitely used to include the colonies a century later (1708) by a writer who says, "our colonies in America are so far from being a loss to us, that there are no hands in the British Empire more usefully employed for the profit or glory of the Commonwealth"; but it was not in general or official use with that meaning till after 1765, when it became familiar in discussions of the policy of taxing the American colonies,* being employed by politicians differing much in opinion, by opponents as well as supporters of that policy. They used the word unconsciously in the traditional senses, suggested by the mediæval Empire; and any who consciously connected it with the Roman Empire belonged to an age which produced the *Decline and Fall*, with its glorification of the peace-loving Antonines, not to one influenced by Mommsen, whose hero was Julius Cæsar.

In all the chorus of applauding comment evoked in 1917 by General Smuts' panegyric on the British Commonwealth of Nations there was, we think, not a single allusion to its echoes, phrase after phrase, of the famous speech, an unavailing plea for conciliation with America, in which that definition occurs. Yet there has never been a clearer case of vindication by the verdict of history; and one would like to imagine Burke comforted in his defeat by some foreknowledge of his ultimate victory, when in the same place, more than a hundred years after, an oration in praise of "the advantages to be derived from the communion and fellowship of a great Empire," its concord maintained "by a unity of

* See Professor Firth in *The Scottish Historical Review*, April, 1918.

spirit though in a diversity of operations," would be delivered before an audience as sympathetic as his was hostile, representing a commonwealth of nations far wider than the Empire he knew. To him the word had none of the sinister associations which came with the nineteenth century; and a final illustration of its nobler historical uses may well be taken from the magnificent peroration in which his great argument reached its height.

As long as you have the wisdom to keep the sovereign authority of this country as the sanctuary of liberty . . . wherever the chosen race and sons of England worship freedom, they will turn their faces towards you. . . . Slavery they can have anywhere. . . . They may have it from Spain, they may have it from Prussia. But . . . freedom they can have from none but you. . . . Deny them this participation of freedom, and you break that sole bond which originally made, and must still preserve, the unity of the Empire. . . . It is the spirit of the English Constitution which . . . unites, invigorates, vivifies every part of the Empire. . . . Magnanimity in politics is not seldom the truest wisdom, and a great Empire and little minds go ill together. . . . We ought to auspicate all our public proceedings in America with the old warning of the Church, *Sursum corda!*

A survey of the two thousand years during which *imperium* and empire have been current political terms thus shows that their connection with militarism and absolutism belongs without qualification only to the last, the post-Napoleonic, of their four phases; with some qualification to the first, that of the Roman Empire; hardly at all to the second and third. Until quite recently the idea predominant among the many associated with the word has been that of some political unity in diversity, culminating in the mediæval conception of Christendom. Dante's imperial suzerainty, depending on sanctions wholly spiritual, is far indeed from domination by force; but there is a real resemblance between his ideal of a peace-maintaining Empire and the actual commonwealth that makes war inconceivable among the British Realms: between his world-community, comprehending the many others needed for the full development of all the capacities of mankind, and the Empire which stands, according to General Smuts, "for a fuller, a richer, a more varied life among all the peoples that compose it."

E. JEFFRIES DAVIS.

WHAT IS "BLANK VERSE"?

IT is a strange and disconcerting fact that we have no better name in current use to describe the most widely used of all English metres than "blank verse." This term means nothing more than *unrimed* verse and is not distinctive of the verse in question: the hexameters of Longfellow or Kingsley, the alcaics of Tennyson, the trochaics of Browning in *One Word More*, and other metres which might be named are unrimed. The awkwardness of the current terminology is illustrated by the fact that when a writer on English verse wishes to state that most English verse is rimed he has no better means of expressing this fact than such a sentence as the following: "Rime is an ornament of nearly all English poetry that is not in blank verse." What is wanted is a term that shall tell how many feet or measures the verse in question has, and what are its accents or quantities—a term, in fact, which shall distinguish "Of man's first disobedience and the fruit" from "Rafael made a century of sonnets," and from other rimeless metres. Various attempts have been made to supply the gap, such as the late Mr. Omond's term "ascending duple" (but is it really *duple*?), and "decasyllabic" (but it does not always consist of ten syllables, and Browning's *One Word More* has ten syllables in nearly all its lines). Some writers speak with bated breath of a "five-foot iambic," but generally with a suspicion in their own minds that this term is not really applicable, or is applicable only analogically to verse which is not "quantitative" in its structure. It is the object of the present article to show that these suspicions are unfounded, i.e., that the term "iambic" is really applicable; but the term "five-foot" requires further consideration.

I propose to put the question of the historical origin of the metre on one side for the present. The labours of a multitude of distinguished scholars on this question have resulted in no kind of general agreement. This is quite intelligible; for we have in reality insufficient knowledge of the medieval forms of Latin verse during the centuries that immediately preceded the emergence of Old French verse. Thus the question of the actual origin of Old French verse, which is generally, though not universally, regarded as the source from which the rimed metre of Chaucer's *Canterbury Tales* was derived, must remain obscure until the missing link between it and Low Latin verse is discovered. Who knows what forms the popular Latin iambic and trochaic verse, to say nothing of other kinds of Latin verse, may have assumed between the fifth and the tenth centuries of our era, in secular and ecclesiastical poetry now lost to view? I am not without hope that future

research will clear up this question. But even if it does, the nature and origin of the English metre in question will not necessarily have been settled; for it is the considered opinion of Professor Saintsbury that Old French verse is not the source from which our metre emerged in the thirteenth century, and he may prove to be right. I say "thirteenth century," because it has been proved that Chaucer was not the first Englishman to use this metre. Pre-Chaucerian fragments of it are found in a Harleian MS. (No. 2253), and have been published in Karl Boedekker's *Altenglische Dichtungen* (1878).

Let us ask then: What is "blank verse"? i.e., What is its nature, as distinct from its origin?

1. If a line of English "blank verse" be compared, syllable for syllable, with Latin iambic trimeters of the popular type (i.e., trimeters in which long syllables are admitted to the falls of all the feet except the last) the general similarity of structure leaps to the eyes:—

To sléep: perchánce to dréam: ay, thére's the rúb
| — | — | — | — | — | — | — |

Athénæ cùm florérent áequis légibûs,
Procax libértas clivítatem míscult

Frenúmque sólvit prístinùm licéntia.

(Phaedrus, i., 2, 1-3.)

The main difference is that the sixth foot of the trimeter, which is always pure (—), has disappeared. But in both the Latin and the English line the five rises are all long, and the five falls are not necessarily short. Thus whatever may be the origin of the metre, its developed form has the main quantitative features of the popular type of Latin iambics, and it shows a similar regard for accentual structure. It may be called, then, as it stands, a five-foot iambic line, the term "iambic" being used in the same sense as in the popular type of Latin verse.

This statement, no doubt, requires further elucidation. For it will be asked by what right I assign the above quantities to the line of Hamlet. I have no space to set forth the answer fully in a brief article;* but to show that the above quantities are not merely fanciful I will give the actual measurements of the syllables as determined by a kymographic experiment recently made in the phonetic laboratory of University College, London:—

To sléep: perchánce to dréam: ay, thére's the rúb
12.5 58.5 17.0 57.0 10.0 70.0 38.0 58.0 15.5 40.0

The figures denote hundredths of a second. It will be seen that

* The whole question will be fully dealt with in my forthcoming book entitled *What is Rhythm?*

senarius; but it at any rate shows that he felt no incongruity between lines of twelve syllables and lines of eleven or ten:

O, I am press'd to death through want of speaking! (11 syllables)
How dares thy harsh, rude tongue sound this displeasing news? (12 syllables)

What Eve, what serpent, hath suggested thee
To make a second fall of cursed man? (10 syllables).

(*Richard II.* iii., 4, 73-76.)

The same juxtaposition of the three types is well illustrated in the following passages: *As You Like It*, iii., 5, 63-65, *Henry V.*, i., 2, 207-212, *Macbeth*, iii., 6, 29-31.

In French verse the so-called "Alexandrine" is of comparatively late origin. It made its first appearance in the twelfth century, in a collection of romances of which Alexander of Macedon was the hero: hence the name "Alexandrine." But it did not have any great vogue till after the sixteenth century, when it was adopted by Ronsard (1524-85). Its origin is uncertain; but, according to Professor Grammont, it arose from a desire to equalise the two hemistichs into which the decasyllable was divided by its prevailing caesura (the one hemistich containing four and the other six syllables).^{*} In any case, it differs greatly from English six-foot lines in having no *quantitative* structure.

As a matter of terminology, I suggest that we may with perfect correctness call the English dodecasyllable *the six-foot iambic*, the hendecasyllable *the five and a half foot iambic*, and the decasyllable *the five-foot iambic*.

The priority of the hendecasyllable as compared with the decasyllable is recognised by another theory, advanced independently by several inquirers in recent times, viz., the theory of the origin of our verse in the sapphic hendecasyllable. This has been suggested by Littré, by Dr. Bridges, and by Eickhoff in *Der Ursprung des romanisch-germanischen Elf-und Zehnsilblers (der fünffüssigen Iamben)*, Wandsbeck, 1895. My difficulty about this theory is that the sapphic has essentially a descending movement, whereas the movement of the metre in question is ascending. For this reason I should prefer the iambic hendecasyllable to the sapphic hendecasyllable as the ultimate source of the metre in question, if the question of *origins* is raised. But it lies outside the scope of this article.

E. A. SONNENSCHN. EIN.

^{*} *Op. cit.*, p. 41.

A MEDITERRANEAN DAY.

MISSFORTUNE has an ironical power of snatching its prey out of obscurity and thrusting it vividly before the mind. Not, indeed, that we had ever forgotten Amalfi or let it grow obscure, but it had become naturally welded into the background of green days and blue days, of sunshine and colours and sketching and of the heavenly and much-indulged langour that make up, retrospectively, a Mediterranean holiday. But now the thought of it partly crushed and harried by the latest landslide down its hill towards the sea has brought it out of the blurred and undistinguished memories of a happy past into its own sharp colours and its outlines that are now destroyed. So that of all our Italian days, Alpine and Appenine, Adriatic and Mediterranean, that first southern day at Amalfi is the one that holds the screen, and, lit with a kind of mournful halo, seems the most perfect and the most characteristic of them all.

Perhaps, even apart from its sorrowful primacy, the claim was well founded, for the day had owned all the qualities of perfection, including both sunshine and unexpectedness; the last because we had started for it as it were at a bound, having received from the blue and on a postcard the challenge to arrive at Amalfi "the day after to-morrow." There had therefore been nothing for it but for the artist to pack his sketching-box and me my bag, and for us both to reflect, with as much self-congratulation as if we had made the choice ourselves, that a fine mid-April was the divinely-appointed moment for going south.

It had been a good journey on the whole, but like a lot of our Italian journeys there had been too much of it. Our first glimpse of the exuberant fertility and the exuberant vivacity of the south had been a keen delight and excitement, but lengthening from a glimpse into an apparently endless panorama, unfolding to an equally endless accompaniment by a human chorus, it was finishing by leaving our senses a little battered and dulled. For untold hours we seemed to have been watching great vines swung between elms in field of brightest grass, and for untold hours, while the seats grew harder and harder beneath us, we seemed to have been listening to the riotous quips, guffaws and pasquinades from the inexhaustible store of our companions. There had been two magnificent diversions, but they had blown over hours before we had reached Naples. The first had been a really comic gentleman selling soap (an intrinsically comic thing to do in such surroundings) and the second had been a blind musician playing a guitar. He was a big, flagging, untidy man, who had groped his way into the

carriage, lurching pitifully from side to side as the train rocked, but with his back once firmly planted against the door of the compartment he had played as sweetly and as merrily as an angel.

The last part of the journey was accomplished by a 'bus that rocked and tossed us for two mortal hours above the blue bay of Sorrento, along that precipice road that at last has tragically fulfilled its promise of falling into the sea. In the end we were put down equally exhausted by the jolting and the unvarying bright beauty of the ride; but on the edge of the dust-cloud of our arrival stood Jean, the sender of the challenge, and she immediately made our ears glad with the perfect greeting. For she did not hope that we had had a nice journey, or anything of that false kind, but said, "Hullo, I've taken rooms for you provisionally at the *Luna*." When we blessed her quickly and bade her show them to us, she led us up a thousand steps in the roadside wall, then, with the help of a fat man exuding welcome, through the courtyard of an old monastery, and into two white cells, from the slim beds of which, it was immediately apparent, we could lie and watch the sea.

With Stevenson, that slightly overrated writer, finally discredited in his statement about travelling and arriving, we relaxed ourselves to supping up, like a cordial, this exquisitely-reviving sensation of a perfect journey's end, and to accepting unconditionally from Jean the heterogeneous information that the sea was warm enough for bathing, that dinner was in twenty minutes, that the wild cyclamen was out, and that Ibsen wrote *The Dolls' House* in the room next door. Though the last seemed unlikely, we would not, in our present mood of beatitude, have challenged a declaration that Webster had written *The Duchess* coming along in the 'bus.

There was just time before dinner to examine the courtyard, pleasantly filled with green-growing pots, an old rusty well and a little drying linen, to verify the statement about Ibsen from an important framed announcement on the cloister wall, and to wave a hand at the sea, which seemed so directly below us that one felt if it only rose high enough it would flow in at the cell windows. The dinner was the kind of dinner the kind of man our host was would produce, and we ate it slowly and lovingly, while the colours outside the windows changed from blue to purple and from purple to darkness like a night-scene on the stage. Afterwards we sat out on the terrace with our backs to the bare cliff-side and the bay before us dotted with lights that were the flares from the fishing boats. Except for them it was very dark. At the edge of the water somebody sang a snatch of a song in the high, sobbing, Neapolitan voice. We sat still, wondering at the perfect theatrical beauty of our first southern night.

We were roused from contemplation by a clear transatlantic voice. "Well," it said, "I guess you've come from Naples; can you tell me a good place there to stay?"

Conscientiously each one of us vented a tiny sigh of emotion, not altogether genuine, for our broken spell (even gazing on the night-wrapped Mediterranean must have a term, otherwise it becomes deliberate and self-conscious and ridiculous) and saw the questioner, standing in the light of the doorway, smiling a little, as though she knew there would be no need to disarm us, but just in case. I must say that Americans are rather charming intruders, especially when they are just a little past middle age and wear good clothes and have pleasant voices, especially when they talk about cooking and not art, about actual and not spiritual things. We offered what advice we could, holding ourselves strictly irresponsible, according to rule, for any results that might grow out of its acceptance, and then fell to a little very idle talking. Bye and bye, the chance came for me to tell the American, which I did with the pleasure of giving praise where praise was due, how I thought O. Henry one of the greatest writers in the world. But she did not take my compliment seriously, as I had meant it. She was certain that our national taste in American literature centred on Whittier and *The Slave's Dream*.

"What a guy you are!" she said, and pealed with laughter. Really, among all that romantic setting, among the starry boats and the love-song and the soft-black night, it was strangely delicious to be called a "guy."

We left her sitting on the terrace still gazing at the sea, for we were to start early next day. As I climbed into bed, I laughed to think of her withstanding by one word the unveiled and insistent poetry of the night, but when I turned out the light the night came in again at my window and pervaded the room. Utterly still though it was, there was a dark and strange excitement in it, which, together with the unwillingly remembered joltings of the 'bus, kept me long from sleep.

The excursion for the day was Ravello, which stands on the top of one of those steep, green hills that come down to the sea and form with their bases its much-indented shore. It is a walk just long enough to have a spice of adventure in it, partly because the direct way is not quite straightforward, and partly because most people ride up by the winding road. The take-off is not from Amalfi, but from the tiny village next door, and the secret of starting on the right path is to drop right down to the level of the shore before you begin to climb. The village, Atrani, is built in three storeys, and naturally all the streets are stairs. The road runs, as it were, across the *pianterreno*, the first floor struggles unevenly a

little way up the steep hill, and under the road the basement is apparently founded on sea sand. Dispassionately speaking, it must be one of the most romantic villages on earth. The stairs twist down, pausing every now and then in a little landing before somebody's front door, until they reach the floor of the basement, where they apparently debouch like blind, underground rivers into the sand, and the last tier of houses stands in a crescent enclosing the head of the bay, and almost touching the heavy boats, which lie, red and blue and gleaming and wrapped in the fishy and tarry odours of adventure, on the beach. Beyond the shadow of the village the sun makes the sands look almost white, and the whole picture of boats and houses and shore is built up against the blue and winking background of the sea. As early as the middle of April cherries and loquats and lemons are abundant, and the women stand behind their piled baskets at the foot of the staircase streets. They sell cherries, of course, by the *chilo*, but they also have an engaging habit of selling them by the cluster—a score or thereabouts bound with leaves into a little crimson bouquet, reminiscent of gypsies and Carmen and Nell Gwynn.

We filled our pockets with fruit and made one other tragic little purchase in the shape of a blackbird with a broken wing, the tortured prize of a band of schoolboys who were carrying it in a chattering cavalcade across the sand. The artist put it quickly out of pain and laid it in a shallow grave, and, sparing the staggered late owners our moral reflections on their savagery—which, after all, like their grace of speech and their natural instinct for decoration, is part of that untutored make-up of theirs that ordinarily seems so charming—we began the climb.

About three-quarters of the way up the village we convinced a barefooted old rogue of a sailor that he was not invited for the whole of our picnic, and that there was no advance on two *lire*, already presented, for his highly gratuitous information. We had more difficulty with our escort of children, who were almost as numerous as the lizards on the sunny wall. They seemed to have a conviction that once they could convey their requirements past the impregnable stupidity and into the dim-lit brain of a foreigner, money was as good as theirs. They showed a tenacious impudence that was almost ingratiating, until we wearied of it, and yearned to drop them in handfuls over the cliff. Their begging chorus was arranged on the famous diminishing principle of "John Brown's Body." "*Da un soldo*" was the first verse, "*Un soldo*" the second, "*Un so'*" the third, "*Un, un, un,*" the fourth, accompanied by a finger wagged as near as possible to our noses to show that a single wretched ha'penny would do, and when even this failed, they concentrated their attention on the

artist and endeavoured to indicate in dumb-show to his obtuseness what his hand would find if it came into contact with his pocket. Apparently hopeless though we were, six of the stoutest followed us up to the top of the village, and there, as we halted on the last tiny level of cobbles, leaning against the low outer wall, Jean made them a speech.

"You are extremely wicked, and extremely beautiful," she said, "and, like the scenery, you are not at all Italian."

All her words were true. Down the hill-side stepped the village—a collection of square, white, flat-roofed houses and tiny gardens closed in with trellises on which the ripening lemons lay, thick and almost as great as gourds. I could fancy that Jaffa might look like this, if Jaffa is built on a hill-side sloping down to the sea. And one of the children, with her perfect, dark, most un-Italian face, might well have belonged to Jaffa or some city of the East. Three of the others, with dark grey eyes and tawny fair hair, were more of a problem for our inexperienced ethnology; but I solved them all romantically, by a single inspiration, because the sun was getting high and it was time for us to be moving on.

"These three are Normans," I said, "and that one is a Saracen. Long, long ago, there was an ancestor of each of them at the court of Frederick II, at Palermo, where he gathered round him Jew and Gentile and Pagan, Arab and Greek and Turk. With some the Emperor rode races, and from some he learnt magic, and with some he competed in poetical *tenzoni* and with some he counted the stars. And when he died and made Christendom comfortable, they took to pirating in the southern seas and left their descendants on these slopes."

"It sounds like a parable," said Jean; and the artist, abandoning the lizard that he had been trying to catch in his hat, said politely that he thought it must be true.

The heart of the walk was a steep stone path, cut sometimes into rough steps, that climbed through the edge of a wood and in green shade up the ravine. Now and then we met a bent form under a bundle of boughs going slowly down the hill, or came to the bank of the stream whose trickling sounded always beside us on the way. It was fragrant and shady as a walk in Paradise. At last, almost unwillingly, we came out upon Ravello, at the top. But the sun was high, and it was more than lunch-time, so we walked up the village to the last hotel, saluting with pleased recognition the Normans and Saracens in our path. We made a pact with the landlady, and by taking our slippers and toothbrushes out of our packs, tried to make our huge and handsome bedrooms appear lived-in and familiar. Then obediently we went out on the terrace to wait for lunch, and look with almost unbelieving

eyes at the colours of the piled-up hills whose peaks were level with out gaze, and down to the unimaginable blue of the sea. We seemed to have climbed immensely far.

Lunch, it transpired, was to be a communal meal, and the community was to consist of an Italian family, comprising a shawl-wrapped baby, whose attendance was merely nominal, at one end of a long table, our three selves at the other, and in the middle six Italian gentlemen and a small boy pendent to and the exact replica of one of them, all of whom had arrived that moment in an exhausted motor-car. These six gentlemen, who seemed to be at the age of greatest sensibility, about thirty-five or forty that is, were evidently bound together by some scholastic or professional tie, and their party was in the nature of a reunion. They were on the best of terms with each other, and determined to be on the best of terms with the world, which was ourselves. Nor were they going to have any difficulty over the language question. They addressed us fluently in Italian, haltingly in English, just recognisably in German and in three words only of Spanish, encouraging the more intrepid linguists of their number with thunders of applause; and when we attempted the (for us) impossible courtesy of replying in the languages in which we were being addressed, they roared with laughter like schoolboys on a holiday and were enchanted. Before the first course was over, we felt that we had known each other all our lives.

These six gentlemen, as well as being the liveliest, were almost the hungriest I have ever seen, and the woman of the hotel had been expecting them. Unfolding course by course, the lunch assumed the proportions of a mediæval banquet, with wine and jollity to match, and when it seemed that by way of ham and fish and a kind of cottage-pie we must on this summer midday at last be getting towards the meat, somebody remarked that a meal never seemed a meal to him without *pasta*, and proceedings were held up until six tremendous plates of it had been introduced. *Apropos* of this emerged the fact that the English-speaking member was a macaroni-merchant—"awfully rich," my neighbour whispered in my ear, and added with sorrowful gallantry that he was married and had five children, of which the solid and circular little "Nini" by his side was one. Attention being centred on himself, the macaroni-merchant delivered the following remarks. "I haf been in England," he said. "England is olright. I haf been botting seven days on the River Taimss. I bring from England to Italy a bot-house." All of us were impressed, and the Italians listened wonderingly while he described how he would bring this marvel of a "bothouse" and tether it in Sorrento Bay. He must indeed be very rich, we thought, and he must indeed have lived on

macaroni all his life to have attained his present pasty rotundity of aspect. Somehow he was the last person in the world that one would have connected with a house-boat.

In cups and polyglot merriment, winding its way through innumerable accidental courses, the meal at last came to an end. Sighing we went out upon the terrace and thence to the exquisite garden of the hotel, filled with roses, and still overlooking the bright sea. A little peace, we thought, in such surroundings would be perfect, with a few very profound thoughts behind eyelids closed to shut out the too great brightness of the afternoon. But this was not to be. Now, it seemed to our Italian friends, was the moment for discussing all together our lives and thoughts and hopes, travels in Italy, the customs of England, Mussolini, Garibaldi, and the advisability, in a general way, of Italian husbands taking English wives. Perhaps, after all, we reflected, the inside of the Cathedral would be sweeter to us than the garish day. So we separated ourselves with difficulty from the six, and went a little way down the hill to the church, where we saw on the pulpit Jonah, in the most delicately gymnastic attitude in the world, floating in and floating out of the belly of the whale.

Fortunately for us we found another garden in Ravello, far more beautiful than the one we had left, where all the flowers that we had ever seen or thought of, but especially cyclamen, camellias and azaleas, seemed blowing together in a glory, and two straight pines, a hundred feet below the garden edge, breaking the blue of the Mediterranean, seemed to thrust us into a sublimated world of picture-postcards. There was a ruined tower in the garden, up which we climbed, and on whose flat top we lingered for want of an impetus to descent. Up there we fell to staring silently at the village roofs across the level of flowers, and when after a little I looked at the artist I saw that he was busy at his trade. I chid him for attempting with his pencil to emulate the chromo-lithographic work of Nature, but he only smiled and murmured dreamily, "England is olright. I haf been botting seven days." Of course, Mrs. Macaroni-merchant and all the four children except Nini were imaginary portraits, but for all that I could swear the picture was a living family likeness.

We came back to our own home terrace when the sun was going down and most of the heat had left the air. It was strangely silent, for the merry companions had departed, leaving a great void in the evening. Only at one corner was a solitary little figure of a soldier, gazing out over the hills. But silence, after all, is best for seeing the sun set. We watched the sky glow behind the hills, then the red streaks narrow till they were overlaid by grey, and the slopes of the peaks grow black and iron-hard in the last light,

until they too, like the sea, were cut off from us by darkness.

The little soldier crossed the terrace and went into the house. We heard him speaking to one of the maids, and in a few moments there was the noise of a chair being drawn up to the door, then the sound of the girl laughing, and the first light, twanging notes of a mandoline. Then his voice came floating out into the twilight. He could sing, like all the southerners—not very loud or deep perhaps, but with the instinctive drama and romantic phrasing that is the charm of Neapolitan music. Singing Caruso's songs as faithfully as the great dead tenor himself, he went through all the old favourites, *Fili d'Oro*, *Addio a Napoli*, *Santa Lucia*, and, finally, *La Fata d'Amalfi*, his sweet, high voice breaking on the minor cadences in a way that would have wrung tears from a stone. With that he had evidently melted the girl or saddened her too much, for he stopped, and talk and laughter succeeded to the music.

The first firefly passed under the terrace, its light darting suddenly from ope level to another. Then the artist broke our long silence, speaking the thought that by common consent had come into our three minds.

"Only this morning," he said, "we were at Amalfi."

Our minds fled back the incredible distance to the sea-shore. Then, "Only last night," I said, "we landed for the first time in the south. Only last night we had never seen Amalfi or the *Luna* or our host or the American or the three villages of Atrani or the lemons or the Normans or the Saracens or Jonah or Ravello, and we had never seen this soldier or heard him sing."

And "Reckoning from evening to evening, like the Sabbath," said Jean, "it's just one single day."

We were comforted by a feeling that if so much sweetness and experience could be packed inside twenty-four hours, life, after all, might seem a little longer than a candle.

ADA HARRISON.

MONTSERRAT AND ITS HURRICANES.

THE island of Montserrat with its 12,000 inhabitants, about 99 per cent. of them black or coloured, is an insignificant part of the British dominions. It has unfortunately just emerged into notice, because it was devastated, on August 28th last, by a hurricane only less disastrous than that which swept over it in 1899.*

Seen from the sea, north or south, Montserrat presents something of the appearance of Arran as seen from the Clyde, but its summit is 3,000 feet high, and its upper slopes are forest-covered. "The wood which clothes every inch of the mountain is soft, level and uniform, whilst every branch and every leaf bends devotedly forward to the setting sun, under the unceasing breath of the trade wind." (Hartley Coleridge.) The hills are volcanic, and there are several blow-holes which spout out water and sulphurous gas; the Martinique eruption was a warning of the terrible submarine forces at hand. These forces seemed to find a safety valve in that eruption, since the frequent shocks of earthquake that were felt in Montserrat for years before 1902 largely ceased after that eventful year.

Montserrat was discovered by Columbus in 1493. The history of the original Carib inhabitants of this and the neighbouring islands is largely unknown. Probably the European settlers made short work with them. Within the last few years curious remains of their pottery and beads have been unearthed in Montserrat, and similar collections from the larger islands may be studied in the Smithsonian Museum at Washington. What is known is that English settled in the island in 1628 or soon after. In 1632 Father White found there "a noble plantation of Irish Catholics whom the Virginians would not suffer to live with them because of their religion." These were added to by many of their fellow countrymen whom Oliver Cromwell drove out of Ireland. Irish names are common, and certain traces of the brogue remain among the people. The names of the estates, however, Amersham, Richmond, Balham, Dagenham, Streatham, show from what part of the world their early owners came. Jeafferson, writing from St. Kitts fifty years later, describes the bargains he made with the

* The hurricane of August 28th, 1924, devastated especially the windward side of Montserrat, where the villages are a mass of ruins and the cotton fields are swept bare. Up to September 5th, 32 deaths were reported, and over 200 badly wounded; over 100 of the worst cases are in hospital. It is estimated that 1,000 houses have been demolished, and that the restoration of these and the relief of immediate need will cost £20,000, apart from estate damage. The island has been divided into relief districts, the people having been first set to work to clear the roads. Bread fruit, mangoes and bananas are no more—and it will be some months before ground provisions can be fit to dig. Trinidad, Barbadoes and other islands are sending generous relief.

governors of London prisons to supply him largely with indentured white labour. The slave trade, however, soon afforded a more abundant supply of labour, and the easily grown sugar fetched prices in protected markets which quickly made many of the proprietors wealthy.

Through the eighteenth century, there was a population of some 8,000 slaves, who cultivated some 6,000 acres of sugar and 2,000 of cotton. The records of the island show sad evidence of the cruelty which fear inspired in the minds of the handful of white planters. In 1777 a negro was sentenced to 39 lashes and to have one ear cut off, for stealing a fowl and wearing apparel worth 20s., and numerous negroes were hanged for absenting themselves for three months from their masters' service. In 1728 two negroes belonging to Dominic Trant were charged with stealing several turkeys, one of them was sentenced to be burnt alive at Locust Valley. He was valued at £45. Other sentences of burning occur in the records.

When the abolition of the slave trade, in 1807, stopped the supply of "black cattle," as the West Africans were described in the invoices of the Liverpool and Bristol merchants, the fate of the institution of slavery became only a question of time.

The conquest of Trinidad and Demerara in 1802 placed mountainous islands like Montserrat at a disadvantage in the growing of sugar, in competition with countries where it could be conveniently produced on a larger scale; and with the abolition of slavery, and of the sugar monopoly which the West Indian interest at Westminster had kept up for its benefit at the expense of the unfortunate English consumer, the little sugar planters of Montserrat were driven out of the field.

In a tropical climate, however, if one thing will not succeed you can always turn to another. In 1852, a planter named Burke began to grow limes (*Citrus medica*) in order to supply the concentrated juice to English manufacturers of citric acid. Later on, the raw lime juice was sent home to supply the widely advertised beverage which has made the name of Montserrat so familiar in this country. Charles Kingsley wrote in his *At Last* in 1871:

"And now on the leeward bow another grey mountain island rose. This was Montserrat, which I should have gladly visited, as I had been invited to do; for little Montserrat is just now the scene of a very hopeful and important experiment. A large plantation of limes and a manufactory of lime juice has been established there, which promises to be able to supply, in good time, vast quantities of that most useful sea medicine . . . and I for one heartily bid Godspeed to the enterprise—to any enterprise indeed which tends to divert

labour and capital from that exclusive sugar growing which has been most injurious, I verily believe the bane of the West Indies."

After about thirty years, the lime orchards were attacked with one scale insect after another, and they have grown less and less productive. As the shrewd old Lord Salisbury said, the scientists are much more successful in tracing the life history of a noxious insect than in telling you how to get rid of it. All the efforts of the American scientists have not been sufficient to defend their citrus orchards from similar invasions. Last year the lime groves of the island of Dominica, which are much more extensive and important than those of Montserrat, largely succumbed to the withertip disease.

Cotton was grown to a considerable extent in the eighteenth century in Montserrat, but the cultivation died out long ago, probably because the greater production of the United States distanced it in competition. Happily, in 1902, Mr. Paget Wade introduced the long staple Sea Island cotton on his estates in Montserrat, and this rapidly became the chief production of the island. This annual culture, being a suitable one for small farmers, brought prosperity, and the average annual exports of Montserrat went up from £30,000 to £60,000, and in 1921 reached a phenomenal figure. In the last two years the terrible pink boll worm that has devastated the cotton crops of Texas and Egypt turned up in Montserrat, so that the kingdom of cotton is threatened. Doubtless if it fails, there are other products which may profitably take its place.

Montserrat has been called "the Montpellier of the West Indies." Its death rate for 1923 was 24 in a thousand against over 30 in the neighbouring islands of St. Kitts, Antigua and Dominica, and for six months of the year the climate is really delightful; the temperature all the year round ranges between 60 degrees and 90 degrees. The beauty of the mountain woods, full of tree ferns and cabbage palms, and carpeted with lycopodium, has been vividly described by Hartley Coleridge, whose poem on Montserrat speaks of

Beautiful islands, where the green
Which nature wears was never seen
'Neath zone of Europe;—where the hue
Of sea and heaven is such a blue
As England dreams not; where the night
Is all irradiate with the light
Of stars like moons, which, hung on high,
Breathe and quiver in the sky,
Each its silver haze divine
Flinging in a radiant line
O'er gorgeous flower and mighty tree,
On the soft and shadowy sea!

Beautiful islands, short the time
 I dwelt beneath your awful clime;
 Yet oft I see, in noonday dream,
 Your glorious stars with lunar beam,
 And oft before my sight arise
 Your sky-like seas, your sea-like skies,
 Your green bananas' giant leaves,
 Your golden canes in arrowy sheaves,
 Your palms, which never die, but stand
 Immortal sea marks on the strand.

Not the least charming feature of a stay in Montserrat is the light-hearted merry disposition of the people—"je ne vois que des yeux toujours prêts à sourire"—and their quick, homely wit. Space forbids examples, but one may serve. A man reproved by his mistress for killing a harmless snake which she wished to encourage because it killed rats, at once responded: "Bible say, bruise him head," and the negro paraphrase of tempering the wind to the shorn lamb is "When cow hab no tail, God Almighty wipe de flies off."

Professor Wrong, of Toronto, in the interesting work which he has lately published on the Government of the West Indies, illustrates the absurdity of the "king, lords and commons" with which these little islands, destitute of persons at all competent for such offices, were each endowed, by quoting the following story on the authority of Lord Blachford: The Speaker of the Assembly (in the Virgin Islands) one day rode to the place of meeting on his mule, and entrusted the animal to the care of a small negro boy, while he assumed his august functions. On recovering the mule at an adjournment, he found that in the interval it had been severely galloped. Thereupon the House reassembled, and the Speaker brought the incident to its notice. The House immediately voted that it constituted a breach of privilege, and inflicted a fine on the boy's father of some dozens of rum. The fine was promptly paid, and at once dealt with by some of the assembled legislators, with the result that the supporters of constitutional reform, previously in a hopeless minority, were able to pass an act modifying the constitution.

In the nineteenth century these islands were nearly all made Crown Colonies, so that it is truly said that the Governor still governs in the West Indies.

The backbone of Montserrat is its peasant proprietary. Dr. Morris, of the Agricultural Department, said in his evidence in 1896: "It is an island of small cultivators who hold freehold allotments of one to three acres each. They number about 1,200, and live in thriving villages. The cottages are well kept and surrounded by small gardens of fruit trees and vegetables." The

peasant works, more or less, for wages. Out of these he pays for his clothes, bread, and salt fish, and the taxes, which keep the doctor and schoolmaster and repair the roads. He also makes very liberal contributions to Church and Chapel, which have given him the services of English ministers, whose influence has certainly helped, as a rule, to uplift him. But when he has been allowed to obtain his own plot, he has, except in time of drought, the means of living a fairly comfortable life. As the 1896 Report says of the West Indies as a whole, "there is no likelihood of any permanent deficiency of the bare necessities of existence for the labouring classes." A well informed recent writer on Jamaica says:

"In a land where the best of fruit grows practically wild, it is hard to be very hungry. During the mango season, although the entire negro population are subsisting on the fruit, together with all the horses, cows and pigs, it is impossible to utilise all the wealth that was so lavishly flung about by kind Nature."*

It is true that the labourer's house is now generally built of American lumber and roofed with English galvanised sheet; but the peasant knows how to build of the local stone and his native forests furnish timber of no mean quality. His main food consists of the yams, sweet potatoes and cassava (the last made into thin cakes) from his own field. The climate renders him independent of fuel and reduces his clothes to a minimum. He likes to ride to church on his pony, in a black coat, a silk hat, boots, and even gloves; but the clothes that suffice him from Monday morning to Saturday night may not cost him ten shillings a year. "Your black housemaid will buy two or three new dresses, and have as many more in the recesses of her trunk, and yet will appear before you a mere bundle of rags." The negro's simple household utensils, except the iron pot from Falkirk, the knife and fork from Sheffield, and the trusty cutlass from Birmingham, can almost be supplied by the calabashes he gathers in the woods. He likes to add a few "breads" to his diet and to flavour it with the salt fish of Newfoundland. He has often, however, his own cow, goats, pigs and fowls. If not at plantation work, he can catch in the adjacent sea an unlimited supply of delicious fish, and this he does in fishpots made entirely from the mountain withes and fibres.

All these islands have been gradually drained of their younger and more enterprising people by emigration to Cuba, San Domingo and the United States. A half trained girl sometimes gets 60 dollars a month, all found, as soon as she lands in New York, and is able to send to her sisters in the islands the finery her mistress bestows upon her. The becoming turbans and loose bright

* A Study in Colour.

coloured garments that have been worn by the barefooted girls on week days are thus sometimes replaced on Sunday by silk stockings, high heeled shoes and narrow silk skirts that were lately worn by fashionable ladies at Newport. The extreme restrictions that the United States have just now placed on immigration from the West Indies will close this outlet to the people of Montserrat in their present emergency.

The halcyon climate has indeed its drawbacks. The authorities in Washington publish month by month a pilot chart, showing the track of the cyclones which in that month may be expected to sweep through the Caribbean Sea. They come in August, September and October, and follow a nearly uniform course; and in 1899, and again this year, that course has struck Montserrat. The vehemence of their impact may be judged from the fact that, in 1899, the barometer, which in the West Indies scarcely varies a tenth of an inch all the year round, actually fell 1.35 inches in twelve minutes. Then down go the frail houses (how frail they are is shown by the fact that in a near island 263 houses were not long ago abandoned in a year, being of such small value that the owners preferred to desert them rather than pay 6/- house tax). But churches and factories are unroofed, solid walls are flung down and the fruit trees uprooted. The ground provisions are often destroyed and the small planters can pay no wages, so that a period of dire poverty may last for months. The cyclone is generally brought in by torrents of rain, and the floods often cause greater loss of life than falling houses and flying sheets of galvanised iron. In 1899, when 100 persons lost their lives in Montserrat, and a thousand had to receive medical and surgical attention, the mortality in Porto Rico was 3,000, the majority of whom were drowned. A trying experience was that of ladies and children in Montserrat, who had to spend a weary night crouching in the heavy rain under the lee of a wall, or at best in a wet cellar, without food or light, to find, when the wished-for day broke, that their whole property was destroyed or blown clean away, clothing and sheets reduced to rags, books to a pulp, and furniture to match-wood.

In approaching Montserrat four weeks later, ghastly was the appearance of the mountains, for many of the trees were totally destroyed, and those that remained had their smaller branches blown clean away, leaving only the weird skeletons remaining. The result of that storm, without greatly changing the actual rainfall, seriously affected the fertility of the island, for the forests were no longer there to act as sponges and reservoirs of moisture which help to keep the air humid in spells of drought.

John Sterling described from St. Vincent in 1831 a hurricane in

that island in vivid words that accurately convey what eye-witnesses told me of their experience in Montserrat in 1899:—

“When Susan came from her room, to breakfast, at eight o'clock, I pointed out to her the extraordinary height and violence of the surf, and the singular appearance of the clouds of heavy rain sweeping down the valleys before us. At this time I had so little apprehension of what was coming, that I talked of riding down to the shore when the storm should abate, as I had never seen so fierce a sea. In about a quarter of an hour the House-Negroes came in, to close the outside shutters of the windows. They knew that the plantain trees about the Negro houses had been blown down in the night; and had told the maidservant Tyrrell, but I had heard nothing of it. A very few minutes after the closing of the windows, I found that the shutters of Tyrrell's room, at the south, and commonly the most sheltered, end of the House, were giving way. I tried to tie them; but the silk handkerchief which I used soon gave way; and as I had neither hammer, boards nor nails in the house, I could do nothing more to keep out the tempest. I found, in pushing at the leaf of the shutter, that the wind resisted, more as if it had been a stone wall or a mass of iron, than a mere current of air. There were one or two people outside trying to fasten the windows, and I went out to help; but we had no tools at hand; one man was blown down the hill in front of the house, before my face; and the other and myself had great difficulty in getting back again inside the door. The rain on my face and hands felt like so much small shot from a gun. There was great exertion necessary to shut the door of the house.

The windows at the end of the large room were now giving way; and I suppose it was about nine o'clock, when the hurricane burst them in, as if it had been a discharge from a battery of heavy cannon. The shutters were first forced open, and the wind fastened them back to the wall; and then the panes of glass were smashed by the mere force of the gale, without anything having touched them. Even now I was not at all sure the house would go. My books, I saw, were lost; for the rain poured past the book-cases, as if it had been the Colonario River. But we carried a good deal of furniture into the passage at the entrance; we set Susan there on a sofa, and the Black Housekeeper was even attempting to get her some breakfast. The house, however, began to shake so violently, and the rain was so searching, that she could not stay there long. She went into her own room; and I stayed to see what could be done.

Under the forepart of the house, there are cellars built of stone, but not arched. To these, however, there was no access except on the outside; and I knew from my own experience that Susan could not have gone a step beyond the door, without being carried away by the storm, and probably killed on the spot. The only chance seemed to be that of breaking through the floor. But when the old Cook and myself resolved on this, we found that we had no instrument with which it would be possible to do it. It was now clear that we had only God to trust in. The front windows were giving way with successive crashes, and the floor shook as you may have

seen a carpet on a gusty day in London. I went into our bed-room; where I found Susan, Tyrrell, and a little Coloured girl of seven or eight years old; and told them that we should probably not be alive in half an hour. I could have escaped, if I had chosen to go alone, by crawling on the ground either into the kitchen, a separate stone building at no great distance, or into the open fields away from trees or houses; but Susan could not have gone a yard. She became quite calm when she knew the worst; and she sat on my knee in what seemed the safest corner of the room, while every blast was bringing nearer and nearer the moment of our seemingly certain destruction.

Before long the roof went. Most of the materials, however, were carried clear away; one of the large couples was caught on the bed-post and held fast by the iron spike; while the end of it hung over our heads; had the beam fallen an inch on either side of the bed-post, it must necessarily have crushed us. The walls did not go with the roof; and we remained for half an hour, alternately praying to God, and watching them as they bent, creaked, and shivered before the storm.

Tyrrell and the child, when the roof was off, made their way through the remains of the partition, to the outer door; and with the help of the people who were looking for us, got into the kitchen. A good while after they were gone, and before we knew anything of their fate, a Negro suddenly came upon us; and the sight of him gave us a hope of safety. When the people learned that we were in danger, and while their own huts were flying about their ears, they crowded to help us; and the old Cook urged them on to our rescue. He made five attempts, after saving Tyrrell, to get to us; and four times he was blown down. The fifth time he, and the Negro we first saw, reached the house. The space they had to traverse was not above twenty yards of level ground, if so much. In another minute or two, the Overseers, and a crowd of Negroes, most of whom had come on their hands and knees, were surrounding us; and with their help, Susan was carried round to the end of the house; where they broke open the cellar window, and placed her in comparative safety. The force of the hurricane was, by this time, a good deal diminished, or it would have been impossible to stand before it.

I have also the great satisfaction of reflecting that all the Negroes from whom any assistance could reasonably be expected, behaved like so many Heroes of Antiquity; risking their lives and limbs for us and our property, while their own poor houses were flying like chaff before the hurricane." (*Carlyle's Life of Sterling.*)

JOSEPH STURGE.

FOREIGN AFFAIRS.

MORE than one thread of British diplomacy was broken by the elections and by the formation of a new Government under Mr. Baldwin. By the middle of November, when this article went to press, the threads had not been pieced together again; but it was already obvious that the Baldwin of November, 1924, was in some ways different from the Baldwin of a year before. The good that men do sometimes lives after them, and not the least beneficial of Mr. MacDonald's legacies to his country was the pronounced radical fillip given to the new Conservative Government's attitude to foreign affairs. All British Governments since the Armistice have had a more or less radical outlook on foreign affairs, even though in some respects, as, for instance, in the case of Russia, Lord Curzon has blocked the outlook; but Mr. Baldwin's 1924 Cabinet began its work in a more chastened and radical spirit than probably has ever before characterised a Conservative Cabinet in this country.

It was not an unrelated accident that Mr. Baldwin's first public utterance since the election, made at the Lord Mayor's banquet on November 10th, paid a tribute to the "able" diplomacy of Mr. MacDonald; nor that the Conservative election manifesto had placed the League of Nations in the forefront of Conservative foreign policy. "The support and strengthening of the League of Nations on practical lines," it ran, "should, in our opinion, continue to be a cardinal principle of British foreign policy." The words "continue to be" had a further refinement of meaning in this context. Those students of foreign affairs who had been afraid lest Mr. Baldwin's victory should reinstate the Curzon régime at the Foreign Office were soon reassured. Lord Curzon's erudition in foreign affairs and his conscientious, if unsystematic, discharge of his duties never made up for his psychological inability to bring his ideas up-to-date. Lord Curzon can do himself more justice for the moment in another sphere.

The appointment of Mr. Austen Chamberlain as Foreign Minister was an indication of the seriousness with which Mr. Baldwin had benefited by his nine months' contemplation of a Labour Government in office. Experienced observers abroad quickly realised that so far at any rate as British diplomacy was concerned there had been no such thing as a reactionary sweep as a result of the election. Whether Mr. Chamberlain will show an ability equal to that of Mr. MacDonald in pursuing what are substantially the same objects remains to be seen. The chief danger clearly comes from his friends, conspicuously from Mr. Churchill, who has never yet shaken off his tin soldier attitude to life, and whose

portfolio as Chancellor of the Exchequer gives him a voice, a dangerous voice, in the general business of the Cabinet. The danger is perhaps mitigated by the fact, which is known to Mr. Churchill, that, owing to the opulence of the Conservative majority in the House and to the superabundant supply of Cabinet material, he is not indispensable, and can be dispensed with if he misbehaves. In these circumstances he is the more likely, perhaps, to concentrate on the comparatively peaceful and harmless study of finance.

THE ZINOVIEV PANTOMIME.

Even before the old order had passed away and the new installed, there occurred one of those episodes in British public life which make foreign observers shake their realist heads in contemplation of British naïveté in foreign affairs. On October 24th the Foreign Office issued to the press the text of a document alleged to have been addressed by the "Comintern" or Communist International to the British Communist party, and alleged to have been received by that party. The resultant election fever was a wholly unintelligible phenomenon on any ground of commonsense. If the poisonous ringleaders of international Communism had not been trying by open as well as by secret methods to engender world revolution for seven years past; if Zinoviev himself in hundreds of public speeches made and reported in Moscow and republished in London had not urged British and other Communists to revolt; if British Communists had not openly and repeatedly welcomed his suggestions from the plinth of Nelson's Monument at the top of Whitehall; if, in short, there could have been any conceivable doubt as to the mentality and objects of men like Zinoviev and his small band of British coadjutors, then one could have understood the unbalanced fright with which the alleged Zinoviev document seemed to affect, for instance, Mr. Winston Churchill: a fright which made him adorn his hysterical election platform with the rival standards of Red Russia on the one side and of the British Empire on the other, and to reveal his opinion of his audience's intelligence by demanding in effect whether they preferred to vote for the Red Flag and his opponent or for the Union Jack and himself.

The intellectual challenge went unnoticed; but Mr. Churchill's estimate of the national danger which had been averted by his electoral success was perhaps indicated by his triumphal distribution of medals after the event. Mr. Baldwin, by contrast, had conducted his campaign like a man and like a statesman. Whether any other member of parliament besides Mr. Churchill owes his membership to the help of Mr. Zinoviev is doubtful; and therefore,

with that one reservation, it cannot be said that Mr. Zinoviev had succeeded, even with the backing of British Conservatives, in his avowed object of damaging the Labour Party of Great Britain. "Keep close observation," wrote Mr. Zinoviev in the alleged letter to British Communists, "over the leaders of the Labour Party, because these may easily be found in the leading-strings of the bourgeoisie. The foreign policy of the Labour Party, as it is, already represents an inferior copy of the policy of the Curzon Government. Organise a campaign of disclosure of the foreign policy of MacDonald." It will remain a puzzle why a document which so clearly aimed its ammunition against the British Labour Party on the ground, whether justified or not, of its respectability, should have been used for election purposes to damage that party's respectability in British eyes.

For the rest the document is hardly worth examining. Was it genuine? The Foreign Office had expert reason to take it as genuine. Mr. MacDonald at first accepted the expert case for its genuineness. There was not the slightest reason or motive why it should not be genuine. Many subtle arguments were put forward to doubt its authenticity. One was to the effect that the letter was a "genuine forgery," a paradox which probably emanated from a too heavy reading of *Punch's* theory that Mr. Zinoviev had forged his own signature. Those who adopted that explanation in a solemn spirit—and there were such—not only elaborated it, but recalled analogies in which Moscow Communists had paid a forger to forge a dictated document, which those Communists wanted to go abroad, but which they equally wanted to be able to repudiate if need be by triumphantly exposing the forger.

The only people who really enjoyed the Zinoviev episode were the Russians. They always like a bombshell because it gives them something to talk about and brings them into the limelight. Obscurity and the lack of excitement are the only things that depress them. On this occasion they brightened up at once, and Mr. Rakovsky began getting himself interviewed. He and his colleagues pointed to the internal evidence of forgery—the inaccurate heading of the letter, the inexact description of Mr. Zinoviev in the signature, the contradictions in the subject-matter. There were two passages in the letter which might perhaps be argued to be a contradiction. One passage declared that "Armed warfare must be preceded by a struggle against the inclinations to compromise which are embedded among the majority of British workmen, against the ideas of evolution and peaceful extermination of capitalism. *Only then* [my italics] will it be possible to count upon complete success of an armed insurrection." Yet towards the end of the letter, after outlining military plans, Mr. Zinoviev declared,

"Do not put this off to a future moment." On the other hand, the warning against delay may have been intended to apply to the preparation, rather than to the outbreak, of revolt.

That document, equally unimportant whether forged or genuine, was given out by the Foreign Office on the evening of October 24th, together with the text of a spirited British official protest to Moscow, signed by Mr. J. D. Gregory in Mr. MacDonald's absence. The *Daily Mail* had made it known that afternoon that it possessed a copy of the Zinoviev letter and intended to publish it in the following morning's issue. There remained only a long week-end before polling day, and the wild men of the Conservative Party did their best to make Russia the arbiter. Mr. MacDonald, whose election campaign had become progressively emasculated of the quality which was normally his, a phenomenon clearly due to the fact that he was an overwrought man, paying the price for gross overwork in his country's service and harassed by the patent disloyalty of some of his own colleagues—Mr. MacDonald made things worse by an unwise and even contradictory speech in which he simultaneously upheld and let down his permanent officials. Those permanent officials were themselves the men who most generously understood the physical explanation of Mr. MacDonald's conduct. Their indignant spokesmen outside, however, continued to weave their indignation into the texture of their election propaganda. The Civil Service as a whole felt nothing but respect and friendliness towards a chief who had been not only loyal but considerate.

ANGLO-RUSSIAN RELATIONS.

Much to the gratification of Russian diplomatists, the Russian blot on the horizon continued to flourish. On the very eve of the election (Tuesday, October 28th) M. Herriot sent a telegram to Mr. Chicherin in Moscow announcing the French decision to recognise the Russian Government *de jure*. "Another bombshell! There are too many of them," was the flippant comment of a Russian official here, "but the Herriot bombshell is more sensible than the Zinoviev bombshell." It assumed an embarrassing aspect for Mr. Baldwin during the following forty-eight hours, when the election results were becoming known. The Conservatives were in: what was to be done about Russia? They had before them Mr. Rakovsky's answer of October 25th to the Gregory Note of the day before—the dates illuminating the eagerness with which Mr. Rakovsky had lapped up the situation. He had received the British Note at 8 p.m. the night before. By luncheon time he had written his answer. Luncheon time on that occasion was 3 o'clock, Mr. Rakovsky's luncheon being a

sliding function which may take place at any time between limits three hours apart.

I saw him at his house at Swiss Cottage just after he had written it. The Note was merely a detailed rejoinder that the Zinoviev document was a forgery, and that the Foreign Office had departed from the usual courtesy of bringing such a matter to his private notice before embarking on a serious official protest; and rounded off by a demand for an apology.

"Has the Government of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics any connection with the Communist International?" I asked Mr. Rakovsky on that occasion.

"None."

"Then I take it you have no direct knowledge of this document. How, if I may ask, do you know it is a forgery?"

"Simply because I have read it. [He thereupon went into details of internal evidence] . . . I sent the British Note with the enclosure to Moscow last night, but it was unnecessary to wait for an answer from Moscow before answering the British Note on my own account, both because the Moscow Government has nothing to do with the Communist International, and because I am convinced the document is a forgery. I am a Communist myself, and I know this is not a Communist document."

I gathered that the Russian Communists have better methods than that of the Zinoviev letter for fomenting world revolution. I suggested, therefore, that it would be interesting for the British people to know whether he, Mr. Rakovsky, as Russian Chargé d'Affaires in London, would like to see a revolution in this country; but he met me with an evasive laugh, and merely said that his business in London was to promote friendly relations between the two countries and that he was not concerned with questions of his Government's general policy abroad.

His letter therefore was delivered at the Foreign Office in the afternoon of October 25th—four days before the elections. On November 12th the Baldwin Cabinet held its first meeting and had on the table Mr. Rakovsky's letter. What was to be done? The election had started a wave against Russia; but the new Government had little desire to break off relations with Russia, or to pursue the matter of the Zinoviev letter any further, especially as France had in the meantime recognised Russia and was straining in the leash for the start of the competition for the Russian market. Mr. Churchill had mobilised Russia not wisely but too well for his election purposes, and the Cabinet found itself in a dilemma. By all the rules of arithmetic diplomacy Anglo-Russian relations could only be considered as badly strained, the British Government having informed Moscow that Russian propaganda could

not be allowed, and Russia having demanded an apology. That was the most immediate as well as the most deplorable problem before the new Government. What else could Mr. Baldwin and Mr. Chamberlain do but set up another Cabinet Committee of investigation into the Zinoviev letter in order to gain a few days' time for the Government to think out what to do?

EMMA GOLDMAN IN LONDON.

By an odd coincidence November 12th was not only the date of the first meeting of the new British Cabinet, at which the problem of Russia was being considered, but also of the first public reception in this country of the world's most famous anarchist, who in her speech was in her turn concerned mainly with Russia. Miss Emma Goldman was expelled five years ago from the United States as a dangerous person, has been expelled from Soviet Russia for the same reason, has unsuccessfully tried to find asylum in Germany and Sweden. She was therefore driven to England, where, as she said, political refugees have always relied on political asylum, where Mazzini, Marx, and Kropotkin found hospitality. Anarchists always like London, both because nobody ever takes any notice of them and they are allowed to talk to their heart's content, and because they appear to regard England as the nearest approximation to that condition of philosophical anarchy which they preach as their ideal.

The arrival of Miss Goldman, however, was an exceptional occasion. The history of her almost incredible suffering, persecution, imprisonment, destitution, the fact that she had made the United States on one side and Bolshevik Russia on the other side regard her as a danger to the continuance of their existing governments, roused for the moment even English curiosity. The number of odd people who drift in and out of London unnoticed is astonishing. Miss Goldman at any rate achieved the distinction of attracting attention. The dinner that was given in her honour at Anderton's Hotel on November 12th was attended by over 200 people, about half of whom looked as if they might be more or less English. The Chair was taken by Colonel Wedgwood, who gaily started off the after-dinner proceedings by an affirmation of his faith that all government is evil—a somewhat paradoxical standpoint for a Member of Parliament. Mr. Bertrand Russell was equally emphatic in his condemnation of government, but thought that England was not yet civilised enough to adopt the anarchist principle. He quoted China as an example of a country where a superior civilisation does in fact allow anarchy, and where anarchists, as for instance, Mr. Russell himself, can find happiness. He admitted there was a certain amount of brigandage,

but protested that the losses suffered by individuals from Chinese brigandage was considerably less than the losses of British individuals from income tax.

Miss Goldman plunged into an eloquent denunciation of that worst form of government in the whole world, the present Government of Russia. She lived two years in Russia before being expelled, speaks Russian (in addition to several other languages), visited the prisons in Siberia, interviewed representative people from top to bottom, heard the pitiful appeals of "the suppressed masses of Russia who have been silenced as they never were under the Tsar," went on to protest against the apathy of the outside world, including England, in face of the atrocities which are being committed in Russia: where, she said, men, women, and even children are persecuted if they refuse to become slaves to the Bolshevik autocrats. Mr. Churchill's election addresses on the subject of Russia were feebleness itself by contrast with Miss Goldman's devastating tirade. Miss Goldman had enough sense of humour to admit that her enemies would accuse her of being "in the pay of Churchill and Baldwin," but proclaimed that she was not interested in what other people thought or said, but only in pursuing the truth. She ended with the presentation of a bogey to the people of England such as would have made Mr. Churchill's mouth water. "Do not deceive yourselves by thinking that in England the Communists are few in number. It takes few to destroy, but many to build. Bolshevism is an international poison."

The intellectual anarchist generally regards himself as an idealist and a dreamer. Where Miss Goldman differs from her fellows (and herein no doubt is the reason why the United States and Russian Governments found her dangerous) is that she is a cunning tactician and an experienced strategist. On her first public appearance in London she did nothing beyond denouncing red Bolshevism with such effect, with such polished oratory, and with such a semblance of idealist motive that she figured prominently in the next morning's newspapers, and no doubt pleased Mr. Churchill. She must have felt something approaching disgust at the hotheadedness of Colonel Wedgwood and Mr. Russell, who, before she had spoken, plunged into a broadside attack on government in general. Miss Goldman's approach consisted in ignoring the general proposition, and concentrating on the double objective of damaging one Government, the Russian, which afforded the easiest target, and at the same time reaping in a measure, if not of support, at any rate of tolerance, from the people whose institutions it was her ultimate object to destroy. Miss Goldman is a dangerous woman, but she will have the sur-

prise of her life when she finds that in England such danger as hers has no effect against the English capacity for boredom.

THE GENEVA PROTOCOL.

Among the problems waiting the attention of the new Government is that of deciding whether Parliament should be advised to ratify the Geneva Protocol for the Pacific Settlement of International Disputes. The general lines of the Protocol and an estimate of its importance were given here last month. An important point which has since become the subject of close discussion, not only in London but in Paris and in Prague is: how far would the Protocol differ from the existing Covenant and the existing Statute of the Permanent Court of International Justice in affecting or in crystallising the *status quo* of the 1919 treaties? The criticism has been freely made by British opinion that under the Protocol it would be impossible to revise the treaties. What, then, is the precise difference in this respect between the Protocol and the Covenant?

Article 19 of the Covenant states that "The Assembly may from time to time advise the reconsideration by members of the League of treaties which have become inapplicable and the consideration of international conditions whose continuance might endanger the peace of the world." The Protocol is expressly described as an attempt to amend the Covenant, and its several clauses mention the particular Article of the original Covenant to which the various proposed amendments are meant to apply. There is no mention of Article 19 in the text of the Protocol and nothing in it that expressly or by implication would modify Article 19. In an early draft of the Protocol there had been a proposed clause designed to abolish Article 19, but that clause was itself eliminated from the draft mainly as a result of British opposition. *Prima facie*, therefore, Article 19 of the Covenant still stands, and no difference is made to the Assembly's competence to initiate a revision of the treaties. The advisory body in any such contingency would, however, be the Permanent Court of International Justice. Article 36 of the Statute of the Court makes in paragraph 2 the following stipulation:

"The members of the League of Nations and the States mentioned in the Annex to the Covenant may, either when signing or ratifying the Protocol to which the present Statute is adjoined, or at a later moment, declare that they recognise as compulsory *ipso facto* and without special agreement, in relation to any other Member or State accepting the same obligation, the jurisdiction of the Court in all or any of the classes of legal disputes concerning:

- "(a) The interpretation of a Treaty;
- "(b) Any question of International Law;
- "(c) The existence of any fact which, if established, would constitute a breach of an international obligation;
- "(d) The nature or extent of the reparation to be made for the breach of an international obligation.

"The declaration referred to above may be made unconditionally or on condition of reciprocity on the part of several or certain Members or States, or for a certain time.

"In the event of a dispute as to whether the Court has jurisdiction, the matter shall be settled by the decision of the Court."

It will be remarked that the verb in the first sentence is "may declare." This is the famous "optional clause" which is in force among fifteen States, but those States do not include the Big Powers. It is therefore of little consequence. Even if it had been accepted by the Big Powers, there would still remain the doubt whether "any question of international law" would necessarily embrace a question affecting the validity of treaties to which the League itself owed its existence. "Any question" ought obviously to include every question, but there are members of the League who dispute its inclusion of treaty questions. It is therefore unimportant that the Protocol in Article 3 states: "The signatory States undertake to recognise as compulsory, *ipso facto* and without special agreement, the jurisdiction of the Permanent Court of International Justice in the cases covered by paragraph 2 of Article 36 of the Statute of the Court, but without prejudice to the right of any State, when acceding to the special Protocol provided for in the said Article and opened for signature on December 16th, 1920, to make reservations compatible with the said clause." The point, however, is that so far as the actual texts of the Covenant, the Statute of the Permanent Court and the new Protocol are concerned, there certainly is no ground for maintaining that the Protocol closes the door to a revision of the treaties: rather the contrary, for the Protocol would transform the optional clause of the Statute into an obligatory clause.

There is, however, a "snag." When it was decided by the First and Third Committees at Geneva to drop the suggested clause which would abolish Article 19 of the Covenant, the Committees decided that in presenting the report, Mr. Politis, the *rapporteur* of the First Committee, should make an important pronouncement. It was made in reference to Article 4, paragraph 7, of the Protocol (which ran thus: "The provisions of the present article do not apply to the settlement of disputes which arise as the result of

measures of war taken by one or more signatory States in agreement with the Council or the Assembly"), and was as follows: "There is a third class of disputes to which the new system of pacific settlement can also not be applied. These are disputes which aim at revising treaties and international acts in force, or which seek to jeopardise the existing territorial integrity of signatory States. The proposal was made to include these exceptions in the Protocol, but the two Committees were unanimous in considering that, both from the legal and from the political point of view, the impossibility of applying compulsory arbitration to such cases was so obvious that it was quite superfluous to make them the subject of a special provision. It was thought sufficient to mention them in this report." (General Report, pp. 10-11.)

The importance of this, of course, is that, there being no specific ruling laid down in the Protocol itself, the Court might have to be guided by the report. This is certainly a point which will have to be looked at closely by the British Government before the Protocol can be finally adopted.

On the other hand, there needs to be some sense of proportion in this discussion about treaty revision. In Great Britain, largely owing to a healthy reaction against the beastliness and fatuity of the Great War and against the inevitable rottenness of the peace which followed it, there has been a widespread horror against the perpetuation of some of the injustices undoubtedly contained in the peace treaties. Yet there is a good deal to be said for the rigid sanctity of treaties, whether rotten or not. Pre-war Europe contained many injustices, particularly in Austria-Hungary. Some of them have been put right as a result of the war, and others created in the process. Any attempt now on any fundamental scale to alter the treaties will lead straight to more war. Twenty years hence, assuming tranquillity in the meantime and the evolution of a perfected and strengthened League of Nations, the injustices of the peace treaties can be eradicated gradually and easily. It is at least arguable that what the body politic of Europe needs more than anything else is a prolonged period of general convalescence. No doctor in his senses would operate on a man for appendicitis, and on the following morning, when the patient was feeling what patients do feel at such a time, order him to have half-a-dozen teeth taken out merely because they would be better out. There is a distinction between greater needs and smaller needs. It is at least arguable that the greater need of Europe now is peace and quiet, not the elimination of minor injustices and it is quite certain that war never produces anything but evil. Even an imperfect instrument on League lines is better than none.

THE SINGAPORE BASE.

In some ways interlocked with the question of the Geneva Protocol is that of the Singapore base, now revived in its freshness of a year ago. Is the project for a big naval base at Singapore, which was evolved during the last Baldwin régime, but dropped by Mr. MacDonald, now to be carried out? It is a very difficult question for the new Government to answer. It is recalled that during the summer and autumn of 1923 the Japanese Press was full of misgiving on this account, the question being asked by the Japanese: Against whom is this naval activity directed, and why? (See CONTEMPORARY REVIEW, January, 1924, pp. 113-116.) It was of no avail to point out that, politically, Mr. Baldwin entertained no designs against Japan, for it was undeniably clear that the Admiralty, according to invariable custom, based its routine tactics in any field on the assumption of theoretic war with the strongest Power in sight. In this case the mathematical assumption was war with Japan.

The political difficulty arising from the Singapore project may be put thus: The Anglo-Japanese Alliance has been scrapped, to the intense disappointment of Japanese opinion, and the Singapore project appears to Japanese eyes as a move in a wholly opposite direction. Japan had cherished great hopes from the result of the Washington Conference of 1921, and placed the advantages of a better prospect of peace and disarmament against the loss of the alliance with Great Britain. Now, however, argue representative Japanese, it will be impossible for Japan any longer to respect the Naval Disarmament Treaty and the Four Powers Treaty concluded at Washington, or to continue the reduction of Japanese armaments, if a new challenge, theoretic or not, be thrown down by the British Navy. It is true that Singapore is just outside the restricted area, but the Japanese argument concerns not the letter but the spirit of the treaty. There is nothing gained by shutting one's eyes to the feelings in Japan on the subject, which are intensified by the recollection that for twenty years Japan has been a loyal ally to Great Britain.

The other side to the question is that Canada's nearness to the United States and Australia's nearness to Japan create conflicting views on British naval policy in the Pacific. The Imperial Conference of 1921, held just before the Washington Disarmament Conference, showed Canada to be against and Australia to be in favour of continuing the Anglo-Japanese Alliance, but the Washington Conference came as a *deus ex machina*, and satisfied Canada, Australia, and Great Britain alike. At the Imperial Conference of 1923, however, Australia came out in favour of the Singapore scheme on the ground that the Anglo-Japanese Alliance

having gone, the Singapore base was desirable as a protection against possible contingencies. In this, as in other matters, the Government will be guided by a full Imperial policy, and will take particular care to canvass the opinion of the Dominions concerned. It is common ground, of course, that Japanese confidence is an essential element in an understanding between the naval Powers. The problem of the Singapore base is far-reaching and important, and one may expect that the Baldwin Government will take no hasty decision.

THE LEAGUE CAMPAIGN AGAINST OPIUM.

The League of Nations has spent some of its most effective energy in combating the widespread evil involved in the consumption of opium, cocaine, and kindred drugs. The climax of its campaign was reached in November when two international conferences were arranged, the first of which met in Geneva on November 3rd to prepare the ground for the bigger and more important one which was due to begin its work in the same place a fortnight later (November 17th). The latter conference was on the point of assembling when this article went to press and will probably be still sitting when it appears.

It is fifteen years since the first movement was started against the dangers of the opium and cocaine traffic, the greatest consumer of such drugs then being China and the greatest grower India. The beginning of world reform was made possible by an offer made by the British Government to reduce the Indian production and to control its export to China. An international opium commission met at Shanghai in 1909, and a conference was called at The Hague in 1912 which resulted in the drawing up of an International Convention. Unfortunately, this convention has never been put into full operation. Subsidiary conferences, called for 1913 and 1914 with the object of arranging for its operation, were prevented from achieving their object by the outbreak of the Great War. After the war the peace treaties took up again the campaign against opium. Article 295 of the Treaty of Versailles laid it down "that ratification of the present Treaty should, in the case of powers which have not yet ratified the Opium Convention, be deemed in all respects equivalent to the ratification of that Convention." And Article 23 of the League Covenant provides that "subject to and in accordance with the provisions of international conventions existing, or hereafter to be agreed upon, the Members of the League (c) will entrust the League with the general supervision over the execution of agreements with regard to . . . the traffic in opium and other dangerous drugs."

The November conferences of this year had for their object

the gradual suppression of the use of prepared opium, as provided for in the Hague Convention of 1912. By prepared opium is meant the product of raw opium, commonly known as *chandou*, which is specially prepared for smoking, and the term includes the dross which remains when opium has been smoked. Under Chapter II of the Opium Convention, the contracting Powers promised to put an end to the manufacture of, and internal trade in, prepared opium; to prohibit its import, and gradually to bring about the complete suppression of its export. The Convention was signed and ratified by all the Powers which controlled territory in those parts of the Far East where opium is smoked, namely, the British Empire, China, France, Holland, Japan, Portugal, and Siam. China further undertook to abolish the entire production and consumption of opium. All those Powers were represented at the conference which opened on November 3rd, but all the Powers interested in the subject, including the United States, were to be represented at the conference arranged for the 17th.

Since 1920, when the League was entrusted with the task of supervising the execution of the Opium Convention, its Advisory Committee on Opium has been collecting and examining the figures for the consumption of prepared opium in the European possessions and other countries in the Far East. It has been driven to the conclusion that the gradual reduction in the traffic which was provided for in Chapter II of the Hague Convention is no nearer to realisation now than in 1912. In China there has been an illegal revival both of the production and of the consumption of opium. In the Far Eastern possessions of European Powers the efforts made to control the traffic have been impeded by many obstacles, among them being the large amount of Chinese opium which is smuggled over the frontier. China, in her turn, has been able to plead that her efforts to abolish the use of opium within her boundaries have been thwarted by the legalised smoking which is still carried on under the Convention itself in other territories of the Pacific. An incidental difficulty has been that the word "legitimate" used in the Convention is too elastic a term to mean much, and the word "gradual" suppression means as little. Any signatory could plead literal execution of her undertaking by effecting a minute percentage of reduction. Hence the calling of the two conferences at Geneva.

It is fortunate that American co-operation has been secured in the examination of the problem, the American representatives having urged the formulation of the principle that opium and cocaine and their derivatives should be allowed for none but medicinal purposes. To achieve this it would be necessary to limit

the production, so that no margin were left over for other uses. America for her part has done everything possible in this direction, but the amount of imported opium has stultified her efforts. The League adopted the American proposal with modifications. The main interest of the conference which was to meet on November 17th lay in the prospect of an attempt to amend The Hague Convention so as to make it really effective. A scheme for a Central Control Board was to be considered in which each nation would be required to estimate in advance what amount of opium it would need for medical purposes. The main danger was that of an Anglo-American split, due mainly to the fact that certain parts of the British Empire were likely to be opposed to the proposal. There are places in India, for instance, where opium is used by natives as quack medicine; there being no doctor within many miles; and in other places there are economic issues involved, as for instance, in Singapore, where forty-three per cent. of the entire revenue is derived from the opium monopoly. It was recognised that the success of the conference would largely turn on whether the Colonies would support a proposal of Sir John Jordan, which had the advantage of satisfying America, and which was that the various contracting Powers should undertake to effect a ten per cent. reduction each year, so that the entire supply of opium over and above the strict needs of medicine should be eliminated in ten years' time.

THE CONSTANTINOPLE UPROOTING.

It came as no surprise at the end of October that the Turkish police brought to a climax the persecutions to which the Greek residents of Constantinople had been submitted for a long time in the name of the Treaty of Lausanne. At seven o'clock one morning, the Turkish police began a raid of private houses, shops, banks, offices, markets, and hounded out every Greek who could not on the spot produce identity papers to prove that he had been "established" in Constantinople before October 30th, 1918. How many life-long Londoners could at a moment's notice prove by documentary evidence that they were "established" in London six years ago? How much more difficult, therefore, in the parallel case of the Constantinople Greeks, who had to produce documents capable of satisfying an unreasonable and even illegal criterion?

The Constantinople raid lasted till late at night. An Exchange Commission properly constituted under the terms of the Treaty of Lausanne had been battling for two months to induce the Turks to leave the business of the exchange of populations to them, and this arrogant and inhuman round-up was effected in the teeth of the

Exchange Commission. Greeks of every description, many of whom had been established in Constantinople long before 1918, but who could not prove it in the way demanded by the Turks, were hauled out of their homes in hundreds and were marched off in batches of 500 to an internment camp in Stamboul. The distress and cruelty thereby occasioned can be readily imagined, but, unfortunately, cannot be regarded as an exceptional experience on the part of people who, by some oversight of Providence, have found themselves at the mercy of organised Turks.

The ultimate responsibility for this and other similar atrocities must rest on the heads of those Allied politicians who were primarily responsible for the iniquitous "Convention concerning the Exchange of Greek and Turkish Populations," which was signed by Greece and Turkey at Lausanne on January 30th, 1923. Every serious student of affairs and every man of commonsense has steadily foreseen what would be the outcome of that Convention in real life. It seems incredible, when one recalls the consistent history of Turkish hatred of Greek and other Christians within their power, that so monstrous a plan could be conceived as that of giving to the Turks the power of uprooting the Christian Greeks. Article 1 of the Convention none the less reads:

"As from May 1st, 1923, there shall take place a compulsory exchange of Turkish nationals of the Greek Orthodox religion established in Turkish territory, and of Greek nationals of the Moslem religion established in Greek territory.

"These persons shall not return to live in Turkey or Greece respectively without the authorisation of the Turkish Government or of the Greek Government respectively."

It is true that in Article 2 some attempt was made to limit the evil by the provision that

"The following persons shall not be included in the exchange provided for in Article 1:

"(a) The Greek inhabitants of Constantinople;

"(b) The Moslem inhabitants of Western Thrace";

and that the following definition was given of what constituted Constantinople Greeks:

"All Greeks who were already established before October 30th, 1918, [i.e., before the date of the Mudros Armistice], within the areas under the Prefecture of the City of Constantinople, as defined by the law of 1912, shall be considered as Greek inhabitants of Constantinople."

Could anyone, however, be innocent enough to imagine that Turkish officials would withstand the temptation thereby placed in their path to quibble about the wording of that definition, and deliberately to aim at the total expulsion of some 100,000 Greek

inhabitants of Constantinople so as not to leave a single Greek behind? If there were any such innocents, they must by now have had sophistication thrust upon them. No sooner had the moment arrived for the execution of the Exchange Convention, than the Turkish authorities decided that only those Greeks should be exempt from expulsion who had been inscribed in the registers of the Constantinople Prefecture before October 30th, 1918. Now, everyone knows that neither Greek nor Turkish residents in Constantinople ever took seriously the legal formality of registration. Incoming Greeks seldom went through the formality and no attempt was ever made to enforce it. It is true that there was a legal penalty which imposed a fine ranging from about one to five shillings in cases of non-observance; but could such a penalty ever be represented as an effective attempt at enforcement? The proof of the pudding is in the eating, and it is the fact that fewer than ten per cent. of the Greeks permanently resident in Constantinople in 1918 had taken the step of registration. The remaining ninety per cent., who clearly satisfied the exemption clause of the Lausanne Convention, were none the less regarded as fair, or unfair, game by the Turkish expulsion agents. This in spite of the fact that when those Turkish officials so clearly violated the Convention, a committee of jurists was asked by the Exchange Commission—a treaty body—to define more precisely the meaning of the Lausanne formula, and as a result gave a detailed ruling which, without possibility of misunderstanding, except deliberate misunderstanding, safeguarded the position of pre-1918 Greeks, whether or not they had been registered. There was the further consideration that the Lausanne Convention, by Article 12, gave to the Mixed Commission “full power to take the measures necessitated by the execution of the present Convention and to decide all questions to which this Convention may give rise.” The mere fact of Turkish officials taking upon themselves the expulsion of Greeks was therefore in itself a violation of the Convention.

November 14th, 1924.

GEORGE GLASGOW.

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REVIEWS.

SHAKESPEARE'S SONNETS.*

It is good to have at last an approach to a final edition of the Sonnets of Shakespeare. They represent the fiercest fought field of Elizabethan literature. They are things of mystery as well as of beauty, and the persons that figure in, or in connection with, these poems are still and, perhaps, always will remain indeterminate.

The chief endeavour of the present work is to clear up as many as possible of the obscurities which commentators have left, and at the same time to correct a number of erroneous interpretations which have been more or less in vogue. If patient and repeated study can achieve any good result, it is hoped that the notes given in the following pages may not be fruitless.

The process followed is to print, in excellent type, the text of the Quarto edition of 1609 with certain changes in punctuation and spelling and to supply, in footnotes beneath the text, the variants of the text of 1640, printed by Thomas Cotes, certain accepted emendations (with the name of the editor or critic who first proposed them) and certain alternative suggestions. Adjustments of punctuation to modern usage are not indicated unless they affect the sense. Professor Tucker says, on the question of punctuation, "how little importance can be attached to that of the Quarto soon

* *The Sonnets of Shakespeare, edited from the Quarto of 1609, with Introduction and Commentary.* By T. G. Tucker. (Cambridge: at the University Press. 17s. 6d. net.)

becomes evident to any reader." The printer of 1609 does not always adhere to such rules of punctuation as existed at that date. Yet we are not quite sure that it was wise to adopt—except in the case of obvious error—the modern logical method. Elizabethan punctuation was probably rhythmical and intended to suggest emphasis in reading or reciting, and was not related to the grammatical structure. The sense in some cases may depend on the old punctuation. On the question of orthography we have no doubt. To modernise it is right. It is not like the case of Chaucer, where the old spelling is related to the rhythm and the metre. But the changes must not be unintelligent. To change *burthen* to *burden* would, as the editor points out, be absurd. We should go so far as to say that *huswife* is better than *housewife* since the word, in one usage, is still pronounced according to the Elizabethan spelling, but on this point the editor is adamant. The text of the Bible, so far as spelling is concerned, has almost unconsciously altered according to the spelling of each age and the same process should be accorded to Shakespearean texts. Indeed, in such matters an experienced printer is a better guide than an editor. There is one other point on the question of spelling. The pronunciation of words in the Elizabethan age was in many cases undoubtedly different to that of our age, and it may be that in some cases spelling is related to pronunciation, a fact that may solve some problems.

So much for the text. Who is "the onlie begetter of these ensuing sonnets," to use the phrase of the publisher, Thomas Thorpe? There have been so many renderings of "Mr. W. H.," the begetter in question, that it is surprising that no one has yet suggested that Shakespeare himself is the only begetter. But, perhaps, America has still a surprise for us and will show that H is a misprint for S in a work reeking with misprints. But these and other puerilities (such as W. H. meaning H. W.—Henry Wriethesley) must be dismissed. Professor Tucker very truly says that we cannot infer from the dedication that W. H. "was a person of whom we now retain any knowledge" nor that it was not the universally beloved William Herbert but, on the whole evidence, "we can do no less than admit that the strongest and withal a highly plausible, case has been made out for William Herbert." The case for a woman is practically dismissed. It is to be recorded that Professor Tucker thinks that the "Dark Lady" was a real person, "a rather coarsely promiscuous person, almost certainly married, and apparently of no great social standing." This seems rather a dangerous view as it reacts on the possible character of other "real" persons associated with these strange poems.

Some of Professor Tucker's conclusions on the whole case are of

interest. The sonnets may, approximately, be dated between 1592 and 1601, a few may have been later and one (cvii) points "strongly to 1603," the date of the death of Queen Elizabeth. The "W. H." sonnets, if actually addressed to William Herbert, afterwards Earl of Pembroke, "were written somewhere about the years 1598-1601." Some of this first section were poetical exercises, a few of an "occasional" character.

One or two are doubtless not by Shakespeare at all. Except in such as were mere exercises, the poet is speaking for himself, and not writing as the 'literary ghost' employed by another. To that extent, at least, the poems are autobiographical. The sonnets of the second section are, in general, of a less earnest character, although the 'dark woman' was presumably a reality. . . . The publisher gathered both sections from various sources, and the second was attached to the first only as a further collection, for which he had probably somewhat less warrant of authenticity. It is highly improbable that Shakespeare himself had anything to do with the publication or with guaranteeing the text, which contains a large number of undoubted corruptions. There is abundant reason for suspecting other corruptions here and there.

Professor Tucker, on the whole, inclines to the view that the order of the Sonnets is in a large measure fortuitous and was built up by batches as they were acquired by the collector. The present editor does not indeed pretend to solve the main problem presented by the Sonnets. Did Shakespeare in them unlock his heart? Certainly, we can answer with Browning, that if he did "the less Shakespeare he." Had these poems really any autobiographical value, Shakespeare, the shrewd business man, ever watchful of his rights, would have taken steps to stop publication. There is no sign of such a thing and to the ordinary mind, not clogged with detail or prepossessions, that is sufficient evidence to show that the poems represented the common form of that day, and meant just as little or just as much in the way of poetic imagining as the reader can read into them, but certainly did not represent the life and loves and friendships of a man recognised in his lifetime as the greatest poet of his time. There can be no doubt that the Sonnets contain some magnificent poetry and that Shakespeare was not ashamed of the workmanship. But we moderns, in a natural desire to learn as much of the poet as possible, have carried analysis to an absurd length and have read into these poems, cast carelessly together from many sources, things that were never there and a continuity of ideas which is purely imaginary. To clear up the text is a good thing, and that Professor Tucker has done in a most painstaking fashion. To seek more out of the cleansed text than sheer beauty of line, rhythm and fancy, is to add to the many wrongs that commentators and others have done to the Swan of Avon.

CAMBRIDGE IN HISTORY.*

A volume containing a number of attractive essays on the subject of Cambridge University life in successive ages has been issued in memory of Sir Adolphus Ward, who, for a quarter of a century was Master of Peterhouse, the oldest College in the University. It was the original intention to present the volume to the late Master on October 29th, 1924, the twenty-fifth anniversary of his election, but the famous scholar and historian had died, working to the last, on June 19th, 1924. The volume, therefore, became a memorial and was duly presented as such to Lady Ward on October 29th. It necessarily opens with appreciations of the late Master and some record of his continuous labours as a scholar at Cambridge (where he took a first in classics in 1859), and as Professor of History and of English Literature at Owen's College, Manchester, of his part in the upbuilding of that famous College into Manchester University, of his return to Cambridge in 1900 in his sixty-third year, of a quarter of a century of effort in which he projected and carried through, not only much historical work of his own but those three conjoint monumental publications, the *Cambridge Modern History*, the *Cambridge History of English Literature* and the *Cambridge History of British Foreign Policy*. Dr. Emery Barnes writes of him:

Adolphus William Ward was much more than a great scholar and able organiser; he practised Christianity and he was (as some scholars are *not*) altogether human. His large and chivalrous spirit drew into harmonious co-operation the men who worked with him in College. Small personal jealousies could not survive in his presence. He had a well-considered policy to press upon his colleagues, and he gave them a strenuous lead. His aim was to develop the teaching power of the College. But his College patriotism was not limited by the walls of Peterhouse. On the contrary, he took a genuine interest in all Peterhouse men, and exerted himself unweariedly to help them, especially young men starting in their careers. He assisted struggling authors (men and women) to publication and aspiring youths to posts of many kinds. He was always taking trouble for someone or other. He died in harness, tired, but working to the last.

"Bonum certamen certavit
Cursum consummavit
Fidem servavit."

Adolphus Ward would have gone very far in any field, and sometimes it was regretted that he had not chosen public statesmanship as his province. But, in fact, his work was in a larger sphere. On the one hand he spent a great part of his life in the dissemination of historical truth, the truth that is a condition precedent to

* *In Memoriam*, Adolphus William Ward, Master of Peterhouse (1900-1924). Cambridge. Printed at the University Press.

all statesmanship in a naughty world. But truth he strove to supplement by beauty, and his labours in carrying the humanism of literature into the life of the nation were not less important than his efforts to lay an immovable basis for the processes of world polity. But life itself was as important to him as great polity and great literature, and so he strove from first to last, by example and by help, to make the lives of a great and ever enlarging circle of men and women, young men and maidens, noble, happy and serene.

It is impossible in this place to enter into detail with respect to the papers published in the volume. They would have pleased their only begetter, for in each paper there is an effort to secure on moot questions of history some closer approach to truth, while they reveal from various angles the part played by Cambridge, and especially by Peterhouse, in building up a humane and faithful world. Some of the papers peer into the earliest days of the College and reveal men and movements of amazing vigour. Others, such as the paper on Richard Crashaw by the present Master, Lord Chalmers, reveal the gifts of the College, and they are many, to literature. Mr. H. W. V. Temperley clears up the College legend as to the fitting of Thomas Gray, and makes plain the truth of the story as to General Wolfe's recitation of Gray's great poem on the day before the fall of Quebec. Mr. P. C. Vellacott, the present Tutor of Peterhouse, contributes a paper of singular importance on "The Struggle of James II with the University of Cambridge." He illustrates the limits to State Intervention in the case of a great and determined University and shows the far-reaching effect of an effort to interfere with one of the deep sources of national spiritual life.

J. E. G. DE M.

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THE LAW OF NATIONS.*

It is a convenience at the present time, when many persons who are not lawyers or jurists are thinking about the future of the legal relations of nations, to have a survey of the existing state of things in international law from the pen of a professor of political science. Professor Fenwick has few illusions. He does not think that the hopes of a new international world which arose at the end of the Great War have materialised, and he realises that the nations are not prepared to resign their means of defence or indeed of offence. He feels that the fundamental conceptions of international law "are on the whole clear and precise" and that the trouble when

* *International Law*. By Charles G. Fenwick. (George Allen and Unwin. 10s. 6d. net.)

concrete cases arise for solution is the possibility of "differences of interpretation." This seems to us an inconsistent position. If the conceptions are clear and precise there can be no opening for differences of interpretation. Indeed, that was not the trouble in 1914. The Germans pleaded military necessity, and with the wave of an army corps declared that international law was not binding on them. The problem before modern Europe is how to prevent a repetition of such a repudiation. There are two ways of preventing it. The creation of a central police force, international in character, subject to an international executive, which could and would enforce international treaties and the received rules of international law, or the creation of an international spirit that would make the repudiation of international law impossible. The League of Nations is feeling out towards both methods, but with what measure of success it is as yet impossible to say. It can hardly be said that "the principles and rules laid down in the Covenant" of the League of Nations have been recognised as part of "the body of general international law." The absence of Russia, Germany and the United States of America decides that point. The theme upon which stress must be laid is that there is a body of general international law and that this body of law is as real and as effective as if it had been dictated by a sovereign body. It has been received into the municipal laws of the various nations that make up the Family of Nations and has, therefore, the sanction of the whole group behind it. The content of the body of international law is always being enlarged and it may be said that there are great regions of law dealing with commercial, industrial and maritime affairs that are common to the nations of the world. The Treaty of Versailles has provided a permanent Court of International Justice which will gradually build up a body of case law that in itself will prove a sanction of the first authority. The growth of true international law cannot be in doubt and the growth is consistent with the absolute political independence of the bodies that make up what is known as the Family of Nations. These bodies have an equality that may be compared with the equality of a rich man and a poor man before the municipal law of England. No doubt there are peculiar cases of personality. The Dominions of the British Empire, for instance, are recognised by the League of Nations as independent persons, but it is very doubtful if the sovereign authority of the States that make up the United States of America would be recognised if the United States were to join, a remote possibility, the League.

But there is equality though it is an equality of a character that tends to disappear in times of stress or of war. Professor Fenwick discusses at length the relations of these equal juridical persons,

their so-called rights and duties in time of peace and the limitations of absolute sovereignty that spring from the recognition of a common law. That is the first stage, as Hobbes long ago declared, in the upgrowth of any system of law. The relation of States is, however, not only governed by substantive rules of international law which spring from the experience of centuries, but by contract or treaty relations between two or more States. Treaties are of the greatest use in developing the practice of inter-relations but they have also proved a deterrent to the growth of a common law from the fact that they have been employed to secure the balance of power and to maintain, through the methods of diplomacy and statesmanship, an equilibrium of power which is easily upset and is at the mercy of astute or ambitious men. The system of treaties entered into for this purpose has certainly delayed the growth of an international common law, and yet in the absence of educated democracies, capable of thinking internationally as well as nationally, and capable of realising that true internationality is dependent on true and strong nationality, such treaties are inevitable. It is the business of statesmen to secure the safety, by the processes of peace or the processes of war, of their own nation.

So, after all, the war problem remains. How shall national life be absolutely safeguarded and yet subject to an all pervasive Rule of Law? It can only come by slow degrees. It is dependent on the uprising of educated democracies who can think both nationally and internationally. It is dependent on the certainty that the Rule of Law will be observed. What guarantees are possible? The Strong Man demands guarantees before he will shed his hardly-won strength. That is the problem, and all the books and all the theories of law in the world will not alter it. But the actual growth of the Rule of Law and the extension of education will slowly but surely solve the problem. It has solved it in the Anglo-Saxon commonwealth. A war between members of this great community of nations is an inconceivable thing, while a war between two great European Powers is a matter of constant consideration. Why is there such a difference? The answer to that question is the real answer to all the problems that Professor Fenwick sets for solution. In the one case, the Rule *Fides est servanda* is observed as a matter of course; in the latter case, everyone doubts whether it will be observed. That seems the case in a nutshell. The steady growth of a Rule of Law, the unfailing observance of the maxim, *Fides est servanda*, offer the only solution.

J. E. G. DE M.

THE VICTORIANS.*

Mr. Harry Furniss, the famous caricaturist, has in *Some Victorian Men*, added to the many claims that he has upon the gratitude of the British public. His work contains a good deal more than caricature of famous or notable or notorious men. His portraits bring out the salient qualities not only of the men he draws but of the age that they lived in. What would one not give for a volume of *Some Periclean Men*, or *Some Cæsarian Men*, or even for such portraits of Pericles or Cæsar as are contained in this book of Disraeli and Gladstone? The portraits, indeed, reveal a whole epoch. To have these living presentments of John Bright, Robert Lowe, John Morley, Sir Stafford Northcote, Sir William Harcourt, W. E. Forster, Joseph Chamberlain, in addition to Gladstone and Disraeli, is a revelation of the great age when the British Parliament was building the Empire at the same time as it was fighting the disastrous effects of the Industrial Revolution. The portraits of Jowett, Darwin and Temple exhibit other special phases of the epoch, as do Dickens, Trollope, Ruskin, Swinburne, Froude, Lewis Carroll, Irving. Every facet of the nineteenth century seems to flash forth in these brightly written pages, which are illustrated with stories, old and sometimes almost new, of the very eminent men whom Mr. Furniss has gathered together in his gallery.

Of course, they are caricatures and some of the victims, we do not doubt, protested. Indeed "Sir William Harcourt sent me word that I made him too stout." Some of the portraits are, indeed, conventional, but Mr. Furniss in many cases, and especially in the case of Mr. Gladstone, founded the convention. The convention, moreover, is based on the personality of the victim. Perhaps Disraeli looks too much of an old Jew, but he was getting old in the days when he made the life of Mr. Gladstone and a good many other eminent men a burden by the sharp arrows of his not altogether unkindly sarcasm. Mr. Gladstone frightened people, and the portrait here of the eminent orator "listening" in the House gives an idea of how he frightened everyone with his dilating, leonine eyes except Disraeli in the great days, and the Member for Deptford, now Lord Darling, in the later days. But Disraeli was really the more terrible personality, as Berlin recognised in 1878. His reference to Sir John Graham as one "whom I will not say I greatly respect but rather whom I greatly regard," is a good example, given by Mr. Furniss, of the subtlety and depth of his irony. The story is here retold of the plagiarised passage inserted in his speech on the death of the Duke of Wellington. The pas-

* *Some Victorian Men*. Written and illustrated by Harry Furniss. (John Lane. 12s. 6d. net.)

sage came from a review probably written by Thiers, and *The Times* declared that it was almost unconsciously poured out from a well-stored memory. Certainly many speakers incorporate in their speeches unconscious quotations, and the fuss that was made by Disraeli's enemies rather showed their littleness of mind. Most of the attacks on Gladstone and Disraeli are forgotten to-day, while their personalities, as this attractive book shows, stand out as vividly as ever. In this respect they stand beside the personalities of the two Pitts. In modern times the figures of Jowett and Darwin in the spheres of letters and science stand out in the same way as the figures of Bentley and Hobbes, belonging to earlier generations. It is one of the advantages of the brilliant caricaturist that he finds a common denominator for a whole generation in the figures he selects for fame. This, we think, is Mr. Furniss's notable achievement.

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THE WORLD OF THE INCAS.*

Mrs. Anna Barwell has produced a good translation of Dr. Otfried von Hanstein's interesting account of the Socialistic State of the Incas, which was founded and created early in the twelfth century from very raw material—uncivilised Indian tribes—into a highly civilised state by Manco Capac, who became its first Emperor or Inca. Imperialism and Communism went hand in hand to achieve the wonder and the romance of the world of the Incas. The mind of a great lawgiver dealing with untold wealth, such as Peru possessed from its natural sources, converted savagery and barbarism into a social and civilised State, which would do credit to the world of to-day.

Father Francisco of Toledo tells us:

"It was in the early years of the twelfth century, about the time when the German Emperor, Henry IV, had to expiate his sin of struggling against Gregory VII by his penance at Canossa, that Manco Capac, the first Inca, accompanied by his sister, Oello Huaco, whom he married and, later on, raised to the rank of 'Mama Coya,' the Queen Empress, wandered from the islands of Lake Titicaca over the bleak pass of Huilcanota towards the north to rescue from their miserable existence in the deepest darkness of barbarism, and to convert to civilisation, the wild cannibal tribes of Indians living in the mountain valleys."

The origin and home of Manco Capac is shrouded in mystery. The high culture, wisdom, and enlightened knowledge that fitted him for the stupendous task to which he conceived himself called by the Sun God, Inti, who, according to Manco Capac's belief,

* *The World of the Incas*. By Otfried von Hanstein. (George Allen and Unwin. 7s. 6d. net.)

was the son of the Supreme Creator, is thought to have been derived from an older civilisation of which, at present, we know nothing. But this is an age of discovery, and we may well hope that one day we shall know and learn more of the man whose prescience for some four centuries controlled the lives and destinies of so vast an Empire. We know to-day that tribal life, whether in Asia or America, was capable of these great achievements. Indeed, the famous Iroquois League in North America might well have led to an empire comparable to those of Mexico and Peru.

Religion, as the author of this romantic record feels and knows, is the most powerful dynamic in the founding of any civilisation. There must of necessity be something beyond the grasp and comprehension of mortal man. It is the unseen that is eternal, and man, from the lowest to the highest, must have an ideal man or God, a supreme power that directs and controls the workings of nature and human nature. Various conceptions of this ruler of the universe hold sway from age to age, but what really matters is the attitude or faith of the worshipper. The Greeks raised an altar to "The *unknown* God." Infinite possibilities are centred in that word "unknown." We of to-day have grasped anew the idea when homage is paid to "The Unknown Warrior," whom every mother, who has given, perhaps, her all, hails as her son!

Akbar, the great Mogul Emperor, 1542-1605—near in time to Manco Capac—whose influence on his age was immense, felt the call of religion in every nation and in every creed, the need of it in every civilisation. "O God, in every temple I see people that see thee, and in every language I hear spoken, people praise thee," a fitting inscription, written by Abul Fazl, the friend and councillor of Akbar, for a temple in Kashmir. The craving for communion with the unseen and the unknown is as potent now as in the early days of the world's story. This sense of spiritual fear or spiritual fatherhood lay, and lies, behind the conception of law or custom on which empires rely and from which for the most part they spring.

The marriage laws in connection with the succession were most curious, and must be compared with similar laws in ancient Egypt. "Manco Capac married his own sister and conferred on her the title of Queen, and he issued a decree that each successive ruler must marry his eldest sister to provide an heir to the throne, after whose birth, however, all marital relations should cease between the ruler and his sister-wife." This decree of succession was only broken twice. The first occasion was when Urco, the eldest son of the eighth Inca, proved himself unworthy of the throne, and his place was taken by his brother, who became one of the most dis-

tinguished of the Incas. Secondly, when Huayna Capac, the twelfth Inca, breaking the law of succession, gave to a favourite son equal rights with the lawful heir, and made him the independent ruler of the province of Pinta. In all, there were fourteen Incas, all remarkable men.

The history of this apparently almost ideal State, where idleness, poverty and all the evils which follow in their train, were banished by the exceeding wisdom, love, and care of their Incas, who were brought up and nurtured on the tradition of Manco Capac to maintain Communism by imperial power, to work and be spent for the general good of each and all, is a story so full of romance that the reader feels he has been transported to the realm of fiction. In the land of the Incas serious crime is said to have been almost absent, and the whole people lived a life of peace and happiness. Yet, alas! there is always a fly in the ointment. All these good things were bought at a high cost, the cost of liberty, and the marvel remains that such a State could have existed for centuries. Its fall was due primarily to the failure of love in its rulers and family dissensions which made possible foreign invasion, and utter destruction at the hands of Pizarro and his Spanish invaders.

It is a sad ending to the romantic episode in the history of nations which the author of this book has so vividly put before his readers. It is an object lesson in law and politics which is well worth studying to-day, when some men are turning to Socialism and Communism as the cure for the shattered health and nerves of nations which emerged from the ravages of the greatest war that history has recorded.

* * *

SOME FUGGER NEWS-LETTERS.*

Professor Victor Klarwill, in 1922, edited a number of extracts from documents belonging to the famous merchants of the renaissance age, the Fuggers of Augsburg, and some of these are now translated for English readers. These documents are not transcribed; they are modern versions of reports dealing with the second half of the fifteenth century that came through to these merchants from regular news sources or their many business correspondents in Europe and in the then very New World. Professor Klarwill does not provide a scientific text for the purposes of social and political historians. His book is of a popular character reflecting the news that floated through from all over the known world to these enterprising merchants who, as money-lenders

* *The Fugger News-Letters: being a selection of Letters from the Correspondents of the House of Fugger (1568-1606).* Edited by Victor Klarwill. Translated by Pauline de Chary. With an Introduction by H. Gordon Selfridge. With thirty illustrations. (John Lane. 16s. net.)

to kings and especially to the King of Spain and the Emperor of Austria, were closely interested in the general drift of political affairs. These so-called News-Letters were not early newspapers at all, but were purely business letters which were often the reports of purveyors of news who were also citizens of Augsburg. But the letters themselves bear a close resemblance to the baser sort of modern journalism, and nowhere reflect the humanism of the great age in which they were written.

Many of the letters deal with petty scandal, others with the horrors of the Inquisition, of the current mania for persecuting witches, of executions of eminent or notorious persons—there is a graphic account of the execution of Count Egmont and Count Horn on June 5th, 1568, at Brussels, and of the Earl of Essex in 1601—of the deaths of popes and kings. The horrors sometimes have a possible value for the historian. Thus the St. Bartholomew massacre in Paris on August 23rd, 1572, is reported in some detail in a letter from Amsterdam of August 30th. "This has been likened unto Sicilian Vespers, by which the Huguenots and the Gueux of this country had their wings well trimmed. The Admiral has reaped just payment." A contemporary view like this is of some value if the document is genuine. Again, the account of the murder of the Guises in December, 1588, would have been of some value if it were dated and came from a definite source. The account of the execution of Mary Queen of Scots would have been of real value if the source could be identified. The description purports to come from an eye-witness, "Emanuel Tomascon," and the report is endorsed "in old handwriting, from a Calvinist source." It is stated that her hair was quite grey and had been closely cropped.

Drake's attack on Cadiz is described in a letter from Venice, dated May 22nd, 1587, reporting a letter from Madrid of May 5th, which reports a letter from Cadiz of April 30th. This brief despatch states that the English pirate, Drake, attacked with a hundred ships including five-and-twenty well-armed galleons. In the harbour the Spaniards had twenty-two ships and galleons. The translation is rather obscure. The beginnings of the trade of Holland with the East is noted in a letter from Amsterdam of July 24th, 1599, recording the arrival of four ships richly laden with pepper and spices. The trade news is, perhaps, the most valuable part of these documents. From the point of view of the historian a great deal more information as to the date of the MSS. and their sources is needed. Professor Klarwill states that "most of the Fugger papers are no longer extant in the original." This, of course, still further detracts from the evidentiary value of these documents.

LAW AND MORALS.*

Professor Roscoe Pound, the Dean of the Harvard Law School, has obtained a wide reputation in Europe and America, not only as a lawyer but as a jurist. In these lectures he has developed the theme of the relation of law to morals, one of the three subjects which "stand out in the juristic writing of the last century—the nature of law, the relation of law to morals, and the interpretation of legal history." The eighteenth century endeavoured to identify law and morality, and that view was attacked, with apparent success, by the earlier analytical and historical jurists, such as Austin and Maine, who, however, had little else in common. Professor Pound limits himself to the historical, analytical and metaphysical theories dealing with his subject. He points out that at the moment American thought has gone back to the position of "the State as the unchallengeable authority behind legal precepts," thus taking the place originally assigned to a divine lawgiver. He considers that "the historical school overthrew the natural-law jurisprudence of the eighteenth century." That view is certainly not universal. Indeed, it looks as if the historical school is to-day carrying us back to a doctrine of natural law not unlike, in essentials, that of the eighteenth century. It could not be said to-day, in view of the character of the masses of customary law which the workers of the historical school have collected and co-ordinated, that ethical considerations are "banished from historical jurisprudence." But it is certainly true to say that "analytical jurisprudence broke with philosophy and with ethics completely." That was Austin's view, but there are signs to-day of a school of analytical jurists who are prepared to adopt the conclusions of the historical school for the purpose of securing new bases for analysis. Professor Pound attacks the mechanical methods of the old analytical jurists. There are clearly many points of contact between law and morals. Moral considerations cannot be ignored in the region of law. Law does not deal only "with affirmative action."

Professor Pound holds that the legal and the moral can neither be divorced nor made identical. He applies, in effect, the doctrine of relativity to the theme. Progress in the conception of law is like progress in the conception of physics. We are in an age of rapid progress after a century of consolidation. But it would seem that while Professor Einstein is undermining the Newtonian dynamics, Professor Pound is undermining legal dynamics. He is giving us a new law of nature, but one that is divorced from the Absolute. The emphasis in law has been transferred "from individual interests to social interests." But surely

* *Law and Morals: The McNair Lectures, 1923, delivered at the University of North Carolina.* By Roscoe Pound. (Humphrey Milford. 7s. net.)

this larger interest in the legislature and in the judiciary is really that harking back which the historical school has emphasised? To the historical school, law, finding its origin in the relations of groups, is essentially social, and has only manifested itself in the individual as part of the group as the result of that customary feudalism which is manifested in the record of all and every system of tribal law. The so-called transfer is reversion to type. The individualism of the nineteenth century, the result of what we may call economic feudalism as manifested in the Industrial Revolution, was merely part of a great process which is not at all inconsistent with the essentially social aspects of natural law. Professor Pound declares that,

"If we saw that to the analytical jurist law was law by enactment, that to the historical jurist it was law by convention, and that to the philosophical jurist it was law by nature, we should do the cardinal juristic doctrines of the last century no injustice and should be putting them in terms that would be entirely intelligible. . . . May we expect to understand social control or law as an agency of social control by putting a question as to some single simple relation and giving a single simple answer? Social, and hence, legal phenomena do not admit of simple explanations."

We cannot admit that to the historical jurist law is law by convention—it is something much subtler than that, it is law by reason of the inherent constitution of the human personality. Nor can we admit that social and legal phenomena do not admit of simple explanations. There are natural laws governing social phenomena, as there are natural laws governing the phenomena of growth or the phenomena of physical structure. The whole tendency of modern thought is towards simplicity of explanation. That point, made last year at the British Association by Sir Ernest Rutherford, is as true of social as of other phenomena. It is a case of finding a Newton or a Mendel or an Einstein in the world of legal thought. The value of analytical jurisprudence has been to clarify our thinking, of historical and philosophical jurisprudence (and to-day they are indivisible) is to give us an instrument that can peer into the structure of human relationships. It may be that Professor Pound has found something in the nature of the doctrine of relativity which applies to the laws of human relationship, and abolishes the need for a strict framework of reference. We doubt it. But at any rate, the learned American jurist has set the lists for a stern fight, and for that reason this work must be welcomed.

J. E. G. DE M.

SHORTER REVIEWS.

Mr. Albert J. Koop, assistant keeper in the Department of Metalwork in the Victoria and Albert Museum, presents in the noble volume on *Early Chinese Bronzes** a series of carefully selected illustrations "showing the variety of forms and schemes of ornamentation applied to bronze vessels and implements in early and mediæval China." Western publications on this theme are very few, and are wholly inadequately illustrated. The special feature of the present volume is the series of superb plates following the text. The private collections of England, France and Belgium have been ransacked for purposes of reproduction and owners have been most generous in this respect. The Chinese tradition of casting in various alloys of copper goes back into the third millennium before our era, and there is historic record of great bronze caldrons, ornamented with designs, cast in the year 2205 B.C. which survived till the dissolution of the Chou dynasty in 233 B.C. Decorative bronze casting in China is, therefore, certainly earlier than the first appearance of bronze in Europe. Existing specimens, however, do not go behind the Shang, or second dynasty, and there is no survival of primitive work. The extant stock of early bronzes "begins with a series displaying a skill of craftsmanship and an elaboration of design which argue many centuries of evolution, unless we are to assume a miraculously sudden development comparable with Athena's birth from the head of Zeus." Unfortunately, forgery was rife from a very early period and here, as in porcelain, it is only the lifelong expert who can determine the authentic character of a bronze. The time that a bronze has been buried can within very wide limits be ascertained, and thus the modern forger can, perhaps, always be detected. The study of patination, the chemical eating away of the surface of the bronze, is useful in this way, but very early forgers need other tests. Mr. Koop classifies by style-periods or groups, of which there are four. The Chou style combines high and low relief, is very bold, and presents vertical ribs or flanges projecting from the relief bands. The Ch'in style (c. 300 B.C.) is flat, graceful and elegant. The Han style reacts in spirit and vigour towards the Chou style, but the detail is not so refined. The T'ang style shows the evolution into a pictorial characteristic, with realism and freedom of drawing. Some later bronzes, either inlaid with precious metals or akin to Siberian gold ornaments and of Scythian origin, are also illustrated. They reflect the first three style-periods. The reaction of these various styles on the work of Central and Western Asia and Europe must have been very great. China plainly influenced Scythia, and the influence must have drifted west, even if the Western use of bronze was not itself due to the Chinese initiative.

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Dr. H. E. Ryle, Dean of Westminster and formerly Bishop of Winchester, has written an introduction to Mr. D. C. Simpson's learned volume entitled, *Pentateuchal Criticism*,† dedicated to the memory of Dr. Driver. The Dean of Westminster points out that Mr. Simpson's "clear, temperate, and reverent statement" will enable the ordinary man to understand the facts as to the scientific literary investigation connoted by the term "*Pentateuchal Criticism*." The critical position

* Ernest Benn. £5 5s.

† Oxford University Press. 6s. 6d. net.

reached "is found to harmonise with the record of the progressive Revelation of the Divine Will." The late Dr. Driver had read this work in MS. Mr. Simpson deals first with "The meaning of criticism." The documentary critic is solely concerned with the document and its problems, and should have no doctrinal prepossessions. The result of this criticism of the Pentateuch is that we find in it a combination of two strands of ancient Mosaic tradition and legislation, we find the Deuteronomic legislation, mostly based on the teaching of the eighth century prophets where it differs fundamentally from Mosaic tradition, and lastly, we find the so-called "Priestly" narratives and legislation, the product of the exilic or post-exilic period and pre-supposing the teaching of Jeremiah, Ezekiel and Deutero-Isaiah. Mr. Simpson deals at length with the Priestly source, and with the sources of the ancient Mosaic traditional beliefs which partly reflect the code of Hammurabi and Babylonian ideas. Deuteronomy secures a necessary special chapter, and in the next chapter the Pentateuch is considered in the light of Hebrew history and in relation to the Aramaic papyri recently discovered at Elephantine (which in no way contradict the critical position with regard to the Pentateuch). The volume concludes with a chapter on the Divine Purpose in Hebrew religion. There is an appendix on the names of God in the Pentateuch and a valuable bibliography of the recent English literature on the whole subject.

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Mr. George Glasgow's *Memoir of Ronald Burrows* (Nisbet, 15s.) is a labour of love. As an intimate friend he studied at close quarters a man who crowded an enormous quantity and an immense variety of work into a life which was cut short in its fifty-third year. No one who knew him will ever forget that small but energetic figure, with its radiating vitality, bright eyes, mobile features and hearty laugh; but even those who knew one or more aspects of his activity will be surprised at the opulent record contained in these vivid pages. From early manhood Burrows lived the double life of scholarship and politics—if we may stretch the latter term to include his devoted service to the lads of the great cities where his lot was cast, and to many other forms of social effort, in which he was loyally aided by his wife. He was at once a fine scholar and a great citizen; and the connecting link was Greece. As assistant to Professor Gilbert Murray at Glasgow, and as Professor at Cardiff and Manchester, he made the life, literature and language of classical Greece a delightful reality to hundreds of pupils. His own excavations in Greece won him a high place among working archaeologists, while his "Discoveries in Crete" summarised with remarkable ability and completeness the sensational discoveries of Sir Arthur Evans in the virgin soil of Minoan civilisation. From ancient to modern Greece is but a step, and the name of Ronald Burrows will live above all as the friend and adviser of Venizelos and the ardent Philhellene, during the years of storm and stress which filled the close of the reign of King George and the whole of the troublous reign of his son. A touching Foreword has been contributed by the great Greek statesman, and the most poignant part of it is the last letter written by the dying scholar to his friend. The fruitful labours of Ronald Burrows as Principal of King's College, his creation of a school of languages, his friendship with Masaryk, his share in "The New Europe," these and other matters are described with a light touch and a loving heart by his accomplished biographer.

Mr. E. H. Keeling, in *Adventures in Turkey and Russia*,* retells the story of the dreadful march of the prisoners from Kut across the desert, and it is well that it should be told since the report on the subject of the Government Committee on the Breaches of the Laws of War has never been issued. Anything more terrible than the sufferings of our men on this fearful march has never been recorded. The Turk was at his worst. At the very time that he was treating with humanity, to say the least, General Townshend on an island in the Sea of Marmora, the British troops who had fought so nobly under General Townshend were lashed across the deserts between the Tigris and Asia Minor. Mr. Keeling and his party escaped from Kastamuni Camp in August, 1917, and struck for Bafra on the Black Sea, a distance of 110 miles. They determined to travel as Germans and reached the sea in a fortnight, but were arrested by the Turks at Gerze after an effort to secure a boat. They were sent under charge back to Kastamuni, but on the way three of them were rescued by a party of Circassians and Georgians, who were on their way to join the Russians. Sweet, the fourth man, was recaptured and taken to Yozgad, where he died of influenza just before the Armistice. A boat was secured, and on the forty-ninth day after leaving Kastamuni the party arrived at Alupka, thirty miles south-east of Sevastopol. The last part of this very readable book deals with Russia after the revolution and with the repatriation of British prisoners from Turkey. In 1921 any attempt to punish the Turks for the brutal treatment of these prisoners was abandoned.

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Major F. C. Molesworth has written an attractive work that should have more than a military circle of readers in *The Military uses of Astronomy*.† General Sir W. R. Birdwood, in his Foreword, shows one use: "The officers of the British Army spend much of their service in the empty places of the world, where there are no roads or signposts, and often no maps. If they can learn thoroughly what Major Molesworth has explained so clearly, and can apply the knowledge instinctively in the desert or bush, they may save the lives of their men, or make certain of the success of an operation." Sandhurst teaches something of astronomy to-day but "not nearly enough." Major Molesworth summarises the military uses of astronomy: "The approximate time may be told by the direction of the sun; conversely the sun's bearing can be calculated if the correct time be known; it is possible to tell the time with far greater accuracy from the positions of the stars; while marching by the stars is by no means difficult; anyone planning or taking part in night operations should know when the moon will rise or set; and a knowledge of the tides is useful to those engaged in landing operations or in operations near the sea coast." The author rightly advises the student to test and verify the facts of the book in the open. "An ounce of practice is worth a pound of precept." Any student of nature who uses this book with its excellent diagrams and checks results by personal observation will secure a practical knowledge of the elements of astronomy and its relation to daily life that will be as delightful as it will be useful. In the practical chapter on tides there is a necessary warning against too much reliance on the textbook theory.

* John Murray. 10s. 6d. net.

† Longmans. 3s. 6d. net.

Mr. Heywood Sumner, in *Excavations at East Grimstead, Wiltshire*,* being a record of the discovery of a Roman villa, with Plans of the site, of the excavations, and other Illustrations, provides a very valuable account of a discovery made in the spring of 1914, when excavations were begun. The work went on for a month in 1915 and was resumed in June, 1922, reaching completion last August. All the relics found have been placed in the Salisbury Museum, a museum much used for educational purposes. Plan II shows the whole Roman site as excavated. There are three detached bath-houses, eleven rooms, two court-yards, two walled areas. The general plan of the rooms was of the corridor type. One room was warmed by a composite hypocaust. It is possible that what is known as a Centurial stone has been found. Centuriation was the marking out by an *agrimensor* (surveyor) of private property. Professor Haverfield thought that there was not enough evidence to prove the existence of centuriation in Britain, while Mr. Montague Sharpe holds that evidence of centuriation is to be found in most Romanised centres in Britain. Mr. Sharpe has pointed out that Frontinus, a great authority on land surveying, was in Britain with Agricola and the work of surveyors may reasonably be looked for. The present field boundaries and road lines only show rare coincidence with the direction lines of the cross on this supposed centurial stone, but these direction lines agree with the setting out of the villa plan and of the adjoining walls. The road and field lines may well have been altered in sixteen centuries. The villa seems to have been occupied by an owner with a comfortable and cheerful standard of life. It is difficult to agree that the casual graffiti or tiles at Silchester indicated a population that wrote Latin. They must have been written by imported Italian labourers. But the villa was in a fully Romanised area which seems to have been evacuated in peace at the end of the Roman occupation. Time and decay have still left us an echo of happy Roman life sixteen centuries ago.

NOTICES OF BOOKS.

Miss Edyth Hinkley, in *Mazzini: the story of a Great Italian*,† sets forth the record of a great personality and of the *Risorgimento* of which he was the soul. Giuseppe Mazzini was not only a man of genius but also a man of intense faith both in the possibilities of a better world and in the reality of the world beyond the grave. This profound quality lay behind the abiding influence of his work. Italy, dead and dismembered, was to arise again, and she has arisen. He stood always, both before the unification of Italy and since, for the essential unity of that great country, and as late as 1870 he went to Italy in order to check a separatist movement in Sicily. He was arrested, but released on the general amnesty. His faith in Italy as a unity is a force for good to-day, and that and the full exposition of his faith in the immortality of man make this well-written book of current interest of much value to-day.

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In *MacDonald as Diplomatist* (Jonathan Cape, 6s.), Mr. George Glas-

* Chiswick Press. 3s. 6d. net.

† George Allen and Unwin. 12s. 6d. net.