

THE GENEVA PROTOCOL.

THE Geneva Protocol asserts in plain language that a war of aggression constitutes a violation of the solidarity of the members of the international community and is an international crime. Persons who are unable loyally and frankly to accept this statement will probably not support the terms of the Protocol. If, on the other hand, it is accepted, as it will be by all who earnestly desire a permanent peace as the normal condition of civilised life, then I claim that the articles in the Protocol should be regarded as an earnest attempt to further this great purpose. It is no part of my argument to suggest that these articles should be accepted as sacrosanct, or incapable of amendment. They have been approved at Geneva by general agreement, and may be amended by general agreement, if such a course is found to be expedient. The occasion for considering amendment will arise when the nations meet at the World Conference to formulate a scheme for the reduction of armaments in accordance with the obligations in Article 8 of the Covenant. It is really vital that the summoning of this Conference should not be imperilled by premature discussion on issues which can only be effectively discussed at the Conference itself. There is a tendency to regard the Protocol too much as a scheme applicable to Great Britain, whereas it is an international document, although it was only rendered possible by the understanding which was reached at Geneva between the delegations of France and this country.

In the hurried action, which connotes the conditions of modern life, it is easy to forget the impression which operated so strongly during the late sitting of the Fifth Assembly at Geneva. No magic can recreate the atmosphere of general goodwill, which made possible the unanimous acceptance of the Protocol by the Delegations of 48 States. The privilege of taking part in the discussions of the Council, and Assembly of the League, is not likely to recur, but the remembrance of taking part with my colleagues in an effort to promote peaceful co-operation will remain a constant source of hope and faith in the further development of unselfish international intercourse. As a Member of the Council of the League it was necessary for me to be present at Council Meetings for two or three days before the Meeting of the Assembly. During these days there was a lull in the progress of ordinary

business; every Member present at the Council being preoccupied with the approaching visit of the two Prime Ministers of France and Great Britain. There was an atmosphere of hopeful expectation, though, as is usual on such occasions, there were critics who had inherited the pessimism of the Cassandra temperament, and who foretold with much assurance the failure which would certainly attend the speeches of the Prime Ministers.

After the British Prime Minister had delivered his great address to the Assembly, on the morning of September 2nd, nothing more was heard of these gloomy forecasts. This address has been reported in full, and should be studied as reported—I do not propose to make any attempt at a shortened analysis. It boldly developed a scheme of universal compulsory arbitration in international disputes as an alternative to war, under sanctions which would give the necessary sense of general security, to enable the Signatory States to the Covenant to fulfil the obligation they had severally undertaken not to resort to war, and to reduce armaments in accordance with Article 8 of the Covenant. It was wisely determined to relegate to the Assembly and its appropriate Commissions the task of preparing a scheme of arbitration and security which would allow the calling of an international Conference on Disarmament, through the agency of the League, and its highly-trained secretariat. It is only necessary to add that emphasis was laid in the speech of the British Prime Minister on the fact that the proposals which he adumbrated could be developed under the principles already accepted in the Covenant, and which were already binding as a solemn obligation on the Signatory States.

The next morning M. Herriot spoke on behalf of France, expressing a general agreement with the policy of the British Prime Minister, and interlinking arbitration, security and disarmament as the three pillars on which a true peace policy could be founded. M. Herriot did not ask for more than a "further development, and full application of the Articles of the Covenant," to which he referred as "a solemn instrument in which France seeks rules to guide her future action and foreign policy."

A notable feature in the addresses of both Prime Ministers was the frankness which did not disguise that, in the application of the principles which they both advocated, there would be difficulty in reconciling the views of France and England. This may be shortly expressed by reference to their differing views on the Treaty of Mutual Assistance, a difference already expressed in the Notes of the two Governments. At the same time, the overriding feature in both speeches was the expression of an ardent desire to promote a mutual understanding between the two countries, such as would enable them to work together in promoting a world peace settle-

ment and to carry further the settlement initiated at the London Conference. It was in these speeches that the Geneva atmosphere, which eventuated in the unanimous acceptance of the Protocol, had its origin. But for the creation of this friendly atmosphere it would have been impossible, within the time at command, to reduce into an agreed form the principles enunciated in the two speeches. It is only necessary further to recall the acceptance by the Assembly of the Resolution moved by Mr. Ramsay MacDonald, and seconded by M. Herriot. This referred to the first and third Commissions of the Assembly the task of producing a scheme capable of being applied as the first step towards the summoning of an International World Conference, in order to solve one of the great outstanding world problems.

There would be no advantage in attempting to give a detailed account of the meetings of the two Commissions. It will be sufficient to take the Protocol as settled, and to call attention to questions on which criticism had mainly centred. It is of much importance not to forget that, before any detailed examination of a proposed draft of the Protocol, the French and English Delegations met together in order to discuss certain matters, with a view to bringing about a mutual understanding, especially on the all-important subject of sanctions or security. It was common ground that any solution should come within the principle of the terms of the Covenant, but there was a difference of opinion as to what was implied "in a further development and full application of the Articles of the Covenant." The first meeting was prolonged and ended in an adjournment without having found a basis of settlement. At a subsequent meeting a basis of agreement in principle was settled, and it was by this means that success was finally obtained. It has been said that this arrangement operated to the disadvantage of British interests, and the acceptance of what has been called the Continental policy. I desire to protest strongly against any such implication, for which there is no warrant, but the test is to be found, not in the suggestions so easily made in reference to private meetings, but in the articles of the Protocol itself, which stands as the written record of the final adjustment.

It is necessary in considering these terms to bear in mind the nature of the obligations which the Signatory States of the Covenant had already undertaken, and the freedom of these States, outside these limitations, to conduct their foreign policy as independent Powers at their own discretion. It would be chimerical to expect that a document such as the Protocol can be drafted with an accuracy and precision to avoid criticism in detail. In its present form it was accepted unanimously by the Delegations at Geneva; but I regret that the proposal to appoint drafting experts

has been postponed. It would have cleared the ground if amendments had been introduced in the Covenant on the lines of the provisions contained in the Protocol, in accordance with the undertaking in Article 4 (1).

It seems too often to be forgotten that the Covenant of the League contains solemn obligations of a binding character, which the Signatory States have already undertaken to observe with a scrupulous respect. The Preamble of the Covenant places in the forefront the acceptance by the high-contracting parties of obligations not to resort to war: the succeeding Articles, as they stand, are not sufficiently inclusive to enable the Signatories to ensure the fulfilment of this primary duty. The provisions do not cover all the disputes which may eventuate in war, or provide adequate security against all forms of aggressive action. The Protocol is intended to supply this deficiency, and provides, in all cases which can be foreseen, an alternative method to war for settling international disputes. Hence there is no longer any occasion for aggressive war, and it becomes possible to brand such war as an international crime. The Preamble of the Covenant further declares that, to achieve international peace and security, it is necessary firmly to establish the understandings of international law, as the actual rule of conduct among Governments. The Covenant, however, does not go further than provide for the establishment of a permanent Court of International Justice. The Statute which constitutes this Court gives an option to refer to it for decision the same juridical subjects as are specified in the second paragraph of Article 13 of the Covenant. It was further provided that this optional clause might by assent be made compulsory either with or without reservations. In the Protocol 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 specified cases, without prejudice to the right reserved to make reservations.

This Article in the Protocol is of high importance. The effective way to establish the understandings of international law as the actual rule of conduct among nations is that the principles should be formulated after argument by the authoritative decisions of a Court of competent jurisdiction. On the other hand, the full power of reservation is expressly maintained, and there is no interference with the full liberty of the British Government in making such reservations. The statement that the Protocol had in this way altered, adversely to this country, the rules of international law applicable to sea warfare, as formulated under the authority of the British Prize Courts, never had any foundation. From the first, and throughout the whole stage of negotiations, this matter

was before the British Delegation. It is directly dealt with by the special reservation inserted in Article 3 of the Protocol, and during the discussions the nature and extent of the reservations which it would be necessary to insert in order to safeguard the position of Great Britain, were fully appreciated and understood. Moreover, in order to place this matter out of the region of controversy, a special addition was made, at the request of the British Delegation, to Article 10 of the Protocol, expressly providing that any Signatory State, called upon to supply sanctions, shall be entitled to exercise the rights of a belligerent.

The Covenant contains a series of Articles in which the Members of the League agree to refer disputes to arbitration or to the Council, or Assembly, for inquiry or conciliation. To give the security required before any general reduction of armaments is possible it was essential to make these Articles comprehensive, so as to provide a tribunal to which all disputes might be referred. On this point there is no room for compromise. Arbitration compulsory and inclusive, either in the first instance, or on the failure of conciliation, and, in the case of the specified juridical subjects, reference for decision to the International Court, are basic factors if the proposals, adumbrated by Mr. MacDonald and M. Herriot, are to be effectively applied. There was on this point complete agreement between the two Prime Ministers. The provision in the Protocol for compulsory reference to the International Court, or inclusive arbitration, is therefore nothing more than a full application of a principle contained in the Covenant. The obligation to observe this principle, as applied in the Covenant, is an honourable duty, quite irrespective of whether or not Sanctions are provided. It is the treaty of the Covenant which imposes the duty, and no country has insisted more consistently on the duty of scrupulously respecting treaty obligations than Great Britain.

In the Covenant, the Signatory Parties bind themselves not only to submit certain disputes to arbitration, but also to carry out the decision of the tribunal. A State which has come under an obligation in the Covenant to submit a dispute to arbitration also accepts the obligation of obedience to the award. The award is a decision of an authoritative tribunal. It is this decision which becomes obligatory, and not open to further question, subject only to the possibility of rectification on certain recognised grounds of a very limited character. A conspicuous authority on this point is the decision of Great Britain to obey the terms of the Alabama award, of which the justice was not generally accepted, and from which the Lord Chief Justice of England largely dissented. There is no distinction in this respect between the obliga-

tions contained in the Covenant and the Protocol. Article 13 of the Covenant, moreover, in terms provides that :

"The Members of the League agree that they will carry out in full good faith any award that may be rendered and that they will not resort to war against a Member of the League which complies therewith."

What has been said as to the similarity in principle between the obligations undertaken in the Covenant and the Protocol, applies equally to the nature of the Sanctions imposed in the two instruments. Article 11 of the Protocol only includes as Sanctions, Sanctions of all kinds mentioned in paragraphs 1 and 2 of Article 16 of the Covenant. The suggestion of any difference has probably arisen in a confusion between the nature of the Sanctions, and the method of their enforcement. In both instruments the Sanctions are primarily financial and economic, though ultimately they may become military and naval. It is, however, highly improbable that Sanctions of this latter character will ever be called into operation. If they should be, their purpose will be to check the international crime of aggressive warfare. In both instruments the Signatory Parties come under obligation to support the Covenant of the League or to resist any act of aggression, and each State retains complete freedom to determine at the time, and when the occasion arises, in what way and to what extent their Naval, Military and Air Forces may be used. So far as Great Britain is concerned there never was any question of interfering in any way with this limitation. For a time the fantastic misrepresentation of an offer of the British Navy by the British Delegation to the League of Nations had currency, but I have never been able to trace this misrepresentation to its source.

There are two respects in which the obligations contained in the Protocol have been defined more narrowly than in the Covenant. The intention of the Protocol is to make aggressive war impossible, and it becomes necessary, therefore, to define what is meant by aggression. Aggression is declared to be a violation of international solidarity, and is branded as an international crime. The interpretation of aggression is the important provision of the Protocol, which it may be possible to amend in the direction of greater precision. Every State which resorts to war in violation of the undertakings contained in the Covenant or the Protocol is an aggressor, but there is greater difficulty in the case of threatened war. The Protocol does, however, without question, introduce a greater certainty than is to be found in the Covenant. To this extent the obligations contained in the Protocol are brought within narrower limitations than in the Covenant. There is a further

restriction introduced in the Protocol that the obligations are only operative in the degree which the geographical position, and the particular situation of a State as regards armaments, allow. This restriction was introduced to meet the requirements of the Scandinavian countries, and more particularly Denmark, where a proposal has been brought forward to reduce armaments to a level beyond the limitations contained in the Covenant. It is a curious instance of misunderstanding that these restrictions have been quoted as though in some way they imposed added obligations of a novel character.

In conclusion, it may be useful to call attention to one or two of the important points on which the Protocol has been criticised. There is still, from time to time, an echo of the misrepresentation of an alleged offer, or mortgage, to the League of the British Navy. I have just read the speech of a Liberal ex-Minister, who says that he will never assent to a mortgage of the British Navy, forgetting apparently to add that no such proposal is contained in the Protocol, or was ever entertained by the British Delegates. It would be well if Liberal speakers bore in mind the important statements made by Lord Buckmaster, and published in *The Times* of November 21st and 22nd. He states that the question of the aid to be rendered, and the character of the Forces to be applied in support of Sanctions, will depend on Article 16 of the Covenant, and that the Protocol does not add to the obligations imposed for the purpose of securing obedience to the agreements. The whole argument of this distinguished Liberal jurist should be studied by Liberal speakers. They will find that it bears out the statements made by members of the British Delegation, and gives a conclusive answer to such a suggestion as that contained in the speech to which I have referred.

The criticism that important States are not members of the League of Nations is one of substance, but in this connection it must be remembered that the Protocol cannot become operative unless there is a general agreement at the International Conference on the reduction of armaments. To this Conference, States not yet members of the League will be summoned, on an equal footing. It must not, however, be forgotten that States which have not become subject to the obligations in the Covenant stand on a different footing from the Signatory States. These latter States cannot treat the Covenant as a scrap of paper, and are bound to regard the Treaty obligations contained therein with scrupulous respect. I think it has been abundantly shown that no new principle, either as to obligations or Sanctions, is introduced in the Protocol which is not to be found in the Covenant, but if there is any doubt on this point it could be settled in the

preparation of the draft by expert draftsmen, provided for in the terms of the Protocol.

At the time of writing this article it is not possible to say what the ultimate opinion of the Dominions may be, but it can be said that, after full consultation with the British Delegates at Geneva, the Dominion Delegates gave their support to the acceptance of the Protocol. I have no desire to press the importance of this support too far; but it tends to emphasise the influence exercised at Geneva in the direction of agreement and conciliation.

Lastly, it is not right to criticise the Protocol as an independent document. Its purpose is to prepare the way to an International Conference on Disarmament, and the questions of security and disarmament are so interlinked, that no final settlement is possible, until both questions have been discussed as part of one problem. If all the provisions necessary to obtain a maximum security cannot be accepted, then the level of disarmament will require adjustment. So long as the main principles involved in the agreement between France and England are maintained, there is no reason why matters of detail in the Protocol should not be amended, and if the same influence of conciliation and goodwill is found at the International Conference as existed in the Geneva Assembly, there is every reason to hope that a final arrangement will be agreed. To reject the Protocol, before the Meeting of the International Conference, is a policy of despair, a turning back from the furrow before the plough has completed its work, an abandonment of the hope of a new world of which the normal condition shall be peace, a relapse into the condition which made possible the ruin and devastation of the late war, a ruin and devastation to be made more terrible in any future war by the cursed invention of more effective implements for human destruction.

PARMOOR.

THE FUTURE OF LIBERALISM.

I. By F. W. HIRST. II. By W. M. R. PRINGLE. III. By HAROLD SPENDER.

I.

WHEN Mr. Baldwin asked the country for a mandate to introduce Protection, a strong verdict for Free Trade was registered by the voters. Mr. Snowden's excellent Budget fulfilled their expectations. But when Mr. Ramsay MacDonald in a fit of irritation dissolved Parliament a year later, the issue was changed to Socialism. Free Trade was not even mentioned in the Manifesto of the Labour Party; and the Conservatives (with the obliging assistance of the Foreign Office) got an enormous majority.

That the Coalition Liberals desired to withdraw support from the Labour Government, and were partly responsible for the Dis-solution, was evident enough even to a casual reader of newspapers last summer and autumn. And but for the official publication of the Zinoviev letter their calculations might have been justified by a new House of Commons so constituted that Mr. Baldwin would have been forced to form a Coalition Government dependent on Georgian support. As it is, he has only taken in Mr. Winston Churchill, though Mr. Hilton Young and others of that group are offering him general support so long as his measures do not too violently conflict with what they call "the fundamental principles of Liberalism." But what does this mean? Those who think that a Liberal Party imbued with Liberal principles has been, and might again be, a great power for good, will agree that the time has come to define "the fundamental principles of Liberalism," and to inquire what were the political aims and ideals of the Liberal Party in its great days, when it was inspired or guided by men of faith and vision—by Mill, Cobden, Bright, Gladstone, Campbell-Bannerman, and Morley.

There are many, I know, who would have us draw a quite different moral from this defeat—the most crushing ever inflicted on the Liberal Party at the polls, unless we count the "Coupon," or "Hang the Kaiser" election of 1918. They say that what is needed to restore the Liberal Party to power is a big Central Fund, wherewith to procure more agents, more paid officials, more paid speakers and more paid candidates. On this view principles are rather an encumbrance. "Clean the slate. Let your cleverest Vote-Catcher devise a programme. Then, if you have enough money from the millionaires and enough gladiators from the Temple, you will win

the next Games." They may be right; public opinion may be coming round to the view that talk about principles is mere clap-trap, that the sole object of politicians is to get into office, and that parties are organised and maintained not so much to promote a policy as to secure power and patronage for a set of men who wear the party colours and are attached to the party organisation.

It is obvious that, just as the Conservative Party may have ceased to be conservative, so the Liberal Party may have ceased to be liberal. Labour leaders, when angling for Liberal votes, are very ready to denounce the Liberal Party for its failure and very eager to claim that the Labour Party now represents all the truly liberal and progressive ideals which, in the great days of Bright and Gladstone, inspired the Liberal Party. In this spirit some of them denounce the Imperialism of Mr. Asquith, the Jingoism of Mr. Lloyd George, and the diplomacy of Sir Edward Grey, which (as Lord Morley wrote a few months before his death), reversing Cobden's principles, "landed us in the thankless war of 1914." But they never mention Lord Haldane, perhaps the principal contriver of our foreign entanglements, for the excellent reason that they welcomed him to the bosom of the party, made him not only their Lord Chancellor but Chairman of the Imperial Defence Committee, which under his inspiration discarded their own disarmament policy. How different is Office from Opposition! And can the variegated Socialism of the Labour Party, with its paradoxical ideals of international peace and class warfare, of disarmament in Opposition and armament expansion in Office, offer us a good modern substitute for the Liberal Party as it was under Gladstone or Campbell-Bannerman? Even if our answer is in the negative, Liberals have a good deal to learn from the zeal and public spirit which seem to animate Labour organisations, with their hosts of small subscribers and unpaid workers. I am not surprised that many thousands of keen Liberals joined them during the war and afterwards. Only, let us not fall into the error of supposing that promises of Nationalisation, Capital Levy, or bureaucratic regulations of trade were the attraction.

But let me return to my theme—leaving organisation and programme to others. What is Liberalism?

In a political sense the words Liberal and Liberalism are comparatively modern—not more than a century old. They seem to have come from Spain, which certainly needed the commodity then, and needs it still. In England, during the 'thirties and 'forties "Liberal" came to signify a supporter of the movement for political and economic freedom, and so, gradually, liberal Whigs and Peelites began to be called Liberals. But one can hardly speak of a Liberal Party until Mr. Gladstone formed his

first administration in 1868. From that time until the Home Rule split of 1886 the Liberal Party flourished. Liberal Associations on a democratic basis were created in most large towns. It was during this period that Chamberlain, Dilke, Morley, Sir George Trevelyan, and others developed and formulated the Radical Programme.* The Home Rule split, which deprived the party of John Bright, Joseph Chamberlain, Hartington, Leonard Courtney, and many other leading men both of the moderate liberal and of the radical school, was followed by a period in which Unionism and Imperialism (under Salisbury, Balfour and Chamberlain) held almost uninterrupted sway for twenty years. The brief Liberal administration of 1892 to 1895 did little; for the Home Rule majority in the House of Commons was composite, and so small that the party measures were at the mercy of the House of Lords.

The second period of Liberal Party predominance (coinciding with the gradual rise of a Labour Party) was marked by three great measures of policy. I mean, of course, the restoration of full self-government to South Africa, Old Age Pensions, and, finally, the Parliament Act, by which the hereditary veto of the House of Lords was limited and their unconstitutional pretensions to interfere with the Budget constitutionally ended. A fourth great measure—Irish Home Rule—was unfortunately suspended on our entrance into the War. After that disastrous day of August, 1914, the Liberal Party, soon driven into coalition with Die-Hards and Tariff Reformers, went rapidly downhill. But Liberalism, eclipsed by D.O.R.A., conscription, and various measures of a protective and preferential character (which most of its present leaders introduced or supported), has already recovered from the shock, and is probably now the prevailing mood of millions who last October voted Conservative or Labour. Indeed, no competent critic who reflects on conditions in Great Britain and Ireland, in France, Germany, and even in Italy, can doubt that there has been since 1920 or 1921 a marked regrowth of liberal opinion and liberal sentiment both at home and abroad. Even in the United States—which seems to be almost reactionary in its conservatism—there is far more peace feeling and a far stronger popular movement for disarmament than existed in the years before 1914.

What, then, do we mean by Liberalism? The historian, who is conversant with its varying fortunes in England, France, and Germany since the revolutions of 1848, will, I think, readily agree as to the main doctrines that distinguish the true faith from the

* Land Reform, Free Education, Equality of Opportunity, a wider Franchise, Parish Councils and the subordination of the Hereditary to the Elective Chamber were its main features.

rival political creeds of Imperialism, Socialism, and Conservatism. English Liberalism may be traced back to the philosophical radicalism of Jeremy Bentham and his school, which found expression in the Reform Bill of 1832, in the Poor Law Reform of 1834, in the Municipal Corporations Act of 1835, in the Public Health Acts, in popular education, and in the series of measures which conferred self-government on the Colonies. But the radical temper sometimes runs to Socialism, whereas to the liberal temper over-government, coercion, red tape, and State interference with individual freedom are distasteful. To John Stuart Mill, a disciple of Bentham, we owe *Mill on Liberty*, perhaps the greatest of liberal textbooks. The Manchester School, under the leadership of Richard Cobden and John Bright, while sharing the views of the philosophical radicals, devoted its efforts mainly to the establishment of Free Trade and to the substitution of a peaceful for an aggressive foreign policy. After the repeal of the Corn Laws in 1846, the Anti-Corn Law League was dissolved. What remained of Protection was demolished by Mr. Gladstone's great Free Trade Budgets of 1853 and 1860. Cobden and Bright began to direct their efforts towards peace and public economy. They sought to substitute arbitration for war, to reduce the burden of armaments and to increase the popular welfare by a general reduction of taxes and by a diffusion of knowledge.

On the Continent, English Liberalism inspired corresponding movements. In France, Bastiat was the most brilliant of Cobden's disciples; but other eminent Frenchmen worked with Cobden. At last, their efforts were crowned with success; for in 1860 Cobden negotiated a Commercial Treaty between France and Great Britain, which put an end to friction and gave a great stimulus to Anglo-French commerce. French Liberalism, of course, deserves an article, a chapter, a volume to itself. Let us sum up by saying that it has always meant and still means Free Trade, secularism as against clericalism, and republicanism as against monarchism or imperialism.

In Germany, Liberalism, after the defeat of the 1848 revolutions, gradually gained strength. The movement for German unity and for the abolition of all internal customs tariffs was essentially liberal and democratic. But when Bismarck in concert with the King began to seek the attainment of German unity under Prussia by force, the Prussian Liberals, who had the majority of the Diet, strongly opposed his plans for enlarging the army. "Blood and iron" gained the day against Denmark, Austria, and France. Then the German Liberal Party split. The National Liberals adopted Imperialism and supported Bismarck's new policy of Protection, as well as his "Culture War" against the Catholics.

When Bismarck fell, they supported the Kaiser's programme of naval and military expansion. On the other hand, the genuine Liberals of Germany, under Eugen Richter, continued to criticise Bismarck and his measures. They stood for Free Trade; they challenged the increase of expenditure and taxation in connection with the expansion of armaments, and they denounced the insidious mixture of militarism, Socialism, and Protectionism by which Bismarck collected Parliamentary support.

Meanwhile a real Socialist Party had been growing up under the leadership of Bebel; and after Richter's death this party—the Social Democrats—became the strongest factor for peace and Free Trade in the German Reichstag. The collapse of German Imperialism and Kaiserdom in 1918 caused a Republican revolution in Germany, just as the collapse of Napoleonic Imperialism had caused a revolution in France half a century earlier. A Social Democratic Republic took the place of the German Empire; but in victorious France Socialism and Liberalism were alike extinguished for a time.

To-day, after six years of European misery under the Peace of Versailles, the love of liberty is reviving in Western Europe. Fascism, which overthrew Communism in Italy, seems destined to fall before Liberalism. The new French Premier, M. Heriot, is a liberal Free Trader, pledged to a policy of peace and retrenchment. In the German Parliament the Social Democrats are no longer predominant; but a group of real Liberals has been established with the powerful support of three great newspapers—the *Frankfurter Zeitung*, the *Berliner Tageblatt* and the *Vossische*, which represent ideas of peace and conciliation in central Europe, of a more liberal commercial policy, of public economy, balanced budgets, a juster system of taxation, a sound currency, and a defence of individual freedom against bureaucratic encroachments, and of individual property against the propaganda of either Marxist or Communist.

It has often been said that Liberalism is a spirit and a temper. That is true. It is also true that there is room for much diversity of opinion within the fold. A true Liberal is not merely tolerant; he insists on toleration. He is hospitable to new ideas. If he is intolerant of anything it is of a censorship. War of course is the negation of Liberalism; but in peace time a Liberal Government means a free Press. Liberalism is, I suppose, the only type of political thought which does not want to persecute its opponents or to coerce opinion. It is because England is liberal and tolerant that it is the only country in Europe where the conscience of a true follower of Christ—I mean a Quaker—is respected in time of war.

In conclusion, I may hazard an opinion as to the cause of the decline and fall of our Liberal Party. I can do so in a very few words. It is due, I think, to the fact that it followed the example of the National Liberals in Germany. It abandoned Non-Intervention. Its leaders engaged the country in the most calamitous of all wars; and they are still its leaders. An instinctive logic tells us that a policy of war is incompatible with social reform and popular welfare. Imperialism and militarism cannot be Liberal. Even Free Trade is not safe in their keeping. The common people naturally think that, if Mr. Asquith and Lord Grey and Mr. Lloyd George returned to power, we might have another war like the last, perhaps worse, with conscription and all the other horrors. That explains why so many Liberals in England, Scotland and Wales went over to Labour. It was not because they had a liking for State Socialism, or because Communism was their ideal, but because they put peace first and deliberately preferred peaceful Socialism to warlike Imperialism. Consequently the Liberal Party has lost the moral support of the Free Churches. The average Englishman still believes that property, competition and individual enterprise are indispensable conditions of progress. But he has been taught by a recent and very bitter experience that peace is the foundation of everything. He knows that freedom of thought, freedom of action and freedom of trade all go to the wall when war is declared. In the next war conscription of wealth will certainly follow (or precede) conscription of life. Until, then, the Liberal Party once more shows itself worthy of the peace vote, it cannot recover its strength. As Lord Morley used to say, the war label is still sticking to a bottle from which the wine has been decanted. The first task of English Liberals to-day is to scrape off the war label. Then, but not till then, the people will listen gladly to their whole gospel.

F. W. HIRST.

II.

THREE views are held of the future of the Liberal Party. Some are of opinion that the disaster of the last election has been a mortal blow to the party: others think that after four elections, from all of which it has emerged as the third party in Parliament, it can only survive in the future as a balancing party—at one time leaning to the Right, at another to the Left—and without any hope of ever again accepting responsibility for the Government of the country. Others, again, believe that neither is the party dead nor will it be condemned to the minor rôle of holding the balance, but that the disaster which has overtaken

it is really a new beginning both for Liberalism and the party which is its organised political expression.

The first view prevails largely in the Labour Party. Characteristically enough, Labourists do not all reach that conclusion for the same reasons. Some of them, who have worked consistently for the overthrow of the Liberal Party, believe that its extinction has now opened the way for a definite issue between Capitalism and Socialism. They congratulate themselves that the lists are now cleared for the class war. To their minds Liberalism is an effete, bourgeois, Victorian doctrine which has no relevance to the economic conditions of the twentieth century. They are, therefore, persuaded that the General Election has consigned this obsolete creed to a museum of political antiquities. Another section of the Labour Party, far from despising Liberalism, are convinced that it was never more necessary than it is to-day, but they believe that the Liberal Party was ruined by the war and the events immediately following the war. In this view the Liberal Party has been overthrown because it has ceased to represent Liberalism, and the task of carrying on the Liberal tradition has passed to its younger and more vigorous competitor. In the eyes of those who accept this theory the mantle of Mr. Gladstone has descended upon Mr. Ramsay MacDonald. These inconsistent reasons for the same conclusion throw an interesting light on the fundamental unity of the Labour Party.

The belief that the day of the Liberal Party is past is shared also by many Conservatives as well as by some former Liberals who were supporters of the Coalition. These are obsessed by the fear of revolution. They see now no difference between Liberalism and Conservatism. They seek to rally all anti-Socialists into one party: in other words, they call upon Liberals to line up in the Conservative ranks.

The forecast that the Liberal Party may continue for a short but indefinite time as a balancing party has been made by philosophic observers attached to all parties. They admit that the party has still three million adherents in the country and has among its leaders men of proved capacity and unquestioned distinction. But, they say, that was the case of the Peelites, and as the Peelites after a time were absorbed in either the Liberal or Conservative Parties, so will the Liberals of these days fall into the ranks of Conservatism or Labour.

Those who believe in the survival of the Liberal Party as an independent, organised, political force naturally belong for the most part to that party. There are, however, many Conservatives who hold the same opinion and who are anxious to witness a Liberal revival, being persuaded that there could be nothing more

unfortunate for the political development of the country than that party divisions should rest on a class basis.

I propose to set down some reasons for believing neither that the last election was for the Liberal Party the "end of an auld sang," nor that its only prospect is a few years of precarious existence as a balancing party in the State.

The first essential is to place the last election in proper perspective. A year ago the Liberal vote numbered over four and a quarter millions; this year it has fallen to under three millions. This reduction has been due not to permanent defections, but to temporary causes. Liberals suffered in the election both because they had put the Socialists in and because they had put them out. In both cases they were right. But it often happens in this strangely ordered world that people suffer most when they are most in the right. In the election, Liberals had a bitter experience of this truth. The great body of the electors were neither in the temper nor had they the perspective to appreciate the wisdom and foresight of both of these apparently contradictory decisions. Already there are signs of a changed attitude. The time will come when Mr. Asquith's judgment will, in this as in other critical decisions, be vindicated.

The immediate circumstances of the election could not have been more unfavourable. The union of the party which had been patched up a year ago had not been completed. Unlike the other parties, Liberals were unprepared for the election. They were crippled financially. They had too few candidates. Their programme was improvised and turned out to be a thing of shreds and patches. There was no unity of plan in the campaign. In some places there were pacts: in others there were none. While the pacts were of doubtful value to their supposed beneficiaries, they were a real handicap to all those candidates who had to wage war on two fronts. In all these respects it is difficult to imagine an election fought under more unfavourable conditions.

Nor does this exhaust the factors which contributed to the Liberal disaster. Multitudes of electors who were tired of recurring elections gave their votes to Conservatives as the only hope of obtaining stability. Those who were really frightened by the late Government's surrenders to its extreme wing both on the Campbell prosecution and on the Russian Treaty naturally looked to the Tory Party for security. On the other hand, that considerable body of electors which approved the Government's record on foreign policy and finance, or had received direct benefits in the shape of increased doles or higher pensions, supported the party which claimed the sole credit, and passed by those whose votes had made these achievements possible. The rôle to which the Liberal Party

was condemned was that of *tertius non gaudens*.⁹ There is reasonable assurance that the party will not again enter an electoral contest with such an accumulation of handicaps.

I do not pretend that the Liberal Party is at an end of its troubles. Liberals in the country will be wise not to expect too much of the Parliamentary party. Not only is it small in numbers but it has been advertising the division in its attenuated ranks. It has also a difficult part to play on the flank of the Labour Opposition. Long before an election, the situation will have clarified. Some will have fallen away, with advantage both to themselves and to the party. There will remain a sufficient body of members of distinction, experience and Parliamentary capacity to define the Liberal attitude, to keep the flag flying and to offer a rallying ground for Liberals in the country.

Liberals are also at a disadvantage in having apparently lost their hold on some parts of the country where they were strong in pre-war days. There is ground for believing that this loss is not in every case irretrievable and that to some extent compensation has been found in other places where Liberalism was formerly weak.

In spite of these disadvantages, Liberals have reasons for hoping that the reaction which will set in against the new Government will run in their favour. The growth in influence and authority of the extreme elements in the Labour Party showed itself before the election, particularly in relation to the Campbell prosecution and the Russian Treaty. They are stronger since the election. And influential members of the Labour Party have confessed that their strength will still further increase during a period of Tory Government. Under these conditions, those who become disillusioned with Mr. Baldwin's Ministry will naturally look for a safer alternative than the Labour Party is able to offer. Thus even if the formal unity of that party is preserved, the Liberal Party is likely to gain. If, on the other hand, as is not improbable, a breach takes place in the Labour ranks, Liberalism has the chance of profiting by at least an alliance with the more moderate section.

These calculations are not unreasonable in the present confused state of politics. Never was opinion so fluid as it is to-day. The party distinctions were never so blurred. No one can say when and how the lines of party demarcation will be settled. So long as these conditions persist, the movements of opinion will be rapid and violent. While the fluctuations continue to baffle the most skilled meteorologist, he would be a rash man who would predict that the Liberal Party alone would have a monopoly of ill-luck.

The present temper and the prospective action of Liberals are calculated to inspire confidence among the electors. It would be idle to suggest that there has not been despondency in certain

quarters, but the prevailing mood has not been one of discouragement or dismay. More important, there has been practically no recrimination. It would be impossible to find a more resolute body of men and women than the Liberal candidates defeated at the last General Election. They are banding themselves together not to hold the balance in the next Parliament, but to secure a Liberal victory. Liberals, whatever their place in the ranks of the party, are all alike resolved to set their house in order. They are concentrating on the three problems of finance, organisation and policy. The finances of the party are to be put on a democratic basis. Schemes are in preparation—some are already in operation—for the collection of funds both local and national which will provide for an effective organisation and for a full list of candidates at the next election. Party machinery is likewise being overhauled. The weaknesses which experience has disclosed will be repaired. In every respect the machine will be brought up to date and adapted to the exacting needs of present-day electioneering. It is recognised that policy is more important than either finance or organisation, and a fresh statement of Liberal aims and proposals is being prepared.

To meet the demand of the rank and file of the party to be associated with this work, a representative Convention of Liberals will be held in London on January 29th and 30th. This great gathering will give convincing proof of the real inwardness of the Liberal revival. It is no artificial creation of wire-pullers manipulated from the top; it is a genuine and spontaneous rank-and-file movement founded on the recognition that the coming struggle is a soldiers' battle, and that every member of the party must make his or her contribution in money or service to the restoration of the party's fortunes.

The men and women who are bending their energies to these great tasks are not the dupes of an exploded superstition, or the mistaken devotees of an outworn creed; they are inspired by a living faith in the value of Liberalism as an essential condition of individual improvement and national progress. A mere hostility to Socialism or Conservatism, a prospect of political manoeuvring, a *via media*, would not have awakened such enthusiasm. It is because there is a deep conviction that Liberalism, applied in the spirit of its past achievements, has the key to the solution of those varied and perplexing problems, foreign and domestic, with which are bound up the prosperity of our industry, the well-being of our people, and the peace of the world—it is for this reason that Liberals are willing to make sacrifices to bring these hopes to fruition. Age and youth are joining in the common task. The older men who have

"watched the things they gave their life to broken,
Will stoop and build 'em up with worn-out tools."

Young men and women in increasing numbers bring their zeal and energy to the work of recovery. Disaster has merely strengthened their resolution that Liberalism shall not perish from the land.

W. M. R. PRINGLE.

III.

THE Liberal Party has shown no real sign of revival since the General Election. This I say in spite of all the feverish symptoms of Conferences, Committees, and reorganisation schemes. Reorganisation is useless unless you have something to reorganise. Machinery is all "sounding brass or a tinkling cymbal" unless you know for what you are going to use it.

The very first reunions of the elected remnants at the House of Commons soon showed the reality of the situation. There was no unity. On the contrary, there was rampant disunion. The elected remnant was small enough, in all conscience—a bare forty. But it immediately broke itself up, like an earth-worm, into at least three pieces. There was the old Liberal centre who rallied to Mr. Lloyd George. There was the Coalition fragment who wished to be on terms with the Conservatives—Captain Guest and Mr. Hilton Young. Then there was the new Radical group that gathered round the rebel flag of Captain Wedgwood Benn. It is all very confusing and distressing: but one thing seems clear—things are going to become worse before they become any better.

The affairs of the Liberal Party, to speak the plain truth, will not become better till the Party ceases to trouble so much about itself. It must learn a very simple, very ancient, lesson. It must lose itself to save itself. "He that loveth his life shall lose it." At present the Liberal Party is far too absorbed in its own troubles. The Liberal High Priests lash themselves—and one another—with sharp knives: they dance round the altar of their "Unknown God": they claim the exclusive rights of priesthood. But what are they worshipping all the time?

The Party at the House of Commons agreed on a high-sounding resolution to the effect that they were to be guided, in their Parliamentary action, by a general order to "resent uncompromisingly every motion or measure which does not accord with Liberal principles." Very good—but what to-day are Liberal principles? That is the simple, searching question which at present they fail to answer. What is Liberalism?

The usual reply appears to be that Liberalism stands for freedom in religion, citizenship and trade. Certainly, that is its proudest and most rightful claim. Liberalism, be it said, has nobly championed and splendidly achieved "this freedom" for England and the British Empire throughout a century of struggle. If British freedom is assailed again—as it was in the General Election of 1923—Liberalism will instantly have an obvious cause and mission. But for the moment there is no serious attack. The cause of freedom has won all along the line. It is no longer the monopoly of the Liberal Party. There are, for instance—especially in Lancashire—multitudes of Conservative Free Traders. Skirmishes on Preference will not take the place of a "far-flung battle line." Free Trade can no longer suffice as the sole content of a party's aim.

Not freedom, but reconstruction: that is, for the moment, the national objective; and it is by their contribution to reconstruction—social, political and economic—that every party will be judged. The weakness of the Liberal case at present is that they, owing to their absorption in the causes of freedom, have fallen behind in the task of reconstruction. The scrapping of their housing and agricultural policies was the most fatal error of the last Coalition; and fatally undermined the basis of Coalition Liberalism. But Independent Liberalism has shown little more originality or daring. They have gone to Oxford for inspiration: an atmosphere perilous, ever since the days of Gladstone, to bold Liberalism. The programmes and handbooks poured out from that academic factory have left the shrewd North cold. The object, all through, is too obviously tactical. To produce something different from the schemes of Tory or Labour—that is the too transparent design. "Tactics! Tactics!" cried Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman on a famous occasion, "this country is tired of tactics!" It is as true to-day as in 1905.

Take the vital sphere of foreign affairs. It has fallen to the lot of some of us, during the last year, to attempt to save the lives of the forlorn hosts of exiled Christians who have been driven by the Turks throughout 1922-24—a million and a half of them—from Asia Minor to Europe in a state of utmost destitution and abandonment. Here was a specifically Liberal cause, in the direct line of the Gladstonian tradition: these sad and sorry victims of outrage and tyranny—

"Lone, lost, abandoned in their utmost need
By Christians unto whom they gave their creed."

But what has happened? The Liberals, largely under Turkish influences, have treated their cause with studied neglect. Our

appeals to them have fallen on deaf ears. We have obtained, on the whole—and this is the notable thing—more sympathy and help from the Conservatives—especially the Conservative Press.

Or take the League of Nations. It was left to a Labour Prime Minister, now followed by a Conservative Foreign Minister, to attend the League Assembly and Council. The results have been far-reaching. These visits have given the League a new standing: conferred on it a new dignity. I was present at Geneva when Mr. Ramsay MacDonald spent there his historic week—the finest thing in his record. The instant result was that the Prime Ministers and Foreign Ministers came flocking to Geneva from all over Europe. His visit immediately raised the League Assembly from a debating society to a Parliament. What a pity that the Liberal Party missed that tide! That Lord Grey, in 1919, refused Mr. Lloyd George's offer to send him as a representative to Geneva! That Mr. Lloyd George himself, too sanguine of M. Poincaré, went to Genoa instead! In all such matters Liberalism has dropped behind the best thought of the nation. It is a significant fact, all over the country, that the best Liberal workers are now working for the League. They find that cause less factious, less tactical, more filling to the hungry soul.

Or take home affairs. Both the Conservative and the Labour Parties have been engaged, during these years, in a steady training of their rank and file in the social needs of the country. The result is that on those mixed social reform Committees which know no party, the young Conservatives nowadays prove often most useful and ardent members. When the prejudices of the classes and the vested interests do not cloud his vision, the sympathetic young Tory still sometimes catches a glimpse of Disraeli's vision of "Young England"—and very often sacrifices his career to a futile attempt to achieve it through his party. But the young Liberal? Where is he to obtain such a training, free and unembarrassed by the paralysing effects of faction or party bias? In spite of all the Young Liberal Leagues, I do not find such a training going forward.

We come to the heart of the trouble. It is not that the country has become less progressive. It is that Liberalism has become more conservative. This is partly the result of the quarrel with Labour. The worst consequence of that cruel and desolating feud—for which Labour is mainly responsible—has been to drive Liberalism over to the Right. How far we are now from the "spacious days" of Sir William Harcourt, when that great-souled man exclaimed in his gay and light-hearted way, "We are all Socialists now!" He did not mean much by that fling. But, at any rate, it was better than surrender to fear.

See how this fear has worked. A few years ago a Liberal might pass all the Shibboleth tests, cross the Jordan, and yet subscribe to the nationalisation of railways—even of mines. Now all that is “out of law.” “Anathema Maranatha” is the verdict of the excommunicating priests. Yet the railways, with private management, do not improve. They combine now, in a highly British way, all the disadvantages of free competition and monopoly. Sir Eric Geddes left his reforms half finished. Four great groups hold the country in fee. But Liberals—accepted Liberals—are paralysed. Their lips are sealed. Railway nationalisation—once the faith of Mr. Winston Churchill—has become “Socialism!” Slightly varying Bayly’s famous song, they say:

“Oh! no! we never mention it,
Its name is never heard;
My lips are now forbid to speak
That once familiar word.”

Liberalism is unfaithful to its true spirit when it accepts such controls and limitations. It betrays the very freedom of which it is the chief trustee. It hands over to Labour the Spirit of the Future. It becomes a Party of the Past.

See what happened as a result of the General Election. A section of Liberals, in some parts of the country, were advocating a vigorous policy of Land Reform. Excellent. Quite in line with the old Liberal traditions! But other Liberals, equally powerful, just round the corner, were denouncing all Land Reform as Socialism! Result—chaos. Both sections found themselves raked by the cross-fire of the other. It was the nemesis of “tactics.”

The moral? To give up tactics and pursue realities: to convince ourselves seriously what are the actual, burning needs of the British people both at home and abroad: the actual remedies for our present discontents. Then to pursue these ends with a spirit of self-forgetfulness and self-devotion, not so much for the good of the party as for the re-making of our beloved land.

Those would seem to be the lines along which Liberalism must work if it is to recapture the youth and hope of the nation. Organisation—machinery—committees—candidates—all those will follow. Britain is never behind on the mechanical side of opinion: witness the vast number of conflicting societies and committees with which this country is cumbered. We have too many committees: too much coercion and grouping of opinion: too much “dissidence of dissent.” We want strong leadership in politics; and if Mr. Lloyd George will give it he will find that all the rumbles of personal discontent will die down. Personal faction has ceased to be the peculiar danger of the situation. The peril is political.

So grave is that peril—so nearly does it threaten annihilation—

that the forum of discussion which THE CONTEMPORARY REVIEW has opened presents perhaps the best hope of recovery. This period of political exile has at any rate this advantage—that it presents a rare opportunity for searching inquisition: for there is less need for tight party discipline in the cold shades of Opposition.

Let us then use the time—and punish no free opinion—not even as free as this—with excommunication. For, indeed, this has been the chief error of the past—that Liberalism with all its claim to tolerance has become the home of mutual intolerance.

I say to Liberals—Let your Liberalism begin at home!

HAROLD SPENDER.

THE EGYPTIAN SITUATION.

IF we wish to come to any sort of conclusion about the present situation in Egypt, we must try to place ourselves to some extent in the position of the Egyptians themselves, and see how they regard it. And in so doing we must bear this in mind, that though we Britons rightly look upon the Egyptian attitude as savouring of gross ingratitude towards ourselves, the present generation of Egyptians has been born, and has grown up, in peace and prosperity, taking for granted all the benefits conferred by ourselves on the country, and doubtless being told by their seniors that their prosperity is entirely due to their own unaided genius and industry. Remember that no Egyptian to-day of under some fifty-five years of age can possibly recall the hard old days and miserable conditions before the Arábi rebellion of 1882; and remember also that for the last forty years we have been promising them independence when they were fit for it.

The beginning of the Great War found the Egyptians curiously placid. Lulled by our unfortunate proclamation of November 2nd, 1914,* undisturbed either by our Declaration of a very vague Protectorate (December 18th, 1914)—which was assumed or understood to be merely a war-measure—or by the futile Turko-German attacks on the country in 1915 and 1916; and soothed on all hands by promises of all sorts of delightful things when Victory came, Egypt behaved during the War with the utmost decorum and loyalty. Grumbling at length arose when, in response to our urgent demands for labour, fodder and transport, the native Government under Rushdi Pasha proceeded to accede to our requests by means which were not too readily to be distinguished from the *corvée* of ancient days, and which led to many abuses. Complaints were also to be heard as to the irksomeness of war conditions, which prevented the dealers from making the most of their magnificent crops of forage, and especially of cotton: and the people, who had after all worked and given of their best efforts to help us in the war, were pardonably sore at receiving no word of gracious acknowledgment of their services from the British Government. But it may safely be said that at any time during the war the proclamation by Great Britain of a lasting Protectorate, coupled with a generous measure of self-government, would not have caused any serious upheaval in the country.†

Foreseeing that with the return of peace it would become essential to lay down the exact future status of the country, the High

*“ Great Britain takes upon herself the sole burden of the present war without calling upon the Egyptian people for aid therein.”

† “ Let us see the real colour of your Protectorate,” said one of the Ministers, “ and we shall in all probability accept it.”

Commissioner, General Sir Reginald Wingate, repeatedly pressed the Foreign Office for instructions on the subject. But it was of no use. The Foreign Office was far too busy to bother its head about Egypt. All the Home Government asked for was that she should keep quiet and not worry them. Had they but recognised it, this was the very best method they could have adopted for causing terrible trouble, not only to Egypt but to themselves as well.

Meanwhile President Wilson's “ noble sentiments ” were being broadcast to the universe, and were working havoc in the Eastern world. “ Self-determination for all ” was the cry, eagerly taken up by enthusiasts who, animated with the best and most liberal intentions, were entirely ignorant of its inapplicability to peoples whose customs and modes of thought were on a different plane altogether from the ideas of the Western Prophet. But the mischief was done. Two days before the Armistice came a magniloquent proclamation that all the countries hitherto groaning (?) under Turkish rule—Syria, Mesopotamia, the Hejaz, etc., etc., etc., were to be given at once independence and self-government. But not a word about Egypt! And the fat was in the fire.

Two days after the Armistice was signed Saad Pasha Zaghlul, the able leader of the Nationalist Party, came with a couple of his friends to see the High Commissioner, and politely suggested an immediate abolition of the Protectorate and complete independence for Egypt. The Foreign Office was horrified, and peremptorily refused Zaghlul's request to come to England and explain the desires of the country. Nor were the loyal Ministers, Rushdi and Adli Pashas, any more successful: they were told—against the High Commissioner's advice—that they would have to wait, and that there would be no room for them at the Peace Conference. This was trying Egyptian patience somewhat highly, and murmurings arose. The irritation was fanned by the Nationalists, and a well-reasoned and moderate memorandum was drawn up and sent by Zaghlul to the Peace Conference then assembling. This, as not emanating from a Government, was quite properly put aside; but since the Ministers themselves were still refused a hearing either by Great Britain or by the Conference, the Nationalists, or “ Party of Independence,” exasperated by the “ self-determination ” being given to the Hejaz and to other peoples far inferior in civilisation to Egypt, became more and more threatening. Sir Reginald was ordered home “ to advise,” but on his arrival his advice, based on long experience, was not asked for, neither was it taken when tendered. Meanwhile Zaghlul had threatened the Sultan Fuad, and he was very properly deported to Malta. Then the storm broke loose, and a savage rising took place which was

only quelled with difficulty by General Allenby, who, in order to bring back some semblance of permanent tranquillity, permitted Zaghlul to return.

At the end of the year (1919), and in the face of considerable opposition, the Milner Mission was sent out to report on the existing situation and on the best form of Constitution to be adopted under the Protectorate. Its report (December, 1920) recommended a Government of Egypt by the Egyptians with British help, and recommended a treaty to that effect. In the following February the British Government informed the Sultan that the Protectorate was not a satisfactory basis, and asked him to send a delegation to discuss the matter in London. This was at length formed under the Prime Minister Adli Pasha, but, largely owing to Zaghlul's opposition in Egypt and to that of certain members of His Majesty's Government at home, the conference broke down after four months' negotiation; and as it became evident that as long as Zaghlul was free to carry on his agitation there would be no peace in Egypt, he was deported to the Seychelles at the end of 1921.

Subsequently Lord Allenby returned to England to confer with the Government, and on February 28th, 1922, a Declaration was issued to the effect that the Protectorate was withdrawn and that Egypt was now to be considered an independent Sovereign State, four important points being reserved for subsequent agreement. These were: the security of British Imperial communications, the defence of Egypt against foreign aggression, the protection of foreign interests in Egypt, and the question of the Sudan. At the end of 1923 Zaghlul was permitted to return from the Seychelles; and the elections of last February carried him into power with an overwhelming majority.

It has been necessary to give this much of recent history, in the briefest possible form, in order to show how the situation stood in the summer of last year, 1924.

It was inconceivable that Zaghlul, the idolised representative of Nationalist feeling and the Champion of Egypt in the great majority of native eyes against the cruel and overbearing might of Britain, should refrain from making use of the great power placed in his hands. A pure Egyptian himself, son of a *fellah*, brought up in the law and an able master of argument, he had spent all his life in agitating for the independence of his country; and now that he was in real power he was going to make the most of it. The Nationalist Party was of no new growth. It had existed since the time of Arábi,* and though often almost extinguished among other movements it had flickered up and down, with varying strength and varying success, for many years.

* Zaghlul was in it then.

About the time when Lord Cromer left Egypt (1907) it was a somewhat underground and dangerous element, with subversive ideas and not disinclined to remove "tyrants" by force. It consequently had a bad name at that period, and later, and was rigidly watched by the police. But Zaghlul had taken it in hand, blown cleaner life into it, and organised it with considerable success. It is worth remembering Lord Cromer's words in his farewell speech: "Unless I am much mistaken," he declared, "a great career of public usefulness lies before the present Minister of Education, Saad Pasha Zaghlul. He possesses all the qualities necessary to serve his country. He is honest, he is capable, he has the courage of his convictions, he has been abused by many of the less worthy of his own countrymen. These are high qualifications: he should go far." He did indeed go far! He became Minister of Justice and was elected President of the new Legislative Assembly in 1913. But as time went on, he lost the faith he had in British honesty of purpose, largely, it is said, owing to his having been "let down" by Lord Kitchener at a critical moment in his relations with the Khedive Abbas—and he devoted the years of the war to quietly welding the Nationalist Party, the *Wafd*, as it became known, into an instrument antagonistic to British rule.

From the Egyptian, and indeed from other points of view, it was impossible not to sympathise with the original aims of the *Wafd* for legitimate self-determination, and consequently many of the best men of the country joined it. Others in it genuinely represented the old Mohammedan traditions which resented the presence of a controlling Christian Power; and these unfortunately tailed off into the students of the Azhar University, of somewhat fanatical tendencies. But the bulk of the recruits belonged to neither of these classes. Here was a new generation growing up, disregarding entirely the origin of the benefits which they had received under British Administration, and entirely oblivious of the deep morass from which we had rescued them. Education had developed their brains and stimulated their politics; hundreds of young men of the *Effendi* class* were being sent abroad to England, to France, to Italy, to Austria, where they collected—but did not assimilate—new and "liberal" ideas, and whence they returned to spread them amongst their countrymen. Their aims in life, as well as those of the students at the higher schools, were mostly governmental; and though many were absorbed as doctors, engineers, lawyers, teachers and the like, the large majority struggled to obtain their living by berths in Government offices—which in Egypt give great kudos to their holders. (The one ambi-

* Consisting of those who for one reason or another are fairly entitled to be called "Mister." (Corresponding more or less to *Effendi* in Turkish.)

tion, indeed, of the average *Effendi* is to become a Government official; and to this end his family, his sisters, his cousins and his aunts and all his relatives subscribe towards his education, with the laudable object of reaping benefits from his exalted position thereafter.) But there were of course not nearly enough of these berths to go round; and the disappointed candidates and their relations, incensed as well at the number of foreigners in Government offices, took to politics and to agitation instead of to trade, finding in the *Wafd* a most congenial atmosphere. Even the boys' and girls' schools, especially the latter, contributed their quota to the agitation, whilst a strong leaven of disgruntled failures in education, meaner elements with grievances largely due to their own incapacity, and the growing body of *fellahin* who had suffered in pocket and otherwise during the war, swelled the number of those who ascribed all their troubles to the British Protectorate, and clamoured for complete independence.

It must also, alas, be acknowledged that the unnecessarily large number of British who have been brought into Government offices since Lord Cromer's day, have not helped matters. Many of them, to put it nicely, appear to have misunderstood the vague terms of the Protectorate and to have looked down on the ordinary natives, and even on the educated and well-born upper classes of the Egyptians, as a conquered race, refusing to mingle with them in any way, and even failing to treat them at times with common courtesy. The Egyptians have taken this meekly—and even smiled, as is their way. But they have remembered.

Small wonder, then, that little was needed to fan the passive dislike of the average native for British domination into active hatred. The older men, wiser than their sons, acknowledged in private the debt they owed to our assistance, but their King, unlike the lamented Sultan Hussein of well-trying loyalty, gave them no support. Zaghlul was now practically ruler of Egypt and, with his own ends in view, he did little or nothing to restrain the more turbulent elements. Nay more: his very power and position depended on the intransigence with which he opposed all proposals for anything less than complete independence; and on his eventually accepting Mr. Ramsay MacDonald's invitation to come to England to discuss the four points reserved for agreement he necessarily found himself in an awkward position; for since he had always advocated complete independence and had quite recently and somewhat offensively declared that the Sudan was an integral part of Egypt and should always remain so, it was impossible for him to swallow his words or to negotiate on the matter. Consequently, his stubborn refusal to give way on

any point, followed by the complete failure of the negotiations, was perhaps only to be expected.

And now to turn to the Sudan. A specious claim has been made out by the Egyptians, referring back to the Ottoman firmans of 1840-41, and basing their arguments on excerpts from Lord Cromer's book *Modern Egypt*, on the necessity for retaining the whole water-supply of the Nile in their own hands, and on the large financial and military help which was undoubtedly given by Egypt in its reconquest and since, to the complete possession of the Sudan. There is no space here to go into these arguments at length; but what touches a large class of the Egyptians more nearly is the unexpressed argument that our great development of the cultivation of Sudanese cotton—a finer article in any case than the Egyptian one*—is threatening the Egyptian supply and is tending to cut it out, or at all events to reduce it to a secondary place, in the markets of the world. They leave out of their pleadings the undoubted facts that it is we, and not themselves, who have developed the Sudan and begun to educate its inhabitants, and that the latter would most certainly, were we to leave the Sudan, turn the Egyptians out of the country in three months or less. That we still recognise part Egyptian sovereignty is shown by the fact that the Egyptian flag is still flying alongside the Union Jack at Khartoum, and that it is the King of Egypt who, in accordance with Lord Cromer's and Butros Ghali's wise proclamation of January 19th, 1899, has signed, on our recommendation, the recent commission of Sir Geoffrey Archer as Governor-General of the Sudan.

There may be said to be three parties in the Sudan at this moment. The first is composed of those loyal natives who suffered under the Dervishes and have fully recognised the value of the British occupation and work in the country: these form the backbone of the Sudan. The second party, far larger, consists of the younger and rising generation which, whilst thoroughly loyal to us, have been perturbed at the wobbly policy of the British Government and its weakness in dealing with the Egyptians, and were really beginning to fear that we were going, in spite of our promises, to hand them back again to their hated and despised adversaries. Thus a spirit of nationalism, long before its time, has begun to appear in the Sudan. The third, and by far the smallest, party, consists of a number of disgruntled Sudanese, black and brown, who have for various reasons got into trouble with the Government, Egyptian propagandists, officers and officials, and members of the White Flag Party, who wield only small influence

* Egyptian cotton has, owing to the withdrawal of British supervision, greatly deteriorated since the Declaration of Independence in 1922.

but talk noisily on all occasions. (It may be worth remembering that the XIth Sudanese battalion, a portion of which mutinied the other day, was the same battalion which broke into a mutiny, *engineered from Koubba Palace*, in 1900, and gave considerable trouble—though no bloodshed resulted—for some six weeks.* The fact that this battalion was originally composed of blacks, or their sons, from Cairo and Alexandria, and not of genuine Sudanese blacks, may perhaps tend to explain matters.)

Of the above parties the first two have been wonderfully comforted, and the third absolutely dismayed, by the strong line at last taken by our Government. Whether the actual terms of the Note presented to, and eventually accepted by, the Egyptian Government were the very best which could have been drawn up, may still be a matter for mild criticism. Some hold that the demand for money and the veiled threat about the water-supply were perhaps unnecessary; but there is no doubt that all who have the interests of the Empire at heart must warmly approve the tone. The state of Egypt was getting really serious: not only had, during the last five years, numerous riots taken place in addition to the bloody rising of 1919, but the hostility to the British, and even to other foreigners, was daily becoming more marked. Nearly a dozen British officials had been murdered; Europeans throughout the country were getting alarmed, not only for their trade but for their own skins, and were devoutly praying that the British troops might never be withdrawn; the police were (probably intentionally) slack; corruption and maladministration in the public Departments were steadily increasing; foreign, and especially British, officials were being thwarted in all directions; the discipline and efficiency of the Egyptian troops scattered in detachments in the smaller towns were deteriorating; and public security was being definitely threatened. The worse elements of the Nationalist Party, finding their evil deeds unpunished, encouraged by the attitude of the Government, and excited by violent newspaper propaganda, were growing bolder and bolder; and the British Government was looking on, perplexed and protesting, but inactive.

The same old story was repeated: show weakness or leniency to Orientals, and they will despise you and take every advantage; take a firm line with them and they will respect you. It was time. The atrocious assassination of Sir Lee Stack† brought matters to

* It may be added that the seven mutinous officers who were tried by court-martial and dismissed the Army were at once provided with billets by the Khedive Abbas and his entourage.

† An old and valued friend of the writer, who had preceded him in 1901-1903 as Director of Intelligence of the Egyptian Army and Sudan Agent in Cairo.

a head. It may even be said that his murder may prove to be the salvation of our cause in Egypt and the Sudan, and that he has not died in vain. Who knows?

By the time these lines are in print, more may have happened. Ziwar Pasha, with Turkish blood in him, has had the pluck to step into the breach and defy the deputies: but he may not last. Zaghlul may be out of the way for the time being; but his right-hand man and probable successor, the Arab Hamid Pasha el Bassal, chief of the Beduins, has by no means an untarnished record and may be dangerous. It is true that the Nationalist Party and their adherents, though numerous and noisy, do not include a really large percentage of the fourteen million inhabitants of Egypt; but, all the same, the recent strike of the 17,000 students of the great Muslim Azhar University had a sinister look, for when religion is brought in to the aid of politics trouble may be expected. So long as order is maintained and the present Cabinet manages to keep its end up against the Nationalist hot-heads, there will be no reason for us to interfere. Our policy, as Mr. Austen Chamberlain so recently said, should be one directed towards inducing and helping the Egyptian Government to do its duty; and as long as it does that it will find no better or more loyal friends to Egypt than ourselves. As for the future, prophecy, especially in the paradox of matters Egyptian, is useless: Egypt holds her fate in her own hands.

EDWARD GLEICHEN.

LABOUR FOR HOUSES.

A GOOD deal of the political controversy on the housing question has ranged round the supply of labour. Indeed, to many people it is the only obstacle to the solution of our housing difficulties. "The Wheatley scheme," said Sir William Joynson Hicks on May 20th, 1924, in the exhilarating atmosphere of the Ladies' Imperial Club, "does not touch the real trouble, which is labour."

It is undeniable that over a number of years the supply of building labour has seriously declined. What exactly the decrease amounts to cannot be determined, as comparable statistics are not available. In the following table, the figures for 1901 and 1911 are taken from the Census, whilst those relating to 1914, 1921 and 1924 refer to insured persons; but they give a general idea of the shrinkage which has taken place.

	1901.	1911.	July. 1914.	Oct. 1921.	Jan. 1924.
Bricklayers ...	120,288	106,193	73,671	62,170	57,170
Masons ...	97,398	65,155	34,381	23,880	22,270
Carpenters ...	306,355	238,425	126,345	132,260	125,010
Slaters ...	16,111	13,909	4,154	5,370	5,210
Plasterers ...	36,238	28,784	19,479	17,080	16,070
Plumbers ...	70,065	76,511	33,009	35,840	34,440
Painters ...	176,007	200,115	132,479	115,900	106,860
	828,462	729,092	423,518	392,500	367,030

The National Housing and Town Planning Council, who very fully considered the question of the skilled labour supply, declared in their Report* that "for many years past the number of apprentices flowing into the industry has been insufficient in volume to replace the depletions in the industry." In the skilled crafts referred to in the above table (excluding plumbers and painters) in the last few years there have not been more than about 21,000 apprentices, or, say, a third of the number which under industrial agreements could have been employed in the industry.

The main reasons for the shortage of juvenile entrants are not far to seek. Prior to the war, at any rate, the building trades were badly organised, and on the workers' side there was no strong national trade union movement. The wages and conditions of employment, especially in some parts of the country, were not attractive, and work was irregular because of loss of time due to bad weather. Moreover, in the years before the war grave unemployment crises visited the industry. Even since the war there

has been a period of severe unemployment amongst building trade operatives. In these circumstances, it is not surprising, as the National Housing and Town Planning Council point out, that parents should be unwilling "to place their children in an industry which does not offer steadiness of employment at a good standard wage, and differs in general attractiveness from careers opening out in other industries." The Council refer to the fact that

"in many cases parents have preferred to apprentice their children to engineering firms because the prospect of constant work and regular hours in a modern well-equipped machine shop was far more attractive than that of continually shifting from one job to another, even under the same employer. . . . Moreover, parents have been tempted to send their boys into 'blind alley' unskilled occupations in which they have been enabled to earn higher wages than as apprentices, and contribute at an early age to the expenses of their maintenance."

Further, in the past there has been no obligation on the employer to secure and train apprentices. Individual master builders have regarded the problem of the future labour supply of the industry as one for which they were not personally responsible, and the training of apprentices presented difficulties from two points of view. In the first place, the proper training of juveniles for skilled occupations involves additional trouble without any certainty of ultimate benefit to the employer. In the second place, the industry has been peculiarly liable to spells of bad trade, whilst its seasonal character imposed on the master builder with his quota of apprentices an additional financial burden during times when little building was in progress. Moreover, it is to be remembered that during the war the system of apprenticeship was suspended, and it is not an easy matter to revive a practice which did not previously work well, and which offers no inducements to employers.

The depletion in the numbers of skilled craftsmen, however, is not solely due to the feeble trickle of juvenile entrants into the building industry. There has been a considerable loss due to the drift of skilled building trade operatives to other occupations. This is no new thing. During spells of depression before the war men sought a living in other directions, and never returned to their old trades when building revived if they had obtained some measure of security in their new occupations. During the war the building industry lost its workers as a result of both war service and transference to other forms of employment. The drain upon the manpower of the building industry in these ways was serious. Lastly, there has been a considerable amount of emigration of operatives from the building trades. In the years before the war, as a result of trade depression, there was a flow of emigrants to the Dominions

* Report on the Supply of Skilled Labour in the Building Industry. February, 1924.

and the United States, and even since the war this stream of skilled workers has continued. The National Housing and Town Planning Council state that "921 out of 4,000 carpenters (including ships' carpenters) left Glasgow in 1923 for the United States of America, where attractive high wages can be readily gained by skilled men." A large number of members of the Operative Bricklayers' Society and of the Amalgamated Union of Building Trade Workers have emigrated since the war, whilst the United Operative Plumbers state that from 1919 to 1923, 852 of their members went abroad. No doubt there was also a good deal of emigration amongst non-trade unionists in the building trades.

These reasons are sufficient to account for the decline in the *personnel* of the building craftsmen. But there is another factor of some importance in the rapid development in recent years of commercial and other building which has absorbed men who might otherwise have been employed in house building, though it is not to be supposed that there could be a wholesale transference of workers from non-domestic to house building. At no time since the war have more than half the bricklayers in the country been engaged on house building; and although a higher proportion of plasterers and slaters have been engaged on housing work, numbers have been required for other kinds of building. It is not merely new commercial and other building which absorbs labour. Repair work on houses, commercial buildings, factories, foundries and collieries inevitably draws upon the labour supply. The National House Building Committee expressed

"a general feeling that as soon as the shipbuilding, and other industries employing large quotas of joiners' and plumbers' labour, become active again, there will become evident a pronounced shortage of carpenters and joiners and also of plumbers, it being notorious that the building industry is the nursery from which those classes of labour are drawn into a number of other industries, including cabinet making, carriage and car building."*

The main causes of the shrinkage in the available supply of skilled labour in the building trades have been excellently summarised by the National House Building Committee.

- "(1) The casual nature of employment, partly due to seasonal causes, partly to irregularity of demand for building work.
- (2) The drafts which other industries make upon the labour supply of our industry for the purposes of those industries, e.g., maintenance staffs in large works, requirements in shipbuilding, cabinet making, wagon building and the like.
- (3) The prolonged depression in our industry, which existed from about 1905-6 onwards until 1914.
- (4) The loss of personnel due to the war, post-war conditions and also to emigration.

* Report of the National House Building Committee. Cmd. 2104. p. 13.

The effects of causes 1, 3 and 4 upon the recruiting of apprentice labour have been deplorable on account of the want of confidence engendered thereby."*

It will be clear that the labour situation in the building industry has grown steadily worse in recent years. Since the war a succession of attempts have been made to cope with the difficulty. The Coalition Government in 1919 approached the Joint Industrial Council of the Building Industry on the question of skilled labour supply, and the whole matter was referred to the Council's Building Resettlement Committee—a joint body of employers' and workers' representatives; but whilst admitting the shortage of labour the Committee refused to be drawn along the track of "dilution," notwithstanding an appeal by the Prime Minister to the Industrial Council.

Broadly, the attitude of the Building Resettlement Committee was that the apprenticeship system should be utilised, men who had left the building trades should be drawn back, and the available supply of labour fully absorbed on house building. In the meantime, the question had been brought before Members of Parliament interested in housing and before trade union M.P.s in particular. The latter took the line that dilution necessitated guarantees against future unemployment and improved conditions of employment. Subsequently, about the middle of 1920, the Building Resettlement Committee set forth a scheme for the absorption into the industry of ex-service men and men employed during the war in reserved occupations, but the plan was never carried into operation.

The Coalition Government during this protracted period grew more and more agitated. A "guaranteed week" was offered in return for "dilution." The industry agreed to steps being taken to employ the full number of apprentices in each skilled branch of the industry allowed under the various industrial agreements, and to special treatment for ex-service men. The Government accepted these proposals but asked for more. Negotiations and discussions continued, and modified proposals were made from time to time, but without any real approach to agreement on a general scheme. When the employers and trade union representatives were consulted separately, disagreement between them became apparent, for the former were prepared to work a measure of dilution, coupled with increased out-of-work pay. The Government then took the bull by the horns and declared its proposal to admit 50,000 new workers into the skilled crafts, to pay a training grant to the unions for the training of the "dilutees," to supplement the wages of the "dilutees" during training and to com-

* *Ibid.* pp. 8-9.

pensate the workers for loss of time due to bad weather. The scheme, however, was never a success, and it ultimately broke down completely. It was brought into operation about the time that Sir Alfred Mond had been appointed Minister of Health for the specific purpose of restricting the Addison housing scheme.

It had always been held by the building trade workers that unemployment had been a besetting sin of the industry, and that any large measure of "dilution" would precipitate a more than usually serious state of affairs should the Government housing scheme be abandoned. And Sir Alfred Mond had been made Minister of Health in March, 1921, for the purpose of restricting the scheme before the circular had been issued to local authorities regarding the employment of ex-service men on housing schemes. During 1921, unemployment in the building trades increased substantially and remained serious throughout the following year. To the operatives the course of events provided ample justification for opposition to augmentation unless there were guarantees of a continuous long term building programme.

Under Sir Alfred Mond the Government's policy of "dilution" died, and no further steps were taken to deal with the problem. In 1923 Mr. Neville Chamberlain introduced his Housing Bill, but no attempt of any kind was made to cope with the question of labour supply. Indirectly, no doubt, it was thought that under the proposals to rehabilitate the speculative builder, which form the kernel of the Chamberlain scheme, the old, unorganised and "scratch" methods of recruiting the industry would be revived and sufficient labour provided. It is true that his successor, Sir William Joynson Hicks, declared that at the time the Conservative Government of 1923 was defeated he was on the point of dealing with the problem. But his method of dealing with it, if his speeches and Press articles are any indication of his policy, would have been one of crude "dilution."

It was left to the Labour Government to come to an agreement with the building industry on the subject. It was realised that besides the need for a large housing programme, there was before the country in the immediate future a considerable programme of building necessary for new schools and other public buildings, now in arrears, and that the conversion, extension and rebuilding of commercial and other premises would continue. The development of new housing sites means not only more house building, but new shops, schools, churches, cinemas, and may mean new factories and warehouses. There was, it seemed clear, a large building programme for a term of years, and if only a continuous building policy could be adopted, one of the conditions of an augmented supply of labour would be fulfilled.

In the next place, it was obvious that the best chance of securing more labour for housebuilding was to secure a scheme approved by the industry, and one which the industry itself would be prepared to work wholeheartedly. The building industry was, therefore, invited by Mr. Wheatley to co-operate with him in the preparation of a housing policy and programme, including, of course, a policy for enlarging the supply of skilled labour. The industry cordially accepted the invitation and themselves appointed a Committee consisting of representatives of employers and operatives drawn from their respective organisations in different branches of the building trades. This body, known as the National House Building Committee, entered upon its task with great thoroughness and earned the thanks of the Labour Government. It produced an agreed Report which was published as a Command Paper.* The Minister of Health then took the unprecedented step of inviting Members of Parliament to meet the Committee at the House of Commons, and the meeting, at which there was a good deal of discussion and interrogation of the Committee, took place on May 13th.

The Committee emphasised the need for guarantees as to continuity of programme to ensure that the increased number of workers required "will be satisfactorily absorbed, and that future demands for their services will be maintained at an adequate level." To meet this requirement, and in view of the magnitude of the national need for houses, the Labour Government's Housing Act provides for a definite and continuous programme extending over fifteen years for the erection of 2,500,000 houses, subject, of course, to an increased output of houses at reasonable prices. The Committee dealt in detail with the present building labour supply; with the output per year which the industry could safely undertake to give; with the additional skilled labour needed in the various skilled trades, and with its unanimously agreed proposals for providing this additional labour.

The Report recommended that "it should be made a condition of every contract for houses under this scheme that the contractor shall employ upon the work, under such contract, apprentices up to a total ratio of one apprentice to three craftsmen, in each of the following trades, *viz.*, bricklayers and masons, carpenters and joiners, slaters and tilers, plasterers and plumbers." The apprentices are to be indentured in such a way as to be under the supervision of a local joint committee of employers and operatives, so that they may be transferred, should the contractor discontinue

* Report on the present position in the Building Industry, with regard to the carrying out of a full Housing Programme, having particular reference to the means of providing an adequate supply of labour and materials. Cmd. 2104. 1924. 9d.

housing work, and also in order to secure continuity of training and employment. Further, it was agreed that these apprentices shall be accepted up to twenty years of age. "Special consideration," says the Report, "shall, however, be given to applicants who have had previous experience of the trade (*e.g.*, building trade labourers)." The period of apprenticeship may be reduced to four years, and in special cases to three years. The wages of apprentices are to be increased, rising at the end of four years to 85 per cent. of the journeyman's wage.

It will be seen that the industry itself proposed an extended and modified system of apprenticeship and opportunities for "upgrading" the less skilled men at present employed in the building trades. The men's leader, Mr. Barron, at the House of Commons meeting referred to above, was asked whether there was an age limit. His reply was to the effect that provision had been made whereby men from outside could enter the industry as unskilled men, and they would then "by process of selection be allowed to complete their training as skilled men."

This policy of increasing the number of skilled craftsmen by a proper system of apprenticeship, including the promotion of men already employed in the industry on unskilled work, is one which should yield results, both because of its inherent soundness and because it is put forward by the organised building industry as one they are prepared to carry into operation.

The Building Industry Committee appointed by Mr. Wheatley to assist in carrying out the Labour Government's housing scheme, and especially to bring into effect the proposals for the augmentation of labour, is now at work. A new form of indenture for the augmented labour has been approved, and a census of existing apprentices obtained. The Committee is working with unanimity on the provision of a considerable additional supply of labour at the earliest possible moment, and those most intimately concerned with the industry's scheme are convinced that the industry will be able to carry out its obligations to the Minister of Health.

Innumerable gibes have been thrown both at the Labour Government and the building industry regarding the augmentation scheme; but, provided it is given unhampered opportunities, it will solve a problem which has hitherto baffled post-war Governments.

ARTHUR GREENWOOD.

FRESH LIGHT ON THE SERAJEVO CRIME.

ON June 28th, ten years had passed since the crime which precipitated the most terrible war that the world has known. The immediate cause of the war was the fact that the Serbian Government refused to permit the origins of the crime to be inquired into by Austrian agents, upon Serbian territory. To the few of us who had lived long in Balkan lands and had heard "our next war with Austria" loudly discussed both by Montenegrins and Serbs, there was no possible doubt as to why Serbia refused to permit this inquiry. We had even been told "We have the whole of the Russian army behind us and *you* (England) can do nothing!" Little did we then dream that instead of "doing nothing" England would ultimately be dragged in to support the plan.

At the time of the crime Serbia was, to the general public, a practically unknown land. Though it should have been common knowledge that the history of Serbia was punctuated with political murders; though the Carnegie Report of the Balkan wars of 1912-13 had amply exposed the atrocities of the organised gang of Serbian military, known as the Black Hand; though, in short, there was sufficient reason for doubting Serbia, yet, at this critical moment, she was taken at her own valuation. Great Britain was represented in Belgrade by a newly-appointed Minister, who had had no possible time in which to fathom the depths of Serbian intrigue, and at the critical moment he was absent from Belgrade. The Chargé d'Affaires who replaced him was also new to the land. Serbia shouted her innocence. "Therefore," cried a band of enthusiasts, "she must be innocent." Viscount Grey, then Minister for Foreign Affairs, had had no Balkan experience whatever. The Serb mentality was a sealed book to him.

Those of us who had lived long in the Balkans asked in vain: "How is it possible that in a land riddled with police spies; where the simple tourist in pre-war days was asked for a passport in every village; dogged by the police; could not photograph a cow or speak to an old woman without the police noting the fact and wanting to know the reason—how is it possible that in such a land this ubiquitous police force has been totally unable in three weeks to throw any light on the crime?" *Between June 28th and July 23rd not an arrest was made; not an explanation given.* Slavko Gruitch, when asked by Freiherr von Storck, on behalf of the Austrian Government, what steps the Serbian police had taken or were taking to trace the crime, merely replied: "The police have not concerned themselves with the affair."

When Austria, her patience worn out by Serb indifference, insisted that Austrian officials should take part in a search for the criminals, Serbia preferred to risk war, rather than to risk the exposure that must necessarily follow. We could only conclude that the exposure would have been a very bad one. The innocent would cry: "Open all my cupboards and see how clean they are." From this belief we have never swerved. And the evidence which bit by bit has been piling up has only confirmed it.

It is now possible to show that Austria's suspicions were correct and her demands justified. Had Europe enforced such an inquiry *on the spot*—as was made recently in Greece, also in a murder case—the history of the past few years would have been very different.

Last year, Professor Stanoje Stanojevitch, of Belgrade, published for the first time the fact that the Archduke's murder was organised by Colonel Dragutin Dimitrijevitich, Head of the Intelligence Section of the Serbian General Staff at Belgrade, after a communication received by him from the Russian Intelligence Department. Dimitrijevitich was the leading spirit of the "Black Hand," a society the main object of which was the break-up of Austria-Hungary. He took an active part in the murder of King Alexander and Queen Draga in 1903. As England resumed diplomatic relations with Serbia on condition that the murderers should be dismissed from office, we may fairly ask how he came to be appointed to such an important post as Head of the Intelligence.

The main facts of Stanojevitch's book appeared in the CONTEMPORARY REVIEW of November, 1923. His argument is that, the crime being the work of a "secret society," the Government could in no way be held responsible. He fails to recognise that a Government which permits the existence of such a notorious society and fails to punish its crimes becomes at best an accessory. Dimitrijevitich employed as his right-hand man Major Voja Tankositch, says Stanojevitch, thus confirming the truth of Austria's accusation. He tells much, but he leaves untouched the question: Had the Serbian Government, or any members of it, any previous knowledge of the plot?

"Murder will out." The veil that covered the days between June 28th and July 23rd, 1914, is now lifted by the Serbs themselves. To celebrate the tenth anniversary of the outbreak of the World War, a book of short articles by leading Serbians has been published at Belgrade under the title *Krv Slovenstva* (Slav Blood). It tells almost all we want to know. The first article is "After Vidovdan, 1914," by Ljuba Jovanovitch, Presi-

dent of the Serbian Parliament. We will quote it freely, italicising the more important passages.

"The outbreak of the war found me Minister of Education in the Cabinet of M. Pashitch. I have written some of my thoughts and impressions of those days. From these for this occasion, I now make extracts, *for the time has not yet come for publishing all.*" [The extracts, we may remark, are sufficiently strong for a first dose.] "I do not remember if it were the end of May or the beginning of June when, one day, M. Pashitch told us that certain persons were preparing to go to Serajevo, in order to kill Franz Ferdinand, who was expected there on Vidovdan. He told this much to us others, but he acted further in the affair only with Stojan Protitch,* then Minister of the Interior. As they told me afterwards, this was prepared by a society of secretly organised men, and by the societies of patriotic students of Bosnia-Herzegovina, in Belgrade. M. Pashitch and we others said (and Stojan Protitch agreed) that he, Stojan, should order the authorities on the Drin frontier to prevent the crossing of the youths who had left Belgrade for the purpose. *But these frontier authorities were themselves members of the organisation and did not execute Stojan's order,* and told him, and he afterwards told us, that the order had come too late, for the youths had already crossed over. *Thus failed the Government attempt to prevent the outrage (atentat) that had been prepared.*"

It is thus clear that the whole Cabinet knew of the plot some time before the murder took place; that the Prime Minister and the Minister of the Interior knew in which societies it had been prepared; that the frontier guard was deeply implicated, and working under the orders of those who were arranging the crime.

One order, which was disobeyed, was the sole effort made by the Government to stop the course of events. Had Pashitch and his Cabinet wished to prevent the murder it is obvious that their first steps would have been at once to inform the Vienna Government and the police of Serajevo, giving the names of the criminals which it is clear they knew; to arrest and try the frontier guards; to make searching inquiry into the incriminated secret societies and arrest all suspected accomplices of the plotters. A few hours' energetic work would have stopped the affair. But Ljuba Jovanovitch's reminiscences tell of no such steps. We can only suppose that Pashitch and Protitch had no wish to stop it. Ljuba then remarks:

"There failed also the attempt of our Minister at Vienna, *made on his own initiative,* to the Minister Bilinski, to turn the Archduke from the fatal path which had been planned. Thus the death of the Archduke was accomplished in circumstances more *awful than had been foreseen* and with consequences no one could have even dreamed of."

* In a list of members of the "Black Hand" published by Lazarevitch in 1917, the name of Stojan Protitch appears.

It has been claimed by certain defenders of the Serbs, notably by the French author, M. Denis, that the Serb Government warned the Austrian Government and thereby freed itself from responsibility. Ljuba Jovanovitch makes it clear that no official warning was given. The Minister acted "on his own initiative." We are left to imagine whence he derived his information. He makes yet one more of the official Serbs who knew of the plot.

As Minister of Education, Ljuba came in contact with the numerous "emigrant" students from the Slav provinces of Austria-Hungary. From one of the students, who was a refugee in London during the war, and from other sources, we have learned that these "emigrants" were mainly boys who had been expelled from Austrian schools for grave breaches of discipline. They were welcomed in Belgrade, where their schooling was often paid for by the various patriotic societies, or by individuals, and used to meet at the eating-house in Belgrade known as the "Green Garland," where a violent anti-Austrian propaganda was carried on by the "Black Hand," ex-komitadji leaders and officers. Ljuba tells us that he was personally acquainted with Princip, the chief murderer, and that he encouraged him and his fellows to complete the classes in the school in order to be the better prepared "to be of value to the nation and in general *the better serve their ideals*." That he was unaware of what went on in the "patriotic Bosnian and Herzegovinian circles" in Belgrade is in the highest degree improbable. The ugliest feature of an ugly tale is the fact that these men in official positions, deliberately and in cold blood, incited a pack of raw youths to commit crimes that must at least entail the death of the criminal, and sat calmly by and watched results. The refugee student above quoted stated that Princip was chosen because he was in such an advanced state of tuberculosis that he could not in any case have lived long. "I saw him in the park just before he left and he looked very ill."

Ljuba, after describing Princip, continues:

"On Vidovdan (Sunday, June 28th, 1914,) in the afternoon I was at my country house at Senjak. About 5 p.m., an official telephoned to me from the Press Bureau telling what had happened at Serajevo. *And although I knew what was being prepared there*, yet, as I held the receiver, it was as though someone had unexpectedly dealt me a heavy blow. When later the news was confirmed from other quarters a heavy anxiety oppressed me. . . . I saw that the position of our Government with regard to other Governments would be very difficult, far worse than after May 29th, 1903 (the murder of King Alexander). I feared the European Courts would all feel themselves aimed at by Princip's bullet, and would withdraw from us with the approval of the monarchist and conservative elements. . . . I knew that France, and much less Russia, was not ready to match itself with Germany and her Danu-

bian ally, for their preparations were not to be complete till 1917." He describes his agony of terror. That military circles did not take so gloomy a view appears next:

"Terrible thoughts overwhelmed me from Vidovdan (Sunday) till Tuesday at noon, when a young friend, Major N, to whom I told my fears, said in beautiful, soft but truly inspired tones: '*Gospodiné* Minister! I think we need not doubt. Let the Austrian-Hungarian Government attack us. It must come sooner or later. Now is an inconvenient moment for settling the account. But *now it is not for us to chose*.'" [Why not? Had the Serb military already decided to risk war and not to allow their "Black Hand" to be interfered with?] "If Austria-Hungary chooses it—well, so let it be! It may possibly end badly for us. *But it may be otherwise*."

One can only suppose that by this time the Serb army was already sure of the support of some Power or Powers. Thus cheered by Major N—, Ljuba sat up again, and took notice, with high hopes, that the Russian Press was friendly; "one knew in advance that it represented the Government. . . . Russia does not withdraw her hand from us and after Russia will come her friends. Thus it came about and was." In this astonishing autobiographical fragment there is no attempt to conceal Serbia's bloodguiltiness. The "inspired" tones of Major N— suggest that he knew very well what he was talking about.

Meanwhile, Nikola Pashitch and Stojan Protitch had not been idle. Their main idea was to conceal all trace of the crime and pose as innocent. Serbia was, indeed, so much accustomed to political murders that it is possible they imagined one more or less did not greatly matter. Ljuba details their efforts with singular simplicity. He seems to take it for granted that no one ever imagined Serbia was innocent, but that the public would like to know how the thing was done.

"M. Pashitch hoped that somehow we should surmount the crisis and he—and all of us—strove that Serbia should get through the giving of these unlucky satisfactions to Austria cheaply. . . . *As is well known, the Government did all it could to show our friends and the rest of the world how far apart we were from the Serajevo criminals (atentatori)*."

"Thus Stojan, on the very same evening when the news came of what Princip had done, gave orders, and the Belgrade police forbade all pipe-laying, singing, and rejoicing in public places, and all was stopped and something like official mourning began.

"When Mass was celebrated in the Catholic Church of the Legation on June 20th (O.S.) at the time of the funeral of the deceased Archduke and his wife, some of the Ministers represented the Serbian Government. I, too, was among them. I wanted to show that *even I, about whom it might be thought that I approved Prin-*

cip's deed, was on the contrary in entire agreement with what our Cabinet was doing." . . . [Here one asks, "What was it doing?" And can only reply, "Shamming mourning and trying to deceive Europe."]. . . "Nevertheless this short stay in the church was unpleasant to me. I felt myself to be among enemies who would not make peace with us."

What a picture is this of the man who, knowing of the murder plot a month beforehand, during which time he does nothing to prevent it, goes to church in pretended mourning for his slaughtered victim and is hard pricked in his conscience; aware that as Minister of Education and as a leading light in the *Narodna Odbrana*, which inspired the teaching of Young Serbia, he was himself already bloodguilty; would have the blood of the young criminals also on his head, and terrified lest, at the long last, he would be answerable for yet more blood. Autobiography has seldom produced a more vivid snapshot. Ljuba Jovanovitch's colleagues, however, were less sensitive.

"They still thought war could be avoided . . . they would give satisfaction to Austria, and postpone the conflict till the time when we were again ready for war, from which we had emerged with glory and great gain last autumn."

To those who do not know the Near East it must be explained that the death of the Archduke was but the last of a series of political murders upon Austrian territory, committed by youths whom Austria had every reason to believe had been armed and incited in Serbia. In all these cases, Austria had refrained from pressing the point and had limited her action to protests. It had come to such a point that Austria's cowardice, as both Serb and Montenegrin believed it to be, was a bye-word. "You can do what you like to Austria. She dare not fight!" was remarked contemptuously as each fresh outrage was duly applauded in the Serbian Press.

Pashitch and Protitch continued their efforts to make things safe: "When," says Ljuba,

"The news came from Vienna that an employé of the Serbian Ministry of Works, Milan Ciganovitch, had helped the criminals to go to Serajevo, M. Pashitch asked Jotza Jovanovitch, who held that office then, what this employé of his was. M. Jotza did not know him, nor did anyone in the Ministry." [This is strange, for Ciganovitch was a member of the "Black Hand," said to be known as No. 412, and in fulfilling its orders must, with or without leave, have been frequently absent from his post.] "As M. Pashitch insisted, they found Ciganovitch after some trouble, in some administrative post on the railway. I remember that someone—Stojan or Pashitch—said, when Jotza told us this: 'There you are! You see it is just what folks say. If a mother loses her son, let her look for him in the railway service!' After this we

heard from M. Jotza that Ciganovitch had disappeared somewhere out of Belgrade."

This is a very important admission. It shows that the Government could, had they chosen, have arrested Ciganovitch. He had been accused by the murderers, in their confessions, of being the man who introduced them to Major Voja Tankositch and, by his orders, gave them lessons in pistol-shooting and bomb-throwing, Tankositch supplying the pistol. Ciganovitch, they said, also furnished them with four Browning pistols, six bombs, enough ammunition, and a tube of prussic acid, with which to commit suicide after the deed and so preserve the secret. He then gave them a letter to Major Radé Popovitch at Shabatz, who arranged with the frontier-guard for the safe passage of the youths and their weapons into Bosnia. For these very sufficient reasons Austria demanded the arrest of Ciganovitch. The Serbian Government replied that Ciganovitch had left Belgrade on June 15th (O.S.) and could not be traced. The Austrian inquiry was made some three days after the crime. Ljuba shows that Ciganovitch was then still in Government employ and that it took a little time to find him. He was not arrested, but mysteriously "disappeared." It was clear to Austria that, unless her own agents acted, no arrests were likely to be made. By conniving at the escape of Ciganovitch the Cabinet became accomplices after the crime as well as guilty of foreknowledge of it. Austria's insistence on taking part in the inquiries raised an outcry among those who did not know the Balkans. To those who did, it seemed the one necessary clause.

Ljuba continues:

"Stojan for his part carried out a certain investigation. Among the things remaining in the post office at Belgrade, a postcard was found, 'poste restante,' written from Serajevo by one of the criminals, before Vidovdan, to one of his comrades in Belgrade."

Here follows a long row of — — — — — suggesting that one of the passages which are not yet ripe for publication is here omitted. Here was yet another opportunity for the arrest of one of the accomplices. Needless to say nothing was done. On the contrary, Ljuba says cheerfully: "On the whole it could be expected that Vienna would not succeed in proving any connection between official Serbia and the event on the Miljacka." The Cabinet then seems to have felt all was safe and to have awaited events happily.

Space does not admit of quoting more of the article. The carelessness with which Pashitch and most of the Ministers went up country electioneering, after having, as they thought, safely buried all tracks: the anxious cry by telephone of M. Patchu, the Minister of Finance, who was left in charge, telling that the

Austrian Note^{*} is about to arrive and begging Pashitch to return; his reply "Take it yourself," and his obstinate persistence in starting for Salonika; his final detention at Leskovatz by an urgent message from Gruitch telling the contents of the Note, are all detailed. He returned. The shuffling reply was drafted in which all points of little importance were conceded, but in which the guilty gang refused to allow any dangerous inquiries to be made in Serbia. The Russian Chargé d'Affaires was summoned, and begged to ask for the support of the Russian Government for Serbia. It is all an ugly tale.

One thing is clear after Ljuba's revelations, and that is that an inquiry at the Hague would have been a mere pantomime, staged by Pashitch and Co. with, perhaps, some distinguished members of the "Black Hand" to act as chorus.

It is melancholy now to read the criticisms then made in England on these events. Austria relied on the righteousness of her cause and supplied each of the Powers with a very detailed *dossier* of her charges against Serbia and the evidence obtained from the captured murderers. But in the Bluebook published at the beginning of the war this is condensed into a few lines. And there is nothing in the Bluebook to show that the *dossier* was ever seriously considered. We find Sir Edward Grey (as he then was) writing on July 24th to Sir Maurice de Bunsen at Vienna that "the merits of the dispute between Austria and Serbia were not the concern of H.M. Government." And on July 29th: "The Austrian Ambassador told me to-day he had a long memorandum which he said gave an account of the conduct of Serbia to Austria and an explanation of how necessary the Austrian action was. *I said I did not wish to discuss the merits of the question between Austria and Serbia.*"

This was what Germany wished—that the question should be left to be settled between the two. But Sir Edward felt himself so tightly bound to Russia and France, whose protégé Serbia was, that we find him writing to Mr. Crackanthorpe, at Belgrade, on July 24th that he thinks:

"Serbia should promise to give Austria full satisfaction if it is proved that Serbian officials were accomplices in the murder of the Archduke, and 'she certainly should express regret and concern.' For the rest, the Servian Government must reply to Austrian demands as they consider best for Servian interests." [Was it probable they would not?] "It is impossible to say if military action by Austria can be avoided by anything but unconditional acceptance of her terms. . . . Only chance appears to be avoiding absolute refusal and replying favourably on as many points as the time limit allows. Servian Minister here has begged H.M. Government will express their views, but *I cannot undertake the*

responsibility of saying more than I have said above, and I do not like to say even that without knowing what is being said by the French and Russian Governments. You should therefore consult your French and Russian colleagues as to repeating what my views are as expressed above."

To this Mr. Crackanthorpe replies that, his French and Russian colleagues having received no instructions, he has not offered the advice to the Serbian Government. Thus, for fear of upsetting France and Russia, it appears that Great Britain dared not even tell the Serbs to say they were sorry.

It is melancholy, too, to turn to the reflections of others who also did not know the Balkans and judged the Serbs by the standards, it would appear, of Oxford and Eton. Thus the anonymous author of "Who provoked the War?" in Vol. I of *New Europe*, says: "The Serbian Government denied the indictments of Austria, but no time was left for Serbia to conduct a regular trial of the persons denounced by Austria-Hungary." But, as we have seen, the said Government had had time to suppress the incriminating postcard, to cause the disappearance of Ciganovitch, and plenty of time to punish the frontier guards had they chosen. (Ciganovitch, by the way, is not reported to be dead and may yet favour us with his reminiscences.)

The only report we have been able to find on the Austrian *dossier* is written by Sir Charles Oman, who, it is clear, has had no Balkan experience and ascribes Western standards to Near-Eastern minds. He thinks that the evidence given by the captured murderers is probably "concocted," because he is haunted by the idea that schoolboys do not "tell" of each other. He is indignant that Austria should pass over "the full and satisfactory promise of the Serbian Government to bring to trial anyone accused of complicity in the Serajevo crime" without a word. But a lecture in a haughty tone is delivered on the objection that Austrian delegates in the inquiry would be contrary to the Serbian Constitution. He is deeply shocked that Austria should add "*If the researches were properly carried out the results would have been of a kind unpleasant to themselves* (the Serb Government)." So, indeed, they would have been, for the Cabinet, the Head of the Intelligence Section of the General Staff; the Executive Committee of the "Black Hand"; the officers of the frontier guard, and who knows how many more, might have appeared as prisoners at the bar accused of complicity either before or after the crime. Sir Charles' indignation culminates when "it is alleged that the Prefect of Police caused his (Ciganovitch's) disappearance and could have found him if he pleased. *In short, there is a blank accusation of bad faith made against the Serbian Government.*"

Compared with Ljuba's picture of Jotza finding Ciganovitch; Pashitch and Stojan joking about lost youths found in the railway service, and Stojan's remark later "that he had disappeared somewhere," the difference between the real and the imaginary would be ludicrous, were it not that failure to realise that Austria knew what she was talking about caused Europe to be drenched with blood and cost millions of innocent lives.

"Yes," said a Serb refugee student calmly, "it is a pity so many were killed. But you see the plan was quite successful. We have made Great Serbia." As it is always of interest to "see ourselves as others see us," two more Serbian remarks may be added. "*We made you break up Austria and Germany for us.* Now nothing stands in the way. The Slavonic plans will be realised. You cannot stop us." Lastly, "Oh, you English! You think you are honest, but you are so very, very silly. Any-one can deceive you."

Deceived we were. It is evident that our course should have been to support Germany in insisting that no other Power should intervene; and give France and Russia plainly to understand that we would on no account fight on behalf of their protégé. France, as we know, had been steadily arming and financing Serbia ever since 1906. Serbia had formed an important element in Russian plans ever since the Serb military gang had murdered King Alexander and put Russia's choice, the Karageorgevitch, upon the throne in 1903. There are, indeed, hints that there was pre-knowledge of the murder plot in Russia, a report that Artamanov, the Russian military attaché at Belgrade, was informed of it by Dimitrijevitich; that he asked for delay while he communicated with Petersburg, and a few days afterwards informed the Intelligence Section of the Serb General Staff that, whatever happened, Russia would support Serbia. "We trembled," said my informant, "to the innermost depths of our being at the words of the Russian military attaché, for we knew that now the axe would be laid to the stem of the Austrian Imperial family." Leopold Mandl makes this statement in the *Neues 8 Uhr Blatt* of July 1st, 1924. As he does not name his authority, we note it only as a point which requires further elucidation. The Russian correspondence between Belgrade and Petersburg has not yet been revealed.

Had France known for certain that she would receive no help from England if she went to war on behalf of Serbia, it is unlikely that she would have dared to support Russia; and had France accepted the often repeated entreaty of Germany to join with her in an intervention at Petersburg the matter might yet have been localised. Isvolsky reports Germany's efforts with a chuckle: "The Minister of Justice has not for one moment admitted the

possibility of taking a moderating action at Petersburg. . . . The Minister has refused to agree to the German proposal." Viscount Grey would not "discuss the merits of the question between Austria and Serbia." Isvolsky wanted his war and he got it.

"Never in history has there been a better outlook for the Serbian nation than has arisen since the outbreak of the war!" cried M. Pashitch triumphantly on August 13th, 1915 (*Tribuna*, Belgrade, No 1771). Half Europe rushed to his support. The success of the murder plot surpassed his wildest expectations. We English, as the Serb remarked, were very, very silly. Let us learn from the past and on no account allow ourselves a second time to be dragged into a plot for Slavonic aggrandisement. But he was kind enough to add that we think ourselves honest. Let us then be honest and admit that Germany was not alone responsible for provoking the war.

M. EDITH DURHAM.

RICHARD BAXTER.*

ON December 8th, 1691, Richard Baxter died in Charter House Square at the age of seventy-six. His long life had begun in the reign of James I and ended in that of William III. The names suffice to indicate the decisive character of his time. It had witnessed the passage of the English people out of tutelage into independence, a passage not unmarked by revolutionary violences which have left indelible marks on English life and character. Baxter was a sickly youth of eighteen when Laud became Archbishop of Canterbury in 1633: he was a man of thirty when the old Primate, worn with imprisonment and ill usage, went to the block in 1645. He was in the meridian of his energy and influence during the interregnum, and at the Restoration was conspicuous among the Puritan leaders who had co-operated with the Royalists in bringing back the King. His amazing vitality and unparalleled industry had kept him in the front line of public life for so many years; his numerous writings, polemical and devotional, had been so widely read; and his name had come to be the symbol of so many hopes, disappointments, ideals, and failures, that, when at last the old man passed away, the news struck home to many hearts with a strange power.

His burial in Christ Church, which already contained the ashes of his wife and her mother, was the occasion of a notable demonstration. Among the concourse of mourners the number of ministers, Conformists as well as Nonconformists, was remarkable. A spectator reported that the train of coaches reached from Merchant Taylors' Hall, from whence the corpse was carried, to the place of burial. That was an age of funeral sermons, a type of composition which has acquired a measure of historical importance, as disclosing contemporary estimates of character, and sometimes, when the preacher had been long and closely associated with the subject of his posthumous eulogy, contributing biographical information of interest and value. Among the funeral sermons of the seventeenth century the two for Baxter preached respectively by his friend and assistant, Sylvester, and by the "silver-tongued" orator, Bates, take high place. In the course of the latter a saying of Baxter is quoted, which is both true and characteristic, and may very well serve as a key to the man's character: "I can as willingly be a martyr for love as for any article of the creed." It is, precisely, because the deliberate verdict of posterity acknowledges the truth of Baxter's implied claim that he was "a martyr for

* An address delivered in Christ Church, Newgate Street, on December 4th, on the occasion of unveiling a tablet to the memory of Richard Baxter, who was buried in the Church in December, 1691.

love" that our action in perpetuating his memory in this Church by a memorial tablet has explanation and sufficient reasonable ground.

Richard Baxter was well born, and well educated. His father was a gentleman of property in Shropshire, who had adopted Puritan opinions, and brought up his son with Puritan strictness. Puritanism had not as yet become inconsistent with a loyal attachment to the Established Church, though its loyalty was being subjected to a dangerous strain, and there were many circumstances which tended to emphasise every element of disaffection. The boy was a quick learner, and his retentive memory garnered whatever he learned. He received an excellent education in Donington Free School in Wroxeter, and should have passed on to the University in the ordinary course, had not his parents preferred to send him as a private pupil to a certain Richard Wicksteed, Chaplain to the Council at Ludlow, who enjoyed a reputation for learning which he does not seem to have merited. Young Baxter was mostly left to himself. He became an omnivorous and indefatigable reader, and laid the foundation of the vast, though rather multifarious and undigested, erudition which his writings disclose. By his tutor's advice he was sent to London "to get acquaintance at Court and get some office as being the only rising way," but a month's experience of London life, as it proceeded under the sprightly influence of Henrietta Maria, was sufficient to convince him that his path lay elsewhere. The lack of the normal academic training, and the vivid repugnance which the spectacle of the fashionable world provoked in the youth's too sensitive mind, left indelible impressions on Baxter, and go some way to explain distinctive features of his career. A self-educated man is too apt to over-value the knowledge he acquires, to take undue pride in his own unassisted intellectual effort, and to view with an excessive depreciation the work of others. In Baxter these consequences were emphasised by the natural egotism of an almost morbidly conscientious character and by the inevitable self-centredness of a chronic invalid.

Moreover, a man who has led a comparatively solitary youth arrives at manhood without contemporaries, and feels himself lonely and incomprehensible among associates who, though they may perforce acknowledge his superiority, chafe under it, and are never at a loss for a reason why it should be discounted. The little loyalties which form the substance of their social code are mostly unmeaning to him, and they can neither trust nor understand him. The conscientiousness of these isolated individuals becomes a permanent obstacle to co-operation. They have the aspect of cranks, and are regarded with the dislike which cranks

naturally provoke. It may be said of Baxter as of the younger Pitt that he was "cast," and never grew. In a rapidly changing world he remained rigidly unchanged. His intellect was alert, inquisitive, and subtle rather than original or profound, and his vast knowledge of books was insufficiently balanced by a knowledge of men. Had his own manner of life been more normal he would have been better able to appreciate the difficulties of ordinary men.

Even in his own day Baxter's theology was plainly obsolescent, and his view of the preacher's office had come to have an archaic aspect. He continued a Puritan of 1640 to the end of his career. The *Treatise of Episcopacy*, published in 1682, discloses the same standpoints, ideals, and even proposals, as those of *The Reformed Pastor*, published in 1655, though the entire situation, political and ecclesiastical, had been revolutionised in the interval. Kidderminster, which made his spiritual fame, destroyed his ecclesiastical success. For he was in a sense hypnotised by his great achievement, so that it became in his mind the standard by which religious policies must be judged. He has described in much detail the wonderful ministry which he fulfilled for nearly fifteen years in Kidderminster, setting down what he conceived to be the causes of his success, and admitting with characteristic frankness the limits within which that success was confined. Reading between the lines we must needs suspect that the failure was at least as impressive as the success. Baxter's Kidderminster is less picturesque but hardly less pathetic than Savonarola's Florence.

His latest biographer, Dr. Powicke, has described this phase of his career with knowledge, sympathy, and discrimination. He paints a picture which is not wholly pleasing. We see the devoted pastor throwing himself with an almost frenzied ardour for social righteousness against the unyielding rocks of human nature, economic condition, and social custom. He appeals, entreats, denounces, rebukes, and (so far as he can) coerces. But he prevails only with the minority which "sees light in his light." For the rest it would seem that resentment rather than repentance was the fruit of his pastoral labour. Sustained by his own passionate conviction he persisted, but he failed to carry the general conscience with him. His courage was as dauntless as his rigour was adamant. The persistently impenitent were "cast out" from the Church and, so far as his influence in the parish carried, boycotted by their neighbours. This was in his view the indispensable discipline which Christ Himself had ordained that His ministers should enforce in His Church:

"We know it to be an ordinance of Christ, and greatly conducing to the honour of the Church; which is not a common prophane

society nor a sty of swine, but must be cleaner than the societies of infidels and heathens. And I bless God that I ever made trial of Discipline; for my expectations were not frustrate, though the ejected sinners were hardened. The church's good must be first regarded."*

So have the zealots for righteousness spoken in every age, and yet at the first the Lord Himself rebuked them. It is strange that so loyal and loving a disciple of Christ as Richard Baxter should have been blinded by his religious theory so completely as to have missed the warning of the Parable of the Tares. His passion for what he called discipline became an obsession. Dr. Powicke's observations here are just and illuminating:

"But his insistence on it cost him dear. Its unpopularity is certain; for (says he) from 'very fear of Discipline all the Parish kept off except about 600, when there were in all above 1,600 at Age to be communicants.' And surely the 'enmity' of 'Fury' it inspired must have wrought harm not merely in its subjects but also in others. Hate no less than love is a leaven whose action is pervasive. So the 'excommunicated' may have had not a few secret sympathisers. And was there not a harshness in the system which justified sympathy? Baxter might plead for it in the interest of the Church but the Church is an abstraction compared with the individual. It is the individual soul that counts even in a Church. And if a system of discipline is good for the Church, but in every case of its strict enforcement (as Baxter admits) makes the individual morally worse, or even drives him mad, can it be called Christian or wise? Did Baxter ever suspect that his system was a theory deduced from Scripture but defied by human nature; and therefore bound to fail? At any rate, the consequences of its application cast a shadow across the success of his last years at Kidderminster."†

"Baxter," observes Orme, "though a Nonconformist in fact was a Churchman rather than a Dissenter in principle." The fact is that he was a curious blend of the two, so that neither was wholly at ease with him. He himself differentiated his position sharply from that of the sectaries, with whom he contended so doughtily, but it is not easy to reconcile his zeal for a National Church with the clear-cut distinction between Church and parish which governed his procedure in Kidderminster. He appears to have envisaged some such system as that which would have been brought into existence in England if the result of the Enabling Act should ever approximate to the objects of its promoters.

"His Church," writes Mr. Orme, "it is evident, was a voluntary association, distinct from the people of his parish, and from the general congregation. To this select body he dispensed the ordinances of the Gospel, and on its members alone he exercised th

* v. Powicke's *Life of Baxter*, p. 113. (Jonathan Cape Ltd.)

† *Ibid.*

discipline of the kingdom of heaven. At the same time he was regarded, in some sense, as the parochial clergyman, and was countenanced in various ways by the magistrates."*

Baxter was the Rupert of controversy. He, as little as the Cavalier champion, could "hold himself in" on the day of battle, losing the prize of victory in his too keen appreciation of the *gaudia certaminis*. Like another very good man, Dr. Pusey—with whom he had much in common, including a morbid scrupulosity and a total lack of humour—Baxter could be extraordinarily provoking. Newman's famous description of the Tractarian leader's eirenic method applies also to that of the illustrious Puritan. He also "discharged his olive-branch from a catapult." Hence his controversial successes were gained at the greatest cost of abiding resentment, for his extraordinary facility of speech, and his absorption in the immediate issue, led him but too easily to a wounding incisiveness, which could not be easily forgotten or forgiven. It followed that he was the worst conceivable diplomatist. His faults and his virtues contributed almost equally to his diplomatic failures. His colossal tactlessness led him to "improve the occasion" when all turned on winning confidence and disarming suspicion.

Nothing could have been more unfortunate than his behaviour towards Oliver Cromwell, and nothing more indiscreet than his treatment of Charles II. When Baxter was actually confronted with these powerful persons, on whose goodwill so much turned, and who were, though for widely differing reasons, well-disposed towards him, every other thought gave place to the single consideration that he must deal with them faithfully as the Lord's commissioned representative. Cromwell was roundly rebuked for his opportunism, and patronage of sectaries: and Charles was treated to a tremendous denunciation of sin. The Sermon "formerly preached before his Majesty, and published by his Command" was reissued as part of a substantial quarto under the title *The Life of Faith*. In this form it fills forty-seven closely printed pages, and could not have taken less than an hour and a half to deliver. Its character may be sufficiently gathered from the fact that the word "Hell" appears in it no less than thirty-four times, and the references to eternal damnation are much more numerous. The method of Kidderminster was hardly adapted for use in Whitehall.

Baxter's behaviour at the Savoy Conference showed him at his worst—dogmatic, argumentative, meticulous, unyielding. The opportunity for a controversial duel with Gunning so completely banished from his mind the serious purpose of the assembly that he provided "the diversion of the town" at the cost of wasting

* v. *Practical Works of Richard Baxter*. By Rev. William Orme. (Vol. I p. 580.)

priceless time, and alienating indispensable allies. Walton relates that "patient Dr. Sanderson" was led to say with an unusual earnestness, that he had "never met with a man of more pertinacious confidence and less abilities in all his conversation." Yet Sanderson was certainly neither an unjust, nor an unfriendly opponent. There is evidence that on his own side there was a feeling that Baxter had mismanaged his case. Indeed, it would be hardly excessive to say that he was not only the pride but also the despair of his friends, the first because of the universal homage which his character evoked, the last because of his impracticable scrupulosity. If his reputation rested on his controversial exploits or on his diplomatic efforts, we should certainly not be engaged in commemorating him to-day. Indeed, the magnitude of his failures in these respects adds piquancy to the problem of his posthumous fame.

Baxter, in spite of his considerable faults and limitations, made a profound impression on his contemporaries, and those of them who were brought into familiar intercourse with him came to love and honour him in a measure which has few parallels. He might be provoking and unreasonable, he often was, but then he was so plainly sincere, so unselfish, so brave, so full of love, that men fell under the spell of a personal influence which they could neither question nor resist. The secret of his pastoral triumphs was his great capacity for love. He stuck by his friends, and they stuck by him, because the loyalty was on both sides rooted in personal affection. Kidderminster had its hold upon him by reason of experiences which our generation can easily appreciate:

"I had many score of my neighbours with me in the Wars, some going with me in a Troop into the field, and many and many a time ventured their lives, some taken prisoners, some dead, some slain, some wounded, many safe and returned home; and it was *they* that stuck to me and I to them, resolving then in the Wars that if our God restored us I would not forsake them, if now they forsook not Him and me."*

A man who thinks and reasons like that certifies his quality unmistakably. In truth, Richard Baxter exhibited a combination which has not been infrequent in Christian history. It was supremely shown in that great Apostle, who was not only the author of the sublime Hymn on Charity which fills the thirteenth chapter of the First Corinthian Epistle—the only chapter of the Epistles which Renan thought worthy to stand with the Gospels—but also the most contentious and best hated figure of the Apostolic age.

"Unearthly" is the word which his biographer Orme finds

* Powicke, *op. cit.* p. 85.

best and most appropriate for summing up Baxter's character. Few students will be disposed to dissent. "His soul took wing for heaven, and wrapt up the souls of others with him," said Bates in his memorable funeral sermon. The title of Baxter's best-known and most characteristic book—*The Saints' Everlasting Rest*—indicates the same prevailing quality. Of him, as of Moses, the words of the Apostle may be justly spoken, "He endured as seeing Him Who is invisible." To him the unseen world was nearer, more real, infinitely more important, than that visible world which thrust itself so insistently on his attention. While the ardour of his temperament, the alertness of his mind, and the perilous facility of his utterance were ever carrying him into the politics of his time, his true concern was always "other worldly." He brought into his secular activities the independence, severity, and uncompromising temper of the genuine ascetic, while his great heart, overflowing with pastoral charity, would never suffer him to leave men alone in courses which could only, as he believed with complete conviction, bring them to utter destruction.

He was the Preacher in politics, but he conceived of his Preacher's function very nobly. He was among men as a Prophet of the Lord, and he modelled himself on the Prophets of Israel, to whose authority he believed himself to have succeeded. Like them, therefore, he "preached to the times," and was the exponent and champion of the general conscience. So august a claim so pertinaciously asserted might well have provoked no other sentiments than those of scornful resentment. In Baxter it was so impressively associated with a high level of personal behaviour, a self-dedication to spiritual ministry, an untiring industry, a passionate love for souls, and an utter absence of self-seeking, that his contemporaries could not lightly sweep it aside. He left on them the impression that he was indeed "A Man of God." Neither his intolerant creed nor his unyielding and unpopular Puritanism could conceal the whole-hearted self-devotion to Christ's service which inspired his ministry. What was apparent during his lifetime has been even more apparent since. Baxter's controversial writings have long been unread: the verdict of history has decided against his ecclesiastical policy: his theology is utterly obsolete. But so long as Christianity is professed among us, and men are ordained to the pastorate souls, his devotional works will retain value, and his pastoral counsels will be fresh and relevant.

Baxter's failure in the sphere of ecclesiastical politics was complete, but his influence on English religion has been permanent and profound. If, even in our own time, it is the case that serious Englishmen interpret Christianity in terms of practical morality, and will not tolerate any version of it which is, or seems to be,

indifferent to personal righteousness, it is to Baxter more than to any other individual that the fact is due. Bishop Butler, in his own way, renewed and deepened the impression which Baxter had made. Both men felt so deeply the awfulness of religion that they made it impossible and even absurd for self-respecting and considering men to play with so great a thing. Butler's famous dictum might serve to describe the stern candour of Baxter's appeal: "Things and actions are what they are, and the consequences of them will be what they will be: why then should we desire to be deceived?" *The Reformed Pastor* is the best manual of the clergyman's duty in the language, because it leaves on the reader's mind an ineffaceable impression of the sublimity and awfulness of spiritual ministry.

In one respect the seventeenth century was like the twentieth. It also was marked by earnest efforts to restore the unity of Christendom. Perhaps such efforts are an infallible indication that the state of the world is more than commonly confused and shadowed. The Thirty Years' War (1618-1648) in the earlier age brought Europe to the same desperate straits as those to which our own Europe has been brought by the Great War. Good men, then as now, were casting about for some security against renewals of the tragedy, and inevitably they turned to the Christian Church. Baxter was conspicuous among his contemporaries for his zeal in the cause of Reunion. In his age as in ours the same end was pursued by very different means. There were those who believed in the final triumph of their own version of Christianity, and were so certain of its sole validity as to refuse any religious intercourse with other Christians. There were others, of whom Baxter was in England the outstanding representative, who believed that the way of peace lay rather in realising the extent of common agreement, and making the most of it as a basis for spiritual fellowship and ecclesiastical co-operation.

Would it be untrue to say that Baxter was the author of "undenominationalism," not, indeed, of the preposterous and impracticable minimising which controversialists, for purposes of their own, have read into the uncouth word, but of its true, original, and legitimate meaning? That Christianity is really a distinctive religion: that the large differences between Christians are plainly compatible with a firm hold on the essentials of the Faith: that these essentials do provide a sufficient basis for spiritual fellowship: that such spiritual fellowship ought to find expression in ecclesiastical co-operation, and even common worship—these are assumptions which are both reasonable and charitable. Apart from them it is difficult to imagine any escape from the calamity of unmitigated sectarianism.

On the title-page of his *Treatise of Episcopacy*, published in 1682, Baxter describes himself as "a Catholick Christian, for love, concord, and peace of all true Christians, and obedience to all lawful commands of Rulers : but made, called and used as a Non-conformist." It is a characteristically challenging description, but looking back on his career, and taking account of his influence, we shall agree that it is just. He has an honoured place in the roll of the Church's Saints, as one who was, in a cruel and troubled age, truly "A Martyr for Love," and therefore, we do well to honour his memory.

HERBERT DUNELM :

THE TRUE GENESIS OF BOLSHEVISM :

A FORECAST AND ITS LESSONS.

SOME say that History teaches nothing. Others, putting the case more prudently, say that we never learn anything from her because we shut our eyes and stop our ears and persuade ourselves that our present situation, whatever it may be, has no precedent. I shall not venture on the general question here and now. It is my purpose, rather, to cite a particular case in which History did teach one man something, enabling him to foresee accurately the course of a national development which is giving much concern to the civilised world.

Turning over some old papers the other day, I came upon an article from a French review, dated August, 1897, on "The Social Transformations of Contemporary Russia." The author was that competent historian and delightful writer, the late M. Anatole Leroy Beaulieu. His theme was the condition of the new industrial working class which the Tsar's Government was then calling into existence. For reasons of State the Tsar's Ministers were determined to create manufacturing industries in agricultural Russia. They wanted to build railways, especially in Poland and across Siberia. They thought that Russia should mine her abundant coal and iron and manufacture her own railway material. The nascent iron and steel industries were therefore stimulated by bounties and a high tariff. To bring traffic to the new railways, the cotton plantations of Central Asia were developed and the infant textile industry of the Moscow region was encouraged to use the Russian-grown cotton. Partly for the same reason and partly to cover the interest on the huge loans which Russia was raising in France, Great Britain, and Germany, the export of grain was increased, though the peasantry as a whole were half-starved. The result of this industrial protectionist policy was the rapid growth of a factory population in and around Petrograd, Moscow, and other towns in Central and Western Russia.

Such a phenomenon was something new in Russian history. The Empire of the Tsars had consisted hitherto of a mass of peasants, a handful of nobles, and a small army of officials. The middle class, properly speaking, of merchants and retailers counted for little, the artisan class for still less. Manufacturing industries were indeed growing slowly, but, with the exception of the munition works, were relatively unimportant. Home industries still supplied the simple wants of the vast majority of peasants, who lived on the produce of their holdings, made their own clothes and primitive implements, and needed little from the towns except tea. The Industrial Revolution propagated from above of set

design—and not, as in England, by private enterprise—was to establish a new element in the population, congregated in towns or urban areas, divorced from the soil and from the age-long traditions of the village community, responsive in the very nature of things to new ideas which might not, and probably would not, accord with those of the ruling class. Already, in 1897, there were millions of such people and their numbers were rapidly increasing.

Now, the official theory, when M. Leroy Beaulieu wrote, was that, though like causes might have like consequences in other parts of the world, Holy Russia formed a unique exception to this or any other axiom. The Slavophiles, whose doctrines were fashionable, maintained that the Russian system based on the *mir* or village community, with the Tsar as head of Church and State, suited the Russian character so well that nothing could affect it. This system, far superior, as they boasted, to the Western system, could adopt Western industrialism without being harmed or changed. They pointed out that the landholding peasant who worked in factories in the winter did not cease to be a member of the *mir*; he remained liable for his share of the village taxes and he retained his rights to a fair allocation of land, which his family tilled on his behalf. It was true that many of the men attracted to the factories were landless peasants, for whom the *mir* could find no fields to cultivate, but these men were, after all, a minority. In any case, the bulk of the population would remain attached to the soil, and vitally interested in the maintenance of the old communal method of agriculture typified by the *mir*. Against this vast majority a small proletariat with subversive notions would surely be impotent.

Such was the comfortable theory which was generally accepted in 1897 and which M. Leroy Beaulieu, greatly daring, ventured to question. "On the day when she decided to give herself a manufacturing industry similar to that of the West, Russia condemned herself to pass through the same phases and soon, perhaps, through the same social conflicts as the Western peoples." Industry, he said, was in itself a great revolutionary. If a nation desired to remain in the old ways, its only safe policy was to prohibit the railway, the steam-engine, and the machine, as the Chinese mandarins did for many a long year. It was vain to suppose, as the Tsar's Ministers did, that the erection of cotton-mills and steel-works, employing many thousands of hands, would not change the social structure and the national organisation of old Russia.

The French author remarked with singular acumen that the transitional stage in which the workman remained a peasant was

bad for him and bad for industry. The factory manager found the work interrupted in the summer when his employees had to return home for the harvest, in the autumn when they had to put in their seed for the next year's crop. Russian industry could not flourish under such conditions, which increased its overhead expenses out of all proportion to those of its foreign competitors. The workman, for his part, suffered because he had to leave his village home and live in barracks provided by his employer. Moreover, through his own ignorance and inefficiency, and through the keen competition for employment among the multitude of wandering peasants, the workman had to be content with very low wages. Cheap labour is usually dear at any price, as the Russian industrialist soon found out. He might pay his men barely half the wages that English workmen obtained, but he could not for all that produce at as low a cost as the English manufacturer, whose wares, despite the high tariff, could undersell Russian goods in the Russian market. It was clearly to the pecuniary interest both of employer and workman that this transitional stage should end, and that the workman should cut loose from his village, bring his family to the town and work regularly all the year through. The employer would be assured of a steady and increasingly competent supply of labour; the workman would earn higher wages and at the same time be relieved of his share of the village taxes. This process was beginning when M. Leroy Beaulieu wrote, but it had not gone far. Only the disadvantages of the attempted compromise between country and town were clearly apparent and were causing much discontent.

The Government, while frowning upon any kind of combination among the workmen, thought to anticipate trouble by decreeing factory laws of a liberal character, limiting the hours of work, preventing women and children from being employed on night shifts, and so forth. Factory inspectors were appointed to supervise the working of these enlightened ordinances. The workmen were to feel that they need do nothing for themselves; all would be done for them by their "Little Father," the Tsar. The French critic was sceptical. "Whatever may be the future development of this social legislation, however great may seem the wish of the authorities to prevent the appearance of an industrial proletariat, neither laws nor decrees could long retard the transformation of the peasant-workman into an European, a modern artisan." This transformation, he predicted, in the Moscow district "will doubtless be completed before the middle of the twentieth century." He went on to say in words that have gained in force by the lapse of time:

"The future will show the Russians that their peasant as a man

is no different from other men; the *mir* will not prevent the workman from ceasing to be a peasant, from modernising and Europeanising himself and, for that reason, from detaching himself from the hereditary associations of the *mir* and breaking the antique mould of the rustic communal system. It will be as formidable a transformation, doubtless, as it is inevitable, and for the people and for the empire it will bring its sufferings and, perhaps, its perils; but Russia could only stay it by putting out the furnaces in her works and breaking up the machines in her factories.

"Industry, it seems to me, rather than science or the spread of popular education—the simultaneous formation of new classes, artisan and bourgeois or middle-class—is preparing, afar off, the social transformation of the vast empire and with it, one day perhaps, the political evolution hitherto vainly dreamed of by the youth of the universities and by what the Russians call, with emphasis, the 'intelligenza' or intelligent section. For, in putting off the peasant status, even the Russian workman may acquire new ideas, new views, as it were a new soul. The humble 'artels' or guilds of the peasants, with common-place views and a limited outlook, like the mind of an old rustic, will change into boastful syndicates, enterprising trade unions, with which the employers and perhaps the Government itself will one day have to reckon. Whatever may be the secret of her destinies, it seems clear that any political change in Russia must be preceded by a social change."

M. Leroy Beaulieu went further in his predictions.

"If the Russian workman, gradually disengaged from the attachments of the *mir*, preserves a liking for the life of the guild and for collectivist methods, this liking will take a new form. Like the workmen of the West, he will turn away from the land to concentrate on the factory. The workman who has ceased to be a peasant, leaving to his fellow villagers the fields of the rural commune, will dream for his part of industrial communism or manufacturing collectivism. For, after the economic transformation, there is very likely to come, for the Russian artisan, a moral transformation. The artisan in Moscow or St. Petersburg still has the ideas, the feelings, the very soul of the peasant. But this peasant character is already beginning to be modified by the factory and the school. I trust, though I am none too hopeful, that, in detaching himself from the *mir* and from the land, the workman may long preserve the homely sentiments of the peasant, and that he may above all keep his faith in God and the Tsar. This twofold faith is, happily, embedded in the heart of the Russian. But there also, even in the very soul, a change in social conditions may cause, in the long run, profound perturbations. The mind of man, his ideas, his affections, his dreams, change with his habits and his interests. The Imperial censorship may in vain extend its vigilant watch over the people of the towns and the countryside, closely inspecting the popular newspapers and libraries; the censorship and the police may stop doctrines coming from without; but they cannot prevent the evolution of ideas nor the fermenting of the thoughts that spring up in the overheated air of the factory."

We all know how terribly this prediction of 1897 was fulfilled

twenty years later. The war, no doubt, hastened its fulfilment. The hopeless mismanagement of the armies, the corruption and incompetence rampant at headquarters, shocked even the apathetic Russian people. The Tsarist system collapsed like a pack of cards before the revolution in the capital because it had lost all faith in itself. But we may doubt whether, a generation earlier, under similar circumstances, such a revolution would have been possible, or, if attempted, would have had any success. The impelling force behind the revolution was, we must remember, the Petrograd Soviet, and this was drawn from the workmen in the factories. The thousands of armed and organised workmen, led by a few determined men, made the revolution and set the example which other towns quickly followed. When Lenin and Trotsky, through the good offices of Germany, returned from exile, they found ready to their hand an armed proletariat willing to go to any lengths in pulling down the old order. This proletariat was the creation of the Tsarist rule, which, like Frankenstein, in Mrs. Shelley's romance, had made a monster whom it could not control. As the rank and file of the army were only too ready to be disbanded, and to relax their discipline, the dictatorship of the proletariat was easily set up, all the more because the self-styled leaders of the early days of the revolution quarrelled with one another and were afraid to command. Lenin and Trotsky, with the audacity of the fanatic, seized their opportunity and made the most of it.

It may be noted, in passing, that a parallel may be drawn between the Russian factory towns, crowded with men from all parts of the country, and the South Wales mining area. The coalfield in South Wales was relatively late in being developed. Welsh anthracite began to be sent to London about 1830. Twenty years later few parishes in the coalfield had over 500 inhabitants to the square mile outside Merthyr and Aberdare. But between 1851 and 1911, when railways were built down the valleys to the Bristol Channel ports, Newport, Cardiff, Penarth, and so on, the population increased at a tremendous rate. The increase was largely due to immigration. Dr. Trueman, of University College, Cardiff, showed some years ago in the *Geographical Journal* that in 1911 nearly half the people living in Cardiff had come from other places. Almost every county in England and Scotland had contributed to the population of Cardiff. Merthyr, again, had a large proportion of immigrants from England. He noted that the males exceeded the females in number, especially in the Rhondda—a definite characteristic of an immigrant community.

It is probably safe to connect these facts with the peculiarly violent type of Socialism that has found adherents in South Wales. A mass of newcomers, crowded into towns and villages of a very

unprepossessing type in the narrow and unattractive valleys of a strange land, would be specially susceptible to revolutionary doctrines, if only because they gave a little savour to a humdrum life. The lack of any sympathies common to the multitude of miners thus drawn together by chance would make them receptive listeners to the Communist lecturers, who had more success in South Wales than anywhere else. Yet another parallel may be found in the Indian coolies in Fiji, who, being of various low castes or of no caste at all, have yet been thrown together, with the result that they have given far more trouble than persons of similar condition would have caused in their native Indian villages. To transplant men and congregate them in unfamiliar surroundings is a dangerous experiment wherever it is tried. But there is no instance so significant as that of Russia.

It is conceivable that, if the Tsarist rule had not been shattered by a disastrous war and if it had found some statesmanlike and courageous Ministers, the factory system in Russia might have developed peacefully and transformed the State without a furious convulsion. It is conceivable but it is scarcely probable. England survived the Industrial Revolution without succumbing to anarchy, and effected social and political reforms that restored internal peace. Yet even England, with a far better educated people than Russia has, found the problem at times extremely difficult and was saved from disaster mainly by the firmness of her statesmen and the solid support of her middle class. Russia had no statesmen worthy of the name, and her middle class was still very small and by no means accustomed to play a part in politics. The Tsarist power rested on the army and the police, and the garrison troops, as was seen in the Petrograd revolution, were becoming far less trustworthy than in the old days. It would have taken a long time to transform the ill-paid, ill-fed, and uneducated proletariat of the Russian factory towns into self-respecting artisans of the Western type. These Russian workmen had broken with their old village traditions and had not acquired new ones. They had no intimate associations in common, save poverty and toil. They were, in fact, ready to follow any revolutionary leader who promised them drink and loot.

How long the dictatorship of the proletariat will continue, no man can say. It is the rule of a self-appointed junta, controlling and supported by a society of about half a million Communists, who exercise absolute power over a hundred and twenty million people, nine-tenths of whom are peasants. The power of the junta, like that of the Tsars, rests on the army and the police. So long as they can pay their troops and policemen, maintain a strict censorship and forbid all forms of political or economic associa-

tion not in harmony with their ideas, they, like the Tsars, will probably be secure. For though the peasants may dislike the dictatorship, with its heavy taxes and arbitrary methods, they are too scattered to combine and organise any active resistance. The great distances between villages still as in bygone days make peasant insurrections on a grand scale virtually impracticable. The odds are always in favour of the central Government with its command of the disciplined forces, the munition factories, and the railways. Widespread famines, such as are becoming annual visitations, may shake the dictatorship, not so much because the starving peasantry are to be feared as because the dictators will be less able to export grain for financing their foreign purchases of munitions and railway material. But bankrupt Governments are often long-lived, and the Soviet rule may persist for years amid the financial and commercial chaos which it has brought about.

The point is, however, that it exists, not as the outcome of a general evolution towards Communism but as the product of a set of special circumstances of which a few daring and relentless men took advantage. In the early stages of a factory system there is always unrest and confusion among the masses of workers who have been drawn together from various quarters, just as there is among the early prospectors on a new goldfield. It was so in France. The most violent factions in the first Revolution drew their strength from the Paris workmen and from the unemployed mill-workers in the North. The same story was repeated in 1848 and again in 1871. It was so in England, in 1793 and again after Waterloo. But in both countries the majority of the nation was able to prevail, and representative institutions, guided by experienced statesmen, brought gradually peace and content. Russia's misfortune is that her majority cannot immediately prevail, owing to the peculiar geographical conditions, but must submit for the time being to the rule of a small minority. The suggestion that this rule is either democratic or even Socialistic in the true sense is, of course, absurd, however many times it may be repeated. One autocracy has been substituted for another, and the new autocracy is, in some ways at least, even less efficient than the old, while it is certainly more barbaric. There, in a sentence, is the plain truth about Russia.

EDWARD G. HAWKE.

THE NEW ERA IN THE RHINELAND.

WHATEVER may be said as to the possibility of the complete fulfilment of the London Agreement and the Dawes Report, no one who was in Germany this autumn could doubt the value of their first effects. When I reached Berlin at the end of last August there was an atmosphere of complete depression bordering on despair. But after a three weeks' visit to Austria I found a remarkable change. Events in the occupied territory, and the new spirit shown at Geneva, had restored hope and confidence.

After so cheering an experience it was with high expectations of a complete change in conditions that I left Heidelberg for Speyer on October 14th. But the Régie railway train, composed of indescribably dirty third and fourth class carriages; and Speyer railway station, dirty, forlorn, and lifeless, brought me back to realities. In the ten minutes' walk to the hotel we passed four groups of coloured French soldiers, goodnatured looking, and laughing with the German children at the antics of two performing bears, but clearly people of quite another civilisation. It was all very different from Heidelberg, and the tremendous change for the better which has taken place in the Palatinate was not brought home to me until I saw Herr President Matheus, who had been allowed to return in September after twenty months of exile. Herr Matheus told me the character of the Occupation had changed since August. It was no longer so severe. With very few exceptions the prisoners had been released and the expelled permitted to return. The Separatist movement was dead, and so long as M. Herriot remained in power there was no fear of its resurrection.

The change in the spirit of the Occupation in the Rhineland seems to have followed the signing of the London Agreement with quite dramatic suddenness, so that in Coblenz, Mainz, and Trier German officials spoke with warmth of "*der Geist von London*." The withdrawal of the barrier between occupied and unoccupied Germany and the other concessions had worked wonders as a demonstration, and had once more proved the truth of the old adage, "an ounce of practice is worth a pound of precept."

But at the end of October and the beginning of November conditions in the rest of the Rhineland were not quite so satisfactory as in the Palatinate. There I heard no complaint of French officers or officials; but in Coblenz, and particularly in Trier—which now seems to be the blackest spot in the occupied area—I was continually told of officers and officials in the lower grades who had a "*passiven Widerstand gegen M. Herriot*." They were obstructing his policy, and nullifying his gestures of good-

will. "M. Herriot is a man of an hour, a day," one Frenchman had said, "he will soon go and then things will be different." Another, when asked to withdraw the objection to the return of a German official who was still expelled, remarked, "But what is the good? M. Herriot will soon go, and then Herr — will be expelled again at once."

The effect on the Germans with whom such Frenchmen come in contact may be imagined. It is easy for us in England to say that their fears are groundless, that, even if M. Herriot's Government fell, the change in feeling in France as a whole would make the return of such a man as M. Poincaré impossible. But these people, cut off from the world and depressed beyond measure, judge by the evidence of their own eyes and ears, and the result is a terrible atmosphere of fear and suspicion. It is still impossible to speak freely in any public place. Even in municipal or Government buildings one has to discuss the weather, or some equally innocuous topic, if a clerk comes in, for fear he may be a spy; and to take a notebook is to make certain that one will get little or no information. I always spoke of the change in French opinion, of M. Herriot's good feeling, of the views of my French friends, until I discovered in a certain town that some of the subordinate German town officials, unconvinced by my introductions from Berlin and London, were sure I was a French spy. The existence of French pacifists, or of French goodwill, was inconceivable to them.

To us, again, the fact that by October 21st all the expelled, with the exception of twenty-six families, could return, is evidence of a great change. That the amnesty is a dead letter to the thousands who cannot find work or houses is not realised. In Coblenz, for example, only 320 out of 757 families had been able to discover any kind of dwelling. In Wiesbaden, in the first week in September, thousands of people were told they might return; but at the same time the French notified the town officials that they required every available room in the town, and further reminded them that under one of the Rhineland Ordinances they could not reinstate any official without the consent of the Rhineland High Commission. After a lapse of about three weeks, a number of rooms were notified as free, and permission was received to reinstate all but a few of the officials. I was told that the French used this interval to see how the expelled would behave on their return, but in the meantime the moral effect of the amnesty was to a great extent lost.

The reinstatement of officials throughout the Rhineland still depends upon the Rhineland High Commission, and permission is withheld in the case of certain officials and teachers. But lack

of houses is the greatest grievance. It exists in all big English or German towns, but in Cologne, where the British Army of Occupation has taken its toll of houses and rooms, including whole streets of specially built houses, Germans attribute it mainly to the industrial expansion and increase of population; while in Coblenz and Trier this normal shortage, which in a small non-industrial town like Trier would be small, was immensely increased by the demands of the French troops and the Régie. And while building goes on continually in Cologne, in many other Rhineland towns half-finished buildings had been standing untouched since the spring of 1923, because of some obstruction on the part of the French officials. A solution for these difficulties was found in an Agreement affecting the Mainz-Wiesbaden-Coblenz-Trier district, signed at Mainz on October 12th; but more than ten days afterwards French officials at Coblenz and Trier denied the existence of such an Agreement, and building was still held up. Trier, where I saw this problem in its acutest form, had, at the end of October, an occupation which was estimated to amount to 25,000 persons, including troops, officials, French and Belgian railwaymen, and their respective families; while the normal population is only 56,000. Only thirty per cent. of the expelled had been able to return, and scores of families who had been evicted but not expelled were living in the utmost discomfort.

Among thirty such families, evicted in April, 1923, which I visited, were the following cases: A railway inspector, aged sixty-two, with a family of five full-grown sons and daughters, who all lived, cooked and slept in a class-room in a school, divided by curtains. A smith with a wife and six children, who had only one room about seven feet by ten feet; the wife and the daughters of three and nine slept in the bed; three sons, aged thirteen, sixteen, and nineteen, slept on the only vacant floor space, which was between the bed and the wall; the father and another son slept at a neighbour's. A waggoner and his family of six persons, including his mother, aged seventy-four, were living in a room over a stable and coach house. The parents and two children slept in this room, the grandmother and the two girls in a saddle room, through which the yardman, employed by the owner of the premises, had to pass on his way to his bedroom. Both rooms were shockingly damp and quite unfit for human habitation. A pointsman with a wife and daughters of seven and eleven had to put up with a winepress shed. The room was about six feet by ten feet. It was very dark although the sun was shining. The only window opened directly on to a manure heap so that it could not be opened, and fresh air only entered from the yard, *via* a narrow passage. The two girls slept in a loft intended for the storage of grain.

"We shall not live through another winter here," this man said in desperate tones. These families were continually ill. It is true that cases as scandalous can be found in England, but, at least, people living in such wretched hovels have not the additional irritation of seeing their former homes in the hands of foreigners. Of all the dozens of State and town officials whom I saw only two had their families with them. The remainder lived in hotels, or single rooms, while their families waited in the unoccupied territory in the hope that soon something might be available. Such conditions may be tolerated for a short time, but if prolonged they will inevitably lead to much bad feeling, and it must be remembered that Coblenz is in the ten, and Trier in the fifteen year zone.

The fear that troops withdrawn from the Ruhr will be drafted to the Rhineland is very general, and was considered to be justified by the fact that immediately after the evacuation of Dortmund, Coblenz was requested to provide ninety-six additional quarters for commissioned and non-commissioned officers. Things should be better now that the Franco-Belgian Railway Régie is at an end, but a radical change is needed. The occupying troops and officials must be reduced in numbers, and a way out of the building difficulty must be found if the average inhabitant of the Rhineland is to be convinced of the goodwill of M. Herriot and his Government.

In the Ruhr there was no dramatic change after the conclusion of the London Agreement. The character of the Occupation has been changing ever since M. Herriot assumed office, and to-day it is no longer oppressive. At the end of October, not only had the prisoners been released and the expelled allowed to return, and the barrier between the Ruhr and the rest of Germany withdrawn, but the Micum officials had gone, the mines and factories taken by the French and Belgians had been returned, and Régie railwaymen were just beginning to go. When the Régie withdrew entirely the Germans would be left in complete control of their economic resources. These great gains were freely acknowledged, but there was no such optimism as the reports in the Berlin Press would have led one to expect. Wages are very low; in Ludwigshafen, Essen, Duisburg, and Aix; in the wool, iron, mining, and chemical industries, and on the railway I found the average was about twenty-five marks a week, which in purchasing power was worth about twenty-eight shillings in November. The official unemployment figures only include those eligible for unemployment benefit, *i.e.*, persons who have not been unemployed for more than thirty-nine weeks, extended to fifty-two in some trades. All other unemployed persons receive relief from the town authorities, and in one alone of the seventeen district welfare offices

in Cologne where such people are paid, there were 500 on the list on November 2nd. The real unemployment figures must therefore be considerably in excess of the half-million recently quoted by a member of the German Government; and employers and employees alike expected an increase in the numbers this winter.

People of every class and party spoke of the lack of credits and markets. The rate of interest in unoccupied Germany had fallen from two per cent. per month in August to fourteen per cent. to eighteen per cent. per annum in November, when the rate in the Ruhr was still two per cent. to three per cent. per month, apparently because it is felt that there is no real security for industry in the Ruhr so long as the French are there. The credits under the Dawes Report would not be available for German industry until next February, while the hope that as a consequence of the loan and the London Agreement private loans for industry would be available on somewhat easier terms had not materialised. It was hoped that the new railway company would reduce the very heavy freightage rates; but it was doubtful how soon this could be effected, as the estimate for repairing the Ruhr and Rhineland railways was thirty million gold marks, and the railway must make a profit in order to provide the payments stipulated under the Dawes Report.

Some kind of agreement between the Ruhr industrialists and the French iron-masters was expected; but the general view was that it would no longer be possible for the French to impose economically unsound terms. As the Chairman of the Chamber of Commerce in one of the most important centres said, "such terms would jeopardise the London Agreement, and would make the loan insecure; they would therefore be opposed by the lending nations."

Health conditions have improved in the occupied territories, but there are two exceptions. There is an increase in tuberculosis in persons between the ages of eighteen and thirty, and the state of the children born between 1911 and 1914 is deplorable. I picked children at random when they were all in the playground of a school in Cologne, to find that in numbers of cases white-cheeked boys and girls no taller than English children of seven, with the expressions of old men and women of sixty, worn out with the troubles of life, were in reality thirteen or fourteen. Germany will be faced with a serious problem when her labour supply is recruited from the ranks of these victims of the war, the blockade, the inflation, and the continued unemployment.

It would be impossible to exaggerate the interest in the question of the future of the British Army of Occupation. The Germans

I met, of all classes and parties, hoped that Cologne would be handed back to Germany in January, 1925, when the five years for which it was to be occupied expire, but that the British would on no account leave the Rhineland. More than once I was reminded that Great Britain has a moral responsibility in so far as she was a party to the Versailles Treaty, which provides for an Inter-Allied, not a Franco-Belgian Occupation, and in spite of the change for the better there is still a very strong feeling that the presence of the British is a safeguard against excesses, and particularly against the recurrence of the Separatist movement in the event of the fall of M. Herriot's Government. However unfounded such fear may be, and however great the difficulties involved, I am convinced that a complete withdrawal of the British forces from the Rhine while others remain, would be a grave error, and would have a very bad psychological effect; and this view appeared to be shared by the English with whom I came in contact.

There is also the important question of the revision and cancellation of the special ordinances passed in 1923, under which the liberties of the Press and the right of public meeting are restricted, and the reinstatement of officials forbidden. Rhinelanders demand the civil and political rights granted to them under the Treaty of Versailles. "We want the *Geist von London* in the Rhineland Commission," many of them said to me. Such a step would go far to remove the bitterness which still exists.

I have spoken of the shortcomings of the Occupation because there appears to be an impression in this country that there is no longer any need for agitation. But in spite of all the drawbacks the change is marvellous. "We should have perished spiritually if conditions had not altered," said a well-known priest, "they were too terrible." And with the disappearance of the worst features has come a new confidence and hope for the future for which it is impossible to feel too thankful.

W. GLADYS RINDER.

CITIES OF THE BALTIC.

ON the southern shores of the Baltic are four towns which have suddenly become the centres of new forms of national life. The four new States which have been carved out of the Baltic Provinces and the Polish Provinces of Russia, Austria, and Germany, all either abut on the Northern Mediterranean, or have succeeded in obtaining outlets upon it. Reval is the capital and chief port of Estonia, as Riga is of Latvia; while Memel and Danzig, two Prussian towns, have become, in different degrees, the outlets of Lithuania and Poland respectively.

In each case the town is essentially German in character. It was founded by German traders who, in the earliest Middle Ages, established their trading posts along the Pagan shores of Northern Europe. The country was occupied by aboriginal tribes of Finns, Letts, Lithuanians, Borussians, and Poles or kindred Slavs. The Borussians, being nearest Germany, were Germanised, and became the modern Prussians. The others all retained their languages, traditions, and separate racial identity, with stubborn tenacity. Even when the Germans, through the instrumentality of the Teutonic Orders of Knights, conquered the country, they merely occupied it as a land-owning aristocracy. The original inhabitants remained on as a subject population of landless peasants, retaining all their distinctive national traits. The trading colonies, which afterwards became leading towns in the Hanseatic Federation, remained isolated German communities upon the coast, surrounded by an alien population. Out of the limbo of forgotten history the aboriginal races now emerge upon the modern stage as self-governing nations, with these German towns as their chief gateways for communication with the outside world.

Reval is in many ways a paradox. It is the furthest north of the four cities, in the same latitude as the Orkney Islands, and therefore, it might be expected to be the least subject to Russian influences. Yet Russia has left her mark more deeply impressed on Reval than on Riga. While one of the most ancient, it is also one of the least "European" of the Hanseatic towns. As one approaches from the sea Reval presents the most picturesque appearance of any city of the Baltic. From the level Baltic plain the Domberg rises, like Edinburgh Castle rock, crowned with the golden Byzantine domes of the Russian Church, the dark green, tapering, Gothic spires of the Lutheran Church, and the grey weather-worn Danish fortifications, and surrounded by the high-pitched red roofs of the Hanseatic town. It has the varied and fantastic silhouette of a dream city designed by an illustrator of Omar Khayyam.

This impression is intensified by a walk through the city. It

is a walled city. Without the wall a modern Russian city has grown up, with wide, cobble-paved squares, with long, straggling streets of wooden houses in whose spacious yards great piles of fire-wood are stored, and with a fringe of factory chimneys. But within the wall the houses are crowded together in the most picturesque confusion. The oldest part of the town, sloping up to the Domberg, resembles the Native Quarter of Algiers. The streets are narrow and crooked, cobbled and stepped. There are tunnels and overhanging balconies, cellars like caves dug out of solid masonry, and stout, iron-studded, double doors which might serve for the gates of a city, and presiding over all these huddled houses, which seem to rise each upon the shoulders of its fellow, is the Domberg fortress.

Reval abounds in churches. It was the seat of the Church Militant which held it by the sword, a fortress on the Pagan shore. And these churches are like fortresses. They are built of solid, grey, massive masonry. Their beauty is the beauty of sheer strength unadorned, the plainest and most severe Gothic. It has none of the French flamboyancy which sprang from a union of the North with the Romance. The spirit of the sagas clings to the walls. The Russian church rises among them like a blaze of Oriental splendour, red granite base, red brick and grey stonework, mosaic panels, and glittering golden domes and cupolas. Among these stern northern walls it flares up with the fierce and sudden passion of the south.

But it is not merely in the modern Russian churches that Reval betrays an affinity to something beyond the frontiers of Europe. The trade routes through Russia, along the Volga and the Dnieper, which connect the Baltic with the Caspian and the Black Sea, and so with the Middle East and the Levant, have been in use from prehistoric times. When piracy rendered the Mediterranean unsafe for commerce the Easterling traders of the Baltic obtained command of this trade. Reval became one of its chief depots. The numerous Arabian and Byzantine coins still found in treasure hordes throughout Estonia testify to the volume and antiquity of that traffic.

There is another memorial of this Oriental association in the exquisitely graceful tower of the ancient Rathaus, or Town Hall, of Reval. It is a heavy Gothic building of the most severe type. Its tall, slender tower might be the minaret of a mosque in Constantinople or Damascus. It is octagonal, and round the top runs an arcading of pointed arches which gives it a characteristic Moorish, or Arabesque, or even Persian, design. It exactly resembles a little Oriental coffee table. Round the top runs a narrow gallery, and above that again, swelling out at the base like a cupola, rises the delicate, minaret-like spire. There is a legend to the

effect that the architect, who built the tower in the fourteenth century, had been for some years a prisoner among the Turks or Persians.

Riga, spreading over the level ground near the mouth of the Dvina, lacks the picturesque silhouette of Reval, but the art of man has given it three remarkably tall spires, one of them the highest timber spire in Europe, which serve as landmarks far out at sea. Like Reval, Riga was an ancient Hanseatic port, but its great development as chief port of the Russian Empire is of recent date. The Dvina is not suitable for navigation. It was the railway which opened up the trade of the Ukraine, the Volga basin, the Urals, and even of far Siberia, to this Baltic port. Before the War Riga had a population of over half a million, and was expanding rapidly. It was the greatest timber port in the world. To-day it is a thoroughly modern German town, well built, well paved, and well organised. Of all the Baltic towns it is the best equipped with the comforts and conveniences of civilisation.

Embedded in this modern city, like a fly in amber, is the ancient Hanseatic town, on the river front, with its narrow, winding streets, and its high-gabled buildings. The architecture is a perpetual delight to the eye, for it has all the qualities of a true architectural style. It may be studied, however, in greater perfection in Danzig.

Beyond the modern quarter, in the industrial suburbs, the effects of the War may still be seen in the devastated and deserted factories. It is hard to say who did the most damage, Tsarist Russians, or Bolsheviks, or Germans. The retreating Tsarist army evacuated many of the inhabitants, and carried off the most valuable parts of the machinery. Bolsheviks and Germans both shelled the town. Moreover, the Russian market, for the supply of which great industries had grown up, is lost. Among the derelicts are the Buffalo Leather Factory, the Phoenix Waggon Works, which used to employ five or six thousand hands, and the Provodnik Rubber Factory, a town in itself, where 15,000 workers found employment.

But Riga still flourishes, and Riga, since the eclipse of Petrograd, is easily the most metropolitan town upon the southern shore of the Baltic. The railways which radiate from her bring her into direct touch with all the other Baltic States, including Russia and Poland. She has good theatres, and good opera, and a restaurant, Otto Schwartz's, which I have heard called the best in Europe, and which my own experience enables me to call the best in Northern Europe. And she has, in the Riga Strand, stretching along the pineclad shore of the Gulf, and in the "Livonian Switzerland," the wooded and castled valley of the river Aa, two of the most delightful summer resorts, as yet undiscovered by Europe.

The Memel Territory is a tiny strip of Prussia which projected northwards, beyond the river Niemen. The peasantry are Lithuanian by race and language. The population of the town of Memel, however, is German in language and in sentiment. This little wedge cut off Lithuania from the sea, and entirely excluded her from the free navigation of the mouth of the Niemen, her one great waterway. By the Treaty of Versailles the Memel Territory was detached from Germany, and, pending decision as to its disposition, was placed under French control. The Lithuanians, impatient of the long delay, and moved by the example of Poland in Vilna, anticipated the decision by marching in and occupying the Territory themselves. Their status there has now been recognised, subject to certain reservations as to the free navigation of the river by Poland, which lies still further inland.

Memel is a small German town, clean, well paved, and well organised. Owing to its political severance from its natural hinterland, it has never developed like the other Baltic ports. It lacks the historic character of the Hanseatic towns. Its shops are small and provincial, with the striking exception of Robert Schmidt's book-shop, which is so well equipped as to prove the existence of a large and intelligent reading public. Yet it is a better equipped town than Kovno, the remote and inaccessible capital of Lithuania. Since the Poles seized Vilna, Memel is the finest modern town of which she can boast, and, as the only port, has great possibilities of development.

The Lithuanians, however, are hardly tactful in their handling of the situation. The economic interest of Memel is a strong factor in their favour. But some of their methods of interfering with purely local matters are alienating the people by needlessly wounding them in their national sentiments. The change of the name of the town from Memel to "Klaipeda," and the despoiling of monuments with German associations, serve no useful purpose, but keep the exasperation of the people perpetually alive.

Memel is a Lithuanian Gibraltar, or Malta, or Hong Kong, a foreign town held for strategic or economic reasons. It is a German town held by Lithuania because it is her only gateway to the sea. If we criticise her do not let us forget that we also, more than any other nation, and with less imperative national necessity, hold portions cut out of other countries, and inhabited by alien races. Memel is necessary to Lithuania, and I hope she will be able to retain it. She can only do so by winning the goodwill of the native population. A sullen, resentful, harassed Memel will make an irresistible appeal to Germany as she recovers her strength, and will be a source of weakness and instability to Lithuania.

Danzig, like Memel, was detached from Germany by the Treaty of Versailles. Situated at the mouth of the Vistula, it is the natural outlet of Poland on the Baltic. It has not, however, been incorporated in Poland as Memel has been in Lithuania. It has been constituted a Free City under the protection of the League of Nations, the control of foreign affairs, and certain rights as to customs, railways, and the harbour, being reserved to Poland. In all else pertaining to its internal government the Free City is self-governing.

Danzig is not only a much larger city, but it has had a much more varied history than Memel. It was one of the four chief Hanseatic towns. In 1454 it shook off the rule of the decaying Teutonic Order, and accepted the suzerainty of the King of Poland. For over three centuries it retained this close association with Poland, always, however, jealously safeguarding its status as a Free City. Not till after the French Revolutionary Wars was it finally absorbed by Prussia. Deprived of its Polish and Ukrainian hinterland, the port has suffered from a kind of arrested development. Russia was driven, by Bismarck's policy, to establish other ports at Libau and Windau, to which the grain trade was diverted. The German Government preferred to develop the ports of Stettin and Lübeck. Danzig has remained in a backwater during the past century, and to this fact is due the wonderful perfection in which the characteristics of the old town have been preserved.

Danzig presents the appearance of a Hanseatic town in the Indian summer of its pride and prosperity. Reval and Riga are both of a more archaic type. The tide of Hanseatic trade receded from them at an earlier period. Old Riga is overshadowed by the modern Riga of the railway era. But Danzig continued to grow, and flourish, till well on in the eighteenth century. It represents the culmination of the Hanseatic style of architecture. It was the last word in Hanseatic refinement, luxury, and taste. It had reached the stage of self-consciousness, when the characteristic features of the houses were treated as separate architectural "motifs," and elaborated, emphasised, and made decorative.

The houses have their high-peaked gables towards the street. The doors are massive, pannelled, and often carved. The windows are numerous, and decoratively spaced, and over all, in the very peak of the gable, is a little round window, like a porthole, from which projected, in earlier times, a beam with a pulley attached, for raising goods to the loft. Each house has in front, extending across its whole width, a stone platform, fenced in with rails, or balusters, or great slabs of stone. These slabs have been developed into a highly ornamental feature. Many of them are covered with *bas-reliefs* of a pictorial or allegorical nature, such as Jacob's

Dream, or Nebuchadnezzar chained to a tree stump and eating grass. The rain-water from the roof is discharged into the open gutter of the street through grotesque gargoyles. Beneath each platform is a widely arched door leading from the street into a cavernous cellar. On either side of the steps leading up to the platform are fixed two large stone pillars, or ponderous balls hewn from the Scandinavian boulders which strew this countryside.

The gem of all the streets is the Frauen Gasse, the Ladies' Street, which runs from the river right up to the stupendous Church of St. Mary. To-day it is lined with trees, which fill it with foliage and give it the appearance of a woodland walk. The perspective of the street, with the gabled sky-line, with the railed platforms, and the steps, and the pillars or balls guarding the steps, and the projecting gargoyles, and with the massive bulk of St. Mary's Church at the end, has an infinite variety of interest. It has changed little in the past hundred and fifty years. Here, in the long, light summer evenings, sat the sturdy burghers of Danzig, with their wives and families, and received their guests, and drank beer, and Rhenish and Bordeaux wine, and more potent schnaps, and discussed the price of herring, and cloth, and the follies of Kings, Tsars, and Emperors who made wars in Europe and prevented honest men from carrying on their trade. And, no doubt, they looked round them with great complacency, upon Jacob's Dream, and Nebuchadnezzar, and the gargoyles, and the stone guards at the foot of the steps, and felt that the world was making great advances.

They were come of a daring and stubborn stock, the first merchants who had founded this trading settlement amid the savage tribes on the southern shore of the Baltic. In their time they had kept a fighting fleet at sea, they had declared war on England, and they had captured a Lord Mayor of London. They lived up to the motto of their town: *Nec Temere, Nec Timide*. And here, in these houses, there is evidence of the real solid comfort in which they maintained themselves at home.

But the greatest sight in Danzig is the Church of St. Mary (Marien Kirche). To see it is to realise how it is that amid all the vicissitudes of the Great War, and the division of the spoil, Danzig becomes a Free City instead of being simply absorbed by Poland.

Marien Kirche is a mountain of brick, containing within its bosom a great cave which is the church. It is a Gothic building, larger and higher than the Normans could build, and yet, from its massiveness, from its solidity, from the ponderous strength with which it rests upon the ground, it seems almost Norman. It displays none of the light, airy, soaring grace of the Gothic of France and England. It shows no vault springing above vault, and flying buttresses reaching up their arms of stone to support

the upward leap. It rises sheer up, like a monolith carved with runes above the tomb of a Viking.

Three things contribute to this exterior effect. In the first place, the great square tower, so large that it might almost contain a church itself, rises to the height of 248 feet without a spire. Its threatening bulk is only relieved by the giant buttresses rising in diminishing tiers. In the second place, the outside aisles rise to the same height as the central nave. There is no clerestory rising above the aisles, carrying the eye up to the highest vault by steps, as it were. In the third place, apart from the tower, the church seems from outside to be built entirely without buttresses. The enormous lancet windows, reaching up the full height to the roof, are almost flush with the walls. One looks in vain for any buttress to relieve the cliff-like front.

The buttresses, in fact, are within the church! There are no walls at all, only a row of massive, deep buttresses which have been connected together on the outside by the windows, which merely extend across the space between them. These spaces between the buttresses, and within the church, form a series of side chapels. The interior effect is most unusual. They are so deep that they look like a duplication of the aisle, and the church, at first sight, seems to be double-aisled.

The interior view is even more impressive than the exterior. The enormous size of the building is more fully realised. The nave is 320 feet long, and the width, at the transepts, is 204 feet. It can accommodate, so we are told, 25,000 souls. It claims to be the fifth largest Christian church in existence. The width of the transepts, the aisles reaching to the same height as the nave, the buttresses looking as if they contained another aisle, the great, long windows, and the octagonal pillars reaching, unrelieved, to the full height of the roof, so high that they seem slender in spite of their bulk—all these features combine to produce an overwhelming impression of spaciousness.

The church displays many irregularities in design. One can see the free handwork of the craftsman throughout. It was not the conception of a single mind, but the creation of the mind of a people. It grew rather than was made. Its building spread over centuries. Even the name of the original architect is unknown. It is like folklore, to which generation after generation has contributed a little. It is a northern saga, an epic like *Beowulf*, a record of the race, a monument of history, the work of a people of patient and undaunted strength.

And so Danzig is a Free City. Not lightly can you traffic in the liberty of such a race. It would not be good to try to suppress the authors of this building, or their children's children.

A. MACCALLUM SCOTT.

SOME CONTEMPORARY WOMEN NOVELISTS.

THERE is a passage, gratifying to the one sex, occurring in a recent book of essays, which deplores the modern novelist's axiom that self-expression is a substitute for genius. "One feels," says the critical author, "as one looks along the library shelf, as though one had been caught in a crowd of beggars outside a Spanish church. Mr. Compton Mackenzie thrusts his latest autobiography under our noses and asks for a copper; his younger imitators rattle their tins for alms and show their spiritual scars."

Sense, no less than chivalry, prevented the writer from enlarging his remarks until they should include the work of women novelists. It is, perhaps, regrettable that those "younger imitators" to whom he refers continue to be masculine. A feminine *Sinister Street* might be no unwelcome creation. Woman, however, when writing, continues to be insatiably ambitious, and those ideas which float to her across strange seas of thought are big and serious and pregnant with reconstructive purpose and a desire to analyse. While these young men organise their own rather tedious and futile literary carnival, women writers are observing and experiencing in order that they may depict tragic relationships, insoluble conflicts between duties, environments, personalities, vocations. Ideas and controversial principles are the dynamic behind their books. In three or four of her books the woman novelist will reveal differences within herself, readjustments and developments easily outnumbering those to be observed within the compass of a similar number of stories written by a man. For in this kind he is the less energetic spirit, more contentedly ready to conform to a traditional pattern—his own or his literary forefathers'—and to impose his own conforming bent upon the creatures and events of his fancy. His book finished, he usually neatly tucks in all loose ends, while the woman is inclined to look upon their negligent display as part of a wider realism. She has no wish to produce a collection of stock size models, hardly distinguishable from one another. Hence the reader may feel sure that to read half-a-dozen, say, of Miss Sheila Kaye-Smith's books, will explain oracularly a great part of Miss Kaye-Smith's intellectual and spiritual growth. To read half-a-dozen of Mr. Galsworthy's novels, however, is a much less progressive study, for the first is certain to contain him. The essential man—one reverts to speaking of the sex—is less subject than the artist to change.

It is not difficult to find recent and promising first novels by women which assert that desire to be something more universal

than a writer of autobiography. There was *Broken Bridges*; the faults in this picturesque scrap from a girl's life were almost part of its attraction, and in her second book, *The Roadside Fire*, Miss Madeline Linford has well used her gift of rich phrasing and her emotional sincerity to illustrate the tragedy and the adventure of relief work in Poland. And, less recently, there was *The Glorious Thing*, Miss Christine Orr's limited but extremely sympathetic study of young Edinburgh in wartime. This book, one showing real balance and restraint, has been overshadowed by its successor, *Kate Curlew*, a wild and moving bit of Pentland story, in which intensely modern speculation concerning a girl's psychology has been happily framed in an antique setting whose curves were first drawn by the hand of Stevenson. Shorter, but curiously similar to this, is another Scots first novel, *Without Conditions*. This dignified and attractive sketch of Highland life in the eighteenth century is by Miss A. M. Mackenzie.

More ardently and fiercely modern, passionately contemporary, Mrs. Kean Seymour has published three novels of uncommon merit. Many admirers give *Intrusion* the highest place, and certainly the drawing of Roberta's disingenuous little personality, from the moment of what was indeed her intrusion upon the Suffields' garden down to the final tragedy, is eloquent and able. In this, as in Mrs. Seymour's other books, there is intellectual enjoyment of life, there is pathos, there is vivid characterisation. The result is a picture which is as fine and ingenious and romantic as art can be which makes no serious effort to see life as a battle of invisible and spiritual forces, whose darkness requires explanation or light.

Should this attempt at judgment appear an inadequate scramble among impressions, it must be remembered that those novelists who do in some respect illuminate that battle have yet to be spoken of, and spoken of in more detail. There is Miss Rose Macaulay. One may be annoyed by her novels, one may be wearied to exasperation by those "brilliant" and "satiric" qualities which her publisher has so obligingly recapitulated at the opening of *Told by an Idiot*; but Miss Macaulay is good for our souls. She is a spiritual problem. The anxiety—how she would hate it!—which she provokes in the minds of her readers is divided between her own career and the tragic futility and chaos of the post-war world which she reproduces with an interest which is partly disgust. Sometimes it is through the medium of its very young investigators that she lays bare the diseased organism of society; and horrid young people they are, who never pause to be thankful for the chocolates and universities, the holidays and congenial literary posts with which providence and industrialism have en-

dowed them. Behind these, however, sit that familiar circle of elderly young people with whom we soon become familiar, the sensitive, intellectual aristocrats with cold faces and frosty blue eyes and thin lips that twist easily to pain or laughter. They suffer a great deal, because the conscience of the world is lulled to sleep by the Potter Press, and by vulgar fears and sentimentalities and greed and a hatred of truth. Truth, the sharp and abstract, is a jewel for which those quizzical spectators of life will barter their souls. Arthur Gideon in *Potterism* cared, or thought he cared, for nothing so much as for this gift of finding the truth, and thinking definitely. Nevertheless, on the brink of departing for Russia, there to be killed in defending an unlucky Jewish family, all he could give to the woman whom he loved was this illogical statement, proof of his inner weakness:

"I shall come back all right . . . I want to get married, you see. I want it, really, much more than I want to get information or anything else. Wanting a person—that's what we all want most, when we want it at all. Queer, isn't it? And hopelessly personal and selfish. But there it is. Ideals simply don't count in comparison."

The superior Kitty Grammont of *What Not* also became the victim of this humiliating ecstasy, and thought of it thus:

"Desire for a person; it had, it had always had, an extraordinarily dynamic effect on the lives of men and women. When it came into play, principle, chivalry, common sense, intellect, humour, culture, sweetness and light, all we call civilisation, might crumple up like matchboard so this one overwhelming desire, shared by all the animal creation, might be satisfied."

Then the satiric eyes and lips of Miss Macaulay's distinguished portraits laugh silently. They may remember other passages. It is edifying to turn from *Told by an Idiot* to *Abbot's Verney* and *The Lee Shore*—edifying for their readers. One wonders about the writer. Could they edify her, or are they labelled long ago as confusions of a wasted youth? The keen-eyed and sensitive personalities who appeared there were not infected with the slavish and modern fear of giving evidence of feeling. They talked with an appalling lack of the reticence which cements the cracks in the post-war world. Rosamund Ilbert giving good advice to Verney Ruth on the subject of appeasing his grandfather for pity of old age, and Stephen Rodney imploring Peter Margerison to be brave enough to keep out of the ranks of the successful, were veritable preaching friars.

"Isn't it something to be down on the ground with the poor and empty-handed, not above them, where you can't hear them crying and laughing? Would you, if you could, be one of the prosperous who don't care? . . . What's the gaiety of the saints . . . who

have nothing and yet possess all things? Are you going to chuck that gaiety away, and rise up full of the lust to possess, and take and grasp and plunder? Are you going to desert the empty-handed legion?"

One can see the intellectual aristocrats of the later books warding off with a delicate gesture of reproof these wild outbursts of that inconvenient quality which the eighteenth century, according to the critics, described as "enthusiasm." What, they would ask with sweet querulousness, is the point of trying to reform a society which was willing to have all its intellectual lights, human or impersonal, quenched rudely in the most idiotic war that ever blackened the earth? Why exhaust yourself by setting your frail and exquisitely organised brain against the thundering forces of mere stupidity?

The fanatics continue to lay the foundations of Jerusalem in England's extremely unpleasant land; and occasionally one of Miss Macaulay's characters furtively and shamefully writes a cheque to pay for some additional labour. Her admirers, touchingly compelled to believe in those earlier writings, do not cease to worry over this perversion of reticence. They enjoy her as a mirror of contemporary opinion and strife. Why trouble to keep painfully abreast of current events, when next year these will be faithfully and vividly condensed into a novel? They enjoy her wit—although sometimes, it must be confessed, it is far too easily satisfied with itself. One remembers the rather cheap description of Tube travellers—"a clergyman reading the *Challenge*, who looked as if he was interested in the Life and Liberty movement, another clergyman reading the *Guardian*, who looked as if he wasn't." And again, "They all, thought Ivy Delmer, had two looks in common—they looked as if they wouldn't get on very well with her father and mother, and they looked as if they didn't read the Bible. This second look was differentiated according to the wearer of it," etc.

Some people happen to prefer the preaching of *The Lee Shore*. They will not, however, refuse honour to all novels which leave them intent on scrutinising life and helping to discover, in the words of the poet, what and where is truth. Miss Macaulay knows how to provoke thought.

Very much more perplexing, because so much more impersonal, are Miss Kaye-Smith's novels. The spectacle of actual life, its painful mistakes, its lack of discrimination and its crushing inequalities, as we see them expressed each morning in *The Times*, appears to lie remote from her characters, even when their lives are caught into some national crisis or movement of thought. "It is with temperament rather than with circumstance that the

chronicler of lives is mainly concerned," said Miss Macaulay in one of her first books, and yet circumstance in the form of intellectual fashions and democratic aspirations plays an enormous part in her novels. Miss Kaye-Smith, on the other hand, seems to admit those external forces to Sussex in a grudging manner, for she prefers to make circumstances. An atmosphere of rich inventiveness enfolds her stories. Circumstance becomes redundant. Those characters who are, on their first entrance, so strong and fresh, sometimes appear to be in danger of dying from a surfeit of story, for their author does not often rely upon them to produce their own novel. Her eager brain is away searching for situations and filling up corners which wear an empty look. In fact, some of her later books leave us with a sated digestion, so hearty is the meal provided for our intellect. Everything is thought out on the scale which would have pleased Joanna Godden herself. Perhaps Joanna still remains Miss Kaye-Smith's biggest creation, with her exuberant tactlessness, her slapdash generosity, her impossible schemes of colour and her sturdy energy.

The normal progress of life does not leave us with that replete sensation. In *Starbrace* and *Spell Land* and other earlier books, Miss Kaye-Smith reproduced life, albeit at its most gloomy, and saw life as it is, a combination of pain and rapture which cannot be brought into subjection and arranged in a pattern. When too many things happen to a character in a novel, however naturally and sympathetically that character may be drawn, there comes a point at which we part company. The creature on the printed page definitely takes another road and passes into an atmosphere which is not life, and with interest replacing sympathy we bid a formal farewell. We cannot follow, for we are established in life, obliged to be satisfied with the "dusty answer" with which it rewards our demand for certainty. Life is not full of the clash and excitement of things happening. It has seasons of tedious and apparently sterile vacuity from which the devout artist will attempt to draw inspiration.

Skilful as she is in story-telling, fertile in devices, delightful as a Sussex historian, Miss Kaye-Smith has not yet added to the condition of being a novelist that indefinable plus quantity which makes the finest artist. She has not found perfect tranquillity. She never gives herself away, and therefore her development is not yet complete. To be able to reveal the "inner and eternal me" through the medium of a novel is the work done on a higher level of artistic progress, and until this level is reached any self-expression is apt to be little more than egoism.

I have a temple I do not
Visit, a heart I have forgot,
A self that I have never met,
A secret shrine.

The artist who is familiar with his own soul can lay these inner places bare to inspection without being suspected of self-centred thought; for those who inspect are miraculously introduced to their own shrines and temples.

A temper very closely related to this consummate neutrality belongs to the small group of novels by Miss Constance Holme. These are surprisingly unfamiliar even to critical and exploring readers. They are

retired as noontide dew,
Or fountain in a noonday grove.

An amazing independence and detachment envelops these stories of Westmorland. The captains and the kings whose unreasonable political actions break the hearts of Miss Macaulay's *intelligentsia* are never mentioned, and although these are stories of a particular corner of England it is not handled as Sussex is handled by Miss Kaye-Smith. Sheer locality, idiom, architecture, superstition, are never employed by Miss Holme to accentuate any point. Now and then the mountains are seen, a glimpse of grey and green in the background, and the deadly waters of the tides that run up the wide estuary cry by day and night in more than one book. *The Lonely Plough*, indeed, which some have judged to be Miss Holme's finest work, is the story of the destruction of the sea-wall which had been left untouched because Lanty Lancaster preferred to have faith in his dead father's work, and to live out, in tragic disappointment, the proof of his own belief that "it is better to keep trust and be betrayed—ay! better even to betray trust in keeping trust, than never to have trust at all."

This faith of one man in another, an incentive to service and an influence to keep life wholesome, is one of the principles which control Miss Holme's characters. She wrote, in her first books, of keen intellects, sensitive, humorous personalities with sensitive ideas touching duties and privileges. Their very love-making was a piece of strenuous suffering, unspoilt by mere desire. Her later books, however—*Beautiful End*, *The Splendid Fairing*, *The Trumpet in the Dust*—explain the dignity and the tragedy of very simple lives and wisely unlettered minds. These three books deal each with the events of one day. They are tragic, but never gloomy, for in each of them some character preserves an unfettered and radiant faith in the power of the unseen, unrealised dreams of good which should guide human life.

Tranquillity, one feels, is the atmosphere in which Miss Holme's books are created. There is no obvious arrangement of a background. The characters make their own story, very much as the Quaker makes his own worship, without human leadership. With a curious power they come to life, and we feel their delight or their pain in our own being. This gift of creating "forms more real than living man" is not easily to be explained, but it is akin to the method of the poet who watches and receives rather than to the method of the organising novelist who wills to be lord over a group of characters. Such novelists, by making obvious their method, ask for our patronage and condescension, but one may not condescend towards the author of *The Lonely Plough*. It is not to be defined as a well-told story. The nearer we draw to true art, the more unmeaning does such a phrase become, for we are then considering what is an amplification of our own life and an expression of our own potentialities. The reader has been brought within the compass of the story, and in that position it is almost impossible to utter formal criticism.

It is frequently alleged—one is, after all, reminded by the heading that the subject is women novelists—that no woman can draw a man of a reasonable character. There is a preliminary consideration—for what purpose is this ill-drawn figure of tradition required? Is he to be lover, father, artist, preacher—or simply a "living epistle," a human creature taking his part in the sacrificial adoration of the unseen, which is life at its sacramental highest? The majority of those writers who are here mentioned have no desire to show men and women as the creatures of animal instinct and nothing more. The true artist does not pin his characters down by one quality or sentiment, forbidding them to do anything which shall interfere with his psychological observations. There is a theory frequently propounded by Miss Macaulay's characters, that only the men and women of inferior mental development are sharply differentiated into masculine and feminine intellects, while the more sensitive and inquiring minds form a genial and sexless company. Pushed to an extreme the theory is naturally annoying, but the artist, of all people, is presumably enabled to cultivate to a higher use and beauty the more trivial qualities of sex. A study of any of the books here referred to ought to convince the just reader that it would be difficult to collect an equal number of novels written by men, not veterans in their calling, which should reveal more artistic sincerity and moral and intellectual courage.

DORIS N. DALGLISH.

AVETIS ISAHAKIAN: ARMENIAN POET.

IT was a beautiful morning in late October, and Venice lay around me in all her loveliness. The little steamer was crossing the Lagoon to the island of San Lazzaro. At that hour the Armenian convent church would be flooded with a light from the east which particularly interested me, and I was casting about in my mind how best to solve the problem on canvas when a man sitting on the seat opposite spoke to me, addressing me by name. The face was one that I was familiar with through photographs, and I recognised the speaker as the Armenian poet, Avetis Isahakian. It seemed quite natural to meet an Armenian bard on this water-way so often travelled by the English poet whose name is indissolubly linked with the convent of San Lazzaro, so I was scarcely surprised, although I had not known that he was in Venice.

The late Viscount Bryce, speaking at an Armenian celebration of Shakespeare's Tercentenary at Queen's Hall, said that the Armenians were "a nation of poets." And of all living Armenian poets perhaps Avetis Isahakian is the most universally read and beloved, because his poems, more than any others, reflect the life and ways of the people.

Born at Alexandropol in 1875, he began writing at a very early age, and when he was seventeen or eighteen years old his poems had already attracted the attention of his fellow-countrymen and received recognition from them. Two years later he came to Europe to study, and worked at the Universities of Vienna, Leipzig, and Berlin during the three following years. His favourite authors were Goethe and Heine, the last of whom influenced his later work to a certain extent. But curiously enough, it is not in the least an influence that has interfered with the spontaneity, freshness, and national colouring of Isahakian's work; and resemblances to Heine have been traced in his early lyrics even by critics who have only read them in translation—lyrics written before the poet had had the opportunity of studying foreign authors.

The world has heard much about the sufferings of Armenia, but very few people realise how universal and deeply individual that suffering is. The invariable comment made by those who meet an Armenian for the first time is "what terrible depths of unhappiness and despair!" And all the burden of national tragedy concentrates itself in the souls of its poets, and finds expression there, as the heavy clouds concentrate around the loftiest mountain peaks. Like all Armenian writers of note, Isahakian feels very intensely the sorrows that have been his unhappy country's

portion in history, and his work reflects them everywhere.

But it was not poetry alone that these men dedicated to their land. To the utmost of their ability they fought with heart and brain in the hope of bettering the condition of their fellow-countrymen. As a result, numbers of them landed themselves in prison, others were exiled to Siberia, and some were killed; others, again, had to leave their families behind and escape to foreign countries. A year or two before the Great War, Avetis Isahakian managed to offend the Russian Government and was thrown into prison with some of his companions. Being let out on bail, he consulted his Russian lawyers as to the best defence he should make for himself, and, on their advice, he escaped from Russia and returned to Berlin. The advice proved to be sound, for most of his comrades were sent to Siberia.

Isahakian had not been in Germany very long when the war-clouds burst over Europe. There were several other representative Armenians in Berlin at the time, and they came together to debate as to the best course to pursue to ensure the safety of Armenia. Although Turkey was not yet involved in the war, they knew she would come in eventually, and they foresaw how great would be the peril for the Armenians, being, as they were, under the rule of two countries that were on opposite sides. They realised that the Armenians could never feel any real loyalty to Turkey, even if they remained neutral or fought under her flag; that Russia was bound to collapse sooner or later, and could not be depended upon as a protector or liberator in such a great upheaval as the European War. They decided to form a Germano-Armenian Society for the protection and guidance of Turkish Armenia, and got together a number of influential and sympathetic Germans, one hundred names in all. The object of this society was to maintain good relations between Germans and Armenians during the war on the basis of Armenian neutrality. But Nubar Pasha, the leader of the Turkish Armenians, had already decided on a pro-Ally policy, and although the Armenian group in Berlin did its best to warn them of the danger, they did not succeed in influencing them.

By the treaty of Brest-Litovsk, in 1918, the Bolsheviks returned to the Turks the Armenian Vilayets of Bitlis, Erzeroum, and Van, which the Russians had taken during the war, and also Kars, which had been under Russia since 1878. The tide of Turks and Tartars flowed back into these districts, carrying fire and sword with it, as usual. The Germano-Armenian Committee made representations to the German Government, and, by command of the Kaiser, Hindenburg and Ludendorff sent telegrams and stopped excesses, thus saving these regions from massacre. The

little Armenfan republic of Ararat was then established by an agreement between the Armenians, Germans, and Bolsheviks—the only salvage from the ruins in which the war had laid Armenia, and the only independence the Armenians have ever attained during the last five centuries: an independence achieved through unparalleled sufferings, granted to them by an enemy Power so soon to be laid in the dust herself; rejected even by their compatriots in Turkey in the hope that the Allied promises would be fulfilled by their receiving something better. Such is the cynical history that Isahakian, in common with all other Armenians who had worked to bring their people safely out of the great catastrophe, saw unfolding itself before his eyes.

Taking their key-note from personal disappointments which have more or less overshadowed the whole of his life, even Isahakian's first poems are mournful in tone. But in spite of this fact they are not depressing, because of the intensely intimate way in which they express the local colouring of Armenian life. The earlier writers of the Russian-Armenian Renaissance, such as Aboviantz, Raffi, Kamar Katiba, and Nalbandiantz, had written chiefly on patriotic themes; later on a reaction had set in, when European forms and tendencies were much studied and followed. The Russian poet Valery Brusov, who a few years ago edited a collection of Armenian poems translated into Russian, points out that of this period there are three poets whose work, while technically faultless, is distinctively Armenian: Hovhannesian, Toumanian, and Isahakian.

In a long and critical appreciation of Isahakian's work Brusov writes:

"Isahakian's wealth of literary work may be divided into two parts: the first contains songs in which he approached so closely to the form of the lyrical folk-song that they might be taken for a new set of folk-songs written by nameless poets. The clever rendering of all the forms peculiar to the folk-song constitutes the writer a master of the newest ideas in the art of poetry, and makes him the distinctive representative of the Russian-Armenian school, following the best traditions of the old literature of Armenia. The second division contains his reflective poems and his epic, *Abu Lala Maharan*, in which the influence of symbolism is clearly visible."

Isahakian's lyrics contain that quality of making nature felt as a reflection of human sorrow—or rather a participator in it—with very little direct description of nature. They come with the freshness of the Elizabethan lyrics set in a different country amidst other scenes.

When Isahakian first began his career, an attempt was being made to collect and publish the folk-songs of Armenia. Raffi's

novels, so saturated with folk-lore and breathing the life of the people, had strengthened in them the love of their legendary lore. Partly influenced by this spirit of the ages which brooded over its country with dark, though transparent wings, and partly by the spirit of the West, which he had so thoroughly assimilated, Isahakian wrote lyrics that were graceful and attractive while containing at the same time the root of bitterness. Like Raffi, he presents vivid pictures of Armenian life in a few words, and this is the secret of his appeal to the people.

He has written some charming ballads founded on legends. *The Fairy of Mantash* is a collection of these, strung loosely together on a slight sketch of mountain life. *Bingol* is a lovely little poem about the fairy of Lake Bingol on Mount Aragatz. A very quaint ballad is that of the priest's pretty wife, who is induced to give a kiss to a beggar who had come to her door whilst she was baking bread. To hide herself from her husband, who comes in during the scene, she throws herself into the deep oven where she had been baking the bread, when a miracle takes place. The oven is flooded with water, and she rises to the surface a beautiful and immortal golden fish, who looks at her astounded husband with love and repentance in her eyes! From this story the well is still called the Fountain of the Priest's Wife.

It is impossible to convey an idea of the charm of Isahakian's poems by quoting translations of them, because many of them are written in the Caucasian Armenian dialect, which adds to the folk-song effect. One might more easily quote one of Burns' Scotch poems in ordinary English, and expect it to keep its charm and fascination to the full. Yet they have an intrinsic beauty of their own, beyond the subtleties of style and technique. One cannot refrain from quoting one or two examples:

The sun went down behind the hill,
No light was on the lea;
The leaves and flowers slept calm and still
But sleep came not to me.

The moon looked in beneath the eaves,
The Balance rose on high;
The still night winds that stirred the leaves
Spoke to the starry sky.

Oh gentle winds and stars of light,
Where is my love to-night?
Ye painted eyes of heaven so bright,
Saw you my love to-night?

Day dawned; without 'twas storm and stress;
Unbolted was our gate;
The red horse came all riderless—
Where stays my love so late?

And most often it is Death that is keeping him away on that stormy morning, when the door is unbolted and men go out to their labour in the early dawn—for, like the real folk-songs, these poems are about the constantly recurring murder of Armenian youths who were suspected of having revolutionary tendencies. It is the same in the other beautiful song which is known and loved by all Armenians, where the maiden asks the hunter if he has seen her "wild deer," her "flower," her "only one" up on the hills where he had gone to "quell his grief"—on some revolutionary errand or vendetta that the Armenians had to carry out personally, because they had no other way of obtaining redress—and the huntsman replies that he has seen him:

All clad in red and green;
Upon his breast a rose-tree grew
Where once your kiss had been.

—as lugubrious and macabre a picture as that of Masefield's dead knight. Then she asks who there is beside him for his bride, to tend and watch him. And he answers her—much like the answer in Ophelia's song—

"Maiden, I saw him with his head
Upon a stone, at rest;
And for his love, a bullet red
Into his heart was pressed.

The mountain breeze caressingly
Played with his jet-black hair
And blossoms wept unceasingly—
Your flower, your lover there."

Another universally loved poem runs as follows:

"Ye mountain bluebells weep with me
And flowers in coloured crowds.
Weep, nightingale, on yonder tree—
Cool winds dropped from the clouds.

All dark around the earth and sky,
All lonely here I mourn;
My love is gone—light of my eye,
I sob and weep forlorn."

In writing of this poem a critic remarked in the *Nation* that "a people who could sing of nightingales and bluebells amongst circumstances so bloody must have an unquenchable vitality."

From individual griefs the poet's naturally gloomy vision passed into the wider, denser darkness of national tragedy. "What," I asked him, "do you consider to be the greatest of all themes in literature?" "Death," was the answer. "Some say it is love," I suggested. "Love is only a side issue in life," he said, "a pastime to keep one's thoughts off the great, unknown doom

that is stealing upon us inexorably. The greatest theme of the greatest literature has always been human destiny—man's impotence against his relentless fate." In a poem which seems to mark the transition of his point of view from the objective to the subjective he writes:

"The wind is howling through the winter night,
Like to a pack of hungry wolves that cry;
My hapless willows bend beneath its might,
Their broken branches in my garden lie.

Alas, my heart, thy love since childhood's days
Hath wept; thy dream was understood by none;
Seek not in vain a friend to know thy ways.
The heart is born eternally alone.

Thou from thy heart that hapless love shalt cast,
That child of earth, false, illegitimate,
Shalt fling it to the night and wintry blast
Out in the storm—there let it find its fate."

Henceforth it is the world-sorrow that is felt in his work.

The form that he elected in which to express his attitude towards life was an Eastern tradition, a legend of old Bagdad. "Abu Lala Maharan, the great poet, lived for ten years in the glorious city of the Khalifa, in pleasure and luxury. He sat at table with the great and powerful, discussed with the wise and learned, loved, and tried his fellow-men. He visited the fatherlands of other nations; saw men, and studied their laws. And his penetrating soul understood men, and understood them profoundly. He hated them and their laws. And having no wife or children he distributed all his wealth to the poor. He took his caravan of camels and their food, and one night, when Bagdad slept on the poplared banks of the Tigris, he departed secretly from the town."

The epic is written in seven *surâhs*, or divisions. It is strange to come across so Eastern a theme in Armenian literature—especially in the work of a man whose art has been essentially national in character. Although Armenia has borrowed much imagery from the Persian and Arabic, yet the line of demarcation is very definite between their literature and hers, influenced on the other hand by Greece and Byzantium. Armenian poetry has a wider range of subject, and is nearer to that of Europe, being more pious in its scepticism and more sceptical in its piety than Mohammedan literature. The loftiest flights of Armenian religious poetry reach a height that is sublime, altogether apart from their devotional fervour; while even when characteristically Persian subjects are treated, such as the nightingale and the rose, religion and scepticism are interwoven with it in a way that is fantastic and quite refreshing. And so it is with the epic of *Abu Lala*.

This poem is really a synthesis of many smaller pieces written at various times and intervals. According to the legend, Abu Lala, the blind philosopher of Bagdad, was poor, and he never left the city. Isahakian's poem typifies the ceaseless flow of that caravan which is for ever passing onward, not knowing whence it comes nor whither it is going, with bitterness and hatred in its heart, seeking to escape somewhere—anywhere—into the solitude. He has taken only one saying of the legendary Abu Lala as his text: "My father transgressed against me, but I have never transgressed against anyone"—his only consolation that he has not conferred this unsolicited and undesirable gift of life upon anyone.

Abu Lala Maharan has been translated and published in French and German. The verses consist of two long lines, each containing twenty syllables and four accents. This form gives a slow and pompous movement to the whole work. The relentless march of the caravan is described in the beginning and end of almost every *surâh*, like a refrain. Sometimes it is slow and gentle, "moving like a stream over the meandering road, its bells ringing softly as it passes through the sleeping suburbs of Bagdad, the palm-trees and poplars swaying their branches overhead and the flower-perfumed breeze whispering stories of the thousand and one nights;" sometimes it moves along under the rays of the bashful moon, who, like a coy maiden, now shows her face and now veils it with a cloud, while the jewelled caravans of stars wander overhead along the pathways of the heavens. And sometimes the night swoops down over it like a great bird with extended wings; the sky is filled with clouds from horizon to horizon and the hurricanes, rushing forward like great, unreined horses, shrieking like a thousand wounded beasts, raise the burnt sand and dust in great columns that go to meet the clouds.

And so Abu Lala travels along the eternal road which draws him on with its thousand enticements. He casts one parting look on Bagdad, then throws his arms around the camel's neck and kisses its hairy eyelids. From that time he goes onward without ever looking back, without even exchanging a greeting with the passers-by on the road.

Brusov remarks of this poem:

"Even though, following the traditions of the Russian-Armenian school, he selects an Eastern theme instead of a European one, here he is a European writer, placing before himself the same problems to solve as the writers of other nations—French, German and Russian. From these verses one can judge what a great master Armenian literature possesses in the person of Avetis Isahakian."

The bitterness of Abu Maharan is directed against the treachery, hypocrisy, and selfishness of men.

"I have loved my fellow-men well," he says, "but now my love is turned into a serpent that stings me. I will pitch my tent on the nests of the snakes and scorpions; there I shall be a thousand times safer than amongst men. The dog who knows you will not bark at you, the man who knows you does. The steps that all my camels take on the endless road are not as many as the sins committed by men in one day in this false world, where the power of gold turns a thief into an honest man, an idiot into a sage, a coward into a hero and a harlot into a spotless angel."

Against women, too, the poet is very bitter—woman who, "with pleasures of the flesh darkens the sun of the soul." His is a heart full of world-weariness—neither pleasures nor wealth have any attractions for him. "Woe to the man who has possessions," he says, "for he is tied like a dog to the doorway of his house."

Nor can one censure an observer of the human race whose viewpoint is Armenia—whose perspective is seen through endless vistas of hypocrisy, wrong, and betrayal on all sides—for being pessimistic. Well may he feel, like Byron, "'tis something better not to be." The theme is perhaps, the most perennial in human literature—Job, Omar Khayyâm, and Shakespeare all dealt with it, to mention only three of its best known exponents. And yet these three are made conscious of the tragedy of human life through their personal feelings or sufferings; what can be the outlook of those who have survived the vast holocaust of a nation, including their family and friends? They have been saved; there is no place in the world left for them to live in and no work left for them to do.

Isahakian wrote *Abu Lala Maharan* in 1908. His outlook has changed since then. Bitterness is too weak to express the sentiments of men left in that condition. The range of feeling is mercifully limited, and the last stage that man reaches is either apathy—or insanity. The intense bitterness in Abu Lala is replaced in Isahakian by an attitude of weariness and indifference—the outcome of utter inability to help; an attitude which he shares with all Armenians who have survived and escaped. He is still writing, his work appears regularly in the Press, and he has a great number of works both large and small in the making; but he scarcely seems to have enough interest to complete and publish them. Living in Venice for his boy's education, he is intensely sensitive to the beauty of his surroundings. "I have not seen the face of St. Mark's to-day," he said one evening, "and one has to see it at least once a day, as one has to see the face of one's betrothed." Yet even the fascination of Venice—itsself an

Armenian centre, with its convent, its schools, its libraries, and its publications—cannot console him.

Abu Maharan's caravan goes on towards the desert with a tempo that is gradually accelerated as the poem progresses. It is the old Zoroastrian religion of Armenia, cropping up again and again in the hearts of her poets—the desire for light, to be absorbed, burnt, hypnotised into joy and forgetfulness by the beautiful orb that is the source of life, like the smaller moths that sacrifice themselves on the altar of light :

And like golden barks through the seas of flame,
across the desert pursuing their flight,
And cutting their way through its waves of sand,
the camels sped on to the distance bright.

And never sirocco on wings of flame
was rapid enough to fly in their wake,
And never a dart from the Bedouin's bow
their fleeting footsteps could overtake.

His gaze unflinchingly fixed on the sun
like an eagle that knows no thought of fear,
Abu Maharan flew unsleepingly on,
his spirit lightened and full of cheer.

Behind him lay only the desert sands
in the arms of the glowing light outspread,
And the flame-like hair of the beautiful sun
streamed far into space above his head.

And clothed in purple all brodered with gold,
Abu Maharan flew sleeplessly on,
Triumphantly flew, victorious and great,
to the deathless sun, the beautiful sun.

ZABELLE C. BOYAJIAN.

ON THE ROOF OF THE WORLD IN PERU.

NO part of South America makes quite the same appeal to the imagination as Peru. It was the heart of the Inca Empire, famous in fact and fable. It was symbolic of the wealth which, for many generations, Spain drew from this and neighbouring regions. It is to-day the scene of economic activities, the remarkable nature of some of which is known to few outside Wall Street and the City of London. It still contains new fields for the enterprise of the archæologist, the historian, the scientist, the business man and the tourist. Whoever has only seen the sandy desert coast will be wise not to jump to hasty conclusions. He will also see the shadowy outline of the mountains beyond, through the haze which almost invariably obscures the view, and if he is at all curious to know what lies up there in what is really the heart of the country, he will do well to climb up from Lima by that most wonderful feat of engineering, the Central Peruvian Railway, to the region which deserves as much as the Pamirs the title of the "Roof of the World."

Between the Eastern and Western ranges of the Andes, from La Paz, the chief city of Bolivia, across Lake Titicaca to Cuzco, the old metropolis of the Incas, and far on to Quito, the capital of Ecuador, there stretches for a distance of at least fifteen hundred miles a series of plateaux and valleys raised far above the ordinary levels of human habitation. They mostly stand at elevations of between ten and fourteen thousand feet, hemmed in by snow-capped ridges from which soar peaks half as high again. The air is so rarified that the newcomer finds a difficulty in breathing, even if he escapes an attack of *soroche* (mountain sickness). Most of the country is above the timber line and supports no vegetation save short grasses and mosses. The landscape is for the most part indescribably dreary, bleak, and lonely. Yet this is where the native civilisation of America attained its highest level, and where first the Spaniard and then the *Gringo* has flocked to rifle some of Nature's richest treasure chests.

These regions are habitable because the severity of the climate at such altitudes is mitigated by their situation within the tropics. Even to-day, when the population is only a fraction of what it was before the Spanish conquest, the inhabitants are surprisingly numerous. This used to be the most thickly populated part of South America, and is still that where the aboriginal Indians survive in greatest numbers. Fully half the inhabitants of Bolivia, Peru, and Ecuador are of pure Indian blood, speaking their own languages, and though, as it were, suffused with four centuries of Christianity and foreign rule, very much the same human

material as they were before. Only, they have degenerated. Foreign influence, by sweeping away the structure of their own development without supplying an easily assimilable substitute, has caused a decline not only in numbers but also in intelligence and character. They live brutish lives. Their low, thatched cottages dot the mountain-sides, which are seamed with terraces where patches of maize and potato grow with difficulty. They tend their herds of llamas, the staple beast of these parts, useful as a pack animal or for its wool, and they mitigate the hardships of existence by chewing coca leaf (whence cocaine is prepared), which deadens their senses and enables them to perform astounding feats of endurance.

These Indians are singularly unvital in appearance, small in stature, with inexpressive faces, a coppery skin, and a somewhat Mongolian type of features. The women are seldom pretty, but their transparent complexion produces a curious and not unattractive effect of rosy cheeks under the dark skin. They wear their thick black hair plaited down their backs. A black skirt, caught up in front to show bright-coloured petticoats; a bodice, sometimes of most vivid hue; a low-crowned, broad-brimmed hat of hard, coarse, whitish felt, are the principal elements of a highly picturesque costume. They sling their worldly possessions on their backs in coloured shawls tied round their shoulders—babies, household effects, cooking utensils and all, when necessary. Their hands are always busy spinning yarn from a bunch of raw wool. The men have little in their appearance to recommend them. They wear tattered trousers and *ponchos* of natural brown wool with a coloured stripe or two.

It is surprising how widely even the present reduced population is diffused throughout these inhospitable altitudes. Wherever one may be it is rare not to have a thatched roof, a potato patch perched in some apparently inaccessible cranny, and a vivid coloured skirt somewhere in sight. There are, however, valleys and plains, deep in the mountains, where a lower elevation permits extensive cultivation and considerable fertility. Villages here are numerous, and along the immense stretch to which this description roughly applies there are not a few small towns and some considerable cities. Several of these places are ruins attesting a former but departed prosperity, others have lived through history to become sleepy, provincial capitals and market towns; yet others are modern mining camps.

Although the coast is usually under a hundred miles away as the crow flies, the climb is so steep and the routes are so difficult that communications are arduous. Within the last fifty years, however, no less than five railways (not counting the Trans-Andine

line to the south of the region with which we are concerned) have been built like so many ladders to this roof of South America, and among them that to Oroya from Lima, up which I am about to describe a journey, is the steepest, and serves a district of absorbing interest.

Although the distance is only about eighty miles including all the twists and turns in the track, the journey from Lima to Oroya takes twelve hours. From sea level to the tunnel of La Galera through the topmost ridge of the Western Cordillera, there is a rise of 15,600 feet, about the same as the height of Mont Blanc. After this, there is a drop of some 3,000 feet to Oroya. Out of a valley filled with tropical fruits and flowers the train mounts to an atmosphere too scarce for any vegetation, passing backwards and forwards along ledges in the mountain side, sometimes four or five of them above each other on the same slope, through tunnels and over bridges across yawning chasms. The track is standard gauge and the gradient is a steady 1 in 25, but there is no rack. The scenery is not so grand as that on the Trans-Andine Railway, but one's breath is constantly being taken away in wonder at the far more marvellous engineering achievement. And one's breath is not a thing to be wasted, for such an ascent in so short a space is trying to the strongest heart and lungs. After 11,000 feet any superfluous movement should be avoided. We were advised to have a good breakfast soon after starting at 7.30 a.m. and to sit perfectly still thereafter until we had crossed the summit. As a consequence, we felt no great inconvenience, though a half hour's wait at Ticlio, at the entrance of the summit tunnel, made us both feel rather queer—just as if one might faint at slight provocation. Others in the carriage were less fortunate. The train attendant carries a tube of oxygen, and as each person dropped off there was a dash to administer the reviving gas. This mountain sickness, or *soroche* as it is called here, can be very unpleasant and may be fatal to people with weak hearts and lungs. Undue exertion until one is well acclimatised may bring it on in the strongest with sickness, palpitations and fever. Much pride has had its fall up here and it behoves the most experienced mountaineers to be careful.

Oroya is the headquarters of the Cerro de Pasco Copper Corporation, a very important American mining concern, and we owed everything during our stay in the neighbourhood to the hospitality and kindness of the General Manager, a Canadian. We came up with a bag and some sleeping kit in anticipation of indifferent hotels, intending to see the great Indian market at Huancayo, eighty miles to the south, and return immediately to Lima. Thanks to this gentleman, we spent ten days touring the country in the luxury of a most comfortable house and a private

saloon coach, a motor on railway wheels, and a host of well-appointed automobiles. It was a surprise to find so much civilisation in these wild places. The Company's servants have quarters which I would willingly copy for a country cottage in England—with every convenience and modern electric appliance. They deserve all they get and more, for it is a hard and lonely life up there, without amusement, without society beyond their fellow-workers, in surroundings as bare and dismal as can well be imagined.

The great smelter at Oroya belches heavy, yellow, evil-smelling, sulphurous smoke day and night from its black stove-pipe chimneys. A mass of machinery, almost terrifyingly human, crushes and roasts the ore and handles molten masses from the furnaces. Glowing rivers of copper and slag come pouring down their appointed channels. Overhead cranes swing great cauldrons of red-hot metal and pitch it into the convertors where the incandescent gases flame and roar. It is a magnificent sight, and the more wonderful when one thinks of the situation up here on the roof of the world.

The smelter is Oroya. It engulfs the small native village, whence the Central Peruvian Railway, turning southwards, continues its way to Huancayo through country but little touched since Inca times. A narrow valley with terraced sides, thatched hovels, and of a general appearance not unlike some grassy Scottish highlands, gives way in a while to a plain where the mountains recede some miles on either side. The red-tiled roofs of villages appear. At the entrance of the plain is the town of Jauja (the Xauxa of Prescott), once an important Inca city, the ruins of which are visible on the hill above the modern town. We are now only about 10,500 feet above sea level and there are trees and cultivation all around. Some way down the plain stands Huancayo, a clean and prosperous looking place of about 20,000 inhabitants, not remarkable in itself, but highly interesting for the market held there every Sunday and resorted to by the Indians for miles around.

On our way up we had overtaken many parties of natives, bright patches on the landscape, on horseback or mule, on foot, singly, in couples and in families, carrying their burdens on their backs or driving laden llamas. In Huancayo, the broad main street and the market place were a seething mass of people, grouped round the booths and spread-out packs containing all manner of homely merchandise, and producing a kaleidoscopic orgy of colour. Apart from the gay native textiles and vicuña or alpaca skins, there is not much which the tourist is tempted to buy, but the interest of the scene is fascinating and the morning hours pass quickly until the crowd begins to thin and the merchants to pack up their goods and make off.

Huancayo is the present terminus of the railway to the south. Northwards from Oroya the Copper Corporation owns a line to Cerro de Pasco, about seventy-five miles in this direction, for the service of their mines.

Cerro de Pasco is one of the most interesting places in Peru. It is, incidentally, the highest town in the world, situated at an altitude of 14,300 feet, and is the capital of the province of Junin. The way thither lies over a bare bleak *puno* or grassy plain, with nothing living in sight except a few cows and llamas tended by a bright-petticoated, ever-spinning *chola*, or a ragged boy. We pass the small town of Junin and the site of the battle where Bolivar routed the Spaniards in the War of Independence; then a large, shallow lake, teeming with wild fowl; then the little settlement of Ricran, the headquarters of the Venadium Corporation of America, whose mine, the richest in this rare metal in the world, lies away in the mountains behind that curious, jagged rock formation one sees in the distance that looks just like a forest.

Cerro de Pasco lies off the plain, and owes its position to mines rich in highly argentiferous copper which have been continuously worked since the days of the Incas. The modern shafts go underground, but the huge chasm, like the crater of a volcano, which has been excavated where the summit of the hill ought to be, shows the result of these centuries of industry. A very large proportion of the silver which made Spain rich came from here, all of it dug out by hand and carried to the coast on mules. Even to-day the same primitive methods are practised by the natives on their own account. You can see them in ragged shirt and breeches, with hide sandals on their feet and a hide knapsack on their backs, wending down to the depths of the abyss some four hundred feet and staggering up again with a load of 150 pounds. The exertion at this altitude is terrific, but they are bred to it and the habit seems to have survived the generations who were driven to the task like slaves by their Spanish masters.

Near Cerro de Pasco the Copper Corporation has some coal mines—one at a place with the crack-jaw name of Goyllarisquisga, which means "fallen star" in Quichua, and the other at the scarcely less difficult Quishuarcancha, or "terrace of the mountain tree." Each of these mines provides an exciting and fascinating scenic railway for tourists in the shape of the "incline" which carries one a couple of thousand feet down a slope of 45 degrees to the mouth of the mines, just like tobogganning down the gable of a roof. Up above we are round about the 14,000 foot mark, and at Goyllarisquisga the panorama is simply magnificent. From the superintendent's house the ground falls away into what seems a bottomless valley, a great rift 5,000 feet deep, and on the other

side the mountains rise again in tiers until, high up in the sky forty miles away, the frozen peaks, over 20,000 feet high, of the Western Cordillera stretch across the horizon. It reminded me of the pictures I had seen of the view of the Himalayas from Darjeeling.

Oroya really lies on the slopes of the Eastern Cordillera, and is on one of the passages by which this range is easily crossed and whence a road winds down into the tropical forests of the Amazon basin. We went a short way along this road, first crossing a pass at about fourteen thousand feet, then tumbling down to the picturesque little town of Tarma, already in a warmer clime. It is a wonderful road of serpentine curves and hair-raising corners. It is strange to think that the little stream meandering down the valley flows by way of the Amazon to the Atlantic 3,000 miles away. On to La Merced the road is even more perilous—so narrow that motor traffic is only allowed in each direction on alternate days. In the space of a few hours everything is changed. Trees cover the hill slopes and the timber line mounts nearer and nearer their summits. At Tarma we were already in contact with natives of a very different kind to the Indians of the Andes. The Amazonian forests are sparsely populated with savage tribes still in the bow and arrow stage and clad in a scanty array of the green, yellow and red feathers of parrots and macaws. They sell these panoplies in the shops of Tarma.

This is the road to Iquitos, the Peruvian port on the Amazon, a hard trail by rail, motor, canoe, mule and river steamer, three weeks on an average from Lima under present conditions, which might, however, be easily improved. Iquitos is about 600 miles from Lima, yet the usual way of getting there is to go all the way round by Panama to the Brazilian port of Para and up the Amazon, a journey of 6,000 miles, a more comfortable, surer, safer and very little longer route than that through Peruvian territory.

If anything can give an idea of what a barrier the Andes are, this last fact should do so. Distances are of no account. Time is the deciding factor. Surely there can be no more romantic situation than those plateaux on the watershed between two oceans, far from one and near the other as measured in miles, but remote from both until the engines of science scaled their battlements.

J. DE V. LODER.

FOREIGN AFFAIRS.

ENTER MR. CHAMBERLAIN. 69551

MR. AUSTEN CHAMBERLAIN took possession of the Minister of State's room at the Foreign Office on November 7th, and began his first experiment in the handling of British interests abroad. Diplomacy is like cricket in its uncertainty and in its elements of chance: and in the unpitiful criterion whereby success is judged by results alone. Mr. Chamberlain was a novice, just as Mr. MacDonald had been, ten months earlier. The initial luck of the one was as bad as that of the other had been good. Mr. MacDonald was lucky in the sense that events were ripe for sensible handling, and that Lord Curzon had been doing some eleventh hour constructive work. By contrast Mr. Chamberlain's dossiers must have been chilling reading. In the first place there was the fatal Zinoviev business. There was the fact that his Government was committed by its election propaganda to a retrograde policy towards Russia. Then there came an Egyptian bombshell, which from Mr. Chamberlain's point of view was the very climax of bad luck. Then there was the fact that Mr. MacDonald's threefold scheme for a settlement of reparations, security and inter-Allied debts, had been broken in the middle by the elections, and the exigencies of party politics made it impossible for Mr. Chamberlain to take up the threads exactly as Mr. MacDonald had left them, no matter how much he would have liked to do so.

One inescapable result of Mr. Chamberlain's initial bad luck was to confirm him in his inclination to revert to the traditional British attitude to foreign affairs, which consists in having no foreign policy at all: at any rate no positive foreign policy in the French sense. The Quai d'Orsay always has a general plan of action in diplomacy as definitely as the French or British General Staff have a military policy, and every French diplomatist in every part of the world subordinates all his activity to the plan of the moment. If one excepts the short period of Mr. MacDonald's Foreign Ministership there has been no British foreign policy in this sense since the Armistice. Mr. Lloyd George enthusiastically, but wholly without method, worked for peace after the war was over: but his lack of a detailed objective on any particular occasion drove foreign diplomatists, as for instance, Dr. Benesh at Genoa, to despair. Lord Curzon was equally devoid of objects, except in so far as his craving for snubbing Russia and for making concessions to Turkey can be described as an object. Mr. MacDonald, by contrast, was as positive in his objects as any Con-

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tinental. He had a positive philosophy—that of diplomatic pacifism; and he had a positive scheme to work out in the light of that philosophy—the successive treatment of reparations, security and inter-Allied debts, and an understanding with Russia.

Mr. Chamberlain, finding that the force of circumstances prevented him, at any rate immediately, from doing anything positive, naturally decided to adopt the traditional alternative. He wiped out by dint of a few snappy sentences the whole of 1924 so far as Russia was concerned. He suspended Mr. MacDonald's threefold scheme by writing to the Secretary General of the League of Nations requesting that the question of the Geneva Protocol for the peaceful settlement of international disputes should be eliminated from the agenda of the Council meeting of the League of Nations which was arranged to be held in Rome on December 8th. His excuse for the latter step was that the Government must consult the Dominions before making up its mind on the question of principle involved in the Protocol. Having thus made it humanly impossible that anything of importance should take place for the present, he attempted to counter the bad impression thereby made abroad by deciding to attend in person the Council meeting in Rome. That decision was, however, important. It is the first time in the history of post-war British Governments that the Foreign Minister has personally represented this country on the Council of the League. Moreover, that fact is a fair symptom of the contribution which British Conservatism has made to the prestige of the League; and the Baldwin Government has taken the League as seriously as any Government since 1920.

WAR DEBTS.

By the force of circumstances over which the Government had no control, and which could not have been foreseen, it became necessary for the diplomatists and financiers, not only of Europe and Great Britain, but of America, to turn their renewed attention to the chronic and distasteful question of war debts. How fruitful of international misunderstanding is the subject of debts, the experience of the last four years has shown. It does as much harm in public life as it does in private life, and excites in the one as in the other the least idealistic sentiments. The next few months are likely to show the wisdom of Mr. MacDonald, who decided to relegate the question of debts to a remote background of his diplomacy. Now that the fat is in the fire, however, there is no escape, and this sordid question of war-debts will have again to monopolise diplomatic thought.

There could be no more eloquent indictment of the beastliness of war than the fact that ex-enemies, ex-Allies and the trans-Atlan-

tic ex-Associate have already spent a period longer than the war itself in squabbling about money and spoils (if any). If one-millionth part of the thought that has been given to this subject by politicians and students had been given to the memory of the men and boys who gave their lives for what they believed to be an ideal: if the survivors, in short, had honoured their dead: then war would already be an anachronism and the League of Nations a reality. But heroism, decency and idealism are destroyed as surely by war as is human life and property: and we must at the end of 1924 mobilise our intellects for a new phase of the disgusting controversy about war-debts.

There is, at any rate, some comfort in the thought that Great Britain has done the straight and honest thing, even though the rest of the world has so far regarded that fact as an opportunity for making Great Britain a universal scapegoat. Where two or more are gathered together and only one is honest, the result is a foregone conclusion; and Great Britain has paid and is paying the worldly penalty for her probity. At the end of 1924 the problem of debts entered on a new phase. Hitherto the situation has been that France refused to pay her debt to Great Britain until Germany had paid her debt to the Allies, and Italy copied this philosophy. Great Britain, scorning such morality, funded the American debt. A gulf was fixed between America (who did not ratify the Versailles Treaty) and Europe; and Great Britain was suspended between the two, getting the worst of both worlds. Now, however, that M. Jusserand has approached Mr. Mellon with a suggestion that France should fund her debt to the United States, she presumably has dropped the argument that Germany must be honest before France can be honest. That is an important improvement in the general situation.

Still more important is a statement which was published in *L'Europe Nouvelle* of December 6th over the name of M. Clémentel, French Finance Minister, who there stated that France economically was now in a strong position (and no wonder, seeing that a large part of the French taxpayer's burden has been shuffled over to the British taxpayer owing to the French refusal to honour her own Treasury Bills); and that French exports had now exceeded imports by the substantial estimated margin of three milliard francs. His exact words should be quoted, because of their capital importance in the impending discussions: "La situation économique générale justifie, en effet, tous les espoirs. Je ne veux, en ce moment, citer pour exemple que la balance commerciale: déficitaire jusqu'en 1923, elle présente pour 1924 un excédent d'exportations que l'on peut évaluer, sur la base du premier semestre de 1924, à près de 3 milliards de francs." By startling contrast,

British exports during the first eleven months of 1924 have fallen below the level of her imports by nearly £300,000,000. If, when the Allied Finance Ministers meet in Paris in the middle of January, Mr. Churchill were to invite M. Clémentel to give a reason why France, in these prosperous circumstances, should continue to dishonour her financial signature, what could M. Clémentel say? For M. Clémentel left nothing unsaid: "D'autre part (he continued) la reconstitution des régions libérées est presque complètement achevée: les usines sont en pleine activité, les maisons sont presque toutes reconstruites, et les voies ferrées se retrouvent dans le même état qu'avant la guerre."

This British position needs only to be restated, as it has been restated in the House of Commons by Mr. Churchill, to show how remarkably generous it is. Great Britain is prepared to sacrifice one half, namely £1,000,000,000, of the debts owed to her by her allies on condition that the other half is paid; and even this payment is asked for only because a like sum has to be paid by Great Britain to America on account of a loan incurred vicariously by Great Britain on behalf of France and Italy. In other words, Great Britain is prepared to sacrifice every penny, capital and interest alike, of the huge loans she made during the war; and only asks that she shall not in addition be forced to pay the debts of others. Now that the discussion is assured of American participation, it may perhaps be expected that redress will at last be given to the monumental injustices so far suffered by the British taxpayer.

THE NEW GOVERNMENT AND RUSSIA.

The exact stages whereby the Baldwin Government smashed the delicate and difficult work of making an agreement with Russia and inaugurated a dead season in Anglo-Russian relations may be recorded in a few lines. Demolition, whether of houses or of diplomacy, is quick and easy work by contrast with building. On November 21st, Mr. Chamberlain wrote a short Note to Mr. Rakovsky: "Sir,—His Majesty's Government have had under review the treaties negotiated by their predecessors with the Government of the U.S.S.R. and signed on August 8th last. I have the honour to inform you that after due deliberation His Majesty's Government find themselves unable to recommend the treaties in question to the consideration of Parliament or to submit them to the King for His Majesty's ratification." That was all. How easy! But what a monument of diplomacy! The worst feature of it was the palpable impression it gave of self-satisfaction over an achievement comparable to that of a street urchin who upsets a coster's barrow. A second Note, which was addressed to Mr. Rakovsky on the same date, did two things: (1) it combatted the argument of

Mr. Rakovsky, made in his Note of October 25th, that the alleged Zinoviev letter was a forgery, and intimated that "His Majesty's Government are not prepared to discuss the matter"; and (2) protested against Bolshevik propaganda in general. All negative and destructive.

A subsidiary Note from Mr. J. D. Gregory, however, performed the first imaginative deed on the part of His Majesty's new Government. He revived an amusing diplomatic fiction, such as made the sterile beginning of that Government's career less boring than it otherwise would have been. "I have submitted," he wrote, "to the Secretary of State your letter to me, marked C.R.—8553, of November 8th. Mr. Chamberlain instructs me to reply that he has caused the records left in this Office by his predecessor to be searched, and that your Note of October 27th on the subject of M. Zinoviev's despatch to the Central Committee of Great Britain has not been found among them. Mr. Chamberlain is, of course, familiar with the substance of this Note, which was published in Moscow, but he has no intention of departing from the decision communicated to you by Mr. MacDonald and recorded in this Office, that the note in question was one which His Majesty's Government cannot consent to receive." The pleasant-ries of diplomatic convention have their uses, and the recourse to one of them on this occasion was at any rate as good a method of dealing with Mr. Rakovsky's demand for an apology as any.

The melancholy thing is that the net result of Mr. Chamberlain's acts towards Russia, even including the joke, was that France has supplanted Great Britain in the running for good relations with Russia. Following on the French recognition of Russia, given on October 28th, M. Herriot arranged with the Russian Government that a Franco-Russian Conference should meet in Paris early in the new year. Great Britain, who, since 1918, has pioneered the cause of *rapprochement* with Russia, has thereby changed rôles with France, who in the same period has been the chief opponent of *rapprochement*, but who now is enabled to steal British thunder. To do Mr. Chamberlain justice, it is an open secret that his negative policy towards Russia is distasteful to him, as negative policies always must be to intelligent men, and that he would have preferred to carry on Mr. MacDonald's constructive policy. The bill, however, has to be paid for election extravagance, and the Conservative platforms left Mr. Chamberlain with no alternative but to suspend his Russian activities until the electorate has had an adequate opportunity to forget. Mr. Rakovsky wrote a further Note to Mr. Chamberlain on November 28th, returning to the charge of forgery in the matter of the Zinoviev document, and again demanding investigation into it.

despite Mr. Chamberlain's categorical refusal to discuss it further. At the time of writing, Mr. Chamberlain had not answered that further Note, and rumour had it that it had been decided not to answer it. It is to be hoped that the rumour lied. If the Government committed the folly of refusing even to acknowledge an official Russian Note, the folly would certainly come home to roost. Next year, when the Baldwin Government will begin rebuilding the MacDonald structure which it has just knocked down, Moscow would have a precedent and an excuse for ignoring British Notes; and such a contingency might be embarrassing for Mr. Chamberlain. If it came to a trial of obscurantism and obstructionism, the Russian Government would be worth backing against any Government in the world.

This Russian problem has to be solved sooner or later. On December 1st, a Bolshevik revolt, directly inspired from Moscow, broke out in Esthonia. It was defeated within two hours, but Esthonian diplomatists are not reassured thereby. They are afraid of Russia. Many of those who live on the Russian border distinguish between Communism and Bolshevism. Many concede that Communism is a tenable theory, and point to the fact that the Russian peasant is better off even under Russian Communism than he was under the Tsar; but the danger to society comes from Bolshevism, or the revolutionary method of achieving Communism. Here again it is a case of destructiveness being easier work than the opposite. The danger of Bolshevism is that, as Miss Goldman, the anarchist, has said, it takes few to destroy. When Mr. Chamberlain adopts a forbidding attitude towards Russia he plays into the hands of Bolshevism; for Bolshevism thrives on international misunderstanding. The acting War Commissar, who took Mr. Trotsky's place when the latter fell ill, commented on Mr. Chamberlain's policy thus: "Now, more than ever, we need a firm Red Army. We must not forget possible battles with the bourgeoisie."

THE MURDER OF SIR LEE STACK.

On November 20th, Sir Lee Stack, Governor-General of the Sudan and Sirdar of the Egyptian army, was murdered in a street in Cairo. It was inevitable that the news should put an end to all immediate hope of a friendly agreement between Egypt and Great Britain; and the importance of the message sent by King George to Lord Allenby was that it confirmed the symptoms. What the King telegraphed was this: "I am deeply grieved at the death of Sir Lee Stack and feel bitterly the indignity inflicted on my army by this cruel murder of one of its distinguished officers." The Government acted quickly. On the evening of November

20th, the day of the murder, the Cabinet met and decided to telegraph to Lord Allenby asking him to formulate the text of communications to be addressed by the British Government to the Egyptian Government on the sternest lines. Lord Allenby was informed that in the Government's view the policy of conciliation and concession had finally failed, and it had therefore been decided to adopt other methods. It was argued in London that the four reserved points (the Sudan; the security of British communications through the Canal; the protection of foreign interests of minorities; the defence of Egypt against foreign aggression) had been so reserved because it was hoped that Egyptian nationalism would undergo a moderating process such as would make it possible to settle the outstanding points in a friendly spirit. It was in such a spirit that repeated invitations had been sent to Zaghlul to come to London. The failure of the conversations between Mr. MacDonald and Zaghlul Pasha, due to the intransigence of Zaghlul's demands, seemed to indicate that Egyptian nationalism had not yet reached the right spirit. Zaghlul's own part in inflaming Egyptian opinion against Great Britain had contributed largely to the difficulties.

The position, therefore, resulting from the murder of Sir Lee Stack was that the British Government held the Egyptian Government to be responsible for the murder, had abandoned the hope of a friendly agreement with Egypt on the reserved points, and had decided to take steps to settle some of them without Egyptian collaboration.

During the course of the following day telegrams were exchanged between Lord Allenby in Cairo and the British Government in London, with the result that the texts of the documents were decided on, were presented to the Egyptian Government in the afternoon of November 22nd, and simultaneously published in Cairo and in London. There were two communications. The first began by stating that "Governor-General of the Sudan and Sirdar of the Egyptian army who was also a distinguished officer of the British army has been brutally murdered in Cairo." The note proceeded: "His Majesty's Government consider that this murder, which holds up Egypt as at present governed to the contempt of civilised peoples, is the natural outcome of a campaign of hostility to British rights and British subjects in Egypt and Sudan, founded upon a heedless ingratitude for benefits conferred by Great Britain, not discouraged by Your Excellency's government, and fomented by organisations in close contact with that government."

"Your Excellency was warned by His Majesty's Government little more than a month ago of consequences of failing to stop

this campaign more particularly as concerned the Sudan. It has not been stopped. Egyptian government have now allowed Governor-General of Sudan to be murdered and have proved that they are incapable or unwilling to protect foreign lives.

"His Majesty's Government therefore require that Egyptian government shall :

"(1) Present ample apology for crime.

"(2) Prosecute inquiry into authorship of crime with utmost energy and without respect of persons and bring criminals, whoever they are and whatever their age, to condign punishment.

"(3) Henceforth forbid and vigorously suppress all popular political demonstrations.

"(4) Pay forthwith to His Majesty's Government fine of half million pounds.

"(5) Order within twenty-four hours the withdrawal from the Sudan of all Egyptian officers and the purely Egyptian units of Egyptian army with such resulting changes as shall be hereafter specified.

"(6) Notify competent department that Sudan government will increase area to be irrigated at Gezira from 300,000 feddans to an unlimited figure as need may arise.

"(7) Withdraw all opposition in the respects hereafter specified to wishes of His Majesty's Government concerning the protection of foreign interests in Egypt.

"Failing immediate compliance with these demands His Majesty's Government will at once take appropriate action to safeguard their interests in Egypt and Sudan."

The second communication, which was sent the same day, detailed the specific requirements demanded by the British Government respecting the army in the Sudan and the protection of foreign interests in Egypt. The demands were as follows :

"(1) The Egyptian officers and purely Egyptian units of Egyptian army having been withdrawn, Sudanese units of Egyptian army shall be converted into a Sudan defence force, owing allegiance to Sudan government alone and under supreme command of Governor-General, in whose name all commissions will be given.

"(2) Rules and conditions governing the service, discipline, and retirement of foreign officials still employed by the Egyptian government and financial conditions governing pensions of foreign officials who have left service shall be revised in accordance with wishes of His Majesty's Government.

"(3) Pending conclusion of an agreement between two governments regarding protection of foreign interests in Egypt, Egyptian government shall maintain the posts of financial and judicial ad-

visers and preserve their powers and privileges as contemplated on abolition of the protectorate and shall respect status and present attributions of European Department of Ministry of Interior as already laid down by ministerial order, and give due weight to such recommendations as Director-General may make upon matters falling within his sphere."

It is typical of the British temperamental contempt for detail that throughout the country that week-end the communication of the British Government to Egypt was referred to as an "ultimatum." Many newspaper leaders referred to it as an ultimatum, and a fortnight later when Parliament opened we found Mr. MacDonald still referring to it as an ultimatum. Yet the Note was not an ultimatum in any sense whatever. An ultimatum consists of three elements : (1) a demand, or a series of demands, made by one Government to another ; (2) the statement of a time limit in which the demands are to be accepted ; (3) a threat of action in case the demands have not been accepted when the time limit expires. The British Note to Egypt made a series of demands, but gave no time limit and made no threat. All that was said in the note was that "Failing immediate compliance with these demands His Majesty's Government will at once take appropriate action to safeguard their interests in Egypt and the Sudan." That formula meant much or little according as Lord Allenby chose to make much or little of it. The adjective "immediate" does not constitute an ultimatum because it is not precise, and in this case British official quarters were quite prepared to receive and to consider a reasoned answer from the Egyptian Government. The misunderstanding which led many people to talk of the British ultimatum to Egypt was created by demand No. 5 of the first communication, which read : "[The Egyptian Government shall] order within twenty-four hours the withdrawal from the Sudan of all Egyptian officers," etc. That, however, was merely one of the incidental demands and was uncovered by any general ultimatum.

In reality there was little practical meaning in the demand for an Egyptian military evacuation of the Sudan. The whole of the military forces in the Sudan—the British, Sudanese, Egyptian—were under the command of a British Commander-in-Chief, who at any moment could give orders for the evacuation of any particular troops. By the terms of the Anglo-Egyptian Convention of January 19th, 1899, it was clearly stipulated that "the supreme military and civil power" in the Sudan should be vested in the person of a British "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 only difference now is that, there being no Khedive of Egypt, the formality of a decree is cut out.

The only reason why in the British Note the Egyptian Government was requested to "order" the evacuation of Egyptian officers and units from the Sudan—when all the time the Egyptian Government could not give any orders to troops in the Sudan—was that the British Government, even in an angry Note to the Egyptian Government, decided that it was more courteous to give that Government the option of requesting the British commander to release the Egyptian troops rather than to order those troops out direct.

The question was immediately and inevitably raised on every hand—How, if at all, was the League of Nations affected by the crisis? Those friendly Allies of ours who lose no opportunity of pin-pricking, suddenly became the most enthusiastic exponents of League principles, although "Pertinax" of the *Echo de Paris* showed that his antipathy to the League of Nations was still stronger than his habit of tilting at Great Britain, and he fully endorsed British action. The attitude of the British Government was, that by an existing diplomatic understanding, all matters which lay within the province of the "four reserved points" are matters of domestic policy within the British Empire and as such outside the competence of the League. When Egypt was declared an independent kingdom in 1922, the four points were expressly reserved, and on January 15th of that year, the British Government sent a Note to every Power who could conceivably take any interest in Egyptian or British affairs informing them that a joint Anglo-Egyptian policy of "hands off" to the rest of the world (a sort of Monroe policy) was in force, and that any attempt on the part of any of those Powers to interfere would be interpreted by the British Government as an "unfriendly act." Egypt could not appeal to the League as a member, for she is not a member, and no other Power could do so on her behalf without committing an "unfriendly act" towards Great Britain. No Power in 1922 took exception to the British intimation.

Some surprise was caused by a phrase in the first communication of the British Government which demanded the condign punishment of the culprits "whoever they are and whatever their age." The explanation of this phrase was that in the experience of the last few years outrages have mainly been perpetrated by youths under seventeen, and according to Egyptian law no one under that age is punishable. Youths mature much earlier in Egypt than here.

The Government of Zaghlul Pasha decided to accept demands 1, 3, and 4, and to reject the rest. A nasty situation was ominously

forming when Zaghlul Pasha had the sense to resign, and a new Cabinet was formed by Ziwar Pasha. The new Cabinet consisted of men who, with one exception, had always shown themselves conciliatory and moderate, and the purpose behind this move in Cairo was soon confirmed when the Ziwar Cabinet accepted the British demands without reservation. The matter, therefore, was settled with the exception of some military trouble in the Sudan, where some small attempt was made at revolt. The most obvious point of criticism against the Government's action against Egypt was the inclusion of a demand for blood-money, which bore a horrible family likeness to Signor Mussolini's demand made of the Greek Government at the time of the Janina murders. The likeness was intensified by the second thoughts in both cases. As a sop, no doubt, to his conscience, Signor Mussolini contributed a small part of the fifty million lire which he exacted from the Greek Government to the relief of Greek refugees in Greece. On November 23rd, 1924, the British Government issued an official communication which said: "His Majesty's Government have decided that the fine of £500,000 to be paid by Egypt shall, subject to provision of compensation for victims, be applied as they may hereafter direct to benevolent objects in the Sudan, for which country Sir Lee Stack laid down his life."

SINGAPORE.

On December 9th, through the medium of the King's speech, the Government made the announcement, "My Government propose in accordance with the resolution of the last Imperial Conference to proceed with plans already made for enlarging the naval base at Singapore." Thus once again we become committed to the project of a big naval base at Singapore. The project was a routine proposal of the Admiralty which, owing to the political issues involved, was referred to the Imperial Conference which met in London in the autumn of 1923 during the Prime Ministership of Mr. Baldwin. That Conference ratified it. When Mr. MacDonald became Prime Minister in the following January he promptly decided to kill it. He had already, some months before becoming Prime Minister, expressed his view that the Singapore project would be a piece of "folly." On February 20th, 1924, herefore, Mr. J. H. Thomas, Colonial Secretary, telegraphed to the Governors-General of Canada, the Commonwealth of Australia, New Zealand, the Union of South Africa, and the Governor of Newfoundland, as follows: "His Majesty's Government have decided for the time being to incur no further expenditure on Singapore naval base. Committee of Cabinet has been formed to examine whole question and will report as soon as possible." The

Cabinet Committee did this work quickly, with the result that on March 5th, Mr. Thomas sent a further telegram to the same five colonies as follows: "Cabinet Committee to consider question of Singapore base has now made its report, and Cabinet in light of the report have drawn up for announcement in Parliament a draft statement of policy which is being cabled to you separately by the Secretary of State for the Colonies. But I feel that, in view of the discussions which took place last year at the Imperial Conference and of the great interest of some other parts of the Empire in the matter, I ought not to make announcement until full opportunity has been given to you and other Prime Ministers of expressing their views. If you wish to comment upon the draft statement of policy, I should be most grateful if you will reply as soon as possible, as we shall be obliged to make our position clear at the latest on Naval Estimates which it is hoped to introduce March 17th."

It is worth while perhaps at this moment placing on record the considered opinions of the Dominions as so recently and formally expressed. On March 7th the Governor-General of the Union of South Africa (General Smuts) telegraphed an answer to Mr. Thomas, in the course of which he stated:—"Your proposed statement of policy meets with my whole-hearted agreement. Purely on the grounds of naval strategy Singapore base may be sound proposal, but the authority of the British Empire as the protagonist of the great cause of appeasement and conciliation among the nations must be seriously undermined by it. I welcome the abandonment of the scheme. Proposed base, while technically outside the limits of the Pacific pact made at Washington, would be out of keeping with the spirit of Washington agreement. At a time when we should move forward with clean hands and unchallenged moral authority this would be a step backward. I would be loth to dissociate myself from the Prime Ministers of Australia and New Zealand and I sincerely trust that your action will meet with their acquiescence, not only on grounds stated above but also because no promise of real security is contained for them in Singapore. For European troubles will probably synchronise with any future tension in the Pacific and make it out of the question to move the whole or large part of the British Navy to Singapore. Even from point of view of their future security the better way is to make the bold move which you propose towards enduring peace conditions."

On the same date the Governor of Newfoundland telegraphed: "Warren emphatic that it would be unwise not to proceed with naval base Singapore."

On March 10th the Governor-General of Canada telegraphed:

"Realise that we are not in a position to offer any advice regarding the necessity of establishing base at Singapore, and, having thus far on that account refrained from so doing, my colleagues and I do not feel that proposed statement of policy outlined in despatch from the Secretary of State for the Colonies dated March 6th calls on our part for any comment."

On the following day the Governor-General of New Zealand (Lord Jellicoe) gave his answer thus: "I regret exceedingly that it is not the intention of the Government of United Kingdom to proceed with this proposal which is looked upon as one of the most important connected with the defence of the Empire. It has been stated in no uncertain terms by the foremost naval authorities available that, without a properly equipped base, a modern fleet cannot operate, and, in the opinion of these authorities, for the protection of those portions of the Empire which are situated in the Pacific and Indian Oceans, there is no place so suitable as that which may be provided at Singapore. This matter intensely concerns Australia, India, New Zealand and a number of Crown Colonies who are looking to present British Government to remember that every citizen of the Empire and every country of the Empire are entitled to protection from possibility of attack by a foreign foe. It is well to remember here that Singapore is intended certainly not for offensive but for defensive purposes and that no more of a threat would be entailed to Japan by the establishment of a naval base at Singapore than is entailed to the United States of America or any other foreign power by the existence of Gibraltar. Last session the New Zealand Parliament, as an earnest of its anxiety that the fortification of Singapore should be proceeded with, voted one hundred thousand pounds, and it will not stop at that. In recent years America has fortified Pearl Harbour in the North Pacific and it is now said by well qualified naval experts to be impregnable, and naval position of America has been strengthened accordingly. The United States of America is fortunately a friendly nation and will remain as such for centuries to come so far as it is possible to judge, and I hope for all time. Separated from the heart of the Empire by thirteen thousand or fourteen thousand miles of sea, we in New Zealand realise what it means to be insufficiently protected. We have not forgotten what was suffered by the Royal Navy and the British Mercantile Marine in the Pacific during the years of the great war, and we had hoped that the lesson taught then would not be so quickly forgotten."

"You say that your Government stands for international cooperation through an enlarged and strengthened League of Nations. I feel that I must reply to that by saying that it may

turn out to have been a pity that the League was ever brought into being if the defence of the Empire is to depend upon the League of Nations only. The very existence of the Empire depends on the Imperial Navy, and if the Navy is to operate successfully in the event of war, it must have suitable bases where repairs may be effected and from which to work. Malta is the nearest suitable base at present and it is 6,000 miles away, and, therefore, for the purposes of capital ships in either the Pacific or Indian Oceans it is of no value. It has been said by an eminent authority that 'Unless such a base as that contemplated at Singapore is established it will be an absolute impossibility for the majority of Empire capital ships to operate to the eastward of Suez, for the simple reason that they cannot dock either for the purpose of cleaning and so keeping their speed or of being repaired.' It may also be pointed out that although the League of Nations is undoubtedly an influence for peace, hostile action as between nations has not so far been prevented by it. Owing to the alteration in ship designs since the great war, I may remind you that docks which before 1914 would have taken certain classes of war ships, will not now accommodate ships of similar tonnage, and so the present standard of naval efficiency cannot be maintained without effect being given to the proposals regarding Singapore.

"I protest earnestly on behalf of New Zealand against the abandonment of the proposal to make Singapore a safe and strong naval station because I believe that the Empire will stand as long as Britain holds the supremacy of the sea, but, if Naval supremacy is lost by Britain, the Empire may fall, to the detriment of humanity as a whole as well as of its own people, and it is surely the duty of the British Parliament and British Ministers to see that there will be no danger of such a catastrophe so far as it is humanly possible to prevent it."

The answer of Australia was equally energetic in opposing the MacDonald Government's policy of dropping the Singapore scheme, but made an interesting suggestion: "We suggest that the construction of the base should be immediately proceeded with, but that, should a suitable opportunity offer itself, the abandonment of the base should be used as a means of reaching an agreement for further mutual reductions of armaments."

The Governor-General of the Irish Free State, whose opinion was also canvassed, declined to express any view.

On March 17th, Mr. Thomas sent a further telegram to the colonies stating that the Government had decided to maintain its policy, and on the following day, March 18th, Mr. MacDonald made a statement in the House of Commons, in the course of which he said: "We stand for a policy of international co-opera-

tion through a strengthened and an enlarged League of Nations, the settlement of disputes by conciliation and judicial arbitration, and the creation of conditions which will make a comprehensive agreement on limitation of armaments possible. . . . It seemed clear, apart from any other considerations, that to continue the development of the naval base at Singapore would hamper the establishment of this confidence and lay our good faith open to suspicion. Whilst maintaining our present standards in a state of complete efficiency, we take the view that it would be a serious mistake to be responsible for new developments that could only be justified on assumptions that would definitely admit that we had doubts in the success of our own policy ourselves. As a result, we should almost inevitably drift into a condition of mistrust and competition of armaments in the Far East." He then proceeded to summarise the attitude of the Dominions such as has been indicated above, and ended with the following statement: "I think I may claim that we have a large measure of sympathy in the Dominions with our international policy, even if all parts of the Empire do not feel able to endorse the methods by which we consider that the policy should be carried out. The criticisms are founded in the main on the conception that the Singapore Base is essential as part of a complete defensive naval strategy in the Pacific. Should the practical necessity for putting such strategy into operation arise by reason of the condition of world politics, and a return to attempts to provide Imperial security primarily by armaments, the whole question would have to be reconsidered. But, in the opinion of His Majesty's Government, that has not now arisen, and it is the duty of His Majesty's Government to try to prevent it ever arising. We have every confidence in our policy. We feel that the decision not to proceed with the Naval Base at Singapore will give that policy the best possible chance of success and is an earnest of our good faith."

THE GREEK REFUGEES.

Seven-and-a-half million sterling bonds were subscribed in London on December 8th to finance the work of settling the refugees in Greece. The loan was part of the total amount of £12,300,000 authorised by the League of Nations for this purpose. As the issue price was eighty-eight per cent. and the rate of interest seven per cent., and as the loan was to be directly controlled by the International Financial Commission, there was naturally a gleeful rush on the part of investors. Never was human misery so palpably interpreted in terms of an attractive investment. The low issue price, the generous terms of interest, the impregnable security offered were a measure of the need of the Greek Govern-

ment and of the more than a million wretches who find themselves on Greek soil without a home and without a job. Only trained or experienced imaginations can visualise what is happening in Greece as a result of the war in the Near East and of the diplomatic atrocities prescribed from Lausanne. The retreat of the Greek Army in Anatolia in the autumn of 1922 and the capture of Smyrna by the Turks in themselves produced frightful results. Hundreds of thousands of Greek inhabitants of Asia Minor left their homes, fled to the coast, and ultimately reached their native Greece, some by their own devices, others through the intervention of the League of Nations. In the end, over a million such refugees poured into Greece. Many of those who had been unable of themselves to reach Greece were collected into concentration camps by Dr. Nansen, who acted on behalf of the League of Nations, and were later transported to Greece. Those who still remained in exile were dealt with by the Mixed Exchange Commission set up by the Treaty of Lausanne, and the work is not finished. The confusion was confounded by the provisions of that treaty and of the Exchange of Populations Convention, which was referred to in this section last month. The net result has been that over a million utterly destitute people have to be settled on Greek soil. The League never undertook more urgent or more humanitarian work. The League has already made valiant attempts to help two ex-enemies, Austria and Hungary, to their feet. It is now the turn of an ex-Ally, Greece, whose need is still greater—a fact which in itself is an object lesson in the philosophy of war.

December 14th, 1924.

GEORGE GLASGOW.

LITERARY SUPPLEMENT.

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THE KONGOMATO.

The trouble, if trouble is the word, arose at the Imperial Exhibition at Wembley. John Thorneyheart, a short, very fat and superstitious farmer from the Isle of Ely, felt a curious attraction to certain African sections of the Exhibition, and one late afternoon in the latter end of October found himself watching, with open mouth, a stall at which a vociferous negro or negro-Hamitic custodian was selling charms, and telling his very rustic audience that though a Christian in England he was a witch-doctor in his own country and could recommend his charms as having been made on the very top of Mpalala Hill, rising above the Jiundu Swamp in the fork of the Jiundu and Mumbezhi rivers. The black man's patter and swift jargon took Mr. Thorneyheart's mind, if it might be so called, to old descriptions of the Isle of Ely, culled from a book by the late Mr. Kingsley, which he had received as a prize for unbroken attendance at his village church school forty years before. So he bought a charm and departed into the half-light that bordered the Amusement Park which adorned the garish outer wilderness of Wembley. The first effect of the charm (for he connected the accident and the purchase) was to make him stumble over a three-foot post and fall heavily, to the accompaniment of East Anglian oaths, on the fog-girt ground. There was nobody about. The pleasuring was going on in the Park fifty yards away, earnest seekers after imperial truth were

watching strange fruits under cover fifty yards away in another direction. Mr. Thorneyheart was alone, prostrate, incapacitated, but vocal in a blasphemous sort of way. He might have been in the heart of Africa, so lonely and helpless was he. As he lay there he cursed the charm, the Isle of Ely, the fane of Peterborough, even the Tower of Lincoln, the most northerly point of his imagination. He was alone or thought he was alone, which, at the time, is much the same thing. He was not really alone, for when, after what seemed a prolonged period of agony, he raised his eyes, he saw looking down on him one of the most appalling figures that even Africa in London has provided: more than gigantic, black as soot (a fact emphasised by the weird little lantern that he carried), inadequately clothed (from the point of view of the Fen Country) and horribly sympathetic. The whites of his eyes and the white of his teeth respectively rolled and chattered in sympathy. This intolerable creature bent over Mr. Thorneyheart and said in swift but not unmusical accents: "Twende, tu me twale, Kawango wa lila kwawo."* Mr. Thorneyheart replied in another dialect, "Wa tya wa-rnt?" The gigantic black man, pricking his ears, and recognising what sounded to him an almost familiar dialect of the Ituri Forest where the Pygmies live, replied with an even more sympathetic leer, "Chanswe chiimanekumo," and then went on in English, "You must come with me. You must put bad luck away. When you bought that charm you bought me. I will protect you. You are crying for home. So am I. The Jiundu Swamp is weeping for us both. We shall start at once." So he whistled, a horrid thin whistle like the call of a sparrow-hawk, and then there came hurtling through the dim, murky, fog-laden October air the most amazing creature that has ever been seen outside a museum. Its wings were huge but they were featherless, and as the black man flashed his light on the descending monster they appeared red like blood. It was similar to a gigantic bat, but it was beaked like a bird, and as it came into the flash of the lantern it was plain that the beak was full of teeth. It hummed as it came like a contented motor-car, and it attracted little or no attention in that blank space between the Empire and its playing park. It whirled three or four times round the pair and then settled with a grunt close to Mr. Thorneyheart. The smell of the monster was both unattractive and unfamiliar, something like the smell of a decayed mushroom. "This faithful friend," said Pwamga (for that was the black man's name), "is the Kongomato. My mulombe caught and trained him for me.

* For those of my readers who are not wholly familiar with the Kaonde tongue I may say that this expressive phrase means "Let us walk, let us take him: the Child of Europe cries for home." (See Mr. F. H. Melland's delightful book, *In Witchbound Africa*.)

You know my mulombe? Ha! Ha! You will know him. He is a snake with a man's head, my head. You do not see him but he sees you, and it is wise to be very obedient to him. The Kongomato is obedient to him, are you not, my friend?" The bird-reptile gave a horrible whistle. "Well, we must be getting on. Kawango wa lila kwawo. Come, mount. Luwilo wa nkovu kwiwangijizha."*

The wretched Mr. Thorneyheart had regarded up to that moment the whole incident as a dreadful dream following a horrid fall on an empty stomach. But he was soon disillusioned. The Black Man took him in his arms as if he were a feather and, mounting the scaly back of the Kongomato, he whistled like any railway guard. In a moment the creature was circling the pavilions, and before the unfortunate tourist could say a word the party of three were touring the London skies and were soon whirling south-south-west with a directness and purpose that swiftly brought blessed unconsciousness to the poor farmer, who had clutched his return ticket to Peterborough as a last hope while the monster sped along.

Mr. Thorneyheart's outfit for the journey was remarkably small. There were the clothes he slept in, the silk hat (he was a churchwarden) that was bashed upon his head. There was a return ticket in his hand. In one pocket there was a large clasp-knife, three half-crowns, and a piece of nibbled chocolate. In another pocket a one-pound note. In one waistcoat pocket was the African witch-doctor's charm, and in the other waistcoat pocket there was the Lincoln Imp, sent him, the last Christmas, by a cousin in the cathedral city as a keepsake and a help in time of need. That was all he had except a red pocket handkerchief, an electric flash lamp that he had just bought in the Exhibition, a pipe, a pouch, and a box of matches. Not much of an outfit for such an adventure, but enough, as we shall see. In stories pretending to be true there would have been a better outfit. Robinson Crusoe had a better outfit. But what he had was enough for Mr. Thorneyheart. Indeed the Lincoln Imp would have been enough for anyone.

Very few people know the Jiundu Swamp of Northern Rhodesia and those that have come back alive want to forget it. It is a bog fifty miles square with horrible undergrowth, grim, horrible forests, gaunt, horrible hills with caves in them, where the Kongomatos nest, if nesting is the word. It is the home, the last home, of this Pterodactylic creature. It was once the home of fugitive criminals, though why they should have gone there instead of to hell or to prison no one knows. It is a haunted place, a place where sin and ghosts and horrid mists salute the sun and greet the moon.

* "The speed of the tortoise is to start early."

On moonlit nights the Kongomato chicks play about above the foetid waters, and whistle as they play, and red-headed serpents swish through the inky slime in search of food. The Kongomato likes to eat man as a special dish, while the serpents like to eat the Kongomato. The only human aspect of the Jiundu Swamp is its subservience to economic sumptuary laws. In all other respects it reeks with all that is evil in elemental life and is, beyond doubt, haunted by the damned of endless generations. It was for this haven of hope that Pwamga and Mr. Thorneyheart were heading on their unspeakable steed through the sky.

It would be futile to attempt to describe the somewhat lengthy flight across the narrower seas, the stormy Bay of Biscay, the mellow lands of Spain, the serene and surprised Mediterranean (where a shot from a startled mariner whistled close to Pwamga's head), the pleasant North African Coast line, the rolling sands of the Sahara and the dense forests of the equatorial area. After the Mediterranean incident the Kongomato flew high; he (or she) was an intelligent reptile, and Pwamga had communicated his fears to her (or him). The creature hovered for a while over the Ituri forest emitting whistles and sailing low. The party were espied by a family of Pygmies who were crossing a clearing in the forest. They shouted in horror, and so low was the creature flying that the little arrows of the little folk touched the left wing or membrane. It was just then that Mr. Thorneyheart came back to consciousness and found himself sitting on the negro's knee as their steed was rising swiftly from his dangerous swoop into the forest. The truth is he was hungry and had hoped to catch a pygmy unawares in some great tree top. It was a disappointing venture, and the Kongomato, with a sighing whistle, headed straight for Northern Rhodesia and home.

Mr. Thorneyheart gave himself up to reflection. Pwamga's knee was hard, his muttering was horrifying, there was no breakfast (as the Kongomato knew), but, on the other hand, the air was pleasant, the beast flew well and steadily, there were no air-pockets and the passengers were alive. The churchwarden slipped his bit of chocolate into his mouth. The scenery was remarkable and, as the East Anglian remarked to himself with a bucolic grin, there was no railway fare. He had never hoped to see Africa in any circumstances, and here he was seeing it as no one had ever seen it before or would again. If he had been doomed to be killed that would have been done at Wembley. The charm had apparently given him control over Pwamga and the rather smelly Kongomato. That set him thinking about charms. He had the Lincoln Imp, a comparatively Christian charm from the Choir of Angels, in his lefthand waistcoat pocket. He felt both charms with his

thumbs. The East Anglians have had some fine fellows among them, he said to himself; if savage Africa could supply Pwamga in answer to a very poor little charm, what could Lincoln give in answer to a much better looking charm? The bucolic brain of Mr. Thorneyheart buzzed with the gambling instincts of the average Englishman. What was the betting in the match of Lincoln against Jiundu? He smiled to himself as the cloven atmosphere clipped his rather large ears, and he looked up in a trustful, bucolic way into Pwamga's honest black face. "Kwawo, Kawango," said the good fellow, leaning forward on the beast's neck. It was home indeed. They were circling over the Jiundu swamp. In a few seconds the reptile came to earth on a sugar-loaf hill, his freight had dismounted, and the beast swooped with a snort into an inky lake and swallowed a succession of twenty-pound freshwater dog-fish, a school of which were sporting on the oily surface. He had earned his substantial breakfast.

"Pemba, pemba: benachowa, chimbala,"* said Pwamga abruptly, as Mr. Thorneyheart began to examine their landing stage. "Eat, master, you must be fat by Monday." The unfortunate traveller fell to on the musty porridge and coarse mushrooms that the giant produced from a little hut shaped like a beehive. He was hungry, but the threat was so undisguised that his heart fell. He now knew why he had been brought all this way alive. He doubted whether the Lincoln Imp or even the Choir of Angels could save him. He said nothing. The Kaonde tongue, the Jiundu food and the Swamp cannibals had no attraction for him. He watched the sunset that evening over the marsh with feelings of despair, and even the phosphorescent displays as a covey of Kongomatos hurtled through the mists left him in a state of anguish. Pwamga had disappeared, having indicated the captive's hut, his rude pot of water, a plentiful supply of mushrooms and a pasty mess of roughly ground millet. The poor man carried his stores into the hut and closed the entrance with a mat. The position was desperate but, still, he was alone and had a few days to think out the position. Cautiously he used his torch and examined first the African charm, a bit of native iron shaped like a bird, and then his English charm, his honest Imp with one leg, a huge mouth and pleasing face. When would the representative of the Lincoln charm appear? He was, as has been said, superstitious, but he was also logical, and felt that if the native charm could produce Pwamga and the reptile, the Lincoln fellow could do something better. With this brave thought he fell asleep and slept like an honest tramp in a barnful of hay. Three days passed and though his food and water was replenished he saw no one and

* "Wait, wait: mushrooms and porridge."

spent his time peering across the forested, lake-speckled, river-threaded swamp. He prayed continually for help, but placed his chief hope in the Lincoln Imp.

On the third night there was no moon, but he had a strange conviction that more time had fled than he thought since he had left Wembley. He had the curious feeling that the Christmas season was at hand, and he felt in that thought a hope which he had never felt before. In fact, some festival was at hand for, as he peeped out of his hut, he saw that there were fires in many directions and he knew enough of country lore in England to know that the time of fires is a festival season. Then things began to happen. He felt, in the dark, that his hut was surrounded, and soon he heard the swaying and rustling of a dance round and round the hut accompanied by the strangest and weirdest of chants. He was not afraid but very curious, and he cautiously removed his mat, keeping out of eye-shot. He saw that each native was dressed like a serpent with a man's head. As he crouched he saw something else. There was the Kongomato just outside, cowering and shivering in fear. He remembered that the creature had been captured by a serpent with a man's head. He gave a little whistle to the reptile and the creature pushed his horrid beak in an imploring fashion into the hut. Mr. Thorneyheart saw his chance and fed the beast with all the stores he had and smoothed the horny rims of its lidless eyes in a kindly fashion. Presently the dance ceased and the performers descended from the hill, and on another neighbouring hill lit a fire and danced round it. The time of sacrifice was drawing near. The victim delayed no longer. He had learnt the whistle with which Pwamga directed the beast and, cautiously emerging from the hut, quietly mounted the creature's scaly back and whistled. The reptile, with a grunt of satisfaction, spread and flapped its wings like a vast eagle emerging from its craggy nest, and with a shrill whistle sprang into the air. The medicine-men, suspecting they knew not what, swarmed the hill again to tear the victim from the hut, but he had gone and was climbing the sky. Stern quest there was, and other tamed Kongomatos with frenzied riders made pursuit, but the chase was hopeless in the dense darkness of the African sky in that mist-drenched land of swamp and sin. . . .

The creature, the prehistoric helper of a small, fat East Anglian farmer, bore his burden swiftly enough to the Iturian forests where he had swooped, days, nay weeks, ago, and he swooped again till he settled in the very clearing that he had watched before. There in the deep forest he left the little man, and with a kindly whistle and a bark of farewell, rose again and swept back, no longer a captive-reptile, to his awful haunts. By this time Mr.

Thorneyheart had only one charm, for he left, a delicate thought, the Kaonde charm in the porridge-bowl at the hut. Certainly, he said to himself, the Lincoln Imp had saved him, and he drew the little Pygmy from his pocket and flashed on him the light of the electric torch.

Then the strangest of all his adventures happened to Mr. Thorneyheart. The Ituri people had watched his descent from the skies on the back of a great bird and had seen the powerful ray of his torch. Now they came forward, and he saw passing through the aisle of the forest, the choir of a cathedral, it seemed, so wide, so interlaced it was, a procession of the tiniest folk in all the world, a procession of gladsome imps waving fire-sticks and beating tiny drums. For a moment he thought that he had fallen into evil hands again, but that was not so, for they had taken him, such is the simplicity of the forest, for a God come down from Heaven. These tiny people tended him with gladness, nay, worshipped him, and there he dwelt with them for a space and taught them to sing one song which they sang to the tum-tum-tum of their tiny drums.

Sing, sing, sing, of the Name, Name, Name,
When once on a time there came, came, came,
Out of the North a foundling forth,
A Babe with a Heart of Flame
Who brought the day to each forest-way
And found the folk God's Tryst.
Sing, sing, sing, of the King, King, King,
Of the Babe Whose name is Christ.

How Mr. Thorneyheart got home again is another story.

J. E. G. DE M.

REVIEWS.

THE PSYCHOLOGY OF RELIGION.*

The volume on *The Psychology of Religion* which has just come from the pen of the Principal of Mansfield College, Oxford, is the first of a series of "Oxford Handbooks of Theology," which are to be published under the General-Editorship of the Bishop of Gloucester. The Bishop commends Dr. Selbie's work as "a wise and sober review of the subject by one who can speak with some authority." This judgment is certainly well merited. The

* *The Psychology of Religion*. By W. B. Selbie, M.A., D.D. (Oxford. The Clarendon Press.)

book is thoroughly up-to-date and is the fruit of extensive reading of all the writers and in all the sources that must be taken into account in dealing with this comparatively new and extremely difficult subject. Both the handling of the materials and the use of the authors show careful thoroughness, breadth of view, and sobriety of judgment. Dr. Selbie rightly treats Psychology as a descriptive science and as providing a mass of phenomena the worth and validity of which must be judged by higher standards and on broader grounds than Psychology can itself supply. With this limitation in mind the author gives an account of the Religious Consciousness as revealed in the customs of primitive and more advanced religions as well as in the outstanding accounts given of religious experiences. He deals with the influence of the Unconscious, with Cult and Worship, with Belief in God, and with both the individual and the social influence of Religion. The phenomena of Adolescence and Conversion are treated, as well as the more special subjects of Prayer, Sin and Repentance, Mysticism, and the Hope of Immortality. The volume ends with a chapter on Religion and the New Psychology. It will be seen from this bare enumeration of the subjects discussed that the whole field is surveyed in a way that will prove most useful to Theological students, and, indeed, to the wider circle of all who are interested either in Psychology or in Religion.

The general standpoint of the author is to be commended alike for the welcome he gives to material drawn from all sources, for his dispassionate treatment of it, and for his firmly upheld distinctions between description, explanation, and verification. Religious experience carries with it a certitude of its Divine object, which is beyond all ratiocination and, in many cases, apparently independent of it. The problem of the combination of probability of argument with certitude of belief is familiar and was solved by Cardinal Newman in his *Grammar of Assent* by the introduction of what he called the "Illative Sense." The immediacy of presentation and the corresponding certitude of faith involved in religious experience should be treated with the same respect as is given to the deliverances of sense-perception. Yet the content of both must be reviewed by a Theoretic, that is Philosophical, activity, which sets them in their true relations to the whole texture of Reality, and by a Science of Knowledge which deals with the relation of all human powers to Truth. Hence while the Psychology of Religion may well speak the first word on the subject, it cannot speak the last. It is one of the merits of Dr. Selbie's treatment that he brings this distinction out so clearly and consistently.

J. S. L.

A HISTORY OF ENGLISH LAW.*

Professor Holdsworth's monumental work on *The History of English Law* is drawing to a close. The sixth volume, dealing with the public law of the seventeenth century, the enacted law of the latter part of the century, and the professional development of the law, is to be followed by a final volume dealing with the later developments of the Common Law and its rivals. The present volume treats in detail for the first time from a purely legal point of view, of the public law of the seventeenth century "and shows how, as the result of the constitutional conflicts of that century, our modern constitution and constitutional law have emerged." The book, therefore, has a current importance that can hardly be overrated in days when great changes have taken place, not only in our actual constitutional law and in our constitution, but also in the attitude of many thinkers towards the State itself. Professor Holdsworth does not neglect the influence of political theories on legal development, and many students may profitably compare the Continental theories of the seventeenth century with some of the destructive theories of to-day. The influence of dominant personalities in the seventeenth century, and not least dominant judges and philosophers, was great; and possibly when men come to look back on the early twentieth century the same may be said of our time. In theories of politics the personality of the theorist has always counted for more than absolute reason.

The enacted law of the post-Revolution period makes a fascinating story, for it tells the reader of the evolution of commerce and industry, the breakdown of the old economy, the uprising of the press and the gradual intrusion of society into an almost new world of human activity and human thinking. This was accompanied by a remarkable professional development of the law, the emergence of great judges, the development of the noble system of equitable jurisprudence and the slow but inevitable fitting of the law to meet the needs of a changing community. In this field Professor Holdsworth particularly shines and presents the great figures of the legal world with a masterly hand. He makes the law and its organisers vitally alive, and the reader will secure a new grasp of a society moving in stately fashion towards the great, and in some ways catastrophic, age of the Industrial Revolution. The whole work shows a balanced judgment and a wise discrimination, coupled with a large and generous outlook on the legal relations of law and national life.

J. E. G. DE M.

* *A History of English Law*. Volume VI. By W. S. Holdsworth. (Methuen, 25s. net.)

RICHARD HAKLUYT.*

Professor Foster Watson is to be congratulated on his little book dealing with Richard Hakluyt, and it is certainly amazing to be told that this is "the first separate work which has been written on" the Father of the romance of discovery. The very name of Hakluyt brings to the mind the picture of sea-sorrows and the vexed Bermoothes. His famous work, "The Principall Navigations, Voiages and Discoveries of the English nation made by Sea or Over Land to the most remote and farthest distant quarters on the earth within the compasse of these 1500 yeeres . . . devided into three severall partes . . . Whereunto is added the last most renowned English Navigation, round about the whole globe of the earth," was published in 1589. The world did not know of English efforts until Hakluyt, disgusted with the sneers of the French at English sluggishness, told the world the story. It appeared the year after the Armada. One of the most famous of the scholars of Westminster School, it is worth recording that in his school days and in his Oxford days he was busy studying the record of the travels of Englishmen. The subject of navigation so fascinated him that he lectured on the theme and, as Professor Watson brings out, he had a definite educational purpose in his collections and writings. His first book on "Divers Voyages, touching the Discoverie of America and the Islands adjacent unto the same," was published in 1582, and four years later he issued, in Paris, in a French edition (reissued in London in English the next year) an account of "Florida" from a French manuscript. In 1587 he also published, in Paris, an edition of Peter Martyr's *De Orbe Novo*, with the definite intention of promoting, among English sailors, the study of nautical astronomy and seamanship. In the second edition of his *Principall Navigations* (1598-1600), was published a dedication to Lord Effingham, the Lord High Admiral, urging the establishment of a London lectureship in navigation for the use of seamen. In 1601, he published a translation of a work on "The Discoverie of the World" from the Portuguese of Antonio Galvano (1555), and in 1609 an account of Florida translated from the work by Ferdinando de Soto. All his life he wrestled with the great theme, and he introduced an age of romance which enabled the English Shakespeare to rival and excel the work of the Spanish Cervantes.

Richard Hakluyt was an eminent divine. He became Archdeacon of Westminster, and for thirty years before his death, in the same year that Shakespeare died, he was Prebendary of Bristol Cathedral. The association of a life full of spiritual duties in an

* *Pioneers of Progress. Empire Builders. Richard Hakluyt.* By Foster Watson. With a Frontispiece. 2s. 6d.

age when religion was an intense reality, with the study of what can truly be called the mysteries of an ever enlarging world is significant of the times. Perhaps Professor Foster Watson does not fully realise the intense earnestness of the great adventurers of whom Hakluyt wrote, and especially of men like Hawkins, Frobisher and Drake. We do not for a moment believe that "they were not clearly aware of, or anxious about, the significance of their exploits for the future." Hakluyt knew better than that, and though he introduced the British race to the combined realism and romanticism of which the seamen of England were capable he also brought to a focus the practical aspects of the spirit of adventure. Above all, he insisted that that spirit needs the material support of sound training in the technique of the profession of the sea. Our seamen, in their little Channel ships, from the fourteenth century onwards were, perhaps, the most efficient sailors on the narrow seas, though both the Scottish pirates and the French mauraunders sailed them close. But when it came to sailing the high seas, to pass Magellan, to reach round the globe, then the science of navigation took on a new character, and it was Hakluyt, the quiet Preacher of Bristol, who taught Englishmen the need and the remedy. That is the practical side of his life's work, and we see the result in the sea-fights of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, in the Nile, in Copenhagen and Trafalgar and, even to-day, in Jutland. It was fitting, therefore, that the panegyrists on Hakluyt, who praised him to his face in the second edition of his great work, were teachers and scholars all and included that great teacher, Richard Mulcaster. Professor Foster Watson notes that they were all classical scholars, and that "the progressive element in educational and practical affairs, so far from being hindered, was stimulated by the classical training all of them had received." Of course that was so, since these men were good enough scholars to know that the Greeks and the Romans were the most practical of peoples and that their literature teems both with the story of romance and the story of utility. The very qualities that these great races wielded were the qualities that Hakluyt had seen flourishing, unsaluted and almost unknown, in his own race. His belief in his own people is a lesson for us to-day. We must believe in ourselves if we are to conquer more worlds and conquer ourselves. But, after all, the name of Hakluyt is a name interwoven with the very spirit of romance, and from the quays of his beloved Bristol he saw Romance go down to the sea in ships.

* * *

JOSEPH CONRAD.*

This book is an impressionist biography of a great novelist written as a personal remembrance by his great friend and collaborator, Ford Madox Ford. The author calls this biography "An offering In Memoriam constructed solely out of memory." The construction of the work is curious and unusual, it is divided into short paragraphs, which lead on one to another as the thought suggests, the tablets of memory are turned up and reveal the personality of both Mr. Ford and the subject of this rather curious book.

Part I is in sacred remembrance: "*C'est toi qui dors dans l'ombre, o sacré souvenir.*" The love that was unspoken in life finds itself when the curtain is drawn, and memory asserts her sway and limns the portrait unerringly.

Joseph Conrad was born about 1858 in Ukrainian Poland. He remembered the Polish revolution of the early sixties; his father was a country gentleman, a revolutionist, and the proprietor of a famous newspaper. His name was Kurzeniowski, his class resembling that of an English county family who owned and lived on their land for generations. Conrad's first memory was of a prison yard on the road to the Russian exile station of the Wologda. His father was one of the prisoners, but he survived. His mother was a woman of great character and beauty, and it was by such women that the Polish national spirit was kept alive. Conrad had an uncle, Paradowski, who stood well with the Russians, and also with his nephew in any emergency, paying his debts, and securing for him half the confiscated estates of his father and permission to reside in his own great home in Russian Poland. His life there was one of continuous reading. Fenimore Cooper and Marryat enthralled him, he always felt that the latter greatly influenced his career. Later he made the Grand Tour with a tutor, and from a window in Venice he saw—a British schooner! Then and there his sea love was born and through his uncle he entered the French Navy.

Conrad never tired of telling stories of his sea escapades. When he left the French Navy he embarked on a French Messageries steamer as a hand before the mast; he made the voyage to Constantinople and returned to Marseilles. Next he went as a ship's boy in a British brig for Lowestoft. Here Conrad and Mr. Ford were first brought in touch, and though there was a matter of ten or fifteen years between them, Conrad being the elder, yet, they may have been said to have learnt English together. Mr. Ford was about three. The proprietor of the famous Lowestoft pottery works took a fancy to Conrad, and he eventually served his

* *Joseph Conrad. A Personal Remembrance.* By Ford Madox Ford (Ford Madox Hueffer). (Duckworth. 7s. 6d. net.)

time as a boy on a brig owned by the proprietor plying to New-castle for coal needed for the pottery. In such coast-wise service he qualified as A.B., second mate, and master, and became naturalised. During all these years he read, as all sailors do, inordinately: Mrs. Henry Wood, Miss Braddon, and the *Family Herald*, all of these, sea knowledge thrown in, went to the making of a great novelist.

For ten years Conrad followed the sea to the East, Australia, the Congo. His health having broken he went to the home near Geneva in which Maupassant died. No longer fit for the sea life, his thoughts turned to Maupassant and literature. He decided to write as a profession, but whether in French or English, that was the question. In the end English carried the day, and we know the result. The life of these years is partly gathered from Conrad's books, or from stray anecdotes told to Mr. Ford, which enabled him to piece together the whereabouts of his friend at such and such a time. Conrad's choice of English was curious, as he was more fluent in French, but English from the first had held him, and he abided by it; and then the war came, and his patriotism to the country of his adoption compelled him to continue. Yet he was always anything but English in himself. His speech and bearing were more French, and abroad he was often taken for a Frenchman. As a seaman, from all accounts, he was admirable. He never tired of relating anecdotes in connection with his seafaring days.

Part II of this book shows the intense care that true authors give to every sentence they write. Conrad's aim at all times was to make his readers *see*, and he would wrangle over a descriptive sentence in several languages so as to be able to get the fullest meaning out of his expression. In Part III Mr. Ford comes to the critical estimate of his hero. Conrad was an artist, and fidelity was his watchword. To moralise was not the business of his art. He knew that every work of art must have a profound moral purpose, and that purpose runs through all his books.

* * *

THE HISTORY OF PRIZE.*

Lloyd's was obviously the institution to publish the history of the English Prize Court by Mr. E. S. Roscoe, the Registrar of the Prize Court. For two centuries the *habitués* of that glorified and transcendental coffee-house have waited upon the acts of the King's enemies at sea with anxious minds, and the history of the

* *A History of the English Prize Court.* By E. S. Roscoe. (Printed and Published by Lloyd's at the Royal Exchange. 10s. 6d. net.)

Court that adjudicates upon foreign prizes must have a particular interest to members of Lloyd's, for it has created the stream of principles that govern prize decisions in the greater part of the maritime world. Moreover, the Prize Court has always been a manifestation of the Court of Admiralty and has grown up with that Court.

We first hear of Admirals in the sea story of Britain at the very end of the thirteenth century, and from the mid-fourteenth century, at any rate, the Admiral holds jurisdiction from the Crown to decide rights in respect to property captured at sea. Indeed, Mr. Roscoe gives a case of the year 1357, when there "was a trial of a prize matter by the Admiral, and subsequently an appeal to the King and his Council, the exact modern system in a simple and primitive form." A Proclamation of 1426 directed that goods captured at sea should be kept intact until the King's Council or the Chancellor, or the Admiral of England or his Deputy, should certify and notify whether the goods were the property of friends or enemies. The Deputy of the Admiral, before the end of the century, became the royal judge of the Courts of Admiralty exercising civil jurisdiction generally and civil jurisdiction in cases of "spoils"—cases as to possession of ships that had been seized in any way. This is here regarded as the foundation of jurisdiction in cases of capture of ships during war time. We are not quite sure on the point but, at any rate, when war broke out, the King, while exercising the right to give special privileges as to capture to privateers and private persons, entrusted in successive wars general jurisdiction during such war to the High Court of the Admiralty.

The practice of grants of prizes to captors is declared by Mr. Roscoe to be "the foundation of the rights of the captors," but this suggestion may be doubted. Possession of the captured ship (the *rem*) was surely the source of the proceedings and not the fact that the King in the Middle Ages had reserved the right of granting prizes. The "spoils" and "piracy" cases tested the true ownership of the vessel and, as Mr. Roscoe says, cases of prize sufficiently resembled these cases to enable the Court of Admiralty "to try prize cases in which the questions, as for example, the ownership of a ship, were frequently similar." By the end of the fifteenth century it had become clear that the sentence of condemnation by the Court of Admiralty was necessary to divest the owner of a ship or goods of his property, and to give a captor a valid title, "and that any person who claimed a ship or goods as against a captor should enter a claim for adjudication by the Court." In this way the owner of a neutral ship could test his rights.

The result was that there grew up an impartial Court with a procedure of its own, which was in effect a Roman Court procedure derived from the Continental sea-codes, used by a special class of advocates drawn from the Civil Law Schools of Oxford and Cambridge. These advocates formed a College or Inn of their own, entirely separate from the Inns of Court, which was well established by the reign of Queen Elizabeth. This Civil Bar produced a series of eminent judges, of whom the most famous were Sir Julius Cæsar (who was Judge of the High Court of Admiralty during the period of the Spanish Wars), Sir Leoline Jenkins, during the Dutch Wars of 1664 and 1672, Lord Stowell (Sir William Scott) during the Napoleonic Wars, and Sir William Grant, who, during the same period, sat in the Appellate Court of the Privy Council. Stowell declared, in 1799, that the Court of Prize "is properly and directly a court of the law of nations," and he affirmed this position in 1807 in the case of *The Recovery* when he said, "This is a court of the law of nations though sitting here under the authority of the King of Great Britain."

This very fact and the recording of a stream of judgments that laid down principles and were divorced from insular or national prejudices gave the English Court of Admiralty an authority that probably no other court in the world has ever possessed. Indeed, to-day that Court, as a Court of Instance or civil jurisdiction, is sought to settle disputes by litigants who owe no allegiance to the King. More and more the international character of the British Admiralty Court (and Vice-Admiralty Courts all over the world) is recognised, and this fact would make it absurd for the British Prize Court to abdicate its ancient authority and traditions in favour of some International Court of Prize that would have no traditions and little moral authority.

The ancient procedure of the Court persisted "in more or less modified and modernised shape until the Prize Rules of 1914 substituted a new system of procedure." But other changes had come in the nineteenth century. Under the Probate Act of 1857, the advocates and proctors of Doctors' Commons disappeared and the common lawyers took their place. The Naval Prize Act of 1864 brought all prizes under the superintendence of the Court in the person of the Marshal, and made the Prize Court a permanent and no longer an intermittent tribunal. The High Court of Admiralty, which in 1857, was removed to Westminster from Doctors' Commons, was, in 1873, incorporated in the Probate, Divorce and Admiralty Division of the High Court of Justice, created by the Judicature Act of that year. The jurisdiction in Prize was formally transferred to the High Court by the Judicature Act, 1891, and Sir Samuel Evans, in the Prize cases arising in the

late war, adjudicated thereon as President of the Division, and achieved a reputation that may well add his name in the history of Prize to those of Cæsar, Jenkins, Grant and Stowell. It may, perhaps, be noted that in the days before 1857, the Privy Council appeals were open to the ordinary Bar and were not limited to the Advocates of Doctors' Commons. Thus the great Erskine himself appeared in Prize cases.

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CARDINAL GASQUET'S ADDRESSES.*

These thirteen addresses from the accomplished pen of Cardinal Gasquet will be welcomed both by scholars and students, as well as the Roman Catholics to whom they were addressed. The range of the addresses is considerable. A paper on the Mission of St. Augustine, read before the Historical Research Society in 1897, opens the volume, and the Cardinal deals in turn with St. Bede, with the Dominicans (who first landed in England on August 10th, 1221, four days after the death of St. Dominic), the Unity of Catholicism, "The tragedy of the Reformation in the West of England," St. Dominic at Oxford, while various other papers deal with questions of faith and of the position of Roman Catholics in England. The essays as a whole are an assertion of the alleged historical position and of the actual position of Roman Catholicism in England, and the student must not complain that the Cardinal writes rather as a Cardinal than as a historian though, certainly, he never forgets the sacredness of history and never consciously wrenches it to make a debating point. The first essay is, however, largely an historical study. He bases himself with respect to the early history of Christianity in Britain on the Abbé Duchesne, who holds that it is not possible to link the Church of England to the earlier Church of the British, but that even if it were, this Church recognised that Rome was the head and superior of the whole western episcopate. Even if the British Church were dependent on the Gallican Church, that Church itself was in close union with Rome. And, again, the Irish episcopate is of no help since the efforts of Aidan and Finan, of Colmar and Cuthbert were absorbed by the movement from Rome that is associated with St. Augustine in Kent. Cardinal Gasquet adopts that position and feels with M. Duchesne that "as regards England, history stands firm and she is apostolic only if she is Roman." Adopting that position, that "Canterbury was a little Rome," to quote the Abbé once again, he builds up his argument that St. Augustine and the Christianised kingdom of Kent were the source of such true church-

* *The Mission of St. Augustine and other Addresses.* By Cardinal Gasquet. (G. Bell and Sons. 7s. 6d. net.)

hood as we possess. He argues, therefore, that the English Roman Catholics alone "represent the idea of a Church not circumscribed by nationality."

It is a perfectly fair argument to put forward as an argument, but it is very unconvincing as representing the facts of the British Empire as a force that has made for the spread of the fundamental principles of Christianity throughout a great part of the world. The worst of arguments is that they so often lead to conclusions that are startling in their relation to established facts. The Protestant Churches of England have performed mission work throughout the world that stands out in history in a fashion that even St. Augustine's famous Kentish Mission will never out-shine. In the history of Christianity surely it is the saving influences of the person of the Founder that matters and the results in the lives of men and women rather than theorising on the obscurest historical foundations as to the links that do or do not bind a great branch of the Catholic Church—that is to say of faithful people dispersed throughout the world—to a special and ancient episcopate which claims to represent the Catholic Church. It is not at all certain that the See of Rome has any more right to such a claim than has the See of Van, but surely such an issue does not go to the fundamental realities of Christianity. Cardinal Gasquet complains that Bishop Creighton belittled St. Augustine of Canterbury by saying that "We cannot rank him higher than a capable official of the Roman Church." Such an estimate is perfectly fair as Mr. Homes Dudden's admirable life of Gregory the Great makes plain. The fruits of Augustine's works in Kent were largely due to other and greater men and women, as indeed this essay and that on Bede clearly show. No doubt that is true of all missionary work. The work, in any event, is greater than the men, to whatever branch of the Catholic Church they may belong.

Cardinal Gasquet, in the touching little address spoken at Rome on May 25th, 1914, on the occasion of the reception of his "Biglietto" said something that may be taken to heart by all Christians though they are, apparently, intended only to apply to the Roman Church.

"We are living in an age of restlessness, of religious doubt, and revolt against authority. The shadow of impending changes in the old order is already on the world; and what the next decades are to bring to society no man can foretell, though many fear for the future. Meanwhile the mission of God's Church remains ever the same. It stands for peace and security and individual rights; and amidst the clash of interests so apparent in the world to-day, it alone, with its principles of religious authority and democratic liberty, can secure the due observance of law and order, necessary for the safety of society."

It is strange that these words should have been spoken some ten weeks only before the Great War began.

SHORTER REVIEWS.

In *The Naval Side of British History* (Christophers), Professor Callender provides us with a narrative suitable for the general reader, yet bearing on every page the signs of prolonged research. Beautifully bound, printed and illustrated, this volume should be widely chosen not only as a class-book but as a prize. The record opens with a fine tribute to Henry VII, our first naval monarch, whose reign fortunately synchronised with the discovery of the New World, and closes with the battles of the Great War. The most exciting chapter is that on the defeat of the Armada, of which the real story remains as wonderful since the elimination of legend as before. The author has produced a work which needed writing; for specialists like the late Sir Julian Corbett deliver themselves in monographs, and popular summaries are usually left to men whose knowledge is second-hand. Professor Callender's judgments of men and problems are sane and well expressed.

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It was high time that a translation of Professor Halévy's *History of the English People in 1815* (Fisher Unwin) should appear. In a striking Introduction, Professor Graham Wallas reminds us that the original appeared in 1912, and pays a well-deserved tribute to the author's "enormous learning and strict impartiality." Like most French scholars he also knows how to arrange and present his material. This massive treatise of 500 pages is indispensable to the understanding of England at the opening of the nineteenth century, both because it contains a mass of unfamiliar information and still more because the life and thought of the time are portrayed as a whole. The three parts of the volume are entitled: Political Institutions, Economic Life, Religion and Culture. Even when the author deals with familiar topics, it is of interest to observe the impression they make on a foreign mind. The translation is well done, and the volume is both an encyclopædia and a work of art.

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Dr. H. G. de Maar, in the first volume of his *History of Modern English Romanticism*,* discusses the relations between Elizabethan Romanticism and the Rise of Modern Romanticism. He first estimates the significance of Romanticism in English literature. Addison, though a classic of the classics, is in reality "the true founder of the romantic idea in England, and he first made the adjective 'romantic' popular." Dr. de Maar, writing in most excellent English—the quotation from Ascham which he gives in defence of his use of our tongue was hardly necessary though it is very effective—deals successively with the eighteenth century editions of Spenser, Shakespeare and Milton, with the Spenserian stanza and diction in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, with the work of the romantic Dr. Samuel Croxall and that of John Phillips—both unknown to most students of English literature—to the great influence of Milton in the eighteenth century and to the

* Humphrey Milford. 10s. 6d. net.

combined influence of the Elizabethan drama and sonnet. Lastly, he passes from "the literature of gloom" to a comparison of Elizabethan and modern Romanticism. It is a stimulating work and should be closely studied.

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Mr. Oswald Doughty, in *Forgotten Lyrics of the Eighteenth Century*,* brings us to the minor lyrists of that century and incidentally shows some of the forces lying behind the romantic revival. "The common belief that few lyrics were written between 1700-1800 is entirely mistaken." It is true that Mr. Doughty feels that "very little of artistic work has been neglected." A great part of the masses of verses written in that period "was written under the domination of the Augustan tradition," but there is genuine feeling among some of the minor poets of the century and they "strike a lyric note beyond the common range of their generation." The very fact of dissatisfaction with the artificialities of the poetic art is the first stage towards a romantic revival. It must be remembered that mysticism was rife throughout the century and that, again, is a preparation for a flight into a new if less serene atmosphere. These essays deal with poems on Reason, Love, Death, *Summum Bonum*, Nature, Society, Life. Here are to be seen reaction, mysticism, a craving for simplicity. If that is the note of the minor poet, the dawn is at hand, and the *Forgotten Lyrics* are the twittering of little birds before the day. It is good, too, to have the full text of Fielding's Hunting Song, "A-Hunting we will go." There is movement in it, and it was movement that eighteenth century verse lacked.

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The first of a series of monographs entitled *Modern Masters of Etching*† deals with the work of Mr. Frank Brangwyn, R.A. Mr. Malcolm C. Salaman, Hon. Fellow of the Royal Society of Painter-Etchers and Engravers, provides an interesting introduction to the photogravure reproductions of twelve of Mr. Brangwyn's pictures. Mr. Salaman declares that Mr. Brangwyn "is the most logical-minded, as he is the most independent, of artists," though he does not conform to the "rigid selective economy of line" usually aimed at by the etcher. The plates are remarkable examples of Mr. Brangwyn's work, though the *chiaroscuro* (it is difficult to use any other word) is perhaps excessive. The acid seems to have bitten in some cases deeper into the copper than is altogether pleasing or, indeed, realistic. The blackness of the shadows in *Santa Sophia* and in the *Boat-builders, Venice*, gives the observer some idea of the strength of the southern sun. August in Italy does give these acute shadows. But *Breaking up the 'Duncan'* is not an Italian scene. On the other hand, *Cannon Street Station* rightly has these acute contrasts if the sky is pure across the water. *The Alcantara Bridge, Toledo*, is an exquisite piece of work with all the delicacy and imagination of a Turner. The dry-point plate *Scaffolding* is another piece of very delicate work. *The Skittle-Match*, under the windmill, seems, again, too dark, but no doubt the taste of etchers varies, and to some eyes these deep effects are extraordinarily attractive. Every picture is indeed a *tour de force* which could only come from the needle of a great artist.

* H. F. & G. Witherby. 10s. 6d.

† The Studio Limited. 5s. net.

NOTICES OF BOOKS.

"The Shorter Herodotus, Books I.-V.,"* selected and arranged with brief notes by Mr. P. H. B. Lyon, of Cheltenham College, is not only an excellent school book, but one that adults will enjoy, with its clear Greek type, its convenient summaries, and its appreciation of Herodotus as an historian and as one who wrote his "sympathetic and unassuming personality" into his famous book. The time was ripe for the first great chronicle, and the man was found to build up what was then a new thing—a connected story of things said and done. It is for this that he is called the "Father of History;" he was the pioneer where all others have been treading a well-marked road. Matthew Paris was perhaps another such man; perhaps as truly a pioneer as Herodotus.

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Romain Rolland's well-known study of "Mahatma Gandhi" (Swarthmore Press) has been excellently translated into English, and will be read for the sake of its author no less than its subject. The famous French writer is among the best living interpreters of the human soul, and in Gandhi he has found a theme worthy of his powers. The Indian saint is to-day one of the most influential men in the world, and if we are to understand India we must know not only what the politicians are doing but what he is thinking and teaching. His biographer naturally admires a character which shares his own distaste for purely material values; but the praise is never fulsome or fanatical.

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Mr. A. Watson Bain has compiled a pleasing and useful "German Poetry Book for School and Home,"† on the same lines as his "French Poetry Book" published in December, 1922, and now in its fourth edition. It is good to have the singers of other lands brought home, and Mr. Bain is right in drawing attention to the ballad and romantic element in German poetry, though we doubt if it makes a greater appeal than the less complex forms of French poetry. Simple French lyrics have always had a great attraction for English people, and, of course, the French influence on our own literature has been continuous. But we can quite believe that it is easier to turn German poetry into English verse, and Mr. Bain's suggestion that this should be attempted is worthy of consideration.

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"Anatolica," by H. C. Luke, ex-Assistant Governor of Jerusalem (Macmillan), is a delightful volume of travel, politics and learning, equally suited to the scholar and the general reader. The story opens with a vivid and humorous description of the monastic life on Mount Athos, and then carries us to Salonika, Adrianople and the old Seraglio at Constantinople. The second part deals with Cyprus, and particularly with the "forgotten capital," Nicosia, and the sea-port Famagusta. The third is devoted to the Holy Sepulchre, and to a most interesting excursion to distant Petra, once a wealthy city between the Dead Sea and the Red Sea, now merely the shadow of a name. The volume ends with a survey of the cities of Transcaucasia, Tiflis, Baku, Echmiadzin, Erivan. The numerous illustrations add to the charm of a most readable and instructive work.

* G. Bell & Sons. 3s. 6d.

† Methuen. 1s. 9d.

THE VALUE OF IMPERIAL PREFERENCE.

MR. BALDWIN'S Government have, unhappily, determined to use their majority, won on very different issues, to establish Protection in this country. They contemplate, apparently, a two-fold scheme—effective Preference without food taxation, and Protection all round without a general tariff. Time will show by what contrivances they propose to achieve the latter object. In the meanwhile it may be useful to consider how far the policy of Imperial Preference is likely to prove helpful or otherwise to our Empire and ourselves.

The permanent conditions of our problem have not altered, in spite of many memorable vicissitudes, since Mr. Joseph Chamberlain launched his great campaign. We are still an island Empire largely dependent on foreign countries for our raw materials and our food. We still must pay for these necessities by exports, by banking and shipping services, by investing capital abroad. We dare not imperil our foreign markets, because they are the nearest, the largest and the most essential that we have. Europe at our doors offers us 400 millions of possible customers. The four great self-governing Dominions offer us 20 millions thousands of miles away. Our total trade with foreign nations, taking exports and imports together, is worth over £1,200 millions. Our total trade with the four Dominions is worth less than £300 millions. We do a good deal—and we do it gladly—to help our Dominions already, and on this we ask for no return. In taxation for Imperial purposes we pay some £12 8s. per head of population: they pay on the average—these figures refer to the white population—some £4 7s. per head. In finance we supply millions of capital to help their industries. In trade, while they impose heavy tariffs on our products, we give them the best and freest market in the world.

The proposal for Preference is not a proposal for giving us equal treatment. It is frankly a proposal that we should tax our consumers, reduce our revenue—so far as revenue duties exist already—and prejudice our trade with foreign nations, in order to secure larger profits for certain Colonial interests. And at present it is open to one grave objection, that on both sides it is to some extent in the nature of a sham. So long as we decline to give the Dominions on their great natural products, bread and meat, wool, timber and hides, a Preference which must raise the cost of food and raw materials for our people, we are in fact, in Mr. Bruce's words, "dodging the issue," pretending to offer advantages which we do not really mean to give. And so long as they on their side take every opportunity of imposing fresh tariffs against British

manufactures, it is evident that they have no desire to facilitate imports of British goods which compete with their own.

The Preference which we grant here upon existing duties is of course a comparatively small matter, if left where it stands to-day. It is mischievous, because all Preference is based upon Protection, and cannot exist without encouraging that idea. It diminishes our revenue, when we most need revenue; the loss before Mr. Snowden's Budget was between four and five millions a year. It does not in most cases lower prices for us. Empire sugar, for instance, has been costing us as much as foreign sugar, though the duty on it has been 4s. 3d. a cwt. less, while the advantage of the Preference on tobacco goes into the pockets of the trade. And if the policy of putting on duties in order to give Preference be extended to foodstuffs like apples, honey and canned fish, it may mean a rise in prices by no means insignificant for our people. But the Preference given here on existing duties is at present little more than a beginning, as unsatisfactory to us who lose by it as it is to the Dominions who gain; and certain voices, from Australia especially, are already urging us to give a great deal more.

More important and far more curious is the story of the Preferences granted by the Dominions to us. It may be worth while to take some examples from Australia, because her politicians have been most insistent in demanding the imposition of tariffs in this country. It should be remembered that the Preference we give to Australia directly raises prices for her producers. If we put ten shillings a cwt. on foreign currants, the price of currants will rise here by something like ten shillings, because the market of Great Britain dominates the prices of the products which Australia exports. But conversely, a Preference given by Australia to our manufacturers does not raise the prices which they get, because there is hardly any article manufactured in this country the prices of which are dominated by the Australian market. In fact, as the *Australasian Manufacturer*, a Sydney paper devoted to trade interests, has admitted, the Preference given by Australia to Great Britain is "quite a different thing" from the Preference which Great Britain is invited to give her:

"It should also be remembered that the Preference we give to Great Britain is largely nominal. We first of all put on a duty high enough to protect local industry—from British competition or from any other. We then make that duty a percentage higher for foreign countries. We, therefore, do not give Great Britain a real Preference; the real Preference is given, and rightly given, to our own manufacturers. And as soon as it is found that a certain duty on British goods is not high enough to protect Australian manufacturers, that duty is sure to be raised. The only way to give a Preference to British manufacturers would be to put a high duty

on the goods of all countries outside the Empire, and let British goods come in free. But that, of course, is out of the question."

There are two or three illusions in regard to the Preferences given by the Dominions, which it may be well to dispose of at once. One is that, owing to the influence of Preference, our trade with them has increased of late years far more than our trade with foreign countries. There is no foundation for this view. In 1903, 38 per cent. of our exports went to the Empire; in 1913, 37 per cent., and in 1923, 37 per cent. again. The truth is that, in spite of variations in prices and in quantities, the proportions of our trade with the Empire and with foreign nations have altered singularly little during the last twenty years. But, on the other hand, even under Preference, the proportion of British imports bought by the Dominions has for some time visibly declined. To meet this difficult situation, the advocates of Preference for the Empire have had to fall back upon what are called "trade per head" statistics. India is, perhaps naturally, left out of these Imperial calculations, because the population there is inconveniently large, and consequently the trade per head works out at an insignificant amount. New Zealand is put in the forefront, where the population is conveniently small. We are told that the imports of British goods into New Zealand work out at over £12 a head, whereas our imports into the United States work out at only 8s. 2d. per head. The Secretary of the Empire Trade and Industry Committee deduces from this that one New Zealander is worth thirty Americans to us in point of trade, though we sold in the year which he takes as an example, £15 millions' worth of goods to New Zealand and £44 millions' worth to the United States. By the same ingenious process of calculation one New Zealander can be proved to be worth three South Africans, six Canadians, one and a half Australians or thirty-six Indians, if an Imperial or economic argument be worth pursuing on those lines.

There is another illusion which it is important to dispel. Many people seem to think that, in the name of Preference, Australia has for some years past been steadily offering better and better terms to British goods. The fact is that, even under Preference, Australia has been steadily raising her tariffs against us. Take the report of the Australian Tariff Board for 1923. It contains 894 items: 76 are on the free list; 818 are subject to duties—duties largely directed against British goods. Under apparel and textiles, 72 articles pay duty, 6 are free. Under machinery and manufactures, 118 articles pay duty, none are free. Glass and earthenware, 32 articles pay duty, none are free. Paper and stationery, 28 articles pay duty, none are free. Drugs and chemicals, 134 items, 4 are free. And the duties imposed are not nominal duties.

Our woollen piece goods pay under Preference 30 per cent. duty, our mowers and reapers also pay 30 per cent., our boots and shoes 35 per cent., our furniture 35 to 40 per cent. And so on, all through the list. In each case duties are established quite high enough to protect the Australian manufacturer; and then, for the sake of—shall we say, symmetry?—10 or 15 per cent. more is levied on foreign imports of these manufactures, which may not, possibly, exist at all. A distinguished Preferentialist, once a distinguished Free Trader, has lately been claiming that the Australian Preference puts us “on what is for practical purposes a free trade basis of entry.” How is it possible to reconcile this claim with the facts of the tariff which exists to-day?

Nor is that all. The position for the British manufacturer under Preference is growing worse. The Australian Tariff Board frankly admits that it is only waiting for opportunities to impose fresh duties upon British goods. A duty of 27½ per cent. is promised on British pipes and boiler tubes, as soon as any Australian firm can make them. The Board is keeping in touch with an Australian Company which intends to manufacture hoop iron. As soon as the company starts, it is promised a duty of 70 per cent. on British hoops, which are at present admitted free, with 95 per cent. against the foreigner. Preference of 25 per cent. for Great Britain! Who can cavil at generosity like that? Two Australian firms, we are told, are considering the manufacture of tinned plates. When they start, they are promised a new duty of 76s. per ton upon British plates, and of 115s. on foreign plates. British Preference of 39s. per ton. What are we going to do for Australia in return? The Sydney Chamber of Manufacturers has lately proposed to fix the general customs tariff at 125 per cent. all round, with a preference to Great Britain of no less than 65 or 75 per cent., and only a little duty “for practical purposes” of 50 or 60 per cent. on British goods. Where is the Free Trade basis of entry here?

There are many other examples of this policy of sheltering home trades. There is the curious case of shovels. Australia now levies 35 per cent. on British shovels, under Preference, in order to protect a home industry of three factories, employing a grand total of 15 hands. “Keep the home fires burning” is an injunction which the Australian Government understands. There is the curious case of locomotives. The Australian Government recently invited tenders for 14 locomotives for the Oodnadatta Railway. Twenty-three tenders were received, three from Australian firms, nine from foreign firms, eleven from British. The lowest Australian tender was £136,000, the lowest British tender, from a firm of high standing, £101,000. The Australian offer was accepted, the British offer refused, and Mr. Bruce pointed out that the

obvious desire of the British firm to retain its staff and keep its plant going introduced an “unfair competitive factor” into the British price. In fact, as the *Melbourne Argus* unkindly says, the lower the tender, the baser appear to be the tenderer’s motives. “But why did the Commonwealth Government go to the trouble of advertising its contracts in Great Britain if it had no other purpose than to ascertain the evil influences which actuate large firms when they undertake to do work for Australians at a cost of £35,000 less than the lowest Australian tender?”

But the strangest case of all, and the most sinister example of the trend of Preference in Australia, is the decision of the Tariff Board that in future no British goods will receive Preference unless 75 per cent. of their cost is made up of British materials or British labour. Not only will this exclude from Australia our manufactures made of Australian wool—because the cost of the wool is already more than 25 per cent. of the manufacture. It will, if persisted in, the *Melbourne Argus* calculates, exclude 82 per cent. of British manufactures from the country. Yet in the same breath certain Australian politicians are demanding a more generous return on our part for the sacrifices which they make on our behalf. And certain British politicians of Cabinet rank are dilating on the “appalling insult” of declining to accept Australia’s demands!

One other illusion is worth dismissing briefly, because it has received encouragement on platforms here. It has been freely asserted, by Mr. Neville Chamberlain among others, that the people of the Dominions are paying away millions more than they need do, simply to have British rather than foreign goods. A high Australian authority tells us that Australia is making us a present of 8 or 9 millions a year, for which, of course, she expects some return. How are these figures obtained? By taking the difference between the duties actually paid on British imports, and the duties which British manufactures would have had to pay if they had been charged the full nominal tariff imposed on foreigners, who probably could not sell goods in Australia at all. If the foreigner could have sold these things there at the higher rate, the Australian revenue would have got 8 or 9 millions more. This is the free gift of millions to the British people! If it is a gift to anyone, it is a gift to the unhappy Australian consumer, who gets very little consideration from the Protectionists in power. These calculations are, no doubt, put forward in perfectly good faith by their authors. But it is submitted that arithmetic of this description is no satisfactory basis for inexcusable demands.

But if the whole policy of Preference is based upon illusions, and is of ever diminishing value to us, is it of value, is it not

gravely mischievous, to the development of the Dominions themselves? What interests are of primary importance, if Australia and Canada are to grow quickly into the great nations we desire to see? Not Australian shovels or locomotives. Not Canadian motor-cars, compounded largely of American parts. But those almost limitless agricultural areas whose prosperity is bound up with the freedom of trade. Who suffer most from these exasperating duties? The Australian and Canadian farmers, the backbone of their countries' wealth. Why is Mr. Bruce so anxiously agitating about canned fruits and dried fruits and the rest? Why, because there is rising in Australia, as there has risen in Canada, a great country party, which will no longer be sacrificed to the electoral pull of the workers in the towns. Australia contains nearly three million square miles. Her population is barely two to the square mile, and 62 per cent. of it lives in urban districts. They tell us they can feed the world. It may be true. Yet less than 40 per cent. of that tiny population works upon the land, and those who do are seriously handicapped by the cost of every manufactured thing they use. Tax on wire for the farmer's fences, 23 per cent. at the port, and much more by the time it reaches him. Taxes on his machinery, 25 to 45 per cent. : it may be 40 to 60 per cent. before it arrives up country. Taxes on railway trucks and engines, which mean heavy rates for freight. Taxes on the materials to build his house, to clothe himself and his children. "At every turn," says the *Sydney Standard* truly, "he is bled"—bled by his own paternal Government, bled by the Preference which excludes cheap British goods. No wonder that the Australian Tariff Board finds the farmer restive, and that Mr. Bruce is anxious to compensate him by new Preferences at our expense! It is the Australian farmer's pressure which is producing these demands—not only for concessions on fruit and jam and pulp and honey, but larger demands, which, unless we speak out, will not be silenced, for Preference, that is for taxes, on the staple foods and raw materials of our people.

It is significant that last March Mr. Bruce told the Australian House of Representatives that our refusal to accept a tariff would compel them "to turn their eyes to other methods," to better marketing and distribution, to reducing the margin between wholesale and retail prices, to reconsidering the methods under which the Australian producer receives less than the cost of production and the Australian consumer pays an exorbitant price. Mr. Bruce would have done well to mention also the need of reducing the extremely heavy charges levied at Australian ports, which are stopping freight reductions and helping to choke Australian trade. Could anything be better for Australia than to force her to give

her mind to points like these? If, by refusing to tinker with Preference and Protection, we can set Australia to work to abolish economic abuses, instead of trying to create new ones, we shall be rendering no small service to the Australian people as a whole.

In Canada, as is well known, the revolt of the great agricultural interests against Protection has reached a point which cannot be ignored. And at the same moment there is rising a revolt of the Canadian manufacturers against the Preference to Great Britain, of which the meetings of their Association offer ample proof. On the other hand, in spite of Preference, Canada, as time passes, inevitably buys more from the United States and less from us. No artificial Preference can counter-balance the influences of geography and natural laws. In 1912 the proportions of Canada's imports were 22.4 per cent. from us and 63.4 from the United States. In 1922 the proportions were 17.6 from us and 67.4 from the United States. In 1923 the imports from the United States declined a little, but still only 17 per cent. of Canada's imports came from us. It is vain to think that Preference can regulate trade. For years past the average duty on British dutiable imports into Canada has been actually higher, in spite of Preference, than the average duty on dutiable imports from the United States. But the remarkable fact, the encouraging fact, is not the little value put on Preference, but the revolt of the Canadian farmer against Protection of all kinds. The recent reduction of duties on machinery in the Canadian Budget will, says one Canadian Minister, increase the purchasing power of more than half the people. And the real significance of such reductions is, says the Protectionist *Globe* of Toronto, "that the East will never again be able to boss the West." Free Trade, "in fact as well as in theory, is now the avowed object of nine-tenths of the population between Winnipeg and the Rockies."

One grave danger of the policy of Preference is that it might easily involve us in trade rivalries between one Dominion and another. Sir Joseph Cook has lately demanded that we should buy more Australian wheat. In 1923 we imported some £54 millions' worth of wheat, of which more than one-fourth came from Canada and less than one-twentieth came from Australia. Australia, we are told, had to send £45 millions' worth of her wheat elsewhere. "Something must be done to ensure that this wheat shall be sold in the British market." But what would Sir Joseph Cook have us do? Are British purchases not to be regulated by British needs? In two years recently Australian sales of wheat in our market fell from a million to less than a quarter of a million tons, while Canadian sales here practically doubled. Are we to be asked to take steps to remedy natural processes like this?

The truth is that the whole economic burden of Australia, including the cost of subsidising her inefficient manufacturers, is thrown upon her primary producers, and they cannot carry the load. Canada can grow wheat for little more than half what it costs to grow it in the United States. She is cutting out not Australia only, but America too. Are we prepared to discuss schemes of Preference which would help one Dominion against another? Had we not better keep clear of dangerous possibilities like that?

It is only too evident that the policy of Preference, if pressed on us unduly, may prove not a unifying but a disruptive force. It is strange that any statesmen should suppose that these one-sided schemes for commercial bargains, directed, often quite unconsciously, against the interests of the consumers in this country, could ever be a safe foundation to build an Empire on. Years ago Mr. Seddon protested that "there must be no bargain-making over a great national question like this"—a view endorsed quite lately by the Parliament of New Zealand. Years ago Sir Wilfrid Laurier declared that it was "an insult to the Canadian people" to suggest that a refusal on our part to make mutual tariff arrangements would lead to estrangement on the part of that Dominion. Colonial statesmen would do well to ponder what a reversal of that attitude involves. Do they wish to see in every British Budget an annual haggling over interests, between sellers in the Dominions and consumers here, between farming interests and manufacturing interests, between the claims of one Dominion and another? Do they wish to see in every British Election the methods and demands of Colonial politicians discussed and opposed? Is it possible for our Ministers to dabble in this policy and to shirk for ever the larger issues it involves? Questions of bread and meat may be unintelligible to our Tariff Reformers—as one of their leading representatives declared the other day: but they are only too intelligible to millions of poor people in this country. Questions of cheap materials for industry are vital not only to the revival but to the existence of our trade.

It is submitted that the whole scheme of Preference is based upon illusions, illusions of fact, of policy, of economics, and most of all on the profound illusion that anything less than unrestricted freedom in matters of taxation and in matters of trade can ever be acceptable to the English people.

CHARLES MALLET.

THE FRENCH OUTLOOK.

WHEN the French Parliament adjourned at the end of the year leaving most of its work undone, there was a feeling of disappointment in Radical circles. The record of M. Herriot in the foreign field had, until the last days of the year, been excellent from the point of view of those who desired better relations between France and the rest of the world, but suddenly M. Herriot undid all the good work he had done, and found before him an infuriated Germany. It is useless to blow hot and cold. The worst kind of pacificator is the man who accomplishes only half his task. After having removed many grievances of Germany, after putting into application the Dawes Plan and so, provisionally at least, solving the reparations problem, M. Herriot suddenly seemed to forget the whole purpose of his Premiership, and without any discussion with Germany, without making specific charges which Germany would have had an opportunity of refuting, he and Mr. Austen Chamberlain simply decided to prolong the occupation of the Cologne bridge-head and zone.

It is possible that no other course was open to the French and the British, in view of the undoubted breaches of the disarmament clauses of the Treaty by Germany, than to remain in Cologne; but there was a much better way of arriving at this decision and of announcing it than was adopted by the Allied Ministers. The method they took caused it to appear that they had made up their minds in advance, without reading or even receiving the final detailed report from the Commission of Control. They had not, as was intended, met to consider the question in good time. They procrastinated until the last moment, and then took a rushed decision which was under the suspicion of having been arrived at for reasons altogether different from those which were given. While the French remain in the Ruhr—and they have promised to quit the Ruhr altogether only by September next—it is urged that the Allies must remain in Cologne, since it is through this zone that the communications with the Ruhr run. Obviously such a purpose is altogether outside the Treaty, and it is condoning the French occupation of the Ruhr to stay in Cologne. If this were the true motive, it would certainly have been better to have proposed a compromise, and to have offered a protocol outside the Treaty which would have promised the simultaneous evacuation of the Ruhr and Cologne at a date considerably earlier than September. Such would have been the logical course of the Herriot policy.

It is, however, in all fairness to be assumed that the French and the British Governments were genuinely persuaded that there is a

considerable German menace, and that the Treaty has been flouted in the most serious manner. If this be so, then it would seem to show that M. Herriot has been on the wrong tack from the beginning, and that in declaring peace to the world in a series of effusively optimistic speeches, he was deceiving himself and the French people. Nor could he plead ignorance, because General Nollet, his own War Minister, who was formerly at the head of the Inter-Allied Commission of Military Control, had, in a report which he made just before accepting his post in the Herriot Cabinet, given precisely the warning which the Allies are now heeding. When M. Emile Buré, the able Director of *L'Eclair*, published the Nollet Report in order, as he somewhat maliciously stated, to strengthen the hands of M. Herriot in his new policy towards Germany, the Radical Prime Minister was so annoyed that a prosecution was launched against M. Buré under the *espionnage* laws, and M. Herriot laid himself open to the charge that he was arbitrarily attacking the liberty of the Press. As the opponents of M. Herriot saw the matter, M. Herriot was not right in proclaiming friendship for Germany during six months, or, in the alternative, he is not now right in proclaiming the bad faith of Germany. For my part, I do not propose to enter into the dispute: it is urged in his defence that M. Herriot was right in creating a favourable atmosphere for the application of the Dawes Plan, which has temporarily removed from the diplomatic arena the endless discussions about reparations, and that he is right to open his eyes to the peril of German military preparations now. But at any rate, it must be said that the manner in which he seemed to stultify his earlier policy was not judicious, and manner, after all, counts for much in diplomacy. There was no need for him to have exasperated Germany and to have brought upon himself the denunciation of the German Press of being a second edition of M. Poincaré.

At the same time he singularly weakened his personal position. The pacifists in France lost faith in him, and the Nationalists in France were enabled to criticise him for the muddle which had been made. I happen to be one of those who believe that M. Herriot, in spite of his limitations, put France on the right path; his was a tremendously important figure in the post-war history of France, as important as the figure of M. Poincaré. The point is that he cannot have it both ways, and there should have been the most patient negotiations with Germany before the whole tendency towards *rapprochement* was reversed. It should have been remembered, too, that January 10th was a significant date in more than one respect. It was not only the date on which the Allies should have evacuated the Cologne zone according to the Treaty,

but it was also the date on which the commercial arrangements set up by the Treaty expired. Germany was therefore offered the opportunity of retaliating. For some months there had been an attempt to elaborate a Franco-German economic accord before the *échéance* of January 10th. The Germans, it is true, put many obstacles in the way, and stood out for terms to which France could hardly agree. They possess better cards than France. They can manage temporarily without French trade and can raise tariff barriers with impunity, whereas the French recovered provinces of Alsace-Lorraine are absolutely dependent upon the German markets. When it was seen that no economic accord could be concluded before January 10th, it was hoped that at least a *modus vivendi* might be substituted. The Germans appeared to be willing to enter into a working arrangement, but when, on the very eve of January 10th, it was without more ado bluntly announced to Germany that the occupation would continue, then even the proposed *modus vivendi* was placed in jeopardy. There was the prospect of a German declaration of war—that is to say, of a tariff war. Whatever bargain has been made between the German magnates and the French metallurgists is, of course, a private bargain and cannot operate if the two Governments are in collision.

Of the part that England played in this unfortunate incident, created so clumsily, and of the motives which inspired the Conservative Government in England, this is hardly the place to speak; it is to French policy that I would confine my attention. Now France cannot afford the continued sabotage of the industries of Alsace-Lorraine. The recovered provinces have already too many grievances against the mother country to bear with equanimity a further blow. Alsace-Lorraine is a territory which undoubtedly is attached to France, but its geographical position is such that it must also look in the direction of Germany. It is capable of being a link between France and Germany—a sort of hyphen. It is also capable of being an apple of discord. The Radical Government has not sufficiently considered the peculiar relations of Alsace-Lorraine with the two countries of which it has alternately formed part. Already there had been a considerable outcry in Alsace-Lorraine against the Radical proposals of "assimilation." The provinces have lived under the German laws, and the introduction of French laws can only be effected gradually and with the utmost precaution. The Alsace-Lorraine schools, for example, are confessional schools, that is to say, they are Catholic, or Protestant, or Jewish. The inhabitants are entitled to choose what kind of religion is to be taught their children, but they must pronounce in favour of one of these three cults. In France generally, on the contrary, religion is abolished in the schools. Clearly the senti-

ments of the Alsace-Lorraine population ought to be carefully considered before the secular laws which prevail in France are forced upon them. But the Radicals, who are essentially anti-Catholic, who are the great upholders of Secularism, revived suddenly the old issue of Clericalism which successive Ministries—including the Ministry of M. Briand—had endeavoured to forget. Relations with the Vatican had been re-established since the war for diplomatic reasons. Whether those who consider an Ambassador at the Vatican and a Nuncio at Paris are essential, are right or wrong, it was certainly tactless to declare war on the Clericals, to intimate that the regulations concerning Congregations (religious orders) would be more strictly applied, and to assert that without delay the laws of Alsace-Lorraine would be brought into conformity with those of France.

France has too many serious problems on the right solution of which, perhaps, her very existence as a first-class Power turns, to raise gratuitously an internal quarrel which might well have been left to a later date. Discontent has been stirred up in Alsace-Lorraine which might have been avoided. But here again we discover a characteristic hesitation on the part of the Radicals. If they were prepared to face the Clerical outcry, then they should at least have carried out their projects. After the trouble had been created and a great agitation aroused, not only in Alsace-Lorraine but in France generally, nothing of a serious character was done in Alsace-Lorraine, and as for the abolition of the Embassy at the Vatican, the end of the session came without any Parliamentary discussion on the Government proposal. Those who were opposed to relations with the Vatican were disappointed, their ardour was damped, while those who deprecated the anti-Clerical campaign rallied their forces against the Government.

The position of the Herriot Cabinet was further shaken by its recognition of the Russian Government. In itself, the recognition of the Russian Government was doubtless an excellent thing. I believe that it would have been folly to refrain any longer from resuming some kind of normal relations with the immense country which, under no matter what Government, must count for much in the councils of Europe. France is almost the last great Power to take this step. Praise must therefore be given to M. Herriot for the courage with which he announced a necessary decision, but even this decision turned against him. Some of the circumstances surrounding it are unsavoury. Moreover, there came with M. Krassine, the Russian Ambassador, a number of persons who are undoubtedly undesirable, and who are likely to influence the whole policy of the Embassy. France was shocked when the Red Flag was run up to the strains of the "Internationale," sung by a Com-

munist crowd accompanied by a band. France was alarmed when Captain Sadoul, a representative of the Third International, who had been condemned by default for desertion and for correspondence with the enemy (though Russia, juridically, has never been an enemy since war was never declared in the legal forms), returned to Paris to demand a re-trial. Whether he was to be condemned anew or to be acquitted, his advent was the signal for a great Communist push.

The Opposition made the most of the activities of the Communists, and represented M. Herriot as a Kerensky, weakly preparing the way for a red revolution. He was charged with encouraging the Communists when he agreed to the official transfer of the ashes of Jean Jaurès, the Socialist orator, to the Panthéon, and permitted large street demonstrations of the Communists on this occasion. Apparently there are now three parties which are trying to avail themselves of the popular prestige of Jaurès—the Radicals, the Socialists and the Communists. In my opinion there is to be anticipated not the smallest danger of Communism in France, but the politicians magnify the peril in order to put M. Herriot in a dilemma. Alarmist rumours of an impending revolution could be heard everywhere. Specific dates were given for the rising. Beyond question large numbers of French people take Communism seriously, and M. Herriot is blamed by them—as he is blamed by those who deprecate the foolish talk—for having by his mishandling of the situation given it some stimulus.

On the other hand, the Government supporters are making a mistake in exaggerating the alleged growth of the Fascist spirit in France. The Ligue des Patriotes, of which the effective head is General de Castlenau—in succession to Maurice Barrès and Déroulède—and various other bodies, have indeed organised themselves in flamboyant fashion "to resist disorder." But there is in reality no more a "Fascist peril" than there is a "Communist peril." That there could be so much confusion, so much perturbation, so much wild assertion on one side and on the other, is doubly unfortunate, because M. Herriot has had the genuine ambition of being a pacificator, both in the domestic sphere and in the international domain. The people who are really responsible are over-zealous followers who supposed that in a trice everything could be changed in France, when the most cursory regard for realities should have taught them that the Radicals and Socialists, even assuming that they can work together for any considerable period of time, do not, as is pretended, represent any large majority of the French people.

The Government was further weakened by a number of controversies which were started imprudently by the Radicals them-

selves. There was, for example, the inquiry into what the Americans picturesquely call "slush funds." A Commission was set up in order to determine the origin of electoral funds, about which a scandal had been made. The Radicals had chiefly in mind the money distributed by the Union des Intérêts Economiques presided over by Senator Billiet. This association had collected a good deal of money from business men, large and small, and the money was used to assist the candidature of those who were prepared to defend certain principles. There had been a half-hearted promise to impose a Capital Levy, and business interests in France were alarmed, and combined to resist such an attack. Now the Union des Intérêts Economiques does not seem to have departed from the path of legality. Any association is entitled in law to use its money for political purposes. So far as I am aware, no specific instance of bribery, of corruption, in the real sense of the word, has been brought against the Union, though one may quite properly doubt whether its methods are desirable in political life. Unfortunately, the Union, which was not directly concerned with parties, did not extend its aid merely to members of the Opposition, but one of the Ministers of M. Herriot was shown to have received assistance from it. The effect of this revelation was, as may be supposed, extremely unpleasant for the Government. Indeed, it was declared that a number of men who are now to be found on the Government side had dipped into the funds of the Union in the 1919 Elections. Prominent members of the Radical Party were compromised—that is to say, if one accepts the suggestion that the operations of the Union are improper.

The inquiry of the Commission is confined to 1924. It is not, of course, to be limited to the Union, but is to investigate the origin of funds of all parties—Nationalists, Radicals, Socialists and Communists. Still, it is against the Union that the Commission chiefly wishes to proceed, and on the refusal of Senator Billiet to take the oath in giving evidence before the Commission on the ground that he could not betray the subscribers nor the recipients of the bounty of his Union, he, too, was prosecuted—not after the Government had asked the Senate to raise his Parliamentary immunity (the Senate would have refused), but in the short interval between the rising of Parliament at the end of the year and the resumption of Parliament in mid-January—a period not covered by the Parliamentary immunity. In short, there were innumerable symptoms that the Government was coming to the end of its tether. It was involved in all kinds of muddles, and appeared to act somewhat arbitrarily.

Recently I compiled a list of Prime Ministers of France since 1890. Only three Prime Ministers—Waldeck-Rousseau, Combes

and Clemenceau—reached, or nearly reached, the end of three years of office, while M. Poincaré stayed for over two years. If these men were subtracted, the average duration of a French Ministry would indeed be low. As it is, it works out at about ten months. Ministerial instability has, during the whole of the Third Republic, been the curse of French political life. No Premier can sufficiently reckon on staying in office for more than a year. Unless he is an exceptional man in exceptional circumstances, he is expected to let somebody else take a turn. The result is that most Ministries start well, meaning to sweep clean, but after a short time are discouraged, realise that their life cannot be long, become careless and merely wait for the end. It is unnecessary for me to dilate upon the psychological effect of the French habit of changing Ministries frequently. They will occur to every reader. *Après nous le déluge!* That is why French difficulties accumulate, especially in the realm of public finance. The social reforms which were anticipated by many people were not effected. These people seemed to look for miracles, they had written as though the Republic could be remodelled in six months, they had reckoned without the dead weight of custom, and they had reckoned, above all, without the Senate, which was not to be rushed. Even the Amnesty Bill, which it had been fondly expected would pass through both Houses without any loss of time, was finally passed on the last day of the sitting. It was passed at all only because the Chamber gave way to the Senate, which struck out of the Bill a number of provisions which the Radicals and Socialists had greatly at heart. It remains doubtful, for instance, whether the railwaymen who went on strike in 1920, and who were dismissed from their employment, will be reinstated under the Bill.

The Socialists have found it rather hard to abandon the demands which they put forward as the price of their support of the Radical Government. It will be remembered that, according to Socialist principles, it is impossible for the Party to collaborate with a *bourgeois* Government, but M. Léon Blum and others saw that, if they did not give their disciplined support to the Government, it was inevitable that a Government not of the Left but of the Centre, and even of the Centre-Right, would come in. It must not be supposed that the present Chamber is permanently dominated by the parties of the Left. There are many possible combinations which would result in the break-up of the Bloc des Gauches and the supremacy of the more conservative groups. The Socialists, therefore, have strained all their principles in order that they and the Radicals should hang together as long as possible, feeling that if they do not hang together they will hang separately. They even voted for the military Budget.

It became, at the end of 1924, a question how long this alliance could continue. There were those who anticipated the incoming of a Government still further to the Left whenever the hour for M. Herriot to go should sound, but, however he is succeeded during the new year, eventually the tendency will be for a concentration towards the Centre. The most important outcome of the Amnesty Bill, which clears the records of probably fifty thousand offenders, is the return of M. Caillaux to Paris, to Parliament, and perhaps to power.

Anybody who examines the French situation even perfunctorily will see that the most serious problem for France is no longer the reparations problem—which has been brushed aside—is no longer the problem of security—which does indeed trouble the French, but for which an immediate solution is not absolutely necessary. It is the financial problem. The financial problem is extremely urgent. M. Caillaux is looked upon, even by his enemies, as a great financier who may, if he is given an opportunity, save France from bankruptcy. Bankruptcy is not the word I would myself choose, for any skilful unflinching policy would put French finance on a sound basis. Nevertheless, the finances of France must be treated very differently from the way in which they have been treated for the past five years, if serious consequences are to be averted. The Herriot Government was understood to promise to do away with the system of loans, but just as there was a war to end wars, so there have been loans to end loans. The American credits of a hundred million dollars were converted into a loan; an internal loan was raised to make good the estimated deficit of four milliard francs on last year's Budget. How much new money has actually been received has not been disclosed. Presumably a large proportion of the sums realised were merely the conversion of bonds immediately redeemable into longer term holdings, and to this extent the needs of the Treasury will not be met. But the price paid for this loan appears to be preposterous. It is to be redeemed before the end of ten years; the interest is five per cent., but there is a bonus of fifty francs for every hundred francs. In ten years, therefore, somewhere around two hundred francs will have been paid for each hundred francs received.

The Budget for 1925 was not passed before the rising of Parliament, and the Government was therefore compelled to resort to the old expedient which it had been hoped to renounce, of asking for provisional credits for the first two months of this year. The Budget is presumably balanced. It represents an honest endeavour to get back to the principle of a single Budget without supplementary credits, and without the fictitious Budget of so-called recoverable expenditure which succeeding Governments have

adopted to disguise the real position of France since the war. There has been an extraordinary amount of self-deception about the possibilities of receiving payments from Germany. Now, out of the present Budget of 33½ milliard francs more than 18 milliards must go to the service of the debts. This terrible disproportion will be still further increased when in the near future a number of bonds (about 23 milliard francs in value) will have to be repaid. It is hoped to raise a great Consolidating Loan which will prevent the French Exchequer from being swamped by the demands of the Internal Debt.

Recently M. Clementel—who was surely not well inspired—presented a sort of Inventory of French finances. He showed that the Balance-Sheet of France, as drawn up by him, presented a credit balance of over 136 milliard paper francs, or 34 milliard gold francs. On the debit side is the Perpetual or Long-Term Debt of nearly 150 milliard paper francs, a Short-Term Debt of 37 milliard, a Floating Debt of 68 milliard, besides the advances of the Banque de France which amounted to 23 milliard paper francs. There are the pensions, civil and military, of sixty-four milliard francs and twenty-two milliard francs, that must be counted for the completion of the repair of the liberated regions. General State charges are capitalised. On the credit side are given various items which may be grouped as State property. To them is added a capital sum of nearly six hundred milliard paper francs representing taxes. There are also the credits on Germany, which are capitalised, and which surely constitute a doubtful asset. It has been remarked that it is an unusual procedure to capitalise the taxes of a country which are obviously intended to be absorbed in current expenditure. It would be possible to analyse this Balance-Sheet, which serves no useful purpose whatever, and make point after point against M. Clementel, but to do so would be to produce a false impression. The situation is nothing like so bad as M. Clementel makes it appear—even if it is not so good as he intended it to appear.

But the most deplorable blunder was the omission of the External Debt from the Balance Sheet. It is true that the External Debt is dealt with in a Memorandum, but the result of its omission from the Balance-Sheet proper was to create a storm of protest in the United States, and to raise, in my opinion at a most unfavourable moment, the whole question of inter-Allied War Debts. Reckoning, in francs, the debt of France towards England and America reaches nearly 31 milliard gold francs, or between 110 and 120 milliard paper francs. Against this debt is to be put French credits on various countries—Poland, Russia, the Little Entente, Italy, Belgium, Portugal, and so forth—but these credits are comparatively small and for the most part are irrecoverable.

It is difficult to understand why France should have deliberately provoked discussions about debts at a time when she is faced with the most stupendous financial difficulties. There cannot be any question of effective French payments for a number of years to come. The discussions are therefore academic, and they are mischievous in that they create a great deal of international feeling against France. In America they have seriously damaged French credit, and they have brought England into the field with counter-claims against the American claims. It is not my purpose now more to repeat the well-known French arguments in favour of cancellation, nor to summarise the British demand for simultaneous payments in proportion to the demands on France from America. We have heard them *ad nauseam*. There is an important reason why all such debate is futile, and that is the utter impossibility in which France finds herself to pay at present anything at all.

Lately voices have been raised in favour of a French edition of the Dawes Plan. Shall we indeed come to that? Surely France will have the courage to face the issues frankly—far more frankly than M. Clementel has faced them—and to work out her own salvation without the aid of foreign experts. But she should be allowed to do so without any useless clamour from creditor countries, which apparently do not in the least understand the financial position of their former Ally.

SISLEY HUDDLESTON.

NINE MONTHS OF GREEK REPUBLICANISM.

ON Christmas Day, nine months had elapsed since the proclamation of the Republic by the Assembly—a result subsequently confirmed by the plébiscite. Nine months are not a long period in the life of a nation so ancient as the Greek, which has preserved its racial feeling through the long centuries of Roman, Frankish and Turkish rule; but they suffice to permit of a brief survey of the young Republic's situation.

They have witnessed three successive Ministries; for M. Papanastasiou, the first Republican Premier, gave way to M. Sophoules, the former "Warwick the King-Maker" of the then autonomous island of Samos, and M. Sophoules to Michalakopoulos, the leader of the Conservative wing of the Republican Party. Outside the charmed circle of "the politicians," these "crises" aroused little interest among the people, and so little alarm for the stability of the Republican system that the exchange upon the £ varied hardly at all after the fall of M. Papanastasiou and that of M. Sophoules. The game of political musical chairs has always been played in Greece, and is not peculiar to the Republic. In the early years of George I, there were nine Ministries in thirteen months; on April 15th, 1865, Finlay published an article in *The Times*, relating that "there are now about 118 ex-Cabinet Ministers ready for service, and of these upwards of 25 have held the portfolio of Foreign Affairs." But, although the Ministerial label is often changed, the country goes on as usual. Only this lack of continuity—tempered, however, by the notable exception that M. Roûssos has, with two brief intervals, held the portfolio of Foreign Affairs for nearly a year—makes difficult the work of those contractors and others who may be engaged in negotiating with the Government. But the catastrophic Jeremiads, in which some Opposition journals indulged during these very tame "crises," must be taken with a grain of Attic salt. To the classically educated foreign reader they are of interest as proving that the art of composing "Philippics" did not die with Demosthenes, but has descended to his fellow-countrymen.

Nor have the three or four "movements" in the navy and army been very serious. The Greeks have the same word (*κίνημα*) for a *pronunciamiento* and a cinematograph, and these naval and military "movements" have passed away as rapidly as the pictures at the "movies." The first naval agitation, on the eve of the British Fleet's visit to Phaleron in July, when the resignations of numerous officers obtained the substitution of a civilian for Captain Hadjikyriakos as Minister of Marine, was less embarrassing

than that which coincided with the visit of the French fleet in August, when Captain Koliulexes, commanding the cruiser *Averoff*, protested, in the name of the officers who had then remained at their posts, against the wholesale restoration of their colleagues who had then resigned. For a moment it looked as if there might be a second battle of Salamis; but happily the *Waldeck-Rousseau* lay between the two rival vessels, and the movement collapsed as speedily as it had arisen, without a shot being fired. The attempts of Generals Tseroules and Panagiotopoulos in September, and Major-General Louphas in November, were completely abortive, and left the vast majority of the army absolutely indifferent. As for the people, it is weary of changes and wants to attend to its own affairs without further revolutions, restorations, or military dictatorships.

In the provinces, as I found during the summer, far more interest is taken in the proposed County Councils than in the manoeuvres of the "politicians" at Athens. The local people want to manage their local affairs without having to appeal to the bureaucracy of the capital, and there are many worthy countrymen who care far more about a new road than a new government. Even in Athens the water question is of superior importance to any political problem. For thirty years, even at a time when the population of the capital and the Piræus was far less than now—for in addition to its normal growth there is the influx of 100,000 refugees into the metropolitan area—there has been talk of a new water supply. But it has been only talk. Athens has not found her Thirlmere in the Stymphean lake; but it is hoped that Marathon, which has so long provided the Athenians with glory, will soon provide them with baths. A Greek millionaire who would bring water from Marathon would deserve a place besides Miltiades.

There is, however, need of haste in passing the new Constitution—the work for which, next after the establishment of the Republic, the National Assembly was specially chosen. But, owing to the unfortunate illness of the present Premier, the Assembly adjourned for three weeks, and when it at last met, it debated *de omnibus rebus* rather than about the Constitution. Meanwhile, the parties outside Parliament announced their intention of forming an united Royalist front against the Republicans. But there are as many different Royalist conventicles, each with his favourite preacher, as there are Republican groups, so that Royalist union was found to be as difficult as the formation of that Republican Ministry of all the parties in the Assembly, which M. Kaphandares vainly advocated towards the end of September at the time of the resignation of the Sophoules Cabinet. There is a large amount of *atomismós*, or "individuality," in Greece; team-work is uncongenial to a very active-minded people. But, uncongenial or not,

it is essential to the smooth working of stable Parliamentary government. The Republicans are doubtless aware of the universal political axiom that every Government loses adherents after it has been some time in power. There are always disillusioned optimists, who had unreasonably expected "a new Heaven and a new earth" because the State had changed its label; there are always disappointed place-hunters, who feel their enthusiasm cooling for a system which has left them out in the cold.

But in Greece there is an additional factor in the situation—the refugees. The greatest credit is due to the successive Greek Governments which have tried manfully to grapple with this appalling problem. Sir Arthur Salter, when he was in Athens, expressed his delighted surprise at the manner in which the "economic elasticity" of Greece had enabled her to absorb such masses of immigrants—a feat impossible for England. But refugees are excusably critical; they cannot all be housed, fed and employed as quickly as they desire. They have votes, and last time doubtless voted overwhelmingly for the Republicans—at least, that is a tolerably safe inference from the Royalist objection that swamped the constituencies in which they were settled. But latterly the Royalist Press has shown a marked enthusiasm for the refugees; the electoral register, as the Royalists justly desired—for it was an old register—is to be thoroughly revised, and who knows how the electorate will vote at the election which will follow the dissolution of the National Assembly and create an ordinary Chamber? Last time the Royalists largely abstained; next time they obviously intend to vote and attract votes.

What, if they should obtain a majority? Even if the monarchy were a better form of Government for Greece than the Conservative Republic, her well-wishers would still remember the proverb: *Le mieux est l'ennemi du bien*. For Greece a continuous Government is more important than a better Government; the maintenance of what exists is more essential than a change for what might be better, especially if that change meant the gratification of personal vengeance, the exaction of retribution for a past which, in the general interest of the country, should be buried in oblivion, and the reversal of what has been done since 1922. For this reason M. Papanastasiou desires the immediate creation of a Senate as an element of stability. Undoubtedly, the process of "reconciliation" has made substantial progress, especially now that the two protagonists, ex-King Constantine and M. Venizelos, are no longer on the political stage. People still continue to call themselves "Anti-Venizelists," although there is no longer a Venizelos in politics; there are still unconsolable devotees who dwell among the tombs of the departed. But Royalist ladies speak to Venizelist dames at hotels, and this is a hopeful sign—*Auspicium melioris*

ævi—for the weaker sex was, on both sides, more vehement than the men.

While internal politics have been in reality as calm as could reasonably have been expected after the tempestuous weather of the previous nine years, several important events have occurred outside, affecting Greece. Of these the most dramatic was the sudden denunciation of the alliance with Yugoslavia by the Yugoslav Minister—an alliance dating from 1913 and one of the fundamental bases of M. Venizelos' policy in the Balkans. Greece and Yugoslavia are natural allies; in their case an alliance is not, as it so often is, a marriage of convenience. Milosh Obrenovich gave a handsome subscription to the building of the Athens University; during the Cretan insurrection of 1867 there was an attempt to form an alliance between Michael Obrenovich III and George I. Greeks and Serbs fought side by side in the war of 1912 against the Turks, in that of 1913 against the Bulgarians. Both the contracting parties had, and have, the same enemies; both have a common interest in maintaining the *status quo* in Macedonia, for it is westward, not southward, to Spalato, not to Salonika, that Yugoslavia should look for her outlet on the sea. Besides, she has already a free zone in the great Macedonian harbour.

But the real reason for the denunciation of the treaty was the signature by the Greek delegate, M. Polites, of the Geneva Protocol regarding the protection of Bulgarian minorities in Greece. The Yugoslavs regard these minorities as Serb, not Bulgarian, and fear lest their subjects at Monastir and in other parts of Serbian Macedonia should be thereby encouraged to proclaim themselves Bulgarians. The Greek case is that the Protocol merely carried out the obligations of the treaties for the protection of minorities, and only promised to grant specified rights, not to "Bulgarian minorities," but to all who declared themselves Bulgarians. Moreover, the situation of Greece and Yugoslavia towards Bulgaria was different; for, while there are few Serbs in Bulgaria, there are still numbers of Greeks, upon whom the Bulgarians could, as they have in the past at Anchialos and elsewhere, wreak reprisals.

Optimists may say, *Post hoc, ergo propter hoc*; but it was certainly an unfortunate coincidence that the denunciation of the Greek alliance should have been simultaneous with a Yugoslav agreement with Italy. Such a coincidence lent itself to the interpretation that Yugoslavia—or rather Serbia, for M. Pashich is a Serb rather than a Yugoslav and cares more about Macedonia than about Croatia or Slovenia—had become part of a new political constellation. Those must, however, be sanguine who believe in the durability of an Italo-Yugoslav alliance, which bears a strong resemblance to the Austro-Italian alliance of unhappy memory.

The seriousness of the policy, so abruptly adopted—perhaps for

home consumption—by the Pashich Cabinet was obvious from the Greek Government's suggestion that M. Venizelos should use his influence with his friend and old comrade-in-arms, the veteran Serbian Premier, and from M. Venizelos' willingness, under certain conditions, to go as temporary, or even regular, Greek Minister to Belgrade, for the purpose of negotiating a new treaty. As the old treaty has still some ten months to run, there should be time to replace it by another. All the same, the incident is instructive, especially as the representatives of the League of Nations in the question of these minorities are understood to be extremely favourable to the Bulgarian claims. But he would, indeed, be imprudent who should venture to dogmatise about Macedonian racial problems even if he possessed the requisite linguistic and ethnographic outfit for the task.

Another question interesting Greece, that of the Dodekanese, has entered upon a new phase. In 1922, the Italians expelled Apostolos, Metropolitan of Rhodes. He was recently allowed to return, only to find upon his return that he was expected to summon a Council of the other ecclesiastical chiefs of the thirteen Southern Sporades (or fourteen, with the addition of Kastellorizon) and discuss the separation of the Dodekanesian Churches from the Œcumenical Patriarchate and the creation of a brand new autocephalous South Sporadic Church under Italian patronage. The Dodekanese, small as its population is, embraces practically six Orthodox sees: the Metropolitan See of Rhodes, including the islands of Syme, Nisyros, Chalke and Telos; that of Kalymnos, including Leros and Astypalaia; that of Karpathos, including Kasos; and that of Kos, whose Metropolitan has just died. Besides these, Kastellorizon is dependent upon the Metropolitan of Patara on the mainland, while Patmos and the adjacent islet of Leipso have a special position, as the abbot of the famous monastery enjoys the rights, but not the title, of a Metropolitan.

It is understood that, at the council in Rhodes, one alone of the prelates agreed to the Italian proposal, which is held to be uncanonical and contrary to precedent. During the fifty years' British Protectorate over the Ionian Islands, the Lord High Commissioners never interfered with the relations between the Ionian hierarchy and the Œcumenical Patriarchate. During the thirty years' Austrian occupation of Bosnia and the Herzegovina, and even after the annexation in 1908, the Orthodox hierarchy in these provinces continued to depend upon the Patriarch, as in the Turkish times. The Italians point to Cyprus as a precedent: but the British, when they went to Cyprus in 1878, did not create an autocephalous Church, but found one already existent since 431. Had the Cypriote Church not been already autocephalous for over fourteen centuries, the British, with their unrivalled administra-

tive experience of other races and religions, would never have severed it from the Patriarchate.

Meanwhile, the Metropolitan of Rhodes, having voluntarily placed himself in the power of the civil authorities by his return, finds himself confronted with the dilemma of incurring either the displeasure of his ecclesiastical head or that of the temporal power. He has, indeed, proceeded, at the request of the Italians, to Constantinople to lay the matter before the Patriarch. But the death of Gregory VII. and the consequent vacancy of the Œcumenical throne have postponed the hearing of the matter until the new Patriarch has been installed. I am informed that the Metropolitan has been offered special privileges for his insular church, should he "cut the painter" and declare himself autocephalous. The whole incident is regarded as the corollary of the Italian position, defined by the second treaty of Lausanne, of which, as regards these islands, the first treaty in 1912 was the forerunner.

Let us now look at the attitude of other States to the Republic. The policy of Mr. MacDonald towards Greece was extremely tactful. He most carefully abstained from interfering in internal Greek politics on either one side or the other, thus avoiding the besetting sin of many British and French Ministers from the time of Capo d'Istria to that of Constantine. Of Mr. Austen Chamberlain it is yet too early to form an opinion. But at any rate he has visited the country, for the writer has been shown his signature in the visitors' book at Nauplia, and remembers the interest which he showed in ancient Greek politics—not so very unlike the modern variety—when they read Thucydides together in the Sixth at Rugby. The only fear of the Greeks is lest our new Government should impose a duty on currants. Even the French have begun to realise that exclusive devotion to the Turks does not always meet with reciprocity and that they have sold their traditional Philhellenic birthright for a mess of "Washington potage"—as M. Clemenceau called M. Franklin Bouillon. Efforts have recently been made by them at Athens to repair this mistake. The new Italian Minister, too, has shown a marked desire to be conciliatory, thus reverting to the policy of one of his predecessors, the late Marchese Carlotti. An Italian syndicate has recently obtained a concession for an aerial service.

With Turkey there has been the serious obstacle raised about the meaning of the word *établis*—a question of vital importance to numbers of Greeks long "established," in the ordinary sense of the phrase, in Constantinople. The cession of "the fourteen villages" in the neighbourhood of Korytsâ to Albania, in consequence of the decision of the Conference of Ambassadors, has led to necessarily academic debates on what was, in the circumstances, an inevitable and an accomplished fact. If the Albanians

be wise, they will respect the time-honoured privileges of Cheimarra in "the Acroceraunian Mountains of old fame," which even the Turks never curtailed. It ill becomes a small people, which has only recently gained its own independence, to encroach upon the age-long rights of a still smaller community within its own borders.

Much has been said about a possible Bolshevik danger for Greece, especially in Macedonia; but this would appear to have been exaggerated. The Greek character seems uncongenial to both Communist propaganda and Fascist organisation, of which General Kondyles has been accused. But among the thousands of refugees in dire distress Bolshevik agitators might find a fruitful soil for their activities. The refugees are not all Greeks, but there are some of alien nationality, and the Government is doubtless wise in not desiring to establish these latter on the frontiers. M. Michalakopoulos is understood to intend the introduction of measures against Bolshevik propaganda, but without interfering with freedom of thought or speech. His proposals would aim at punishing anyone who attempts to incite persons to violence against the form of Government, and particularly anyone who preaches disobedience to the soldiers.

Two recent events, both calculated to improve discipline, are a source of satisfaction to British friends of Greece—the arrival of Admiral Webb to organise the navy, and the extension to Athens of the police powers already exercised with such success by Sir Frederick Halliday and his British-trained Greek constabulary at Corfu, Patras and the Piræus. By an appropriate coincidence, this latter arrangement came into force in the month which witnessed the ninetieth anniversary of the transference of the capital from Nauplia to Athens on December 1/13th, 1834. Immense has been the progress since Abbet-Grasset*, a French tourist who visited Athens towards the end of that year, wrote of the now fashionable and populous Phaleron as "a barren shore" and of the busy Piræus, now the third port in the Mediterranean, as consisting of a little wooden landing-stage, a booth used as a custom house, the monastery of St. Spyridon and three or four new little houses. None would recognise in modern Athens, with its enormous motor-traffic and continuous tram service, its nineteen daily papers and fine public libraries, the place of which Wordsworth in the autumn of 1832 wrote the following description:

"The streets are almost deserted; nearly all the houses are without roofs. There is but one church in which divine service is performed. A few new wooden houses, one or two of more solid structure, and the two lines of planked sheds which form the bazaar, are all the inhabited houses that Athens now can boast. Not a single book of any kind is now to be purchased at Athens." There were "no lamps, no windows, no newspapers, no post-office. A stove was such a miracle that the Bishop came to see it."

* *Harmonia*, ii. 13, 14.

Much, so the Athenians say, remains to be done. The roads require to be put in order, the dangerous motor-traffic regulated, the lighting, quite inadequate for the wants of a big modern capital, improved. Some provision should be made, as in Rome, for the lean and hungry dogs which infest some of the streets. Two English ladies recently visited Athens for the purpose of introducing more humane methods of slaughtering animals, and one of them delivered lectures to children upon the proper treatment of dogs and horses. Horse traffic, however, seems likely to disappear from the Athenian streets, just as the fustanella has almost vanished. Athens has, indeed, become a cosmopolitan city, and the old Athenian can no longer feel sure that, if he goes to the theatre or walks down Stadion Street, he will know almost everyone whom he meets.

Greece continues to progress materially, and her huge refugee population, for the moment a burden, will, in the opinion of experts, in a few years largely increase her productive powers. Already these Asiatic immigrants have improved some old, and introduced some new methods of cultivation. As Greek finances continue to improve, more money can be expended upon road-making and the draining of the Macedonian lakes and marshes—the source of the malaria, which last September was responsible for 45 per cent. of the deaths among the refugees there. There is abundant capital available in the country—for no one can help being impressed by the number of rich Greeks living in Greece. But foreign capital, that shiest of all birds of passage, is likely to come also, unless it be scared by exaggerated rumours of plots and counterplots.

Greece will prosper in inverse proportion to the amount of attention which she devotes to mere politics. It is a significant fact that, while Ministries and even dynasties came and went in rapid succession, there were only four Governors of the National Bank in the sixty-nine years from 1841 to 1910, and that one of its later Governors had been Prime Minister—a combination unknown in Downing and Threadneedle Streets. When really political parties, of which there is an example already, take the place of personal groups composed of the adherents of some prominent leader, there will be less desire for office and less frequent changes of Ministry. When the army ceases absolutely to interest itself in politics, of which there are also signs, “stratocracy” will no longer be quoted as an argument against “democracy.”

Meanwhile, the Greek Republic has produced neither a Cromwell nor a General Monk. It has shown itself in these nine months to be a Conservative Democracy.

Athens : December.

WILLIAM MILLER.

THE WATER SUPPLY OF EGYPT AND THE SUDAN

NO article of the ultimatum delivered by Lord Allenby to Zaghlul Pasha on November 22nd last has made a greater impression than that which notified our withdrawal from the undertaking to limit the area to be irrigated in the Sudan to the 300,000 *feddans** to be provided with water through the Makwar Dam project, now nearing completion. Outside this country this article has been generally interpreted as signifying an intention to extend irrigation to the maximum possible in the Sudan, at the expense of Egypt if need be. Any intention of starving Egypt has been expressly disclaimed by Mr. Austen Chamberlain, but since the water question is the crux of the Sudan question—for Egypt, at least—it is worth while examining how far Egyptian fears and the policy based on them are justified.

The importance of an accurate understanding of the Nile regimen was always recognised by British administrators. No sooner had the Sudan been reconquered than the Egyptian Government, acting on the advice of Sir William Garstin, began a methodical study of the hydrography of the river. Desultory at first, owing to lack of funds, this study has tended to become more systematic as time has gone on, until now the regimen of the Nile is known in its main features with sufficient precision for the formulation of vast engineering schemes, which will take years of work and cost scores of millions of money to complete. The results have been published and the schemes discussed by Sir Murdoch MacDonald, in *Nile Control*, to which work the writer desires to express his indebtedness in the fullest degree. A word of warning, however, is necessary. The data published in that book are based upon measurements taken with as much scientific care as is practicable. Nevertheless, there is still room for the exercise of judgment in their interpretation. Such judgment is conditioned by existing knowledge, and if one student should interpret the facts differently from another, even if the same student at different times should draw different conclusions from the same phenomenon, this is no valid evidence either of inconsistency or of fraudulent intention. The present exposition is as scrupulously fair as the writer (with over twenty years of experience of the problem) can make it, and if there is any bias at all, it has lain in the direction of favouring Egyptian claims.

Egypt has begun to experience the pressure of population on the means of subsistence. In 1886, when the population was 7.5 millions, there were under cultivation 4.9 million *feddans*, which,

by double cropping, produced 6.7 million *feddans* of crops. Cotton was grown on 875,000 *feddans* and cereals on nearly 5 million; and Egypt was able to export some 188,000 tons of food more than she imported. By 1917, however, when the population had increased to 12.75 millions, *i.e.*, by 70 per cent., the cultivated area had increased only to 5.3 million *feddans*, or by 8 per cent.; and the area of crops to 7.7 million *feddans*, or by 14 per cent. The area under cotton had nearly doubled, to 1.68 million *feddans*, but that under cereals had actually fallen to 4.1 million; and Egypt had become an importer of food-stuffs to the amount of 250,000 tons in a normal year, which she purchased by the sale of the extra cotton grown.

The cultivable area of Egypt is very strictly limited to what can economically be provided with water, which must come from the Nile, for, with the exception of the scanty and precarious winter rainfall along the North coast, no other supply is available. Not more than 7.1 million *feddans* can be commanded from the Nile. Of these 4.3 million will admit of two crops in the year, so that the total area of crops will be ultimately 11.4 million *feddans*. Now if 7.69 million *feddans* support a population of 12.75 millions, 11.4 will support 18.9 millions, on the assumption that neither the efficiency of agriculture nor the distribution of crops is materially altered. On the day when Egypt's population reaches this figure, she will have attained the limit of population that can be supported by her land under conditions similar to those now prevailing. True, Egyptian agriculture admits of much improvement, and concentration on high-valued crops for export may permit of an increase of imports, by which means the evil day may be postponed; but come it will, sooner or later. Projecting into the future with the aid of past demographic statistics, we may reasonably expect the population to touch 18.9 millions by 1955. By this date, then, Egypt will require water to irrigate her land to the utmost cropping capacity.

The flow of the Nile is not unlimited. It becomes a matter of vital importance to Egypt to ascertain how much water she will require in the future; to find out whether this quantity is always likely to be available; and to enquire whether there is liable to be any interference with it. These questions will be examined in turn.

Nearly all of the cultivable land lies to the north of the granite barrier on which the Aswan dam is built, and all the water for it must pass through the sluices there. This, then, is the best site to take tally of the amount of water required, and available, in order that we may strike a balance sheet.

If we knew the average volume of water required per *feddan* of crop, to ascertain the total volume ultimately required would be a

matter of multiplication by 11.4 millions; but unfortunately this average is not known with any great precision. The answer to the first question, therefore, depends largely on individual judgment. Figures have been given varying from 50 milliards of cubic metres to 64. The higher figures are derived from measurements of the quantity of water delivered at the field, and overlook the fact that some water does duty in the estimate twice over. Thus a certain amount sinks into the soil and drains back to the river by the porous gravel beds that everywhere underlie the cultivated stratum. The figure adopted by the Irrigation Department is 50, or, when navigation water is added for January (in which month irrigation is at a standstill), 52 milliards. The writer has made an independent calculation of 54 milliards, which, if anything, may be found to be on the high side. In adopting it, therefore, the bias, if any, is in Egypt's favour.

This water will not, however, be wanted in equal monthly instalments, but somewhat as follows (in milliards of cubic metres):

August ...	5.9	December ...	3.2	April ...	3.8
September ...	5.4	January ...	2.0	May ...	4.2
October ...	5.8	February ...	3.2	June ...	5.4
November ...	4.5	March ...	3.4	July... ..	7.2
Flood ...	21.6	Winter ...	11.8	Summer ...	20.6

These subdivisions of the year correspond to the Egyptian agricultural seasons and are dictated largely by the hydrographic conditions. How far these annual and monthly amounts are available now demands investigation.

Father Nile celebrates his New Year on June 17th, the Leilet el Nukta, or night of the drop, for that is the date on which the Archangel Gabriel drops into the river the miraculous drop which causes it to swell in the coming flood. But since June and July are still months of scanty supply, it will be convenient to begin the water year from August 1st, at Aswan. And since water takes time to travel, discharges all must be referred to the epoch at which they would reach Aswan. Water which passes Aswan on a given day left Mogren, the "meeting of the waters" at Omdurman, a fortnight before; Malakal, below the junction of the Sobat and White Nile, three weeks earlier; Mongalla, where the river leaves the hills of the Lake Plateau, ten days earlier still; and Lake Albert, another ten days earlier; eight weeks in all from the Lake to Aswan.

The natural flow of the river at Aswan is at its lowest, some 500 to 600 cubic metres a second, in mid-June. This water has come almost entirely from the White Nile, for the average contributions of the White Nile and Blue Nile at their lowest are as 4 to 1. The flow of the White Nile has come by way of the Bahr-

el-Gebel, the "River from the Mountains," from Lake Albert and Lake Victoria, where it has been stored naturally for many months after the rainfall to which it was due. It is of fundamental importance, for this steady minimum discharge alone prevents the main Nile from "petering out" during the early summer, as happens to the Atbara and the Khor Gash on one side of the Abyssinian plateau and the Hawash on the other, and as, indeed, probably happened to the Nile itself some 20,000 years ago, before the melting of the Central African glaciers caused the lakes to spill over so that the bars which then dammed them were pierced to give us the White Nile of to-day. The supply to which the Egyptian Nile owes its existence in early summer comes, it should be noted, from Uganda and not from the Sudan.

The heavy rains in Abyssinia, to which chiefly the flood is due, start about the middle of June, and their effect is felt at Aswan about the beginning of July. Thereafter the river rises rapidly till the highest gauge reading and discharge are reached in September. In a year of high flood this discharge may rise to 33 milliards in a month, but in a very poor one the maximum discharge may fall below 14 milliards for the month. Still, even in the worst flood recorded, that of 1913, the amount of water sent down in September, 11 milliards, far exceeded the 5.4 milliards needed by Egypt at this time. Inevitably, therefore, as things are at present, some 6 milliards must flow to the sea, wasted, even in a year when the flood is so poor. After the passage of the crest of the flood the water-level falls away, rapidly at first, but more and more slowly, till in the following June the minimum is again reached.

The run-off from the Abyssinian hills drains to the Nile by way of the Sobat, the Blue Nile and the Atbara, which are torrential in character, rising brusquely and falling nearly as rapidly, and—like most mountain torrents—carrying with them large quantities of silt.

The Bahr-el-Gebel is at all seasons a clear stream when it issues from Lake Albert, but the rains that flow off the hills to the north of the Lake render it also torrential and muddy. Under the influence of the great swamps it soon deposits its silt and becomes a clear, placidly flowing stream, never rising very high, and—more important—never shrinking to nothing.

The total volumes discharged by the river and its main tributaries at various sites during three different years are exhibited in the following table. The year 1913-4 was one of the worst, if not the very worst known; that of 1917-8 was exceptionally good, but probably not so high as some earlier years; these typical extreme years may be supplemented by the year 1914-5 when the discharge was nearly average, though (it should be noted) slightly under it.

DISCHARGES OF THE NILE AND TRIBUTARIES AT VARIOUS SITES
(In milliards of cubic metres)

River.	Site of the Discharge.	Conditions.		
		Good.	Average.	Bad.
		1917-18.	1914-15.	1913-14.
(1) Bahr-el-Gebel ...	Mouth Lake Albert...	48	20	17
(2) " " ...	Mongalla ...	60	28	22
(3) Sobat ...	Doleib Hilla ...	26	14	9
(4) ...	Sum (2) and (3) ...	86	42	31
(5) White Nile ...	Malakal ...	46	29	23
(6) Lost in the swamps ...		40	13	8
(7) White Nile ...	Mogren ...	40	26	19
(8) Blue Nile ...	Soba ...	76	64	25
(9) ...	Sum (7) and (8) ...	116	90	44
(10) Nile ...	Tamaniat ...	114	89	43
(11) Atbara ...	Atbara ...	30*	20*	7*
(12) ...	Sum (10) and (11) ...	144	109	50
(13) Nile ...	Wadi Halfa ...	129	96	47
(14) " ...	Aswan ...	118†	88†	42†

This table is worthy of a little attention. It shows clearly (1) the exceeding variability of all branches of the river from year to year; (2) the enormous losses in the swamps, from 25 per cent. in a bad year to 45 per cent. in a high year; (3) the apparent sufficiency of supply in a year even slightly under normal, and its insufficiency in a low year; and (4) the preponderance of the downflow from the Abyssinian hills.

The loss in the swamps is due to the physical character of the river, which has built up for itself a deltaic channel in what must once have been a wide shallow lake. A relatively small discharge is sufficient to fill this channel brimful, after which any further discharge tops the banks and spreads through the papyrus and grass swamps, to be lost by evaporation. No scheme for increasing the flow above the present carrying capacity of the river here can have the faintest hope of success unless this branch is canalised. Hence dredging and training of the Bahr-el-Gebel form an indispensable part of any project that aims at regulation upstream of Mongalla.

The variability suggests the possibility of conservation of the excess from one year for use in a year of poor supply—Joseph's problem of the seven fat years and the seven lean years in another

* Inferred.

† These figures differ from those given by the Irrigation Department, which had been reduced in flood for fear of overstatement (*v. p. 236 of Nile Control*, 2nd Edition). The reduction, having been found unnecessary, has been removed by the writer.

form. And, indeed, such control is rendered possible by the existence of the two great central African Lakes—wide basins with steep sides, so that a slight rise of the water level means that a large volume of water is impounded without materially increasing the present evaporating surfaces. The motto for any general project of control must be the old proverb, “Waste not, want not,” which might well be inscribed over the door of the Projects’ Sections of the Egyptian Public Works Ministry.

In a bad year like 1913-4 the total discharge, 42 milliards, would be quite insufficient to meet the requirements, 54 milliards. This would be bad enough, but matters would be in fact even worse than this. For of the 32 milliards contributed by the Blue Nile and Atbara in a year like 1913, some 9 come down in September when but 5 milliards would be wanted. The White Nile, too, would be discharging 2 milliards, so that, as things are, 6 would be wasted out of a supply already insufficient. Even if we hold back the White Nile discharge (as will presently be proposed), there would be an inevitable waste of 4 milliards in September of a bad year—unless means could be found of storing the excess.

This, however, is impracticable. The silty waters of the Blue Nile and Atbara are impatient of restraint, which they resent by “downing silt,” so that any reservoir intended to hold up their waters in flood would quickly be filled with the deposit, a fate that has in fact befallen several old-time Spanish reservoirs on muddy torrents. Some part of the Blue Nile flood could be impounded at a suitable site, before the water has become too muddy for storage, but this is not a matter of immediate practical politics. As things are, storage of the Blue Nile and Atbara flood must be discarded.

Prudence dictates, then, that every effort should be made to conserve the excess waters of the Bahr-el-Gebel. Now there does not exist within the confines of Egypt or the Sudan a site suitable for a reservoir that could do this. To get such a reservoir we must go to Lake Albert. We shall assume, then, that such a project has been carried out, together with its logical corollary, canalisation of the Bahr-el-Gebel. The latter alone would economise 8 milliards of cubic metres which, allowance made for evaporation and seepage losses *en route*, would give 5 milliards delivered at Aswan. This would give a supply of 43 milliards to meet requirements of 54. The balance, 11, represented by 18 at Malakal and 20 at Lake Albert, would have to be obtained by drawing on the reserve to be created and stored in that Lake.

The importance of this reservoir does not, however, end here. It can play a part even in a normal year, a part so essential that for this reason alone the dam above the Fola Falls would be necessary. For though supply in a normal year would reach 88 mil-

liards, or, after the execution of the engineering works indicated above and the consequent economy of losses in the swamps, 96 milliards at Aswan, this water would not arrive as it was wanted, but somewhat as follows:—

Flood months 66 milliards, viz., 54 from the Blue Nile and Atbara, and 12 from the White Nile.

Winter	..	20	..
Summer	..	10	..
Total	..	96	milliards.

A reference to the table of requirements shows that only 21.6 milliards could be used during the flood, whereas 11.8 would be wanted in the winter months and 20.6 in the summer. Storage is again indicated as a remedy, and a beginning was made when Aswan dam was constructed. Of the 54 milliards of silty flood water, some 3 could perhaps be stored in November.* 21.6, say 22, would be used for flood irrigation: the balance, 29 milliards, would inevitably run to waste in the Mediterranean, unless basin (or flood) irrigation on the Pharaonic model is introduced into the Sudan and some portion of the water is thus usefully employed.

In winter there would arrive 20 milliards to meet requirements of, say, 12, and in summer there would be a deficit of 20.6 minus 10, or, say, 11 milliards. There could be made available also the 3 milliards of impounded flood water and the 12 milliards of flood flow from the White Nile system, if this could be stored. The former amount may be taken as representing the storage capacity of Aswan reservoir, where this surplus would be stored, since there exists no suitable site between Wadi Halfa and Khartum. The White Nile flow can be impounded only above its junction with the Blue Nile, and the dam at Gebel Aulia, 45 kilometres south of Omdurman, is intended for this purpose. All work on this dam has been stopped temporarily, but when the construction is finished, the reservoir will store 8 milliards of cubic metres, 3 of which will be wasted in evaporation *in situ*—for it will be an uneconomical reservoir—and 1 *en route* between the dam and Aswan.

The balance-sheet now reads:

Excess supply (to be stored if possible) in flood:							
Blue Nile	...	...	...	...	...	...	3 milliards.
White Nile	...	...	...	...	...	...	12 ..
Winter	...	...	...	...	...	...	8 ..
							23 ..
Loss on storage and in transit	...	...	...	...	...	...	4 ..
Balance available	...	...	...	...	...	...	19 ..

Since the deficiency to be met is 11 milliards, there is an apparent surplus of 8 milliards (measured at Aswan, it must not be forgotten). This, however, is more apparent than real, for there are

* When the water has become comparatively clear.

no sites (other than Gebel Aulia) on the White Nile or Sobat where ~~the water~~ be impounded. We are, in fact, driven back to Lake Albert again to find a suitable reservoir even for storage from month to month. But Lake Albert will not store water that falls on the Sobat or to the north of its own outlet. The most we could temporarily impound there in an average year is 13 milliards, equivalent to some 6.5 at Aswan. With 2.5 milliards net impounded in Aswan reservoir; 4 milliards net at Gebel Aulia; and 6.5 from Lake Albert, there could then be available 13 milliards to meet an estimated deficit of 11. The situation would be saved, and saved with the help of the Uganda scheme.

There are, however, still at our disposal the surplus flows of the Bahr-el-Gebel and the Sobat, which come at a time when they cannot be used directly and cannot be stored. This water is useless to Egypt and could only be allowed to escape to the sea. It can, however, be utilised in the Sudan, by a rearrangement of the contributions drawn from the Blue Nile and White Nile for Egypt in winter; and the amount so rendered available for the Sudan would be the equivalent of this unstorable water of the White Nile, which may be estimated at about 7 milliards during the period from July to February. This, then, could be abstracted from the Blue Nile during flood and winter without detriment to Egypt's supply. The amount required for the extended Gezira scheme of 1,000,000 *feddans* in the Sudan is 6 milliards, namely 4 in flood, when there is more than Egypt wants even in a bad year, and 2 in winter, which will always be available, in winter, if bad years are eliminated by storage, as has been indicated, in Lake Albert.

To sum up, the future security of the water supply of Egypt depends primarily on the construction, not of the Gebel Aulia dam, but of that at Lake Albert. The utilisation of this dam implies canalisation of the Bahr-el-Gebel, but if these works are carried out, and the Gebel Aulia dam is also in operation, then Egypt need have no fear for her future water supply, for there will be enough for her, for the Gezira irrigation scheme, and for a slight development of basin irrigation in the Sudan, in good, bad and indifferent years alike.

Such a system of control must necessarily depend on the maintenance of the most friendly relations with the Power that governs Uganda, and this even if the whole Sudan was under Egyptian rule alone. To oust Great Britain from the Sudan would therefore be far from securing for Egypt that invariable supply of life-giving water that she needs. The political moral is that Egypt need be afraid of no interference with that supply so long as she cultivates friendly relations with Great Britain, and that it would be for her a fatal mistake to try to drive Britain from the Sudan.

J. I. CRAIG.

THE MANDATORY SYSTEM AFTER FIVE YEARS' WORKING

THE fifth year of the League of Nations marks the close of the first chapter in the history of the Mandatory system. It opened with the issue of the Covenant of the League, Article 22 of which defines the principles of government for the "A," "B" and "C" Mandates. It closes with the altogether unfortunate resignation, upon his becoming Vice-Rector of the Geneva University, of the Director, M. William Rappard, under whose universally approved guidance the machinery of the Mandatory system was erected.

The preliminary steps in framing and applying the Mandates were taken during the sittings of the Assembly of the League held in December, 1920; these led to a spirited discussion upon procedure between Dr. Nansen's Sub-Committee and the Council of the League and to the submission of the draft Mandates to Dr. Nansen's Committee. The first sitting of the Permanent Mandates Commission was held in October, 1921, when the members were invited to enter upon their duties by Dr. Wellington Koo, at that time President of the Council of the League.

A new chapter now opens, not merely under a new Director, but with the coming into operation of the Mandatory system over the whole of the Mandated areas, with the exception of Mesopotamia. The population and areas of territories under Mandate are approximately* as follows:—

" A " TERRITORIES.				Sq. Miles.	Population.
Mandate.					
Mesopotamia	...	...	Not yet defined	...	—
Palestine, Syria and Lebanon			—	67,000	3,300,000
" B " TERRITORIES.					
Cameroons	...	...	British	...	644,000
Cameroons	...	...	French	...	1,500,000
Togoland	...	...	British	...	188,650
Togoland	...	...	French	...	730,807
Tanganyika	...	...	British	...	4,124,438
Ruanda-Urundi	...	...	Belgian	...	4,000,000
" C " TERRITORIES.					
Nauru and New Guinea	...	...	Australian	...	180,000
Western Samoa	...	...	New Zealand	...	34,979
Pacific Isles, N. of Equator	...	...	Japanese (400 islands)	...	40,000
South-West Africa	...	...	—	227,740	321,160
Total area (approx.)				971,377	Total pop. 15,064,034 (approx.)

Mesopotamia, a territory scheduled as an "A" Mandate, still awaits definition; until this has been done and certain outstanding difficulties adjusted, it cannot come under the Permanent Man-

* The areas and populations can only be given as "approximate" until the areas are in some cases more clearly defined, and a regular census of population obtained.

dates Commission. It will be noted from the foregoing Table that the Belgian area of East Africa is less than 20,000 square miles, yet it contains a population almost as great as that of the British Tanganyika area of 365,000 square miles. The sparseness of the population of South-West Africa is unique in the African Continent. This huge area, considerably larger than France, possesses a population less than the City of Bristol. A feature of capital importance to bear in mind is that although the ex-Ottoman or "A" Mandated areas are capable of absorbing European population there are only limited areas in both the "B" and "C" territories capable of white colonisation in the general acceptance of the term, a fact which has a vital bearing upon the character of economic development which should be pursued. A fundamental difference in the character of "B" and "C" Mandates is that in the "C" or *contiguous* areas (that is "contiguous" to a Dominion) the Mandated Area is entitled to be administered under the laws of the Mandatory, as an integral part of its territory.

MACHINERY OF GOVERNMENT.

The machinery of government, which admittedly must soon undergo some change, is of three component parts: (1) the Mandatory Power, (2) The Council of the League of Nations, (3) The Permanent Mandates Commission.

The Council of the League, in pursuance of obligations arising from Article 22, created a Permanent Mandates Commission to examine the Reports and exercise a general oversight upon the application of the stipulations of the Mandates to the territories concerned. The Commission appointed by the Council is composed of nine persons, one of whom must be a woman, and none of whom may hold any office which puts them in a position of direct dependence on their Governments; it is also understood that the Director of the Mandates Section shall not be chosen from the subjects of a Mandatory Power. The membership of the Permanent Mandates Commission originally included an American (owing to the insistence of America that in all vital matters affecting Mandated territories she must be consulted), but Mr. Cameron Forbes did not accept the offer of a seat on the Commission. In addition to the nine members of the Permanent Mandates Commission, the International Labour Office sends an "observer" with special reference to Labour questions, a position admirably filled by Mr. Harold Grimshaw. This machinery of oversight may therefore be regarded as impartial.

"A" MANDATES.

For the first time "A" Mandates came before the Permanent Mandates Commission in this, the fifth, year of the League—Syria,

the Lebanon and Palestine. M. de Caix, who represented France before the Permanent Mandates Commission, gave the members a striking picture of the situation in which he found himself during 1921-1922 when the 30,000 Christians fleeing before the Turks surged into Syria. These refugees soon became absorbed into the social and economic structure of the territory, and in particular the Armenians at once assisted in "developing the economic life of the country." The financial difficulties of Syria have been considerable, but in spite of this France has already created four native governments—Damascus, Aleppo, the Alaouites and Great Lebanon. The electoral system is based upon universal suffrage with a literacy test. The total receipts from taxation are about 200,000,000 francs, but 50,000,000 of this goes to the Ottoman public department.

Palestine constitutes by far the most difficult Mandatory problem. Sir Herbert Samuel, the High Commissioner, to whom everyone pays tribute for his fairness, has a colossal task before him if he is to succeed in welding together a stable administration from two such strongly opposed elements as Jews and Arabs; as he himself puts it, part of his population is living in the age of 2000 B.C. and part in the era of A.D. 2000! The anti-Jewish propagandist has succeeded in creating an impression in many quarters that Britain's political aim is that of making Palestine *the* National Home of the Jewish race, and that the best lands of Palestine are being given to immigrant Jews who are flocking in hundreds of thousands to the valley of Jordan. What is the actual position? The Mandate for Palestine was approved by the Council of the League in July, 1922, but it did not come into force until the end of September, 1923. The object of the Mandate is that of giving force to the Balfour declaration whereby a Jewish National Home was to be created *in* Palestine, a very different thing from making the whole of Palestine the Home of the Jewish race. Outside Palestine there are 14,000,000 Jews. At the close of the war there were only 53,000 Jews in Palestine and since that time 40,000 have arrived; as 5,000 left again, the total Jewish population is less than 100,000. The allegation that the official machinery of administration is in the hands of Jews is also shown to be absurd from the figures produced to the Permanent Mandates Commission by Sir Herbert Samuel:—

Senior and Junior Services.

Moslems	...	...	2019
Christians	...	...	1443
Jews	...	...	811
Others	...	...	8

In common with every other Mandated area the dominant pro-

blem is the land. The value of land in Palestine is now two or three times its pre-war value, for every Jew arriving in the territory has one cry—"land." As a general practice the tenure is leasehold, not freehold, and up to the present no lands have been sold to Jews by the Government. All lands have been obtained from Arabs, and Sir Herbert Samuel states that he has been informed that Arabs are prepared to dispose of five times as much land as the Jews are able to buy. But a land settlement is amongst the most urgent needs of Palestine, and to meet this situation Sir Ernest Dowson, formerly ex-Director of the Survey and Finance Department in Egypt, is now in Palestine studying the question and advising the Administration. One of the most interesting features of Palestine development is the exploitation of the resources of the Dead Sea; the information given officially to the Permanent Mandates Commission is that "the value of the deposits in the Dead Sea is vast." A Committee of expert chemists has examined the question and it is hoped that the exploitation of the deposits will soon be commenced.

TEST ISSUES.

(1) *Sovereignty*.—Public opinion will be influenced mainly by the manner in which the League Council and Permanent Mandates Commission face the test issues with which they are confronted, and the first and biggest of these is the question of sovereignty.

This problem of sovereignty, so often discussed, has never been authoritatively settled. Germany surrendered her Colonial territories under Article 119 of the Treaty of Versailles, not to the Mandatory Powers of France, the British Empire, Japan and Belgium, but to the Allied and Associated Powers. It is, of course, true that prior to the Treaty of Versailles coming into force, namely, May 7th, 1919, the Supreme Council had already allocated (tentatively at least) the Colonial territories to the Mandatory Powers. One thing is certain, namely, that the sovereignty of these territories no longer resides with Germany; does it reside wholly or temporarily in the Allied and Associated Powers or does it reside in trust with the Mandatory Powers or with the League of Nations? The Covenant is altogether silent on this question.

An important factor in connection with the dispute upon sovereignty is the advice of the League that the peoples of the Mandated territories are not the subjects of the Mandatory Power, but are either "administered persons under Mandate" or "protected persons" under Mandate of the Mandatory Power. But in point of fact nobody has yet got beyond the position of M. Hyams who, in his report at the Supreme Council Meeting at San

Sebastian, August, 1920, said: "I shall not enter into controversy—though this would certainly be very interesting—as to where the sovereignty actually resides. We are face to face with a new institution." But there will never be any settlement of a dozen outstanding issues until this knotty problem is authoritatively settled.

(2) *State Domain*.—Can the question of land be decided until the question of sovereignty has been authoritatively settled? This question is variously answered, but in the meantime the Legal Section of the League has just given an important opinion under the following circumstances. During 1920-1922 the French Government issued a series of decrees covering the disposal of land both in the Cameroons and in Togoland. These decrees dealt with native reserves, vacant and public lands, but they included another category which created at once in the minds of students of Colonial policy consternation and alarm, namely, the innocent little category entitled "*Domaine de l'Etat*." Did this mean the revival of the "*domaine privé*" idea? Did it mean an assertion of sovereignty? These were questions to which no definite answer was or is forthcoming. In 1923 the Permanent Mandates Commission gave exhaustive consideration to the matter, and M. Van Rees, the Dutch member, to whose forensic knowledge the Commission is so deeply indebted, prepared a lengthy memorandum* upon the whole subject, quoting an array of Colonial Legislative authority. The matter was of such obvious and far-reaching importance that it was submitted by the Council of the League to the Legal Section for an opinion. M. Van Hamel, the Director of the Legal Section, forwarded the opinion of the Section to the Council in a memorandum on May 20th last. This document† appears to contemplate further opinions from legal and other sources, for M. Van Hamel says:—

"It may not perhaps be possible to give a final opinion concerning the strict interpretation and meaning of the expressions employed in these instruments of internal legislation until the Governments concerned, or the legal experts of these Governments, who are familiar with all the details of their country's legislation, have been consulted."

The next step is that which has now been taken by the Council of the League, namely, the submission of this legal opinion and the relevant documents to the Mandatory Powers for the opinion of *their* legal advisers. It is hoped that the Council will be in a position to give the Assembly a clear and authoritative answer in September next.

(3) *Punitive Expeditions*.—Almost every Colonial effort has been sullied by punitive expeditions, and the Mandates Commission has

* A.19 (Annexes) VI. Aug. 24/1923. † A.13. 1924. VI. II.

only been confronted up to the present time with one, namely, the punitive expedition against the Bondel Hottentots. Now that this altogether deplorable and disastrous incident is closed it may be dismissed by saying that the Commission was incredibly slow to respond to public opinion in coming to grips with the situation, but that once it got to work upon the matter it pursued its unpleasant task with great tact and infinite patience, and, further, that the Permanent Mandates Commission, like every other Government institution, seemed to require the spur of outraged public opinion before getting into action in the matter at all.

(4) *Petitions*.—It can hardly be denied that the least satisfactory sphere of the work of the Mandates Commission is the way it is compelled to deal with petitions from those who feel they have a grievance, at present the scales appear to be weighted against the petitioners. In the first place, aggrieved natives in remote parts of Africa or the South Seas, when appealing to the Permanent Mandates Commission for redress, must conform to the various regulations set forth in document C44 (1) 1923 VI C.P.M. 39—! It will be no matter for surprise that most petitions can be ruled out of order as failing to conform to the regulations, of the existence of which the petitioners are naturally ignorant; and which they probably could not understand even if they knew them from “A to Z!” The aggrieved, having discovered and remedied their error, may appeal again the next year, but the Mandatory Power has a member on the Commission and also an official present who can defend his Government from any charge made against it, whilst the petitioners have nobody to present their case or defend their interests. There is no doubt that the majority of petitions are either frivolous, irregularly drawn, or without sufficient basis of fact, but when everything has been said that can be said in defence of the present system the damning fact remains that of the many petitions forwarded to the League the writers might just as well have spared themselves the trouble of petitioning, for so far as is known they have obtained no tangible redress whatever. If the present regulations are to continue and the Mandates Commission is to enjoy the confidence of the people in the Mandated areas in anything like the measure it enjoys to-day the confidence of the Mandatory Governments, then some change must be made, and possibly the best way of meeting the situation would be by the Commission agreeing that under certain well defined conditions it would either allow or appoint a spokesman in Europe to present a case for the petitioners.

(5) *Loans and Security*.—Every Mandated area is demanding “public works,” for which there is no capital. In addition to this, the Administrators with one accord say that private enterprise is

hampered owing to the uncertainty of the future of the Mandated areas. During the sittings last September, Mr. Hofmeyr, the vigorous Governor of South-West Africa, raised this question with a good deal of force and gave a striking illustration to the Commission. It seems that the most urgent need in South-West Africa is a cold storage plant, and in order to provide this a public issue was made for £250,000, but the total application for shares was only £9,000—due, according to Mr. Hofmeyr, to the lack of security with which the Mandatory system is regarded.

The Permanent Mandates Commission asked the Council a year ago to give them their opinion, but the Council in turn requested the Mandatory Powers to submit their views as soon as possible to the Council. The problem is evidently an extremely difficult and urgent one, for the Council is still unable to give any advice to the Permanent Mandates Commission.

The Permanent Mandates Commission considered the question again at its sittings held in November last, when Sir Frederick Lugard presented a memorandum on the subject. It is common ground that uncertainty as to the status and future of Mandated territories prevents the flow of capital. The fact of Mandated territories being a “sacred trust” held until the Wards are proved to be capable of managing their own estate, precludes annexation and thereby sets up the presumption of revocation, which in itself deters capital from flowing to the Mandated territories. It is argued by certain Governments that revocation is inconceivable because it could only be done with the consent of the Council of the League, but, inconceivable or not, the business man knows that revocation is possible under certain circumstances. The second point of common agreement is that loans can only be negotiated by hypothecating certain revenues with the sanction of the Council of the League; this will not be easy in these undeveloped territories. It is probable that the most satisfactory way of meeting this difficulty would be for the Mandatory to guarantee through the League certain approved loans for public works; by this means the money could be raised both more easily and more cheaply, but can one imagine, for example, the British Treasury agreeing to such a course?

This, then, represents the first period of the Mandatory system, which has on the whole worked far more satisfactorily than had been predicted by its critics. There are three directions in which the machinery might be strengthened with advantage to everybody. The tenure of office for members of the Permanent Mandates Commission is without any stated period; it might be an advantage to make appointments for a period of years. The second reform is really too obvious to need stating, namely, the fact that

the Commission only contains one woman out of nine persons; clearly the proportion should not be less than one-third as many women as men. The third reform is even more vital, namely, some means under which the procedure of petitions is simplified and a way devised whereby petitioners with legitimate grievances may, if necessary, avail themselves of assistance in the presentation of their case.

The most active element in the machinery is the Permanent Mandates Commission. It may be true that this body has disappointed some of the more extravagant hopes, in that it has not yet taken severely to task any Administration, called for the dismissal of any particular official, requested an enquiry into the treatment of the inhabitants, or recommended the revocation of any Mandate, but the members have proved themselves to be remarkably conscientious and painstaking. The single task of reading reports from all the territories under their supervision is an exceedingly heavy one; in addition to this there is a continuous output of correspondence with Headquarters in Geneva. Once a year (now apparently to be twice a year), these Commissioners meet in Geneva or elsewhere to discuss the work and prepare reports for the Council or Assembly. The whole of this work is done without one penny remuneration, beyond, of course, out-of-pocket expenses. All this means a large expenditure of physical and mental energy and represents without doubt one of the most generous pieces of disinterested public service performed by the League: civilisation owes to every member of the Permanent Mandates Commission a debt it cannot easily repay.

Those who may be inclined to be critical of the effect of the Mandatory machinery would do well to reflect upon the very healthy control which is set up by the fact that each year the Mandatory Powers submit to a pretty stiff cross-examination upon their stewardship—a procedure which might be adopted with no little advantage by the Colonial Powers with regard to those of their respective Dependencies where there is no system of self-government. On the whole, the League of Nations may be justly proud of the success of the Mandatory system.

JOHN H. HARRIS.

ENGLAND & SCHOOL-IDEALS IN CHINA.

“How deep are the print-marks in the brain made by the intellectual instruments first applied to that tender surface! . . . How many potentialities are latent in each personality to be set in motion (or pressed down or stunted as the case may be) by the rough inner surface of the mould which we call early environment!”—M. E. SADLER.

THE thesis I propose to discuss within the limits allowed by a short article is that the co-operation of Great Britain has, at this juncture, a high potential value for China, if undertaken on certain lines and with certain safeguards; and that the improved commercial and political relations that would be likely to result would react favourably on both nations and even ultimately on the world at large in promoting the interests of peace.

This thesis rests on certain concurrent propositions, namely, first, that there exists a real basis for co-operation between the English and Chinese in the possession of certain mental characteristics; next, that education, and in particular higher education, is the best and indeed the only field for such co-operation; and, finally, that there is in China not only a need for such co-operation but also a reasonable probability that it would be welcomed. Incidentally, it will be necessary to describe somewhat definitely the kind of co-operation advocated, leading up to what result might be expected if a right system were adopted and consistently acted upon.

The first proposition is that there already exists a basis for co-operation between England and China. Briefly, that basis is a kindred mentality in certain national characteristics. The differences, conspicuous as they are, are mostly of degree rather than of kind. The fact that China has kept herself to herself since history began, while England has always been distinguished by a roving spirit, has resulted in many striking contrasts in manners and habits of thought; but significant similarities are numerous, and of these the most relevant in the present connection is that the highest educational ideal of China in pre-Revolution days closely resembled that of the old classical school in England. Then, China aimed at an education which would produce men of refined manners and courteous bearing, and based the training on a severe intellectual discipline in her ancient classics. In England almost the same qualities are covered by Tennyson's “grand old name of gentleman” as in China mark the “princely man” (*Chün tzu*, literally, son of a prince) which indicates not a titular rank but the social distinction of gentleman. Both Confucius and Mencius, who describe at length the characteristics of the “princely

man," dwell on the very qualities and manners which form part and parcel of our unwritten English code. Conversely, it would be difficult to name any acknowledged trait of an English gentleman which is not referred to in the two well-known classics which contain the sayings of these two philosophers.

This aim has suffered disastrously in the confusion that has followed the Revolution. It should be China's object now both to restore this noble ideal and to broaden its scope.

If we turn to more evident national characteristics, Napoleon would have classed China and England in the same category, for both nations possess a keen faculty for business and both enjoy a well-earned repute for commercial probity. If we call to mind the present unhappy wars of the Chinese Tuchuns, we remember also that England groaned under a similar military incubus during the War of the Roses; and that, though London opened her gates first to one military leader and then to another as Peking recently has been doing—business in both capitals went on as usual. Like England, China will pull through; her Chang Tso-lins and Wu Pei-fus, who correspond more or less to our Warwicks and Buckinghams, will not prevent, though they can hinder, the full nationhood which only a community at one with itself can enjoy. Again, England and China are alike in the particular kind of humour which marks them. In general Chinese humour has no barb in it, which wit often has; nor the coarseness which marks imperfect culture; but, like British humour, is, as a rule, kindly. It is humour of this variety which gives to individuals and nations the power to know their own failings and to appreciate the good qualities of others. Its virtue lies in the evidence it affords that the speakers do not take themselves too seriously, so that the most awkward difficulties dissolve in genial laughter. Further, the Chinese are responsive. If our Indemnity remission is carried through in a spirit of kindness, they will forget our reticence, our stiffness, our shy shrinking from praise, and will make that full response which has been noted for our example: "good measure, pressed down and running over."

My next proposition is that education is the best field for co-operation; in fact, the only field in which full continuity can be attained. Joint action takes place, it is true, in certain business enterprises, in railway control, for example, and the management of public works. Co-operation of this kind, however, though it increases efficiency, has little effect on personal relationships. Nor is any other activity likely to produce this effect, unless it concerns itself with social ideals, and in some way or other touches the springs of conduct. In that respect, the most promising field hitherto cultivated is that of the Red Cross and similar philan-

thropic undertakings. Even these, however, lack continuity in the full sense and that uplifting sense of national welfare and future good which education, and education alone among co-operative activities, presents. Education in truth is the only field. While politics and religion stand apart in any country, in commerce what has England to teach China? Her banking system ranks with our own, and so do her postal arrangements, however much they owed and still owe to us. Chinese business traditions, though deteriorated since the Revolution, were, up till then, as sound as ours; her Guild system is as good as that which we found so effective in Tudor times and have not bettered since. In China they still keep up the personal bond, which we, through expansion into Companies and Trusts, have broken.

The advantage of a working partnership in administration is that the workers get to know each other better; and if it were tried in education the conjoint work would prosper, for each can bring into the common stock something distinctive: whether we regard on the one hand curricula or courses of studies; or on the other that greater part of education which lies outside mere instruction. If we take instruction first, we may note that the Chinese bring to a narrow curriculum a thoroughness of mental grasp which is amazing; and that we can bring breadth. For, though the literary basis is indispensable and native literature is its lifeblood, these alone are insufficient. A progressive people must, in the courses of study they approve, keep an open door for science, and cultivate not only scientific method but a scientific habit of thought. The case for developing intelligence in this direction is overwhelming so far as China is concerned. No one who has seen Chinese using their hands in any work that requires delicacy of touch, or indeed has noted the shape of their hands, or knows the depth of their patience, can doubt that they possess in a singular degree essential qualifications for success in, say, the higher branches of physics and surgery. Yet in China they do not reach any degree of eminence in these pursuits, for, as they themselves recognise, it is quite impossible for them without foreign guidance to use the delicate apparatus needed in modern science or in research. It is not in manipulation that they fail, but in interpretation. As yet, the mind and the hand cannot be got to work together. To make this co-ordination possible, science teaching must be begun in the school, and the mental processes have to be applied to matter as well as to language. Otherwise, to apply Milton's famous saying, their training leaves "Wisdom at one entrance quite shut out." This is a plea not to substitute science for letters, but to admit it as a partner.

Turning to education as distinguished from instruction, we pass

to a larger from a lesser concept. Learning is not merely a knowledge of books, as Chinese literati too readily imagine; the teacher who aspires to-day to the honourable name of scholar, whether in China or in England, should possess in addition to book-learning some knowledge of nature, including human nature, and some acquaintance with natural laws and processes.

The next stage in the argument affirms that there exists a reasonable probability that co-operation in higher education would be welcomed by scholars in China, if only it be offered in a kindly spirit, in the right manner, and on a basis of administrative equality. This is sufficiently evident from the following letter written by my friend, the acting Chancellor of the National University of Peking, Dr. Chiang Mou-lin, with whom I have been in correspondence ever since I met him in Peking in 1921. The letter below, which I quote verbatim, is in answer to one in which I had urged upon him the desirability of co-operation on the basis named. It runs thus:—

“Office of the Chancellor, Peking, January 9th, 1924.

“Your very kind communication of last May had been received with great pleasure. I would have answered it long time ago but for the fact that my whole attention and energy has been absorbed in the unprecedented financial distress of the metropolitan educational institutes during the year. It is true that during the past three or four years, not a single month had passed without witnessing a crisis of some sort for these institutes, yet they had never been in a state of complete collapse such as we are at present confronted with. It required all our efforts, all our time, to keep them in a paralytic state and from giving up the breath entirely. Consequently I have not been able to find many opportunities of talking your proposal over with the leading educationalists of this country, and until I have done so I have been necessarily compelled to delay my answer to you.

“I am glad to inform you, however, after discussing this problem thoroughly with the leading educationalists, I gather that the prevailing sentiment is not against any proposal of mutual co-operation on equal terms. Indeed, I am even in a position to say that they are generally in favour of the scheme, sincerely sharing your belief that ‘a public work equally shared and successfully accomplished will knit together in amity, more than ever in the past, two sovereign peoples.’ As for my wholehearted personal support, you could count upon it as well as that of my friends, in any scheme which can bring about the better development of Chinese education and the progress of our people.

“As I have told you, the metropolitan educational institutes are in great distress, the Government grant is nine months in arrear, and if the teaching and administrative staff had not loyally carried on their work for almost nothing I do not know what would have become of the educational organisation in the capital before now. But such a situation cannot be maintained for ever.

“I have spoken so plainly about our present situation, trusting that it may not be uninteresting to you and that it may furnish you with one more datum to further on your work.”

The terms of this letter from a writer who is beloved for his patriotism, and is at once a high authority in education and a potent force among Chinese scholars, afford, I submit, sufficient evidence in themselves to justify a decision on our part to co-operate in higher education. The basic fact of the present troubled political situation is that while the Chinese military chiefs fight, professors and teachers starve. *Delirant reges, plectuntur Achivi*. This is a matter which our Universities would do well to consider. Oxford and Cambridge recently affirmed their belief in the solidarity of learning in Europe, when they took steps to help Universities in Germany and Austria which had been crippled by the War. If they could help those who had been our enemies, they should not find it difficult to include those who stood by our side at this world crisis, affirming thus a complete solidarity which overleaps barriers of distance and of race alike.

In making this appeal for co-operation in higher education, I desire to emphasise our attitude of goodwill towards China and our reverence for her ethical standards. Such an attitude alone can justify our stepping over the threshold of the temple of national education which for any people holds its past and its future alike. Just as there are characteristics in French and in German education which we in England could adapt with advantage, without adopting the system of which they form but a part, so has England something to offer China which would enrich her national life, if, in taking it into her schools, she would adapt it to her own conditions. This something lies in the working distinction made in England between education and instruction, which places the training of character above that of intellect and forms the traditions of our public schools at their best. Because of this distinction, felt rather than defined, but acted upon, a spirit of initiative, of independence of character, and of corporate responsibility has been developed in our schools for generations and has produced an unbroken succession of leaders and men of public spirit. This, in the opinion of many Chinese who know our tradition and are anxious for their country's welfare, is what China needs more than anything else to-day. These patriots realise the degree to which, since the Revolution, indiscipline has invaded Chinese schools and has undermined the almost filial reverence towards teachers which in China used to characterise schools of an earlier day.

I now turn to the evidence of a need for co-operation. The distinction between instruction and education must still be borne in mind, for at this stage of the argument it has a special bearing.

Education, it is true, uses instruction as its principal medium, but it concerns itself with the making of men, not merely of scholars. The more circumstances change, the more education remains eternally the same. Its essence remains unchanged, even though at times the attention of teachers as well as parents may be directed to its material advantages rather than to its spiritual value. Yet it will always remain what instruction can only partially claim to be, the most fascinating experiment of the play and the interplay of the character, as well as the mind, of one human being upon another.

As to the value to China of recapturing her old ideals and of acquiring that self-discipline which underlies our public school tradition, I need only refer to three Chinese episodes, all occurring within the past twelve months. Each in my opinion demonstrates that what is characteristic in our English practice can with confidence be offered to China.

A newspaper correspondent from Wuchang on January 24th, 1924 writes as follows:

"Although it is yet early in the summer, most of the Government schools in Wuchang have already broken up. The students decided to have no examinations, and since their word is law no examinations were held and they have all gone home. Really, the discipline in these schools is so bad that they are worse than useless. The students take up the attitude that they are the employers of the teachers and the latter are merely their servants. There is an understood compact that nothing is to be expected of the students in class; the teacher is to do the talking and the students sit and listen. The students attend classes only when they choose to, and attendance records are rarely kept. The students also choose what subjects they shall study, and among other things ethics has been definitely thrust out of the curriculum."

At Amoy, in the same month, another paper reports as follows:

"As a result of a strike among the students in the Amoy University, which has arisen from demands of the students that the President, Dr. Lim Boon-keng, and a number of teachers, including the Dean, be dismissed forthwith, the Amoy police have arrested several of the teachers in order to satisfy the demands of the students. Meanwhile, Dr. Lim is reported to have secured the assistance of the Director of Constructions and some 500 labourers to subdue the students by beating them with canes, sticks and bamboos. The leader of the Students' Union received bruises which have since resulted in his death, whilst a large number of other students have received more or less severe wounds."

A third case related to me by a Governor of a well-known school near Hankow concerns a strike which took place there on a domestic matter. At their own instance, the boys went home. After a time, tiring of their leisure, they begged the Old Boys of the School to approach the authorities for them. This move was

successful. The Headmaster agreed to take the boys back and to look into the matter complained of. Thereupon the boys, present and past alike, formed up in procession and with drums beating and flags flying marched in with all the honours of war. Imagine this happening at Rugby or Wellington! The fact is that in China the atmosphere of politics is allowed to percolate into the schools, and immature politicians of fourteen years of age are allowed, without effective protest from masters or parents, to boycott an unpopular teacher or the school authorities, or, as in 1920, throughout China, to destroy, in revenge for a national slight, property belonging to inoffensive Chinese shopkeepers who sold goods, and to assault strangers who were wearing garments of boycotted foreign material.

It is important from a practical point of view to indicate what the co-operation advocated covers. Briefly, England has at her disposal for educational or other purposes the sum of £400,000 a year for twenty-three years, the remainder of her quota of the Indemnity imposed on China in 1901 to cover expenditure and losses incurred during the Boxer Rising. This remainder, secured on Chinese Customs, will be collected as usual, but (as in the case of the United States and Japan) has been remitted as from January 1st, 1922. A Bill for its disposal is now before Parliament. It is on all sides agreed that the mutual benefit of both nations will best be served by devoting at least the bulk of the Fund to education in China. How this Fund might be used I have sufficiently indicated in a scheme expounded in the *Empire Review* (November last).

This scheme has for its aim, goodwill; for its field, higher education; for its method, co-operation; and it affirms that the distinction between the semblance and the reality of co-operation lies in the aim pursued; while the one is content to plan for a beneficiary, the other seeks to bring two minds and wills into unison, that together they may face their difficulties. To give is good, and the more careful the plan which precedes distribution, the greater is likely to be the benefit: to exercise goodwill from a distant centre is good also; but neither form of benefit approaches that of true co-operation in which the giver gives himself as well as his gift. In that case it is as blessed to give as to receive; but it is always true, as Lowell notes, that "the gift without the giver is bare." What here is advocated is a co-operation which is at once real, in that it means work done by Committees on which foreigners and Chinese sit with equal powers; is comprehensive, in that its benefits are dispensed over China and are not restricted to Peking; and is humane, in that the aim behind its operations is the desire to develop a sense of fellowship and goodwill.

The arrangement adopted in September last for the remission of the remaining American quota goes far to meet these conditions, for the fund is handed over absolutely to a Board in China for allocation by fifteen trustees, of whom two-thirds are Chinese and one-third Americans. For my part, however, I would prefer both to go further and not so far. For, in the constitution of Committees, equality of membership is preferable to inequality; and, as to comprehensiveness, it is better to set up local Committees in the Provincial capitals as well as in Peking, for the reason that, so far as all China contributes towards the Indemnity, so far also, all China should benefit by remission.

To one particular provision made in our late China Indemnity Bill as amended in Committee and repeated in the new Bill, strong objection is being taken in China, namely, to the presence of one Chinese only on the contemplated Foreign Office Advisory Committee. This is to misinterpret the circumstances. In the nature of things, a Committee sitting in London can be only a Body of Moderators, while an equality of members is impossible on a Body so circumstanced. Moreover, as to the constitution of the Advisory Committee itself, the last word has not yet been said: that has been left to the new Parliament to say, after considering the Bill now before it. There is, however, good reason for believing that the Foreign Office contemplates that its Advisory Committee would be in touch with a Central Committee sitting in Peking, composed (it is probable) of an equal number of English and Chinese.

Yet even on the Committee as contemplated in these Bills it is certain that one representative Chinese officially nominated, who would keep in touch with Chinese opinion, would be listened to by his colleagues in a special degree, inasmuch as he would stand for national views, and they for particular aspects, so that none could, like him, cover the ground. Further, the fact that he is one and they more than one would, among Englishmen, add force to his official status and ensure for his representations an attentive hearing. Co-operation on a composite Committee, it is submitted, can be real only when a sense of equality is established among the members by the spirit in which proposals are discussed. This depends less on equality of numbers than on the manner in which the business is dealt with, and in particular on the question whether the reasons for action are freely discussed and objections are orally made and orally answered. In these circumstances, not only does one side learn from the other, but in the very process of learning a better understanding is sure to arise between the members themselves, and, in this particular case, outside the Committee also, between the two peoples they represent.

This brings me to my last point, which is, after all, the first. What is the object of the co-operation under discussion? It is, I suggest, that education is only a medium, though the best available, for the development of goodwill between England and China. Not only have the two peoples a kindred mentality, but China is now and for years has been in need of help. No greater claim than this could be made upon the chivalry which is the hidden spring of national life in England at its best. When, therefore, China comes to her own in this tough world, after securing in her higher schools and colleges for her youth a self-discipline of which the present generation does not obtain even the rudiments; when her inherited culture, her industry and her ability are not held back, as now, by lack of initiative; when her public men acquire independence of mind, courage to dare, persistence to carry through—all of which can be taught and practised in the school; then China who loves peace, and England who seeks peace, will join hands with America to ensue it for the world. Then, as colleagues and friends, animated by the same hope, England and China will face a brightening future—

“Till the war-drum throbs no longer, and the battle-flags are furled,
In the Parliament of man, the Federation of the world.”

R. P. SCOTT.

SCIENCE AND BUILDING.

IT was welcome news, a short time ago, that the Ministry of Health was inviting Local Authorities to co-operate in the erection of a number of steel-frame and other experimental types of houses. It is to be hoped that the designs of Lord Weir and others will be given a fair chance, and not become the sport of Press "stunts" similar to those that were such a nuisance in the boom period of 1919, when houses were expected to spring up like mushrooms in a night.

It must be remembered, however, that the frame of a house, whatever it is made of, is little more than a third of a house ready to be used as a home. The floors, ceilings, bath, cisterns, taps, pipes, fire-places, cupboards and the host of other fittings and appurtenances remain substantially the same whatever the walls are made of, as well as the time and labour involved in their installation. These things, of course, are obvious enough, but I remember well that the excessive advertisement of this or that short-cut to a house led people to overlook them in 1919, however repeatedly they were pointed out. More harm was done, I think, to housing progress by the subsequent disappointment and reaction than by the help derived from well-planned experiments.

We are only now beginning to learn the lessons from the novel modes of construction that got through the mesh of expert examination in three days into the category of "approved methods." It is not enough that the substitute should accelerate the rate of building and cheapen cost; it must also stand the test of time, weather and any special local conditions.

It is these latter considerations that prompt me to call attention to the work of that very unassuming but important body of men who constitute the Building Research Board, and who are charged with the collection of observations and the conduct of experiments on matters relating to building and constructional work. This Board is established under the Department for Scientific and Industrial Research, and its work is called for just as urgently nowadays as was its parent Department for other purposes in 1915.

I may perhaps be permitted to recall that the Department itself had its origin in the Report of a Committee over which I presided at the Board of Education in 1915, and the immediate cause was the revelation that the war was making, of how handicapped we were by our backwardness in using scientific men, and in applying the results of their researches to industrial problems. The general scheme was explained by Mr. Pease (Lord Gainsford) in introducing the Education Estimates of that year, but, under the energetic direction of its Secretary, Sir Frank Heath, it has undergone mani-

fold and valuable developments. In alliance with many industrial organisations, it is now responsible for aiding and promoting researches in a multitude of directions, and Lord Salisbury rendered a real public service when, as President of the Council, he defended it against an unthinking use of the "Geddes axe." We may also, I think, feel sure that Lord Curzon, the new Lord President of the Council, will actively concern himself with the work of the Department for Scientific and Industrial Research, and will see to it that the Building Research Board is allowed to develop its work on sound and patient lines uninfluenced by the clamours of sensation mongers.

The latest Report of the Board reveals the need for and the importance of long-term "weathering" tests. Many of the observations are necessarily very technical and must extend over a period of years, but, whilst it is a consolation to know that good scientific work is now in progress on these problems, it is surprising to find in how many things of vital importance to the building industry we are still without definite knowledge. It is now apparent, for instance, that some cottages erected under the former housing scheme, on a new system of construction that promised exceedingly well, have been a disappointment. The method adopted in this case consisted of an outer wall of a steel frame covered with a mesh of netting over which was spread a coating of cement about an inch and a half thick. There was then a cavity and the internal wall of the house was made of concrete blocks. But after a time in certain cases cracks appeared in the outside covering through which rain and mist found their way. This damp percolated through, slipping in between the concrete blocks, and so into the inner rooms. Again, in one of the experimental cottages erected on a site generously provided by the Acton Borough Council, the wet was so serious that there was a pool of water in the basement of one house some three feet deep.

In other cases a type of solid flooring that was passed as economical and thoroughly sound has been found unsatisfactory because, as people often fasten down linoleum and sometimes wash it with a superabundance of water, this leads to the retention of moisture under the linoleum and a rotting of the flooring that would not have occurred if it had been left uncovered. But we have to reckon with the fact that some people will insist on fastening down linoleum, and some of them will sluice it too generously, and any satisfactory method must be reasonably free from such risks.

Under the Coalition Government a "Stone Preservation Committee" was appointed, primarily to inquire into complaints received from the authorities of Westminster Abbey, but it soon became clear that far wider research was essential. In some districts,

places, and it is necessary to ascertain the amount of vibration that a cottage of different forms of construction will stand. The inquiries under this head clearly extend beyond cottage building, and concern the high buildings of steel and concrete that are so freely sanctioned by public authorities.

It would be idle to expect that these researches will lead to rapid or sensational results, and it is common knowledge that a research, even with a clear and limited aim, will often lead to investigations the necessity for which was not foreseen at first. It behoves us to encourage public opinion to be patient and to take long views, knowing that if the results are not immediate the future will bring its reward and justify our patience and our prevision. Moreover, it is often as important to find that a material or a new system will not stand the test of time, as to find that it will, for we do not want to provide the next generation with a new type of dilapidated dwelling. It is as important to build well as it is to build quickly.

CHRISTOPHER ADDISON.

FOR THE SAKE OF THE NEW POOR:

FREE LODGINGS IN PRE-WAR RUSSIA.

A FEW months ago I paid a visit to an old lady who, after living in affluence for some sixty years of her life, had been reduced to poverty. The friends at whose request I went had warned me that I should find her in great distress; for she was ill, they knew; was living in one little room, probably in a third-rate lodging-house; and that would be for her a terrible trial, they were sure. So carefully, indeed, had they prepared me to face a painful state of things, that I was quite startled at the state of things I found. For there was nothing distressful about the house to which they sent me. On the contrary, it was spick and span, clean as clean could be; while the little room was bright and cheery. As for the old lady, she was beautiful in spite of her age, and there was distinction in her whole bearing. Even the roughest of street urchins would have seen at a glance that she was a great lady. And she seemed quite content with her lot; she had the air, indeed, of one who enjoys life, even though she was in bed, and had been there several weeks.

She plied me with questions, for she was eager for news of our mutual friends; was eager, too, to hear what was going on in the outside world that she had loved so long and so well. She knew India, had lived there for years, playing the hostess to her father's many friends. She knew Italy, too, almost every country in Europe indeed, and had met there those best worth meeting. She had racy little stories to tell of them and their ways; and she told them well, with oddly humorous little comments thrown in. I went to see her again and again, and every time I found her just the same, just as ready to laugh and talk, just as eager to make time pass pleasantly. She never once uttered a complaint, never even hinted that all was not going well. The very last time I saw her, she was at her best, her cheeriest. And within a week she was dead; had died, according to the doctor, of heart failure.

Later it became known that, for months before, she had been struggling ceaselessly to make every penny she had do more than it could do, that she might end her days in decent surroundings. What she ate or what she drank she did not care a whit, but live in squalor she could not. And live in squalor she must, or stint herself of food; for, thanks to the heedlessness of her father, her income was too small to provide both decent housing and plenty of food, in such days as these, when everything is costly. During the whole time I had seen her playing her part so gallantly, she had, in fact, been within hailing distance of starvation.

That old lady was one of the new poor, the poor who need help even more than the old poor, but to whom it is much more rarely given, and is much more difficult to give. For many of those who need it most would rather starve than ask for it, or accept it were it offered. There are thousands of gentlewomen in England to-day for whom life is one long hopeless struggle, as they are trying to live decently on what they could and did live comfortably on in pre-War days. And a heart-breaking business they find it; for let them pinch and save as they may, they cannot make money go even half so far now as they did ten years ago.

Before the War, a "lone" woman who had £400 a year was counted well-to-do—quite wealthy, indeed, if she lived in the country; while one who had £200 was regarded as passing rich. Even one who had £100 could, with a little management, be well housed, well fed, and have something left over for pleasures and clothes. Why, I have known ladies with incomes of only £50 a year who contrived to live in comfort, and as ladies. They would have been quite shocked had anyone ventured to class them with the poor. But that was, of course, before the War. Things are different now.

An old lady who has only £50 a year to live on is very poor now, poverty-stricken in fact. Even if she has the strength to cook, wash and clean for herself—and the chances are she has not—she cannot provide herself with decent housing and food. In the average town, housing alone costs her nearly the whole of her income; for, while most things are more costly now than before the War, nothing is quite so much more costly as housing. If, when she has paid for that together with lighting and heating, she has 5s. a week left over for food and everything else, she may esteem herself lucky. And 5s. a week, even for food alone, spells semi-starvation.

Some little time ago I spent many days seeking lodging for an old lady of the new poor class. As she could not afford to pay more than a pound a week for board and lodging, she must, as she knew, content herself with a humble abode and very plain food. But that she did not mind at all, she said, if only the abode was clean and the food was fairly well cooked. I sought the town where she lived from end to end, I visited every district, but nowhere could I find what I was seeking. Not a single lodging-house keeper was willing to provide an old lady with board and lodging in return for a pound a week. For lodging alone without board, in any house where cleanliness and good cooking could be insured, more than a pound a week must be paid, I found. I tried the suburbs of the town and even the villages around, but wherever I went I heard the same tale: "You will find no one here who

will take folk in, do for them, and feed them for a pound a week. Rents, rates and taxes are too high for that."

As I went on my search, I could not but think of the many old ladies there are who have £1 a week, or 30s. at most, wherewith to pay for everything—widows, or spinster daughters of officers, officials, clergymen and others, who died before they could provide more than a pittance for their women-folk. Even before the War such women found it a struggle to make both ends meet; and now, let them do what they will, they cannot—there is always a gap between the two ends. Unless they have friends able and willing to help them, or have strength enough to work, and can find work to do—a difficult matter, nowadays—they must live from hand to mouth, never knowing what it is to have quite enough to eat, going down in the world steadily the while and striving heart and soul to conceal the fact. They must move from house to house, and every change means a change for the worse, as rents rise higher and higher. That is the rub. Even for one room they must now pay more than they can afford to pay, if they are to have quite enough to eat. And, to make matters worse, even of their one room they are never quite sure; they are always haunted by the fear lest they may lose it, be turned adrift, left without shelter. For single rooms are in great request, and young men find more favour in lodging-house keepers' eyes than old ladies.

"I must leave here on Saturday," a poor old lady said to me sadly a few weeks ago. "My landlady told me last Saturday that I must go. I have been out every day looking for a room, but I cannot find anything at a price I can afford to pay. What is to become of me, I cannot think." And tears came into her poor, weary old eyes.

As a point of fact, had not a friend intervened, she would have had to go to the workhouse. That, although she had an Old-Age pension of 10s. a week, and could earn 8s. or 10s. a week by her needle. She, as many other old ladies, would rather die than go to the workhouse; and quite a fair number of them are alive to the fact that they may have to go there, notwithstanding their £50 a year or even more; that they *must* go there should they ever fail to find shelter elsewhere. And that is for them a source of terrible anxiety. Could each one of them have even an attic where she could live decently, sure of being able to end her days there, her lot would be quite a bright one compared with what it is now, even though she must live on short commons. And each one of them might have some such place provided for her, and without anyone being much the poorer, if the wealthy here would do what the wealthy in Russia used to do in by-gone days.

In England, while seeking vainly for little houses in which the

new poor could afford to live, one comes across a fair number of large houses standing empty. They who used to live in them cannot afford to live in them, perhaps; or they may prefer living elsewhere. They would sell them gladly if they could, but buyers for large houses in down-going districts are hard to find. So they leave them standing empty, and very lonely, god-forsaken places they look. When I see them I always think of some houses I used to see, years ago, in Russia. Those Russian houses were larger than the English houses, shabbier too, some of them, and in more desolate surroundings. None the less, there was no touch of the lonely, the god-forsaken about them; for, instead of being empty, they were teeming with life. In every room someone was living, at every window heads would appear; and, although most of the heads were white, if the window was open, laughter and chattering were often to be heard. For the owners of those houses, when they no longer needed them, had turned them into free lodging-houses for those who have some little money, but not enough to provide themselves with decent lodging as well as decent food—for just such folk, in fact, as the new poor here.

Even before the War there was no poor relief system of any sort in Russia, excepting in Moscow: nothing was done officially for the poor. The police were supposed to watch over them, but all that they did was to drive forth the troublesome and leave the rest to starve. Thousands of them did starve every year, and thousands more would have starved had it not been for the charity of the rich. Under the old régime, great nobles and wealthy merchants, with the Tsar at their head, lavished gifts on the poor, especially the aged poor. For there is—or was then—a soft corner in every Russian heart for the luckless who, through length of days, had fallen behind in the race. Nowhere were old retainers so rarely turned adrift as in Russia; nowhere were poor relations, or old friends whom misfortune had befallen, so well cared for. If there was no room for them in the family mansion, the feeling was strong that a home must be found for them elsewhere. And it was to that feeling that the lodging-houses owed their foundation.

A Tsar, or some other wealthy person, who had a palace or a large house to spare, would turn it into a lodging-house; while less wealthy persons would combine to buy or build some such house. When once it was ready for habitation, and had enough money secured to it to keep it in repair, the donor's work was done. He might, of course, retain it under his own control; but what he did was, as a rule, to hand it over to the Local Authorities, to a Committee of social workers, or to the Official Benevolence Trustees, who undertook to be responsible for the working of it.

They must keep it in repair, decide who should live in it, and watch over it generally.

These lodging-houses were not regarded as charity institutions, a fact on which their inmates prided themselves hugely: by going there no loss of self-respect, or even of prestige, was entailed. For a house, when once in working order, was self-supporting, in theory at any rate; in fact too, if properly managed. The residents were provided with lodging gratis; but for board and whatever else they required, they, or their friends, must pay. For the houses were refuges not for the friendless destitute, but for those who had either helpful friends, or at least enough money of their own to keep body and soul together. It was, however, not very much that they had to pay, only between 200 and 300 roubles a year, in most of the houses; for the terms were always fixed as low as possible, just high enough to cover expenses. And food was very cheap in Russia in those days, and the wages of cooks, as of all hand-workers, were meagre. Moreover, there was neither rent nor repairs to be reckoned with, in a house; nor were there any officials, excepting a caretaker, to whom salaries must be paid for keeping the inmates in order. For the old people were as free to do what they liked as if they were living in ordinary hotels. No one interfered with them so long as they did not step on one another's toes, and that was a rare occurrence; for it was only those who could be trusted to demean themselves worthily who were allowed to live there.

Evidently the founders of the lodging-houses were alive to the fact that women suffer more than men, if left without a roof over their heads; and that those who come down suffer more, when down, than those who have never been up; for the best of the houses were reserved for women who had come down. Evidently, too, the founders had had a nice appreciation of social distinctions; for in none of the lodging-houses were persons of diverse classes clubbed together. There were houses that barred their doors inexorably against all who were not of gentle birth, houses into which only the lower official and trading classes were admitted, and houses that were reserved exclusively for hand-workers or old servants, who were as a rule paid for by their former masters or mistresses. In all the houses, however, the inmates were well lodged and, what conduced to good temper all round, well fed. They were treated with great kindness, too, with a respectful courtesy, which gave them that feeling of self-importance that always makes for happiness.

In St. Petersburg, lodging-houses were much larger than in other towns; they were much too large, indeed, according to our English notions. Still, their size did not seem to interfere with

the comfort of their inmates; for, even in the largest, I found old people living very happily. The one that was known as the Widows' House had been an Imperial residence in far back days. There some 600 old ladies, who had more quarterings than roubles, were installed; and very well pleased with their lot they seemed. The 400 inmates of the Old Women's House were equally well content; some of them, indeed, were beamingly happy and very thankful for being where they were. Still, those large houses, although most useful and beneficent institutions, were less attractive than those smaller, such as the Heier, in Moscow, which was given by a private citizen to the Local Authorities for the use of the respectable poor. On one side of the Heier were rooms for 33 old women; on the other, for 33 old men, six of whom must be worn-out popes (priests); and in the middle was a large comfortable sitting-room. There the old women sat sewing or knitting, chatting away merrily the while; and the old men played dominoes, read their papers, and retailed the news they had heard while on their walks abroad. A happier set of old people I have rarely come across, and their happiness was due, in a very great measure, to the fact that they had found a shelter from which they could never be turned adrift.

In the Russian lodging-houses, board as well as lodging was always provided, at a fixed rate—1s. a day per head in the Heier. Here, however, new poor women, if sure of lodging, could provide themselves with board; and, as most of them have a horror of others knowing how little they have to spend, they would prefer to do their own catering. What they need, if life is ever to be for them anything but a burden, is to be freed from their great dread, the dread of being left without a roof over their heads. Had each of them a room in which she knew she could live securely to the end of her days, the worst of their troubles would be gone. And that each one of them could have, if even a tithe of the large houses that are now standing empty were bought up by those who would never miss the money wherewith they bought them, and turned into lodging-houses for poor old ladies.

The turning of an ordinary house into such a lodging-house would entail expense, of course, as large rooms would have to be divided into small rooms. But if it were, as many old houses are, solidly built, the expense need not be very great. There would, however, be another expense: enough money would have to be secured to the house to keep it in repair, although only for some ten or fifteen years; as, by the end of that time, lodging-houses would no longer be needed, at any rate, not for those who need them so sorely now. When once the adapting was done and the money for repairs was secure, the house would be self-supporting.

The rent of the rooms would have to be low, of course; 5s. a week is as much as most of the new poor could afford to pay, and some of them could not afford even that. Still, if 5s. were the average charge for a room, in a fairly large house enough money would be raised to pay rates, taxes, and the salary of a resident caretaker; enough, in fact, to defray necessary expenses. If a servant were attached to the place to give a helping hand to the inmates who required it—and such a servant there ought to be—her wages would be paid, of course, by those to whom the help was given.

Then not only would the donor be free from all expense with regard to the house, but he might, if he chose, be free from all trouble. For even if the Local Authorities refused to relieve him of the care of it, there are but few districts so desolate that suitable persons could not be found there able and willing to act for him as its trustees. Moreover, even if it did entail on him both expense and trouble, he would have in return the satisfaction of knowing that he had done something well worth doing; had brought succour, help and comfort to poor old ladies who, through no fault of their own, were living in great misery.

EDITH SELLERS.

NEGRO RACE-MOVEMENTS IN AMERICA.

"WHY, you niggers have an easier time than I do," said a white storekeeper in Georgia to his black customer. "Yes," he replied, "so does yo' hogs." It is not an easier time that the ten million black citizens of America are seeking, but the attainment of racial manhood. The negroes in the Southern States to-day are demanding their place in the sun.

Long back in the days of slavery, these men dreamed of freedom as the panacea for all their ills. To them slavery was the root of all sorrow and bitterness, liberty the one door to all good things. But after sixty years of freedom they have not yet found their promised land; they are still like men who seek a country. Of late years, however, a change has come over the manner of their seeking. There are new ferments at work in their lives; they are beginning to organise, and through clearly marked schools of thought are giving expression to their emerging race-consciousness. One group is openly hostile to the white man, another section stands for cordial co-operation, while a third school aims at forcing the white man to yield to the negro fair and equal treatment.

The extremist section of Afro-American opinion is led by Marcus Garvey, a full-blooded negro from the West Indies, who has climbed into prominence by the ladder of journalism. He is hardly more than a strident demagogue, with inflated ambitions and a swaggering attitude, but he has behind him an organisation with a growing membership and a militant propaganda. He is a heavily-built, self-confident man who trades upon the credulity of the negroes, exploits their race-sentiment, and claims to have a programme that guarantees complete emancipation. He is the self-styled Provisional President of the African Republic, President-General of the Universal Negro Improvement Association, President of the African Communities League, President of the Black Star Line, Chairman of the Negro Factories Corporation, and Editor of the *Negro World* and *Negro Times*. It is his custom to appear at important functions, connected with these, in the robes of the President of the Negro Republic of All Africa.

His evangel is as resounding as his titles. In the Press and on the platform he openly proclaims that he looks to the time when the Yellow and White races will be locked in a great race-war, and in that day the negroes will march over their weakened and prostrate bodies and enter into their own. "The bloodiest of all wars is yet to come, when Europe will match its strength against Asia, and that will be the negroes' opportunity to draw the sword for Africa." He dreams of an "All-Black Africa" and talks of

repatriating the negroes and claiming Africa for the Africans. "If the English claim England," he says, "the French France, and the Italians Italy, as their national habitat, then the negroes claim Africa, and will shed their blood for their claim."

The Movement emerged during the turbulent days of the War and of the peace that followed it. The struggle was said to be a war to end war, and half a million negroes were persuaded to enlist in the fighting ranks of the American army. The fair promises of liberty, justice, and happier days to come, held out to them in war time, were as new wine to many negroes. The ferments of the new ideas worked strongly in their minds. The news of the Russian Revolution, the Irish Rebellion, the nationalist movements in Egypt and India, and the Islamic and Polish revivals, served to add fuel to the fire of their hopes.

On this flowing tide of popular sentiment Garvey launched his movement. And when the war only cheapened life, bringing a fresh and increased outbreak of mob-violence and lynching, when the returning negro officers and men, who had been treated with respect, and something like equality, in the war-zone, found themselves sent down separate gangways, to be herded into "Jim Crow" cars and refused admission to public parks and libraries, just as in pre-war days, it became clear that America had learnt nothing on the race question from the war. The tide of negro feeling rose yet higher, and Garvey's propaganda found a people prepared to give it a welcome. The American negroes—wearied, distraught, and impatient of unfulfilled promises—were looking for a leader and a programme. They were ready to heed any voice which could ring out above the confusion. Here were all the elements for an unscrupulous opportunist, or for a truly great leader, to use with effect.

The situation gave Garvey his chance. In his paper *The Negro World* he preached his gospel of "The Return" or "The Exodus." He utilised the instinct of race-loyalty, developed in the American negro both by nature and by bitter experience. Africa was sufficiently distant to be easily invested with an attractive halo of desirability. The plantation songs that had come down from the days of slavery, with their yearning for home and freedom, lent power to this appeal. With all the arts of the demagogue, Garvey played upon the feelings of his people, and large numbers thought they saw in him their deliverer, their "Moses," as some fondly called him, who would lead them into their promised land.

Tens of thousands of negroes joined the U.N.I.A. and the African Communities League, and paid in regular contributions out of their hard-earned wages to finance Garvey's high-sounding schemes. So far none of these proposals have matured. The

Black Star Line, which has absorbed more than a million dollars of negro money, has never operated more than one ship, and when she sank off the West Indies on her first voyage, the sordid fact was revealed that she carried, not American negroes returning to their African homeland, but a cargo of whisky and rum. The Negro Factories' Corporation as yet neither owns, nor operates, a single factory. The "Return" shows no sign of beginning.

This Movement is the perfectly natural negro reaction to the propaganda of the Ku Klux Klan. By every device of intimidation, mob-rule and lynch-law, the Klan has tried to keep the negro down, and has accordingly created an inferno of anger and hate beneath the surface of Southern life. In such a cauldron of passion mutual understanding is clearly impossible, and there are growing up two worlds in touch with one another, but without any sympathetic intercourse. They live and learn apart, they travel and worship separately, they read and think along different lines. Those close human links that make life happy and tolerable are neither existent nor possible.

It is idle to dismiss with an impatient gesture this man and the movement he represents. His paper is widely read, his propaganda is vigorously carried on, and his movement has a membership—so he avers—of four million negroes. At least it should have careful consideration, for it has both strength and weakness.

As for his policy of "Africa for the Africans" it should be remembered that even before the Civil War groups of whites, both friendly and hostile to negro advancement, favoured schemes for the colonisation of American negroes in Africa. The establishment of the Republic of Liberia grew out of the belief that Africa was the best place for the negro. Plans for repatriating the negroes were considered by Abraham Lincoln, but he was not convinced of their practicability, and the history of Hayti and Liberia show the wisdom of his hesitation. To this day there is only one school in the whole Republic of Liberia. The country is as undeveloped as when the emancipated American slaves went there more than fifty years ago. The course of Haytian events was so chequered that the U.S.A. had to become responsible in order to ensure any kind of confidence or good governance. The negro has not yet shown his ability to rule even areas of manageable size, much less a vast Continent three times as large as Europe. This is no disparagement to his ability. For centuries the African has known only tribalism and slavery. It is not to be expected that he will be able to accomplish in a generation what it took the white race centuries to achieve.

The "Africa for the Africans" proposal further involves the certainty of isolation from the rest of the world, not to say the

possibility of international ostracism. At this time of day isolation is a thing no people can bear. In a world where life is only another name for interdependence and intercourse, isolation would mean deterioration and decay. Moreover, it completely ignores the history of the last three centuries. For better or worse Black and White are inextricably intertwined in the corporate life of the Southern States. The negroes have been there for three hundred years; they have no remembrance of Africa and no knowledge of their racial home. By culture, tradition, speech, and religion, they are now Americans, not Africans. To repatriate them would be to tear up the only roots they possess, and would inflict upon them cruelty almost as great as when they were first brought as slaves to the American Continent. The task is to find them an adequate place in American Society, so that they may be woven into the fabric of the national life. The gospel of Garveyism is a way out of, not a way through, the difficulty, an evasion not a solution. It runs counter to all that is best and most constructive in American history.

The most hopeful and probably the largest School of negro advancement in America is that associated with the name of Booker T. Washington. His aim was so to raise his race by worthy work that the whites would not be able to withhold equal treatment, and would one day gladly give it. He had little use for political action as such, holding that the negro's first consideration should be to gain not the vote, but the ability to use it. In his oft-quoted Atlanta speech he said, "It is important and right that all privileges of the law be ours, but it is vastly more important that we be prepared for the exercise of these privileges." He accordingly preached a doctrine of racial peace and goodwill, practical education and economic development. In his own words, it was a doctrine of "love and hard work." This school of thought, as is well-known, sows no seeds of bitterness because theirs is a ministry of reconciliation. They aim to present to the world a great object lesson, showing how two races, different in colour and characteristics, can live side by side on the same soil in peace and goodwill, neither hindering the other, but each helping the other towards a higher and more useful civilisation than has yet been achieved.

Midway between these two schools of thought is that led by Dr. W. E. B. DuBois—a small group of college-bred negroes of liberal culture, who are unwilling to compromise their intellectual integrity, unprepared to forego their claim to political status, and unable to accept the position of social inferiority which seems to them to be implied in the Tuskegee programme. As Americans, they demand the rights to which they are entitled, and draw atten-

tion again and again to the great words in the Charter of American liberty, the Declaration of Independence (July 4th, 1776): "We hold these truths to be self-evident: That all men are created equal; that they are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable rights; that among these are life, liberty, and pursuit of happiness." The Marcus Garvey school has no interest in the franchise for the American negro, for their eyes are turned towards another Continent; the Booker Washington school purposes to draw the attention of their people away from the vote and to focus it upon manual and moral development; DuBois, on the contrary, puts the winning of political justice in the forefront of his propaganda.

A graduate of Harvard, and a former Professor of Sociology at Atlanta University, DuBois is to all intents and purposes a white man. He would pass in most places for a swarthy Frenchman who speaks with an American accent. He has all the dispassionate detachment of a scientific investigator, though ever and again the deep fires of racial passion burst through; yet, curiously enough, he is more bitter as a writer than as a speaker. Wholly a white man in culture, he is also partly one by birth, but by the iron colour-bar of the States, which compels a man with only one drop of negro blood to rank as coloured, he is completely excluded from the white world. It is not surprising that as a man of refinement and education he has felt with unusual keenness the disabilities of the negro's position, and his reaction has not wanted for bitterness. "With a flood of negro blood, a strain of French, a bit of Dutch, but, thank God! no Anglo-Saxon," as he says of himself, DuBois has been ever a fighter. In his early boyhood he challenged a big farmer-boy to battle, who thrashed him, but was ever after polite. There has always been something of the knight-errant about him. He has entered upon arduous pieces of research, but always in the interest of his race. The facts revealed by his research, coupled with his personal experience of negro disabilities, obscured everything else for him. He has not, like Booker T. Washington, had to fight his way "up from slavery," he has entered the lists almost from the outside as a champion of his people.

DuBois discovered that, generally speaking, a coloured man has coloured friends, or none at all; lives in a coloured world, or lives alone. In working for that world he found his life's task and his own soul. He saw race-hatred as he had never dreamed of it before. He looked on lynchings till he flamed. He found that the negroes pay their quota of taxation to maintain public parks and libraries, but may not enter either; that they pay the same fare on railroad or tram-car but receive inferior accommoda-

tion; that in many parts of the old Slave States they may not leave the plantations of their birth, while in most of the rural South the negro peasants are peons, bound by law and custom in an economic slavery; that in the Courts they receive differential treatment; that they pay taxes but have no representation; that more than a million of them are herded into one and two-roomed dwellings without taps, sinks, closets, or gardens, and may not occupy houses in any more desirable city-section. In a word, he found that the negroes are a segregated, servile caste, with restricted rights and privileges. With difficulty he held back his mounting indignation, and before long he found himself, willy-nilly, the leader of a great wing of his people. His passionate resentment of white injustice finally hardened into bitterness after the War, when he saw the negroes who had fought in a white struggle thrust back into servility and subjection.

Feeling that something radical was necessary, DuBois broke once and for all with the school of Booker Washington and threw himself with complete abandon into planning a great negro crusade, and he has gathered around him a body not numerically large, but intellectually significant. The upshot has been the organisation of three Pan-African Congresses, by means of which negroes in every part of the world may act together for their mutual advantage, and the National Association for the Advancement of Coloured People, which exists to secure for American negroes the rights to which they are entitled. The slogan of this Association is the Fifteenth Amendment to the Constitution of the United States, passed on March 30th, 1870, which specifically guarantees to all those born in the United States equal electoral privileges, both Federal and State, and explicitly affirms that there shall be no discrimination against any person or class on account of race, colour, or previous condition of servitude. This was made yet more explicit in the Act subsequently passed, which stated that:

"All citizens of the United States who are, or shall be, otherwise qualified by law to vote at any election by the people in any State or Territory, district, county, city, parish, township, school district, municipality or other territorial division, shall be entitled, and allowed, to vote at all such elections without distinction of race, colour, or previous condition of servitude, any constitution, law, custom, usage, or regulation in any State, Territory, or by, or under its authority to the contrary notwithstanding."

In spite of these explicit enactments the negro is voteless throughout the South. The States have made it impossible for the negro to exercise the rights granted to him under federal law. White America has not abated one iota of its intransigence.

Compromise and good-will having failed, the school of DuBois

are out to force from white Americans, by every legitimate means, the constitutional rights and privileges of their black fellow-citizens. They put forward their claim partly because the negro people is entitled to these privileges under the Constitution, and partly because the right to vote and to have access to the kingdom of culture are necessities of modern manhood. DuBois claims that the way must be open for the best minds among them to gain a truly liberal education in order to furnish the black world with adequate standards of human culture and lofty ideals of life. There must needs be men and women of liberal culture to scatter civilisation among a people whose ignorance is not merely of letters, but of life itself. It is not simply training to earn a living that they need, but something more broadly human; their first necessity is not money but full manhood.

Both as a writer and as a speaker, DuBois has a command of fluent, nervous English which many a white man would give his right hand to possess. While at Atlanta University he published *The Negro*, now an authoritative work. He is probably best known as the author of *The Souls of Black Folk*, which is at once a fierce cry from the depths, and a brilliant sketch of the growth of racialism in the negro world; and of *Darkwater*, a passionate and amazing book, which combines literary grace with a fierce and fearless championship of the downtrodden. Some readers will be fascinated, others will be repelled, by its revelation of an abyss of passion and racial feeling. They are books which no one who wishes to know how the great currents of world-thought are running, can afford to neglect. The following Litany from *Darkwater* makes articulate the bitter questioning in the heart of the whole race:

"Bewildered we are and passion-tossed, mad with the madness of a mobbed and mocked and murdered people. . . . We raise our shackled hands and charge Thee . . . keep not Thou silent, O God. Sit no longer dumb, Lord God, deaf to our prayer and dumb to our dumb suffering. Surely, Thou, too, art not white, O Lord!"

But it is through *The Crisis*, which he edits, a monthly journal for negro people, with a circulation of upwards of 50,000, that DuBois does his most effective work. He stands for the assertion of full negro rights, and affirms that his race has a worthy contribution to make to the world's life. He is out to remove the colour-bar and all the disabilities that are associated with it. In a word, he found that the negroes are a segregated, servile caste, with restricted rights and privileges, and he claims for his race an open road to betterment.

A. M. CHIRGWIN.

HISTORY IN POETRY FROM AGINCOURT TO RABELAIS.*

THE title of M. Pierre Champion's latest book, *Histoire Poétique du Quinzième Siècle*, might perplex English readers were it not for the author's explanation in his Foreword. Here we read that the poetical works of the poets of the time—and in a few cases their prose works also—will be used as documents for the history of the period. "L'histoire," writes M. Champion,† "est strictement une œuvre d'art, comme toutes les autres œuvres humaines: il n'est pas mauvais que la matière de l'art entre dans sa composition."

No one could be better fitted than M. Champion for the difficult task of sifting the grain of historical truth from the chaff of allegory and romance in the MSS. and early printed books of the fifteenth century. His biographies of Charles d'Orléans and François Villon are the latest words on these poets. For this *archiviste paléographe* ranks among the most reliable authorities on fifteenth century history and literature. Moreover, he is one of those rare historians whose erudition is illuminated by a rich poetic imagination and a charming prose style. This is partly due, no doubt, to the literary atmosphere in which he was brought up. His father, Honoré Champion, was the well-known Parisian bookseller and publisher, who had bought the business and the shop on the Quai Voltaire that had belonged to Jacques Thibault, the father of Anatole France. In the back parlour of that shop, in a circle not unlike that of our eighteenth century Dodsley, but more closely resembling the society frequented by M. Bergeret, *chez Paillet*, Libraire, the young Pierre, like M. Bergeret's creator, the young Anatole, a generation earlier, listened to the talk of celebrated scholars and historians coming from all parts of Europe. Lord Acton not infrequently represented Great Britain.

For every patriotic French student of this century a woman's figure, that of Jeanne d'Arc, dominates all others. She from the first was M. Champion's heroine. "Plus que la sainte," he has called her, "l'inspirée, la sœur des soldats de France, l'incarnation de la France éternelle: la fidélité, l'espérance, la charité, et l'ardent amour."§ His first published work (*Guillaume de Flavy*, 1905) was a study of the Burgundian officer who took Jeanne prisoner at Compiègne.

When Anatole France was completing his *Life* of Jeanne d'Arc it was to his young friend Pierre Champion that he turned for the advice and assistance that he has gracefully acknowledged in his

* *Histoire Poétique du Quinzième Siècle*. (Edouard Champion. Paris. 1923.)

† *Ibid.* Avant Propos, p. ix.

§ *Procès de Condamnation de Jeanne d'Arc*, Vol. II., p. cx.

introduction.* In consideration of the appearance of Anatole's *Life* Champion loyally postponed the completion and publication of his own book. And it was not until five years later that this devoted friend returned to the work on which he had previously been long engaged: this was practically a rewriting of the account of the Trial of the Maid published by Jules Quicherat in the "forties" of the last century.

M. Champion's book was to be in two volumes: the first to contain a critical examination of all documents bearing on the Trial, the Latin report of the Trial itself, and all that remains of the French notes taken by the notaries while the Trial was proceeding. The second volume was to consist of elaborate biographies of personages who took part in the Trial, and studies of institutions, like the University of Paris, which were intimately associated with it; and a translation by M. Champion of the Latin report into fifteenth century French, such as Joan would have spoken.

When the Great War broke out and the historian was called to the front, most of the translation of the Trial was complete and part of the introductions for the second volume had been written. Others were composed in the trenches of the Somme, "au hasard des relevés, dans la nuit des cagnas." A comrade returning home *en permission* would be entrusted to carry these biographies written on any scraps of paper that lay at hand to Mme. Champion, to be typed. It was not until nearly three years after the Armistice that the complete work first saw the light. It appeared in May, 1921, on the day of the first national celebration of the Festival of Jeanne, who was now canonised. The book is a work of vast erudition, animated by the noblest kind of patriotism.

The same may be said of the two volumes, *l'Histoire Poétique du Quinzième Siècle*, with which we are here more particularly concerned. Champion's earlier studies of prominent fifteenth century figures served as an excellent preparation for this complete history of the period extending from Agincourt to Rabelais, through the reigns of four monarchs, Charles VI, Charles VII, Louis XI, and Charles VIII. It is a period as interesting to English as to French readers. With the English in possession of the French capital and most of northern France, the fate of the French nation hung in the balance.

"This terrible epoch," writes M. Champion, "opens with a crisis graver than any we have passed through till the Great War, a crisis dynastic and national. Yet we came out of it alive, alive out of Agincourt and the Treaty of Troyes, alive as we came out of Charleroi and Verdun, demonstrating that faculty of resurrection which lies at the heart of our race."

* *The Life of Joan of Arc*. Translated by Winifred Stephens. p. lxxiv.

We who to-day talk of modern European civilisation as being on its death-bed, may take heart as we see in these pages mediæval civilisation assailed on all hands, yet giving birth to a new and a brighter world. "Nothing can be more false," says Pierre Champion, "than Michelet's assertion that the Renaissance arose out of nothing. It was born in the darkness and the storms of the fifteenth century. The death agony of the middle age was the birth pang of the new era." In this book, we see in the midst of bloodshed, international and internecine strife, culture persisting, works of art and literature being produced, great dramatic creations being represented, costly treasures being gathered together, and often even the commercial, ecclesiastical and domestic life of towns pursuing its way unmolested for a while. Still more wonderful does it seem that the very preservers and patrons of culture were at the same time cruelly oppressing the people and laying the land waste with fire and sword. Such were the famous collector and builder, Jean, Duc de Berry, and the great Burgundian Dukes, Philippe le Bon and Charles le Téméraire, excellent portraits of whom are to be found in these volumes. For to their patronage and protection certain poets discussed in this volume were deeply indebted.

But we must now give the names of the eleven poets who figure here: Alain Chartier, Pierre de Nesson, Jean Régnier, Michaut Taillevent, Pierre Chastellain, Charles d'Orléans, François Villon, Arnoul Greban, Jean Meschinot, Henri Baude, and Jean Molinet. Many a reader will be disappointed to find excluded from the list that charming poetess and feminist, Christine de Pisan, of whose character and work Anatole France gives a delightful picture in his *Vie de Jeanne d'Arc*.* M. Champion's description of her as *insipide et touchante* is hardly a satisfactory justification of the exclusion from his book of so prominent a figure.

Alain Chartier dominates the whole work. Orator, politician, patriot, lover, mystic, prophet, *illuminé*, writer in verse and in prose, in French and in Latin, Chartier was "the most complete Frenchman" of his day. He represented the race consciousness of the fifteenth century as did Ronsard that of the sixteenth and Victor Hugo that of the nineteenth century. To the ordinary modern reader he is best known by the story of the kiss he received when asleep from the Dauphiness Margaret of Scotland, daughter of James I. The young Margaret, so runs the tale, so ardently admired Chartier's poems, that, finding him asleep in the gallery of her château, she could not refrain from kissing him. Chartier was not blessed with good looks, and when one of the courtiers expressed astonishment at the princess kissing anyone so ugly,

* English translation, Vol. II., pp. 24-25.

Margaret replied, "I did not kiss the man but the precious mouth, from which issued so many *bons mots et vertueuses parolles*." M. Champion, alas! with a historian's ruthlessness, rejects this pretty tale. He cruelly points out that Margaret did not arrive in France until six years after Chartier's death. But readers of *la vie passionnée* of the poet, as related by M. Champion, will pardon him this destructive criticism.

Obscurity shrouds the early years of Alain Chartier. He seems to have been born at Bayeux and to have studied at the University of Paris. There he took his degree of Master of Arts. Thence he fled during the famous Butcher's Riots of 1413. He joined the court of the young Dauphin Charles, ever being driven further and further south by the conquering English until at length he contrived to make a stand in Berry. Henceforth he was to be known as "the King of Bourges." At Bourges Master Alain acted as Royal Secretary. The Dauphin sent him hither and thither up and down Europe in vain attempts to knit up alliances which might help him to reconquer his kingdom. The wonderful eloquence of Master Alain brought him little success either at Budapest at the court of the Emperor Sigismund, at Venice with the Doge, or at Rome with the Pope. Finally, we find him in our own island at the court of James I at Perth. There his embassy was not without result, for he succeeded in negotiating that marriage between the little Princess Margaret and the French Dauphin, afterwards Louis XI, which gave rise to the legend we have already related. The chapter in which M. Champion describes Chartier's diplomatic missions is one of the most interesting in the book.

Master Alain was as prolific a writer as he was an eloquent speaker. Amongst his numerous works, four deserve special mention: two are poems, *La Belle Dame Sans Merci*, and *Les Quatre Dames*; two are prose works, *Le Quadrilogue Invectif* in French and *Le Curail* in Latin.

La Belle Dame Sans Merci is a love poem, reminiscent of the Troubadours, and anticipating *Les Précieuses*. The relentless cruelty of the heroine of this poem so incensed the ladies of the Dauphin's court, who seemed to have put on the cap and found that it fitted, that they summoned the poet to appear before them in a Court of Love. Chartier, however, was absent on some distant mission and contented himself with replying to these ladies in verse. *Les Quatre Dames* (1416) is the lament of four ladies, each of whom had a lover amongst the combatants at Agincourt. The first was killed, the second taken prisoner, the third's fate was unknown, and the fourth had turned traitor. Each lady considered herself more unfortunate than her companions, and all four came to Chartier to settle the dispute. He, considering himself unequal

to the task, referred the quarrel to his lady love in Paris and thus the poem ended.

Le Quadrilogue Invectif (1422) may be regarded as the earliest masterpiece of French prose, that finest of all modern instruments for the expression of human thought. It was created on the model of Sallust, Juvenal and Seneca. For Chartier was a complete Latinist, "the first Frenchman to live and move in the atmosphere of Latin writings." *Le Quadrilogue Invectif* is a conversation between four personages; Dame France and her three children, the Knight, the Clerk and the Peasant. The Knight and the Peasant in turn each tries to lay the blame for the sorry state of France on the shoulders of the other. The Clerk intervenes to summon all classes to lend a hand to "extinguish the fire while the house is burning." *Le Curial* gives a striking picture of life at the court of the Dauphin in the years immediately preceding the appearance of Joan of Arc. M. Anatole France, in his *Vie de Jeanne d'Arc*, has drawn from this work his vivid picture of the Great Hall at the Royal Court of Chinon when Jeanne first appeared there before the Dauphin.*

Chartier appears at his best in his latest works. They comprise, in addition to *Le Curial*, a dialogue between two friends, *Dialogus Familiaris Amici et Sodalis* (1425), on the evils of the time and the best way to remedy them, and numerous Latin epistles written on behalf of the King or the Dauphin. In one of these, addressed in 1420 to the University of Paris, Chartier entreates his Alma Mater not to sign the Treaty of Troyes. In another, addressed nine years later to a foreign Prince who had sent for information as to Jeanne d'Arc, he describes in glowing words the Maid's radiant, angelical figure as she delivers Orleans and triumphantly leads her Prince to his anointing at Rheims. This is one of the most interesting documents of the time. The writer is carried away by his enthusiasm to such an extent that he never so much as hints at the many difficulties and the constant opposition with which Jeanne had to contend. It would seem to readers of this letter that her brief career was one uninterrupted progress from glory to glory. But Chartier wrote when the Maid was at the height of her fame. He did not live to see her capture and execution on May 30th, 1431. Though the exact date of his death is as uncertain as that of his birth, according to M. Champion, he probably died in the latter half of the year 1429, in which his letter about Jeanne was written.†

Pierre Nesson, the second of M. Champion's poets, stands out unique in French literature as the most terrible of the death and

* English translation, Vol. I., p. 168.

† *Histoire Poétique*, Vol. I., p. 158.

cemetery writers. "La mort," writes M. Champion, "c'est la dramatique figure qui va remplir le 15ième siècle; le nouveau personnage qui, sortant de son tombeau, va vivre et parler pour nous enseigner, non pas le néant, mais le sens de la vie."*

Le Danse Macabre, the legend of the three living and the three dead men (three gay young knights on horseback suddenly confronted by three skeletons), these were favourite themes of artists and sculptors, poets and prose writers. We find them painted in fresco on the walls of public buildings and delicately traced in brilliant colours in the margins of books of hours. "Man is no sooner born than he begins to die," writes Pierre de Nesson, in his most powerful poem, *Les Vigiles de la Mort*. The poem has never been printed; but there are many manuscript versions of it; the oldest, in the Bibliothèque Nationale, is introduced by a fine miniature dating from Charles VII's reign (reproduced in this book), and representing Job naked on his dunghill in a field enclosed by hurdles. A noble lady wearing the hennin, with a black veil falling over a sumptuous pink gown, points out Job to a group of Seigneurs clothed in the costumes of the day. M. Champion gives an elaborate analysis of this poem, sometimes called "The Nine Lessons of Job."† He represents the poet asking such fundamental questions as "Why did God, having created man, fore-ordain him to damnation?" "Man," says Nesson, "is the vessel of death, meat for worms, himself a vile worm; when dead he defiles water and even fire, his infected corpse must be buried deep down in the earth, *en une grande et parfonde fosse*, and a stone must be placed over it, a heavy stone, to prevent its putrefication ascending."

Less lugubrious, happily, are the works of the other poets in this volume; Jean Régnier, Michaut Taillevent, and Pierre Chastellain.

Régnier, known as the Prisoner, was a Burgundian, captured at Beauvais by brigands, nominally in the service of the Dauphin. His poems were of two kinds: complaints written in prison, and verses written after he had been released through the devotion of his wife, who took his place until such time as her husband could raise the ransom which his captors demanded. These last poems, despite the troubles of that gloomy age, succeed in painting a clear and gladsome picture of rustic life in France and in Burgundy. In the importance they attach to the material goods of life the following lines by Régnier might have been written by one of our own eighteenth century poets:‡

* Vol. I., p. 216.

† Vol. I., pp. 198-213.

‡ Vol. I., p. 277.

"Du blé, du vin, du boys et du potage,
Ung beau jardin pour avoir du fruitage,
Pour son estat maintenir doucement,
Sans rien devoir pour vivre lyement
S'il n'est content, quant à moy je suppose
Qu'il est homme de povre entendement."

M. Champion discusses at some length, but does not definitely answer, the question as to whether Régnier exercised any important influence on his greater contemporary, François Villon. With regard to the poet who follows Régnier, Michaut Taillevent, another Burgundian, we need have no hesitation.* "Taillevent," writes M. Champion, "is the precursor and the master of François Villon." His poem, *Le Passe Temps*, written in the same metre as Villon's *Grant Testament*, is indeed the only poem of the century worthy to be compared with those of Villon. *Le Passe Temps*, like Villon's masterpiece, is a long soliloquy, a complaint of the flight of time, in which it may not be difficult to discern the story of the poet's life at the court of the great Duke, Philippe le Bon. Régnier's disciple, Pierre Chastellain, the last poet in this volume, replied to his master's *Passe Temps* by a *Contre Passe Temps*, telling the story of his own youth and followed by other autobiographical poems. In one of these he describes his journey to Rome and his strange adventures in that city. On his return to France, Vaillant resided at Angers at the court of the good King René of Anjou, also a poet and a patron of poets like his neighbour and friend Charles of Orleans, now holding joyous court at Blois after his sorrowful and prolonged captivity in England. The meeting of these royal poets, their sailing together on the Loire, the description of their respective courts, closes this interesting volume.

The second opens with studies of two poets, Charles of Orleans and François Villon, who, from a literary point of view, rank far higher than any other writers of these two volumes. But they will best be studied in M. Champion's earlier biographies, of which these chapters are delightful summaries.

François Villon towers above his literary contemporaries. To realise how wide is the difference between his genius and their talent he should be read in one of those voluminous collections of fifteenth century manuscripts, such as that of the Arsenal, which contains *Lais de François Villon*, *Le Grant Testament*, and *La Ballade de Fortune*, as well as poems by the writers we have already considered—Alain Chartier's *Breviaire des Nobles*, Michaut Taillevent's *Psautier des Vilains*, and so forth.† In the midst of

* Vol. I., p. 287. † Vol. II., p. 121.

these allegories, trials, parodies, debates and dreams, Villon alone is no mere dreamer, no mere utterer of subtleties.

"In the first few lines he has told us everything, his name, his age, his weak heart, the man he curses, the gestures he makes, for he is consumed with hate. He screams aloud when the others go to sleep or send us to sleep, or make us smile at their acuteness. Until one begins to ask whether it can be the same book that has preserved for us these confused reveries and the clear lines of Villon, if it can be the same age that produced and enjoyed them."

One of the most interesting of the remaining poets of this second volume is Arnoul Greban, organist at Nôtre Dame, and for five years headmaster of the Choir School. M. Champion gives a detailed description of life in the school, hour by hour, of its discipline, of the dress of its eight pupils, of the house in which they dwelt, *la cage de petits angelots*. In spite of his numerous duties of organist and schoolmaster, Greban found time to continue the vast literary work which entitles him to a place in this book. For he is the author of the most famous French mystery play of the time, *Le Mystère de la Passion*, comprising 34,574 lines, set to music of his own composing, and pronounced by 200 characters; this was completed in the middle of the century, before 1452. M. Champion has as yet failed to discover any reliable indication of the place or the exact date of the performance of this stupendous play. While other mystery plays of the century are provincial in tone and manners, those of Greban's *Passion*, especially in the case of the women, are so essentially Parisian as to indicate Paris as the place of its performance. But as to the precise locality in the capital of either of its three representations, or even the exact date, M. Champion is uncertain, though he is sure they occurred before 1473.

Jean Meschinot, Maître d'hôtel to the famous Duchess Anne of Brittany, was the author of a poem *La Lunette des Princes*, which, after the works of Villon, enjoyed a greater success than any other printed book of the century. It is a veritable Jeremiad, in which its author sermonises princes, and in his passion for cemeteries vies even with Pierre de Nesson.

Maître Henri Baude cultivated the favourite poetical *genre* of that day and wrote a Testament, not a man's but a mule's. A Spanish mule of illustrious pedigree, after belonging to such famous masters as the Chancellor and Chronicler, Jovenal des Ursins, fell on evil days and became the property of a mere *greffier*. Threatened with starvation, the mule makes his will, bequeathing his body to the crows, his bones to whomsoever will have them, his beautiful voice to one Barbeau, an officer of the Court, his song to the parish priest, and his ears to a small-eared *bailly*. He

named as his executors three bulldogs of the Saint Germain des Près slaughter-house. The poem, full of local allusions and interesting descriptions, is a veritable treasure-house for industrious historians. It was written, as we know from internal evidence, about Christmas time, 1465.

Much of the poetry of Jean Molinet *rhétoriqueur* is wearisome, and M. Champion's elaborate analysis of it is not the most interesting part of his book. No historian, however, can afford to overlook these poems, written by the poet laureate of the House of Habsbourg and referring, many of them, for example, *Le Naufrage de la Pucelle*, to that maze of marriages between Burgundian princes and princesses, Spanish knights and ladies which was to orientate European politics for centuries. The work of Molinet, who died in 1507, and whose verses Rabelais admired, brings us down to the verge of the Renaissance and to the close of a period in French literature, often regarded as dull and unimportant. In M. Champion's pages that period is full of living interest and deep significance.

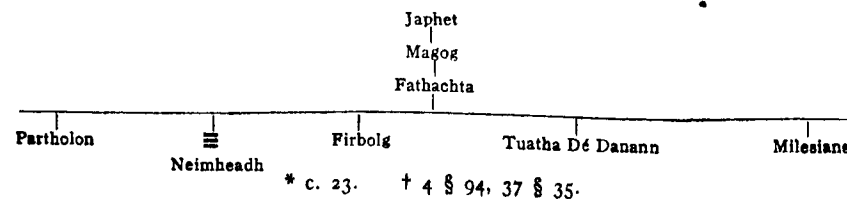
WINIFRED STEPHENS WHALE.

THE CHILDREN OF THE SUN IN IRISH HISTORY

ONE of the most perplexing names in Irish traditional history is that of Scythia. It is from Scythia that the second body of invaders, the Nemeditians, come, and it is to Fenius Forsaid, King of Scythia, that the Gael trace their origin. Critics of Keating are content to regard this as another of his fables, or, like Spenser, to place a false interpretation upon it. But the matter is, like Irish legendary history generally, worth inquiring into more closely. Where, then, was Scythia? In the first place, it is not the Scythia of the wild, nomad hordes of Asia and south-eastern Europe, about which we read in Herodotus, and concerning which Mr. Minns has written his interesting book; but, as we learn from Diodorus* and Pliny,† probably on the authority of Pytheas, the country whence that much prized article of luxury, amber, came. In other words, it is the country on the North Sea stretching indefinitely eastwards from the lower Rhine.

But the assertion that what is now North Germany and Lithuania is the Scythia of Irish tradition does not imply that it is the Scythia of the Irish synchronists. These, it is evident, were much put about to reconcile their notions of an Asiatic Scythia with their own traditions of a European origin. Take, for example, the account given of the matter by Keating. According to Keating, every race that invaded Ireland was descended from Japhet. Japhet, we are told, had a son called Magog, who was the ancestor of all the Scythians, or, as the Greeks are said to have called them, Magogoi. Magog had three sons, *viz.*, Baath, Iobath and Fathachta. Baath was the ancestor of the Gael and also of the Huns, Lombards, Hungarians, Goths, Dauni and Turks. Iobath was the ancestor of the Amazons, Bactrians and Parthians. From Fathachta were descended Partholon, Neimheadh, Firbolg, Tuatha Dé Danann and Milesians. To me it seems clear that in this scheme we have an attempt on the part of the synchronists (1) in the person of Baath, to gratify the vanity of the Gael by ascribing to them the first place in the community of nations; (2) in the person of Iobath, to explain the existence of two sets of Scythians; and (3) in the person of Fathachta, to give expression to the traditional account of the invasions of Ireland.

Of these the third is the only one that possesses any historical importance. Genealogically it works out as follows:



To anyone who has given any attention to the invasions of Ireland it must be pretty evident that Partholon and Neimheadh are merely reduplications of Firbolg and Tuatha Dé Danann respectively. As for the account given of the wanderings of the Gael or Milesians from Egypt to Crete and from Crete to Scythia and from Scythia to Gothia, from Gothia to Spain, from Spain to Scythia and from Scythia to Egypt, and from Egypt to Thrace, from Thrace to Gothia and from Gothia to Spain, and from Spain to Ireland it is an attempt to combine in one story all that tradition had to say regarding Firbolg, Tuatha Dé Danann and Milesians. Moreover it is based on solid facts. All these names—Egypt, Crete, Scythia, Gothia, Thrace, Spain—have an actual bearing on Irish history. Partholon or the Firbolg are associated with Egypt, Crete, Spain and South-West Ireland; Neimheadh or the Tuatha Dé Danann with Egypt, Thrace, Scythia, Scandinavia and North Ireland; Milesius or the Gael with Scythia, Spain and Meath. Here, I believe, we are on safe historical ground, and here for the present we may leave the matter.

In one of those short but suggestive notes which she occasionally contributes to the *Journal of the Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland*,* Miss Margaret E. Dobbs, dealing with the Tuatha Dé Danann, suggests a Scandinavian origin for these mysterious people. According to Miss Dobbs,

“The Tuatha Dé Danann stories point to a race occupying Ireland in a sort of triangle, whose base is from Oilech Neid [near Derry] to South Connemara and whose apex is at Brugh na Boine. This race . . . is asserted to have come in on the western [north-western] side of Ireland and to have come from the north. The Tuatha Dé Danann are described as large, fair-haired [reddish-haired] vengeful, musical—all Scandinavian or Teutonic characteristics. They are specially skilful in metal work and smith's work; and Scandinavia in the Bronze Age was a hot-bed of such arts and crafts.”

“At Brugh was their cemetery, and here,” as she proceeds to point out, “are to be found, engraved on the stones of their sepulchral mounds, the most conspicuous examples of spiral ornament in the district occupied by them.” I may at once say that when I wrote my short *History of Ireland from the Earliest Times*, I shared Miss Dobbs' opinion as to the Teutonic origin of the Tuatha Dé Danann, or, as it would be better to call them, the Cruithne. Subsequent research has, however, led me to alter my opinion in this particular. My argument runs to the following points: (1) New Grange; (2) the introduction of bronze, including the spiral, into Northern Europe; (3) the nomenclature of Ptolemy's map.

New Grange, or, as it is the fashion to call it, Brugh na Boine,

* Vol. xlii, pp. 331-4.

a few miles west of Drogheda, is probably the most popular resort in Ireland for archæologically minded tourists. Much of this popularity it owes to the late George Coffey, who, a few years before his death, published an interesting monograph on it and similarly constructed tumuli in the neighbourhood. After describing the general appearance of the tumulus, with its central chamber and the passage leading to it, and discussing the descriptions given of it by previous writers from the time of its discovery by Edward Lhwyd in 1699, Coffey dismisses the statement made by Molyneux in his *Discourse concerning Danish Mounds* (1725) that "when the cave was opened the bones of two bodies entire, not burnt, were found upon the floor" as sufficiently accounted for in the "bones of beasts" mentioned by Lhwyd. In his opinion, the body of evidence "points to incineration as the probable mode of burial in the tumulus of New Grange," and, in support of his argument, he quotes Sir William Wilde to the effect that he was present at the opening of a small *kistvaen* on the western side of the slope of the hill, about eight feet long, containing a vast collection of bones, some human, others animals, in a half-burnt state.

Now, putting aside the fact that it is possible to carry scepticism of other people's observations too far when they do not harmonise with one's own notions, I would suggest that the *kistvaen* with burnt bones in the side of the tumulus is really evidence that the main chamber belongs to an earlier period, in which burial by inhumation and not incineration was the rule. In discussing a similar mound at Dömmestorp, in Halland, where, above a large stone chamber containing an unburnt corpse, two small *kistvaens* containing burnt human remains were found, Montelius remarks: "Hence it follows that the graves with unburnt bodies, as also the antiquities frequently found in them, covered with spirals and zig-zag lines, must be regarded as belonging to an older period of the Bronze Age than those graves containing burnt bones and antiquities of another kind." Spirals, then, and burial by inhumation, as we find them at New Grange, go together, and are indicative of the earliest Bronze Age, of the earlier part of the second millennium B.C.

To the same period belong those curiously shaped axes in copper and bronze, to which the name halberds has been given, of which a considerable number have been found in Ireland. Here, again, we are indebted to Coffey† for a critical examination of these weapons; but it is chiefly to Louis Siret‡ that we owe the explanation of their real significance. As for the "halberd" and its dis-

tribution, it is to be noted (1) that it was a battle-axe, of which the use was confined to a particular race, and (2) that while it is found chiefly in the North of Europe—Germany, Scandinavia, Great Britain, Ireland and Brittany—it is not exclusively confined to these countries and the exceptions are of importance. In discussing its origin* M. Siret points out that the probable centre of production lies, in the first place, exactly where the oldest and, till the discovery of Cornwall, only tin mines in Europe are to be found, *viz.*, on the borders of Saxony and Bohemia. This is a fact of the greatest importance; for it is exactly through this district that the oldest over-land route connecting the Mediterranean with the North Sea runs, and there can be little question that it was from this quarter and by this route that the Ægeans drew their earliest supplies of tin.

Once in possession of this formidable weapon, M. Siret conjectures that these halberdiers moved northwards to the mouth of the Elbe and thence by sea over Scotland to Ireland, whence, in course of time, they pursued their journey southwards along the coast of France to Spain, where they put an end for a time to the Phœnician supremacy there. They were, according to him, Celts. Here I hold M. Siret to be quite wrong. The supposed Celtic invasion of Ireland, *circ.* 1700 B.C., is a pure myth, resting apparently on the false impression that Cassiterides is a Celtic word. So far, however, as the march of the halberdiers is concerned, *i.e.*, from the mouth of the Elbe to Ireland *via* Scotland, I entirely agree with him, as regards the main body of these invaders. Only I hold that the movement in this direction was accompanied by two subsidiary ones—the first in an easterly direction towards the amber region on the Baltic and thence to Sweden, the second along the North Sea coast to Brittany and thence to Spain. But, if not Celts, to what nation did these halberdiers belong? This is the crux of the whole problem.

Discussing the origin of bronze manufacture in Sweden, Montelius remarks†:

"Owing to contact with districts in closer connection with the older civilised countries, articles of copper and bronze found their way into the North. So, too, perhaps have certain individuals skilful in the manufacture of them. In this way the inhabitants of the North have gradually acquired the art of manufacturing such articles themselves. . . . as long before the end of the Stone Age the North has stood in commercial relations with the rest of Europe, both to the west and south—the former leading to the British Isles

* See particularly Fig. 45 (p. 194) "Carte de l'Europe montrant la répartition des halberdes en bronze et en cuivre, et la route suivie par le peuple envahisseur qui introduisit la civilisation du bronze dans l'extrême Occident"; and *cf.* Fig. 23 (p. 146), "Les deux premières routes commerciales entre l'Orient et l'Occident."

† *Op. cit.*

* *Kulturgeschichte Schwedens*, p. 79-80.

† *Bronze Age in Ireland*.

‡ *Questions de Chronologie et d'Ethnographie Ibériques*.

and other western countries of Europe; the latter across Germany to Central and Southern Europe—it is quite possible that the knowledge thus acquired might have reached it by both of these ways. As a matter of fact, however, it turns out that it was chiefly by the latter route that copper and bronze have reached the North.”

As for the vexed question of the spiral, which plays such a prominent part in the ornamentation of Scandinavian bronze work and also more crudely in the decoration of New Grange, there is, according to Déchelette, little doubt that it entered the North by the same route as bronze itself.

“We have seen,” he says,* “that the spiral abounds in the countries of the Ægean both in pre-Mycenæan and Mycenæan times. It also appears at precisely the same epochs in the intermediary regions of Hungary, Transylvania, Bohemia and Germany, while it is rarely met with in the West. From this it follows that it can only have reached Scandinavia by the amber route connecting the south of Europe with the Baltic.”

Here, then, in Scandinavia we are faced by the same problem that confronts us in Ireland. Who were those certain individuals skilful, as Montelius says, in the manufacture of articles of bronze and the introducers at the same time of the spiral into the North? Clearly, if we take the spiral as our guide, they must originally have come from the Ægean or have been in close contact with Ægean civilisation.

Directly to the south of Sweden lies the amber-strewn coast of Samland. In Pytheas' time the whole of this region was occupied by a number of tribes, known apparently collectively as the Venedi. Of the Venedi we know practically nothing. Müllenhof† indeed regards them as Slavs; but it is probable, as Hirt suggests, that being a wandering folk they may have migrated elsewhere, and their name have been transferred by the Germans to their Slav successors.‡ But though we know nothing about them, we do know that the name Venedi occurs in different places widely separated from each other, viz., in Paphlagonia (Enetoi), North Italy including Tyrol (Veneti), the Baltic (Venedi), Brittany (Veneti) and, if I am not mistaken, in Ireland (Vennicni) and Scotland (Vennicones). We know, moreover, that except in the first instance (for which we have no information) wherever we find the Venedi there, too, we find the halberd, and, except in South-East Spain, nowhere else.

From this fact, then, it would seem that the halberd, wherever it was first invented (and its form points to Egypt) was introduced into Europe by a people known as the Venedi. As for the further

question to what race the Venedi belonged, we have seen that Müllenhof was inclined to reckon them to the Slavs. Hirt, on the other hand, chiefly on philological grounds, regards them as Illyrians. For my own part, I think they belonged to that great group of peoples occupying Eastern Europe from the Baltic to the Black Sea, known as Thracians, whom Herodotus, writing at a much later time, when their power was much diminished, describes as next to the Indians of all nations the most populous.

Tomaschek, who has collected all the essential facts regarding these old Thracians,* divides them into a southern and a northern group. Of these those dwelling to the south of the Haemus, including those in Asia Minor, were, from their closer contact with the Ægeans, far more civilised than their northern kinsmen. In nothing, he asserts, is this contrast more noticeable than in their mythology; for, whereas that of the southern Thracians is strongly Asiatic in character, that of the northern group closely resembles the mythology of the Germans. Many writers, he proceeds, have noticed that, so far as their weapons and general civilisation are concerned, the Thracians of the Homeric age are regarded as quite the equals of the Achæans. “Like the Achæans, the Thracian allies of the Trojans fight in war-chariots, wear the same bronze and richly decorated armour, the same helm and the same sword formed to strike and stab alike.” Probably, having learned the art of working in metal from the Ægeans, their weapons were, as Tomaschek suggests, of their own fabrication. Anyhow, they were expert miners. Constantin Jireček,† who has devoted close attention to this subject, notices quite a number of old mine workings—silver, lead, copper and iron—in Bulgaria, which testify to the activity of the Thracians in this respect. To Jireček we are also indebted for certain information regarding those tumuli, *elenski grobista*, or heathens' graves, as they are called by the peasants—closely resembling in outward appearance, at any rate, that of New Grange—with which the country examined by him is literally covered. Unfortunately, it would appear that as yet no systematic excavations of these monuments has been attempted. Accidental research in a tumulus near Jambol has revealed a bronze war-chariot, and in one at Kavarna, north of the Danube on the Black Sea, a cupola-tomb, built of bricks, containing human remains and metal pots, has been discovered.

According to Tomaschek, the Thracians were a wild, nomadic race living chiefly on the produce of their herds and the spoils of the chase, robbers by profession and notorious drunkards. Their

* *Die alten Thraker: eine ethnologische Untersuchung*, in S.B.d.k. Akad. der Wissenschaft. (Wien, Bd. 128, 130, 131.)

† *Archæologische Fragmente aus Bulgarien*, in “Arch-Epig. Mittheilungen aus Oesterreich-Ungarn.” Bd. X.

* *Manuel d'Archéologie*, ii, p. 86.

† *Deutsche Altertumskunde*. Bd. ii.

‡ *Die Indogermanen*, i. 151, ii. 606.

greatest delight was fighting: their one care their horse. In general appearance there was little difference between them and other northern nations. Their hair, inclining to a reddish colour, they either allowed to grow as it liked or fastened in a knot on the top of their head. Their dress consisted of a linen shirt, loose trousers and a long-sleeved mantle reaching to their heels, with leather sandals and a round fur or felt cap. In addition to bow and arrow, the point of which was sometimes poisoned with *inula helenium*, their weapons consisted of a sword, a long lance, a sickle-shaped knife and a battle-axe. Xenophon, who was present at one of their banquets, attests their love of music and dancing. But even in their hours of merriment they could not refrain from quarrelling, and no feast was considered satisfactory by them that did not end in a free fight. When one of their chieftains died his body was exposed for three days. After he had been sufficiently bewailed and all ritual sacrifices performed, his body was either buried in the earth or burned; but in either case a mighty tumulus was always raised over it, larger or smaller according to the importance of the deceased. Then followed all sorts of games—horse-racing, champion fights, etc.

So far of the Thracians in general. Of one tribe, the Agathyrsi, dwelling in the district watered by the Máros, now known as Siebenbürgen, we have a more particular account. From Aristotle we learn that they were accustomed to transmit their laws in verse-form from one generation to another, and from Mela and Amianus that they used to tattoo their faces and limbs* with an indelible pigment and dye their hair blue as a sign of nobility. Very striking, adds Tomaschek, was the custom prevalent among them of having their women in common, and their luxurious habits of life. In course of time the Agathyrsi seem to have wandered northwards, and on Ptolemy's map they are marked as dwelling high up on the Baltic, where they are apparently reckoned as belonging to the Venedi.

In view of all these facts it seems to me that in the Enetoi, Veneti or Venedi we have to do with a people of Phrygo-Thracian origin, who, wherever they came from originally, had, owing to their contact with the Ægeans, acquired a knowledge of metallurgy and the art of manufacturing bronze. Essentially, however, they were a race of warriors and must, I think, be included among those warlike aristocracies of which Mr. Perry has constructed a most ingenious theory in his *Children of the Sun* and *The Growth of Civilisation*. According to Mr. Perry, these warrior aristocracies have everywhere originated on the outskirts of highly developed

* Cf. Virgil's "picti Agathyrsi," *Aen.* iv., 146; and see Tomaschek's article *Agathyrsi* in Pauly-Wissowa, *Real. Encycl.*, for precise references.

civilisations, "and their place of origin shows traces of the past existence of peoples of a far higher degree of civilisation than they themselves possess."* Having, like the Celts at a later time, possessed themselves of a formidable weapon, the Venedi set out on their career of world conquest. Passing from Asia Minor across the Bosphorus and pursuing the old over-land route, they seem, on reaching the line of the Danube, to have divided into two parties; while the larger division continued its march northward, the smaller, turning westward along the valley of the Drave, established itself in the neighbourhood of the Gross Venediger, where there are still traces of their mining activity to be found, and in the district afterwards known as Venetia.

The northern division, passing through Hungary, eventually established itself in the tin district on the borders of Saxony and Bohemia. Hitherto, judging by the scarcity of the finds, the halberd had been a rare weapon among them, but now, with a plentiful supply of tin at their disposal, they were able to manufacture it to any extent. But they were a restless race, bent on conquest, and in course of time some of them, proceeding to the amber coast on the Baltic, afterwards made their way to Sweden, while others, following the course of the Elbe to its mouth, again divided into two parties, the one proceeding by sea to Scotland and thence to Ireland; the other westwards along the North Sea coast to Brittany and thence to Spain. In each case, at the points marking the end of their wanderings, we find the cupola-tomb—Eldsberge in Sweden, Maeshow in Scotland, New Grange in Ireland, Gavr'inis in Brittany and Algarve in Portugal. With the exception of Gavr'inis, which is merely (though of special interest in another way) a hastily constructed *allée couverte*, all these tombs exactly resemble those of Middle Minoan Crete and Mycenæan Greece, and are therefore, as Mr. Perry remarks, modelled on Twelfth Dynasty Egyptian pyramids. They are of dynastic significance as marking the graves of the royal leaders of the expeditions. "The presence of vast graves," says Mr. Perry,

"undoubtedly means the coming to Europe of members of a ruling family, for no one else could build them. The use of solar symbols suggests that the people responsible for these graves were sun-worshippers. Since, all the world over, the sun-cult has been an ancestor cult in the family of the Children of the Sun, who ruled Egypt, in one or other of their branches, for thousands of years, it would seem that these facts, when put together, mean that the Children of the Sun had begun to move out from Egypt and had founded kingdoms in various parts of Europe. . . .†

"One peculiar feature of this early ruling group was its form of

* *Growth of Civilisation*, p. 137 (1924).

† *Growth of Civilisation*, p. 159-160.

succession. The heir to the throne was not the son of the king, but, in the first place, his brother; and when he died, the son of the eldest sister. That is to say, the succession to the throne was matrilineal. If the ruling groups just considered have emerged from this older form of society there should be some traces among them of a change from matrilineal to patrilineal institutions* . . .

"One of the most interesting of these connecting-links is that of the use of ensigns. From the earliest times in Egypt the different territorial divisions were distinguished by certain signs. As this civilisation spread out of Egypt the use of ensigns went with it. . . . We read in the *Mahabharata* of India of great gatherings of rulers, each with their banner inscribed with some device—a boar, lion or eagle, and so forth. . . . In the old Scandinavian kingdoms the king, who was a high priest, claimed descent from the great goddess Freya, who was associated with the boar."†

With these suggestive extracts from Mr. Perry's epoch-making book I bring this subject to a close. The importance of them for a scientific study of early Irish history will be at once recognised by those who have devoted careful attention to Irish legendary history, which is not, as so many critics imagine, an idle tale. On the contrary, the closer I study it the more I am convinced of its inherent truth. What we have chiefly to do is to disentangle the facts and to interpret them in the light of modern research.

ROBERT DUNLOP.

* *Ibid.* p. 172.

† *Ibid.* p. 175-6.

COMMUNISM IN REVAL.

FOR some months the Estonian section of the Third International was the centre of untiring activity. A large number of persons in the pay of the Soviet Government were kept in readiness for some secret purpose. Only those whose Communist faith was believed to be genuine were initiated. There were members of the Estonian section; Commissaries of the ill-fated Russian army which invaded Estonia in December, 1918; and a group of men and women, who, after having committed atrocities during the Russian invasion or having been deported from Estonia in exchange for Estonians imprisoned in Russia, had no choice but to follow the dictate of their new masters.

Some of them knew, and most of them suspected, that they would be used to foment a popular rising in Estonia. The only uncertainty was the date of this rising. This depended largely upon reports received from the spot, *i.e.*, upon the opinion of local Communists. There was a long period of indecision. At last the fear that the sentence of the court in the well-known case of "the 149" would provide the Estonian Government with powerful means to quell Communism altogether induced the leaders to choose December 1st. This sentence was to be officially announced on the next day (December 2nd). Some days earlier, *Pravda*, the organ of the Russian Communist Party, informed the Estonian judges that by that day they would be lying dead in the streets.

This amazing prophecy, though disqualified by subsequent events, was none the less very significant. It was the first in a long series of allusions which, in some cases misleading, in other cases extremely candid, greatly help to decide the question of Russian participation. While the official organ of the Government, *Trvestija*, even went so far as to doubt whether the rising was undertaken by Communists, *Pravda* boldly asserted that it was a rising of Radical elements, acting under the provocation of the "Estonian hangmen." The official organ of the Estonian section of the Communist International, the *Edasi* of Petrograd, the best-informed of all, went one step further. It declared that the rising had nothing to do with the trial of "the 149," but that it had been organised in a systematic way and for a considerable time. This confession was coupled with timid complaints about help that failed to reach the Estonian Communists, weakened through their self-sacrificing work in the dismal plains of Archangel and through fighting reactionary Generals in the East and South.

All those acquainted with the Communist Press know that propaganda is the only purpose of its news service. This may very clearly indicate its trend of thought, as it more often contains a

picture of the desirable than of reality. It is difficult to believe that the direct or indirect allusions found in the Russian Press can mean anything else than that Estonia was supposed to share the terrible fate of the Caucasian republics.

Towards the end of November, the warlike contingent of the Estonian section of the Third International was despatched from Petrograd to the frontier in a special train. Its members were well armed with Russian hand-grenades, parabellum pistols, and even Thomson automatic pistols. They were met at the frontier by armed members of the frontier police and secret service, who conducted them safely into Estonian territory, profiting by the dark and rainy November nights. Once there, they had little to fear, being well provided with all sorts of passports and certificates of Muscovite make. By November 30th they were all in Reval, except the small parties chosen to blow up some railway bridges in order to prevent the movement of the dreaded Estonian armoured trains. Some isolated houses, designated by local Bolsheviks, became points of concentration. As it was a Sunday, it was easy to get people together ostensibly to listen to a Communist lecture, solemnise a birthday, or simply to drink and dance. Some two or three hundred persons were thus assembled at these points of concentration, without any idea of what awaited them next morning. When preparing to leave, they were detained by threats. At five in the morning, arms were distributed, with the threat that all deserters would be shot, and the groups, under the leadership of an "initiated," marched to their various points of destination. As by that time there was enough movement in the streets, these small and scattered bands aroused no suspicion.

A few minutes later, two policemen were shot in the suburbs. Although this crime might have indicated the scope of the movement, the sudden outburst of violence and murder, which followed almost immediately in many other parts of the city, made it impossible for the police and military authorities to prevent its spreading before a number of persons had become its victims.

A crowd of fifty penetrated into the almost unguarded building of the military school. The first intruders wore officers' uniforms and were politely met by the cadet on watch. He was murdered in cold blood, and an orgy of slaughter of his sleeping comrades followed. Bombs and hand-grenades were thrown in through the windows of the lower floor, a Thomson machine-pistol was placed at the end of the central corridor, mowing down those who ran after their rifles. This lasted for five to ten minutes, until relief was brought by cadets of the upper floor. The writer happened to be present immediately after the cessation of shooting. The big sleeping hall of the lower floor was filled by a suffocating

smoke of burning mattresses. Doors were riddled with bullets, window frames shattered. The air was filled with the groans of the wounded, many of whom were boys of seventeen. Two dead Communists were lying near the entrance. It is difficult to say which produced a greater impression upon the cadets—the loss of four dead and eleven wounded comrades, or the extreme cowardice of the assault.

Almost at the same time, bombs were thrown into the guard-room of the Ministry of War, into district police stations, and into some private dwellings. The one thrown into the building of the War Ministry was of such power as to penetrate through a thick concrete floor. Nevertheless, the assailants did not meet with success. The soldier on guard at the door, though wounded, killed one of them with his bayonet. The others, about ten men, were either killed or arrested.

A party of ten or fifteen armed men early in the morning occupied the railway station, after shooting a policeman and a railway official for refusing to stop the trains. All who entered the building were interrogated as to their political sympathies; those whose answers were unsatisfactory were either arrested or ordered to leave. Some who looked like workmen were forced to accept small firearms and were assigned to various posts, but disappeared before long.

Meanwhile M. Kark, the Minister of Communications, who had never been a politician and had always enjoyed the reputation of an untiring worker, had received news that two railway bridges were blown up on the important track between Reval and Derpat. He immediately decided to supervise personally the repairs, went to the station, was recognised, and shot in front of the building. An hour later the station was cleared of the assailants, most of whom managed to escape.

Within this one hour twelve more cases of murder occurred in various parts of the city. A school inspector was killed with his chauffeur while driving to a school. Railwaymen, unarmed officers and policemen fell victims to cowardly attacks. Only one person was killed in actual fighting. The total number of victims of the Communists was twenty-one. Order was established at 7 a.m.

A curious recent addition to military science was discovered at a Communist base. It was a small, greyish book written by the "famous" Red General, Verhovsky, a graduate of the Military Academy of Petrograd, which he left about fifteen years ago. As far as tactics are concerned, Verhovsky merely follows the lines traced by the great, recently deceased German authority, General Balk. What renders the book most interesting is the fact that it recognises the organising of armed revolts as the basic principle of Soviet strategy. The fourteenth chapter is devoted to the

"organising and suppression of revolts." That this is the official tendency is further confirmed by the new Russian "Regulations for Field War." In the opinion of General Verhovsky, the Red Army is the natural protector of all suffering under the capitalist yoke. For this reason the workers of all countries ought to look to it for their salvation. If they do not, it merely shows that they are kept in the dark by the *bourgeois*, and need Communist enlightenment. In such cases, an entire campaign of propaganda, Press articles, terrorist acts, provocations, has to be conducted, with the purpose of destroying the *morale* and of creating "political bases on hostile territory." If these bases are too weak or lacking in initiative, a proper number of Russian activists, despatched directly from Russia, should help to stir them up. Verhovsky considers it of the utmost importance that the time of organised revolt and of the invasion by the Red Army should be co-ordinated. As soon as the time is fixed, the Communist organisations must foment upheaval in industrial centres, destroy communications and prevent the effective mobilisation of the hostile army.

Such was, indeed, the fate of Georgia. Was Estonia to share the doom of the unfortunate Caucasian republics? As far as tactics are concerned, all developed along lines prescribed in Verhovsky's book. And as to strategy, the members of the Communist "expedition" had reason to believe that by 2 p.m. their position in Reval would be relieved by the arrival of Soviet forces. As a matter of fact, a Russian squadron was sighted on the same night by some Estonian lighthouses in neutral waters, not very far from Reval.

How could the Third International believe in the ultimate success of such a "revolution"? For many months its Estonian section had spent large sums, liberally supplied by its masters, for the purpose of organising an armed rebellion in Estonia. Their endeavours met with a certain amount of success, especially in Southern Estonia, where terrorist schemes were organised under the leadership of the Communist "General" Heidemann. But this growth was suddenly arrested by the trial of "the 149," which first revealed the danger.

Meanwhile the Communist International was pressing on. It regarded the Baltic States as being within the British zone of influence, and it felt its hands freed by the alienation caused by Zinoviev's letter. It "ordered" an armed revolt early in November. The military leader of the Estonian Communists, Anvelt, who in 1918-19 was at the head of the invading Russian army, asked for time. This was grudgingly granted, but, even on December 1st, Anvelt had undoubtedly to act against his better knowledge. Events justified his caution: not a single workman left his factory to join the Communist gangs, and the army of

peasants whom the State had made proprietors scattered his men in less than two hours.

The Third International had acted upon wrong information, on the assumption that the workmen were only waiting for foreign relief to overthrow the Government. It thereby committed an act which General Verhovsky authoritatively qualifies as a "fatal mistake."

Concordia res parvæ crescunt. This is a very useful slogan for any small State. It also shows, indirectly, that concord, peace, constructive effort, should be necessary features of a small State.

Whatever might be said of Estonia during the last five years (conditions have always been grossly exaggerated abroad), the events of December 1st established a *Burgfrieden* unprecedented in extent. On the very next day the Communist members of Parliament declared that they were out of sympathy with the murdering gangs and desired thenceforth to be registered as independent. Thus the Third International succeeded in doing what no one else could ever have done: it manœuvred Estonian Communism out of existence.

The present Government, headed by Dr. Ackel, was weak, inasmuch as it represented only a minority of the Parliament. Since December 1st, all parties, from Social Democrats to Conservative farmers, agreed to form a coalition, which will carry on the Government until the constitutional reform, which will probably be put to the popular vote this year. It is likely that Estonia will reject the present system of proportional representation, for the reason that it is very undemocratic in its outcome, though very fair in theory.

The burial of the victims in the big Lutheran church of St. Charles was certainly a symbol of the new spirit in which the people are attempting to solve their difficulties. For the first time in history, a Lutheran Bishop of Estonia, a Greek Orthodox Metropolitan, and German pastors performed the ceremony together in one church. Estonians, Germans and Russians attended, and were united in the genuine sorrow felt for the victims of the infernal plot. It is difficult to believe that this spirit of understanding and co-operation would disappear as soon as things have once more assumed their normal aspect.

Estonia has adequately performed her trying rôle of an outpost of Western civilisation on the Eastern shore of the Baltic. But she needs encouragement—encouragement in times of peace, moral support which will counterbalance the feeling of insecurity preventing reconstruction and settlement. And, above all, she would like to see concord among all nations of Europe in their attitude toward the common danger.

GEORG MERI.

(Secretary of the Estonian League of Nations Federation.)

HEINE, THE GERMAN AND THE JEW.

IF I were asked to apply a general description to Heine's genius, I would call it encyclopædic and kaleidoscopic. That would well denote the compass and colour of his work. Are we to call him the *dernier cri* of literary versatility? Almost, when we know that he was poet, dramatist, journalist, polemist, musical, dramatic and art critic, writer of ballets and what not. Nothing human was foreign to him, he said with Terence. It is true, all these variegated activities were, to a certain extent, synchronised by his peculiar and picturesque style. But nevertheless he remains the chameleon, not to say the enigma, of literature.

What, if we may put it thus, was the soul-configuration of this remarkable man?

Matthew Arnold imagines the Spirit of the World, beholding the absurdity of men, to have indulged in a momentary sardonic smile. "That smile was Heine." I will let sardonic stand, but I rather boggle at the word smile. A smile, however modified, in its very essence implies benevolence and kindness. Matthew Arnold would have been more correct to have turned his Christian heaven into a pagan Pantheon and there to have imagined Zeus giving vent to a grim Homeric guffaw. Or even into a German Walhalla, and there to have watched stern old Thor hammering out the ironic fate of humans to a robust chuckle.

Neither of these pictures, it is true, conveys an impression of the airiness which is usually associated with Heine. But Heine was never airy. He did not really wield a rapier, but a "Flamberg," a broadsword. It is from its brightness and the nimble skill with which he handled it that we get the impression of its having been a light weapon.

Heine never smiled nor had a smile. At most we can term it a grin, a grimace. He faced the world with his tongue in his cheek but a great sadness in his heart. He describes himself much better—and who should?—when he says he has adopted the "laughing tear" as the heraldic sign on his scutcheon. This "laughing tear" kept him company through all his earthly journey and did not even desert him at its close. Who does not know the almost blasphemous jest with which he bade farewell to his friends? "Dieu me pardonnera—c'est son métier."

Heine's reputation rests most firmly on his fame as a lyric poet. As such he can be called no less than a miracle-worker. He did wonders with the German language. This language bears almost as bad a name as the people who speak it have gained during the last ten years. Not because of its grammatical and syntactical *pontes asinorum* which have broken many an English schoolboy

heart. The prejudice against German is phonetic. It is the lingual, more correctly the larynglal, joke of the music halls. To us, who know something of its history, how quaint must appear the thought of the Teutoborgian gutturalities which Arminius whispered to his Thusnelda? Or the harsh Gothic wailings with which the blonde queen of Alaric celebrated his burial in the Busementius?

The miracle which Heine achieved was to have made the German language plastic and musical. The crude laurels which till then German poetry bound round its brazen brow consisted, apart from Goethe, of the coldly polished verses of Schiller, the stodgy ballads of Buerger, the ponderously monumental hexameters of Klopstock. How coarse do its Minnesingers appear compared with the troubadours of France! Of the *Nibelungenlied* Heine himself says that the language in which it is composed is of stone and its verses are rhymed blocks of granite. Even as the Germans produced the mailed fist, so they also produced their *geharnischte*—their armour-clad—sonnets.

Heine turned the gutturalities of his mother-tongue into labials. He gave them life, softness, sentiment. Goethe said that Heine had no love. He refused him charity. This last may be true. But young men who have to fight a hostile world cannot afford to be charitable. The octogenarian hedonist of Weimar could speak of love with a smug complacency. Was it envy that made him deny to his younger rival the great driving-force of inspiration? Love, altruism, chivalry, Heine proved himself to possess these in plenty. The only sort of love he lacked was that without which the earth would be a Paradise—love of himself.

Heine the flagellant, the Teuton St. Simon Stylites! What made him constantly at odds with himself? There is no reason why he should not have been a happy man. His boyhood was free from adversity. He had highly eligible parents. He went to good schools, the best universities. The most distinguished houses were open to him. He was famous at twenty-four.

And, above all, he possessed that which should give the most luminous glamour to youth, a hero to worship. He was lucky in having been born into a world bestridden by a colossus. It is not a little thing to open one's life as the contemporary of an Alexander, a Cæsar. The shabby green uniform of the little corporal was to the imaginative boy a shining cuirass which dazzled him. Even the rockings of the universe, with which the colossus crashed to earth, could not but be an inspiring grief, an exhilarating terror.

There were various causes which made Heine the mental hypochondriac he became. The volatile temperament which finds it easy to make friends must, in the rebound, have an equally fatal

facility for giving offence. There was his unhappy attachment to his cousin Amalie.

There was, moreover, his self-expatriation. He went to Paris because it was a pleasing alternative to the fortress of Spandau, where oysters were absent from the bill of fare and where the chains worn by political prisoners felt very cold in the winter. But it speaks well for the nobility of his character that he always remained a true son of his country. He never became a Frenchman, at most he became a Parisian. He did not consider himself an ignominious outcast, but as entrusted with the honourable mission of an unofficial ambassador. We may wonder whether if Heine had lived and continued his labours of conciliation there would ever have been a Sedan. As it was his eyes were always turned longingly across the Rhine, a river which he liked to pretend had no nationality, and which he regarded not as a boundary but as a bond between the two countries.

But his chief cause for dissatisfaction, we may suspect, lay in his apostasy. It is absurd to think that a man of his rationalistic views was troubled by eschatological fears, but it is possible that he was haunted all his life by a sense of chagrin at having severed himself gratuitously from a race which, in its genealogical aspect, is the most aristocratic in the world. Was it a case of sour grapes or a spasm of despairing self-consolation that made him exclaim: "Judaism is not a religion but a misfortune!"?

How was it that it should have been given just to Heine, the German Jew, to become the world's greatest performer on the Æolian harp? Heine, it must not be forgotten, was a compatriot, so to speak, of the composer of the "Song of Songs." It is even possible that the Amalie episode made his Hippocrene run with melodious, if bitter, waters and planted his Helicon with soft-rustling cypresses. But I will venture the perhaps startling statement that Heine became vocal not as the discomfited suitor of his cousin, nor as the countryman of the successful wooer of the Queen of Sheba, though there was much aphrodisiac similarity between him and the latter. Heine's melodies came to him not because he was a Jew but because he was a German.

It is a strange reflection that the nation whose chief delight is, or was, in sabre-rattling should also, as Heine says, love liberty as a man loves his grandmother, whom he will never oust from her ingle-nook, so that she may amuse his children with fairy-tales. This sentimentality brings out the hybridism of the German nature. Indeed, one could go further and say it is a nature of a tripartite composition, the three ingredients being war, philosophy and song.

For our purpose we may content ourselves with the last. Whence comes the loving, dreamy, truly poetic tenderness of the innumer-

able German folk-tunes? Are they not the Croesuses of the world? If minted into gold they could pay with them their reparations a hundred-fold. And yet Germany is not a country of elegiac moors, of rugged lonely grandeurs, of desolate, wind-swept spaces. Undoubtedly the cause is to be found in their populous mythology, in their elves and fays, their Undines, their cobolds and gnomes, their dwarfs and giants, even in their remnants of Druidical superstition. To these they listen like the children to whom the grandmother in the ingle-nook is telling fairy-tales. They set them to music, or accept the traditional settings, and in one compartment of their hearts—curious how water-tight these compartments are!—they echo on with an unruffled monotony, while the other compartment is the workshop of syllogisms and the third an arsenal.

How Heine came to be imbued with these poetic softnesses is perhaps not quite so easy of explanation. He was entirely town-bred. He never had been a woodland bird, caught by the cruel fowler and pent into a masonic cage. But he was one of those fortunate individuals who have no need to send their souls *en villégiature*—nature comes to them herself. He felt by intuition the magic of river and mountain and meadow.

Nature, like art, painted vivid pictures on his imagination. One recalls his *Nordeney* and the effect produced on him by the sea, in the turbulent immensity of which he saw the counterpart of his own restless, unfettered spirit. The sea filled him with the undulatory joy of life. It called to him like a friend to whom he could entrust his most secret and sacred dreams. It must have been while looking at the sea that he wrote:

And then my soul expandeth
Its wings of air and foam,
And flies o'er hill and valley
As though 'twere flying home.

In his beloved Lutetia he, without a doubt, found a no less congenial playground than on the seashore. We wonder whether, in passing along the crowded boulevards, he still thought of poetry as a "holy plaything." Holy, perhaps. But plaything? Never has a poet so cruelly misconceived himself.

Shall I be considered unorthodox if I say that I prefer his dramatic poems to his lyrical output? Of these dramatic poems what a galaxy! There are *Deutschland*, *Prinzessin Sabbath*, *Jehuda Halevy*, *Atta Troll*, *Bimini*, to mention but a few. As a compliment to the poet's race let us take one of the Hebraic masterpieces.

Princess Sabbath is an epitome of the whole *diaspora*. Witches' curse has metamorphosed Israel, the king among nations, into a dog. But once a week he is released from his unhappy spell and

becomes again a prince for twenty-four hours. This day is personified into the Princess Sabbath. She comes to him in her regal state, and he forms with her a hebdomadal union from which he again has to return to his pariah enchantment.

What a deep ethical and historical meaning in this conceit! It makes one think that if by some chance Heine had been led to write the chronicles of his race, he would have solved the immemorial and eternal *Judenfrage*. Here, if anywhere, he could have given evidence of the "laughing tear" which was his emblem. The whimsical frivolity with which he treats the sacred theme must not be taken for satire on his brethren, but is a flaming scorn of the malignant crassness of those who, oblivious of the rich inheritance with which the Mosaic legislation has dowered the world, treat the munificent donor like a dog. It should be enough to make the Pfefferkorns and Stoeckers of all times die of shame.

I have always thought that in his spiritual make-up, as in his literary equipment, Heine bears a strong resemblance to that other equally celebrated apostate of the nineteenth century, Disraeli, who, I have a notion, remained a Jew all his life, and not merely a racial one. Signs of it are given in the famous clause 44 of the Berlin treaty, promising enfranchisement to the Roumanian Jews. His will contained the express wish that he was to be buried in the grounds of his manor at Hughenden, as though he shrank from posthumous contact with Gentiles. Certain old Jews maintain that they saw him on a Day of Atonement in the Synagogue at Bevis Marks, in the registers of which his birth is entered. I have witnessed a sketch in a London theatre of varieties where he is made to die with the Hebrew proclamation of God's Unity on his lips.

These arguments may appear fanciful but they are not without significance. Neither Heine nor Disraeli was clothed in a visible gabardine, nor is it to be conjectured that they wore underneath the customary, in this case the customary, Biblical four-corner garment. But the Abrahamic covenant was in their hearts. Both, no doubt, were at various periods of their lives agnostically inclined, but neither was illogical enough to wait for a death-bed repentance.

In both cases the root-stock was equally close, yet it is to be surmised that in Heine the atavistic strain ran more strongly. His indignation at the rumours, current towards the end of his life, that he had sought and found refuge in the bosom of the Church is almost pathetic. By a curious coincidence, to which, of course, well-known circumstances contributed, neither left any progeny. It almost seems as if an angry Jehovah forbade the propagating of a renegade generation. A Talmudic saying has it that an apostate is like unto a dead man, and the late Joseph Jacobs has shown that marriages out of the pale are rarely prolific.

What, then, was Heine's religion, if such it can be called? We venture to think it was the Hellenism, the paganism if you like, of the artist combined with a semi-superstitious undercurrent in which, again, blended the devout mysticism of the Cabbalist and the sturdy Zebaothism of the Maccabee. His conversion was a utilitarian expedient. In the Prussia of the time a union of a non-Christian within the tenets of the Church was merely a *mariage de convenance*. In Heine's case, to be explicit, it was necessary to enable him to enter the legal profession, which he never entered, and, subsequently, to obtain a professorship, which he never obtained.

If he had qualms he never confessed them. He was, we may fancy, really too great to be schismatic or sectarian. He had found a convenient common denominator for Judaism and Christianity, both of which he comprehended under the term Nazarene. Perhaps he felt at home and at rest in this element of spiritual amphibiousness. If there ever had been any pantheism in him, he probably said good-bye to it on his last visit to the Venus de Milo at the Louvre. And from then on, it is conceivable, a sane and rational Deism, rare and unossified into dogma, took possession of him.

That, however, did not prevent him from shooting shafts of irony at conventional beliefs nor make him spare the anthropomorphic God of tradition. His irreverence perhaps became greater from his having found a *Credo* of his own. Here is his biting quip on the after-life. In his epilogue to the *Romanzero* he says: "I have consigned to the flames all poems containing disrespectful allusions to the Deity. It is better that the verses should burn than the versifier." Conversely again he says that the *horror vacui* which we assign to nature is more truly an attribute of the human spirit.

All the same, he goes on being sacrilegiously flippant, though we may surmise that this persiflage was merely skin-deep. His piety towards the end, at least, he makes it clear, was very real, without having any trace of ecclesiasticism. He returned to God, he admits, like the Prodigal Son, after having for many years tended the swine among the Hegelians. No man can be dubbed an atheist who speaks with so much love and admiration of the Bible, whether regarded as revelation or as literature. The words in which he describes it are not surpassed in beauty or devotion by any writer. I must quote them:—

What sent me on the way to salvation was no vision, no seraphic ecstasy, no heavenly voice, no transcendental dream, nor any other miracle. My enlightenment came to me just from the reading of a book. A book? Yes, it is an old simple book, modest as nature

and as natural, a book which looks unassuming and workaday, like the sun which warms us, like the bread which feeds us. A book which gazes at us with a homely look, which is like a kindly benediction, such as might come from an old granny who reads daily in this book with dear, trembling lips and spectacles on her nose. And this book is called, *tout court*, the book, the Bible. Rightly is it named the Holy Scripture. He who has lost his God can find Him again in this book.

And then, as though there were any need to give force to his encomium, he adds the dithyrambic words of Ben Sira Ben Eleazar, of Jerusalem :—

All this is written in the book of the Covenant made with the Highest God, namely, the Law which Moses entrusted to the House of Jacob as its greatest treasure. Out of it flowed wisdom like the waters of Pison at high-tide, like the waters of Tigris when they rise in flood in spring time. Reason came from it, plentiful as the Euphrates when it is swollen, like the Jordan at the season of the harvest. Decency came from it like the Light and like the waters of the Nile in autumn. No man has ever been who has fathomed it, no man ever will be who can dive to its depths. For its meaning is richer than the sea and its word deeper than any abyss.

No wonder, comments Heine, that at the burning of the second Temple the Jews, who are connoisseurs in things of price, jettisoned the gold, silver and jewels it contained and saved their Torah.

It is to be doubted whether there ever will be another Heine. Extraordinary as are the forces of nature, they require long rests to recuperate. The stars are eternal and untiring but even they can only cast uncommon nativities at long intervals. The alchemical alembics of the ages work slowly to fashion their gold. An Eastern legend says that a fire must burn six thousand years to produce a salamander.

It took nearly that time to produce a Heine. Or we can put it less stiltedly, and say that Pan and Apollo can only die once and only once come back to life. Shall we, then, say that Heine was the resurrected compound of Pan and Apollo, and of one other God of his own making whose name he never knew?

The deduction from that would be that Heine was neither a German nor a Jew—but a Greek, *plus* something else.

SAMUEL GORDON.

FOREIGN AFFAIRS.

SIX full years have passed since the war ended. Was it not Clausewitz who wrote that war is the continuation of politics by other means? Conversely, according to our experience, the politics of the last six years have in some ways been the continuation of the war by other means. At the beginning of the seventh year of so-called peace there is an accumulation of evidence such as, by all the rules of reason, should shake the convention which gives to the annals of war a high place in national pride. Unfortunately, reason does not decide these things. War records are paraded dazzlingly as the intellectual pabulum of schoolboys: morally they belong to the seamy side of life, and are about as glorious as the human crucifixion of Christ; intellectually they represent achievement comparable to that of cannibalism.

The mass of people want to forget the war and its diplomatic aftermath. The gleam of light which resulted from Mr. MacDonald's brilliant work for peace and goodwill in 1924 has already gone. Mr. Chamberlain has not yet shown that he is quite as big as his opportunity; and the times call for exceptionally big men. During the course of the past two months the MacDonald impetus was first arrested, then reversed, and we are now sliding back to small-minded and uninspired diplomacy. It is true that the Dawes Plan, launched last August, is as yet unimpaired; but the problem of security is shelved. Germany is in a worse state of intractableness than she has been for several years, and at the moment of writing the attempt even to form a government in Berlin has failed. The disquieting developments in Germany are largely due to the Cologne blunder.

THE BRITISH GOVERNMENT AND COLOGNE.

German opinion has misunderstood the British policy in Cologne, as it has a general habit, not wholly surprising, of misunderstanding British policy. When Mr. MacDonald gave up his seals, Germany was moving fast in the right direction: towards a sincere carrying out of the Dawes Plan, admission to the League of Nations and general good behaviour. At the moment of writing she is in a ferment of indignation, against, not France, but Great Britain. Why? The mere prolongation of the British occupation of Cologne is not the reason. Germany would have had no violent objection to that, if her point of view had been considered with tact and with care, especially as the alternative to a British occupation would probably have been a French occupation. It was the impression of an anti-German bias underlying the present phase of British foreign policy which created the effect.

Experience has often shown how easily the balance is upset in these matters. There is no mentality so self-conscious and sensitive as that of post-war Germany, or so capable of committing appalling "gaffe" from emotional touchiness. Witness Cannes or Genoa; or the first three days of the London conference of last August, when Mr. MacDonald hobnobbed with all his determination and abandon to overcome the timidity of the German delegation, with results which are a monument of what can be done by the right methods. Mr. Chamberlain does not appear even to have considered the factor of German opinion. His touch in the Cologne affair was heavy, and the immediate result was a crash of the whole delicate structure of German confidence.

It was known in the last fortnight of 1924 that the Allied Governments had decided among themselves not to evacuate the Cologne zone on January 10th, the decision being formally adopted on December 27th by the Ambassadors' Conference. On January 5th Lord D'Abernon, as senior Allied Ambassador in Berlin, handed to the German Chancellor, Herr Marx, at the Palace in the Wilhelmstrasse, a collective Note of the Allied Governments intimating the decision and the reasons for it. At the same time Lord D'Abernon explained that a further communication would be addressed to the German Government when the final Report of the Allied Commission of Control had been received. Article 428 of the Treaty of Versailles stipulated that the German territory situated to the west of the Rhine, together with the bridgeheads, should be occupied by the troops of the Allied and Associated Powers during a period of fifteen years, to run from the entry into force of the treaty, as a guarantee for the execution of the said treaty by Germany. Article 429 of the treaty stipulated that if the conditions imposed by it had been faithfully carried out by Germany, the occupation foreseen in Article 428 should be successively restricted at the expiration of the first five, and then of the first ten, years. The Allied Note of January 5th, therefore, kept within the letter of the treaty when it declared:

"The Allied Governments are already in a position to inform the German Government, without awaiting January 10th, 1925, that they have obtained proof showing that Germany has not yet fulfilled and cannot possibly have fulfilled by that date the conditions laid down in Article 429 so as to enable her to benefit by the clause relating to the partial evacuation anticipated. Thus, by merely referring to Part V of the Treaty, a sufficient ground for the decision of the Allied Governments is to be found in the information collected by the Inter-Allied Military Commission of Control, in spite of some obstruction, in regard to the extent to which the military clauses have been carried out.

"For example, to mention only some essential points among the facts already known, the following facts have been ascertained:

"In violation of Article 160, the Great General Staff of the Army has been reconstituted in another form.

"In violation of Article 174, short-service volunteers have been recruited and trained.

"Contrary to Article 168, the transformation of factories for the manufacture of war material is far from being complete.

"Contrary to Articles 164 to 169, a surplus of every kind has been found to exist beyond the amounts of military material allowed, and considerable illicit stocks of war material have been discovered.

"Contrary to Article 162 and to the decision taken by the Boulogne Conference on June 9th, 1920, the reorganisation of the State police has not been begun.

"Contrary to Article 211, the German Government is far from having taken all the legislative and administrative measures demanded by the Allied Governments in their Note of September 29th, 1922.

"The Allied Governments, moreover, expect to receive shortly the report of the Inter-Allied Commission of Control giving the full results of the present general inspection. This report will enable them to determine what still remains to be done by Germany, for her obligations in military matters to be considered, in the terms of Article 429, as having been faithfully carried out; a further communication will be addressed to the German Government on this subject."

The Allies were technically correct: an achievement which, however, had precisely no value whatever. These juridical vendettas could go on for ever in complete harmony with the terms of the Treaty of Versailles and in complete discord with every prompting of common sense. It is surprising that the men who wield power in the Allied countries should still be acting under the delusion that it is possible to subject Germany to such forms of control. It is surprising that Mr. Chamberlain should have shared the responsibility for the almost incredible folly of the Allied Note of January 5th.

It is easy enough to find legal excuses for any policy, no matter how unfair or how stupid. No doubt Germany has failed to carry out fully the disarmament clauses of the treaty. Germany is not and never was any higher in the moral scale than any other nation in Europe. And what, in common sense, does it matter, by contrast with the spirit of goodwill which was growing up in the last half of 1924? German propagandists are now asking openly whether the Allied Governments really expect Germany to be dis-

armed, when she is surrounded on all sides by fully armed and openly hostile nations? I heard a highly placed German diplomatist declare that if the present situation were allowed to continue, the German people might be driven into a war of despair, even knowing that they would lose, merely because, in their view, nothing could be more intolerable than the continued occupation of the Rhineland on flimsy excuses and the continued attempt to keep Germany in bondage. One may heavily discount such propaganda and acquit Germany of being quite so stupid as that: but there is no denying that German opinion has suddenly become more hostile to the Allied Governments and more restive than it has been since the armistice. Mr. Chamberlain is understood to be anxious to evacuate Cologne at the earliest opportunity. He has missed the obvious opportunity, January 10th, and by that very fact has made future opportunity less likely. If Mr. Chamberlain genuinely accepted the French argument that the delay in the presentation of the report of the Allied inspectors was due to two years of German obstruction in the past, what will he say to the French arguments of the next few months, when France will have something much more solid to advance? For in her present state of mind Germany is in danger of playing into French hands.

No one supposes for a moment that Mr. Chamberlain's reasoning was anything like as naïve as he himself would have us suppose. By postponing the evacuation of Cologne he merely wanted to gain time for further consideration of the question of security. As a result of his six weeks' study of the problems confronting him, he had made up his mind to devote his first energies towards solving that question. This pursuit of security seems to lead to little besides an increasing sense of insecurity all round. When Mr. Chamberlain came back from Rome in December he allowed it to be known that he had developed an increased respect for the League, an increased confidence in its efficacy, and a high opinion of its machinery. Mr. Chamberlain is a man who, when he makes a positive statement, means it. It was unfortunate, therefore, from his point of view that he was unable to make up his mind about the Geneva Protocol before the issue of January 10th arose. To his mind the evacuation of Cologne was a side issue in the big problem of security, and he regarded it as impossible to take the small step before deciding on the bigger step. He therefore played for time, with the unfortunate results that have been alluded to above.

THE DOMINIONS AND THE PROTOCOL.

Mr. Chamberlain had bad luck. He studied the Protocol hard and decided that it could neither be accepted nor rejected, but

could see no solution to the dilemma. He therefore wanted a Dominion consultation. Soon after he assumed office he had begun telegraphic-exchanges of view with the Dominion capitals on this subject, but had found the method totally inadequate to the importance of it. It was therefore decided to invite Dominion delegations to a Conference in London. Telegraphic invitations were sent out in the last week of December, and it was hoped that a special Imperial Conference might meet in London in March, that is to say early enough to enable Mr. Chamberlain to report the British decision on the Protocol to the March meeting of the League Council. Even in that event it would have been necessary for the Disarmament Conference, which had been provisionally fixed for next July, to be postponed till October; for Mr. Chamberlain made it clear, when he asked for the deletion of the question of the Protocol from the Agenda of the Rome Session of the Council, that in his view it would necessarily follow that the general time-table of the League's plan for security and disarmament should be adjusted accordingly. It was, however, found impracticable for the Dominions to accept the invitation to a special conference in London, and the method of telegraphic consultation had again to be resorted to. At the moment, therefore, the general prospect is obscure.

THE PROBLEM OF OPIUM.

Opium is an apt subject to concentrate on in the present melancholy circumstances; and there are those who deplore the attempt of the League of Nations to deprive mankind of one of its sedatives. There are others, as for instance, Bishop Brent, United States delegate to the League of Nations Opium Conference, and one of the greatest authorities on opium, who are deeply convinced that opium-smoking, opium-eating, and other forms of opium consumption constitute one of the big enemies of mankind, and who therefore devote their best efforts to a form of holy crusade against them. The League of Nations has adopted this view, and is even now in the middle of such a crusade.

Two general questions arise: (1) Is opium consumption, over and above what is necessary for an agreed estimate of what is required for medical and scientific purposes, an evil? (2) If so, is it a fit subject for political action, or for international political action?

The answer to question one must largely depend on the nature of those who answer it. It appears from the enormous mass of available evidence that the use of opium in moderation is comparable to the use of tobacco or alcohol or any other of the stimulants or sedatives provided by Nature, but that, taken in excess, it damages the fool who takes it, and may even kill him. The latter

contingency may be argued to be a catastrophe, although there are no doubt those who would argue that a man has the right to smoke himself to death if he wants to, and even that the death of such a person is a matter of controversial importance. It is not clear from the evidence that opium consumption is worse than, say, alcohol, when taken to excess. Opium apparently does not produce a violent or murderous or idiotic disposition, as alcohol does in some people: rather it produces a calm, good-natured, but lazy, benevolence, and when it kills the patient, kills him comfortably and decently by stopping the action of the heart. There are few of the blessings of Nature which, if abused by excess of indulgence, are not harmful.

Assuming, however, that the dissolute smoking or eating of opium—that is, its consumption for pleasure or for the forgetfulness of misery as opposed to its consumption for more definitely medical purposes—is undesirable or harmful, is it a fit subject for action on the part of the League of Nations? Would the League be wise to undertake a world campaign against alcohol? The United States has tried prohibition of drink with doubtful results. The British Government restricts the hours for public drinking of alcohol with the result that every night at 10 o'clock or 11 o'clock (as the case may be in different places) you may see as many drunken people as you wish in the streets. In Paris, where a man may drink when he likes, you never see people drunk. Getting drunk in everyday life (as opposed to festive occasions) is the result of drinking more than is necessary, either because (as happens in English “pubs,” those abominable institutions) men drink against time or for some other reason. If a man is told that he may drink only between certain hours, the amount he consumes within those limits will be decided, not by his healthy appetite, but by a sense of competition and urgency.

Are opium or alcohol fit subjects for League of Nations action? The case of the anarchist is that he has ideals above that of being placed under the control of a governess all his life. Where he goes wrong is in ignoring the necessity of government as a means of common convenience. Where those who have government on the brain go wrong is in trying to extend government beyond its proper sphere of mutual convenience into that of universal schoolmaster and moral supervisor. Sumptuary legislation throughout history has had the knack of defeating its own object. Restriction and drunkenness in England contrasted with freedom and sobriety in France is a fair historical symptom. Human nature, if allowed a free choice between healthy conduct and perverted conduct, in the overwhelming number of cases chooses the healthy. Of course. Those moral crusaders who spend their time trying to force human

nature to be decent should at any rate consider whether they would not do more good if they left human nature to itself, and thereby demonstrated their own belief in God. Thousands of people in England had never heard of opium till moral busy-bodies began proclaiming its danger and, by implication, its attractiveness: and it would not be surprising if many of them for the first time in their lives are beginning to wonder if opium is not after all worth trying, just for fun? The League of Nations in the rôle of governess is at any rate a doubtful experiment.

It is not the first time that well-meaning moral reformers have tried to stamp out opium. They have never succeeded. The opium poppy grows easily and in magnificent crops in suitable climates. Its coagulated juice is easily prepared for consumption, and a little of it goes an enormous way. The smoking of it, however, is so complicated, difficult, lengthy and expert a business that no one except desperate pessimists or leisured apolaustics could ever acquire the habit. In China, Turkey, and Persia there is a long tradition and long practice behind opium-consumption. In those countries it appears to be the case that they consume more than is good for them. But is not that their own business? If a Chinaman or a Turk wants to smoke opium, or even to smoke himself to death, whose business is it except his? In so far, however, as China, Persia or Turkey export or smuggle opium to countries whose authorities do not want their people to have it, then there may be a case for action: but it is open to question whether the American method of international action or the British method of local responsibility is the more effective.

THE LEAGUE AND OPIUM.

The present attempt of the League to deal with the Opium problem is still, at the time of writing, undecided. It reached a deadlock in December. The procedure followed at Geneva was somewhat confusing to all except those who followed it at close quarters. There were two conferences, the first of which met in November to evolve if possible a scheme for the limitation of the smuggling of opium, the second in December, to attempt the more difficult project of suppressing the production of opium and of cocaine for export, as well as the manufacture of their derivatives, except in so far as they were needed for medical or scientific purposes.

The first conference succeeded in drafting a convention. It provided for the Government monopoly of opium and for the abolition of the farming system; the prohibition of the sale of opium to minors; the limitation of retail shops; the re-export of opium when imported for the purpose of smoking; transshipment only against

government certificates; anti-opium education and international co-operation for the suppression of illicit traffic. That draft convention was not signed, however, by the British delegate, and on December 13th the conference was adjourned till January 12th. During the adjournment the comment was made in London that the British Government ought to be represented at the resumed conference by someone of Cabinet standing. The point at issue in December had been of such particular concern to the British Empire that the solitary British delegate, Sir Malcolm Delevingne, felt that he must consult Mr. Chamberlain before signing. Sir Malcolm is a Civil servant, and his competence therefore is restricted to that of an expert. The issues involved called for diplomatic as well as expert treatment. On January 5th, therefore, the British Cabinet decided to send Lord Salisbury to Geneva in order to invest the British delegation with plenipotentiary status. Lord Salisbury was as blissfully ignorant about opium as most of us in this country are, but he put in a hard day's work on January 6th reading up his subject and being coached by the departments of the Foreign Office, India Office and Colonial Office concerned. He showed a remarkably quick grasp of an involved, difficult and deadly dull subject, and on the following afternoon the Foreign Office issued the official announcement of his appointment. That very morning, however, he had met with a serious hunting accident at Hatfield which made it impossible for him to go to Geneva, as arranged, at the end of that week. The Government therefore telegraphed to Geneva asking that the Conference be postponed for a week, in the hope that Lord Salisbury would recover in the meantime. To avoid the possibility of a second disappointment, however, it was decided on or about January 12th to replace Lord Salisbury by his brother, Lord Cecil, who fortunately had arrived in London a day or so before, on his return from America. Lord Cecil was certainly an admirable man for the job. He had had former experience of the League's treatment of the opium question, and probably knew more about the League in general than any man living. The conference therefore was due to be resumed on January 19th.

It was the second Conference of the December series which brought with it the chief stumbling block. The United States and Great Britain had shown themselves to be in full agreement so far as the measures that should be taken to restrict the drug traffic were concerned. The opposition on this head came from other quarters. What caused the deadlock was that the American delegation insisted, with the support of the majority of the conference, in extending the agenda beyond the problem of suppressing the production of opium for export purposes, so as to include that

of suppressing the whole surplus of production over and above what was needed for scientific or medical purposes. As the American delegation defined the formula "medical and scientific requirements" to mean strictly that opium should be obtainable only by the prescription of a medical man or a veterinary surgeon, it was clearly impossible for India to accept any convention which embodied it. In many districts of India there are neither doctors nor veterinary surgeons, but opium is used medicinally by the natives.

The British case has so far been that it is the responsibility of each individual country to keep out opium, if opium is not wanted. Efficient police can do it, as they have in Limehouse. The smuggling of opium into the Limehouse docks is the easiest matter in the world because opium supplies are so small in bulk: but the opium dens have been almost eradicated. American tourists who make a dash for Limehouse Causeway in the hope of seeing an endless number of opium dens, full of drugged habitués, with Chinamen standing about armed with daggers, are surprised to find a quiet, if dingy, little street, just about as exciting as South Kensington on a Sunday afternoon. The certainty of detection and the heaviness of the penalties have long ago made the East End Chinaman give up his opium dens. Similarly, if America wants to keep out opium, she only needs an efficient police service. It is not necessary to try and stamp out the production of opium in the Far East. Not only is it doubtful policy to interfere in the internal affairs of China, but such interference is doomed to failure. Indeed, such opium-producing countries as Persia, Jugoslavia, Turkey, Bolivia (who produces coca leaves) have all notified the League that they cannot accept a convention of such a kind. Russia, who also produces opium, is neither a member of the League nor a participant in the conference, and, if one may judge from the rapidly increasing opium trade in Russia, she is hardly likely to be any more sympathetic than the countries just mentioned. The Chinese delegates cheerfully protested that all was well in China because the entire production of opium in that country is prohibited. There certainly is a Chinese law to that effect, but whatever China suffers from, it is not from the tyranny of laws, and everyone knows that the bulk of the entire production of opium in the world is still produced in China. In 1922 China produced a total of 4,400,000 lbs of opium, out of a total world production of 7,877,092 lbs. The League of Nations figures for 1923 are not yet available.

It is unfortunate that some American newspapers have shown themselves to be as badly informed as they are indignant about the opium trade, and have therefore been representing India and

Great Britain as the chief offenders. The *Chicago Tribune* of October 6th last wrote that "the drug evil in America is encouraged chiefly by cheap and easy drugs. English over-production of opium makes cheap drugs easy to get." The insinuation that the opium products which are abused in America come from British sources is wholly unfounded. India's surplus production is exported only to governments under a full guarantee and under the stipulation regarding re-export. Not an ounce of Indian opium is sent to America, or to American possessions, any more than it is to China. The United States chiefly obtains its opium from Turkey or Persia, and native grown opium from China is probably smuggled into the United States and into the Philippines in big quantities. Dr. Carleton "Simm" (or Simon, as I believe his real name is) contributed a signed article to the *New York American* of December 14th alleging that "Great Britain is the greatest purveyor in the world of the habit-forming drug," and showed himself to be equally misinformed. There are only two factories in Great Britain for the production of morphine, as against about ten in the United States and six or eight in Germany. There are no cocaine factories in Great Britain. It is true that Great Britain manufactures certain opium derivatives on a big scale (though not on as big a scale as does the United States), but their export is rigidly controlled. British manufacturers, indeed, complain that the restrictions hurt their trade because foreign importers go to sources free from such restrictions. Other American newspapers have similarly written about the British Government's support of the drug traffic. Bishop Brent, by contrast, in an interview given to a correspondent of the *New York American* on Waterloo Station (published in that paper on December 15th), paid a tribute to "England's Poisonous Drug Act of 1867, which still remains the first law of its kind in the world to-day."

The British Government is sympathetic in a large degree to the objects which lie behind the efforts of the United States to institute what will amount to world-wide prohibition so far as opium and its derivatives are concerned: for it is obvious that if there were no consumption of opium except for medical purposes the world would gain more than it would lose; but the British Government is not convinced that the American method is the most expedient. It is understood that the American delegation would be prepared to extend its ten-year scheme of a 10 per cent. reduction over a longer period, provided the principle of ultimate prohibition were adopted. It is not certain how far Lord Cecil will be able to compromise on this principle, or whether the British method of police efficiency will rather recommend itself to the delegations at Geneva. Incidental complications are introduced by

the fact that in certain parts of the British Empire, as, for instance, in Hong Kong and the Malay Straits (but conspicuously *not* in India) the revenue from opium constitutes a big percentage of the total state revenue (Hong Kong 25 per cent., Malaya 28.6 per cent.). Moral reformers are usually incensed by these figures, although it is difficult to see why, other things being equal, the sale of opium, as of tobacco, should not contribute to state revenue.

WAR DEBTS.

Just as two years ago Mr. Bonar Law went to Paris in the first week of the new year to discuss reparations and debts with Allied ministers, so Mr. Churchill went to Paris on January 6th of this year on a similar mission. There was an important difference between the two occasions. The United States had been coaxed back to European affairs during 1924, and, being involved in the Dawes settlement of reparations, it was next to impossible for her to keep up any longer her rôle of isolated creditor. That was a remarkably novel situation, out of which there emerged the inevitable prospect of a general debt settlement all round. In the past Great Britain had been ground between the nether mill-stone of European Allies who refused to pay Great Britain and the upper mill-stone of America who exacted payment from Great Britain. So long as a gulf was fixed between America and Europe it was impossible to complete the chain of settlement. When France, therefore, wanting a further loan from America began some preliminary spade work by discussing the funding of the existing French debt to America, she established the necessary contact and performed an indirect service to Great Britain.

It is important to keep clear the two threads, one official, the other unofficial, in the important events which began at the end of 1924. As is often the case in delicate diplomacy, the important work was done unofficially. At the end of 1924 Mr. Montagu Norman and his colleague on the Board of the Bank of England, Sir Alan Anderson, went to New York. They travelled "incog." and thereby brought all the more limelight on themselves when they were found out. Official denials were issued that their visit to America had anything to do with inter-Allied debts, the chief effect of those denials being the usual one of suggesting the opposite. It was, indeed, transparently obvious that a big manoeuvre for position was taking place between the United States, Great Britain and France.

Important consultations took place between the British Treasury and the Foreign Office which covered the whole ground of reparations and debts. At the turn of the year an unofficial communica-

tion was conveyed from London to the United States Government, the substance of which was paraphrased for me by a high official in this way: "You can make whatever settlement you like with France" (said in effect the British Government) "or with any other debtor of yours, just as we hold ourselves entirely independent to make any settlement we choose with any of our own debtors. It is not our business either to approve or to disapprove of any settlement made between any creditor and any debtor. If you give lighter terms to France than you gave to us it is no one's business except that of yourselves and of France. We do not claim most-favoured-nation treatment. We have our private views on this subject, but our private views are private. So far as British policy is concerned, we made a settlement with the United States, we are paying what we undertook to pay, and shall continue to do so. We make only one stipulation, namely, that if any payment whatever is made to the United States by France, or by any other state which is a common debtor of Great Britain and of the United States, payment shall be made to Great Britain *pari passu* with payment made to the United States. That is to say (1) no payment shall ever be made by France to America, either of interest or of capital, unless at the same time a corresponding payment is made to Great Britain; (2) the payment made to Great Britain shall bear at least an equal proportionate relation to the debt as the payment made to the United States; (3) on no occasion shall the total sum paid to America exceed the total sum paid to Great Britain."

The substance of this declaration was conveyed unofficially to the French Government, and the famous phrase "*pari passu*" led to some prolific misunderstanding in France on the eve of Mr. Churchill's visit. Some French newspapers offered a grateful welcome to what they described as the important concessions implied in the new formula, as contrasted with Mr. Churchill's December statement in the House of Commons. Nothing is to be gained by analysing the French argument, for it was based on inaccurate information. The truth was that there had been no change whatever in the British point of view. The general principle of British policy was a virtual cancellation of debts, either by a formal cancellation or by an insistence on receipts from British debtors equivalent to the British obligation to America—a principle which involved to the British Treasury a sacrifice of some £1,000,000,000 worth of debt assets. The "*pari passu*" formula was merely a safeguard, prompted by the consideration that for the past five years a virtual moratorium had been granted by Great Britain to France at the expense of the British tax-payer, and it was therefore necessary for the British Government to see that the financial

resources thereby accumulated in Paris should not be used for the purpose of granting most-favoured-nation treatment to any rival creditor.

While Mr. Montagu Norman and Sir Alan Anderson were engaged in New York in ostensible negotiations about sterling-dollar parity (or whatever the financiers call it), M. Clémentel, the French Finance Minister, was giving to Mr. Herrick, the American Ambassador in Paris, an unofficial memorandum about the French funding of her debt. To make the distinction still more obvious between the private business and the public business, the American Government instructed its delegates to the impending inter-Allied Financial Conference in Paris not to enter into any discussions about inter-Allied debts.

Such was the situation when Mr. Churchill, Sir Otto Niemeyer, Mr. Walter Guinness and their entourage crossed to Paris on January 6th. After a week's work the formal business of the Conference was successfully finished, and the full text of the Agreement, a document of some 9,000 words, was issued to the press on January 14th for publication in the newspapers of the following day. The Agreement dealt with points of practical detail arising out of the operation of the Dawes scheme. It was a highly technical document, and no attempt can be made here to summarise its financial aspect. It consisted of five chapters and twenty-seven articles. The first chapter provided for the allocation of the Dawes annuities, the first of which, amounting in all to £50,000,000, falls due in the current year. The Dawes scheme stipulated that the annuities should represent the total charges upon Germany—reparation proper, restitution, clearing house operations, costs of the armies of occupation, the Rhineland Commission, the military Commission of Control, and what not. This called for some involved readjustments in the book-keeping of the Reparation Commission. Chapter two dealt with the settlement of past accounts, chapter three with special questions arising out of previous Agreements, chapter four with interest and arrears, chapter five with miscellaneous questions affecting, for instance, Czechoslovakia and Danzig. The reader must be referred to the text of the document itself for the details.

The two points of most general interest were the satisfaction of America's claim for a share in the Dawes annuities (Chapter I, article 3) and the settlement of the Ruhr accounts (Chapter II, article 12). The question of America's interest in war reparations was an old one, and was a good illustration of many interesting problems of law and equity and the worldly way of ignoring either or both for good or bad reasons. The United States did not ratify the Treaty of Versailles, and it was therefore difficult to see what

legal claim she could have on the proceeds of that instrument. She had taken no part in the troublesome and ruinous business of diplomacy to which the Treaty led, or in the expenses of carrying out the Treaty except in so far as her illogical armies of occupation were concerned, and it was therefore a difficult question whether she had any claim in equity. The Wadsworth Agreement of 1923 had provided for the cost of America's army of occupation by a payment of twelve annuities to America, amounting in all to some £50,000,000. Not satisfied with that, America had put forward a claim for damages. Yet, unpromising as the whole situation appeared to be from a moral point of view, a paradoxically good result came from the opportunist realism of American policy. By the giving to America of a share of the Dawes annuities, American participation was ensured in the whole carrying out of the Dawes scheme. That is excellent, for American interests happen to coincide with a decent settlement in Europe, and we may be thankful therefore that the powerful effect of America's financial strength, due to the peculiarly profitable circumstances of her entry into the war and her exit from its aftermath, will now be thrown on the side of the angels. Thus do we find in this imperfect world that what idealism finds it difficult to achieve, can sometimes be achieved, in favouring circumstances, by a sound business instinct. The other interesting point was the return of the Ruhr prodigal to the Allied camp. That was simple. The old hatchet of the Ruhr illegality was buried, the loot resulting from the occupation was credited, after deduction of the looters' expenses, to the Reparation Commission, and all was well.

Mr. Churchill, on reaching Victoria Station on the wet and cheerless evening of January 14th, was buoyantly cheerful, and said that he was extremely satisfied with what he had done. He had indeed full reason to be satisfied. All that had been required of him was that he should give the irresistible logic of the situation a chance of its own. How successfully he did this may be gauged from a passage in his own final speech at the Conference: "The formal participation of the United States" (he said) "in the proceeds of the Dawes scheme had indisputably added an immense moral weight to the authority on which that scheme stands, and once again, after six years marked by many misunderstandings and divergences, we find the Allies and the United States working together within the limits of the Dawes scheme in the most complete harmony. That is to me, and I am sure to all our colleagues here, a cause of very real and justifiable satisfaction. It should constitute a definite stage in the march away from the confusion which followed the great victory and towards that general consolidation and reconstitution, not only of Allied, but of Euro-

pean, affairs, which must ever be our goal." In his excitement Mr. Churchill rather lost his historical perspective and seemed to arrogate to January, 1925, a good deal of what strictly belonged to August, 1924. One may be sure, however, that Mr. Churchill fully intended his statement, although he did not say so, to be an indirect tribute to Mr. MacDonald even more than to himself.

THE GREEK REFUGEES.

The problem of the settlement in Greece of the 1,300,000 refugees from Asia Minor is one which overshadows in its magnitude most of the war legacies, appalling as they are; but the problem is being tackled with some success. This is the sort of work which does the League infinite credit, and which, without a shadow of doubt, is what the Americans might call "worth-while work." It seems a pity that the League energy and expense which is now being dissipated on opium could not be added to that which is being profitably spent on the Greek refugees.

The fourth quarterly report of the League of Nations Refugee Settlement Commission deals with the whole of the work done by the Commission up to the end of October. It shows that from the beginning of the refugee immigration from Asia Minor at the end of the Greco-Turkish war in 1922 up to November, 1924, over 116,000 families had been settled on the land, chiefly in Macedonia, and provided with seeds and agricultural implements. During the first ten months of last year 9,137 houses were built, and 25,000 more are being built. During the same period over 23,000 ploughs and 35,000 draught-animals, 11,900 tons of forage and about 9,000 tons of seed grain had been distributed among the refugees. One evil leads to another, and the Commission found itself confronted with an acute problem of malaria prevalence, which last September accounted for 45 per cent. of the total deaths, although September is normally one of the healthiest months of the year. The refugees are in a low state of health, have been badly fed, and malaria easily takes a hold. The birth-rate is being seriously affected, there being whole villages where no births occurred during the whole of last year, which is perhaps a blessing in the circumstances. The Report shows that those refugees who have been settled on the land have taken to work enthusiastically, and most of them would already be self-supporting had it not been for a severe drought which ruined all the cereal crops in the spring. Tobacco, on the other hand, has had a good crop, and some 40,000 families of tobacco growers have already recovered financially as a result of last year's harvest.

One passage in the Report gives a telling illustration of the difficulties confronting the Greek Government and the League

Commission in their efforts to solve the land problem. "Here is a large estate which was perhaps the only source of revenue to its proprietor. He had it cultivated by 'métayers.' According to the terms of the new Agricultural Legislation, the large proprietor must give way to the small proprietor, and now, since the events in Asia Minor, there are four parties to claim their share in his land: the owner, who naturally tries to keep as much as he can; the 'métayer,' who would like to keep for himself all the land he used to cultivate; the small farmers who want their portion; and, finally, the refugees who, destitute of everything, claim a large share, upon which they have perhaps already established themselves. The Seven Sages of Greece would not be too many to unravel this tangled skein, and there are in addition countless minor difficulties. There is no public register of property and the lands for allocation are disputed; moreover, equal areas, especially in this country, are not of equal value, and the difference in price between land for tobacco, olive groves, vineyards and for other uses is immense."

It should be understood that the need for private charity in Greece is as great as ever, for the Refugee Loan recently raised in London and New York can be applied only for settling the refugees in productive employment and not for the charitable relief of immediate distress.

MISS GOLDMAN: A CORRECTION.

In the December CONTEMPORARY (p. 782), I wrote that Miss Emma Goldman, the anarchist, had been expelled from the United States and from Russia. Miss Goldman writes to point out that "the only country to deport me was the United States" and that "I left Russia when I saw that I could in no way effect [affect?] the appalling conditions created by the terror and the despotism of the régime." She also states that she left Germany and Sweden voluntarily, although her stay in those countries had led to difficulties.

GEORGE GLASGOW.

January 15th, 1925.

LITERARY SUPPLEMENT.

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SOVEREIGNTY.*

This Inaugural Address of Professor Jenks will be read with interest and instruction at home and abroad, though at first sight the conclusions on the subject of sovereignty are, to say the least, somewhat disconcerting. These conclusions are apparently intended to "dish the Bolsheviks" in much the same manner that the Tories "dished the Whigs" on various occasions in the mid-nineteenth century. Professor Jenks is not an Austinian. Nobody is to-day, in the strict sense, and the new Professor endeavours to make it clear that he does not follow the conclusions of John Austin in any sense. No one even pretends to-day that all law is the creation of the State. The study of customary law, law which holds still many millions in its iron bonds, makes that clear enough. But Professor Jenks feels that the doctrine of Austin "is fraught with real danger, because it leads to the assumption that, without the State as we understand it, and especially as Austin and his followers understand it, there can be no law." What, however, Professor Jenks somewhat overlooks is the fact that the law of a community always in historical fact, if the community survives, leads to a State, and a State which is, in one stage at least, essentially

* Sources of the Law, being an Inaugural Address by Edward Jenks, Professor of English Law in the University of London, delivered at the London School of Economics and Political Science, October 15th, 1924. Reprinted from the "Law Journal," London.

feudal in character. The doctrine of sovereignty is based, in the ultimate analysis, on this fact and not upon the theorising of Bodin and Grotius. In other words, the doctrine of the indwelling of the sovereignty of the State is the juristic formulation of accomplished facts, whether the facts represent the final stage of feudalism or the various stages of representative institutions.

Professor Jenks dwells on what he regards as "the fallacies of this doctrine of sovereignty and its baneful effects on a sound theory of law." It is difficult to understand the term "fallacies" if the doctrine really reflects, as it is submitted that it does reflect, plain historical facts. It may be taken, however, that Professor Jenks denies that the current doctrine reflects current facts, that "decentralisation," for instance, and the processes of local self-government, are wholly inconsistent with sovereignty. The learned Professor will not admit that delegation of powers is consistent with sovereignty, and writes with withering scorn of "a pitiful theory of delegation of powers" invented to reconcile decentralisation with "the artificial theory of State sovereignty." But adjectives are not arguments, and again it is necessary to draw attention to the truth that it is not a question of theories but of facts. Not in theory but in fact (to take our case) Parliament has delegated powers to the Dominions, to the Churches, to the Municipalities, to the Professions. It is not the theory but the fact of delegation that has to be faced. It is scarcely pertinent to say that if the powers had not been delegated the British Empire or even the English nation would have ceased to exist. It is not possible to admit that persons or municipalities or Churches or Dominions acting within their proper, namely, their delegated functions are "to all intents and purposes outside the so-called 'sovereignty' of the State." In one peculiar sense that is, no doubt, a truism. Anyone doing anything in the course of doing it properly is, while doing it, outside the objective interference of the source of power. But that truism is against Professor Jenks' argument. Local independence is the very essence of law and the key-note of true sovereignty and true subjectiveness. The very essence of sovereignty in the juristic, as well as the spiritual and the physical universe, is "to reconcile order with freedom." That was the significance of Roman sovereignty, and is the supreme significance of British sovereignty. The significance was, and is, dependent on willing delegation. The fact of delegation of powers is certainly not "pitiable." It is part and parcel of the whole conception of sovereignty, from the humble instance of the household, where the house-wife exercises within small limits vast delegated powers, to the great instance of an Empire. The fact of delegation of powers does not destroy a marriage. In many cases it makes

the continuance of marriage possible; and so it is with Empires.

Professor Jenks offers instead of the doctrine of sovereignty what he calls "an alternative, a truer, more historical basis, for the superstructure of Law." There is nothing like facts. Everyone will broadly agree with the lecturer when he says: "I look for the more proximate sources of the Law in the economic and social organisation produced by the largely unconscious efforts of the community to realise, first its material, then its spiritual ideals." The only possible criticism is that the attempt to realise spiritual ideals often comes first, but the two attempts for the most part work together. Now the whole history of early institutions shows that the principle of commendation, of leadership, of customary feudalism, ran through the whole of the economic and social organisation. Professor Jenks assumes that "the agricultural community, the trade and merchant gild, the market" were not created by the State. In fact, they emerged as a product of organised customary feudalism. The process can be seen at work in tribal Africa to-day. Tribal sovereignty is an economic product of tribal community life, and the tribe so organised could develop and mould its environment. No one denies that customary feudalism and all forms of feudalism (and not least, modern financial feudalism) had and have the defects of their qualities, but the conception of sovereignty is inherent in every form of organised human life, and delegation of sovereignty is a mark of the archaic as well as the highly organised community. Delegation involves the action of groups and always has done so, whether the groups are feudal in the tribal sense, or the mediæval sense, or the modern sense. There is, therefore, nothing new in Professor Jenks' conception of a State as a link between active groups. That has always been the case, though the form of the link, the form of the feudalism or commendation, and of the delegation of powers has varied. Indeed, it is interesting to observe that Professor Jenks' State is to be "the stern and relentless repressor of the wrecker and the anarchist." It is the main business of sovereignty to exercise central and uncontrolled power, to provide, directly or indirectly, a Rule of Law and to see that it is obeyed. Indeed, Professor Jenks comes nearer to the Austinian State than some thinkers will approve. The State which is to decide the status of "the wrecker and the anarchist," in other words, of any wilful lawbreaker, must be invested with "omni-competence and omnipotence." Professor Jenks really looks for the emergence of a State in which sovereignty will secure that obedience from its subjects that the stellar system yields to the placid sovereignty of some remote, unchanging source of law. He will not use the term sovereignty, but even John Austin, and, still more ironically, the respective authors of the *Leviathan*, of

Il Principe, of the *Monarchia*, will recognise the fact. Indeed, Professor Jenks' State may need as good troops as the State conceived of by Niccoló Machiavelli. The truth is, we cannot get away from sovereignty, and the more willing the obedience the more impressive the fact of sovereignty and its deliberate delegation of powers.

J. E. G. DE MONTMORENCY.

REVIEWS.

THE HISTORY OF OXFORD.*

The time has certainly come for a further venture in the tremendous task involved in writing a history of the University of Oxford in the light of modern methods and research. It is nearly thirty years since Dr. Hastings Rashdall dealt with the theme in the course of his great work on the Universities of Europe, and it is nearly forty years since Sir Henry Maxwell-Lyte gave the world the great critical history of the University. Oxford scholars (including the late Mr. W. H. Stevenson, who possessed a unique knowledge of mediæval problems) and many historians have rallied round Sir Charles Mallet to lend their help to the production of a work of a singularly laborious as well as lucid character. These volumes, which are to be followed by a third volume carrying the work down to 1914, do not pretend to be exhaustive. For instance, the learned author has not attempted to grapple with the origin of the legends that have existed since the mid-fourteenth century as to the origin of Oxford and Cambridge. Yet the problem is one of real significance since the legends are almost certainly to be associated with migrations of scholars from Wales and the Mid-West of England in the late thirteenth century. These migrations of scholars and the travelling of poor scholars with licence to beg form a most significant aspect of university life before the days of the Reformation.

Again, Sir Charles Mallet has not attempted to deal fully with the history of the Halls as a whole. But he tells a very different story from that which apparently represents the upgrowth of the even more numerous mediæval Halls at Cambridge.

The Inns and Halls where the students lodged must from a very early date have been conspicuous at Oxford. As time went on, they sprang up in all quarters, but most thickly in the centre of the town. The lads who lodged in them with surprising independence—fourteen or fifteen was not too early to begin—hired their own

* *A History of the University of Oxford*. By Charles Edward Mallet. Volume I. The mediæval University and the Colleges, founded in the Middle Ages, with 24 plans and illustrations. Volume II. The Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries. With 23 plans and illustrations. (Methuen.)

houses, formed their own societies, and elected one of their number as their Head. It was only by degrees that this early democratic tradition was extinguished, and that the self-governing Halls developed into boarding-houses ruled by Principals whom the University authorities supervised.

This statement hardly coincides with the position as indicated by the letters of Henry III in 1231 and other documents (indicating very bad moral conditions at Oxford) of about the same date.

Then again, Sir Charles Mallet, while indicating the main studies at Oxford, purposely and properly avoids what he regards as wearisome detail. The business of a historian is to preserve a sense of proportion, and that is impossible if the material supplied by endless manuscripts, monographs, and earlier historians is cast before the student in unco-ordinated fashion. Sir Charles Mallet notes the favourable position attained quite early by the Faculty of Civil Law. Roger Bacon complained of the "evil-minded jurists" who carried all before them. Oxford early acquired her pre-eminence in the study of Roman Civil and even Canon Law. But it was not neglected at Cambridge, and the influence of the fact on the history of English law is not negligible. These volumes provide a great deal of material on the subject of special value to the student of legal history. Again, there is no attempt fully to relate the history of the relations of the University and the grammar schools, though some account is given of the *magister scholarum* who brought the two grades of education into full relation. There was a *magister scholarum* in every diocese and the bishop had the power of appointing *magistri scholarum* for various parts of his diocese. This is apparently what lies behind the translation at Oxford of the *magister scholarum* into the Chancellor of the University. The question of the grammar schools raises another matter, the influence of the Oxford Lollards on national education. Sir Charles Mallet has a good deal to say about Wyclif and about the Lollards, but the theme is a vast one and could not be exhausted in a book of limited scope.

It is easy enough to indicate, as, indeed, the learned author himself indicates, omissions from this work. The scope of the book is, however, wide enough and detailed enough to satisfy any critic. The author passes from the origins of the University, rightly accepting the view that Vacarius lectured there, to the story of the rise of the mediæval University, to the settlement of the Friars—a most important phase of the history—and so to the collegiate system. "Balliol, Merton, University, divide the honour of ranking first among the colleges of Oxford. Each has claims that are not to be despised." We are shown the mediæval University actually at work, and we are brought face to face with the

great schoolmen, with Duns Scotus, with Ockham, as well as with Wyclif. The fourteenth century colleges, Exeter, Oriel, New College, and Canterbury secure a whole chapter, and then—a very special and valuable feature of the work—we have three most important chapters on that neglected period, the fifteenth century, the hour before sunrise. The second volume plunges the reader into Tudor times. We see the uprising of Brasenose, Corpus, Christ Church, we are brought into the Reformation struggle, we are introduced to Elizabethan Oxford and a new university world which the great Rebellion was not able to destroy. Indeed, Cromwell was as little a hater of collegiate student life as Henry VIII. The volume ends with a description of the days of Anthony à Wood, its first historian. It is not possible here to present in detail the manifold merits of a work which has been, without doubt, a labour of disinterested love.

* * *

THE LITERARY GENIUS OF THE OLD TESTAMENT.*

Mr. P. C. Sands takes as his text the statement of J. R. Green, the historian, that England became the people of a book, and that book was the Bible. Is it true of the England of to-day? When criticism ranges round any subject, it is the criticism that matters, the subject becomes secondary. Is the Bible or the Higher Criticism of the Bible the thing that matters to-day?

Mr. Sands, in this most engrossing book, strives to revive, in young people especially, interest in the literary beauty of the Bible, a literary entity unsurpassed in the English tongue, reflecting the genius of the period when it was retranslated from the original Hebrew and Greek languages in the reign of King James I. This translation, known as the Authorised Version, was begun in 1607, but did not appear in print till 1611. When one realises the price of a Bible in the reign of Henry VIII—a sum equal to one hundred pounds at the present time—and also the restrictions placed upon the reading of it, and the penalties attached, there is little surprise at the enthusiasm which was felt when it became an open book, and that the study of it engendered much thinking, and in consequence much dissent. Religious sects, such as the Arminians and the Independents, arose, and later on, during the Commonwealth, George Fox founded the Society of Friends. The almost worship of the Book in the seventeenth century became a cult, and the belief in its verbal inspiration lasted well on into the nineteenth

* *Literary Genius of the Old Testament.* By P. C. Sands, Headmaster of Pocklington School. (Clarendon Press, Oxford. 4s. 6d. net.)

century, and even to-day it is held by many. In this respect, as a literary document the Bible may be compared with the works of Virgil.

Mr. Sands, in his introductory chapter, sets out briefly his reasons for inculcating the study of the literature of the Old Testament: first, because the study of it as literature has till recently been much ignored and neglected; secondly, the consideration of the debt which our greatest writers owe to the style of the Authorised Version of the Old Testament; and, thirdly, the Hebrew style which is as strongly marked as the features of the Hebrew race itself, and familiarity with which would teach much in the construction of a style. The author goes on to give a short account of the Jew in the world's history and of the central and pervading idea of the One God, and of the extraordinary concentration of its literature on this one theme.

The Jews had by now [63 B.C.] come to contrast their purer worship of the one God with the idolatries and baser worship of all other peoples, and to separate themselves spiritually from the Gentiles, as the Greeks had previously distinguished themselves intellectually from the "barbarians." They alone had a part in the true Jehovah, to them alone belonged the true wisdom, compared with which the culture and philosophy of other peoples were of no account. They alone lived in righteousness. Other religions entailed sin and degradation.

"The literature of a people usually begins with poetry, prose is developed later," a rather saddening thought:

"At length the man perceives it die away,
And fade into the light of common day."

Civilisation seems to evolve prose: not, first the natural, and then the spiritual, but reversing the order. Yet such is the case, and examples are given of early fragments of poetry, perhaps before Moses, *The Song of the Well*, *The Song of Lamech*, and later, the more complete *Song of Deborah*, and the *Lament for Saul and Jonathan*, possibly written by David himself about 1010 B.C. History, Biography, Annals, Prophecy, Law, all fall into place in this interesting record, but it is not till the Fall of Jerusalem in 586 B.C. that the literature of the Old Testament takes its final form through collecting and editing and the addition of many notable books. In the first chapter, "The Art of Story-telling," Mr. Sands compares the simplicity of style with Homer, and he gives corresponding descriptions of Abraham and Achilles in their Oriental and Greek methods of welcome.

The author divides his book into two parts, the prose of the Old Testament and the Poetry of the Old Testament, and the whole into eighteen lessons, all equally interesting. At the end of each

lesson exercises are given for the student and the necessary indications for their preparation. This work should be an inspiration in the study of the Old Testament. In the final chapters, Mr. Sands shows how the style of the Old is continued in the New Testament, and how our Lord naturally fell into the balanced style of the Prophets when moved with emotion in phrases such as "O Jerusalem, Jerusalem, thou that killest the prophets." The analysis of the poetry is especially good, and all students and lovers of the Old Testament will welcome Mr. Sand's efforts to bring before the present and rising generations the beauty and fecundity of thought and style of the old Book, which reveals, in language unsurpassed in literature, God in all his attributes, not alone as the Creator but as the Father of His children.

* * *

VENTURES IN VERSE.*

This little volume of verse by fifteen young ladies and one young gentleman has the advantage of an introduction by Lord Darling, who is not only an excellent poet but a judicious critic. He writes of these green-leaf poets :

I know these young people; and that they are not really so marked with the pale cast of thought, nor so concerned with the sad vicissitude of things, as some of their poetry might lead one to suppose. Yet, after all, the World is not so young—nor is the Moon either—as in the time of Catullus or Tom Moore. Moreover, the War has not left the children of this day altogether untouched.

In fact, two of the poems are directly concerned with the War. One is Miss Janet Vesey's strong sonnet, "To those who fought and laboured and are left." The sextet strikes a deep note :

But we, who were too young, are ever set
Outside these gates of knowledge—striving in vain
To understand your need and our great debt
Of envy and pity for your love and pain.
Though we have youth, and safety, and clean sights,
We cannot share your strength or climb your heights.

But Miss Vesey may remember that it was those who came after Trafalgar and Waterloo who fought the great battles of reform. These young people have even greater battles to fight and win than those of Flanders and the North Sea. Miss Glenda Graham's "Trees in the Street" is powerful but too hopeless. With that note we shall not win the battles for a better world.

It is perhaps a super-criticism to say that our dear Moon, who has lent a helping ray to many a poet, is not perhaps too well

* *Ventures in Verse. Poems by Members of the Scratch Society.* Introduced by Lord Darling. (Arthur H. Stockwell.)

treated by the members of the Scratch Society. No less than seven of these poems deal with the Gracious Lady, and frankly, we can only give a first class to one, Miss Hester Gatty's "Moonbeam," which contains a new and charming fancy. Miss Diana Darling's address, "To a Shaft of Sunlight," is scarcely less delightful. Miss Darling's technique is of great merit (that perhaps is her danger) and her Rondel, "Lydia," shows this with its seventeenth century note, which divides it from the modern and very artificial poems of this type. Miss Audrey Pepys, in her "Villanelle," is not less successful. Probably the best of Miss Darling's pieces is "Crépuscule," with its remarkable delicacy of observation and whispering intangibilities.

The poet, *par excellence*, of this golden group of sixteen is Miss Hester Gatty. She contributes three poems. One has been mentioned. Another is "From the Hebrides," the longest and most promising poem in the book. Her lyric, "Tired," reflects a special note of to-day, the note of hope that follows sunlit weariness after the storm. It is almost impossible not to quote the following passage towards the end of the Hebrides poem :

Oh, there is a fire behind my eyes,
A singing in my heart,
To see again the royal splendour of the Hebrides !
To hear again the hidden laughter of the pools,
The little songs which lurk among the rocks !
To see again the long, low hills
Lying like lost dreams upon the waves !
To see again the distant peaks of slumbering islands
Rising from grey mist !
To watch from some high peak the whole wide waste
Of tumbled waters breaking on grey isles,
On little isles of heather, and isles of laughing waterfalls,
On isles of low green pasture-land and small kind hills,
On isles innumerable thrown far upon the sea !

The metre, with its Biblical rhythm, is, however, a risky experiment; it might easily become banal, and should rarely be used. One other poem must be mentioned, though others of the thirty-one might well be praised : Miss Vera Birkin's haunting "Romney Marsh." It has the Coleridge note but is also quite original. It is possible to imagine that Miss Birkin met the Ancient Mariner on the historied lands as she turned from "the lone marsh chapel . . . with ghostly fears," and answered the call of silver bells from Rye.

J. E. G. DE M.

ELIZABETHAN SOCIETY WOMEN.*

Miss Wilson has found a theme of great interest, and has dwelt upon it both learnedly and with a *flair* for the life that men and women about the Court lived in the late Elizabethan and early Jacobean period. The very excellent reproductions of contemporary portraits of famous women include Lady Russell, the aunt of Francis Bacon and, perhaps, the greatest character of her age, of Lady Sidney of Penshurst (the sister-in-law of the poet), Lady Rich (whom Sir Philip Sidney had so greatly desired to marry when she was Penelope Devereux) daughter of the first Earl of Essex who died in 1576, and sister of the famous Earl who died on the scaffold in 1601. The likeness of Elizabeth Vernon, the wife of the Earl of Southampton, who took part in the almost childish rebellion organised by Essex but escaped with his life, is from the noble portrait at Welbeck.

It is a strange story that Miss Wilson has to tell and she tells it with vigour and with a good deal of sympathy for the women of the Court who rose to great heights of freedom in the palmy days of Elizabeth but fell back in the days of James I and Coke. It is not altogether a pleasant story, though the vigorous personalities of the daughters of that great scholar, Sir Anthony Cooke (the tutor of Edward VI) afford both entertainment and a moral. More might have been said of Anne, Lady Bacon. A great deal of material exists, but the personality of her sister, Lady Russell, is well brought out, especially in the shameless way in which she pestered her nephew, the great Sir Robert Cecil, the son of her sister Mildred, to foster her interests in law suits and other matters. Her letters to her nephew throw a curious and not very pleasing light on the times.

The Society of the last twenty years of the sixteenth century had a certain brilliance and grace, and Miss Wilson shows well how Shakespeare reflected both the grace and brilliance in his plays. As she says,

Elizabethan women played an important part in the history of their generation, but passing centuries have dimmed the events which were of paramount importance in their lives. Kings and queens have become legendary, great personages forgotten, but the women of the time have attained immortality by their inspiration of Shakespeare's heroines.

That is true enough, but Shakespeare brought out the poetic rather than the unpleasing side of the famous ladies of his day. Browning, strangely enough, never turned to the period for inspiration, and yet the period and the place, Greenwich and West-

* *Society Women of Shakespeare's Time*. By Violet A. Wilson. With twelve illustrations. (John Lane. 12s. 6d. net.)

minster, would have given him many of the problems that he could solve in his incomparable way. The marriages of convenience were almost horrible, though they have their humorous side. Thus Margaret Dakins, a Yorkshire heiress, married Walter Devereux, the brother of the Earl of Essex. He was killed in the fighting before Rouen in 1592. She was almost indecently and instantly besought to marry various people, yet, in fact, married the man of her choice, Thomas Sidney, who died in 1595. One of the former suitors, Lady Russell's son, again came forward, and despite the intense repulsion with which his ill-favoured person inspired the double-widow of twenty-four, the marriage took place, and to the astonishment of everyone was very happy, they both being Puritans. Miss Wilson has found some papers in a Privy Council matter that shows how the rollicking Yorkshire squires insulted the pair, and there is reason to think that the notorious proceedings which followed gave Shakespeare some ideas for the *Merry Wives of Windsor* and *Twelfth Night*. It is an interesting point in the history of the Shakespearean drama and was well worth making.

The Court of Elizabeth had more characteristics of the Italian renaissance period than is often supposed. The standard of learning was set to men and women alike by the Queen herself, and it was a very high standard. The intrigues of the Court circles were to some extent kept in check by the dominant personality of the Queen, though she herself was not above intrigue in so far as it did not interfere with her main lines of policy. Women had a great deal of freedom, though it would be wrong to say that the ideals of life were low. But the possibilities of evil were always present, and when the restraining influence of the Queen disappeared with her death there can be little doubt that the worst horrors of the Italian renaissance threatened life in high places. Fortune-tellers, astrologers, magicians, poisoners and blackmailers plied their horrid trades in the most exalted circles. The whole business came to a head with the poisoning of Sir Thomas Overbury. The story is told by Miss Wilson in some detail and the facts are intolerable. All the while the Puritan movement was gaining ground, and from 1615 onwards, the reaction had come that was destined to sweep the country. Miss Wilson dwells on the popularity of smoking tobacco among women in this period. That there was some smoking by women is true, but tobacco is never mentioned by Shakespeare, and it may be doubted if the vogue ever attained any substantial proportions.

THE ENGLISH NOVEL.*

Dr. E. A. Baker is to be congratulated on the first part of his projected history of the English novel, a bulky volume dealing in admirable and most careful detail with the forces that lie behind English prose fiction culminating in Sir Thomas Mallory's *Morte d'Arthur*, printed by Caxton in 1485. Dr. Baker applies a great collection of carefully co-ordinated material drawn from classical and mediæval times to the important proposition that the generating force of fiction as we understand it was that classical and mediæval love of tale-telling based on facts, or currently accepted and well-embroidered facts. The listeners round the winter's fire found their sense of reality from the fact that the story, in rhyme or prose, dealt with some dominant personality, some Alexander, or Arthur or Charlemagne, who had lived and sorrowed and loved and conquered and died. Indeed, the common form went farther and substituted, in mystic fashion, disappearance for death and supplied the mystic hope that the hero would come again when needed. This series of cycles of story telling and story tellers culminated, so far as the influence on English literature was concerned, in Mallory. But, of course, the same process is universal, and stories of the same type based on some fragments of reality are told to-day round thousands of tribal fires.

Dr. Baker's book, which, though easily and pleasingly written, is replete with carefully gathered knowledge, honey from innumerable modern sources and from many libraries and collections, lays down a definite theory of the heredity of the English novel. It would be hypercritical to say that due weight is not given to this or that source. Robert of Gloucester, for instance, seems far more important to some observers than he seems to be to Dr. Baker. Certainly the literary value of that mysterious work is very high, and no doubt this would be admitted by the author of this book. Then, again, though Dr. Baker draws attention to the mysticism of some of the mediæval literature yet, perhaps, the point is not made that the mystic element is what chiefly divides the story telling of the mediæval period from that of classical or of modern times. Scott managed to retain this mystic element in one form, the Brontës in another, but on the whole the mystic element does not seem to have survived as the dominant force of the tale or novel. To link up mediæval mysticism with the best modern work would be a great achievement if it could be done, but George Eliot drew her tragedy from Greek rather than mediæval sources, and the same may be said of the best of Mrs. Humphry Ward's

* *The History of the English Novel. The Age of Romance; from the beginnings to the Renaissance.* By Ernest A. Baker. (H. F. & G. Witherby. 16s. net.)

work. No doubt Dr. Baker will consider this point as his laborious and most commendable work proceeds.

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INTELLIGENCE TESTS.*

This report on the subject of the practical character of intelligence tests in a national system of education forms a useful summary of English and foreign experiments in a field that was unknown, in any specialised sense, a hundred years ago. The term "psychological tests" is somewhat misleading, for the tests that have had any measurable success have been purely mechanical, and their validity, as the Consultative Committee recognised, is dependent on the existence of psychological phenomena which are not capable of measurement. The outstanding feature of the report is the historical introduction by Dr. Cyril Burt, a most judicious and judicial document, of a much sounder type than the historical introduction to the earlier report of the Committee on differentiation of curricula. In the present case, Dr. Burt has set forth every pertinent factor. This historical introduction is, of course, now to be supplemented by the actual conclusions of the report, thirty-seven in number.

Before noticing these conclusions it is desirable to refer to what may be called an historical aspect of the question to which Dr. Burt does not refer in detail. For some two thousand years, at any rate, experiments, though not experiments expressly designed for psychological purposes, have gone on in the schools of the western world with some three hundred generations of school children. The result has been the evolution of a tradition of teaching based on experience. That experience showed the existence in each person of what is now known as "general ability," which is capable of application in any chosen or, indeed, in any field. Dr. Burt appositely quotes Dr. Johnson on the subject. Now one interesting fact in the history of intelligence tests is that in 1906, when the efforts of Galton and his successors seemed to have come to nothing, Professor Spearman applied statistical methods to the data already accumulated, and he advanced "the theory of a general ability underlying all the various mental activities that admit of being tested." In other words, the working conclusions that had been drawn from two thousand years of unconscious experiments in the schools were confirmed by the application of the statistical method of correlation to some carefully selected examples.

* *Report of the Consultative Committee on Psychological Tests of Educable Capacity and their possible use in the Public System of Education.* (H.M. Stationery Office. 2s. net.)

Dr. Burt, at the end of his paper, draws attention to this laboratory confirmation of the working judgment of schoolmasters during two millenia. He writes :

Finally, as regards general procedure, one striking fact emerges. Starting first of all with technical methods remote from the activities of everyday life, the psychologist has slowly approximated, so at least it must seem to the practical teacher, towards the traditional methods of the school and university—to the method of the oral interview and the method of the written examination. Yet this is no mere reversion; and the years of labour with tests now discarded have been by no means fruitless. From his laboratory the psychologist has brought with him something of value—a scientific technique capable of being rendered increasingly efficient and exact.

But the value of the school tradition of two thousand years does not end with its confirmation of the value of laboratory methods. The school teacher possesses something more than the method of the oral interview and the method of the written examination. The old public schools, alone we believe in Europe, possess a tradition in relation to character which may help in the evolution of a really psychological investigation and one that is not merely statistical. Personality cannot be measured by intelligence tests, but the accumulation of pedagogic experience may show some way of so transforming the problem as to create methods of permanent application in dealing with a fixed stock such as the English stock.

The conclusions arrived at by the Consultative Committee are important. It is agreed that intelligence tests "indicate how far a child is capable of learning provided he is not prevented by extraneous circumstances or faults of temperament from making proper use of the opportunities offered him." It is also agreed that "group tests are more suitable for use in schools and in external examinations than individual tests since the latter take much longer to apply and demand a special training for their proper application." A most important conclusion is the statement that "the data afforded by the use of 'intelligence' tests should not be regarded as possessing any final validity, and should always be considered in close association with the whole body of information regarding individual pupils available from other sources." It is again wisely pointed out that "one of the most important uses of the data obtained from such tests is to make the teacher reconsider his estimates of individual pupils which often tend to become stereotyped." The public will watch with interest the careful development of the test system, but will always have some anxiety as to the competence of the persons who apply the tests.

ROMAN LIFE IN BRITAIN.*

The idea of this series is excellent and is being excellently carried out by Mr. and Mrs. Quennell, the authors of that notable work, *Everyday Things in England*. Parts I and II of the series deal with Prehistoric Times, and then the everyday life is built up from the scattered physical remains which survive into our time. In fact, it is also possible to import into an appreciation of pre-historic times some of the religious and legal customs of existing palæolithic and neolithic races, but of these customs little signs can be found in the physical traces of organised prehistoric life which are extant. But of Roman times in Britain it is possible to write on a far more extended scale and to follow the suggestion of Tacitus (in the epilogue of his *Agricola*, a first-hand authority for Britain) that the form of the mind can best be expressed "by each man in the fashion of his own life." It was an excellent idea to present as a sort of foreword this famous passage. We know much of the Roman polity, its sense of law and order, its religious tolerance, its wonderful power of trusting the political development of the peoples within the Empire. The British polity much resembles that of Rome, and it is important to realise that the long Roman occupation of Britain must have had something to do with the singular continuity of polity between the Roman and the British Empires.

Moreover, the "period dealt with in this book is vital to us because the introduction of Christianity into Great Britain dates from the Roman Occupation, and conflicted in a thousand ways with the Roman conception of life and living." It was here that Roman religious tolerance had so remarkable an effect, an effect that secured the adherence of the Empire to Christianity in the days of the great Constantine, himself British-born.

Since Rome meant so much to us, Mr. and Mrs. Quennell trace the forces, prehistoric, Egyptian, Cretan, Grecian, that played their part in upbuilding the Roman humanism. More might have been said on this theme, since the early tribal customs which lie at the basis of Roman life were similar to the British customs, and the influence of Etruria was also of the first importance. However, all cannot be said in a brief chapter, and the authors, having laid their foundations, take the reader straight to a characteristic Roman town in Britain, *Calleva Atrebatum*, "the town in the woods of the Atrebates," the centre of urban life which we call Silchester. The town is a definite example of town planning and it is possible to relate it to the great surveyor who came in the company of Agri-

* *Everyday Life in Roman Britain* [*The Everyday Life Series—III*]. Written and illustrated by Marjorie and C. H. B. Quennell. (B. T. Batsford, High Holborn. 5s. net.)

cola. Some authorities doubt if there were Roman town planners in Britain, but here it is assumed, we think rightly, that this was the case.

Silchester was not a municipality such as Colchester and four other towns (St. Albans, Lincoln, Gloucester and York). It was a tribal town and was rebuilt by the Romans. It has been again rebuilt in these pleasant pages with their delightful illustrations. We are made to see the baths—in Roman times even country districts outside towns had baths—the basilican church (which is here related to the early Roman churches), the forum and basilica. We are shown the people of Silchester, the magistrate, his wife, the shop-keepers, the working people, the slaves; we see the carefully heated villas, we see men at work at mosaics, at pottery. We see the shops, the processes of agriculture, the pleasures and sorrows, the duties and daily life of the people. We are carried out of Silchester on the Roman roads; we see the legionaries, the forts, the public organisation of life, all the manifestations of law and order in a country hardly then retrieved from savagery, and yet given peace and plenty by a tolerant and dominant race. It is all a lesson for us in our dealings with native races in our widespread empire.

SHORTER REVIEWS.

The second edition of Mr. H. E. Egerton's valuable volume, *Federations and Unions within the British Empire*,* first published in 1911, will be welcomed. In the preface to the first edition, Mr. Egerton pleaded, so far as Dominion Constitutions are concerned, for a revival of the practice of the times "when a knowledge of the laws of his country was part of the liberal education of an English gentleman." The need for such a revival has grown in the fourteen years that have passed, which have included the period of the Great War, with its re-knitting of the Dominions to the heart of the Mother Land. Here a great expert, who held the Beit Chair of Colonial History at Oxford, brings together the three statutes relating to Canada, Australia and South Africa "which explain the working of the federal and unifying principle within portions of the British Empire." The introduction gives the history of the growth of the constitutional principle in the three Dominions. In Canada and Australia the federal principle very slowly won its way, but in South Africa, possibly as a result in part of the successful adoption of federalism elsewhere, political union swiftly followed the close of the War of 1899-1902. The Native question on the horizon and the tariff and railway rates problem actually at hand, no doubt made the result inevitable, but it is interesting to note that there is no federal constitution, and the actual government of South Africa closely follows the model of Great Britain. This new edition brings down to the present time "the references to the state of things and of law prevailing in the Dominions." Certain recent Privy Council cases have

* Clarendon Press. 10s. 6d. net

not given full satisfaction in Canada; but that is a passing phase, and no new doctrines are likely permanently to affect internal federal relations in Canada.

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This book* is a collection of hitherto unpublished letters written by the two daughters of James, Duke of York, afterwards King James II, both of whom eventually succeeded to the throne of England as Queens Mary and Anne. The letters are remarkable and indeed unique, first "because many of them were written when both were quite young, and secondly, because both the writers used names, taken from characters in plays of that time, under which to correspond. The recipient of most of the letters was Frances, daughter of the younger Sir Allen Apsley, who became the wife of Sir Benjamin Bathurst. The originals now in the possession of Earl Bathurst escaped the fate that met the greater part of the valuable correspondence when it was destroyed by the Lord Chancellor Bathurst, on the death of his father, the first Earl." These letters are very interesting, especially as many of them were written when the writers were young. They corresponded under names taken from characters in the plays of that day. This characteristic led to future generations being somewhat misled. Certain letters which were addressed by Mary seemingly to her husband, William of Orange, calling him "cruel," "unfaithful," were really not written by an outraged wife, but by Mary to a girl friend. The spelling is bad and there is no punctuation, a fact that caused Hannah More, to whom Lord Bathurst lent letters of Queen Mary, to write as follows:—"I cannot say these communications have given me a very great idea of Q. Mary's head, but her heart I am persuaded was a very good one. The defect must have been in her education, for such spelling and such English I never saw; romantic and childish too as to sentiment. My reverence for her many virtues leads me to hope she was very young when she wrote them." There is nothing to show in any of the letters that either Queen ever rose to a higher intellectual or literary level than most of her literate subjects. But the letters are absorbing in their interest since they reveal truths on which historians have been misinformed. We see in the case of Queen Mary that Burnet was wrong in stating that she never had a female friend. They, too, "challenge Miss Strickland's idea" that Miss Trelawney was her greatest friend. In Princess Anne's affections Sarah Jennings holds undoubted sway. The letters, too, show us that "Frances Apsley was a friend from girlhood, and in Sir Benjamin the Queen had a faithful servant." The two sisters, with their uncultivated minds and warm temperaments, were both fond of and loyal to one another if they were not to their father and step-mother. It was Anne who made the scandalous suggestion against them, that the birth of their son was a fraud. To the historian who would add yet other links in the chain of facts in the history of England, the letters in these pages will have little interest. But as a series of sketches showing the lives and thoughts of the two royal sisters they are most fascinating, and should find many readers. The illustrations are full of charm.

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Mr. George A. B. Dewar has written a charming little essay with a

* *Letters of Two Queens (Queen Mary II. and Queen Anne)*. By Lieut.-Col. the Hon. Benjamin Bathurst. With twelve illustrations. 16s. net.

big title, *The Pageant of English Landscape*,* with an introduction by Mr. Arthur Machen. The subject of the essay is the undiscovered country to which bourne all travellers can return, namely, the byeways of England, in fact, the side of the lantern that is least known and therefore least spoilt. No sense of disappointment mars the discovery of some unfrequented spot, as is often the case with the much advertised and belauded beauty of the better known. Our own findings are keepings, and they give a feeling of possession, much as the archæologist must have felt when he first unearthed the treasures of Egypt. But, for the full enjoyment of such treasure, others must enter in, and it is with triumph we show forth or write of our discoveries and all their loveliness. Hence this little book. Mr. Dewar very truly says that it is often at unexpected seasons we come across the jewels of place and atmosphere. One need not go far afield to find them. What can equal the beauty of a November sunset viewed from the steps of the National Gallery! The great little man on his column through the mist, dominating the scene, with his face toward the river running outward to the sea which in honour and in duty he made free from then till now. This is a pageant for all time! Enter the gallery and see how Turner, by his magic, changed the simplest of landscapes into an idyll "Sunrise." "The rigid hoar-frost melts before his beam." Psychology must help vision, and by so doing every man will discover his own landscape. England's quiet beauty—Mother Earth—needs recapturing, and Mr. Dewar's little essay will go far towards setting the discoverers to work. The tiny pen pictures add much to the brief narrative.

NOTICES OF BOOKS.

Miss Amy Cruse has in her volume "A Treasury of Caroline Lyrics,"† given a most pleasing selection of lyric poetry of the period that Donne, Jonson, Herrick, Herbert, Suckling, Waller, Milton, Lovelace, Vaughan, and Crashaw adorned in their various fashions. But Miss Cruse is not content to give only the great lyrical writers. She gives, too, humbler folk, and shows not only the strength and weakness of the period, but also those humbler twitterings that are not the less real music that they are lowly efforts towards perfect song in the days when the first Charles was king.

Mrs. K. A. Esdaile, in her book "Roubiliac's Work at Trinity College, Cambridge,"‡ draws attention to the sad lack of interest in England of eighteenth-century sculpture, and pleads for interest in the noble series of busts in the Trinity College Library at Cambridge by L. F. Roubiliac, and the statue by the same great sculptor of Sir Isaac Newton, in the ante-chapel. Chantrey declared that this statue is "the noblest, I think, of all our English statues." There can be no doubt that Roubiliac was a genius, and a study of the twenty plates given in this attractive book will not only confirm the student in this view but will lead him to see the originals. The bust of the famous Sir Robert Cotton, executed in 1757, is a masterpiece of characterisation.

* The Classic Press. 3s. 6d. net.

† George G. Harrap. 1s. 9d.

‡ Cambridge: at the University Press. 7s. 6d. net.

The Information Section of the League of Nations Secretariat, Geneva, have issued a pamphlet entitled "Reduction of Armaments; debate in the Fifth Assembly, September 4th to 6th, 1924."** In it are given the actual speeches delivered at that very important debate, which was attended by Mr. Ramsay MacDonald, Lord Parmoor, and M. Herriot, besides many other distinguished statesmen representing other countries; the resolution, which was submitted by the French and British Delegation and was adopted by the Assembly, and then the final speeches by Mr. Ramsay MacDonald and M. Herriot.

We must note the publication of a work entitled "Napoleon: An Outline,"† by Brigadier-General Colin R. Ballard. The book covers the whole life of this great figure, dealing successively with "The Adventurer" (the term is not wholly a good one), "The man of Destiny" and "The man against Destiny." There is a final part dealing with the *dramatis personæ* of the great drama. Too little space is devoted to the Civil Code, Napoleon's greatest achievement. There is a useful account of the Emperor's brothers, but too little is told of that remarkable woman, Madame Mère. Napoleon owed almost everything to his mother and strove to repay the debt.

Mr. Edwin S. Goodrich, in his learned volume entitled, "Living Organisms: An Account of their Origin and Evolution,"‡ deals with "modern views on the nature of life and the relation of living organisms to their environment, and with the latest advances in our knowledge of Heredity and kindred problems." The view is advanced that living protoplasm made a first appearance in favourable conditions that may never be repeated, and that "the first stages in the evolution of life may never be discovered. . . . The more completely self-regulating mixtures would outlast the others. And so we imagine did the nicely balanced mixture of anabolic and catabolic proteins finally become elaborated into protoplasm." To the ordinary mind it is easier to imagine a creative act. The discussion of many current problems will be followed with interest, and not least that of sex-determination.

In the current issue of the "Transactions of the Royal Historical Society" (Fourth Series, Vol. VII) are to be found some important papers. Miss E. C. Lodge writes on "Edward I and his Tenants-in-Chief" and supplies some valuable information as to English rule in Gascony in the third quarter of the thirteenth century. The Inquest of 1273-4 "throws a light on the careful and consistent policy of the king; and it gives a vivid picture of feudal society in South-Western France, and helps to explain some at least of the difficulties which beset the English ruler in the management of his distant Duchy." This Inquiry may have led to the king's better known inquiry into English tenures. He certainly introduced some order into a poor and restless dependency. Madame Inna Lubimenko deals with the Dutch and English struggle for the Russian market in the seventeenth century; Miss A. E. Levett discusses the Courts and Court Rolls of St. Alban's Abbey; Miss Grace

** Constable and Company Limited. 9d. net.

† Duckworth. 18s. net.

‡ Clarendon Press. 6s. net.

Stretton prints her Alexander Prize Essay on "Some Aspects of Mediæval Travel"; and Miss Rose Graham treats of the English Province of the Order of Cluny in the fifteenth century.

* * *

Major G. d'J. Orde Browne, in his volume entitled, "The Vanishing Tribes of Kenya,"* provides a "description of the manners and customs of the primitive and interesting tribes dwelling on the vast southern slopes of Mount Kenya, and their fast disappearing native methods of life." The work deals with the smaller and obscurer tribes and throws some light on the migrations and early history of the Central African tribes. These tribes are a "backward nucleus" who apparently succeeded a now extinct dwarf race (such as are still found in the outskirts of the Central forests). The tribes in the Chuka area are the most characteristic. These tribes, and especially the Chuka, have curious irregularities in the form and number of fingers and toes. Perhaps two per cent. of the Emlu and Chuka males are so affected. Their customary law is administered by a group of old men. There is individual ownership of land subject to general tradition. Members of the same clan cannot inter-marry. Rain doctors are, of course, powerful.

* * *

In "Racial Realities in Europe"† Dr. Lothrop Stoddard surveys Europe from the point of view of race regarded as the basic element in the destinies of peoples. He considers the Nordic, the Alpine and the Mediterranean stocks in relation to specific physical, intellectual and emotional qualities. He emphasises the persistence of fixed racial stocks, and lays stress on the political dominance of the Nordic stock. He regards England and Scotland as predominantly Nordic, and Wales and Ireland predominantly Mediterranean. In fact the basic stock in the British Isles is Celtic, the Brythonic Celts having overwhelmed the Goidelic Celts. The term Nordic, so far as this country is concerned, is more or less meaningless unless attention is solely given to the Saxon and Danish invaders. The danger of this system of giving names to large sections of population is that each section is conscious of other forces than those enumerated by Dr. Stoddard.

* * *

Mr. Charles E. Pearce will earn the gratitude of lovers of English music by his account of the late Mr. Sims Reeves (1818-1900) and "Fifty Years of Music in England."‡ The career of the famous singer "synchronises with the phases and development of musical art in England during the Victorian era," and it is described from its beginning in 1838, through the days of 1859-60 when choral singing was at its prime, to the final and famous Albert Hall concert of May 11th, 1891, when the great tenor, then seventy-three, sang no less than seven songs. Only a few months before this Madame Patti wrote to Mr. Reeves, "Your phrasing remains the best possible example and study for younger aspirants to fame." All such aspirants and all lovers of music should read this record of the work of a great artist.

* Seeley Service. 21s. net.

† Scribners. 12s. 6d. net.

‡ Stanley Paul. 16s. net.

LIBERAL REORGANISATION.

THE present position of the Liberal Party is not one which can be regarded with satisfaction by any of its members. How are we to revive its drooping fortunes?" This was the problem propounded by the late Mr. Joseph Chamberlain at the first meeting of the National Liberal Federation on May 31st, 1877. It was to contribute to the solution of that problem that the National Liberal Federation was founded with the blessing of Mr. Gladstone. It is the same problem—though in a much more aggravated and perplexing form—that confronts the party to-day. To deal with certain aspects of it, Sir Donald MacLean's Committee was set up by Mr. Asquith, and the Liberal Convention which met on January 29th and 30th was designed to associate the rank and file of the party with the plans which are being framed to promote a Liberal revival.

It has been the fashion in all parties on the morrow of defeat to attribute the electoral disaster to defective organisation and straightway to take measures to make good the defects which experience has revealed. After the disaster of 1832 the cry among Conservatives was "Register! Register! Register!" So again in 1868 the National Union of Conservative Associations came into being to organise Conservative opinion. As we have seen, the National Liberal Federation was formed in 1877 at least partially to supply this need. Again, after 1880, 1906, and 1923, reorganisation was taken in hand by the Tory Party. The disasters of 1886 and 1895 led the Liberals to adopt the same course. In all these cases the tendency was to exaggerate the importance of organisation. Organisation has never by itself won a victory nor has its absence been the main cause of defeat. It has on occasion turned victory into triumph and prevented a reverse becoming a disaster.

None of the electoral disasters which I have cited affords a parallel to the present position of the Liberal Party. Never have its fortunes fallen so low, whether measured by its Parliamentary representation, its electoral support or its influence on the Government of the country. The state of the organisation is only to a minor degree responsible for these unhappy conditions. But whether the blame attaching to the party organisation be great or small, a more efficient machine, both central and local, is required if the party is to revive or even to survive.

The relative inferiority of the Liberal organisation is due to four causes: (1) The war and the suspension of all political work which inevitably ensued; (2) The division in the party created by the second Coalition and aggravated by the General Election of

1918; (3) The Representation of the People Act, 1918, which rendered necessary the reconstitution of nearly every constituency Association under conditions of war and disunion; (4) A series of three General Elections in two years which have depleted the party's funds.

The Labour Party, though divided over the war, was the first to free itself from the fetters of Coalition in 1918, and has been able to consolidate its position during the past six years. The Conservative Party has preserved its unity and identity throughout and, since the break-up of the Coalition, it has succeeded in dissociating itself from the failures of that régime and in renewing its party machinery. The Liberal Party has to begin now what Labour took in hand in 1918 and what the Tory Party has been free to do since 1922.

The organisation problem for the Liberal Party is threefold: (1) Local, (2) Central, (3) Financial, and the greatest of these is the financial, because it lies at the root of both efficient local and central organisation.

Finance was dealt with both in the interim Report of Sir Donald MacLean's Committee and in the decisions of the Convention. The Committee and the Convention were in agreement that the finances of the party should be placed on a new basis and that a wide popular appeal for funds should be made. The old party fund, which sustained headquarters at 21, Abingdon Street, and has provided the sinews of war for the five General Elections since the war, is on the verge of exhaustion. The fund of the Coalition Liberal wing of the party is not mentioned in the Committee's Report nor was any allusion made to it at the Convention. Nothing is generally known as to its amount, nor was any information vouchsafed whether it was to be available for the general purposes of the party to any extent, subject to any conditions or at all. It has been announced that Mr. Lloyd George has generously offered the old headquarters of the National Liberals in Old Queen Street free of rent for a period of seven years as the central offices of the party.

The assumption upon which the appeal for the " Million Fighting Fund " is based is that henceforth the party will have to depend on the voluntary contributions of the rank and file. Constituencies are asked to make themselves self-supporting. This means that they are expected to raise by weekly, monthly and yearly contributions enough not only for the costs of organisation but for the expenses of elections. Over and above these local efforts contributions are asked for the central fund, which is to maintain the headquarters staff of the party and to supplement the resources of the local Associations in those backward areas

where Liberals are not strong enough to be self-supporting.

The scheme is a bold experiment. Nothing like it has been tried before either by the Liberal or any other party in this country. In the past the Liberal Party has depended for financial support upon the contributions of a limited number of wealthy subscribers. The Conservative Party has been similarly financed, and it has had the advantage from this point of view of enrolling in its ranks the representatives of rich vested interests which could depend upon the party for political support. The Labour Party, though it has now attracted to its banner many rich capitalists, finds its financial standby in the political levy of the trade unions, which is in practice compulsory. If the new financial plan succeeds, the Liberal Party will be in a unique position. It alone of the three parties will rely upon a fund which is voluntary, which is publicly disclosed, and which is popularly controlled.

Upon the success of the new fund depends not only the renewed vigour but the continued existence of the Liberal Party as a national party. The sponsors of the scheme have acted on the conviction that Liberalism is not only worth voting for but paying for, and the enthusiasm with which it was received in the Convention shows that this faith is widely held in all parts of the country. The need of the party is great but the need for Liberalism in the government of the country is greater. That the party in its darkest hour of depression and defeat should have undertaken such an unexampled task is the surest sign that the Liberal revival has begun.

Financial self-sufficiency and efficiency in local organisations are so closely associated as to be almost interdependent. The broadening of the financial foundation of the party will strengthen its organisation. The more contributors there are, the more numerous will be not only the voters but the workers. Each new subscriber will have a stake in the party. The converse of this has been proved to be true. Before the war, decay had begun to appear in the local Associations. The loss of vitality was due to the loss of independence. In former days many local Associations took a pride not only in paying their way but in subscribing to the expenses of their candidates. This wholesome habit has not entirely died out, but even before 1914 its practice was becoming increasingly rare. It had become the custom in many places to rely upon a subsidy from the candidate or Member. As the number of constituencies grew where this resource was not available, recourse was had to the Central fund which was accumulated after 1906. The number of local subscribers gradually fell off and the vigour and vitality of the Associations waned as they became more and more dependent on the Central organisation.

During the war the suspension of political activity devitalised even those Associations which had maintained an independent life. Hence, when new organisations had to be created for the new constituencies, the materials were not to be found for a living Association. The new bodies existed merely on paper. What was worse, in many cases such officials as were appointed were divided in allegiance between the Coalitionists and the Independent Liberals. In order to keep the peace nothing was done. As nothing was done, nobody would pay. Hence large numbers of Associations became to all intents and purposes derelict. It is in these atrophied and paralytic Associations, and not at headquarters, that the main weakness of Liberal organisation lies. Many Associations which in the past have only partially paid their way are now becoming self-supporting. In other cases, Associations which have been in abeyance are being revived. In some places an external stimulus is required, but even in the darkest areas there are nuclei of Liberals who will band themselves together and, if judiciously assisted, will form vigorous and active organisations.

The most difficult places are those towns where pacts have been made for municipal purposes. In such places a few wirepullers are satisfied if they can keep their seats on the local Council and return supporters of a Tory Government to Parliament under a Liberal label. These arrangements are fatal. They not only emasculate Liberalism where they exist but they are a blight to the surrounding country.

The Convention rightly rejected the artificial expedients suggested by the Committee for securing increased representation both of youth and of women on the governing bodies. In most parts of the country women form the most active part of the organisation, and if they are under-represented on Executive Committees they have only themselves to blame. In too many districts no genuine attempt has been made to attract the young to the party organisations, but a stipulation that at least one-third of the Executive should consist of members under thirty-five would be the worst possible way of securing their recognition. It is for the young themselves to assert their rights.

The problem of associating working men with the local organisations is more difficult. The working men who were in the past the backbone of the party have in great masses drifted away from it. Their defection has been largely due to Liberal association with the Coalition. The Trade Union Act of 1913, which made the political levy of the trade unions virtually compulsory, must also bear a great share of the responsibility. This Act was passed by a Liberal Government, and the Radical trade unionist asked himself why he should continue associated with the Liberal Party

which had forced him to contribute to the funds of Labour. This fund has since the war provided the Labour Party with the resources to fight both national and local elections, and the young working man of ability who is ambitious to enter public life, sees in the Labour Party's fund the means whereby he may find his way either into the local Council or the House of Commons. Thus by Liberal legislation both the natural leaders and the rank-and-file of the trade unions have been shepherded into the Labour Party. The only remedy suggested at the Convention was the amendment of the Act of 1913, which might succeed in locking the stable door after the steed has gone. The mischief has been done and the intended remedy might only aggravate the disease.

For the Liberal Party the strong, active, self-supporting, local Association must be the foundation of organisation. The wide extension of the franchise has revolutionised the conditions of electioneering. Formerly a Member or candidate could himself get into touch with a large proportion of the electorate. His personality and his advocacy counted much in promoting the success of the party. Now all that is changed. A candidate is lucky if in an election he addresses 25 per cent. of the electorate. This loss of personal contact must be made good in other ways. In the Labour Party this is done by influence in the workshop and by the work of trade union officials, who at an election are virtually whole-time agents for the Labour candidate. For the other parties the only road to success is by reaching the electors in their homes. The Conservatives have numerous paid workers available for this purpose. In the Liberal Party this service can only be done by a large band of voluntary workers. To obtain these the membership of local Associations must be greatly enlarged. Willingness to serve should be accepted, in lieu of a subscription, as a qualification of membership. To render these workers efficient missionaries of the party, there should be everywhere courses of lectures, study circles and similar educational agencies.

Not only should the worker be himself or herself adequately equipped to state the party case, he should be armed with popularly written literature dealing with party policy and giving the party view of passing events. This is a specially urgent need because in so many areas not only is the Press hostile, but it goes so far as both to distort and suppress, with the sole object of destroying Liberalism. The extension of the operations of the Liberal Publication Department will do much to supply this want. Modern publicity methods also have their uses. The one sure and effective way of reaching the elector is by the agency of the zealous and well-informed voluntary worker on the door-step.

The problem of central organisation receives but sketchy treatment in the MacLean Committee's Report and was passed over

practically without discussion at the Convention. It is common ground that there should be a political head of the organisation and that associated with him there should be a principal agent of the party. The success of this arrangement depends entirely on the selection of the right men for these responsible and onerous posts.

Beyond the appointment of these officials lies the difficult question—what is to be the real or ostensible controlling body of the party? Is it to be the Liberal Central Association, which is really a synonym for the Whips' office, or the National Liberal Federation, which represents the democratic element in the party organisation? The conflict between the official and democratic elements in the past has caused internal trouble both in the Liberal and Conservative Parties.

The Liberal Central Association is the older body. Instituted in 1861, it dates from the days before household suffrage. The Association consists of about 450 members who subscribe £4 4s. annually. It never meets: it has no constitution; in practice its officials are nominated by the Leader of the party. The shadowy character of the Association is well illustrated by a story of an ex-Liberal who left the party in 1886 and held high office in two Unionist Administrations. This nobleman only discovered when he was making economies during the war that he had continued subscribing for thirty years to the Liberal Central Association. Its importance has consisted in this, that in the past the party fund has usually been held by the Chief Whip, who was Chairman of the Association.

When Mr. Chamberlain instituted the National Liberal Federation, the new movement was a revolt against the irresponsible authority of the Central Association. Undoubtedly, the object of Mr. Chamberlain was not only to direct the policy of the party but to control its organisation. It is interesting to observe that a similar effort to capture the Tory machine was made at the same time by Lord Randolph Churchill through the National Union of Conservative Associations.

The importance of the Federation became plain at the time of the Home Rule split. Thenceforth it was linked up with the Liberal Central Association by the appointment of its Secretary to a similar post in the Association and by housing the two bodies under one roof. The Federation still maintained its independence, which reached its climax in the Newcastle Programme of 1891. After the Liberal defeat of 1895, the Federation was under a cloud, but its influence revived during the divisions in the party associated with the Boer War. The independence of the Federation has been in theory maintained but in practice it has been severely curtailed.

Now, however, the situation has been changed. The fund which gave the Whips' Office the predominance in the party is nearly exhausted. Associations are going to be as far as possible financially self-sufficient, and a new central fund is being collected by the Federation itself. The obvious corollary is that the body which raises the fund should control and administer it, and the scheme when first mooted did in fact place control in the hands of the Federation Executive. This was amended at the Convention to meet the objections that M.P.'s are excluded from the Executive, and that Scotland is unrepresented on it and women inadequately represented. For the purpose of control of the fund, representatives of the Parliamentary party, of the Women's National Liberal Federation and of the Scottish Liberal Federation are to be associated with the N.L.F. Executive.

It is obvious that a body constituted in this way cannot effectively control the central organisation of the party, and various expedients have been suggested for the formation of an Organisation Committee of which the political officer already referred to would be Chairman. One plan would make the Committee consist of representatives of the Liberal Central Association and of the Executive of the National Liberal Federation. For this purpose the former body would require to emerge from the shadows in which it has so long dwelt and assume a substantial and visible existence.

On the other hand, many assume that the old differentiation of function between the Association and the Federation should be maintained, that the former should continue to direct the organisation while the latter continues a kind of clearing house of party opinion for the purpose of guiding the leaders in framing a policy. Under the new financial conditions this division of duties becomes impossible and the machinery must be adjusted to the conditions.

Nobody can maintain that the Federation as at present constituted is adapted to its new rôle. It ought to become more fully representative of the party. The exclusion of M.P.'s from the Executive should no longer be continued. At present there is nothing between the Executive, which numbers a little over thirty, and the Council, which in size resembles a mass meeting rather than a deliberative assembly. The old General Committee or some body analogous thereto should be revived, in which real discussion would be possible, which could be readily called together for special purposes, and which, by its composition, would be more authoritative than the Executive. Such reforms can only be carried out by the Federation itself and it is to be hoped that the new Executive will have proposals prepared for submission at the next meeting of the Council.

In dealing with party organisation the tendency is to think in terms of warfare and to use military phraseology. But a party is not an army; it is a voluntary organisation. And in the Liberal Party there has always been less subordination and discipline than among the Conservatives. The problem of the party has at all times been to reconcile freedom of thought with efficiency in action. The most perfect organisation devised by the wit of man will fail to do this. The primary essential is confidence—confidence of the party in its leader and confidence of the leader in his party, and, after that, confidence of the leader and the party in the chief of staff. When these conditions prevail, the organisation will work smoothly: in their absence, friction and inefficiency will be inevitable.

Nor, again, will a skilfully devised and efficient organisation and a full party war-chest fill up the depleted ranks. Even with the assistance of the most ingenious stunt-hunting they will avail little. The party can only make good its claim to the confidence of the electors if it can put before them a distinctive practical policy adapted to the needs of the country both in its domestic concerns and its international relations.

W. M. R. PRINGLE.

THE HORIZON IN GERMANY.

THE interest of the last Elections to the Reichstag in December of last year centred in the fate of the German Fascists. In the brief and uneasy period between December, 1924 and the preceding Elections in May, 1924, the conditions curiously resembled those in which the Italian Fascists came into power in Italy. Resentment of abuses and injustices apparently inherent in the existing system, contempt for the professional politicians, a revolt of Labour against its traditional party leaders, and, above all, a pent-up flood of nationalist feeling looking for an outlet—all these were present in Germany after the collapse of passive resistance in the Ruhr, to at least as great a degree as in Italy before the march of Mussolini on Rome.

And Germany, too, had her Fascists. Out of the dragon's teeth which the French had sown on the Rhine and Ruhr, there had sprung up a crop of armed men, grouped at first in a variety of organisations, all more or less secret and all avowedly revolutionary, of which the "Steel Helm" and the "Ehrhard Brigade" were the best known. At the end of 1923 or beginning of 1924 an attempt was made to rally all these groups in a single Parliamentary party. The results at the May Elections were surprising. The party increased the number of its seats from 3 to 36, and an analysis of the voting showed that they had polled nearly one-tenth of the total of votes cast. No one quite knew how this vote had been made up: but it was clear that it included a big contingent of Labour detached from the Socialist Party, while candidates of the bourgeois parties complained nearly as loudly as the Socialists of the seduction of their political supporters.

The German Fascist Party,* in short, on the morrow of the May Elections were an *unbeschriebenes Blatt*, a page unwritten. Were they destined to repeat the story of their Italian *confrères*, and provide the machinery through which the forces of Nationalism could find an outlet? That was the question which everyone was asking, and the answer was of prime importance, not to Germany alone: for the Fascist programme, so far as it was known, included denunciation of the Peace Treaties and the suspension of all Occupation and Reparation payments, "any one of which measures," as a harried member of one of the Allied Commissions in Berlin remarked to the writer at the time, "would be quite enough to bring the Senegalese to Berlin, and push the franc to 100 degrees below zero."

The event soon showed that the fears which were felt at the time were exaggerated: and an impressive and a consoling spectacle it is for the student of the Teutonic races to observe how,

* Their official title was then, "National Freedom Party," and is now "National Socialist Party." The term "Fascists" is applied to them chiefly by foreigners; but it is their best description.

throughout the history of these remarkable peoples, the "Die Hard" movements, which from time to time recur, invariably make shipwreck on the rock of their leaders' intellectual incapacity. It was so on this occasion in Germany. The evil genius of the Fascists was their own leader General Ludendorff who, not satisfied with his war record, sought and found in the organisation of the Fascist Party yet another occasion for a "lost opportunity." He is finished now. There is not a section in Germany, civilian or military, North or South German, who still acclaim his name. He is relegated to the limbo of disillusion Woodrow Wilson haunts.

The Elections of May, 1924, are the Fascists' high water mark. Before the seven months which intervened before the next Elections in December, 1924, were half past, it was already clear that, whatever their future might be, the Fascists were not called by Destiny to assume the leadership of the new Germany, or to take a direct hand in the solution of the problems with which the Peace has saddled Europe. The December Elections halved the Fascist Party in the Reichstag: the moderate men of other parties, who voted for them in May, returned in December to their old allegiance: and, though the Parliamentary party still remains in being, its strength is no longer in the Reichstag, but in the militant extra-Parliamentary organisations, most of which do not believe in Parliamentary action at all, and are not conscious in the least of having missed any historic opportunity.

The influence of the militant organisations remains what it was with the element to which their appeal is made, the youth of Germany, that is to say, the generations which have reached manhood since the war. The "Steel Helm" and the "Ehrhard Brigade" are cast, in the period of German history which is now in its first stage, for a rôle akin to that played by Arndt and Turnvater Jahn and the Liberals of the first half of the nineteenth century. They have all the faults, and many of the virtues, of the German Liberals of that period. They are the soft and malleable, and sometimes even nebulous, mass, out of which a new Bismarck may one day forge a new German unity. But the new Bismarck, if he comes, will not come out of their ranks.

The elimination of the incalculable Fascist factor from the Parliamentary arena makes it easier to take stock of the elements remaining. The outstanding success of the December Elections was the maintenance of their position by the Nationalists (ex-Conservatives), the party of the Right proper. (The Fascists always deny that they are a party of the Right: and the social part of their programme at any rate—it includes such features as the legislative fixing of a minimum wage—is more advanced than that of any party except the Communists. Hence their frequent electoral collaboration: with the Nationalists they never collaborate.

It is customary in the Allied countries to divide the German parties into "Moderates" and "Extremists" according as they accept, or reject, the Allied programme. That is a convenient dichotomy for the Allies, but less helpful on the spot, where the complexity of the actual situation is more apparent. In fact, there is no Party, there are probably not even individuals, in Germany who accept the Allied programme, if by acceptance of it is meant such things as subscription to that particular thesis of the origins of the war (still put forward on occasion by official speakers in France and even in England) which is known in Germany as the "war guilt lie"; or respect for the Treaties as morally binding agreements, accepted of her own free will by Germany without constraint by the victors; or belief in the essential righteousness of Reparation payments by Germany to an indefinite amount and for an indefinite period. At the conclusion of the war, when all predispositions to hysteria were accentuated in the belligerent countries, there were isolated individuals with Pacifist leanings in Germany, such as the Bavarian Professor Foerster, who came near to accepting the Allied thesis: but they are dead now, or mad, or silent, or disillusioned by the subsequent record of the Allies. The Allied thesis of the origins and character of the war was never further from acceptance than it is now, in Germany or (it might be added) elsewhere.

The parties of the Left, which it is customary in Paris and London to call "Moderate," the Democrats (ex-Radicals) and the Socialists, would lose the whole body of their supporters overnight, if in aberration or panic they were to include acceptance of the Allied standpoint in the sense indicated above as a plank in their programmes. Acceptance of the policy of "fulfilment" of the Treaty settlement, and such subsequent arrangements as the London Agreements, means in a German mouth, whether Socialist or Nationalist, submission to superior force for the time being, pending the creation of opportunities for revision. The parties of "fulfilment" differ from the Nationalists only in respect of the degree of submissiveness which they are prepared to affect.

It is the merit of the London Agreements that, while they do not differ in kind from their numerous predecessors, and may, when the moratory period is over, prove equally difficult of realisation, they were, at any rate in form, agreements freely reached between the two sides without *force majeure* or constraint. As such, they had what Lord Bradbury has called a "pathetic effect" on the Germans. They secured the support on their passage through the Reichstag of all except the two extreme parties (Fascists and Communists) and a fraction of the Nationalists: they are being loyally worked, according to the testimony of the Ameri-

can Agent-General for Reparation Payments, by the German officials who are responsible for putting them in force: and they are accepted—so far—by the German public as *chose jugée*, and as the inevitable basis of the financial position. How far there will be a change when the moratory period of low payments (four years) is at an end, and the turn of the Allied screw begins again to make itself felt in depression of the German standard of living, is another matter. But for the moment it is almost true to say that the Reparation question has ceased to be an issue dividing the two sides in German politics. That is an amazing, and for the Allies an eminently satisfactory, transformation of the position.

For the present, therefore, the cleavage between Right and Left is on internal issues. The December Elections left the two sides so equally balanced that it proved impossible to form one of the customary coalitions of parties by which Germany has been governed since she announced at Weimar her adhesion to the true faith of Parliamentary Government and Ministerial Responsibility. The Nationalists and their allies refused to join any coalition which included the Socialists: and the Socialists and their allies refused to join any which included the Nationalists. In the end, after weeks of inter-party negotiations of little interest to the outside world, a so-called "Government of personalities" was formed by the Finance Minister of the preceding Cabinet, Dr. Luther, by which was meant a Government with an infusion of permanent officials. The recourse to the permanent officials has suggested to some observers, principally in France, that the Luther Cabinet represents a step on the way back to the pre-war system of government by officials without Ministerial responsibility: but it may be doubted whether much constitutional significance attaches to the change. The Republic has shown from the first a reluctance to apply the theory of government by politicians with logical completeness. Three Ministers of the last Cabinet, for example, were not members of the Reichstag. Where Ministers are taken from the Reichstag, they are chosen, and, indeed, are put forward by their respective parties, not for party services, but because of past experience as officials, or other expert knowledge. The present Defence Minister, who is a member of the Reichstag, and for that matter a member of one of the parties of the Left (Democrats), has held the same office in virtue of his technical knowledge in Cabinet after Cabinet.

The desire of the German to be governed by an expert appears to be at least as strong under the Republic as under the Empire. It is probably bound up with the German belief in education, just as the English system of government by politicians is bound up with the English distrust of the expert and disbelief in education. Without a modification of these fundamental view-points there

can be no real political changes in either country: and modification of the view-points in this particular connection does not appear to be an eventuality with which the present generation in either country is likely to have to deal.

Permanent officials, in Germany as in England, are apt to be Conservative in politics: and the permanent officials in the Luther Cabinet, though nominally "non-party," really represent a strengthening of the National influence. The Luther Cabinet is undoubtedly a Government looking to the Right. The task which it has set itself—its foreign policy being already determined for it by the Dawes Plan which it has accepted—is the infusion of the Nationalist spirit into the internal administration, in particular in Prussia, where a Government of the Left has just collapsed after a long period of rule, in an unpleasant odour of scandals and resignations connected with the Prussian State Bank and its relations to certain financial Companies, in which prominent Socialist politicians, including the ex-Chancellor Bauer, were interested. A breath of fresh air is by common consent badly needed in the Prussian Administration. It remains to be seen whether the Nationalists are the party to provide it. If they are, they will be welcomed throughout Germany. They will be judged on their merits. It is their hour.

Their first act has been to restore the Eight-Hours Day throughout the coal and metallurgical industry, which is to say, in every large factory or mine in the Rhineland and Westphalia. In present circumstances in Germany that is a much more significant move than might appear on the surface. The Eight-Hours Day is the one tangible achievement which Labour secured out of the political changes accompanying the collapse of the Empire and the establishment of the Republic. In the bad days which followed the collapse of the Ruhr resistance, when the inflation was at its height, the employers broke down the resistance of the Trade Unions, and reintroduced a day of ten hours. It is the chief gravamen of the average worker's count against the Socialist Party leaders that they were not able to protect the Eight-Hours Day against attack. It has been left to the Nationalists to restore it. The workers will not forget that. The writer has been acquainted with successive leaders of the German Socialist Party over a period of twenty years—an acquaintance interrupted only by the war. Never in that period have the leaders been less in touch with the rank and file of the workers than now.

The restoration by the Nationalists of the Eight-hours Day was no doubt designed to conciliate Labour: but it was not merely that. It was the application of a politico-economic philosophy which has been in eclipse but is likely to assert itself again. Nowhere have the changes which accompanied the collapse of the

old régime been more apparent than in the sphere of social legislation: and no class, not even the *petits rentiers*, has suffered so heavily as the workers. Under the old régime the bureaucracy dominated Capital and Labour alike: and the miraculous development of German industry under the Empire was due primarily to the ingenious interlocking of the three. The dominant part which the bureaucracy played in the triumvirate was almost entirely psychological, a question of prestige. With the collapse of the Empire the prestige of the bureaucracy appeared to have sustained a mortal blow: and before it could recover, the inflation flooded the country, sweeping away all landmarks. The old State Socialism, which had made Germany prosperous and kept her contented in the process, was treated by the new generation as a thing of the past; and for a time the road seemed open to a reversion to what the Germans call "Manchestertum," the Gospel of Private Enterprise. The Bismarckian system of public insurance, the chief practical expression of State Socialism, was reduced to meaninglessness by the depreciation of the currency; and Germany seemed to have reverted in matters social to the pre-Bismarckian age.

There are signs that this period of reaction is coming to an end; and the Nationalists intend to accelerate the process of recovery. The bureaucracy is being rehabilitated. The elements which had made their way into it from political circles—they are most of them implicated in the Prussian State Bank scandals—are being eliminated by prosecution or otherwise; and the old standards of integrity and objectiveness are being unmistakably reasserted.

One aspect of the process is the anti-Semite movement, which is a prominent plank of the official Nationalist programme, and is throughout Germany the most conspicuous feature of the post-war social situation. Many battened in Germany on the inflation; but none battened like the Jew. The Jew is prepared, no doubt, to adapt himself to any circumstances; but *ceteris paribus* he prefers a free field for individual enterprise and no favour to the Gentile—that state of things an Austrian satirist described as "the free fox in the free hen-roost." He came near to realising his ideal in inflationist Germany. Hence the anti-Jewish feeling, of which the Nationalists would like to constitute themselves the protagonists.

How far the Luther Government will be able to realise its social policy, and what will be the effect in the political sphere of its realisation, are matters which the future alone can decide. For the moment, the Government's chief concern must be to create and retain a majority in the Reichstag.* It is not a preoccupation which commonly tends to the furthering of idealism in politics. More it would be injudicious at the present time to assert.

ONLOOKER.

* It secured a vote of confidence on its first appearance (January 22nd, 1925), by 246 votes to 160.

ITALY IN SOUTH TYROL.

THE long agony of the Italian *Risorgimento* ended, as an event of European concern and interest, with the achievement of Italian unity in 1870. For thoroughgoing Italian patriots, however, the completeness of the triumph was vitiated by a deplorable flaw. The Alpine Trentino, inhabited by a purely Italian population, with its capital, the famous and ancient city of Trent, remained outside the new northern frontier, under the yoke of the hated Austrian. Bismarck, after the war of 1866, had undoubtedly drawn the new frontiers of Italy with more indulgence for Prussia's recent enemy than for her own ally. But this very circumstance made prudence on the Italian side the more imperative—the Government of Victor Emmanuel wished to be at peace with a Vienna beyond which loomed Berlin, and discountenanced all agitation on the sore subject. The old stalwarts of the *Risorgimento*, however, were not to be silenced while any sons of Italy remained "unredeemed," and "Italia irredenta" became the secret rallying-cry of patriotic meetings, and the occasion of more than one sharp warning from the Hofburg when enthusiasm, getting the better of discretion, allowed it to cross the lips of any public man.

The phrase was historically inaccurate; for the Trentino was never after the twelfth century a part of Italy, and had been for many centuries an appanage of the loosely-knit and far-flung German Empire, of which the Bishop of Trent was an ecclesiastical Prince. Nevertheless, its completely Italian character and sympathies made its union with Italy from every point of view desirable, and the article giving effect to that union was one of the least disputable and least disputed clauses of the Peace of Versailles.

Unfortunately, however, the sponsors of Italy at Versailles were not content with the recovery of this Italian land. They claimed, in addition, a large block of territory to the north, embracing nearly half of the Austrian province of Tyrol, and stretching from the border, at Salurn, about twenty miles above Trent, for some fifty miles up the Valley of the Etsch to the Brenner pass, twenty miles south of Innsbruck. This region, apart from some Italian immigrants between Salurn and Bozen, and some Romänsch-speakers in the west, is solidly German. Its people of peasants, a little less than a quarter of a million in number, are devoted sons of Austria, and have more than once been the stronghold of the Austrian crown. Here, rather than in the city on the Inn, is the heart of Tyrol—nay, if you will believe the inhabitants themselves, the very core of the Germanic race. Here is the castle of the old counts of Tyrol, perched on a high rocky pinnacle of the huge

mountains that overhang Meran. Here, in a side valley of the foaming Etsch, is the village inn whence Andreas Hofer (the "Sandwirth") went forth to muster that peasant army which held up the power of Napoleon in "the year Nine," only to be betrayed by the ungrateful Kaiser they had served.

It is evident that the reasons advanced for the other transfers of territory effected by the Treaty of Versailles, had for the most part no application here. The French in Lorraine, the Poles in Russia and Prussia, the Czechs in Bohemia, the Danes in Slesvig, had with various degrees of intensity and with various degrees of justice, called for "liberation" from an alien oppressor; and liberation the Treaty accorded to them. But from whom or what should these devoted Austrian peasants be liberated? Nor could a statesman attach much weight to the military plea that the Brenner pass was the only possible "strategic frontier," when the very creation of a frontier in the heart of a foreign territory was the chief source of the peril against which it was supposed to guard. The real reasons, doubtless, were such as could not be avowed. South Tyrol was Italy's prize (if not also her price) for joining the Allies in the War. And the Allies acquiesced easily, it is to be feared, in a grant which ensured them against any dangerous amity between Italy and the Central Powers. The whole transaction was rapid, and excited little notice.

The annexation, as was inevitable, was deeply and bitterly resented in every part of the country. Italy wished to be conciliatory, and began her occupation with generous and probably quite sincere promises of fair dealing. General Pecori-Giraldi, on entering the new territory, in 1919, declared that the Government had no thought of either suppressing the language or denationalising the race. The German-speaking population would enjoy full freedom in the use of their own tongue, in the schools, the churches, and the courts of law. Similar assurances were repeated, with Governmental authority, by Tittoni, Giolitti, Bonomi, and many others. And until the beginning of the Fascist régime these promises were, on the whole, honourably kept. It is even possible that, for all their just resentment, these Austrian peasants might in time have been won, by sympathetic treatment, to acquiesce in their Italian nationality. They might even, eventually, like the French district of Lombardy, have become merged in it. They might, at least, have been led to suspect that the despised "Wälsch" race down in Lombardy had some things to tell worth knowing, and brave sights worth a man's while to see. They might have understood what Goethe, the great German poet from Weimar, was after when he came driving headlong from the Brenner along their foaming Etsch, that September night of 1787,

on the great highway that led to Verona, and Venice, and Florence, and Rome. They might have come to claim to share, themselves, in the traditions and memories of that Latin land; have christened streets after Garibaldi as well as after Andreas Hofer, and thought the monuments in the town-square incomplete unless the picturesque figure of Walter von der Vogelweide were flanked by the austere profile of Dante.

But all such amiable dreams were dispelled, probably for ever, by the coming of Fascism. The patient and conciliatory methods which alone gave them a chance of realisation, were the very antithesis of the policy for which Fascism stood. For that policy, as applied to the country at large, there was, if not complete justification, at least cogent excuse. Italy had suffered long from the patience which means *dolce far niente*, and the conciliation which means *laissez-faire*; its public services, in particular, were slovenly and disorganised to a degree unworthy of so gifted a people. A broom does not conciliate a dust heap, nor display patience towards a littered street; and Signor Mussolini, together with more questionable qualities, has the virtues of the broom, and has exercised them with undoubted and beneficent effect. But there are, unhappily, situations too complex and subtle for any broom, and where the most effectual of brooms in the briskest of hands is most sure to fail. A German-speaking people within the frontiers of Italy was, for Fascism, an offence not only against imperial unity, but against the principle of order; it was a piece of ethnological untidiness, an unsightly patch upon a seamless robe. It was not enough for this people of German peasants to be bilingual, which they were shrewd enough to be quite willing to be; their children had to be deprived of the chance of learning any language but Italian. We may laugh at some of the more elementary methods of teaching this lesson, such as excising the name "Tyrol" from public monuments ("Alto Adige" is its new official style) and strictly tabooing it in print, where it is replaced by dots and "[forbidden name];" becoming more conspicuous by its absence, like the bust of Brutus removed from the imperial collection, of which Tacitus first used that significant phrase.

But the systematic Italianisation of education and government are graver matters. By an ordinance promulgated in the summer of 1923, not only is Italian alone taught in the schools, not only are German teachers being steadily replaced by Italians, and by Italians who know no German and are apparently chosen for that very reason, but the private German schools are being systematically suppressed, while even private German instruction in German homes is subject to vexatious interference. In the schools not yet closed such incidents are possible as the threatening of a kinder-

garten teacher with prison "if she conducted prayer again in German."* A pathetically vivid picture of the confusion, turmoil, and complete educational futility arising from this policy, is given in a letter addressed by a number of parents of children in an elementary school at Bozen to the local paper. A much larger school having been appropriated exclusively to the few Italian children of officials, the hundreds of German children were huddled into rooms too small to accommodate them, so that many are sent home ill with the suffocating air. Under such conditions teaching even in their own language would not be easy. As to the unfortunate Italian teacher, we are not surprised to hear that he is often provoked when the children blunder. "All his scolding is no use. Often a child gives an answer, thinking he has understood the teacher, which proves not to be the case, whereupon more storming, abuse, and even punishment."†

Naturally, parents who are able prefer to provide their own education. But they reckon without Mussolini, or at least without his local representative. A father who was dissatisfied with the local schools lately engaged a governess for his children from Austria. In accordance with the regulations he gave notice of his intention to the district director of education, but to his surprise, received in reply an intimation that his procedure was illegal, that instruction could only be given by a teacher officially approved, that it must be given in Italian (the entire family being purely German), and that the director was entitled at any time to be present at the lessons.‡ Even if this incident be only a case of the local martinet over-acting his part, it exhibits, with painful clearness, the spirit which animates Fascist educational policy in South Tyrol.

But the gravest charge against this educational policy is not that it seeks to put Italian in place of German education. By driving children who speak only German into schools where the teachers speak only Italian, it saps the conditions of all education whatever; and this, to the peasants of Tyrol, patriotic as they are, is a matter of far graver concern. At an assembly held in Bozen, on November 16th last, two hundred delegates came together from all parts of Italian Tyrol, not a single valley or larger community being unrepresented, and addressed to the Government a unanimous appeal, expressing "the universal conviction that, under present conditions, our children are suffering intellectual impoverishment, and being sent out unequipped for the battle of life."§ For to these Austrian peasants, as to the German race everywhere, education is a vital thing, and they are not disposed to see their children added to the millions of illiterates whom Italy possesses already.

* *Der Landsmann* (Bozen), Dec. 3rd, 1924. † *Ibid.* Dec. 6th, 1924. ‡ *Ibid.* Dec. 5th, 1924. § *Hamburger Fremdenblatt*, Nov. 29th, 1924.

The administration has been "purified" with no less thoroughness. German officials of every rank have been replaced by Italians almost invariably ignorant of German. Italian is insisted on as the exclusive language for official communications of every kind, were it only a proclamation by a village mayor. Italians from every part of Italy are encouraged to settle in Tyrol; and a recently promulgated law forbidding the erection, alienation, or even letting of buildings without the sanction of the prefect, but applicable solely to South Tyrol and its German inhabitants, is apparently an insidious attempt to bring all German real property eventually into Italian hands; in other words, to enable the Government, without any sensational expulsions or troublesome conflicts with a refractory people, quietly, steadily and under strict forms of law, to eliminate them.

It need hardly be said that under an administration of this temper freedom of the Press has gone. Any outspoken criticism is liable to involve the seizure of the issue, perhaps to expulsion of the writer. Even the Press of North Tyrol is hampered by the fear of incriminating friends or relatives south of the frontier. At times a gleam of comedy crosses the sombre page. An Italian law prohibits the "carrying of dangerous weapons;" among these are included knives with blades more than four centimetres long. Many murderers escape detection; on the other hand, many innocent possessors of pocket-knives which exceed these modest dimensions are arrested. Among these was a brazen offender who walked through the streets unconcerned with a knife several inches long. He was promptly arrested by a zealous officer, fresh, perhaps, from the slums of an Italian city. But he proved to be a butcher's man! The Bozen *Landsmann* drew attention to these eccentricities, and suffered confiscation of its entire issue in consequence. The ablest despotism—and Mussolini is very able—is rarely able enough not to provide occasional food for the comic papers. But the tragic ground-tone remains and it daily gathers intensity and volume.

Patriotic Italians, confronted with the facts which have been briefly summarised above, usually begin by making light of them as "exaggerated." When pressed, they fall back on one or both of two arguments. "Well," they will urge, "these Italian Austrians are anyhow only suffering what the Italians of the Trentino suffered before 1914. We are at worst only paying off old scores." Or else it is: "Why should this German minority of a few hundred thousands complain of minority treatment under us when a similar minority of Italians has to live under Slav rule in Jugoslavia?"

To both these arguments there is a conclusive reply. The former

Austrian government of the Trentino was not immaculate. But precisely in the matter most deeply resented, education, her administration was thoroughly liberal. The entire Trentino had its Italian schools, where no Italian child was required even to learn German, the "State language"—a degree of liberty which, *mutatis mutandis*, Welsh children do not enjoy with us. In South Tyrol the public schools were naturally German; but the Italian immigrants were at perfect liberty to set up private schools of their own. It will be seen that the plea of paying off old scores is altogether beside the mark. And if it were not, is the *vendetta* among those Italian customs on which it is either dignified or wise for a great nation to found a maxim of government?

And the second argument is even more damaging to the cause in which it is advanced. For when Italy made her treaty with Jugo-Slavia, she showed a lively concern for those rights of minorities to which South Tyrol appeals in vain, and carefully safeguarded by special clauses the liberties and privileges of the Italians living under Jugo-Slav rule. In South Tyrol not only is the German population entirely without these safeguards; it is the object, as shown above, of disabling regulations directed expressly against it.

There are, happily, many Italians who deplore a policy which is not merely repeating the old blunder of Vienna, but repeating it, as we have said, with gross aggravation, and without a shadow of historical excuse; a policy which in "redeeming" a quasi-Italian land has created an "Austria irredenta" of even greater menace to the peace of Europe. Such Italians will not resent even foreign criticism that only appeals from the Italy which to-day employs the instruments of a harsh and purblind despotism, to the Italy which has in the past again and again uttered the voice of humanity; from the Italy of Mussolini to the Italy of Mazzini.

C. H. HERFORD.

THE LEAGUE AND THE SAAR.

NO better example could be found of the difficulties of government in the Saar Basin than that illustrated in the case of education which was discussed, but not settled, at the recent meeting of the Council of the League of Nations. This question shows that fundamental and apparently insoluble difficulties lie in the interpretation of the Constitution of the Governing Commission.

The Treaty of Peace, which placed the Saar under the League of Nations, provided for the transfer to the French State of the coal mines in the Territory as part compensation for the destruction of coal mines in Northern France by the German armies during the war. The mines were formerly owned and worked by the Prussian Government. Not until after fifteen years is it open for Germany to reacquire the mines and then only by paying the market price for them in gold marks. Clause 14 of the Annex to the section of the Peace Treaty which sets up the Saar Government gives to the French State the right of

"establishing and maintaining as incidental to the mines primary and technical schools for its employees and their children, and of causing instruction therein to be given in the French language in accordance with such curriculum and by such teachers as it may select."

The French Government had to bring into the Territory a large number of French officials: engineers, managers, foremen, etc., and also a certain number of workmen who were allowed to remain members of their trade unions in France. The children of these immigrants had to be educated according to the French system. Technical schools for workmen were also required as incidental to the mines.

Article 28 of the Saar Statute makes the following provision in regard to rights of the inhabitants:—

"Under the control of the Governing Commission the inhabitants will retain their local assemblies, their religious liberties, their schools and their language."

It was this clause which helped to reconcile Germany to the Saar settlement. M. Clemenceau informed Count Brockdorff-Rantzau on May 24th, 1919, that the form of government "has been carefully drawn up with the intention, not merely of providing compensation for the destruction of the coal mines in Northern France but also of ensuring the rights and welfare of the population. The Treaty guarantees to the inhabitants the maintenance of all their existing liberties."

The inhabitants consequently attach great importance to the

strict literal interpretation of Article 28 and are backed up by the German Government, the medium through which communications are sent to the League of Nations. The dispute which is now under discussion has arisen because the French Mines Administration has included in its schools the children of German employees, and it is alleged that they offer them various inducements to attend, and indeed carry on what is described as "a geographical and historical propaganda in favour of France." Apart from the correct interpretation of the Statute and the possibilities of reconciling the provisions in the two Articles which I have quoted, one would naturally think that it is an advantage for children to be taught two languages. In the case of the Saar the advantages of a bilingual education are made subordinate to other considerations. The Saar is a plebiscitary country. In fifteen years from the date of the Treaty—that is, ten years from now—the inhabitants of the Saar will be invited to declare whether they prefer to remain under the Government of the League of Nations as at present or be united to France or to Germany. All children who were born when the Constitution was adopted and all residents in the Territory—Saar citizens—at that date are entitled to vote. The register has been prepared with great care. It cannot be altered except by the omission of names of citizens who die in the meantime. The franchise is universal: both sexes are entitled to vote after the age of twenty. Consequently children who are now ten years of age or more will be voters in 1935. The fears of the adult population may be exaggerated, but attempts to de-Germanise their children stir them to fury.

The question is affected by another circumstance. The French State is by far the largest employer of labour in the Territory. The mines employ over 72,000 people—about one-tenth of the whole population. If we allow an average of three in family per employee this means that nearly a third of the whole population depends on the French State as the owner of the mines. Then, again, the Mines Administration in providing for its own requirements is the largest buyer of material and goods in the Territory—thus finding employment for another considerable number of local workmen. There is an *imperium et imperia* in the Saar. One cannot go far in studying local problems before discovering that there is a very close alliance between the Government Commission, which was expected to be a neutral authority, and the French Mines Administration. So friendly are their relations and cordially reciprocal their services to each other that one might think that they were two departments of the same Government. The fact is that just as the chief officials in the Mines Administration are all French, so are the most important officials under the Governing Commission. The President of the Commission is a

Frenchman, who is unacquainted with the official language, which is German.

The education trouble arose out of the action of the Mines Administration in not limiting its rights of teaching to French children and French employees but including "German employees who have to work under French engineers in the mines," and also their children. This system if carried to the full extent would go a long way towards displacing German as the official language. Besides primary and technical schools the Mines have established secondary schools. The policy adopted by the Mines Administration was enforced by ordinances issued by the Governing Commission. The German case against the Governing Commission for authorising the alleged contraventions of the Statute includes the following points as summarised by the League of Nations as follows:

An examination of the origin of the Treaty of Versailles shows that there could be no reason for giving the French State the right to draw into its schools the children of the non-French employees of the Mines (not to mention other inhabitants of the country), which, moreover, would be tantamount to entrusting the French State with part of the administration of the country. France has under the Treaty a great influence in this plebiscite territory, and everything should be done by the Commission, particularly in view of the trustee administration, to avoid weighting the balance more heavily in favour of France by granting to her greater rights than those given to her by the Treaty. Moreover, the development of the French schools is in contradiction to the principles which govern the whole of the provisions concerning the Saar Territory; to assure the rights and welfare of the population and to guarantee to France complete freedom in working the mines. . . . The French schools are, moreover, employed for political propaganda and from the educational point of view the situation is unsatisfactory, not only for this reason, but for others, such as the imperfect acquaintance of many of the teachers with the German language and the prolonged absence of children from school without punishment.

The German Government asserted that pressure was put on German children to attend the French State schools: they were given presents of money at Christmas, free supplies, free trips to France, while inducements were given to parents, including allocation of housing accommodation, and appointments to posts in the Mines, or they were threatened with dismissal. "The German Government," says the Reporter, "gives a number of cases in support of its statement."

Complaints and protests were first made to the League of Nations in January, 1923, covering precisely the same ground. Denials were made by the League from the information given by the Governing Commission. There was only one admission: that

in certain districts attendances at National schools had declined and "even in these localities the local schools have still been kept open." As the League in April, 1923, supported the policy of the Governing Commission the controversy was renewed last autumn over a wider field.

In its reply, the Governing Commission denied that it had exceeded its authority or contravened the Treaty, or that it had exercised undue influence on parents or children. Part of the present controversy has turned on the meaning of the words "employee" and "personnel." In the French text of the Treaty the word "personnel" is used in Article 14 of the Annex to the Treaty, which gives France authority to establish schools incidental to the ownership of the Mines. In the English translation "personnel" is translated "employee" and both texts are legal. In three other Articles in the Annex the word "personnel" appears in the English text in one case as "employee" and in two as "personnel." In two Articles in the French text "personnel" is used to mean both employees and workmen and in two others a distinction is made between employees and workmen.

Three jurists have given opinions on this etymological enigma, which is one of the key issues in the Saar education problem. Professor Josef Partsch, Professor of Law at Berlin University, after citing the various uses in the Treaty of the words "personnel," "employee," and "workmen," holds that the word "personnel" in Article 14 does not include workmen. He states that the English text was submitted to President Wilson, who had the deciding voice in the fate of the Saar, and that

"it is quite clear from the history of the origin of the Treaty that he would have acted in contradiction to all his principles if he had only contemplated the possibility that the French Government might base on Article 14 a claim to force the French mines schools upon German workmen with the assistance of the Governing Commission acting under its influence."

Dr. Edwin M. Borchard, Professor of International Law at Yale University, explores the legal meaning and the general usage of "personnel" and "employee" further, and supports the interpretation of Professor Partsch. "It would be," he says, "inconsistent with the whole framework of the Saar Clauses to permit the French State to introduce French schools for the native German population."

Against these weighty opinions by jurists of international reputation the Governing Commission only presented the opinion of an English legal authority, Mr. Edward H. Mitchell Innes. He holds that the education ordinances of the Governing Commission are valid, that its policy is justified, and that Article 28 guaranteeing that the inhabitants will retain their schools has not

been broken. "The schools remain at the disposition of the inhabitants if they wish to attend them." It might be, he says, that an organised attack upon the schools of the Territory would constitute a violation of Article 28, "but no reliable evidence of such action is before me."

The German and American jurists are more emphatic on the other side and give more comprehensive opinions. Professor Partsch says that the French State through the Mines Administration and the Governing Commission have violated both Articles 14 and 28 of the Saar Constitution. As illustrating the propagandist tendencies of the new French schools he points out that:

"French is taught eight hours a week and German six hours. The lessons are given partly in German and partly in French. The geography and history lessons are made the vehicle of French propaganda. The German readers contain numerous inferior translations from French. The fact that the children are German is completely ignored."

The German classics are neglected and the children are not taught to write and speak correct literary German.

In addition to these three legal opinions on the dispute, Mr. Branting, Prime Minister of Sweden, submitted a statement from a Swedish authority which does not support the claims of the Governing Commission or its interpretation of the Treaty.

The Commission in its last communication to the League of Nations on the subject says "that the French State is entitled to maintain schools within the Saar Territory not merely for the use of its French employees and their children but for the use of all its employees and their children without distinction of nationality." This means that the French State can set up a rival or duplicate system of education in a foreign country—as German sovereignty is only in suspense. France would take the place of the Prussian Government, not only as the owner of the mines, but as the Education Authority for a large proportion of the population.

The question cannot be settled by a narrow interpretation of the Statute. Anyone who reads the record of the discussions which took place at the Peace Conference on the Saar question must realise that the whole purpose of the compromise was to make it possible to reconcile the German inhabitants to a period of alien government. One of the fundamental conditions which led the inhabitants in the first instance to accept the new régime in a submissive spirit was the undertaking that they would retain "their local assemblies, their religious liberties, their schools and their language." The Governing Commission had above all to consider the welfare of the population. The Statute also obliges the

Commission to consult the Advisory Council—elected by universal suffrage—on all new measures which it proposes. It is not obliged to accept the advice given, but the Council is the one organ of collective public opinion, the Government's best means of keeping in touch with the inhabitants, and of harmonising its proceedings with their welfare. The Advisory Council was not consulted with regard to the education ordinances issued by the Commission—a clear breach of the Constitution. At the same time, the Commission had no difficulty in ascertaining what the local opinion was. One of the five Commissioners—the Saar member, Herr Kossmann—voiced the local feeling, as well as his own view of the unconstitutional action proposed, in emphatic language. In his protest to the Commission he made the following statement:

“The question of the French elementary schools in the Saar Territory is certainly the question which causes most unrest among the inhabitants of the Saar, which prevents them from settling down and which, far beyond the frontiers of the Saar Territory, has aroused strong German feeling. It is the very point for which the entire German population of the Saar is fighting with the greatest tenacity. . . . The German inhabitants of the Saar Territory cannot reconcile themselves to the idea of the existence in the Saar Territory of French schools so numerous as to constitute a menace to the German schools, which are secured to them by the Treaty of Peace. They consider it to be contrary to the Treaty of Peace that France should be enabled to carry on systematic recruiting for France by means of the French schools. The German inhabitants of the Saar Territory regard the right of option guaranteed them under the Treaty of Peace, by means of a plebiscite in 1935, as so important and sacred that they cannot admit the propriety of anything which could in the least degree prejudice that right of self-determination.”

Herr Kossmann's opinion was ignored.

The question of religious teaching was also involved, and the views of the Church have been made known to the Commission. Prussian and Bavarian education codes are rigid and the teaching thorough. One feature of the system is denominational teaching, not only in regard to religious instruction, but teachers and pupils belong to the same religious denomination and consequently the general instruction given is based on the outlook of that denomination. The Saar is two-thirds Catholic. The clergy protested against the French State mine schools, first as being non-religious and later as being undenominational.

After this protest denominational teaching was introduced.

At the end of 1924 there were 5,200 children in the French schools, all German except between 450 and 500. At that date there were only 44 French workmen employed at the mines.

A report on the Saar schools by Professor Tockert of Luxem-

burg, issued a year and a half ago, was cited by the Governing Commission as a testimony in support of the efficiency and impartiality of the school teaching. It is doubtful whether any member of the Council of the League read the report. In some respects it supports the charges made against the French Mines schools. It shows, for instance, that the discipline is lax compared with the discipline in German schools and that the geography and history manuals which include lessons on recent events, such as the Treaty of Versailles, are written by French authors.

The League of Nations is the responsible authority for the government of the Saar. It is Trustee on behalf of all members of the League. The executive of the League is the Council of ten. The Council appoints the five members of the Governing Commission. The Commission has been given power to interpret the Constitution under which it works. This authority can be overridden by the Council of the League, which has the whip hand in as much as it appoints the members and passes judgment on their proceedings. The Council is supreme over the Commission. How, then, did the Executive of the League deal with this many-sided and delicate question of French schools in the Saar? It made no attempt to settle the problem. According to routine, a Reporter made a Report to the Council. The Reporter was Signor Salandra. No special inquiries were made by him. According to routine, the Reports of the Governing Commission are circulated and also all the communications bearing upon it are sent to the League, but it is extremely doubtful whether members of the Council read all the mass of documents which they receive. They rely on the Reporter to sum up the case and he relies on the statements from official sources. No independent inquiries were made. Signor Salandra reported that: “The Council will no doubt agree with me that the matter before us is essentially a question of interpretation of certain provisions in the Annex to the Treaty of Versailles regarding the Saar Territory.”

Quite so; and what did the Council do to find out the truth about the interpretation? Nothing. The Council received the two legal opinions obtained by the German Government and the one handed in by the Governing Commission, but it did not express its own views. Mr. Branting took the trouble, acting as an individual member of the Council, to obtain an independent legal opinion. The Council had therefore before it the closely-reasoned and weighty opinions from German and American jurists who held strongly that the Governing Commission had committed breaches of the Treaty by its Education ordinances. The Swedish jurist was more moderate in tone but was against the Commission's interpretation of the Treaty, which was only supported by the English jurist.

The Council had nothing to say on the vital question of interpreting the Constitution upon which the government of the Saar depends. It shirked the whole issue. As Trustee for the Saar people it was obviously the duty of the League to obtain the opinions of neutral jurists attached to the High Court of the Hague, or jurists in its own service. The Swedish jurist pointed out that more information was necessary. The Council ignored the suggestion. It cannot, however, get rid of this question of interpretation: it will come up again. The Saar Statutes were drawn up by M. Tardieu, a journalist and politician, Mr. Headlam Morley, an official of the Foreign Office, and Dr. A. H. Haskins, an American, Professor of History and Political Science. They were not experts in constitutional law and practice. Misunderstandings about interpretation were bound to arise, and, as policy and administration depend on interpretation, it is the duty of the League to put it right.

Signor Salandra continued in his report to say:—

“Furthermore, the very detailed reports that the Governing Commission has sent us show that it is aware not only of the legal aspect of the problem of public education in the Saar, but also of its political and moral aspects, and in particular of the importance which public opinion in the Territory attached to the problem. These circumstances give to the question of the French schools a wider bearing than would result from a mere comparison between the inconsiderable number of pupils which frequent these schools and those who frequent the ordinary schools of the Territory. Personally, I rely on the wisdom of the Governing Commission, and I am fully confident that it will find the means of allaying the anxiety which this matter seems to have aroused in certain sections of the Saar population.”

The Council did not spend much time over the Report. “Approves the conclusions of the present Report” was the resolution passed almost without discussion. The so-called “conclusions” were singularly inconclusive. The Report mentioned that the Governing Commission was aware of the “political and moral aspects of the problem and in particular of the importance which public opinion in the Territory attached to the problem,” but it did not rebuke the Commission for acting in defiance of public opinion and of ignoring the political and moral aspects of the problem. The Council is to rely “on the wisdom of the Governing Commission,” which in this matter as in others has been most unwise in its conduct towards the Saar people. But the League of Nations cannot evade its responsibility by negative conclusions. It has worsened instead of bettered the situation. The danger remains and will continue.

ROBERT DONALD.

TROTSKY, THE HERETIC.

SINCE my return from Soviet Russia many people have put the question to me: “How long do you think the Bolsheviks will last?” It is not a question one cares to answer; one prefers rather to sum up the situation generally, leaving others to form their own conclusions. That is the plan I propose to follow in the present article. Already the Bolsheviks have lasted seven years, and judging by the criterion of history their disappearance is overdue. During the French Revolution quarrels among the leaders had set in well within that period, and these continued until they led to its decline. But until lately we have heard little about dissension in the ranks of the Bolsheviks, and it has been falsely assumed that none existed. The truth is that ever since the first days of the revolution there have been bitter disagreements among the Bolshevik leaders, and only the remarkable discipline preserved in the party—discipline which resulted from long years of desperate struggle against the Tsarist régime—has imposed silence upon the participants, and prevented the world hearing of these disputations. In the autumn of 1923, the conflict could no longer be concealed, and an open discussion, conducted with acrimony, took place in the Press. The result of this discussion was a definite weakening of Bolshevik authority in the country. At the conference of the Communist Party last summer there was a renewal of the conflict; and recently it broke out in a still more violent form, culminating in the dismissal of Trotsky from the Red Army leadership.

What does the opposition consist of? In a broad sense, all the discontented elements in Russia; that is, the whole of the new bourgeoisie, the great majority of the peasants, and certainly some (and these not a few) of the proletariat. But as the masses are not permitted to express open hostility to the State, it is mainly of opposition activity within the Communist Party itself that we hear. The Communist Party controls the Government; the Soviets are merely stage effects. The Government takes no action, shapes no policy, without the co-operation and the consent of the Party, and the Inspectorate of the one is closely interlocked with that of the other. This brings us to another question: Who controls the Communist Party? Not its members certainly, but a clique of bureaucrats, at the head of which are three men who have taken the place of Lenin: Kameneff, Zinovieff, and Stalin. So autocratic is this control that the rank and file are not even permitted choice of their own officials. How, it will be asked, can such a thing happen? In Russia it is not difficult. Officials are nominated from above, and only one question is put at the election proceed-

ings: Who is against? "Carried unanimously" is always the verdict, for no one with prison or exile staring him in the face, dare vote against. The same tyrannical procedure is imposed in regard to all questions discussed; thus the rank and file of the Party is without the least say in matters of policy.

Now a word as to the composition of the Communist Party itself. It has a membership of 680,000, of which about sixty per cent. are working men, 24 per cent. peasants, and the rest odds and ends, including Civil Servants and members of free professions. That is a very small proportion of a population of nearly 140,000,000; when, moreover, we reflect that the peasants number 85 per cent. of this population, we realise how little progress the Communist Party has made in the villages. Even in regard to town proletarian elements, its success is nothing to boast of; only ten per cent. of the workers are enrolled in its ranks, and of these so few women as to be hardly worth counting. Strange to say, in the army and fleet, where one might expect to find Party men in strength, there are no more than 51,000 avowed Communists. Yet membership of the Party carries with it numerous privileges. To belong to it is to be sure of getting a job—no small advantage in a country where unemployment is on a colossal scale.

The Party-bureaucracy is the first object of attack on the part of the opposition, which is led by Trotsky. Its policy has been rejected by successive Conferences of the Party. These Conferences, composed of some seven hundred delegates (of whom only eight per cent. are Jews), hold sessions twice yearly. Of that total membership, the opposition can claim no more than fifty supporters, but included are some well-known men, Radek and Preobrajzensky for example. To a lesser extent perhaps than the lower organs of the Party, this body is under the thumb of the ruling Bureaucracy; but that it is subjected to considerable pressure from above is beyond question. Hence, no Party resolution can be accepted as an expression of honest opinion.

What is the aim of the opposition? To democratise the Party; that is the phrase which it makes use of itself. "The Party lives on two floors," wrote Trotsky; "in the upper floor they decide, and in the lower floor they only get to know about the decisions." The Party, or at least the voice which claims to speak for the Party, answers that this opposition discredits its influence over the State apparatus and its leadership of the working masses. Put more plainly, what they mean but dare not say is that democratisation would undermine the dictatorship which is exercised in the name of the proletariat. To this Trotsky replies that hostile factions have already been formed within the Party and that they will be formed again under present conditions, the only effect of

repression is to drive opposition underground. How reminiscent is all this of some of the worst abuses of the Tsarist régime!

But it is not only the Bureaucracy of the Party which Trotsky attacks, equally he is critical of the Bureaucracy of the State. There is, as I have explained, a close connection between the two; nearly all the higher posts in the Government Departments are occupied by Communists, many of whom are working men. What better indication of the distribution of Party power than this could there be? it may be asked; and the answer would be none, were it not for our knowledge that no matter how responsible the position held by any Communist bureaucrat, if he does not belong to the small ruling clique, he is not permitted to have any say in party policy. But what he does have is a say—and a very big say—in the government of the country. Deprived of all voice in the Party's affairs the tendency is for him to separate himself more and more from its influence, until ultimately he pays little heed to its principles or authority. Thus the evolution of a Bureaucracy under a Bolshevik State abundantly justifies all that has been said against Bureaucracy in general.

Let us see what it has led to. There are at present no fewer than one million and a half employés of the State. In Moscow and the big centres all the best buildings are occupied by Government Departments. Some of these Departments are efficiently run; many are in a state of unceasing pandemonium. In the latter one meets with extraordinary incidents. To search for information is an exhausting undertaking. One is driven from pillar to post, referred to this person and to that—nobody knows whose business it is to deal with any particular question, and no one dare act on his own responsibility. Every room one enters is crowded; some of the occupants are chattering idly one to another, puffing at cigarettes all the while; others with flustered expressions on their faces are seated at tables at which queues of people are standing awaiting attention. Not a moment passes that the door does not open and some fresh person enter; the habit of paying social calls, one to another, is much developed among Soviet officials. Time is no object. Appointments are made and not always kept; it is no exaggeration to say that one can go into a Government Department in Moscow in the morning in search of some piece of simple information, and not emerge until night, and then the chances are that one has not got what one wanted.

The scenes in some of the ante-rooms are reminiscent of a mad-house. On one occasion I went to see Lunacharsky. I found the entrance to his room barred by a minor Secretary, a frail young woman with a pale, anæmic face. Leaning against the wall just

outside waiting for an opportunity to present a letter was a robust, red-cheeked, peasant youth, wearing a picturesque white sheep-skin hat; people attired in clothes of fantastic shabbiness pressed on all sides. In the room itself men were angrily competing for the use of the telephone, while several individuals, tired of waiting, had fallen fast asleep on chairs and divans, and one was loudly snoring. Suddenly Lunacharsky's Secretary emerged—a young man with a red flowing beard, wearing a belted Russian shirt, with green trousers and high top boots—looking for all the world as though he had just stepped out of the Russian ballet. At once he was “mobbed”—mobbed is the true description of the reception he met with from the irate crowd, whose patience was exhausted with waiting; several altercations took place, and high words were exchanged. Then in the midst of it all, Lunacharsky himself appeared, and after taking in the scene with a frightened glance, walked quickly out, looking neither to the right nor to the left.

Not all the Departments were as bad as the Commissariat of Education; some, as I have said, were quite efficient; and here I met with marked courtesy and attention. But upon them all, efficient or not efficient, was the brand of Bureaucracy. Were I to describe the Government of Russia with truthfulness I would say that it is a Dictatorship of no one except Secretaries, for in Russia Secretaries are as plentiful (and as powerful) as vermin—and that is saying a good deal.

Trotsky concentrates his attack mainly upon the Bureaucracy of the Party. His strategy is right, for the Bureaucracy of the Party is the root of the whole system, and if the root is rotting, a collapse is one day bound to come. And it may come, as Trotsky says, quicker than we expect. At present everyone is deceived by the calm on the surface, but lower down discontent is raging. Trotsky alludes to the deceptiveness of this calmness when he speaks of the “stillness of the Party” which, he says, is leading to the degeneration of old and young alike. It is clear that he regards the present revolutionary leaders as altogether too conservative. Hence his allusion to the Government of Soviet Russia as “Government by tradition,” and as “official romanticism or naked officialdom”—delightful phrases these when spoken by one Bolshevik of the rule of others! The form only, he declares, is considered; no one pays heed to content. Leadership has become a matter of mere organisation; the Party has lost touch with the factory workers, and is in danger of losing its control over the State apparatus. The sources of the Bureaucracy no longer spring from the proletarian masses; nor yet from the Party. They have moved to the side of the Government apparatus. A class apart

has been created, a class of bureaucrats—the new aristocracy. Thus the Nietzschean apparition of the monstrous State haunts the mind of Trotsky.

What is his solution? To grant the right of free and fearless criticism. To cease speaking to the youth in the language of decayed formulas. To set it free to fight with “flesh and blood for true revolutionary ideals.” To permit it to give expression to the sincerity of its conviction, and to develop in it independence of character. Only then, adds Trotsky, will degeneration be avoided. In a word, he regards the Party as already a living corpse, and calls upon its members to abandon the worn-out ideology, which was the creation of those old exiles who were forced to spend their lives in the cafés of Western Europe, planning politics for Tsarist times, and who are out of harmony with the modern world. But what is it he is asking for?—freedom, independence, democratisation! Such words are never heard in Soviet Russia in these days; how naïve of Trotsky then to make use of them! One is surprised not so much at his audacity as at his simplicity! It is true that he is desirous of conferring these blessings on the Party alone, and that he professes, as always, detestation of Western democratic forms. But the oppressed bourgeoisie listen with close attention to all that he has to say; and because they do so, his opponents accuse him of being their friend.

This is how the clique that is in power reasons: To democratise the Party as Trotsky wishes, would lead to its destruction; the Mensheviks and other bourgeois elements would creep in, a right wing would soon be formed, and there would be an end to the dictatorship of the proletariat or of the “vanguard of the proletariat,” as the system prevailing in Russia is now described.

Thus Trotsky has come to be looked upon as the enemy of the Revolution, and the issue is set down as one between Leninism and Trotskyism. What is Trotsky's real goal? Does he sincerely believe that the democratisation of the Party will save the situation? Does he wish to preserve the Dictatorship of the Proletariat, or is he prepared for its abandonment and the admission of other parties to the Government?

The situation as he sees it may be summed up as follows: The proletarian vanguard (otherwise the Bolshevik Party) was unable to stop at bourgeois principles. It was bound to go on. And as it did so, it had to make inroads into bourgeois rights of property. Thus at once it came into conflict not only with bourgeois groups which at first had supported it but with the masses of the peasantry upon whom it depended for power; the result is the creation of a permanent state of revolution. Whereupon his opponents naturally ask: What is to be done? To this question Trotsky gives

no precise answer; he continues to speak vaguely of the need for party democratisation, and that is all. But at the same time he goes so far as to say that a victorious revolution in Russia or in any one country in Europe is impossible without the support of a victorious revolution in another European country of equal importance. The war, he says, more than ever emphasised the interdependence of the European nations. To view the perspective of the social revolution in the frame of nationalism is to repeat the errors of social patriotism. Therefore he insists that the motto of the revolutionary epoch must be, the Proletarian United State of Europe. It is not necessary, he adds, to wait on revolution in the United States, in Asia, and in Africa. Europe stands on its own plane of capitalistic development, and therefore can proceed alone. But again, he argues, no one nation in Europe can maintain a revolution in isolation. That is not to say, he concludes, that nothing is to be gained from revolution in an isolated country, for such a movement would have value in so far as it would be an impulse to revolution elsewhere.

In replying, Trotsky's opponents accuse him, in the first place, of making light of the peasantry. Lenin, they point out, counted upon the support of the masses of poorer peasants for the proletarian dictatorship, and prophesied that under its guidance they would be led successfully along the path to Communism. For the rest, they refuse to accept Trotsky's theory that Europe is on a capitalistic plane of its own. According to them, capitalism everywhere is characterised by marked inequality of development as between each nation, and not only as between each nation but as between each capitalistic enterprise or group of enterprises. Hence imperialism and military conflict result, and as the enemies of Revolutionary Russia are thus weakened by mutual rivalries, she is well able to maintain herself, even though isolated.

The final verdict of Trotsky's enemies is that he has lost faith both in the peasants and in the proletarians, that he has become the victim of a fatal philosophy of pessimism. They say that he has not thought out his ideas to their logical conclusion. And at once they undertake to do this for him, with the result that his views are represented as placing him in the following dilemma: either the Revolution must freeze in its own contradictions and rot at the root while awaiting European revolution, or transform itself into a bourgeois State. Thus, Trotsky is convicted of being a Menshevik with all the petty bourgeois tendencies of a Menshevik. No more damning accusation than this could be framed in modern Russia, for a bourgeois among the Bolsheviks is as a sheep among the wolves!

It is not the first time that Trotsky has been charged with in-

fidelity to the Revolution. It is this insistence that has provoked him to mischievous retaliation. In his now famous book, "1917," he published official documents which definitely proved that at the critical moment of the Revolution, only Lenin and himself had belief in the possibility of a proletarian Dictatorship; Rykov, Zinovieff, and Kamenev, three of the foremost leaders in Russia to-day, were for abandoning the idea altogether, and forming a Coalition with the bourgeois groups. He shows, moreover, that at one time they even went to the length of resigning membership of the Bolshevik Party. In view of these historical facts, Trotsky concludes that he is a more trustworthy exponent of Leninism than any of his opponents. Furthermore, he makes a great point of Lenin's flexibility, his constant advocacy of "zig-zags."

But the ruling clique could not forgive this attempt to turn the tables on them, this manoeuvre to discredit them in front of the proletariat. So Trotsky has been tried by the men whom he so severely criticised, and has been adjudged a heretic. In vain did he protest that he had no intention of setting up a platform of his own, of putting Trotskyism in place of Leninism. His declaration was regarded as formal and insincere, and he was dismissed from his leadership of the Red Army. The clique in power could hardly have acted otherwise if it was to continue its existing system of rule. No doubt Trotsky's submission was little else than a tactical move.

What will happen next? Trotsky has gone to the Caucasus. It is not the first time he has been there of late; for anyone who is powerful and who finds himself opposed to the Revolutionary Government in Russia there is nothing to do except to retire to a quiet place and think things out. But Trotsky is a man of vigorous character and, above all, a realist. He is not likely to accept permanent exile; permanent revolution is more to his taste. His opponents may talk of industrial progress in Soviet Russia under their régime, but production is still far below pre-war amount, and large masses are unemployed. What is more ominous still, the hostility of the peasant masses is ceasing to be passive and is becoming aggressive. The revolution is obviously approaching some crisis, perhaps the second greatest of its existence; the first occurred when Military Communism had to be abandoned and State Capitalism (with limited freedom for private enterprise) was set up in its place.

LANCELOT LAWTON.

THE STRUGGLE FOR POWER IN BELGIUM.

THERE are at present two main currents of public opinion in Belgium: optimism, which is prevailing, and pessimism, which is represented by a minority. This minority complains of an imminent industrial crisis, the trade depression, the menace of unemployment, the default of Germany to meet her obligations, increased taxation, financial difficulties, and the military insecurity of the country. There may be some truth in these remarks. Yet one feels more inclined to side with the optimists, as the bright and hopeful picture they draw of their country conforms more adequately to actual conditions in Belgium.

One must not forget that six years ago Belgium was confronted with the gravest post-war problems. The highly organised national industries were in ruins; the machinery had been systematically destroyed and carried off; the railway system was in disrepair; factories had been burned down, mines flooded, the nation's finances were in disorder, the whole country was desolated and disorganised. All this had to be rebuilt or restored. The task was hard. But, throughout history, the Belgians have proved themselves to be practical, industrious, ever ready to fight against adversity and conquer in the end. Through their unceasing labour the ruins of war have, to a great extent, disappeared; new factories have been reconstructed; industry and commerce have taken a promising impetus; conditions of living have become normal; under the supervision of M. Theunis, national finances have recovered; and, freed from the trammels of neutrality, Belgium, though plunged into the dangers of international politics, distinguished herself by her moderation and her successful mediation between her powerful Allies.

Peace abroad and a steady national recovery, however, are not incompatible with political strife at home. If the war had united all the Belgians and given them for a time a tripartite Government, the Sacred Union was difficult to maintain as soon as internal politics got the upper hand in public life. And now, the business Cabinet formed, in 1921, by a coalition of five Catholic and five Liberal Ministers with M. Theunis as Prime Minister, is stumbling from one crisis to another. On taking office, in 1921, M. Theunis shouldered the responsibility of reconstructing the finances of the country. After four years' efforts, epic Parliamentary battles and unavoidable compromises, the Prime Minister has succeeded in balancing the Budget, leaving a public debt of forty-three milliard francs.

Now that his thankless, but patriotic, task is nearing completion M. Theunis is faced with the pressing demands of public schoolmasters for an increase of salary. As there is no provision for

such grants in the Budget, M. Theunis asked Parliament to acquiesce in fresh taxation. The compromise does not meet with the approval of the Liberal Coalition Ministers, who are pledged to alleviating the heavy burdens of the taxpayer. The indecision of the Liberal deputies and the embarrassing criticisms of the Opposition embitter the situation, which can be cleared, for better or for worse, only by a decisive vote on the question. Yet no member of the present Coalition Government shows any disposition to precipitate the crisis.

The difficulties of the Government are complicated by the recent vote on woman franchise. For some time it has been the intention of the Catholic Party to fix up a debate on the extension of the electoral franchise to women in Provincial Councils. The Liberals are categorically opposed to the discussion of this question, because they fear women would rather vote for Catholics or Socialists. And as Provincial Councils have a direct influence on Parliamentary elections, Liberals refuse to entertain the idea of any extension of electoral franchise to women. Nevertheless, a vote was taken on the Catholic motion and carried. Now woman franchise is on the agenda of the House; but the crisis was again averted, notwithstanding the manifest hostility of the Liberal Ministers to the Parliamentary liberties of their Catholic colleagues.

The fate of the present Government depends, therefore, on these two issues: woman franchise and schoolmasters' salaries. Both questions are pressing, and the fourth Sunday of next May, which is the constitutional date of the forthcoming General Elections, is yet too distant. So that there is a strong doubt, especially amongst Liberal and Socialist circles, as to whether the actual administration will last so long. According to them, an early Election, some day in March, would probably clear the sky. But one may wonder whether the political situation of the country would really be any better. Evidently, M. Theunis would go; all parties show a manifest desire to return to normal conditions and, as far as possible, to avoid Coalition Governments; a radical change in the Cabinet would follow. But would any party be able to claim the palm of victory as an Election result? Universal unitary suffrage and proportionate representation, which regulate the electoral procedure in Belgium, forbid any drastic transformations in the Parliamentary chessboard.

The House of Representatives, which was elected in 1921 according to the new Constitutional Law of that year, contains eighty-six Conservatives (or Catholics), twenty-eight Liberals, and seventy-two Socialists. The 153 members of the Senate are divided according to the same proportion. Up to 1914, two great parties, Conservative and Liberal, shared alternately office and power. A third party, Socialism, is now in the field; its leaders had been

in office during and after the war in the tripartite Cabinets of De Broqueville, Hymans, and Carton de Wiart; it now leads the Opposition in both Chambers, and its ambitions are great. The Socialist Party, definitely organised at the Congress of Louvain in 1890, had already forced Beernaert, the famous Catholic leader, to revise the Constitution and adopt general manhood suffrage, tempered by a plural vote. The immediate effect of this measure was the crushing of the Liberal Party at the next General Election, between the two extreme forces of Conservatism and Socialism. The political equilibrium of the country was thus destroyed; a great agitation followed, and, as a remedy to this evil, Proportional Representation was adopted. This reform enabled the Liberal Party to emerge from the General Election of 1900 with a stronger representation. In the Election of 1921, however, the Socialists as was to be anticipated with plural voting abolished by the revised Constitution, made large gains and secured about seventy seats. The Liberal Party correspondingly lost—many Liberals, through a fear of Socialist gains, having voted with the Catholic Party.

The great days of Frère Orban indeed have passed. And were it not for the present electoral system, the Liberal Party would have been reduced to the smallest in Parliament. Shielded by Proportional Representation and backed by an educated bourgeoisie and a group of industrialists, the Liberal deputies hope to keep their seats in the next House. Though they have not a unique, authoritative leader, they fear no dangerous offensive from the Right or the Left. Religion separates them from Conservatism, and class war from Socialism.

Notwithstanding the wide difference existing between their representative leaders (MM. Hymans, Devèze, Franck, Masson), as regards interpreting the party's principles, Liberals will fight the Election on a common programme: preservation of the administrative unity of the country and of its constitutional liberties, separation of Church and State and laicisation of the schools, opposition to women's franchise and to political alliances. This does not mean that Liberals would refuse Ministerial office if offered to them. They feel that they cannot climb up the ladder for many years to come, and that if they keep in constant opposition, not one article of their creed will materialise. They are ready to share office and power with any party who may wish to walk with them along the path of Liberalism. But they would refuse their support to any Government which would not give them ministerial responsibility. To whichever side the electoral pendulum swings, the clock will not strike the death hour of the Liberal Party, for which an important rôle in the political life of Belgium is still reserved.

This hopeful enthusiasm is not shared by their political opponents. Conservatives as well as Socialists are out to shred the Liberal lettuce. Socialism expects to drag in its wake the advanced elements of Liberalism. With the exception of class war, whose revolutionary character has been attenuated in recent speeches of Socialist leaders, most of the doctrinal points of the Liberal programme, such as the preservation of the administrative unity and of the constitutional liberty of the land, and the anti-clerical policy, have been adopted by the Left. To these the Socialist Party has added a characteristic fiscal and social policy: maintenance of the eight-hours day (as against a "corrective" Liberal amendment of this law); balancing the Budget by special measures for collecting taxes and controlling super-tax declarations, instead of constantly imposing new taxation which always falls heavily on the workers; workmen's compensation for invalidity, unemployment and sickness; a vote of general credits for housing, instead of granting subsidies to building societies; reduction of the cost of living and of the military service (from twelve to ten and finally to six months). As regards women's suffrage, one-third of the party is in favour of it and two-thirds against.

It may be mentioned that Communists are excluded from the Socialist Party. Though Socialism in Belgium has a tendency towards Collectivism, Communists have no bitterer enemies than the Socialists. With the exception of small groups of Communists in the mining district of the Borinage, the doctrines of Lenin do not seem to take hold at all in Belgium. The cohesion of the Socialist *bloc* under the leadership of M. Vandervelde and M. Destrée, and its electoral success in 1921, gives to its partisans strong hopes for the result of the campaign. Some of them even go so far as to favour the possibility of a Radical Cabinet, formed with the advanced wing of the Liberals and the militant Catholic Democrats under the Premiership of a Socialist leader.

To the detached observer of Belgian politics such a possibility seems very remote. On the whole, it is the Catholic Party which is most likely to head the polls at the Elections. It already enjoys a comfortable relative majority in both Chambers, and its vitality is sure to keep its high mark, thanks to the religious feelings of the mass of the population, and to the constructive character of its political principles. From 1884 to 1914 the Catholic Party governed Belgium without interruption, under the leadership of men like Woest and Beernaert. But now Belgium is an educated democracy with a large electoral franchise; problems become more and more complicated, whence arises a diversity of political classes and opinions.

When studying Belgian politics, one must bear in mind the fact that Belgian society is divided, as it were, horizontally—

bourgeois and workers; vertically—Catholics and non-Catholics; transversely—Flems and Walloons. And as there are no problems affecting exclusively one of these divisions, one may easily gather the complex character of Belgian internal politics. We need not dwell on the questions affecting Capital and Labour, as their general outlines, which are similar in all countries, are too well known. The dispute between Catholics and non-Catholics centres, in practical politics, round the old question of the schools. In 1912, the Catholic Party proposed a law establishing equality between the subsidies given to communal schools and those given to free schools. Notwithstanding the violent protestations of the Liberals and the Socialists, who caused the resignation of M. Schollaert, the Catholic Prime Minister, the Elections that followed increased the majority of the Catholic Party. Baron de Broqueville, the Prime Minister, at once proposed a new school law providing for obligatory instruction and for equality between free and public schools for the distribution of subsidies; and, despite the efforts of the Opposition, the law was voted, and the programme of the Catholic Party in school matters finally realised.

The long-standing conflict between the partisans of Flemish as opposed to French culture is always acute, and provides a key to many questions of internal politics. There is a flourishing Flemish civilisation and the Flems outnumber the Walloons in Belgium. Though some of the Flemish claims seem to the Wallingans to be excessive, it would be difficult to refuse eventually to give them favourable consideration. For many years the controversy has centred in the University of Ghent, which partisans of the Flemish have long sought to transform into a Flemish University. Finally, in 1923, the question was solved by the adoption of a compromise by which the University was transformed into a Flemish institution with instruction, in certain cases, continuing in French. Still, the antagonism between Flamingans and Wallingans remains open and manifests itself by regrettable incidents. The issue seems to be more psychological than political. Were it not for the apparent contempt displayed at times towards the Flems by the Walloons, who think of themselves as having a higher civilisation, the question would have been settled long ago. French and Flemish are the two official languages of the realm; and there is a strong movement favouring a closer and more sympathetic union between these two wings of the Belgian community, as that was found possible during the dark hours of the Great War.

The Catholic Party, being the largest in the country and embracing people of all classes and of all shades of opinion within the limits of the Catholic faith, bears the full weight of the intricacies of internal politics. Whence springs its lack of leadership? On the extreme Right, M. Renkin favours a strong and

progressive policy; Count Carton de Wiart believes in moderation and opportunism; M. Jaspar is more inclined towards Liberal ideas; M. Van de Vyvére and M. Segers have Flemish sympathies; while Father Rutten coaches his group towards what may be rightly called a Catholic Socialism.

This diversity of opinion, however, in no way affects the unity of the programme of the party. The Federation of the Catholic Associations and Circles of Belgium issued in January the guiding principles which will direct the party's action in the electoral campaign. Its main points are: preservation of the Faith, the Monarchy, the Constitution and the unity of the country; electoral franchise for women; economic and financial reorganisation (development of private initiative and opposition to statish measures); reduction of the high cost of living (amendment of the eight-hours law, free trade, correction of the exchange, development of industry and commerce); no fresh taxation once the Budget is balanced, and opposition to fiscal inquisition; safeguarding of the worker's rights, and amelioration of his general condition by adequate social legislation.

At the Elections of 1921, thirteen different lists were proposed for the choice of the electorate. In the present circumstances, their number will be reduced to three main lists, Catholic, Liberal, and Socialist. The parties of the small bourgeoisie, ex-service men, and of the Nationalists headed by M. Nothomb, have negotiated a compromise whereby their candidates will be placed on the Catholic list. The Communist wing will naturally form a list of its own, and the Flemish extremists, led by M. Daels, will also maintain a distinct list of candidates with their separatist principles. These extreme parties present little interest; and the electoral campaign will be fought out by Catholics, Liberals and Socialists.

This electoral campaign is now (February) in full swing. Owing to the particular electoral procedure of the country, it does not present such a thrilling interest as an English electoral campaign. Yet to the most unsophisticated onlooker, it is obvious that the whole country goes through a period of peaceful turmoil as the date of the Elections draws nearer. But whatever be the results, they will have little or no influence on the foreign policy of the country. Belgium needs peace above all, and security. Friendly relations with France and Great Britain, a correct intercourse with Holland and Germany, such are the wishes of the Belgian leaders as far as foreign policy is concerned. And as soon as normal conditions are restored in Europe, Belgium will be found in the front rank of European nations, ready to resume the forward march which the war has only interrupted.

THOMAS GREENWOOD.

INTERNATIONAL LAW AND MORAL IDEALS.

IN all modern civilised States, Law will be found to be the reflex of the popular will, and its ethical basis, so far as it has one, can only be estimated by an examination of the content of the Law. It is not by the pronouncements of statesmen, publicists or moralists that the standard of a nation's laws can be judged, but by the legislative enactments and judicial decisions which are accepted and observed by its citizens; the same can be as truly said of International Law, the law of the members of the Society of States or nations.

In international affairs there is probably a greater amount of lip-service rendered to high moral ideals than in the international affairs of States. Politicians advocate their reforms in municipal law as making for the greatest good of the greatest number, as furthering the fullest powers of self-realisation of all citizens, as providing equality of opportunity and the destruction of privilege. They may, and often do, take an even higher tone, and adumbrate plans for the improvement of the moral nature of man by legislative means. But in municipal law it is seldom the highest ideals that are attainable, and there is a wide gap between the ethical principles enunciated by the noblest minds and the legislation of the body of democratic representatives, or the decisions of judges, who are better able to realise how far in the existing moral condition of the community the ideals are realisable. The same is true in international affairs, but higher claims appear to have been made for the standards of international intercourse than those advanced in municipal matters. High sounding phrases and heroic sentiments have been used as affording attractive introductions or preambles to conventions whose meaning is obscure or valueless, and as serving to cover up deficiencies of execution of the members of international conferences. It would not be far from the truth to say of certain international conventions that their value is in inverse proportion to the length and professions of their preambles. It was easier to embalm the ideals in the introductory matter than to give them life in operative clauses.

Apart, however, from such cases, numerous instances might be given of the extraordinary language in which monarchs and statesmen have framed their declarations of principles which they purported to apply to international relations. Probably the most exalted of them all is the declaration in the Pact of the Holy Alliance, in which the High Contracting Parties declared that they took for their guide the precepts of Christian charity and peace, as being the only means of consolidating human institutions and

remedying their imperfections. Again, there is the recognition of the members of the Hague Peace Conference of 1907 of the solidarity uniting the members of the Society of civilised nations and their desire of strengthening the appreciation of international justice, and, even in the extreme case of war, of serving the interests of humanity, and the ever progressive needs of civilisation. We cannot but admit that the evidence of international performance has fallen very short of the ideals expressed by those who might *primâ facie* be presumed to know how far they were practicable.

If we dwelt on such pronouncements and their non-fulfilments we should resign ourselves to the philosophy of the Cynics, and conclude that no real progress towards a better realisation of justice in international relations had been made since the days of Grotius, or even from the time when there existed a species of inter-State morality between the Greek cities of antiquity. A more hopeful method is to compare the different stages in the growth of the Law of Nations, rather than promise and performance at any one stage. "In judging of ethical progress the formulation of principles follows, rather than precedes the actions to which they refer." The greatest of all moral teachers has taught "By their fruits ye shall know them."

Moral standards have varied in different ages, and in the same age in different countries, and in the same country in individuals and classes. From the standpoint of the development of the rules of International Law that portion of morality which has received the name of the "Law of Nature," obedience to which is insisted on by a deep-seated public sentiment, is no exception. Whatever be the origin of the sentiment or the content of the Law of Nature it represented for those who professed belief in it their ideals of justice and right. During the period of the formation of the early rules of the Law of Nations, and after its birth, appeals to it, whether under the name of Natural Law, or Justice, or as Reason, were frequent and powerful. To-day, under the influence of the Positive School of jurists it is no longer regarded as a source of International Law, but appeal is still made to the same underlying sentiments as a test for the existing rules, or as a means of suggesting new rules to fill the gaps in the Law which its unequal development and modern conditions disclose. To-day, we speak rather of the moral sense of humanity, or the public conscience. There is ample evidence of its increasing power and, judging by results, an undoubted advance in the moral ideals of to-day as compared with those of a century ago. Progress has not been rapid, nor can it be, so long as there are such great variations in the standards of countries composing the Society of Nations.

Moreover, it will frequently be found that it is not the highest,

but sometimes a lower if not the lowest common factor which has to be sought for in the moral purpose, where one exists, in some of the rules of International Law. Self-interest at the expense of the common good has been and still remains the great stumbling block in the way of the realisation of the highest morality. Underlying many of the undoubted improvements in the Law of Nations in modern times, there is nothing that can be attributed to ethical principles or morality except in so far as the acceptance of principles of general convenience to all parties may link them up with the utilitarian doctrine. It is not possible to analyse all the forces in a society which influence public opinion and produce legal results, but if there is faith in humanity, and a belief in the upward movement of the race, consequent on the acceptance of higher ideals, the changes in the laws governing the mutual relations of States afford evidence of an increasing elevation of the moral standard of the community of nations. The growth of international co-operation and freedom of intercourse, though impeded from time to time, has been steady since the beginning of the nineteenth century, and the history of the growth of International Law justifies the conclusion that the outlook for the future is hopeful.

The amendments in the rules of International Law regulating the peaceful intercourse of States during the past century may roughly be classified under several headings. First, the rules regulating the intercourse of States in their ordinary relations; secondly, those having a wider import and dealing with the greater freedom of intercourse of the citizens of the various States of the world; thirdly, those making for the fuller recognition of the rights of human beings as such; and fourthly, the creation of a multitude of agencies for furthering economic and non-political relations between States and their citizens. Details under these separate heads would involve a too lengthy incursion into technical rules of Law, but without some greater precision the point of the argument would not become sufficiently apparent.

There has been a simplification in diplomatic forms, and a settlement of many of the points of punctilio which formerly agitated the representatives of States, and a body of Law relating to the status and privileges of diplomatic agents for international intercourse now exists which is probably the most complete department of any with which International Law deals. Moreover, there has grown up a large body of Customary Law regulating matters which are the everyday concerns of Foreign Offices.

It is in the rules of Law governing the freedom of intercourse of the citizens of the various States that greater progress has been made. As a general rule, the citizens of all the States of the world move freely from State to State and, for the most part, can rely

on the administration of equal justice and protection by the authorities of the State in which they find themselves. There is one important exception, and this contains the elements of future trouble for the world, namely, the refusal of certain nations to admit immigrants who come under the ban of the colour bar. The freedom of the seas for all in time of peace has been secured, and, by the Peace Treaties of 1919, supplemented by the work of the Conferences for transit held under the auspices of the League of Nations, the work foreshadowed by the Conference of Vienna, 1814, of opening up to the navigation of the world the various international rivers of Europe, is in a fair way of being accomplished. International traffic by sea, road, rail and air is now subject to a body of rules which are finding acceptance by all States. Thus many of the rights once claimed as being based on natural law, of which the freedom of intercourse and navigation were frequently cited as examples, have been obtained by a process of mutual concession. Equality of treatment in and freedom of access to the ports of maritime States for the sea-going vessels of all nations will probably soon follow, important steps having been taken in that direction. A widely-extended system of extradition treaties insures the due execution of justice against criminals who flee from justice in States whose laws they have violated. The duty of mutual assistance in the repression of crime has been recognised as a legal one between the parties to these treaties, but apart from them there still remains no legal duty of extradition.

It is, however, in its relation to humanity as a whole that the Law of Nations has made the greatest progress. The declaration of the Treaty of Vienna in favour of the abolition of the negro slave trade has, after many delays, received final accomplishment, and this has been followed by international agreements for the suppression of traffic in women and children. Furthermore, the health of mankind, especially of women and children, and workers in dangerous trades, has formed the subject of important international agreements, while the recently established International Labour Office is taking steps to improve the condition of Labour in all lands. After the half-hearted attempts to protect minorities in the Balkans made by the Treaty of Berlin in 1878 had proved unsuccessful, a bolder move has been made by the series of post-war Minority Treaties, whereby in many countries the legal protection of the League of Nations is now afforded to racial, linguistic and religious minorities; this move, if successful, as there is every reason to hope it will be, should eliminate what has been in the past a fruitful source of danger in Europe. Another great experiment must be referred to under this head in the introduction of the Mandatory System for backward races, whereby protection

under the supervision of the League of Nations is afforded to millions of human beings who had formerly no redress for acts of oppression and cruelty, or protection from injustice.

Lastly, there are the evidences afforded of the recognition of international solidarity and the inter-dependence of States in the provision of means of aiding economic and social development such as the conventions for facilitating the use of Public Utilities such as posts, land, submarine and wireless telegraphs and telephones and for protecting copyrights, patents and trade-marks.

Enough has been said to show the direction in which International Law has been moving. These changes cannot all be attributed to a policy of enlightened self-interest on the part of the States concerned. There is clear evidence that the international society is gradually transferring into the jural sphere the moral principles of sharing the common burdens of humanity, and extending the application of the principles of justice to increasing areas of State activities.

It must not, however, be thought that international lawyers are by any means satisfied with the position which International Law occupies to-day, either in regard to its content, or its fitness to meet the needs of the world. International Law does not yet fully meet the requirements of international life. In a remarkable way the prophecy of the late Mr. W. E. Hall, made nearly forty years ago in his well-known work on International Law, is being fulfilled, and after a great war the world conscience (he referred to the "European" only) is "putting itself under straighter obligations than those which it before acknowledged." The process is by no means an easy one, because not only are States desirous of finding means to prevent violations of International Law, and of providing for the pacific settlement of disputes, but there is a growing feeling that the fundamental principles on which writers on International Law have based their system stand in need of revision, and that endeavours must be made to fill in the large gaps which daily experience indicates. The doctrines of sovereignty, independence and equality of States which form chapters in all works on International Law are felt to need reconsideration both from the scientific as well as from the practical point of view, and in so doing it may be found necessary to deduce from the modern facts of inter-State life basic principles more in accordance with them, and to modify the older conceptions, which were based on philosophical principles.

But these are not the only *desiderata* for amendments of International Law, there are others of even greater importance, there are the *lacunæ* to be supplied. These relate not only to many matters of detail in the existing Customary Law, but more particu-

larly to those departments of State intercourse which contain the greatest dangers to the peace and well-being of the world, and it is in these matters that there is need for the most careful adjustment of ideals to the potentialities of international life. Here the Best may be the enemy of the Good. The customary rules of International Law are not concerned with many matters which States generally regard as of supreme importance, and the growing body of conventional Law, to which reference has already been made, though it relates to many things which have often in the past occasioned international friction, and are by no means unimportant, does not touch the interests of States in a really vital degree.

It is in the area of international activities to which the name of "Policy" is generally given that International Law is wanting, and in the formation of which ethical principles are required. International Law does not play the part that it should in the really great affairs of international life, and in its extension to them "justice, equity, convenience and the reason of the thing"—to use Lord Mansfield's phrase—must all operate. Experience alone after the adoption of new rules will enable States to decide whether their national interests are prejudiced, to the ultimate detriment of the international society. The new rules must be rules of international right, which States will not only observe because they have bound themselves to do so, but because of their value as aids to the fuller realisation of international life.

One of the important subjects which has so far failed to be brought within the domain of Law relates to the economic competition between the more powerful States for the control of the countries from which are drawn the raw materials of the world's commerce; another relates to the equally severe competition between the industrial States for the disposal of their wares. The rivalry of Governments in their economic competition has in the main been unrelated to legal considerations. This competition increases as States formerly agricultural become industrial, and "concession-hunters" in undeveloped countries rely on and are aided by their States as a fundamental principle of policy. From time to time attempts have been made to deal with particular cases by means of international treaties. The Berlin Act, 1885, saved the world from war over the scramble for Africa; Great Britain and Russia came to terms in 1907 over their spheres of influence regarding concessions of a political and commercial nature in Persia, and their political activities in Afghanistan and Thibet. Various treaties, the most recent being that signed at Washington in 1922, have been made governing the relations of the Powers with China, whose entry into the sphere of the world's commerce promised much both in the way of raw materials and commerce. Other examples might be given, but the foregoing afford evidence of

the means which have so far been taken to deal with such questions in regard to which it was difficult to find rules of International Law.

At the most, all that can be said to emerge from the specific attempts to grapple with individual cases is that the principle called "the open door" is increasingly finding favour, and has received further support from the enunciation of the principle of equality of opportunity in trade and commerce to all the members of the League of Nations contained in the Mandates which it has approved. Beyond this principle, which affords a sound starting point, other rules binding on States in their commercial rivalry are yet to seek, and in the search not only moral principles but also sound economic ones are needed.

There is another sphere of policy of an equally serious character into which International Law has failed to enter, namely, those problems which every State has to consider which affect its security, self-preservation and legitimate expansion. In the past it has been left to each State to pursue such a policy of protection as seemed best suited to its needs. This often consisted in preventing a condition of affairs arising in which a State might find that it was too late to protect itself, and the maintenance of armaments was a consequence. Some States have met the position by making unilateral declarations of their views and policy, as was done by the United States in the Message of President Monroe of December, 1823. The Monroe Doctrine was originally confined to the Continents of America, but it has in effect been extended to large portions of the Pacific Ocean. British statesmen have adopted a somewhat similar doctrine in regard to India, and British policy with reference to Turkey, Egypt, Afghanistan, Persia and Thibet has been guided by it. The alliances of the groups of European States before the Great War were based on a desire of the Powers concerned to obtain security and an insurance of their own continued State existence. It was partly to meet this situation, which it was realised would be fraught with continued danger to the peace of the world if it were allowed to revive after the war, that the League of Nations was founded, each member on entry being required to abandon all engagements contrary to the spirit of the Covenant. The founding of the League at the same time recognised that a world organisation is a necessity for the fuller realisation of the social duties of the members of the Family of Nations, and should provide a means of adjustment of the disputes which arise between them. The establishment of the Permanent Court of International Justice, one of the most noteworthy of the League's achievements, marks an important step towards this end.

It is to assist in the maintenance of the principles of the Covenant that the League has been engaged in considering schemes for the mutual security of States, in order to proceed to the next step

of enabling them to reduce their armaments, the heavy expenses of which are a sore hindrance to the economic recovery of Europe. The five great Powers have already made a successful move as regards naval disarmament by their agreements at Washington in 1922. If the allied problems of security and disarmament as regards land and air forces of the European States can be solved, important factors in State policy will henceforth be brought within the domain of Law.

There are, however, grave doubts whether adhesion to the proposals issued from Geneva in the draft Protocol for the pacific settlement of international disputes is the wisest method of solving the problems. Self-defence and armaments of States can only be dealt with in conjunction with a complete system of world organisation. Forty years ago, Dr. James Lorimer, a distinguished Professor of International Law, very clearly saw this when he wrote the following: "When such a scheme of international organisation has been devised as would afford to individual States a trustworthy guarantee that the honest objects for which standing armies are maintained, beyond what is necessary for municipal purposes, would be attained without them—then, and not till then, honest States may be expected to contemplate their reduction." The "honest" objects for which wars have been waged, but which may be attained by less costly means, are stated by Lorimer to be national security, the civilisation of barbarous races under the guardianship of advanced nations, and the recognition by other nations of national progress, even though this should involve a shifting of the so-called balance of power. We have advanced some considerable way in this direction since these words were written. The ideal is no longer that of the philosophic jurist, it is that of practical statesmen who have taken noteworthy steps to realise it in accepting for their countries the obligations of the Covenant of the League of Nations.

But it must not be overlooked that these obligations have not as yet been accepted by all nations. Besides the United States of America, two great European States still remain outside the League, and it does not appear that either Germany or Russia is prepared to consent to the stabilising of the political frontiers recently drawn by the Peace Treaties in the manner set forth in the Covenant, and emphasised by the draft Protocol. Even among the members of the League there is disquiet at the contemplation of the full implications of Article X (whatever they may be) whereby they have undertaken to "respect and preserve as against external aggression the territorial integrity and existing political independence of all members of the League."

The moral sense of the world has advanced so far as to perceive the great advantages which may be obtained from a world-organisa-

tion, and is also realising that disarmament can only come through this means. But so far there is not the necessary agreement between *all* the States of the world as to the form of the organisation, as is shown by the refusal of the United States to join the League. There has already been a tendency on the part of its most enthusiastic supporters to endeavour to get too much out of it at this early stage of its existence; it is only just five years old. The League has already done much excellent work, and will doubtless continue to do more with careful adjustments. After centuries of theories about perpetual peace and plans for international organisation, an organisation has now been constructed which has been found not only to be workable, but within limits to work well. It is, however, still on its trial and is incomplete. In a matter of such grave importance as the proposals of the draft Protocol, involving as they do the acceptance of compulsory arbitration of all State disputes, coupled with penal sanctions in the case of the rejection of the final award, *festina lente* is the wisest policy; undue haste is more likely to retard than to advance the extension of the rule of justice and peace among nations. The mechanism of the League may be ruined by placing too great a strain upon it. The attempt to force it by the inclusion in the Covenant of the draft Protocol in its present form, before the League has had fuller opportunities of proving its capability to deal with the adjustment of international difficulties affecting the vital interests of States, may lead to the breakdown of a valuable institution, and delay the completion of a working organisation of great present and of still greater potential value. Should this unhappily take place, we should inevitably see a return to the system of alliances and checks and balances which invariably in the past culminated in sanguinary conflicts.

We have been concerned only with that portion of International Law which regulates the intercourse of States in time of peace. War is an indication of the failure of the international social system, and its regulation does not come within the purview of this article. The problem of the Community of Nations is to enable each State to obtain justice in every department of State life through legal means, and until this is solved the international organisation and International Law will remain imperfect. Notwithstanding the callous disregard of elementary principles of morality by many States from time to time, progress is being made towards the realisation of the ideal of providing international equivalents for the factors known in national Law as legislation, jurisdiction and executive, which embody the solution of the ultimate problem of international jurisprudence. Every step taken towards the fulfilment of this ideal indicates a rising standard of international morality.

A. PEARCE HIGGINS,

LOUIS XIV AND AURANGZEB.*

THERE are in history few parallels so curiously exact as that between Louis XIV and the great Moghul Emperor, Aurangzeb. They were nearly contemporaries, the French King, born in 1638, being the younger by twenty years. In their respective spheres both enjoyed the reputation of being the greatest Kings of their age; both jealously centralised the administration in their own hands; both exhausted their countries by costly wars; both wore out the sombre close of their lengthy reigns in domestic sorrow and public calamity. In less than a century the great monarchies, for which both had laboured unremittingly, crashed to the ground in irremediable ruin.

These certainly were curious coincidences; but they were accidental and do not afford matter for instructive comparison. Indeed, I must own that historical analogies usually inspire me with distrust. The more closely we examine apparently similar events, the more clearly do we perceive that they are not really parallel and that no valid analogy can be drawn between them. But perhaps some interest may be derived from placing, as it were in parallel columns, the results which have followed from the application of closely similar solutions to problems which have at least a strong superficial resemblance. If historical events display such astonishing diversity that no one is ever exactly duplicated, human ingenuity is less resourceful, and identical policies are tried and fail again and again with monotonous iteration. Both Louis XIV and Aurangzeb were confronted with the familiar problem of religious non-conformity and both tried the yet more familiar remedy of persecution. Both found on coming to power that religious toleration was the established practice in their kingdom and both deliberately set it aside. With what results to France? With what results to India? Those are the questions which we must here consider.

In these days we have all made up our minds about the unwisdom of religious persecution and are apt to condemn it out of hand as wrong in its very nature and impolitic to boot. But even before a modern tribunal some justification can be urged on behalf of Louis XIV. The Edict of Nantes which he revoked was by no means an ideal charter of religious liberty. Signed by Henri IV in 1598, it represented a bargain struck between two parties who could not afford to go on fighting. France by that time was so heartily tired of the wars between the Catholics and Huguenots that she was prepared to accept almost any compromise which the belligerent parties would agree to work. The famous Edict was

* An Address delivered to the Historical Association at Newcastle.

an Act of toleration only to the extent that it authorised the Protestants of France to celebrate the Reformed service in certain specified places and declared Protestants to be eligible for the public and other employments. Unfortunately for France, though not perhaps without reason, the Huguenots could not forget the day of St. Bartholomew and the ascendancy of the Guises, and therefore insisted on receiving political guarantees that the promise of toleration should not be broken. On this plea they retained control of the two hundred cities which were then in their possession, cities of refuge, as they were significantly called, and among these were included such powerful strongholds as La Rochelle, Nîmes and Montaubon. These cities had privileges which made them almost independent; they appointed their own magistrates and were garrisoned by their own troops; they were fortresses inside the kingdom over which the King had really no control.

The political privileges secured to the Huguenots by the Edict of Nantes were infringements of the sovereignty of the State which any King might have viewed with apprehension. Nor was the behaviour of the Huguenots calculated to allay the anxieties of the Kings of France. They entertained close and cordial relations with the Protestants of England and Holland, who were notoriously hostile to France. It is not surprising that patriotic Frenchmen looked upon them with distrust. Even Elie Benoit, the apologist of the Huguenots, is obliged to confess that "they were commonly charged with a factious, turbulent and unquiet temper, with holding republican opinions and a heresy which was inconsistent with the peace of the State." Contemporary history seemed fully to justify these charges. Louis XIV had only to look across the Channel to see to what lengths Protestant opinion would go in judging a King's behaviour.

Even if these temporal considerations were not conclusive, Louis could not be indifferent to the teaching of the Church, for which he always had a profound though rather unintelligent respect; the Church taught him without ambiguity that toleration was a sin. When Claude d'Angennes, the Bishop of Noyon, presented to him the remonstrance of the clergy, he said that "of all calamities there was none greater or more proper to excite the wrath and anger of God than this liberty of conscience and permission to everyone to believe what seemed good to him without being troubled or disturbed." To us this seems strange doctrine for a Christian bishop to preach, but in those days the clergy were satisfied that they had the warranty of Scripture for intolerance. Was not the duty of persecution plainly taught in the parable of the man who made a great supper and said unto his servant: "Go out into

the highways and hedges and compel them to come in, that my house may be filled"?

By the mouth of Bardaloue the Church had courageously denounced the scandals of Louis' private life and he may, as has often been suggested, have hoped to make amends for the disregard of certain of her commandments by his zeal in fulfilling others; he certainly desired, like most other patriotic Frenchmen of his time, to complete the unity of France by bringing the lost brethren ("les frères séparés") into the body of the nation. Actuated by these two motives, he offered large rewards to the Huguenots who would abandon their faith, and applied to the recalcitrants a pressure which was perhaps somewhat rougher than he knew. His action seemed to be justified by the astounding number of conversions reported to Versailles. The Church openly exulted in the success of persecution. In 1680—five years before the Edict of Nantes was formally revoked—André Colbert, Bishop of Auxerre, congratulated the King in a public oration: "Already, Sire, you have in great part fulfilled the ardent wishes which the clergy of France had formed in vain for over a century . . . more than 25,000 conversions which your wisdom has achieved and your liberality supported are so many fresh conquests which you make for the Church."

In October, 1685, Louis XIV annulled the Edict of Nantes and all subsequent Edicts, Declarations and Decrees by which the practice of the Reformed faith was tolerated. All chapels (*Temples*) in the kingdom were to be destroyed, the services of the Reformed religion were everywhere forbidden; all ministers who refused to become Catholic were banished; the special schools of the Huguenots were closed; all children were in future to be baptised and brought up as Catholics; the Huguenots were forbidden to leave the kingdom; those who had already fled were given four months in which to return to France, after which date their estates were to be confiscated. This Revocation received the universal support of popular opinion and, it must be confessed, the approbation of the best minds of France. Mme. de Sévigné only echoed what everybody was saying when she wrote, "You have seen no doubt the Edict by which the King revoked that of Nantes. Never was anything so fine as its content and never a King has done or will do anything so memorable." It was indeed memorable, but at a cost to France which the courtiers of Versailles little foresaw. The temper of the Huguenots hardened beneath the *dragonnades*; forbidden to hold services in their churches, they assembled to pray together in desolate places; by mountain paths and in open boats they escaped from France, abandoning all their goods, and sought an asylum in countries where they might worship God in their

own fashion. The only thing they took with them was an implacable resentment against Louis XIV. Five years after the Revocation, William of Orange at the battle of the Boyne had at his side eleven hundred Frenchmen, all Protestants and all exiles, to help him to crush James II, the protégé of France and the first cousin of Louis XIV.

It was some time before France realised the price that had to be paid for intolerance and longer still before anyone dared to breathe it to Louis himself. But Vauban ventured to speak the unpalatable truth. Vauban was a good Catholic but he had a singularly honest and objective mind. In a memorandum addressed to his official chief, Louvois, he thus tabulated the losses which the persecution had caused to France :

1. The desertion of eighty to a hundred thousand persons of all conditions who have left the kingdom carrying with them 30,000 *livres* of good money.
2. The damage to our special arts and manufactures, most of which are unknown abroad, and which brought to France considerable sums of money from all the countries of Europe.
3. The ruin of the best part of our trade.
4. It has swelled the fleets of our enemies with eight or nine thousand of the best sailors in the kingdom, and their armies by five or six hundred officers and ten to twelve thousand soldiers, better trained to war than theirs.

It would be difficult to frame a more damaging charge. The number of Huguenots driven into exile is variously estimated at 150 to 400 thousand. Every Protestant country was enriched with a strain of Huguenot blood. The exiles spread a knowledge of the superior civilisation of France and at the same time a fierce determination to resist the domination of Louis XIV, out of which sprang the League of Augsburg, the great coalition which was to drain France of her strength in a long and ruinous war. But serious as were the wounds which the policy of Louis inflicted on his country, they were not mortal. France passed through the ordeal weakened but unbroken. The sentiment of nationality gathered strength in the course of the eighteenth century and gradually absorbed to itself the passionate emotions which had in the sixteenth century been associated with religion. By the time of the Revolution, patriotism dominated all other claims to allegiance, and in 1789 the Constituent Assembly annulled the Revocation by proclaiming the equality of all citizens before the law without distinction of religion.

Very different was the history of religious persecution in India and far heavier the personal responsibility of Aurangzeb. The doctrines of his faith afforded him little justification. Contrary to

the opinion generally current in Europe, Islam is a tolerant religion. The duty of toleration is plainly enjoined in many passages of the Quran; the clearest injunction is in the verse "Let there be no compulsion in religion," and forcible conversion is condemned in the text: "But if thy Lord pleased, all who are in the world would have believed together. Wilt thou then compel men to become believers? No soul can believe but by the permission of God."

The rapid extension of the Islamic State immediately after the death of Muhamad made it necessary to define the status of those who submitted to the temporal power of the Successor of the Prophet but refused to accept the faith of Islam. The theory then elaborated was that the non-Muslim entered into a compact with the Muslim conqueror by which, in return for tribute paid, he received protection from the Muslim Government and immunity for life, property and religion. How strictly this theory was observed in the early days of Islam may be gathered from the compact which was drawn up when Jerusalem came under Moslem rule in A.D. 638.

"In the name of God, the Merciful and Compassionate. This is the security which 'Umar, the servant of God, the commander of the faithful, grants to the people of Aelia. He grants to all, whether sick or sound, security for their lives, their possessions, their churches and their crosses and for all that concerns their religion. Their churches shall not be changed into dwelling places nor destroyed, neither shall they nor their appurtenances be in any way diminished, nor the crosses of the inhabitants nor ought of their possessions, nor shall any constraint be put upon them in the matter of their faith nor shall anyone of them be harmed."

Such consideration for the conquered people was possible in the moral exaltation of the early days of Islam; but when that faith was widely diffused the primitive fervour faded into a commonplace ambition for temporal aggrandisement, and in such conditions it is not to be supposed that the rights of non-Muslims were universally respected. The Muhamadans who invaded India and made Delhi their capital in the thirteenth century were primarily soldiers, who divided amongst themselves the spoils of conquest and government, and appropriated to themselves seigneuries and lands. They became a dominant caste and laid a heavy hand upon the conquered Hindus. When the kings of these warrior dynasties were short of cash they were usually able to find obsequious theologians who would give them canonical authority for "spoiling the infidels." Thus when the terrible Alauddin Khalji asked the *Qazi*, Mughisuddin, to interpret the religious law to him, he obtained the following ruling :

"The Hindus are designated in the Law as Payers of Tribute, and

when the revenue officer demands silver from them, they should without question and, with all humility and respect, tender gold. If the officer throws dirt into their mouths, they must without reluctance open their mouths wide to receive it. By these acts of degradation are shown the extreme obedience of the *dhimmi* (persons with whom a compact has been made), the glorification of the true faith of Islam and the abasement of false faiths."

I have no doubt that this was just the answer that Alauddin Khalji wanted and that the *Qazi* got preferment for his exposition of the Law. There can be no question that the Hindus were grievously oppressed by the rough soldier kings who ruled northern India between the thirteenth and sixteenth centuries and that the glory of Islam was often the ostensible pretext.

But this oppressive policy of sectarian domination was publicly reversed a hundred years before Aurangzeb came to the throne. His great-grandfather Akbar, laying aside the prejudices in which he had been brought up, abolished all invidious discrimination between his Muhamadan and Hindu subjects. It is a remarkable proof of the independence of Akbar's judgment that when he was still a young man of twenty-one he braved the disapproval of his relations and associates by advancing Hindus to positions of authority and by abolishing the tax upon Hindu pilgrims. In 1574 (*i.e.*, twenty-four years before the Edict of Nantes), he established complete toleration by annulling the tax upon non-Muslims at an enormous loss to his revenue. The tax upon non-Muslims was not unjust in its original application, but it had grown hateful as the badge of inferiority; by abolishing it, Akbar established equality between his Hindu and Muhamadan subjects. From this time forward there was genuine toleration throughout the Moghul Empire. Though the Emperor and the majority of his Court were Muhamadans, Hindus were promoted to the command of Imperial armies; Hindu princes with their clansmen mounted guard at the Imperial palace and Hindus were employed in some of the highest posts in the civil administration.

Nationality was a conception that had not found its way to Asia in the sixteenth century and we should not be justified in saying that Akbar attempted to evoke a national spirit among his subjects. But unquestionably he established conditions which were propitious to the formation of a national sentiment, and I believe that even at this day we can find in Northern India some traces not quite obliterated of his unifying policy, such as are not to be found in those parts of the Peninsula to which his rule did not extend. Is it unreasonable to suggest that, had all the peoples of India been encouraged for another century to offer their undivided allegiance to the Moghul throne, loyalty to the monarch might, as in Europe, have broadened out into patriotism?

These hopeful possibilities were shattered by Aurangzeb. When in 1558 he usurped the imperial power he was forty years of age, a tried soldier and an experienced administrator. His personal courage was beyond dispute. One incident of his boyhood had made his fame ring all over India. He had accompanied his father to watch a fight between two huge elephants. One of the brutes, trumpeting fiercely, charged Aurangzeb. The prince, then only fourteen years of age, calmly stood his ground, kept his horse from turning back, and flung his spear at the elephant's head. On he came and felled Aurangzeb's horse with a sweep of his long tusk. The prince jumped up from the ground, drew his sword, and faced the furious beast. He was saved only by the intervention of the other elephant, which came up to renew the combat.

From his youth up Aurangzeb had been a rigid Muslim and I do not doubt that he was sincerely devout. He was exact in the performance of all the formal obligations of his religion, fasted even in illness at the risk of his life, and never omitted the five daily prayers; indeed, he had on one occasion in the middle of a battle calmly spread his carpet on the field and repeated the prescribed formula, regardless of the uproar about him. Even when Emperor, he would sit up late into the night copying out the Quran with his own hand. And here we have a little light on the quality of his religion. There is a wholesome Islamic precept that a man should earn his living by the work of his hands; by a perversely literal interpretation of this precept Aurangzeb sold the Qurans which he copied, and little caps which he embroidered, to meet the expenses of his table. His favourite reading was theology, commentaries on the Quran, the traditional sayings of the Prophet and the religious Law. He was obviously not a wide and catholic reader; and even from the few books to which he confined his reading, I suspect that he selected those theologians who reflected his own bigoted temper and that he had turned a blind eye to the more humane teaching of Islam.

When Aurangzeb mounted the throne of Delhi, I have no doubt that he had convinced himself that it was his duty to extirpate idolatry from his dominions and, in spite of the obvious impossibility of the task, he set about it with fanatical vigour. Space forbids a recital of all the measures by which he attempted to bribe or compel Hindus to abandon their religion. They bear a strong family resemblance to the measures which Louis XIV employed against the Huguenots. His policy of persecution reached the climax in 1679 when he reimposed the tax on non-Muslims, the hated *jizya*, which Akbar had removed ninety-five years before. The Court historian tells us that the avowed object was "to spread Islam and put down the practice of infidelity." Public opinion in

India is usually slow in finding expression, but on this occasion the tempest broke about Aurangzeb's throne with amazing quickness. As soon as the Edict was made known, the Hindus of Delhi gathered in hundreds about the palace crying for the withdrawal of the impost. On the succeeding Friday Aurangzeb started to ride, as was his wont, to the public prayers in the Great Mosque and found the whole road from the Fort to the Mosque blocked by a crowd of Hindu suppliants. Had Aurangzeb any misgivings when he beheld that sea of hostile faces? At any rate he was not the man to quail before opposition. He waited an hour for the people to disperse and then ordered his elephants to be driven through the crowd, trampling the people beneath their feet.

The discontent soon spread to the provinces. Some of the hardier Hindu peasants, such as the Jats, offered armed resistance; religious sects or brotherhoods, of which the Sikhs were soon to become famous, rose in open rebellion and waged a guerilla war with the Imperial forces. Undeterred by these significant warnings, Aurangzeb held on in his fanatical career, and attempted to annex Rajputana, whence came those feudatory princes who, with their clansmen, had, since the days of Akbar, supported the Moghul throne and had by their impetuous valour more than once saved the Imperial armies. The loyalty and courage of the "death-loving" Rajputs were now turned against the Moghuls. The heroic resistance of the clans to the armies of Aurangzeb is one of the epics of history. All the resources of the Empire were concentrated to crush them but failed to achieve decisive success. The struggle took on the character of a Hindu-Muhamadan war; the feats of the Rajput clansmen stiffened the resistance of the Hindu rebels in the north and fired the emulation of Shivaji and his Marathas in Southern India. Aurangzeb spent the rest of his long reign in camp, constantly changing front to meet, with indomitable fortitude, his ever multiplying enemies.

We are fortunate in possessing a contemporary document from which we can learn the sentiments of the Hindus upon Aurangzeb's policy. It is in the form of a remonstrance addressed to the Emperor, and should be placed side by side with Vauban's memorandum to Louvois. No less an authority than Professor Jadu Nath Sarkar attributes the document to the Maratha Shivaji. It is too long to quote textually but the following are the most significant passages:—

May it please your Majesty. That architect of the fabric of Empire, the Emperor Akbar, reigned with full power for fifty-two years. He adopted the admirable policy of perfect harmony in relation to all the various sects, such as Christians, Jews, Muslims, Dadu's followers, skyworshippers, materialists, atheists, Brahman

and Jain priests. The aim of his liberal heart was to cherish and protect all the people. Next, the Emperors Jehangir and Shah Jehan . . . had the power of levying the *jizya*; but they did not give place to bigotry in their hearts, as they considered all men, high and low, created by God, to be living examples of the nature of diverse creeds and temperaments. Their kindness and benevolence endure on the pages of Time as their memorial, and so prayer and praise for these pure souls will dwell for ever in the hearts and tongues of mankind, among both great and small. . . .

But in the reign of *your Majesty* many of the forts and provinces have gone out of your possession. . . . Your peasants are down-trodden; the yield of every village has declined. . . . It is a reign in which the army is in a ferment, the merchants complain, the Muslims cry, the Hindus are grilled. How can the royal spirit permit you to add the hardship of the *jizya* to this grievous state of things? The infamy will quickly spread from west to east, and it will become recorded in the books of history that the Emperor of Hindustan, coveting the beggars' bowls, takes *jizya* from Brahmans and Jain monks . . . paupers, mendicants, ruined wretches and the famine-stricken . . . that his valour is shown by attacks on the wallets of beggars! . . .

At the close of his life some realisation of the disaster he had brought on his Empire seems to have visited Aurangzeb. In one of his last letters he wrote: "Old age has arrived. Weakness subdues me and strength has forsaken all my limbs. The instant which has passed in power has left only sorrow behind it. I have not been the guardian and protector of the Empire. My time has been passed vainly," and he continues later: "I have dread for my salvation and with what torments I may be punished." In 1707 he died, fingering his beads and uttering with his last breath the Muhamadan profession of faith. Under his feeble successors the vast Empire, which had no organic coherence, tumbled to pieces. Fifty years after his death, Afghan tribesmen came down from their hills to plunder the country. Maratha freebooters levied black-mail up to the walls of Delhi, and a clerk in the service of an English Trading Company routed the Viceroy of Bengal at Plassey. All India was a welter of anarchy.

The evil Aurangzeb did lived after him and his dynasty. When a hundred years after his death the English extended their dominion to Northern India and re-established material order, they were unable to impose a moral peace. The age-long feud between Hindus and Muhamadans which Aurangzeb had envenomed was still inflamed, and it has not yet been healed. There are probably more causes than one which prevent the growth of a national feeling among the peoples of India, but without question the most conspicuous and the most important is the enmity between Hindus and Muhamadans. Nationality has been defined as a community of historical antecedents, as the common memory of suffer-

ings endured and of triumphs achieved side by side. In the history of their country the Hindus and Muhamadans of India cannot find this common memory. The Muhamadans feel a justifiable pride in the splendour of the Moghul Empire. To the Hindus the Moghul Empire is associated with the name of Aurangzeb and evokes memories of humiliation and suffering; for a past in which they can take pride they have to go back to the almost legendary days of Asoka, in whose renown the Muhamadans have no lot or part. Had the tolerant policy of Akbar, Jehangir and Shah Jehan been continued by Aurangzeb, the Hindus might have joined with the Muhamadans in a common pride in one of the most splendid epochs of Indian history, and on this basis an Indian nationality might have been established. It is the memory of Aurangzeb which still marshals Hindus and Muhamadans into separate and hostile camps.

We import into our judgment of the past the sympathies of the present and, being to-day saturated with the ideas of nationalism, we deplore the policy of Aurangzeb because he shattered the possibility of an Indian nationality, an idea of which he had no conception. We can think more kindly of Louis XIV, because we recognise that though he did his country much harm by the persecution of the Huguenots he yet rendered great services to France. He gave to her the frontiers which, on the whole, she has since maintained; he gathered about his throne and inspired that brilliant company of soldiers, authors, priests and artists who set an indelible mark upon the French mind; in a word, he provided the matrix in which was moulded the most puissant nationality in Europe. On this ground we to-day would place him high above Aurangzeb. But ours may not be the final verdict. Later generations may possibly find that nationalism is not a necessary stage in human evolution, but rather a blind alley from which they must retrace their steps to recover the highway of progress. In that case they may regard the violent emotions which nationality now evokes with as little sympathy and understanding as we consider the passions which raged about the Procession of the Holy Ghost and the Consubstantiality of the two first Persons of the Trinity. If such a change of opinion should take place our descendants will think lightly of Louis XIV's services to France and concentrate attention on the fact that, as unwittingly as Aurangzeb, he shattered a possibility which was as yet undiscerned; the charge against Louis XIV would then be that he sowed the seed of an enmity which was to divide Europe from generation to generation, and that the hostility between French and German has proved as great an obstacle to the progress of Europe as the ill-will of Hindu and Moslem has been to the unity of India.

THEODORE MORISON.

GABRIEL FAURÉ AND THE FRENCH MUSICAL RENAISSANCE.

IT has often been contended that successive phases of artistic conception do not compose the units of a progressive series which tends to one end—perfection; but are in fact like different facets of a pre-existing whole, which we perceive successively according to the standard of our own intellectual development. Such a theory, however, inevitably breaks its own back on the paradox it contains; for, if we are to imagine artistic conception as unprogressive, knowledge itself must be regarded in a similar way. We must disavow the function of memory and the value of experience, and take intellectual development merely to be a changing aspect of the whole truth. The position to which the hypothesis leads us, therefore, is absurd; and we are forced to admit that progress in art is just as natural a course as progress in science.

The admission is particularly relevant to our present discussion, because one may often hear it said that the music of to-day is an entirely new revelation, and a complete departure from everything that has gone before. In a certain sense this is true, in that modern writers no longer adhere to the conventions of a century ago and employ an idiom which is different from that of our fathers. But that is all that can be claimed for their originality. It will be seen later that present-day formulæ are merely condensations of those which guided classical composers, and that the new idiom is by no means in dissension with traditional design. It is a peril most sedulously to be avoided to suppose that merit lies in being peculiar or bizarre. To break away from tradition just because it is tradition is not to progress. Old-fashioned notions served their day; and, since the present generation is but a product of a steady evolution, the thoughts and customs of former days are bound to form the *points d'essor* of modern progress.

To understand, therefore, the principles which underlie the present-day French school of music, which is wielding such tremendous influence over all the artistic world, one must go back a century to a Europe still trembling from the impact of Napoleon. Art can flourish in a time of war no better than an orchid in a bleak north wind, and in France the period between the taking of the Bastille and the battle of Waterloo produced little more in the way of art than flaming oratory and patriotic verse. But if the Revolution brought in its immediate train the freedom and individualism of a new political era, its ultimate effect was to introduce these same characteristics into the world of art, an effect which told on Germany and England as much as on France. Old-

time conventions yielded to the impetuous assertion of new ideas, the classic style of the eighteenth century sank in rigid splendour below the hills of democracy, and in the opposite horizon arose the freshening orb of a new vision. The trumpets which aroused the men of Paris to contend for liberty and the rights of citizenship, heralded as well the dawn of the Romantic Age.

Victor Hugo spoke of Romanticism, in the preface to *Hernani*, as "libéralisme en littérature," and it is true that the nineteenth century has been the great period of the emancipation and democratisation both of letters and of music—emancipation from purely esoteric forms, and the democratisation of artistic endeavour and production. For the process has developed not only in the direction of the popularisation of subject matter and the manner of its treatment, giving rise to the novel in literature and pianoforte and song pieces in music, but also towards the easier accessibility of works of art. Little more than a hundred years ago the musician depended entirely on the support of some noble patron; his public was confined to the denizens of palaces and to the hangers-on of courts; and not one man in a hundred had in his possession any form of musical instrument. Few had ever even heard of Bach, and even the older Italian composers were only known, much modified, through troubadours and strolling minstrels. The bigger towns had opera and concert halls, but the public that frequented them was for the most part limited to the upper classes. And so it was that, when at the opening of the nineteenth century most of these art patrons in France had been dispatched either to neighbouring lands or beyond the bourne from which there is no return, the names of Rameau, Philidor and Couperin were but as writings on a mossy tomb. France had fought, had won and lost. The foundations of her being had been shaken. Her soil was bloodstained, and her leader gone. Her spirit lived in haggard glory; but her art was dead. And there she stood alone, erect, in Gothic pride—a Church, a spired steeple, but no bell.

The stage was set. The angel of Romanticism was in the air, hovering, waiting to inspire the newborn muse. Its portent is discernible in the work of Glück, Beethoven, and Schubert, but not until the literature of Jean Paul Richter and Novalis, Lamartine and De Musset, and Lord Byron had been assimilated did the fire really take hold of music. In Germany Weber, Mendelssohn and the great Wagner spread the flames, and in France the passionate genius of Berlioz caught the spark and fanned it into a red heat. But Berlioz more or less stood out alone, and had a task which would have baffled any lesser man than he. In spite of the ardent patriotism which had been awakened in France by the Revolution and by Napoleon's prowess, the country was being

inundated with the classicism of German music, and was welcoming the foreign sentiment of Rossini and Meyerbeer. The star of Wagner, too, was rising ominously, and was bidding fair to be the cynosure of Europe. Berlioz resented these intrusions; France was for the French, and all her aspirations and experience, all her national individuality and feeling, could find expression in a form of music purged of foreign taint. The time had come when the hegemony of German thought should be abolished, and the genius of France unfold its beauty in the sustenance and nurture of its own fecund soil. So Berlioz seized the helm of the Romantic movement in France, with the zealous desire to turn its prow into a purely national channel.

Berlioz was an ardent patriot, and all the opposition and suffering which was inflicted upon him could never break his assurance in himself and in the reality of his mission to the French. But he was a musician too, a musical fanatic; and fanaticism, though it be essential to overcome the inertia of the popular mind, has its disadvantages. Its characteristic obsession, the exaggerated overbearance of the one idea, makes it close akin to madness; and the mind touched with madness rarely accomplishes all it might—the *idée fixe* is almost doomed to fall short of its possibilities because it fails to take into partnership other ideas subservient to its purpose. Many think that Berlioz was mad. Be that as it may; at any rate he was obsessed—obsessed with the idea that music was a language intended for the expression of definite experiences, and as much adaptable to such expression as words or pictures. His *Symphonie Fantastique*, he thought, by motive, rhythm and orchestral *timbre*, should be as clear in meaning as any tragedy or melodrama.

Now such a principle, in so far as it exceeds the faint delineation of a "programme," is alien to the art of music. In certain cases it is possible, by devices of orchestration or of melody, to imitate occurrences in natural life; but the effect is noise and not music. It is here that the crucial difference between music and the imitative arts becomes most clearly apparent. Music has no prototype in nature, and its approach to nature is limited to the stimulation of the æsthetic emotions aroused by natural phenomena. Berlioz, in principle and in some of his work, went beyond this limit; and, breaking away from the high Romanticism of Germany, he introduced into music a realism which was extrinsic to the art and so intolerable. But, as has been said, Berlioz was a fanatic; and there is no doubt that, by pushing to a violent extreme the Romantic tendency of the day, he laid the fertile seed in his own land of the great national development of music which has effloresced in recent times.

composer, eminently qualified him as a leader of the rising generation; his love of France and his deep understanding of the needs and temperament of the race especially designated him as able to protect the new French school from becoming imbued with foreign thought. The numerous songs which he had composed showed how much he had seized the spirit of the new Romanticism, and it is noteworthy that most of the best of these had been written to the words of that most essentially French of poets, Paul Verlaine; while his instrumental works were markedly significant of progressive thought. César Franck had died a year or two previously, and his greatest pupil, Vincent d'Indy, was undertaking the perpetuation of his teaching by founding the Schola Cantorum. But Franck, important as was his development of chromatic modulation and his emphasis upon homogeneity in extended pieces of pure music, was inclined to the classic and Teutonic, and d'Indy, in as recent a work as his *Légende de St. Christophe*, shows considerable subjection to Wagnerian influence.

A comparison of the products of the Conservatoire under Fauré and of the Schola Cantorum under d'Indy will show more clearly than words the value to the French Renaissance of the two masters. Fauré carried into his teaching the national ideals which so characterised his composition. He would never allow his pupils to base their work on Bach and Beethoven. He urged a study of these masters, but always with a view to a critical estimate of their limitations rather than to idolatrous imitation. He sought to find and fertilise seeds of new thought and originality; and produced Ravel, Florent Schmitt and Aubert. D'Indy, on the other hand, proceeded along a rigid, classical line, in which a study of the old masters was directed to the formation of a solid groundwork, upon which his pupils could build later at their leisure. He produced Sévérac, Le Flem, and others, whose work is marked by a certain heaviness and lack of elegant effusion. Each master had his calling; but the modernist was more successful than the classicist in helping on the movement towards a national, fertile school of music. In time to come the songs of Fauré will be as much esteemed as those of Schubert are to-day, and his chamber-music will range above that of Spohr; but his name will live in highest honour as a teacher and encourager, as one who captured fugitive Romanticism and disciplined it to the service of pure music, clearing the way for new adventure.

Gabriel Fauré was in his prime, and had written the greater number of his most important compositions when Claude Debussy literally astonished Europe with his *L'Après-Midi d'un Faune*. Carrying off the *Prix de Rome* ten years previously with a cantata, *L'Enfant Prodigue*, he had time in the quiet retirement of the Villa

Medici to meditate on the meaning of music and its essential function in modern life. He saw the error Berlioz had made in too great realism, while yet appreciating the stupendous possibilities he had opened up in orchestral coloration; he felt the sweetness of Lalo's mellifluous melodies, the romantic genius of Wagner and the purity of Brahms; and then he found the subtle harmonies of Fauré and the continuity and insight of his chamber-music; he traced through all these writers the steady progress towards some elusive end which had escaped the insistent illustration of the *Symphonie Fantastique* and the symbolism of *Parsifal*, but which seemed most nearly attained in the crystal imagery of Fauré. The tendency of this progress was a change from what was merely formal into something that approached to characterisation; but it seemed that where Fauré had advanced upon the work of others was in the coalescence of ideas in sequence into a united whole which, while producing the effect of the separate ideas, obliterated their outlines.

This was the heritage that descended to Debussy, and no man ever made better use of his opportunities. He extended the resources of harmony by ingenious uses of chords that had hitherto been held to be discordant; he used small figures of accompaniment to suggest ideas subsidiary to the main idea, and he sought in all his work not actually to portray experiences and objects of nature, but to produce by means of pure music the impressions to which they would give rise. This impressionism, of which Debussy was the greatest, if not the sole exponent, was the final destination of the Romantic movement in music; and Debussy, crowning with perfection the unostentatious work of Gabriel Fauré, has raised French music to its present pre-eminent position.

Gabriel Fauré only died as recently as November last, and in consequence had the joy of seeing many of his own pupils rank among the leading composers of the day—Ravel, Koechlin, Schmitt, and others, of whom the first is the most outstanding and original. The work of Ravel, however, has been more directed to the development of technique than to the invention of form, in which he has made but little advance upon the precedent of Fauré and Debussy. The most noticeable of these developments lie in polytonality and elision; in the former of which a reversion is evident to the classic counterpoint, the contrapuntal parts being successive chords instead of the notes of a melody; and the latter consists in principle of the holding in suspense, or the entire suppression, of harmonic resolutions, leaving them suggested but not included. Whither these reforms will lead us it is difficult to say; whether, indeed, they are reforms upon which posterity will build must still remain unknown. But there can exist no doubt that,

both in this country and on the continent of Europe, very genuine effort is being made to penetrate behind the mystery of music and to find how best it can be brought to serve its fundamental purpose as a vehicle of natural expression.

Music is needed more to-day than ever in the history of the world. Its form must vary with the expansion of man's mind, but it is the constant lyre which trembles to every pulse of human feeling. To temper suffering with hope, to purify emotion, to lift up praise to heights of spiritual delight—are not these the services which music renders to religion? To find the soul in poetry and to express it to the hearts of those whose eyes are blinded by the words—is not this the point where literature and music meet as sisters and join hands? To fathom what is true in life and then to sing it; to single out the pure white heather in a moor of bracken and proclaim it; to idealise, to elevate, to purify the mind, and point to where repose and consolation lie—are not these the offices of music in a world where sordid devilry abounds, and struggling is the sorry fate of man? Music is not, as many say, divine; it is so human that it covers all the range of nature and embraces all the sentiment of mankind. It is the voice of nature, and its first note was piped in the primæval days when everything was new. The genius, both in poetry and in music, is he who lives so intimately in nature, and so feels its heart-beats and each tremor of its nerves, that he can give his own impressions such a form as shall appeal to the great consciousness of nature which man inherits in his intuition. And progress in music, as in nature, will only be secured along the lines of steady evolution.

DANIEL WISEMAN.

HISTORY AS SHAW IS WROTE.

THE papers have stated lately that certain Bulgarian students in Germany were much hurt by the way in which their nation was represented in *Arms and the Man*—presumably in its original form, and not the musical version known to us as *The Chocolate Soldier*. To which complaint Mr. Bernard Shaw replied that the play was only his fun, that it dealt with Bulgaria a long time ago, and the students must be still rather barbarians to resent his chaff of their fathers or grandfathers.

If it was only the manners and customs of the best Bulgarian families that were satirised in the play, no more need be said; though even then the students might have asked why Bulgarian names should be given to a set of provincials, aiming at city civilisation and achieving suburbanity, who might have belonged to almost any country with equal appropriateness. Still, the fun was kindly meant; Mr. Shaw is never spiteful to foreigners, as were the Austrians to the Montenegrins in the original *Merry Widow*. It may be, however, that these Young Bulgarians all at the play had a more serious grievance against the genial dramatist. His play was laid not only in Bulgaria, but in almost the most interesting, and quite the most creditable period of the brief history of modern Bulgaria—the Serbo-Bulgarian (or as we called it then, Servo-Bulgarian) War of 1885; and the history of that war has been quite unnecessarily travestied and distorted in the drama.

The facts of the war were quite simple, and known to all who read the newspapers. After Bulgaria was freed from Turkish dominion, its army was organised by Russian officers, who (as Mr. Shaw mentions) held all the superior grades, no Bulgarian being more than a major. But Alexander of Battenberg, the first Prince of Bulgaria, offended his patron and protector, Czar Alexander III of Russia, who forthwith withdrew all the Russian officers; and King Milan of Serbia seized on the chance of striking down the rival Balkan State while its army was disorganised. The Serbians invaded Bulgaria—though *not* as Mr. Shaw says, under “dandy Austrian officers,” and were nearly successful; but Alexander of Battenberg (not named in the play) improvised generals and colonels from his majors and captains, beat the invaders, and followed them over their border. Austria then intervened, not from any love for Serbia, but to preserve the Balkan balance of power.

Mr. Shaw ignored the withdrawal of the Russian officers, and even introduced one of them into his first Act, oblivious of the fact that if the Russians *had* been there, no war could have taken place, for King Milan would never have dared to risk offending Russia.

The victory is supposed to have been won by an insane but successful charge of cavalry (an arm in which the Bulgarian army had always been notoriously weak) led by a native major, while the Russian generals and colonels were doing their best to lose the battle. What really occurred was a series of infantry charges led by Bulgarian majors and captains, taking the places of their missing Russian superiors; and obviously this would have given Mr. Shaw an even better text for his ridicule of war. Here was a trained and organised host badly beaten by a disorganised force led by inexperienced subalterns rushed into command. Could there be a more scathing satire on military traditions?

But the historical "howler" in *Arms and the Man* is only the first, and by no means the worst, of Mr. Shaw's dealings with history in his plays. In *The Man of Destiny* he has set forth Napoleon; and this is what he makes him say to the impossible but charming lady of the piece: "I once saw a regiment of good Swiss soldiers massacred by a mob in Paris, because I was afraid to interfere. . . . Seven months ago I revenged my shame by pounding that mob to death with cannon balls." Now it is known that, as a young officer, Napoleon witnessed the massacre of the Swiss Guards by the mob on August 10th, 1792. Though he was already on the side of the Revolution, he was disgusted, as a professional soldier, that the excellent Swiss should perish through having no commander and no artillery; and as a (moderately) humane man, he was shocked at the slaughter of soldiers who had ceased to resist. But as he was quite unknown to all the combatants, his interference could have had no effect except his being shot or bayoneted by one side or the other—or by both at once. In Vendémiaire, 1795, as assistant to Barras, he put down the revolt of the Sections of Paris by his artillery; and this is what Mr. Shaw describes as "pounding that mob to death with cannon balls." More misstatements have seldom been crowded into so few words. For the people he was opposing were not "that mob," or indeed a mob at all, and only a few hundreds were killed or wounded, none of them by cannon balls. If any members of "that mob" of the Tenth of August were still alive in Paris, they were probably among the Jacobin "patriots" who had been armed as a last reserve to Napoleon's regulars—a reserve which, much to his own relief and that of the "patriots," he never had to use.

The facts of Vendémiaire are recounted in all histories of the French Revolution. After the fall of Robespierre, there was a reaction against the Terror and the Jacobins; and a new republican Constitution was framed on a *bourgeois* basis, with two Chambers, property qualifications, double elections, and everything handsomely middle-class about it. But when the time came for putting

the Constitution into operation, the persons in power discovered that the middle classes, if allowed to vote freely, would certainly get rid of their present rulers, and very possibly go back to a constitutional monarchy. Accordingly, the moribund Convention, which had been governing France, was turned, without election, into two-thirds of the new legislative bodies. Against this outrageous bit of gerrymandering, the Sections of Paris, headed by the Section Lepelletier—including many stockbrokers and such—rose in revolt, and their National Guards attacked the Convention, but were repressed by Napoleon with grape at close quarters and a few shells to follow their retreat. The slaughter was small, but it sufficed. The half-trained citizen soldiers, without leaders, could not stand against disciplined regulars with artillery.

Napoleon, as Mr. Shaw has noted in his preface to *Major Barbara*, was not fond of recalling the "whiff of grape shot" that was the start of his career. The reason is obvious; the middle classes were precisely those that the Emperor wanted most to get on his side, and wanted in vain. The fact that he once mowed down the Stock Exchange Volunteers (the nearest English equivalent to the National Guards of the Section Lepelletier), like the fact that he had once been the close friend of the younger Robespierre, was something he preferred to suppress. With the upper and the lower classes he had no trouble, as Mr. Shaw's *Man of Destiny* points out; but the *bourgeois* liked him little more than they liked the Bourbons. What they wanted, and eventually got, was that fine old *épiciér*, Louis Philippe.

Curiously enough, in his exposition of Napoleon, as in his satire on the Bulgarians, Mr. Shaw has ignored the real tragi-comedy of the great man and the small nation. Napoleon was the hero and representative of France, and he was not a Frenchman, except technically. The Bulgarians talk a Slav language and call themselves by Slav names, and they are, in origin, not Slavs at all, but intrusive Tartars. Napoleon was looked on as a *parvenu* Emperor, but that did not matter so much—most of the successful Roman Emperors were *parvenus*. The trouble was that he was a *parvenu* Frenchman. Cromwell was a *parvenu* king, but he was a born English country gentleman, and he fitted into his royal position without any trouble. Napoleon was always asking himself subconsciously, "Is this what a real born Frenchman would do?" just as a Bulgarian might wonder, "Am I behaving like a proper Slav?" Behind Napoleon the Emperor was Nabulione the Corsican, and behind him, Napoleone Buonaparte, the Tuscan.

Having ignored Napoleon's real tragi-comic weakness, Mr. Shaw goes on to travesty the strongest and most genuine part of his enormous ability. Napoleon was first and foremost a trained

and competent artilleryman; many of his characteristic views of men and things can be best understood by picturing him as looking at the world down the sights of an imaginary cannon. Mr. Shaw has a glimmering of this fact; but he expresses it in a way that would have driven Napoleon to frenzy. "He is," says Mr. Shaw, "an original observer, and has perceived, for the first time since the invention of gunpowder, that a cannon ball, if it strikes a man, will kill him,"—and this discovery, it seems, Napoleon applied by "pounding a mob," which, as we have seen, was not a mob, "to death with cannon balls," which he did not use at close quarters. Now the discovery that Napoleon made, or adopted, by which he gained many victories, was that the moral effect of artillery on an enemy is far greater than the physical damage done; and that to break a hostile line it is far better to kill a few hundred men in a small area than a few thousand over a large battle-field. Hence he devised the system of massing his batteries on one point of a line, knowing that if that part broke the rest would go. Hence also, when he had to repulse the National Guards of the Sections, he brought down the front ranks with a volley of grape, instead of shattering a few files with cannon balls and leaving the rest free to rush the guns. Before his time, the cannon were scattered along the line of battle; they killed as many enemies, perhaps more, but they did not kill a noticeably large percentage of any particular body of soldiers at any one time, and hence did not demoralise the enemy.

Napoleon's generals and marshals followed his method with great success till they met with Wellington, who drew up his men two deep, so that a round shot was little more deadly than a musket-ball, and kept them safe behind the sky line till the last moment. The mental effect of concentrated fire from massed batteries is, as we all know now, far greater than the actual slaughter inflicted. Napoleon did not want to kill his enemies, but to make them run away or surrender. His Austrian and Prussian opponents found their nerves shaken by a terrific noise, and saw their comrades shattered around them by enemies whom they could not reach. They felt helpless and hopeless, and broke. Exactly the same demoralisation took place in the French columns when they attacked the British line, and discovered that eight-ninths of their masses were of no use except as a target.

Napoleon, as we all know, distrusted and despised philosophers—"idéologues," as he called them. Anything that you could not hit with a cannon, or anybody who could not work a gun, he disregarded. What he would have said to Mr. Bernard Shaw's theory of artillery tactics, I am afraid to conjecture.

But after all, *The Man of Destiny* is called "A Trifle," and if

anyone points out to Mr. Shaw (as I have done) that he has represented a great gunner as talking sheer nonsense about his own especial trade, he will answer that this was only his fun, and doesn't matter; and alternatively, that his interpretation of Napoleon's character is still the best that has been given. This is what is called the Shavian Irony.

The doctrine, or rather method, of philosophic irony is borrowed from the German philosophers of the early nineteenth century. A lively exposition of "irony" is given by Heine in the opening of his *Italienische Reise*. The poet represents himself as explaining the term to the Hebe of a Munich beer-garden, who thought "irony" was some new sort of beer:

"Irony (says Heine) is not a beer, but an invention of the Berliners, the cleverest people in the world. Formerly, dear child, when anybody made a fool of himself, what could he do? What had happened could not be recalled; and people said: the fellow is a silly ass. This was unpleasant, especially in Berlin, where people are especially clever, and make especial fools of themselves. . . . At last a retrospective remedy was discovered, by which any foolishness could be annulled, or even turned into wisdom. It is quite simple, and consists in explaining that anything silly was said or done as 'irony.' So, dear child, progress goes on all round, folly becomes irony, unsuccessful sycophancy is satire, natural rudeness turns to airy *persiflage*, stark madness is humour, ignorance is brilliant wit—"

. . . and here the beer-maiden tore her apron strings from the poet's grasp, and hurried to answer the frantic shouts for "Beer! beer!"

Philosophic irony is, in fact, the elaboration of a very old formula—"Heads I win, tails you lose." A writer or speaker makes a statement or advances an argument; a critic points out that the statement is inaccurate or the argument unsound. "Of course it is," says the author; "I knew it was nonsense all the time—I was only having a game with you." "Then," the critic may reply, "we may take it that you meant nothing by what you said?" "Oh, dear no!" is the answer. "There is a profound and profitable meaning in it, if only you had the wit to understand me." Or, as W. S. Gilbert puts it in *Patience*, "Nonsense; yes, perhaps—but, oh! what precious nonsense!"

The fact is that Mr. Bernard Shaw, though a born dramatist of high quality, has so many other brilliant facets to his intellect that he never lets us see his drama steadily or see it whole. His characters must gully themselves much as Gilbert's do, and realise their own ridiculous futility. An earnest speech, a sincere scene, is turned to bathos and burlesque. Further, he does not want us to forget that he is a philosopher, a reformer, a Socialist, a vegetarian, an anti-vaccinationist, and many more remarkable things. So

his plays must not only be approached through porticoes of preface, but must have pages of pamphlets and propaganda plastered on the parts of the players.

Heartbreak House and its lengthy preface form a perfect example of the Shavian "irony," or intellectual "ringing the changes." The play deals with a number of persons, mostly futile, explaining their own psychology to themselves and one another during an evening in a country house. During the lengthy conversations necessary for this exposition, not one character mentions or implies the existence of a war. At the end of the piece an air raid takes place, and two of the personages of the play are blown to bits.

Now presumably the characters would have been equally futile if they had been talking of the war, and the way in which it thrilled or disgusted them; but they would have been futile in a different way. They are supposed to be going about freely in England; if the Great War had started, they could not be ignorant of it, nor would they be able to refrain from talking about it. Yet they must have known of the war, for the air raid is no surprise to them.

The explanation of this obvious discrepancy is equally obvious. Mr. Shaw had planned *Heartbreak House*, as he says, before the war, and, as we may guess, had written most of it. He had only to let it lose itself in the sands of pre-war conditions. But he could not resist the temptation of bringing in a big bang at the end to awaken interest—and the audience. Having done so, he camouflaged his pre-war play with a preface nearly all about the war, pointing out chiefly the atrocities and imbecilities of the British Government and people during the conflict. But that we are used to—it is "pretty Fanny's way."

It is a great pity, however, that Mr. Shaw should have succumbed to the temptation to be philosophical in his latest and most serious historical drama, *Saint Joan*. He calls it "a chronicle play," and it is such, and very excellent of its kind, in a number of scenes. He claims to have grasped the real and essential character of Joan of Arc as no dramatist or biographer or historian before him has done. As a student of history, I think he makes out his claim, although he sometimes gets his effects in a somewhat crude way. Joan's blend of rustic common sense with ecstatic inspiration might be somewhat more artistically implied than by making her say to Dunois "Coom, Bastard!" and in almost the next breath, "Dunois, dear comrade in arms, help me." It may be right for a Lorrainer to be a gradely lass fra' Lancashire; both countries begin with an L, as Macedon and Monmouth with an M. Still, she might stick to her county. Again,

the snobbish English Chaplain in Scene IV introduces himself as "John Bowyer Spenser Neville de Stogumber." Why not Ponsonby de Tomkyns at once? It would be just as possible, historically, and would make the man's snobbishness more obvious. Still, these are mere details, and need not trouble us more than Hector's Aristotle in *Troilus and Cressida* or the Bohemian sea-coast in *The Winter's Tale*. It is when Mr. Shaw forgets that he is writing a chronicle play, and embarks on the philosophical interpretation of history, that he becomes distressing.

To write a good chronicle play, it is necessary first to have a conception of your personages as real human beings, and next to make the story of the play correspond roughly to the events of history. But in an essay on the philosophy of history, like Mr. Shaw's preface to *Saint Joan*, a fairly wide and fairly accurate knowledge of history is desirable—indeed, indispensable. Now I am sorry to say that Mr. Shaw knows but little history and knows that little wrong. He explains in his preface that to realise Joan "you must understand Christendom and the Catholic Church, the Holy Roman Empire and the Feudal System, as they existed and were understood in the Middle Ages." The Middle Ages is a wide term; what we really want is to know what the conditions of State and Church and Society were during that special period towards the end of the Middle Ages in which Joan lived. As for the Holy Roman Empire (which had then been practically dead for a century and a half, and had never meant anything to England, or much to France), Mr. Shaw's bringing it in here reminds me irresistibly of the traditional classical undergraduate grappling with a Little-Go paper. "To demonstrate the Common Pump," he wrote, "it is first necessary to prove the Binomial Theorem." But Mr. Shaw, having mentioned his Binomial Theorem, kindly, or of necessity, abstains from proving it. He proceeds to spread himself (through the medium of two mouthpieces which he calls Beauchamp, Earl of Warwick, and Cauchon, Bishop of Beauvais) on the Feudal System and the Church.

As for the Feudal System, the real historical Warwick might have been taken as a more fitting representative than his successor the King-maker, whom the first of the Lyttons miscalled *The Last of the Barons*. Beauchamp, Henry VI's tutor, was an austere, well-educated, loyal, orthodox, rigidly conscientious, and rather dull noble of the old school, who made his pupil a meek and pious scholar and repressed any slight chance he might have had of ever becoming a manly and practical King. He was (as far as we can judge) absolutely the contrary of the polished politician, airily discussing affairs of State and Church with the detachment of a Macchiavelli, which is what Mr. Shaw makes him. Still, he was

in command at Rouen when Joan was tried and burnt; and if the Feudal System had to come in, he was undoubtedly its best representative.

But in his exhaustive exposition of English feudal politics (reminding one at times of the historical information so generously given in *The Critic*) Warwick, unfortunately, is seldom within a century of his actual period. When he lived, feudalism, as a system, was dead in England. It had never been complete as a political organisation from the start; the barons never formed a caste, but shaded off into the knights and gentry. When Warwick was at Rouen, England had had a Parliament with Lords and Commons for about a century and a half. Feudal courts had been superseded by the King's judges; the economic basis of feudalism had gone with the practical extinction of serfdom, and with the general prevalence of money rents and hired labour. Finally, the cumbrous and inefficient feudal army had been replaced by a professional mercenary force, raised on contract by nobles or popular commanders, and paid, leaders and all, out of supplies granted by Parliament. When the French Wars ended, these bands continued as the paid retainers of the nobles, and it was they who fought the Wars of the Roses. Warwick the King-maker did not call out his tenants to fight; he used the rents they paid to keep up a big military household. He was a great aristocratic party chief, and was not above influencing the elections.

Mr. Shaw complains that the Elizabethan dramatists depicted the barons of the Lancastrian and Yorkist reigns as individualist heads of factions, destitute of any sense of feudal obligation and class feeling. That is pretty much what they appear in authentic history. The Wars of the Roses were very like the strife of rival *condottieri* in mediæval Italy or rival generals in modern Mexico or China. So far were the barons from having any class feeling, that they confined the slaughter and plunder of the wars, as far as possible, to their own class, and proclaimed quarter to commoners and death to aristocrats in true Jacobin style. The people went about their farming or trade or litigation, hoping that the strongest man would survive and restore peace and order. Only once did the more civilised townsmen and yeomen of the southern counties take an interest in the fighting, when the Borderers in the Lancastrian army broke the rules of the game by plundering neutrals as well as enemies. The Southerners joined Edward IV, wiped out the Lancastrians at Towton, and went back to their business, leaving Edward to fend for himself with his friend or enemy the King-maker.

The treatment of the Church in the Cauchon-Warwick dialogue is almost equally anachronistic. The mediæval Church, having

killed the Holy Roman Empire, was itself crippled by the stay of the Popes at Avignon, and almost killed by the Great Schism. Western Christendom was bewildered by first two and then three rival Popes, each one claiming to be the only rightful head of the Church. Mr. Shaw's Warwick talks in a theoretic way about "Protestants." England was simply reeking with Protestants at the time; only they were called Lollards. The temporary rehabilitation of the Papacy and even the galvanising of the Empire into a semblance of life, were mainly the work of our Henry V. In his youth he had been suspected of being led into heresy by his friend Sir John Oldcastle, and this is probably the origin of the legends as to his wild life, and of the development of the austere Lollard soldier into the original of Falstaff. On his accession Henry reverted to his father's policy of strict orthodoxy and close alliance with the Church, and he felt it his duty to persecute heresy and terminate schism. The Council of Constance, which got rid of the three Popes and chose a new one, and burnt John Hus and Jerome of Prague, took its real motive force from Henry, though Sigismund was the showy figure-head. France, torn by civil and foreign war, and discredited by past adherence to the Antipopes, took a minor place. This may explain why many of the French clergy were ready to fall in with the English claim to France, and also why Joan had no wish to submit to the judgment of the Pope. He could not afford to sanctify Nationalism, even though it was the voting by nations at Constance that had restored unity to the Church.

A Churchman of Joan's time might sometimes talk in the high style of the earlier Middle Ages, but assuredly he would not think in that style. The Church had been badly damaged and discredited, and was feeling shaken still. The burning of Hus, the disciple of Wycliffe, resulted in the Protestant and Nationalist revolt of the Hussites, who had beaten every crusading army that the Emperor or Cardinal Beaufort could bring against them, and were now negotiating on equal terms with the Council of Basel; and the Council itself, later on, quarrelled with the Pope, tried to depose him, and could not manage it.

Mr. Shaw's justification for his dialogue on Church and State (for the Chaplain only furnishes the comic relief) is that though the real Warwick and Cauchon would not have said what he puts down for them, it is what they were bound to think and mean, representing as they did the Feudal System and the Mediæval Church. I should answer that Cauchon (but not Warwick) might conceivably have spoken as in the play; but that neither could have really thought as he is made to think, in a period when mediæval feudalism and ecclesiasticism were conspicuously breaking down. Thus

the scene is dramatically unnecessary, historically inaccurate, and is in fact merely an "Imaginary Conversation," like one of Landor's, with more wit but less knowledge.

With the omission from the play of the storming of the English *bastides* round Orleans, and of the coronation pageant at Rheims, all historical students as well as all lovers of the drama will be cordially in agreement. There is one incident in the relief of Orleans, that Mr. Shaw refers to in a later scene, which he might have made interesting—the occasion when Joan was asleep, and on waking found that the French had sallied out, and that her little footpage had forgotten to call her. Her address to the boy was vigorous and vernacular. "Hé, sanglant paige!" she began. Perhaps Mr. Shaw did not see this in his authorities; or perhaps he reflected that he had already put three pert pages, or rather three editions of one pert page, into *Saint Joan*, and that he had used "the adjective" in *Pygmalion*. But at least he might have abstained from dragging in the impossible silliness of "Pious Peter will have to pick a peck of pickled pepper." ("Pickled peppers" is the traditional form.)

The condensation of the trial, recantation, and condemnation of Joan into one scene is obviously legitimate, and in fact necessary; but why the cynical politician that Mr. Shaw has made of the austere and orthodox Beauchamp should be left to end the play with a mere commonplace ejaculation of "Hm! I wonder," when history had given the far stronger ending of an English soldier, "We are lost; we have burnt a Saint," I cannot imagine—or rather I can. It is "irony," no doubt.

As for the Epilogue—something of a Harlequinade, something of a Litany and something of a Lantern Lecture—there is little to say except that, like Mark Twain's *A Yankee at the Court of King Arthur*, it rests on a physical impossibility. It is supposed to be a dream of Charles VII, in which Joan and nearly everybody who had to do with her career and canonisation, dead, living, and not yet born, appear. But before the end Charles goes to sleep again, or rather dreams that he goes to sleep, and ceases to dream of Joan, and Joan stays and goes on speaking in the dream that he is no longer dreaming, so that she may have (as is melodramatically proper) the last word and the last lime-light. I can only suppose that this is the crowning bit of "irony"—achieving the conventional final tableau by unconventional audacity. Mr. Shaw, as usual, must have it both ways.

ARTHUR R. ROPES.

CONTINENTAL PROTESTANTISM OF TO-DAY.

A WELL known proverb says: France has won the war from the military standpoint; England, from the political; America, from the economic; the Slav, from the racial; the Jews, from the cultural—the Roman Catholic Church has won the war from the religious point of view. The truth is that Continental Protestantism is passing through one of the most serious crises since the time of the Counter-Reformation. And in this crisis the undeniable predominance of political Roman Catholic influence on the Continent and the resulting menace to Protestantism is but one aspect of the present danger which Continental Protestantism has to face. Besides this menace of a renewal of confessional struggles, which seems to be to the disadvantage of Protestantism, there is an inner crisis which is the last consequence of Protestant individualism and subjectivism; and, thirdly, there is the terrible distress through which many of the Protestant Churches and Evangelical institutions have been passing since the war. Let us begin with a consideration of this third aspect of the present-day crisis.

Continental Protestantism cannot yet be considered as a whole. It is divided into four spheres of influence nearly independent of each other. The strongest may be focussed, in a symbolic sense, in the Wartburg, symbol of Germanic and Lutheran Protestantism; another one in Geneva, the city of Calvin, as centre of Calvinistic Western Protestantism; the third in Upsala, as centre of Lutheran Scandinavian Protestantism, and a fourth in Hungary which, with its bastions beyond the frontiers, is the pioneer of Eastern Protestantism. Not all Protestant life, however, swings round these poles. There is the small group of the Waldensians, in Italy, the oldest Protestants in Europe; and there is Czechoslovakia with its new Evangelical movement, which is nothing less than a renewal of the old Hussite movement before the Reformation.

The strongest block of Continental Protestantism is to be found in Germany, with its thirty-nine millions of Protestants and its manifold daughter Churches in Poland, Czechoslovakia, the Baltic States, Hungary, Rumania, Yugoslavia, Austria and Russia. This great Germanic Protestant block in Central Europe has been most severely hit by the consequences of the war. The old National Churches, which were supported by the State, were either disestablished or lost their property in the Revolution and by the tremendous depreciation of the currency. The Governments are

no longer able to grant the former subsidies. The Church itself has to share the general poverty and has been unable to build up in a short time a sufficient financial structure of its own after the disestablishment. It has also become obvious that a long education of the people has to precede such efforts. The downfall of the whole financial system of some of these States, and the resulting general extreme poverty had their repercussion in terrible distress in thousands of families of pastors, professors and social workers. During last winter, it happened in numerous large cities, especially in Saxony with its Socialist Government, that the ministers had to go into offices, mills and even mines in order to keep their families from starvation. Since then, general conditions have improved. But there is still much personal distress in many manses as soon as sickness enters a house, or children have to be given an education abroad, or a vacation-time is needed. There are still ministers to-day in Germany, Austria, Poland, Hungary, Rumania, who cannot afford to buy new clothes.

In a particularly bad state are the assistant pastors and professors as well as the thousands of free Evangelical workers of the Inner Mission. The thousands of Evangelical institutions of the Inner Mission, homes for children, for old, sick and poor people and all kinds of educational institutes, are struggling hard for their existence. The system of the Inner Mission on the Continent is different from the same work in the Anglo-American Churches. On the Continent this important work is in most cases not done by the Church itself, but by private Evangelical societies, bound together in a central organisation. The work of the Inner Mission, at least in Germany, was so highly developed and organised that it had almost become a separate Church within the National Church, having its own organisations and services and its Press. It was not supported by the Church as such, with which it has little official connection, but by private gifts from Evangelical individuals or by free collections made within the Churches. All these efforts had the strongest support from the Evangelical middle-classes in Germany, neither millionaires nor the labouring classes being very much interested in this kind of work. But the middle-classes are ruined—a social fact of a very far-reaching importance. It is one of the saddest effects of the war that this generally highly cultured middle-class is disappearing, is going to be more or less proletarianised, and unable to maintain its former cultural and moral standards for its children. A new middle-class, is, of course, arising. But meanwhile great cultural, moral and religious values are lost.

The question emerging from this change is whether the State or the community will, in principle, take charge of the necessary

philanthropic activities, or whether these will be rendered superfluous by a new social order. It does not seem as if the Churches would be willing to abandon their charitable activity, which has often been called the work of the good Samaritan. But what if the good Samaritan had no oil, nor wine, nor beast, nor money to take care of the wounded man in the street?

Whilst in Germany and Switzerland there is the highly developed organisation of the Inner Mission, it is almost entirely lacking in the Eastern Protestant Churches, where only the first beginnings of building up such a system of religious charitable activities have been made. It would be a great help to these Churches in the Eastern countries if the other Protestant Churches, especially in the Western world, would try to help them in an unselfish way to build up their own Inner Mission work. It is the same problem with which the Western Protestant world is confronted in Russia.

One of the greatest problems of Continental Protestantism, in France as well as in Hungary, Czechoslovakia, Rumania, is the recruiting of the ministry. The future of Protestantism depends on the men who can be found for the service of the Evangelical cause. The formation of the new ministry is everywhere greatly hampered by lack of means. America, Scotland, Switzerland, Holland, are giving hospitality to a large number of students in their own theological faculties. But there are still a great number of young men in the suffering countries who have had to give up their studies, or are entirely prevented from entering the ministry.

The activity of the religious Press and literature is indispensable to a living Church. It is, indeed, like a ringing bell which calls the people together. This part of Protestant activity was so menaced last winter that more than 500 Church periodicals ceased publication in one country alone. A large number of scientific, theological Reviews were stopped. Ministers and Professors could no longer afford to subscribe to a theological journal, or to buy books. Many of the theological libraries in Central and Eastern Europe cannot keep pace with the new literary production and are quite unable to buy foreign books. In the Eastern faculties we find libraries well equipped with the older theological works, but they deplore deeply that they cannot keep up with those of the present day. This means an intellectual and religious isolation which will have its effect in the long run. The plan has therefore been formed of creating meanwhile a central religious Library, especially of books in the English language. These books could easily be circulated in the different countries, and it would not be too great an effort if publishers in England and in America, and authors, would give their books to such a central Library, and if

theological societies, such as the newly founded Huguenot Societies in America, would take up the task of replenishing this Library with the most necessary new books. Such help would also be a part of that international intellectual co-operation which has recently come under the protection of the League of Nations.

This need in its different aspects has raised a wave of brotherly feeling and helpful sympathy in those Continental Churches who are in no need themselves. Protestantism in Sweden, Norway, Denmark, Holland and Switzerland has made the greatest effort in tendering a brotherly hand to the suffering "Churches under the Cross," and together with them many Churches in Great Britain and America have come to the rescue of their fellow-Christians. The danger was, however, that Protestant individualism and denominationalism would profit by this situation to further its own aims by granting help only to the sister-Churches of the same denomination, to the detriment of other Churches which were in the same need. For this reason a great Protestant Conference was convened in 1922 at Copenhagen by the Swiss Church Federation, at the instigation of the Federal Council of Churches in America, in order to consider in common the Protestant situation on the Continent.

This was the first time in Protestant history that official Church delegates from the different denominations came together to take common counsel as to what could be done for the common Protestant cause. For 400 years there had been no co-operation or federation between the Continental Protestant Churches, the national and denominational barriers being too high. This time, distress and the general Protestant crisis drew them together. A common relief work was organised on a broad Protestant international and interdenominational basis. Whilst Protestantism in the last decades has deeply felt the difficulty of overcoming the obstacles to reunion which were to be found in differences of dogma and polity, it was much easier to collaborate in the field of practical help freely and indiscriminately granted to the different suffering Evangelical Churches. This common Protestant relief work is, in fact, a practical anticipation of the idea of the coming Universal Conference on Life and Work which is to be held this year in Stockholm and to which the "Copec" Conference was such a promising prelude.

This Protestant relief work, focussed in Zürich, is more than a common endeavour to save Evangelical ministers and their families from starvation, to maintain thousands of institutions of the Inner Mission and Evangelical schools, to protect menaced religious minorities, to further the recruiting of the ministry. It is at the same time the first historical attempt of the Protestant

Churches of Europe to co-operate on a broad common Protestant basis. Not only this. It is also the first time that by such co-operation a practical connection between Continental and Western Anglo-American Protestantism, in so far as it is represented through its Churches, has been established. True Protestant statesmanship cannot overlook the importance of such a nucleus of Protestant co-operation in a field where nobody can be afraid of dogmatical or denominational dissensions.

The second aspect of the present Protestant crisis is determined by the remarkable Roman Catholic advance. It is gratifying to see that real religious forces are at work in this movement, an expression of what may be called a Catholic revival as represented by the discovery of the Bible, by an intense religious social activity and a highstanding religious literature and intellectual propaganda for Catholic ideas and ideals. A competition in this field, a merely religious activity, would certainly stimulate the religious life of both confessions. But the Roman Catholic Church has never been content with religious influence alone; political aspirations have always belonged to the official programme of Rome and its orders. The period after the war has greatly favoured this political predominance of Catholicism. Political claims have been emphasised wherever possible in the different countries by the introduction of the Nuncio. Quite a number of the new States are pursuing a distinctly Catholic policy. In Germany the Centre or Catholic Party is the most influential beside the Labour Party and is frequently allied with it for political aims. The present Chancellor of the Republic is the last of a series of four Catholic Chancellors in a Republic in which the proportion of Protestants to Catholics is 39 millions to 20 millions. Holland and Switzerland, with $\frac{2}{3}$ Catholics against $\frac{1}{3}$ Protestants, have Catholic Premiers.

A great propaganda has been actively undertaken in Scandinavia, where the immense majority are Protestants. New Bishoprics are founded in Protestant centres such as Berlin. In Germany alone, since 1919, 711 new Catholic monasteries and institutions have been founded, whilst only last year 85 Evangelical institutes had to be closed, and others, such as the Protestant College in Madrid and a great number of Evangelical schools in Poland and Austria, are constantly menaced. In Riga the Evangelical Church of St. James, belonging to the Protestant confession since 1524, has been given over to the Catholic Bishop. The same strong influence is felt in the field of education and in that of mixed marriages, where a distinct tendency is visible to prevent the co-operation of Protestants and Catholics even in civic, social and philanthropic endeavours.

To the power and influence of a hierarchic and centralised organisation, dominated by the principle of authority, Protestantism has to oppose only the richness and freedom of the individual faith, the value of its spiritual life, which is more expressed in a general spiritual tendency and moral character and in an atmosphere of liberty and responsibility than in the powerful machinery of mass-organisation, and—last but not least—the first attempts to find the proper form of Protestant communion. This cannot be a monarchic organisation nor a union which would wipe out all differences. It can only be found in a free federation of individual Churches combining unity with liberty and variety. The whole problem of how to meet this strong Catholic advance cannot be solved by a new *Kulturkampf*, which would be utterly inappropriate to the situation and to the Evangelical faith itself. Protestantism can only face this situation by gathering its forces, by deepening and awakening spiritual life in its communities, and by entering into spiritual competition with the old sister Church in the field of practical charitable work.

The third aspect of the crisis is less visible. It has to do with the problem of the Church itself and the tension between modern culture and the Gospel. This tension has been less felt in the last decades when considerable efforts have been made to conciliate theology and science. To-day the tension is again acute and is intensified by a very influential group of Protestant theologians, such as Karl Barth and Gogarten. For them the war has made it manifest that culture in itself is problematic. And in so far as the Church and theology are connected with this culture, they are problematic too. All the modern methods in historical studies, in higher criticism, in education, in the social work of the Church, have not brought us nearer to a deeper understanding of the Gospel and of God Himself, because God cannot be grasped by any human methods. He transcends all human knowledge, and even the best theology, the highest aims of morals and religions, are at best but feeble answers to a question which God puts to our conscience. God is for man an unknown God. He has spoken His word through Jesus Christ. But He transcends even what we can assimilate in our mind from this source, or express in theological doctrines, ecclesiastical practices or religious feelings.

This new emphasis laid on the transcendency of God leads practically to the same attitude to which the religious indifference of large parts of the population have already led, namely, to a weakening of interest in Church life, nay, even to a fight against the claim of the Church to lead man to God by its message. The criticism of the Church as such has hitherto been maintained directly by the official orthodoxy of Social Democracy, whose

Marxian tendency is distinctly hostile to religion, and by the cultured upper classes, whose scientific intellectualism had killed a great deal of religious life. In this new movement the criticism of the Church is taken up from a sincerely religious standpoint. A great number of sectarian congregations, as well as the upholders of this new theological movement, especially in Germany and Switzerland, combine their efforts in attack on the Church. The Protestant Continent, at least in Central Europe, is therefore far removed from the present-day discussions in England, which are focussed on the problem of the Church and its authority.

Nevertheless, large masses, especially of the middle-classes, are more or less attached to the historic Church ideal, and great efforts are made, in France by "La Cause," in Central Europe by the Inner Mission, to win back the masses to Christ and to Church life. But these efforts have to compete with the endeavours of a number of American Churches to introduce a new type of Church life into European Protestantism. This is becoming quite a serious problem for the old National Churches, and the question arises whether European Protestantism will have to go through the same experience as American Protestantism, which is disintegrated into a great number of larger or smaller groups, churches and sects, compelled, after long periods of division, to find a kind of union in their federative movements as represented in the Federal Council of Churches.

The inner religious crisis, of which I have spoken, is particularly intense in the manifold Youth movements. Their spirit can be characterised negatively by an aversion from the old generation, their ideals and their authority, which are made responsible for the war and its after-effects, and, on the other hand, by an immense desire for independence and by enthusiasm for a great and noble cause. It is hardly possible to win back these young masses for Church life. But their hero-worship is capable of a new surrender to the Person of Christ.

The crisis through which the Church is passing on the Continent is partly due also to its long resistance to the new social transformation, to its hesitation in taking up the social problem independently from the way in which the Social Democrats presented it. It must, however, be understood in this regard that the official Labour Party on the Continent departed much more from any religious and Church life than the similar movements in Great Britain and America. The Social Democrats in Germany have no men like Keir Hardie, Henderson and MacDonald, who would advocate social progress in the name of the Gospel. But this hostility from the side of Social Democracy is due again to the fact that the Church has for centuries been too closely connected

with the official State, the monarchy and the prejudices of the reigning classes.

We are not quite sure sometimes if modern Russia belongs to our Western world. But in its Orthodox Church a problem is arising which is of greatest interest to Protestantism. After centuries of entire separation from the Western religious world, the Orthodox Church of the East has found itself in the necessity of looking towards the West for help and new life. It has had a terrible blow in the South, where Orthodox Christianity under the Patriarchate of Constantinople has been nearly wiped out of Asia Minor. And in Russia the Orthodox Church has to meet the administrative measures of the anti-religious Soviet Government. It is true that their rigid measures are mostly directed against political aims connected with the old Church and against the widespread superstition for which they hold the Church responsible. But if at the present moment they do not persecute the Church in so far as it submits to the authority of the State, their hope is manifest that religious life may be wiped out after a generation by the new methods of education. In this need, the Orthodox Church is looking towards the West, not for political support, not for any missionary enterprise, but for a new understanding of the Gospel and of the task and methods of a living Church. For Westerns, especially American Protestantism, which has been approached, there can be no question of any attempt to proselytise this Church. But the problem is how to render a real and unselfish service to a Christian Church trying to build up a new life and organisation with its own means and forms. This would be the most helpful attitude which American Protestantism could take in all these Continental countries with which it is becoming more closely connected.

To secure such better connection and helpful co-operation between Continental and Western Protestantism seems to be one of the greatest problems before the Protestant Churches of to-day.

Zürich.

ADOLF KELLER.

POETRY OF THOMAS EDWARD BROWN.

"BROWN'S day is yet to come."

Those words, written by his biographer, Mr. S. G. Simpson, are true. He has not yet come into his own.

During his lifetime of sixty-seven years, between 1830 and 1897, he was little known; and had nothing like the appreciation and reputation he so richly deserved. Since his death, a few of his poems have been included in popular Anthologies, and many people have admired "A garden is a lovesome thing, God wot," and other short poems inscribed on Christmas calendars, without knowing that its author was a really great poet, compared by W. E. Henley to Tennyson. Other critics share that view. Mr. Canton says: "To the claim of genius no one who knows Brown will demur," and Dr. Percival, Bishop of Hereford, thought that "he might have been one of the greatest lights in literature of our day if his great gifts and powers had only been fused just a little differently." He was called *volcanic*, explosive; and that has made him difficult to follow.

Several reasons precluded T. E. Brown from notoriety in his day. First and foremost he was a Manxman. Much of his work is in Anglo-Manx, and people have shrunk from the task of mastering this very difficult dialect. Yet this fact should appeal to the Manx. "Mr. Brown is the first of Manxmen living or dead. I trust my countrymen recognise this—their children will." So writes Sir Hall Caine.

But Brown is also an English poet of the highest order, a delicate and subtle mystic, who often reminds his readers of Crawshaw or George Herbert in his handling of English, and in a certain tender and sweet-scented outpouring from the richness of his experience, blended with a refreshing originality in observation and expression.

Brown can only be fully known and appreciated by studying the circumstances of a singularly varied life. "The first of Manxmen living or dead" was born in the Isle of Man in 1830. His father was Rector of St. Matthew's, Douglas, a parson of great ability, endowed with a rare and sensitive literary appreciation. "Style to my father was like the instinct of personal cleanliness," wrote the son. His mother was of Scotch blood—her son called her "a great woman." His childhood and boyhood were spent amid gorse, heather, "dainty bough of May," tall secluded white foxgloves, and within sound of the sea. In later life these things still haunted him:

I wonder if in that far isle
Some child is growing now like me.

Near the Vicarage grew "sycamores of green and tender light," gnarled ash trees and budding larches. Over the garden presided old John, who taught his young master many things, being "one who could see the native tints of God's enamel."

Shy and timid as a boy, the Island was a wonderful environment for young Brown. His early education consisted largely in reading aloud to his father, who was very severe in taste and excluded all novels. But in Manxland novels were enacted all round him. Even the passengers of the daily coach which ran from Douglas to his village were steeped in romance. Who but Brown would have thought and studied these dear Manx men and women with all their joys and sorrows? How little did they guess that the tall school-boy going in and out to King William's College was a "chiel amang them taking notes!"

"The whole island quivers and trembles with stories that are like leaves on a tree in their abundance" . . . "I have tried to build a cairn of memories in my books," wrote Brown in mature life to a friend. But he was conscious that "Old Manx was waning,"—"she is dying," he cried, as he penned a memorable appeal for a true Manx poet to arise before it was too late.

But come, come soon, or else we slide
To lawlessness, or deep-sea English soundings.

Certainly in *In the Coach* we meet a new type, men and women never shown to us before by any poet or novelist. They are indeed "Jus' the Shy." For that's the way with the Manx; "Aw it is though, aw, they are, they are, mos' despard shy; aw, it's a pity for all, but stare they will, and wink and nudge and poke and bother."

In the coach travels that poor mother with the riven heart, who has just heard of the death of her Joe in Bombay—quite collected, quite calm, so polite, that Brown dubs her "Yes M'am, No Ma'am." All the time there is a chorus of pity from the other women, "My chree—my chree" (*i.e.*, Dear Heart, Dear Heart). "In her heart she moans." A Manx woman must be a poet at heart. In strong contrast is the woman going to meet her Billy. "This very night—aw, I'm almost silly with the thought . . . It isn't right to be carryin' on like this afore people, but aw, the delight." A man in the coach has a lot to say about "Pazons." He must have been a Bolshevik born out of due time! "They are the most despard rubbish goin'," he declares.

Brown is no sentimentalist about the Manx. He shows their failings, and one of their chief idiosyncrasies is a pleasantness of speech which means little. The main characteristics of his yarns are passion and romance, but they break new ground.

He wrote for the Manx. He wrote to please his countrymen.

Hence the freshness and the originality of the poems and a certain joy which exudes from them. In the Dedication to the *Fo'c's'le Yarns* he expresses their aim well:

Dear countrymen, whate'er is left to us
Of ancient heritage
Of manners, speech, of humours, polity,
The limited horizon of our stage—
Old love, hope, fear,
All this I fain would fix upon the page.

The yarns are mostly written in the Manx dialect, or the Anglo-Manx which has replaced the ancient Manx language, and abound with words and phrases which require explanation by footnotes. They well repay any small labour at dialect, for they give wonderful pictures of the every-day life of the peasant, full of the detail, but without the coarseness, of Crabbe. Brown wrote: "Manifestly these yarns will not appeal to strangers," but no stranger with literary instinct will easily put them down. We read in them of sacrifices, temptations, crimes, loves and triumphs. They teem with passion and romance, and many lovable people are to be met. First and foremost among them is Pazon Gale: "He was a simple Pazon, and lovin' and wise."

Betsy Lee is worth careful comparison with *Enoch Arden*. The tale in each is practically the same, but in *Enoch Arden* Annie is like wax in comparison to Betsy—an inanimate woman. Alas, Betsy Lee is never a wife. Cruel slander parts her from her lover:

A bitter poison, that black art,
The lie that eats into your heart.

When Enoch Arden returns, his wife is married to Philip Ray; but when Tom Baynes returns, his Betsy is dead—"only a broken heart," said the Doctor, nothing else. "He'll die! He'll die this night, this very night," swears Tom about the man who separated him from Betsy by vile slander. But the ending of the poem is like the end of *Enoch Arden* in showing the wonderful power of true love to forgive. Enoch, we remember, blesses Philip:

And say to Philip that I blest him too;
He never meant us anything but good.

But Tom Baynes is even nobler to the scoundrel, who ruined his life, and whom he meets at Betsy's grave:

He had loved her, he loved her—my Betsy Lee,
"Come, give us your hand," I says.

There is no finer passage in all poesy than this.

The Doctor is generally considered Brown's masterpiece. Max Müller called it "one of the best hundred books of the world." It is a philosophical yarn. It shows the powerlessness of mere

intellect in times of trouble and despair. "Uncommon good" was this doctor to the poor and free and hearty, but never much of a quality doctor—"middlin' rough." And why was such a man a remote practitioner in the Isle of Man? He had fled there, "ill, brokenhearted and indifferent" from an unhappy love affair. A large part of this yarn is devoted to Kitty, the doctor's youngest child—neglected and ill-treated by her mother:

Aw, dear, the little lovely thing
Just like a bird with a broken wing.

No more beautiful description of a child can be found in any poem—"the wondering baby eyes all spread like primroses when the air is sunny . . . and the little stalk of a body of her."

There is enough material in *The Doctor* for a long novel teeming with adventure and incident and full of most individual characters. One of the finest and most pathetic scenes describes the anguish of the doctor when too late he hears that his first sweetheart is still unmarried, and still true to him. Coming in late, dead with fatigue, one night from the stable he found that letter open upon the table:

She'd took and read it
To the servant—Aye, you'd hardly credit!
To the servant, I tell ye!

It was daylight before the doctor unlocked the door of the room where he had fought all night with himself to forgive the wife who could do such a deed:

And up the stairs but very slow
And in on the room where the wife was lyin'
And fast asleep and the baby cryin'
And put the letter on her breast.

A great man that doctor, but, alas, grandly magnanimous in vain.

Tommy Big Eyes illustrates another side of Brown's versatile genius. It is of sterner stuff than goes to the making of *The Doctor*, for its object is to denounce hypocrisy, the great vice of the islanders. Yet a very charming idyll runs through the poem, the love story of Tommy Big Eyes and Nellie Quinn, and it is also full of music. Tommy was truly Manx in being "as shy as a bird." His school-fellows all combined to make him believe that Nelly, little Nelly Quinn, who waited for him every morning at a bend in the road, was really in love with him. "Yes, dyin' in love—spake to her, Tommy! Spake to her, spake to her, for all—we said." But Nelly pitied Tommy, and the outcome of the "pity" was that Tommy was favoured beyond his wildest dreams. Quoth Nelly, "I'll give you a kiss, Tommy." But Tommy ran—"and Tommy turned this way and Tommy turned that way." So she was forced to kiss him on the back of his head. "And

en if Tommy didn't cut!" But all the same he was in a perfect stasy of joy and bliss, and throwing himself down in a field of over murmured over and over again: "She kissed me! She d! She did! She did!"

Tommy's first master Cain was a villain, the one real villain in l Brown's yarns. He was a local preacher and a hypocrite—"a rt of apostle, prince, and ruler of the neighbourhood," and

You couldn't touch him for a prayer
Sounding out like a trumpet blast.

his part of the poem is very painful reading, and yet it bears the all-mark of truth, for the man, detestable as he is, is aware of is own hypocrisy. "I was never converted. I only shammed," e cries: "I am weak, O Lord. I can't stand firm." An Engshman would have been a hypocrite without knowing it—not so

Manxman! "Deceiving himself! No. What was there in him ut muck and mush and hissing venom?" In chapel he was oily: He smiled like butter a shilling a pound." "A pious man! A oly man." But he could not hurt Nelly. For

The heart of an innocent gel is God's.

hat is another Manx type Brown is very fond of drawing—the ure in heart who are guarded by God Himself.

The passion of its author for music should make *Tommy Big Eyes* the delight of all those musicians who, in Browning's words *-know*. Tommy's fiddle could crow like a cock or hoot like a onkey. With his bow he could make "a sort of hum like a bee ound a flower." However, poor Tommy made a sad mess of laying in chapel. It was a fugue, he said, and he couldn't stop. The congregation, led by that villainous hypocrite Cain, became estless:

Take the viol from him. Fall him,
Lick him. Kick him. Smash him, maul him,

—and Tommy was cast out, but Tommy survived. For

Anyway, Tommy got over it clever
And worked the fiddle the same as ever.

The yarns are full of humour and fun, as well as poignant emotion, but we feel that they are *life*, and that their author writes rom personal intimate knowledge of the Manx people who loved im, although he showed up their weakness with severity.

The shorter poems are marked by a minor key. "I am a born sobber," he writes. But he is no wailer, though it is said that here were occasions when he wallowed.

The *Mater Dolorosa* stands alone in literature. There is nothing quite like it. Listen to the mother who has just lost her baby son:

But won't he want me when he'll be wakin' ?
Will they take him up when he's wantin' takin' ?
I hope he'll not be left in the dark.

Brown would have achieved a very high place in poetry if he had only written these forty lines of pure essentials. This poem should never die as long as there are bereaved mothers.

The period Brown spent as second master at Clifton College (1863-1892) was the most prolific of his life, though it seems curiously void of incident to his biographer. All through these thirty years his fixed purpose was to return and end his days in the island of his birth. He was haunted by the mountains and glens of his dear native land. In a poem which is strangely like some of the work of Rupert Brooke he wrote :

I'm here at Clifton, grinding at the mill
My feet for thrice nine barren years have trod,
But there are rocks and waves at Scarlett still,
And gorse runs riot in Glen Chess . . . thank God.

During the years at Clifton Brown had much sorrow, and to this we owe the most fervent and deep of his religious poems and the most exquisite of his descriptive lyrics. In 1876 he wrote :

For thus it is God stings us into life.

So he pondered, though at the death of his seven-year-old son he nearly went under :

Oh, what is there to do?
Oh, what is there to say?

Yet he came through ; for, in spite of passages which seem morbid in intensity, he wrote that he would never "bleat with bleaters" nor "slink with slinkers," for :

I have no will
But Thine, O God !
I know that Thou art true—
Be blue, O Heavens, be blue.
Be still, O earth, be still,—

lines reminiscent of *In Memoriam*, and yet his philosophy is far more that of Browning, when he writes :

God opes a perspective to see
The chambers of the ivory palaces.

Or there is a hint of Matthew Arnold in these lines :

And carve these forms. They may find a place
On shelves for them reserved. In any case
I bid thee carve them, knowing what I know.

Indeed, Brown carved in many materials, and sowed by many waters, "in the night of deep sea pools," or "wove meshes fine and thin," for everything he came across was grist for his mill. His whole being was a full stringed instrument tuned to respond

to any note that was sounded in his vicinity, and so many notes sounded for him. There is the note of the garden, "a lovesome thing, God wot," and it was after working in his garden that the most exquisite of all the short poems was penned—*Planting*—a little gem breathing that quiet confidence and hope reminiscent of George Herbert and Richard Crashaw :

Who would be planted, chooseth not the soil
Or here or there
Or loam or peat
Wherein he best may grow
And bring forth guerdon of the planter's toil.

He himself held that a curious kind of understanding of and sympathy with nature was his special gift and highest power. This sense he defined in a letter as "the power of sucking out from the country its inmost soul, and making it stand before me and smile and speak." Certainly, he held some great secret of the universe which he could not altogether impart. Nature was ever resting, calming and healing to him, and he saw more than others, though what he saw was generally tinged with melancholy.

There are some descriptions which should linger in the language. Foxgloves are "called revolvers" and they "shoot honey-tongued quintessence of July." Heather has "the greens and blues whereon the crimson dwells." Valleys are "golden and scented." Autumn has "splashes of flame and pyramids of fire." In the ferns move "whispering airs." "Silver plates the birch." The lily-pool is "a green and liquid slab of light, with cups of silver dight." "Sweet May has piled her pyramids of snow." From the branches of the apple-tree glide "pink tipt snowflakes tenderly." The sun rises in a "film of the faintest ivory." The crocus thrills. "Love hides among the daffodils," and so on. . . .

The sea was a very special friend of Brown's. As a child he was "healed the while with balm of rock and sea." His God was "Lord of the tempest, despot of the wave." His most intimate and personal feelings for the sea are given in an exquisite fragment, "*Star-Steering*," which ends :

But O, the gladness of the outer sea !
O Venus ! Mars !
When shall I steer by you again, O Stars ?

The outer, the ultimate, the changeless, the illimitable were Brown's great fascination :

God makes a verge
Of dawn that shall be day.

Death would be to him as it was to Browning, "the mighty sun-beam, the awakener, the solver of every doubt" :

I needs must meet him, for he hath beset
All roads that men do travel, hills and plains.

Wherever there is deep melancholy there is sure to be the sense
of joy, and many of the poems ring with joy and fun :

Oh Blackbird, what a boy you are,
How you do go it !

Moreover, Brown's merriment is infectious :

Wherefore I laugh that thou may'st see,
O laugh ! O laugh with me.

Though at the moment we are only concerned with Brown's poetry, yet we must not forget that he had very versatile gifts and was also a literary critic of a high order. His letters (published by Constable) abound with apt and original remarks upon men and books, and he published many essays and wrote articles for the Reviews. He was also a most brilliant lecturer, and all his life music was his greatest joy and solace.

But it will be as a poet, and a poet who has made a deep and original mark on English poetry, and who fills his own peculiar niche, that Brown will ultimately survive. When his day comes again it will be a great day.

CONSTANCE SPENDER.

THE DECADENCE IN THE PERFORMANCE OF CIVIC DUTY.

MR. ST. JOHN ERVINE in a recent work quotes Gibbon to show how startling in their similarity are the signs of decadence in England to-day and those in Rome before her fall. He says :

"The signs of decadence in a race are an indifferent and trivial-minded aristocracy, an idle and subsidised proletariat, a passion for gambling and for luxurious display, a contempt for learning, a love of spectacular entertainments, and a hatred of tragic drama."

Unfortunately, this severe indictment must be admitted to be true. Whether the end will be the same in our case as it was with the Romans depends entirely upon the measures of correction which are brought into operation, and this without delay.

Mrs. Margery Corbett Ashby, who has gone through several contested elections and gained much experience of the moods and mentality of large masses of her fellow countrywomen, as well as men, is reported to have said at the meeting where she was adopted as a prospective Parliamentary candidate, that "they were having to work against the apathy and ignorance of those who took a far greater interest in a murder than in politics." A statement more than borne out by recent experience at the "Crumbles Bungalow" on the outskirts of Eastbourne, where large masses of people, both men and women, have waited in long queues for the privilege of paying to walk through a human slaughter-house from which all traces of blood and filth have been carefully removed.

This morbid tendency exhibits itself in a variety of forms, and under divers conditions, whereby unimportant and trivial matters are set in the front rank; indifference to public affairs fails to ensure an intelligent and well regulated public control, and the gratification of vulgar, and in some cases vicious, instincts usurps the place which rightly belongs to the constant practice of high civic virtue.

As it is impossible to deal with all these evil manifestations in a short article, one only shall be selected—the extreme apathy of the general public towards the self-government of the nation, and their neglect in taking any part in it. Time was when the doctrine was preached that the experience gained in the practice of Local Government was invaluable as an introduction to the wider sphere of Imperial Government. In a recent article upon Lord Rosebery, Lord Birkenhead gives forcible expression to this view. Lord Rosebery had only gone through one election contest when, by a majority of five-sixths of the Council he was elected first Chair-

man of the London County Council, and by his conduct in the Chair belied the gloomy predictions of the minority—of whom John Burns was one—that a brilliant orator was sure to make a bad Chairman. Lord Birkenhead, writing of the incident, makes this pregnant remark: "Lord Rosebery, in my judgment, would never have been Prime Minister had he not graduated in this municipal school."

It would be difficult to make the same observation to-day, for not only has the general public ceased to take any interest in elections to local bodies, but the quality of the candidates for such offices has steadily declined. Many of the best citizens refuse to become candidates, others drop out after a short and disappointing experience; a notable instance of this was George Bernard Shaw, who, after a short experience upon the Vestry of St. Pancras, withdrew in a fit of temper and disgust and retired to the seclusion of his desk, where he seemed to regard the creation of super-men—on paper—as a higher form of civic duty than public service upon a Local Board.

Before proceeding to discuss the shortcomings of the electors it would be as well to form an adequate idea of the magnitude of the subject. Thirty years ago the amount of money raised and disbursed yearly by Local Authorities was £55,000,000; in 1922 the total had grown to £492,000,000.

How many of the electors responsible for the proper management of that enormous budget make even the smallest attempt to perform this important civic duty? The following selected instances have all occurred since March, 1924, so the table may be regarded as being up-to-date. The first instance is a rural one, that of Hentland, in South Herefordshire; the account of the last election for the Rural Council of that district reads thus:

"Only seven of the 200 electors voted, and the first of the seven did not call at the polling booth, which opened at 8 a.m., until half-past four in the afternoon. The two candidates, the Rector and a farmer, did not consider it worth while to put in an appearance during the day. The Rev. D. E. Evans retained the seat with four votes, his opponent got one less, he was defeated, with three votes."

Turning to a London district, we find things not much better. Early last April the Press informed us that

Labour candidates "captured" ten seats at the election for the Edmonton Urban District Council and thus secured a majority of 17 to 8. Among the defeated candidates were the Chairman and Vice-Chairman of the Council, the President of the Conservative Association, and the Chairman of the Tottenham magistrates. *Only 29 per cent. of the electorate polled.*

In July the daily Press contained the following interesting paragraph:—

Edmonton's public park which consists of 53 acres has a staff of 18 men. A protest against this extravagance was made at the District Council meeting by a ratepayers' representative who pointed out that . . . more than half the park was let as football pitches. Labour members, who are in a majority, however, carried a resolution to appoint another park-keeper, thus bringing the total staff up to 19.

Whether this may be regarded as a fitting sequel to the "capture" of sufficient seats to form a majority of 17 to 8 I am at a loss to determine, but one thing is at least certain, that is, that the persons responsible for all that may follow from a majority so obtained are the 71 per cent. of the electorate who, by standing aloof, permitted and made possible the "capture" of ten seats by the insignificant minority of 29 per cent.

But this is by no means the worst case, as a glance at the following table will show; it is drawn from each quarter of London, north, south, east and west, and the average of the persons voting comes out at a fraction *under 20 per cent.*

DISTRICT.	ELECTORATE.	VOTED.	ABSTAINED.
Kingston-on-Thames ...	5,593	1,085	4,508
Stoke Newington ...	2,011	656	1,355
Kensington ...	9,647	1,007	8,640
Bermondsey ...	6,793	2,515	4,278
Stepney ...	3,684	1,012	2,672
Hammersmith ...	10,098	2,115	7,983
Bethnal Green ...	16,063	2,267	13,796
Leyton ...	4,711	784	3,927
Totals ...	58,600	11,441	47,159

From the above it will be seen that the abstentions reach nearly 82 per cent. of the whole. And here I would recall attention to the fact that enabled Lord Balfour, as he is now known, so easily to destroy the School Boards. He was able to assert with perfect truth that, so far as London was concerned, "only 20 per cent." of the electorate took any part in the elections of the London Board, and as the electors refused to recognise its existence its continuation was likely to prove injurious rather than beneficial. One word of serious warning. Who knows how soon there may arise a Tory democrat, or even a Socialist autocratic despot, with the cry "Away with these expensive shams, we will henceforth administer the lot from Whitehall!"

Kensington is a case in point. Here, despite the fact that two Socialist candidates were in the field, only some 10 per cent. of the electorate took part in the election. "Indifferent," "trivial-minded"—to quote Mr. St. John Ervine again—what better terms could be used to describe the mentality of the Kensington

electorate? In a borough where clean thoroughfares, brightly lit streets and well-paved roads are deemed a *sine quâ non*, ninety out of every hundred electors pay no heed either to obtaining or maintaining such conditions.

Passing from purely local bodies to Central Boards things are a little better, but not much. Taking the elections for the London County Council which have been held during the present century, the following are the percentages of the electorate who voted: 45, 55, 51, 52, 16, 36. The indifference and apathy here indicated are appalling. The activities for which the Council are responsible are widespread and far-reaching, touching the lives, comfort, and amenities of the citizens on every hand. They include the provision and maintenance of the great system of main drainage; the provision, maintenance and equipment of Mental Hospitals and Asylums for the Insane; the enforcement of the Acts concerning Building Laws; Weights and Measures; Public Health; the tramway system; and the provision and upkeep of parks and open spaces, with ample facilities for games and recreations of all kinds. Last, but not least, there is the great educational system, whereby the child of to-day is to be developed into the sane and enlightened citizen of to-morrow.

A vast field of human effort, requiring for its due performance the hearty and willing co-operation of every citizen. Instead of which, we get the deplorable result that at the elections held during the present century the totals of electors who abstained from voting ranged from 48 to 84 per cent. of those on the electoral rolls.

The natural results of this apathy and indifference are not far to seek. For a long series of years what is called the "Moderate" party have held the reins, and these are some of their achievements:—Selling the steamboats and closing the Thames as a public highway, thus adding considerably to the congestion of traffic in streets and roads; delay in the erection of the County Hall, whereby £2,000,000 was added to its cost; bad financial arrangements, owing to which employees were overpaid and weekly repayments during many years necessitated. Further, no effort was made to free the tramways account from the inequitable burdens of road repairs and street widenings which have depleted that account to such an extent that enormous false deficits have been created.

During the recent strike on the London trams, the bad effect of this last grievous fault was vividly revealed. After the inquiry had been held and the several parties thereto had become possessed of the whole of the facts, it was unanimously resolved by masters and men alike that the case for the demands of the men was beyond disproof. But there was this serious difficulty to be faced.

The compromise eventually agreed to would require the sum of £100,000 annually, and there was not so much as a single penny piece in the Tramway purse wherewith to meet this admittedly just demand. The compromise was, however, effected, and now the Tramways are working upon a deficit which eventually will have to be made up by a rate, because the Council had not the intelligence or the courage required to foresee the evil result, and to take the necessary steps to free the Tramway account from the imposture of paying for either the paving of roads or the widening of streets out of Tramway revenues.

When one reflects that the same Council that runs the Trams is also charged with the vastly more important duty of running both the Elementary and Secondary Schools of this greatest city in the world, one trembles for the future catastrophe that must inevitably come, unless the electors can be aroused to a fitting sense of their responsibility, both for the work done, and for that larger commitment which up to now the Council has made no attempt to perform.

There was a time when the Commoners from whom the "Rights of Common" had been either filched or stolen were the only persons who could put in a claim for restoration. Eventually Rural and District Councils were endowed with the power to make a claim. A writer, commenting upon this enlargement of the law, makes this shrewd comment:

But it should be remembered that, as this Act is framed on democratic lines—placing the interests of the people in the care of their elected representatives—the extent to which it is used *must* depend on the foresight, wisdom and energy of those representatives and on the good sense of the people who elect them.

Obviously, reliance can be no longer placed upon those representatives who are returned by 16—or even 36 per cent. of the electorate. And while 84 per cent. abstain from taking any part in the election, as was the case only a few years ago, it is quite clear that, however much good sense they may possess, it becomes a useless quantity, except for the hastening of certain disasters. Means must be found to awaken in these abstainers a sense of responsibility for the performance of civic duties, they must be dragged out of the shell in which they are now hidden, if only in order that their children may be saved from much of the misery which their forefathers suffered.

A noble example lies before us. In 1848, those troublous days, Claude Frédéric Bastiat, the great French Free Trader, threw himself into the thick of the fight. We read this inspiring description of his efforts—every day he crushed a fallacy—killed it by ridicule

and by turning on the bright light of logic. Addressing the youth of France he cried :

Love of study, desire for faith, mind unbound by rooted prejudices, heart free from hatred, zeal for propaganda, warm sympathies for all that is good, wholesome, simple, great, honest, religious; such are the precious attributes of youth. A seed must in itself lack the vital principle if it will not germinate on such a generous soil.

Cannot we British people emulate this great Frenchman? Let us be up and doing, determined that this decadence in the performance of high civic duty shall be first checked and finally stamped out. Other phases of the prevalent decadence must stand over for discussion at present; enough has been here said to spur us onward, and, out of sheer gratitude for the benefits which have floated down the stream of time into our hands, let us put forth one magnificent effort to displace apathy and instal in its place active intelligent co-operation.

F. W. SOUTTER.

FOREIGN AFFAIRS.

DEBTS AND SECURITY.

EVEN though, on grounds of decency, there is little to be said for the prominence which is given in contemporary diplomacy to the subject of war debts, there is much to be said for it on other grounds. It retains its horrible fascination. The amounts involved are so big, the passions aroused are so primitive, the diplomatic complications so baffling, that no subject in foreign affairs excites as much interest, or wastes as much time, as that of debts. It is not an accident that the only definite step which has so far been taken in foreign affairs by the Baldwin Government is concerned with debts.

During the course of the Finance Ministers' Conference, which was held in Paris in the second week of January (see *CONTEMPORARY REVIEW*, February, pp. 247-251), M. Clémentel sounded Mr. Churchill on the subject of a French funding of the British debt. It was a matter of courtesy on M. Clémentel's part to do so, for M. Jusserand had been talking in Washington, vaguely and informally, it is true, about a possible funding of the French debt to the United States. It was also a matter of French interest, for two reasons: (1) that the principle of debt funding enunciated in the Balfour Note of August 1st, 1922, necessarily connoted a scaling down of the French debt to Great Britain and such a scaling down, if clinched by France, would conceivably checkmate the American principle of a 100 per cent. repayment; for it would be difficult, even for America, to demand 100 per cent. from France if Great Britain had asked, say, only 33½ per cent.; (2) discussions about debts could be made a lever, in the hands of French diplomats, for discussions about French security, a subject in which French opinion is more genuinely interested than in that of paying debts.

On January 10th, therefore, while Mr. Churchill was still in Paris, M. Clémentel handed to him a written questionnaire which Mr. Churchill brought back with him to London on January 14th. M. Clémentel asked: (1) Does the British Government hold to the spirit of the Balfour Note? (2) Can it give to the French Government a written assurance to that effect? (3) If the British Government cannot accept the Balfour Note without modifications, what modifications does it consider necessary? A charming touch was given to the Note by an assurance that the French Government was keenly anxious to pay the debt and that it would be prepared to give to the debtors of France the same favourable terms which it might receive from its creditors.

When Mr. Churchill returned to Whitehall, therefore, he set

about the job of restating an old formula. It had been stated in the Balfour Note of August, 1922; restated in the Bonar Law plan of January, 1923; again restated, with certain elaborations due to the circumstances of the moment, in the Curzon Note of August, 1923; reiterated in general terms by Mr. Churchill's speech in the House in December, 1924. The British Treasury never changes a principle once enunciated. None the less, this new Churchill Memorandum, which was to give the answer to M. Clémentel's questions of January 10th, proved to be a delicate business. Treasury experts were working on it for a month. The Cabinet considered the matter on several occasions, and in the end there was a considerable amount of redrafting before the document was finally sent to France by the night boat of February 7th-8th. It was dated February 6th and took the form of a covering letter of two lines and a short memorandum of some 500 words.

It began by reaffirming the principle of the Balfour Note, and by explaining that the Curzon Note of August, 1923, owing to paragraphs 6 and 7 of that Note being due to the particular circumstances of the moment, could not now be taken as a precise interpretation of the Balfour principle.

"The principle of the Balfour Note," stated the memorandum of February 6th, "is that Great Britain should receive from Europe payments equivalent to those she is under obligation to make to the United States of America." Now it had been a familiar bone of contention in the French press for many years past that a necessary result of this formula would be that French payments to Great Britain would be inversely proportionate to the amount of German reparation payments: for if Great Britain must receive a certain total from Germany, France, Italy, and the rest put together, it followed that if Germany defaulted, France and the rest would have to pay more. It had been objected in French quarters that, instead of French payments being inversely proportionate, they should be directly proportionate, to German payments. That argument was buttressed up by the dual contention that the Balfour principle would make of France a sort of guarantee of German good faith and that, if Germany defaulted, then France should be allowed to default also! Astonishing arguments. What was the position? The French Treasury Bills which constitute the French debt to Great Britain represent a definite French obligation irrespective of Germany. Even if Germany had won the war, and even if France had had to pay an indemnity to Germany, her debt to Great Britain would still have stood, on ordinary business principles, as a full French obligation to Great Britain. But what, in effect, does Great Britain offer

by the Balfour Note? She offers (1) to reduce the total of the French debt in any case, and even apart from German reparations; (2) to reduce even that reduced total by as much as she receives from Germany in reparation payment. How can French opinion be so blind as to represent that offer as an attempt to make France guarantee Germany's payment of reparations?

Mr. Churchill, however, evolved a clever formula which was palpably designed to meet the French arguments, mistaken as they were. "In the view of His Majesty's Government," the memorandum stated, "it might be found convenient that the French payments should be divided into (a) fixed annual amounts to be paid by France irrespective of the actual receipts from the Dawes annuities in a particular year; and (b) a further annual charge on the French share in the Dawes annuity."

It followed that both those categories would have to be estimated on a scale high enough to cover all contingencies, that is, a little higher than the normal annual sum necessary to satisfy the Balfour principle. Then, as an obvious rider to the scheme, whenever the books showed that the payments from Europe amounted to the same figure as the original value of the British debt to America, then the debts could be written off as settled. Such a scheme would obviate all difficulty about the variable payments of Germany under the Dawes scheme, those payments, that is, which are dependent on a German prosperity index.

An important and illuminating difference between French and British thought on this subject is that whereas France thinks in terms of capital debt, Great Britain thinks in terms of annual payments. Capital debt is a meaningless phenomenon in itself. The French debt has meant nothing to France for the past six years, because she has paid nothing annually.

The arithmetical genius of some French journalists has shown that vague financial formulæ, such as that of the Balfour Note, might be reconciled with actual cash of an extent far different from that contemplated by Lord Balfour. Inescapable precision, therefore, is needed. For instance, those French journalists who have made the simple calculation that the present value of the British debt to America is about £700,000,000, the present value of the British share in the Dawes annuities about £400,000,000, that the Allied obligation to Great Britain, therefore, is about £300,000,000 and the French share about £150,000,000, are performing private-school arithmetic which bears a very inaccurate relationship to the real position. The present value of the British debt to America is £700,000,000, for instance, only because a considerable amount has already been paid off.

Moreover, time is money. Varying rates of interest and varying

periods of redemption are translatable into terms of cash. A French funding of the debt to Great Britain at a lower figure than the British rate to America would necessarily involve a capital increase of the French debt. The British Treasury must receive first the exact equivalent of what has already been paid to America; secondly, an annual sum for the next sixty years or so, exactly equivalent to the British annual sum due to America. The Dawes annuities run for only thirty-seven years, not sixty. They are presumably safe, but the British Treasury enters on the revenue side only sums which have been received, not those which are expected to be received.

The simplest way of showing the generosity of the British offer to France, as contained in the Churchill Memorandum, is this. The amount of the British loan to France is £600,000,000; that sum was raised by the British Government by means of an internal loan at five per cent. The Government is still paying five per cent. a year on it—that is £30,000,000. If France, therefore, simply paid what she owes she would pay something like £30,000,000 a year to Great Britain, but Great Britain asks, not from France only, but from Germany, France, Italy, Belgium, and the rest, only as much as she herself has to pay America—namely, at the present time, £33,000,000 a year.

It is true that this sum rises to £38,000,000 a year, to be paid for some sixty years, but the present annual sum demanded by Great Britain from all her European debtors together is only £33,000,000. Assuming that £9,000,000 a year comes from German reparations, then France, Italy, and the rest are left with £24,000,000 to provide. If the French share of this be put as high as £20,000,000 that sum represents only two-thirds of the strict French liability, and if the German payments under the Dawes Scheme fulfil expectations, France will have to pay only one-third of her liability.

A point that ought to be remembered by Great Britain's creditors and debtors alike is that in any event Great Britain receives not one penny either of reparations from Germany or of effective debt payment from her allies, for every penny received from either source is passed on to America, and if America at any time cancelled the British debt Great Britain, by virtue of the Balfour principle, would cancel the European debts to herself. Moreover, in calculating the British liability to the United States Government as the basis of European indebtedness to Great Britain, Great Britain ignores a vast amount of her actual liability resulting from the war, for instance:

1. The £800,000,000 of foreign securities devoted by her to the general war effort before the United States entered the war.

2. The debts incurred by the British Government in American markets for war purposes.

3. The entire extent of British war damages.

The above points were in the mind of Mr. Churchill when he wrote the following sentence in his Memorandum: "His Majesty's Government have already consented, not merely to reduce their claims against the Allies to an amount necessary to cover their own payments in respect of the British war debt to the United States Government, but actually to apply the whole of the United Kingdom share of German reparations to that purpose. This means that Great Britain not only takes to her own charge the whole of her own war damages, but also the £800,000,000 of foreign securities devoted by her to the general effort before the United States entered the war."

The Memorandum did not make clear what was the relation between the French debt and the other Allied debts to Great Britain. There is, however, reason to assume that British policy will be to treat with one ally at a time; for a round-table conference of all debtors would lead to nothing except confusion. If, and when, a French delegation comes to discuss the French debt, it will naturally want to know the proportionate liability of France and Italy. I understand that the British policy will probably be to calculate the respective liabilities of France and Italy in terms of a percentage of the common liability, but that the percentage will not be calculated arithmetically on the basis of the French and Italian totals of indebtedness. Account will be taken of the respective abilities to pay, and it is the view of the British Treasury that France is a far richer country than Italy—a view which is fully supported by statements made by M. Clémentel himself, for instance, in the prospectus of the Morgan loan for France, and in a statement which he published in *L'Europe Nouvelle* (see CONTEMPORARY REVIEW, January, pp. 103-104).

Although the Italian sum of indebtedness is nearly as great as the French, Italy will hardly be expected to pay *pari passu* with France. This was implied in that sentence of the Memorandum which stated: "His Majesty's Government cannot accept a position in which this principle [i.e., the Balfour principle] could only be achieved upon the basis of the full normal yield of the Dawes annuities or by taking at their face value debts which cannot be at present treated as good assets."

The stipulation made in the Memorandum to the effect that the French liability should be reduced "provided that the principle of a definite payment by France from her own national resources, fixed with due regard to her relative wealth and tax-paying capacity, is assured" was clearly a hit at the talk of a Dawes scheme

for France. It may be confidently expected that no proposal will be entertained in London for granting a loan to France, on the German analogy, as a precedent condition to a French payment of her existing debt. France flourishes where Germany is, for the moment "down and out."

THE GOLD DEPOSIT.

An old bogey was resurrected by the proviso made in the memorandum that "all counter-claims by France against Great Britain would be superseded." It is the bogey of the French gold deposit, the history of which was given in this section of the CONTEMPORARY REVIEW for February, 1923 (pp. 244-245). That bogey had its first promenade in January, 1923, when Mr. Bonar Law made his famous proposal at the Paris Conference. Clause 13 of his proposal read: "The deposits of gold which are held by Great Britain as security for loans made to France and Italy for the purpose of carrying on the war, to be applied forthwith towards the repayment of these loans." In Paris that clause was construed as an attempt of the British Government to confiscate gold which had been deposited in good faith, and the charge was not withdrawn, but reiterated with emphasis, when Mr. Bonar Law explained that the gold had already been used for buying munitions in the United States for the common cause.

It was in August, 1916, that an agreement was made at Calais whereby the French Government deposited gold in London as security for a sterling loan advanced by the British Government. The amount of the loan was £150,000,000, and the deposit a little over £50,000,000. Curiously enough the £3,000,000 worth of gold which has just been recovered from the sunken "Laurentic" was a part of the French gold deposit. It was one of the instalments on its way to America—a picturesque reminder that the British devastated provinces were not confined to South Lancashire, as the French devastated districts were confined to the industrial North, but comprised three oceans as well. The British Government made the loan of £150,000,000 to France by undertaking to discount French Treasury bills to the amount named. The deposit under the agreement was to be repaid on the same date as the Treasury bills.

By the end of 1916 it became necessary for the British Government to mobilise gold for the payment of the British debt to America, and for the interest both on that debt and on the general European debt to America. At the end of 1916, therefore the British Government advised the French Government that it would be necessary to use the gold deposits for this purpose. The French raised no objection. Moreover, the British Government, as a con-

cession to France, offered to pay interest on the deposit to the French Government from the date when the gold was used. France expressed gratitude for this, because it was over and above the requirements of the Calais agreement. At the end of 1916, and throughout 1917, therefore, the gold was used up by periodic shipments to the United States. The interest was regularly paid, and is still being paid, by Britain to France; the method of payment being to write off the amount of the interest from the total of the French debt.

A new agreement was made between the British and French Governments in December, 1919, under which France on her side made a concession to the British Government. She undertook not to ask for repayment of the gold deposit until the whole French debt to Britain had been paid. According to the Calais agreement repayment was to be made when the £150,000,000 loan only was repaid. It is true that this modification of the Calais agreement was made on British suggestion, and that at first the French Government objected to it. In February, 1920, however, the objection was formally removed and the agreement concluded.

The position therefore is that, under the conditions formally laid down by the two Governments, the British Government is not bound to repay the French gold deposit until the whole French debt has been repaid. In as much as the Balfour principle offers to relieve France of some £400,000,000 of indebtedness there can be no question of France maintaining a claim for the repayment of the £53,000,000 gold deposit.

CURRENCY AND INFLATION.

An amusing example comes from France of the way in which currency problems can prove too much for those who are not expert in the business. It throws some indirect light on the general difficulty of dealing with a country which hardly understands the credit aspect of money, accomplished though she be in certain of the technicalities of money matters. M. Clémentel, whose strong point is not his understanding of currency problems, has hit on a scheme which, in the view of experts here, is bound to prove futile. The scheme is this. In order to avoid further inflation he has decided to withdraw the French currency from the Saar territory and to circulate it in France, and then to replace it in the Saar by a special Saar currency. That scheme, according to M. Clémentel's calculation, will increase currency circulation in France without issuing further currency! What he apparently has not foreseen is that his scheme is just as much an act of inflation as if he had issued more notes, for inflation is the relation of currency to

population. By withdrawing the currency from the Saar, he has maintained the same total currency, but decreased the number of people using it—which is the same thing, in effect, as increasing the currency.

M. PARMENTIER AND THE COMMISSION THAT FAILED.

The renewed discussion about debt funding has had the incidental effect of unearthing a forgotten, but interesting, chapter of history. On January 28th, M. Loucheur, taking part in a debate in the French Chamber, recalled that it was France who had been the first to take separate action in the matter of Allied debts to the United States. His reminder was important mainly as an answer to those Frenchmen who argue that it was a mistake on Mr. Baldwin's part to fund the British debt to America without reference to other debts. It was in June, 1922, when the Allied bankers had unsuccessfully attempted to arrange for an international loan for Germany, that M. Poincaré decided to send a feeler to the United States. His object was to discover whether the United States Government would give correspondingly lighter terms and a corresponding reduction of her indebtedness if France agreed to a reduction of Germany's total.

At the beginning of July, therefore (not in May, as M. Loucheur stated), M. Parmentier, a junior official of the French Finance Ministry, was sent on a mission to Washington to discuss the funding of the French debt to America. At that time the French Government was convinced that it would be easy to represent French difficulties over the reconstruction of the devastated regions in such a way that America would readily agree to specially favourable terms for a French settlement of her debt to America. M. Parmentier, however, was unpleasantly surprised when he got to Washington to find himself subjected to a close examination by the Debt Funding Commission on the details of French military expenditure for herself and for others, and on the remarkable lightness of the taxes which the French peasant had to bear. It was therefore given out officially that he was returning to Paris to consult his Government, although the French press at the time made it clear that his mission was regarded in Paris as having failed. That interpretation was made clearer in the autumn, when the French Funding Commission declined to cross to America when Mr. Baldwin went, although it had been arranged before M. Parmentier's July visit that the two Commissions should leave together in the autumn.

The British Balfour Note was sent to France just after M. Parmentier's mission in Washington had failed, and there is little doubt that it was partly due to French separate action in Wash-

ington. At that time, however, no one in London took seriously any French move towards the funding of any debt, and M. Parmentier's visit to Washington attracted little attention, specially as the Genoa Conference had just ended and was regarded as much more interesting. Before M. Parmentier went to Washington there was, it is true, a general understanding between France and Great Britain that no separate steps should be taken by either in matters affecting either reparations, inter-Allied debts, or any other question of common interest to both. That understanding was violated by France in many spheres besides that of debts, but that of debts was regarded as of the least importance, because if M. Parmentier had obtained good terms from Washington it would have been difficult for Washington to insist on heavier terms from Great Britain. None the less, it is surprising that people here should have so far forgotten the Parmentier incident as not to use it as an argument against the unofficial French attacks on the separate British agreement with America, and that it should have been left to M. Loucheur to recall it.

THE RELATION OF DEBTS WITH SECURITY.

It was hardly surprising that on the receipt of the Churchill Memorandum in Paris, the semi-official loud-speakers there promptly attempted to link up the question of French security with that of funding the French debt. The question of security is always linked up with every other question in French diplomacy. Naturally, the official feeling here was that the two questions must be kept separate; but every child knew that when M. Herriot came to London to discuss Cologne and security, the question of the debt would also be discussed whether M. Clémentel came with him or not. In six years' history of post-war Franco-British relations no one has ever succeeded in keeping the money question separate from that of security. Mr. MacDonald came nearest to it last August, as a result of an explicit understanding reached with M. Herriot beforehand; but even in that case the question of security dominated all the discussion about the evacuation of the Ruhr and was disposed of only by the promise of the Geneva Protocol. In the present instance, the British Government expected to be in a position to give to M. Herriot, when he came to London, some idea of the modifications which are to be proposed in the text of the Protocol; if they satisfy France the question of debts will presumably be discussed smoothly. Otherwise the discussions will be complicated. Some disappointment has been felt in financial quarters on finding that one argument in which Mr. Churchill had been led to place much faith failed to carry its weight in France—the argument, namely, that a funding of the

British debt on the generous terms available would have set a moral limit to America's demands in the funding of the French debt to America. Some French realists on second thoughts began saying that as there never had been any practical question of a French funding of the American debt on any terms whatever, the argument lost much of its force.

AMERICA AND EUROPE.

It was gratifying to find between the time of the Paris Financial Conference of January 6th-14th and of the Churchill Memorandum of February 6th that American opinion underwent a process of inchoate enlightenment about the elements of world affairs. America is a country of contradictions. It contains a record number of people who concern themselves with public crusades for moral "uplift," who desperately try, for instance, to prevent as many people as possible from drinking alcohol, who try to stop China from producing and Chinamen from smoking opium, who try to legislate against high heels for women—to mention only a few of their crusades. Yet there is no country in the world which in its international policy is so ruthlessly, if perhaps unthinkingly, realist and Machiavellian as America. Her politicians often speak in altruistic and idealist language. They mostly act under a narrow, inelastic motive of American commercial interest. It is the worldly convention not to criticise America; for America, as a result of the Great War, is the richest country in the world. Liberal newspapers here write absent-mindedly of American idealism, commonsense, pacifism. Rubbish! On diplomatic grounds, as on every reasonable ground, it is more expedient, as well as more honest, to call a spade a spade. The commercial spirit of American policy has probably done more to retard world peace and world regeneration than any other single factor since 1918. President Wilson was a genuine idealist and a glorious exception to the American rule. He was crucified by America. After six years, however, there are welcome signs that some Americans are beginning to see the obvious. One effect of the Paris Financial Conference and the Churchill Memorandum combined has been to open the eyes of the more intelligent Americans to the fact that America, who for six years has been wont to pretend that she did not claim and would not accept any German reparations which might result from the Treaty of Versailles (that Treaty not having been ratified by America) is in reality the only country in the world which effectively does receive German reparations. Under the Balfour principle and the Dawes scheme combined an initial £9,000,000 a year passes through London from Berlin to Washington. If the Churchill Memorandum leads

to a funding of the French debt, if the full expectations of the Dawes scheme are realised, if America sticks to her two-and-a-quarter per cent., we shall in time see that some £20,000,000 will annually pass to America from German reparations. Great Britain, by contrast, has never received a penny of German reparations and never will. France will receive considerably less than America. And the embarrassing thing for the intelligent American referred to is the realisation that the only possible method whereby America can act up to her professed principles and reject German reparations is by cancelling the British debt! Which will weigh more in the American balance—principles or cash?

THE PATRIARCHATE.

On January 10th, 1923, speaking before the Territorial and Military Commission of the Lausanne Conference, Lord Curzon declared: "If these spiritual and ecclesiastical prerogatives were to be destroyed and the seat of the Patriarchate removed from Constantinople, a shock would be delivered to the conscience of the whole civilised world." On January 30th, 1925, the Patriarch Constantine was served with a few hours' notice to quit Constantinople. The very symbol of Eastern Christianity, the fountain head of the Orthodox Church, he was hauled out of bed in the middle of the night, without warning, and ordered by Turkish officials to remove himself from the city and from Turkish territory by breakfast time.

In one sense Ismet Pasha had his justification. In politics as in natural history we reap what we sow. Ismet had consistently found that he need only clamour loudly enough, and his wishes would be granted by the allies of Greece at the expense of Greece. After the history of the past four years it can hardly be surprising that Turkish policy, which judges opportunity by the strength of the likely opposition, should have gone to the length of violating, if not the letter, at any rate the clear substance of a Turkish pledge made at Lausanne and violating what Lord Curzon described as "the conscience of the whole civilised world."

Turkish quibbles to the effect that the Patriarch and not the Patriarchate had been removed are mainly interesting as revealing a Turkish estimate of Western intelligence, an estimate formed, presumably, on recent Turkish experience of Western diplomats. It would be easy enough to answer the Turkish argument; to answer, for instance, that the Turkish criterion which made Constantine an "exchangeable" Greek would make every other conceivable Patriarch, except one, equally "exchangeable"; and the only Turkish condition on which the Patriarchate could retain its seat in Constantinople would therefore be that the

Patriarch should be in effect a Turkish choice—that the spiritual head of Christendom in the East should be at the disposal of non-Christian Turks, who have not been distinguished in the past for any tolerant spirit towards those Christians who have fallen within their power. Of the four Metropolitans now in Constantinople only one (Chalkedon) is not “exchangeable.” There cannot therefore be an “election” of a successor to Constantine. Moreover several of the twelve electors canonically necessary for an election are themselves “exchangeable” in the Turkish view. There could not therefore be performed even the farce of electing Chalkedon unless the Turks suspended their “exchangeable” thesis. And in that event, why should Constantine have been expelled?

It is, perhaps, worth while placing on record what exactly happened at Lausanne. When the question of the iniquitous exchange of populations arose, the incidental question arose whether the Patriarch was to be regarded as a civil person, liable, as other civil Greeks resident in Turkish territory, to be expelled.

Ismet Pasha had proposed that the Patriarchate should be removed from Constantinople. Inasmuch as the Patriarchate had been established in Constantinople for a thousand years before the Turks took the city and has continuously functioned there except for sixty-five years in the 13th century, there was naturally no keenness at Lausanne to accept a non-Christian proposal to uproot it as if it were some insignificant trifle.

The Turkish apologists argue, with some show of reason, that the Turkish Government ought to have full control over Turkish territory, that the person of the Patriarch is a subject of the Turkish Government and that therefore so long as the seat of the Patriarchate remained in Constantinople, it should properly be liable to any violence the Turks might choose to visit upon it. But the Turkish motive is religious. It is anti-Christian. The fact that Greek opinion, in common with that of Roumania, Jugoslavia and other countries which are included within the scope of the Orthodox Christian Church, has expressed profound resentment against this latest Turkish intolerance does not justify the philo-Turkish contention that the Patriarch is a civil personality and a nationalist Greek. The resentment is religious in motive, because the persecution is religious in motive. There is such a thing as reverence; and the Church of England fully shares the feeling of reverence for the ancient institution of the sister branch of Christianity. If the Patriarchate had been established in Constantinople for a few years only, even for a century only, Christians the whole world over might feel less difficulty in accepting its transference to some healthier spot than present-

day Constantinople under Turkish rule. But the history, tradition, cumulative association and reverence of sixteen centuries is not thus easily uprooted. S. Paul's Cathedral is a newer phenomenon; yet if it were decided to remove it from its present site to another site even in London—would public opinion take the matter lightly and without regret? You cannot transplant without destroying the intangible atmosphere of tradition. And S. Paul's is not the symbolic centre of Western Christianity in the sense that the Patriarchate is the symbolic centre of Eastern Christianity.

It was Lord Curzon who at Lausanne made a proposal designed to induce the Turks to stay their hands from molesting the Patriarchate. “I should like to state,” he said, on January 10th, 1923, “on behalf of my colleagues—all of whom I know agree with me—that the Allied Powers recognise that the institution of the Patriarchate should in the future lose its political and administrative character, and that while continuing to remain at Constantinople it should become a purely religious institution. That is the suggestion which I venture to submit to the Turkish delegation and to the Conference.” Mr. Veniselos and the rest accepted the suggestion. Ismet Pasha accepted it. The official report of the proceedings, in reporting Ismet's speech, runs thus:

“As regards the Patriarchate, Ismet Pasha took note before the Commission of the solemn declarations and assurances which had just been delivered by the Allied and Greek delegations, whereby the Patriarchate was no longer to take any part whatever in affairs of a political or administrative character, and was to confine itself within the limits of purely religious matters. . . .

“The removal of the Patriarchate from Constantinople had been proposed by the Turks at the time when the exemption of the Greeks in that city from the exchange of populations was being contemplated.

“With a view to giving a supreme proof of the conciliatory disposition of the delegation over which he presided, Ismet Pasha withdrew this proposal under the conditions just stated by him, and in reliance on the assurance of which he had already taken note.”

Turkish diplomatists have argued that the undertaking was recorded, not in any formal treaty, but merely in the “proceedings” of the Conference. It may be doubted if any other diplomatists in the world would be frank enough to maintain such a distinction, which amounts to the argument that the Turkish Government has no scruple in dishonouring a clear undertaking merely because it was not embodied in a legal document. Certainly no one at Lausanne anticipated such an argument. If it

had been anticipated, Ismet Pasha would no doubt have been invited to embody his pledge in a treaty, or in some other formal document. Would Ismet Pasha not have been insulted if he had been told that his word was not enough?

Let it be noted that there is no suggestion that the Patriarch Constantine has attempted to go beyond his purely religious sphere in Constantinople. There is no suggestion that the Lausanne arrangement has been violated on the side of the Patriarchate. The Patriarchate has existed side by side with the Ottoman Empire for five centuries, and except for the period of the Great War of 1914-1918 the Turkish Government has never been able to make out a case against it on the score of disloyalty to Turkey.

There is the classic case of the Patriarch Gregory V who was hanged a hundred years ago, after the Greek insurrection of 1821. There was no suggestion then that Gregory V was personally responsible for the insurrection. On the contrary, in spite of the fact that he was the head of the Greek Orthodox Church, the Patriarch drove his loyalty to the Ottoman Empire to such lengths as to pronounce excommunication against any Ottoman subjects who might take part in the revolt. The reason why he was hanged by the Turks was that he was regarded by the Turks as the symbol of the Greek nation, as the "mile bachi," or head of that nation.

In the present case it is clear that the Greek people have some justification for their indignation, in common with all Christians, Orthodox, Roman or Anglican. They have none the less behaved with a pacific restraint which is all the more remarkable if one remembers the instinctive emotionalism of their blood. They want peace: but they protest against a gratuitous affront to the whole Orthodox Church.

The British Government adopts a neutral attitude to this matter. It is, of course, a difficult thing for the British Government even to express an opinion on it: for no one wants Great Britain to be involved in Near Eastern controversies, if being involved can be avoided. It is the more difficult in this case because the Turks gave a warning against the appointment of Constantine to the Patriarchate. None the less the event of January 30th must be put down as deplorable, and may prove to be worse than that. The hanging of the Patriarch Gregory V, to which the Powers adopted a neutral attitude, was followed by the massacre of Chios, one of the worst on record. *Absit omen!*

AMERICAN WITHDRAWAL FROM GENEVA.

It was an American who, with a neat sense of humour, commented on Mr. Porter's decision to withdraw from the opium conference at Geneva with these words: "America, you see,

cannot throw off the habit of withdrawing, any more than a Chinaman can throw off the habit of opium-smoking."

In this section of the CONTEMPORARY REVIEW last month, the full position reached at the League of Nations Opium Conference was described, and the issue before the Conference stated (pp. 241-247). All that needs be added is that Mr. Porter, the chief American delegate, after an unsuccessful attempt to impress the Conference, decided to withdraw in the first week of February. It is necessary to explain clearly what led to that decision, and what exactly results from it.

In the first place, Mr. Porter's decision—for, as will be seen below, it was Mr. Porter's personal decision—was unfortunately taken when the Drug Convention, the work of the second Conference at Geneva, was on the very point of succeeding; and the Drug Convention is of particular importance to America, as clearly appears from Mr. Porter's own statements. Mr. Porter has declared that he was left with no alternative but to withdraw by the terms of the Congress resolution on the subject. That interpretation of the Congress resolution, however, was Mr. Porter's own, and it was the general opinion in Geneva that the resolution allowed a certain elasticity to the American delegation on the subject of opium production, and that delegation has often declared during the past few weeks that there was no desire on America's part to interfere in the domestic concerns of, say, India.

How exactly the deadlock was reached may be put in this way. There have been two conferences sitting in Geneva. The first drew up a convention last December which provided for Government control of opium monopoly, and for other measures designed to control the consumption of opium but not to prohibit its production (for details see CONTEMPORARY REVIEW, *loc. cit.*). America has taken no part in that Conference. The second Conference, at which Mr. Porter has headed the American delegation, has been concerned with the restriction of the drug traffic, that is, of the traffic in the derivatives of opium, which by common agreement is more deplorable than opium smoking. Owing, however, to the American proposal, made in this second Conference, for the complete prohibition of opium production throughout the world, the second Conference broke up in a deadlock in December, for the proposal cut across the ground of the first Conference.

Since the resumption of the second Conference a compromise drawn up by the British and French delegations, has been submitted to Mr. Porter. The essence of it (which was already agreed to by Great Britain, France, Holland, and Portugal) was that opium production should be prohibited within a definite time limit—the limit to be decided later—on condition that the producing

countries, notably China, Persia, and Turkey, had in the meantime satisfied a League of Nations' Commission that they had established an effective control over the production of opium. Obviously, there could be no object in abolishing the production of opium in say, India, if the chief producing countries continued to produce, and were merely given enlarged opportunities for smuggling. The Franco-British proposal, therefore, went much further than the Hague Convention, and would have assured a much speedier end to the smoking of opium than has hitherto been possible. Mr. Porter, however, refused this compromise, and reiterated his proposal for absolute and unconditional prohibition, although he extended the time limit to fifteen instead of ten years. The French and British delegations were adamant on the ground that they had gone as far as possible, and Mr. Porter decided to withdraw. The most eloquent comment on that decision was, perhaps, the alacrity with which the Chinese delegation followed my leader. Mr. Porter's argument that the control of drugs involved the control of opium production was contested by the British and French delegations, for it has been established so far that China, Persia, and Turkey cannot or will not control production, whereas it is clearly possible for, say, America to suppress her morphia factories, and to follow Great Britain's example in controlling the channels of distribution. Given international co-operation, the control of drug factories and of the channels of distribution could become effective to-morrow. Prepared opium cannot be so controlled, and therefore can be limited only by limiting production. Mr. Porter never answered the British case, and as Lord Cecil pointed out, the British case never has been answered.

GEORGE GLASGOW.

February 13th, 1925.

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WAR IN THE AIR.*

This is a timely and thorough book on what may prove the chief terror of warfare, if warfare there is to be. Mr. Spaight assumes, as a good many thinkers and lawyers assume, that the lessons of the Great War will be forgotten and that sooner or later civilisation will find itself once more in the clutch of war on the vastest scale. He realises to the full what such warfare will mean, and he sees a hope that the development of war in the air will make the war of the future a brief business. He argues, quite soundly on paper, that "victory or defeat is a state of mind." He does not recognise the old rule of combatants that the British never know when they are defeated. It is doubtful, therefore, whether his major premiss is right. But let us assume for the moment that it is right. He writes:

War, after all, is only a means to an end. It is a way of settling an international difference which diplomacy has failed to adjust and which is not susceptible of treatment by the other methods of pacific settlement, such as inquiry commissions, arbitration, or submission to the Permanent Court of the Hague. . . . A war is fought in order to bring about a change of mind in another State. . . . It is a question, first and last, of persuading minds—the minds of the Government and (because Governments in all modern States

* *Air Power and War Rights*. By J. M. Spaight. (Longmans. 25s. net.)

are the servants of the people) of the people of the enemy country. . . . It has never been possible to dispense with the preliminary trials of strength between the opposing armies or fleets before the ultimate task, the exertion of the necessary forcible pressure upon the enemy Government and people, could be approached. . . . It is the survivors, not the dead, who make peace. Victory or defeat is a state of mind. . . . Now, for the first time in history, it has become possible to dispense with the preliminary stages. Air power can strike straight at the heart of the enemy State. It can ignore armies and fleets.

Mr. Spaight thinks in terms of the old Eastern fairy story where the battles are fought on a chess-board. The human element other than brain power and moral effect on the masses is eliminated in his large outlook. But let us assume the premiss. Mr. Spaight then draws attention to the legal organisation of air-power and the laws that will govern the chess of the air and comes, after a very valuable statement of the rules, to the ultimate fact of bombing. Since it is merely a mental process that is at work neither of the combatants will desire to destroy either life or property for the sake of destruction, but with the end in view of the creation of a state of mind which will determine victory or defeat. Hence (the second assumption) there will exist agreements by which great cities (non-military objectives), the ganglions of economic and political life, will be attacked only at such times as in the normal course there would be a minimum of population present. In all such cases, the non-military character of the objective being assured, attack only by night would be allowed, with the object of depressing the morale of the attacked belligerent. It may be admitted that this would be a limitation of war rights and that it is quite possible (on the chess theory) that this would be quite as effective a way of making up an enemy's mind as the way of indiscriminate slaughter.

Let us assume that all the conditions that Mr. Spaight demands are given: that airmen of all nations detest slaughtering civilians (a fact that is beyond all doubt), that agreements limiting the periods of bombing attacks can be made and will be obeyed, that the nations will agree to the bombardment of certain non-military property. Can we, with all the assumptions that Mr. Spaight makes, believe that he has arrived "at a practical and acceptable solution, and one likely to stand the acid test of actual war, of this terrible problem of air attack upon centres of population"?

In our very deliberate view it would be not only useless but dangerous to deceive ourselves with this hope. For the moment we are still prepared to admit that "victory or defeat is a state of mind," though we shall deal with that proposition directly. But, assuming this attractive doctrine, what are the facts, the facts as

to London for instance? It is totally impossible to disentangle the population from the essential centres of bomb attack. It is true that the City of London is almost empty at night, but the destruction of the City from the point of view of making up the nation's mind would be useless. There are twenty-four other economic centres which within twenty-four hours could become the centre of financial thought and economic action. That is the economic beauty of Britain. No nation could destroy its economic dominance at a touch. But the centre of government is a different matter. The destruction of Westminster and Whitehall might be very effective. But all this area teems with population night and day, and a really effective attack would mean immense destruction of life. Is it really to be supposed that Admiral von Tirpitz would hesitate and agree to destroy the City of London and spare the City of Westminster and the Borough of Lambeth and the southern railways (thronged by a population of two million souls), which are our only connection with the continent? Moreover, in time of war, London would be a hive of munition factories. The case has only to be stated to see that Mr. Spaight's solution is no solution. It is impossible to disentangle activities which are the soul of effective warfare from a purely industrial civilian population running into millions.

Now let us consider the assumption that "Victory or defeat is a state of mind." In one sense it is. A Government might throw up the sponge, as indeed, was suggested by statesmen of various countries in 1917. But English people being what they are, a great group of individualists who have a profound and probably illogical contempt for foreign fighting men, they would at once replace a Defeatist Government by a Last Ditch Government, in the certain hope that with an undefeated navy and army and supplies secured, the destruction of any city or any series of cities would be no ground for surrender. If it is true that defeat is a state of mind, it is a state of mind singularly difficult to induce in any race that has any imperial resilience.

Bombardment from the air will end no first-rank wars. But it is plain enough that the use of Air-Power will largely alter the character of war. Desperate battles will be fought over great cities and the evidence produced by Mr. Spaight, in his attractive, well-written and vividly descriptive narrative of battles not long ago, makes it difficult to believe that it will be possible to prevent highly destructive bombing raids. It is one of the main interests in the history of wars to watch new defences on land and sea follow new attacks, and it is not at all unlikely that new defences by means of gas will follow new penetration of defences by aeroplane. At the moment the gas engineers declare that there are

masks that render the attackers absolutely immune from gas defence, but the tests are land tests and there may well be evolved gases that will laugh at masks, since, after all, even masked men must breathe. Moreover, gas projectiles bursting in the midst of an air squadron may well involve disorganisation that will render masks intolerable. The old law that to every attack there is a defence does not only apply to fencing. Ultimately the human element of endurance prevails, with the result that war cannot be reduced to a game of chess.

But the future, as depicted by the chemists, is so terrible that, after all, nations will become less and less inclined for war. Private war became too intolerable for a practical world, and the same must become true of public war. Wars of ambition have certainly reached the limit of human endurance, while it should be possible to avoid wars that are based on the upholding of great human principles, such as freedom physical, religious, political, and economic. The possibility of war can be reduced, but it must largely turn on the liberal education of the democracies of the world.

* * * J. E. G. DE M.

ALBERT VENN DICEY.*

Professor Rait, of Glasgow University, at the request of Mrs. Dicey has compiled this admirable account of the distinguished jurist, who is famous as the author of three famous books, the *Introduction to the Study of the Law of the Constitution* (based upon Oxford lectures and first issued in 1885), *The Conflict of Laws* (based on a work on the Law of Domicile, first issued in 1879, which reached its final form only a few weeks before Professor Dicey's death), and *Law and Opinion in England* (based on lectures delivered at Harvard in 1898 and reaching its final form in 1914). Professor Rait regards his volume as essentially Mrs. Dicey's tribute to her husband's memory, and a noble tribute it is. It could have been bettered only by an autobiography, but even in this respect the present work presents some gain, as Professor Dicey frankly disliked the idea of revealing his secret thoughts and would no doubt have suppressed much that others had said in his honour. There is, however, an "Autobiographical Fragment" which Professor Dicey contributed, at the age of eighty-seven, to the Bi-Centenary Record of the ancient *Northampton Mercury*, which was the property of the Dicey family and to which the jurist contributed some of his treasured writings. Professor

* *Memorials of Albert Venn Dicey. Being chiefly Letters and Diaries.* Edited by Robert S. Rait. (MacMillan. 12s. 6d. net.)

Rait was on intimate terms with Professor Dicey in his later years and some very interesting letters from the jurist to the historian are here published. In a letter of 1915, Dicey declares that "the Evangelicals, except in such matters as the Slave Trade, and the Abolition of Slavery, were as a body Tories." Strangely enough, the Dicey family, thorough-going Evangelicals, were equally thorough-going Whigs. Then again, in 1920, Dicey dwells on the impossibility of really considerable political foresight:

Think how little Unionists and Home Rulers really foresaw the course of events between 1886 and the present day. On the whole I still hold that the Unionists came much nearer the true state of facts. . . . I think it is morally certain that Gladstone utterly failed to understand the condition either of Ireland or of England, and that the Conservatives never perceived that the success of Unionism could be secured only by reducing, as was just, the number of Irish representatives, and by subordinating, up to the time of the war, everything else to the maintenance of the Union.

In the same year he dwells on the disappointment in the very incomplete fulfilment of political, moral or social ideals:

I have recently come to see, more clearly than I have ever done, that this eternal disappointment is due to two essentially different, though interconnected, causes. The one is that the real fulfilment of an ideal, that is, the real carrying out of a genuine reform, results in less of actual improvement than those who have laboured for it expected. . . . Very sensible people attributed to slavery almost every defect in American character and in American institutions; and it is equally certain that the abolition of slavery, though it averted much evil, did not cure the defects of Americans or of their institutions. The second cause is that an ideal itself is almost always imperfect, it contains defects which reformers absolutely fail to perceive. Mazzini, believing truly that the misery of Italy was caused by the despotism of Austria, assumed, and with very dubious truth taught, that nationalism, or in other words political independence, was the cure for the many evils under which the States of the Continent suffered. We all know now that even genuine nationalism is compatible with, if not allied to great national blindness. Germany and Italy, each in different ways, illustrate a fact to which Mazzini was blind.

These quotations, which are representative of the penetrating quiet thought that was significant of the man, may perhaps cause regret that Dicey had not taken up a political career. In fact, apart from physical impossibility, his thinking, based upon the widest reading and the closest observation of political phenomena at home and abroad, was far more fruitful than much speech-making or much administrative work, or a dominant share in the Cabinets of the decades when he might have been in high politics. His writings were all the time having effect at every turn on deep political thinking, and we believe that they will continue to do so

during many generations long after the politicians of his age are dead and forgotten. One might reflect, in Dicey's own manner, on the very brief immortality of even great politicians possessing the best outfit in scholarship, rhetoric and democratic worship. The truth is that, too often, they have to act in haste and repent at leisure. Of the moving figures of the second half of the nineteenth century some four or five only survive in popular remembrance. It is strange that neither Gladstone nor Disraeli ever realised the possibilities of a great national system of advanced education. A perusal of their speeches on education from the roaring 'forties to the sophisticated 'eighties shows no glimmer of a suspicion that a really educated democracy was possible, and yet Gladstone was an enthusiastic scholar and became a great Liberal leader, while Disraeli was a humanist who recalled at least one aspect of the Renaissance and claimed democracy as a conservative force.

Dicey's outlook provokes speculation of this character. In his study he was ceaselessly reflecting on the relations of opinion and progress, but he chiefly related his study of current opinion in history to law. The story of his life supplies the explanation of this almost Socratic figure. Born on February 4th, 1835, he was the third of the four sons of parents who in themselves were remarkable personalities. His father, Thomas Edward Dicey, was at first at Oriel College, Oxford, where he made his mark as an accurate and elegant scholar. He, however, at the end of his first year decided to migrate to Trinity College, Cambridge, and there became, in 1811, Senior Wrangler and was awarded the first Smith's Prize. It was a period of brilliant men both at Oxford and Cambridge, but T. E. Dicey did not compete further with his peers. Delicate in health, he was satisfied to retire into the country and edit a family newspaper and reflect in his sober happy way on the evolution of a new world and on a coming age of revolution. He married the sister of his great Cambridge friend, James Stephen, who became Under-Secretary for the Colonies, and the daughter of the Master in Chancery of the same name, Sir Leslie Stephen and A. V. Dicey were first cousins and grandsons of the Master in Chancery. Thus on both sides Dicey inherited great intellectual and moral powers, and the fact that he and his brothers were educated at home by their parents enabled the breadth of outlook, as well as the scholarly aptitudes of both parents, to receive educational transmission.

A. V. Dicey went for a time to a day school, the King's College School, Strand, and thence to Balliol, in 1854, where he secured a double "first," and was subsequently elected to an open fellowship at Trinity College. He won the Arnold Historical Essay

with a monograph on the Privy Council, and that fact determined his future line of thinking. This line of thought was also emphasised by his Oxford friendships, and chiefly that of his pupil James Bryce. The membership of the Old Mortality Society, formed by men who regarded their health with some sense of apprehension, indicates many of his friends. It was a literary society and included Dicey, Swinburne, Birkbeck Hill, Bryce, T. H. Green, Edward Caird, Sir T. E. Holland, Dr. Magrath, Henry Nettleship. Swinburne was an enthusiastic essayist and reader, and it is to be noted that Old English Ballads were among his readings as well as some of the work of Robert Browning. At least two members of the society survive, after the lapse of seventy years, Sir Erskine Holland and Dr. Magrath, Provost of Queen's College, Oxford.

Dicey was called to the Bar in 1863 and made sufficient mark in some twenty laborious years, but he also found time for much literary work and laid the foundations of his great textbooks. He kept in touch with Oxford and examined in the Law Schools, and when the Vinerian Professorship of English Law fell vacant he was a candidate and was elected in 1882. That position he held with great effect until 1909 and did much to build up the present great Oxford School of Law and to promote the intensive and realistic study of law. He felt it necessary to retire in 1909, but in the next year he was elected to an All Souls' Lectureship in Private International Law, which he held for three years, and secured close touch with the Rhodes' scholars. But he also kept touch with London, and was Principal of the Working Men's College from 1898 to 1912. The last ten years of his life were ceaselessly busy with the preparation of new editions of his great books and other writings. In 1872 he had married Miss Eleanor Bonham-Carter, and the letters to his wife are almost the most valuable part of this biography, revealing as they do the large tenderness of his mind and his joy in life as well as its profound intellectualism. He died at the age of 87 on April 7th, 1922, full of years and of the unstinted praise of his generation. His work has had great influence on the juridical thinking of his own times at home and abroad, and it is, there can be little doubt, destined to prove a time-mark in the history of jurisprudence.

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ECONOMIC LAWS OF ART PRODUCTION.*

This book is the outcome of a course of lectures which the author delivered in the spring of 1924 at the London School of

* *Economic Laws of Art Production.* By Sir Hubert Llewellyn Smith, G.C.B. (Oxford University Press, London. 6s. net.)

Economics in the hope that it would fill a gap. Sir Hubert had discovered that there was no textbook dealing with the subject of art in relation to commerce, a subject recently included by the University of London in their scheme of studies for the degree of Bachelor of Commerce. He also felt that essays such as these might serve to promote and stimulate thought and constructive criticism and research on a subject hitherto almost unexplored. Certain it is, that any country which ignores such basic problems as the inter-relations of Art and Industry will find itself left behind in the march of economic progress. Mr. Gladstone, long years ago, grasped the necessity of fostering common art, that is, applying to production the threefold functions of utility, fitness and beauty.

Sir Hubert Llewellyn Smith devotes much labour to the definition of beauty, that most intangible and inexplicable essence. The poet Keats had a true conception of it when he wrote,

"Beauty is truth, truth beauty,"—that is all
Ye know on earth, and all ye need to know.

but it means a *large* knowledge. Beauty is like warmth, it induces a feeling of well being and engenders love, not only of the object itself, but of the world around and the desire to cultivate it for the good of others. No true lover of beauty can be selfish, for he cannot live to himself alone. One product of this fact is the national desire for public galleries and the public acquisition of works of art. All works of art are as dead as Tutankhamen's tomb till they come in contact with the observer. Fashion is the imp of trade and it at once commercialises beauty. A necessary imp, Sir Hubert Llewellyn Smith would say, for it stimulates endeavour and with a touch of its wand it makes and unmakes, and thus art values change from time to time.

The author of this book lays much stress on the necessity of unity in a work of art, which is indeed its essential quality. All human endeavour must be based on the pattern of an organism, a whole or unity. St. Paul describes in unforgettable words this organism: "That there should be no schism in the body; but that the members should have the same care one for another. And whether one member suffer, all the members suffer with it." Apply this rule to a product of human labour, or endeavour, and call it a work of art, or a form of Government, and unity is the result; neglect it, and no abiding fruit of labour follows. It is only by caring for and fostering common art in its relation to industry that we may hope for a recrudescence in the higher branches of production, and the true artist in the fulness of time will reap if he faints not.

The advent of machinery changed the relationship of art and industry, and they had to be readjusted; labour was divided and subdivided to the extent that the individual craftsman was merged in the designer, and later on in the school of design. Sir Hubert alludes to the American report, entitled "*Art and Industry*," which summarises the conclusions recently reached by a committee representing the National Society for Vocational Education in the State of New York. He quotes the following passage, in which the writer compares the commercial studio of design with the craft workshop of the guild period of industry:

The design studio, however, almost reproduces these conditions of the older day. The head of such a studio is both the master craftsman and the master merchant. His raw material consists of ideas. Through skill and knowledge these are transformed and materialised to meet the requirements of modern production. These resulting commodities he sells as a master merchant in the market. Such a studio presents almost the same opportunity for training as that of the old-time craft shop of the guild.

After a careful examination of the different methods by which the restoration of a living national art culture could be made possible, the author arrives at the conclusion that designing staffs attached to the workshops would tend more to original art creation as distinct from adaptation than independent art studios. The difficulties are manifold, for design is national and racial, as the author terms it, often gravitating to different countries presenting different cultural conditions. To one not fully acquainted with the complexities of production, the independent school of design seems to offer the wider scope. By being less trammelled and confined by the workshop to which as a designing staff they would be attached, the designers would have a freer hand with their art. Perhaps it might be possible to combine the two methods; the designing staff to be drawn from the independent school of design. Questions such as these and many others will be the outcome of the study of these essays.

"Economic Fitness as a condition of Art Value" and "The Evolution of Artistic Styles," are very interesting chapters, and lead to much thought on an ever widening subject with its international intercourse in art. One looks before and after, and finds nothing new under the sun: B.C. and A.D. blend and a new style evolves. To-day is grafted on yesterday and the growth therefrom, if it is to be a work of art, must appeal to the eye by its beauty which attracts, by its suitability and congruity to its environment, and by fitness for useful function, whether the fabric be stone or flax or what not. Education is the only ladder by which man can surmount and attain the desired goal.

The desire for beauty is cosmopolitan in all branches of art, and every epoch and place produces according to its kind and its racial characteristics. Art values weighed in the scale of fashion change. Monotony has to be relieved and variety is the means. Archaicism, or an imitation of a past fine art, is not the best means. What really concerns us, as the author of these essays points out, is, "not so much the fine art and impalpable distinctions between great and common art as the possibility of re-establishing a true living traditional art culture in our own country and in our own age."

There is so much matter to give pause and thought in these pages that the author need fear no failure of discussion, and they should lend a needed idealism to those who are studying for the Bachelor of Commerce degree.

S. DE M.

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THE CZECHO-SLOVAK REPUBLIC.*

The wonderful revival of the Bohemian State, the reunion with it of its Slovak kinsmen, and the remarkable powers shown by its President and Foreign Secretary, have attracted special attention to this most prominent amongst what are known as the Succession States. The variety of papers in this collection shows the points to which the leaders of the revolution wish to call attention. The impressive portrait of President Masaryk, which forms the frontispiece of this handsome volume, and the large number of his addresses on public occasions contained in the book, emphasise the importance which the Bohemians attach to the character and abilities of their President as a chief factor in the revolution. But a paper on Civilisation in Czecho-Slovakia, and the influence of Western ideas, shows their anxiety not to be mistaken for an Oriental people merely connected with Russian and Byzantine traditions. Of the Western Powers the one with which these documents most closely connect them is France. They show that from the time of the historian Cosmas in the eleventh century, and again in the time of Charles of Luxemburg, one of the greatest rulers of Bohemia, the links between France and Bohemia were very strong, and in art and literature the influence of France has also been shown among Bohemian writers and artists. But, above all, the early recognition of the new State by the French Government, and the starting of a French paper during the war, which devoted itself to Bohemian affairs, are causes of special gratitude of the Bohemian towards the French people.

Nor must we be too much startled if the addresses of President

* *President Masaryk in Brussels, Paris and London.* (Prague, 1923.)

Masaryk seem to imply a warmer feeling to Messrs. Millerand and Poincaré than we are generally disposed to entertain in England. Even their portraits are preserved in the volume. But this official recognition of the then leaders of the French people does not imply an ignoring of the links between Bohemia and England. Among these documents are ample proofs of the recollection of the times of Wyclif and Hus, of Milton and Komensky, and yet more clearly do we see President Masaryk's vivid impression of the kindly reception which greeted him in England during his exile from Bohemia. There is also a recognition of the effect of English literature on Bohemian authors. Can we not make use of this friendly feeling towards England and France to secure the influence of the Bohemian leaders in the direction of such a policy as may restore real peace to Europe?

C. E. M.

* * *

THE EDUCATION OF WOMEN.*

The best material for the history of the education of women, and indeed of the progress of women into all spheres of public life in England, will be the biographies, autobiographies, and reminiscences of those who have played a great part in a movement that may prove, when the history of modern civilisation falls into perspective, not less important than the changes wrought by applied science. Science has given mankind a new orientation; the enfranchisement of women may give it a new and higher plane. In this book Miss Faithfull, so well known for her great work at the Cheltenham Ladies' College, presents the story of the movement from the educational angle. She, of course, being born after 1860, cannot be called a pioneer, but she was, and is, in the tradition of the pioneers. The half century now ending was an age of great men in religion, science, politics and art, but it was an age also of great women—women such as Miss Emily Davies, Miss Clough, Miss Buss, Miss Beale and Mrs. Garrett Anderson—who carried into action the deep moral forces that had been accumulated by earlier generations of noble women who in their patient quietude made a peaceful revolution possible.

But though Miss Faithfull in one sense was not a pioneer, yet she rightly claims to belong to "almost the first generation of professional women," the generation which had to create precedents and traditions. This, then, is the record of a woman who was breaking new ground, and all will study the memories of her early education in a perfect country home which made the effort possible. The father and mother of a large and devoted family

* *In the House of My Pilgrimage.* By Lilian M. Faithfull. (Chatto & Windus. 10s. 6d. net.)

were absolutely at one, and their differences of outlook made that unity possible. "When I went to Oxford in later days I had only to develop an attitude of mind which had been encouraged all through childhood." Miss Faithfull had a taste of co-education, being the sole girl pupil in an admirable preparatory school for boys conducted by her uncle. She went there for Latin and mathematics, and her account of the boys is delightful. "Their contempt for learning was no mere pose. Their slowness and inertia were a perpetual astonishment to me; yet, when they tried, their work was almost invariably better than mine." The description of the essential difference between boys and girls at work is admirable. "Boys, in essays, have no fear of propounding their own views, however crude, and no desire to refer to literary authorities. One cannot alarm girls more than by insisting on independent criticism." Her uncle was a splendid teacher, thorough to the core, and Miss Faithfull fully benefited and enjoyed her school life, but "I am no advocate for co-education." Miss Faithfull analyses, with almost brutal thoroughness, the arguments adduced in favour of co-education and lays them low. The general impression left on the mind of the reader is that parents who yield to the sophisticated arguments in favour of co-education for elder boys and girls are doing a permanent injury to their children. But Miss Faithfull thinks there may be exceptional cases where it is good and she is in favour of a mixed staff in the separate schools.

Miss Faithfull received from a University Extension Lecturer a vivid love of English literature before, in 1883, she passed to Somerville College, Oxford, then in its fourth year. The little college was much patronised by the University and was not spoilt. The great age had not ended: Jowett and Mark Pattison, Ruskin and Max-Müller were still teaching and lecturing, and the learned society of Oxford did all that was possible for the small regiments of enthusiastic but shy young women. Oxford at a distance seems, even to Miss Faithfull, somewhat high-browed and Balliolic, but close at hand that was, and is, not so.

After undergraduate days Miss Faithfull, after acting for a while as Secretary to Miss Shaw-Lefevre at Somerville, secured a post at the Oxford High School. There she learnt the grammar of teaching. In 1889 she became English Literature Lecturer at Holloway College, a period of perfect and deadly equilibrium, and, after five years, passed from Egham to Kensington as vice-principal for the Ladies' Department of King's College. Her interview with the Council is delightfully reported. She had dressed demurely for the interview in order to balance her youth. "I delight to remember how many candidates I have successfully

dressed for interviews for appointments." Is not that phrase, though a joy for ever, a conclusive argument against co-education? Suppose young men were to learn to think like that! The male reader can only shudder and pass on.

Miss Faithfull made her mark at the College even with the Art students. As she drily remarks, "Girls, like boys, are content with a ruler who may be a 'beast,' if only she is a just beast." Justice, a not cruel irony and a decided appreciation of character and characters marked her rule. One of her duties was "to manage Professors," a comparatively easy task since most Professors like being managed, and she certainly had both staff and girls and social reformers (for a woman's college must include these) well in hand. So in 1906 she passed, *fidelis in partibus infidelium*, as some naughty jester once said, to the Cheltenham Ladies' College.

Miss Faithfull succeeded the great Miss Beale, a woman whose personality, "thoughtful, wise and independent," was written into the very texture of the school life, into a school which

appeared to me to be a place of busy leisure and leisurely business. . . . One of the deepest impressions made on me was that the college was a place full of extraordinary achievement and extraordinary possibilities, and I never lost this feeling throughout my fifteen years' work at Cheltenham. . . . One of the greatest conquests Miss Beale made was the conquest of her successor. I had shared some prejudice that was rife in the outside world, but one could not see the results of her work in the school that she had created, and the spirit with which she had endowed it, without recognising her greatness. The longer I remained the more full of admiration I became.

Miss Beale and her successor recognised the fact laid down as law by a judge in the beginning of the fifteenth century, "Education is a spiritual thing." Miss Beale's principles were absorbed by Miss Faithfull, but the application of the principles, especially by delegations which tended to create a school of teachers of the type of Miss Beale and Miss Faithfull, was not the same. The school, no doubt, was a unity in the days of Miss Beale, but certainly Miss Faithfull made the unity organic rather than solid. Yet it was Miss Beale's work that had made the advance possible. Miss Faithfull was always accessible; notes could always be laid upon her desk, with the result that organised revolt against authority was humanly impossible. The size of Cheltenham did not and does not involve loss of individual attention, while the size of the College enables the introduction of special classification in varied curricula. Changes as they gradually came were, of course, resented. An annual medical inspection was resented. The present writer remembers well the torrent of indignation that a

governing body of a large secondary school, for the most part strong and hoary Liberals, poured upon his suggestion that the school should receive a similar inspection. The obvious is always intolerable until the intolerable becomes obvious.

Space cannot permit of any detailed account of Miss Faithfull's labours and achievements at Cheltenham, but it may be said that no modern headmistress can afford not to read this record and to realise why the school stands second to none in two continents. Not that Miss Faithfull would claim such a result of the successive efforts of Miss Beale and herself. She would admit that a school is an organism and must grow; that there is always need for change provided that the change is within the tradition that has made not only Cheltenham but every aspect of the woman's movement successful, where it has been successful. At the moment the education of women is at a turning point. A good many men, at any rate, are not satisfied with certain University developments and especially with certain aspects of religious thought in school and University life, which are not in the tradition that Miss Faithfull inherited.

J. E. G. DE M.

* * *

EARLY CHRISTIAN PRAYERS.*

This little book should receive a wide welcome, since Professor Emery Barnes brings to us out of his wide learning prayers that meant everything to the earliest Christians and should mean as much to us. There appears to be no book dealing in particular with private devotions in early Christian days. "These private devotions have much to teach us; indeed, some of the deeper lessons of the Faith come to us from the intimate prayers of the Fathers. Polycarp and Clement of Alexandria, Basil and his sister Macrina, Gregory of Nazianzus and Augustine teach while they pray." But it should be noted that the Apocrypha writings of the New Testament teem with prayers such as the prayer in the *Acts of Paul*: "O God, look down upon their threatenings and suffer us not to slide, and let not our adversaries cast us down, but save us and bring down quickly Thy righteousness upon us." Perhaps the most famous of the prayers in these writings is the great prayer in the *Acts of Thomas*:

My Lord and my God, and hope and redeemer and leader and guide in all countries, be Thou with all them who serve Thee, and guide me this day as I come unto Thee. Let not any take the soul which I have committed unto Thee; let not the publicans see me, and let not the exactors accuse me falsely. Let not the serpent see me, and let not the children of the dragon hiss at me. Behold,

* *Early Christians at Prayer, 1-400 A.D. With a chapter on Early Prayers for the Departed.* By W. Emery Barnes. (Methuen. 3s. 6d. net.)

Lord, I have accomplished Thy work and perfected Thy commandment. I have become a bondman; therefore to-day do I receive freedom. Do Thou, therefore, give me this and perfect me; and this I say, not for that I doubt, but that they may hear for whom it is needful to hear.

Professor Barnes gives another famous prayer from *The Acts of Thomas*, the prayer over the Indian King, Gundaphorus, an historical Indian ruler of the first century after Christ, and his dead brother Gad. The translation from the Greek is somewhat different from that from the Syriac version prepared by Professor Barnes. It is not at all certain that the Greek version is the earlier, that is M. Bonnet's view, and Dr. M. R. James would like to adopt it.

Professor Barnes' volume falls into nine sections. He deals successively with Prayer in the Old Testament, Prayer in the period between the Testaments, the Lord's Prayer, Prayer in the New Testament, Early Liturgical Prayers, Prayers in face of persecution, Prayers of great Christian teachers. He concludes with two important chapters concerning Early Christian Teaching concerning Prayer, and Prayers for the Departed. In the days which the Old Testament covers, prayer is an extraordinary not a regular duty. It would, however, seem that Daniel's regularity of prayer indicated a regular private ritual, but Professor Barnes attributes the regularity to Daniel's special piety. In the New Testament prayer, on the other hand, becomes a daily duty. The prayers of the intermediate period, at any rate the pre-Christian prayers of the Rabboth, and of the Jewish Prayer Book, certainly affected the forms and contents of the earliest Christian prayers. "There is no doubt that much of the phraseology of Jewish devotion passed over into the earliest Christian prayers. So too the Jewish practice of praying at stated hours asserted itself both early and late in the Christian Church." The Jewish outlook on prayer was, perhaps, more complex than the Christian, but it certainly affected the latter in outlook and practice.

The finest of Christian prayers, the *Paternoster*, "is to be regarded in its origin as a prayer for private use," and has its roots in the Old Testament. Professor Barnes discusses the question of "temporal benefits" which arises in connection with this prayer. He feels no doubt that temporal needs are intended and it is clear that temporal benefits are not excluded from other New Testament prayers. But Benediction and Praise take precedence and "in practice it is usually found that the temporal boon is bound up with spiritual efficiency." Moreover, Prayer is a social bond. True prayer is conditional on full submission to the Father. God's knowledge foreruns our recognition of need.

Of special early prayers we have made some note. What was the general early teaching as to prayer? To the mind of Clement it is an act of faith with an essential element of thanksgiving. To Origen it is, "above all, a communion, a penetration into a pure and spiritual sphere. It is the highest of human privileges; it is even more than this, for it is co-extensive with our higher life; the life of the saint, he says, may be called 'one great unbroken prayer.'" Basil bids us ask gifts "worthy of a Divine King," while Augustine prays, "Give what Thou commandest, and command what Thou wilt," perhaps the last phrase in the complete theory and practice of prayer. Yet possibly the most perfect of all later prayers combines all these elements, the Prayer of Thomas à Kempis:

What shall I give Thee for all these thousands of benefits? Would I could serve Thee all the days of my life! Would I were able for one single day to do Thee worthy service! Truly Thou art worthy of all service; all honour and eternal praise. Truly Thou art my Lord and I Thy poor servant; who am bound to serve Thee will all my might; neither ought I ever to be weary of praising Thee. This is my wish, this my desire; and whatsoever is wanting unto me, do Thou vouchsafe to supply.

But it has to be remembered that the thought of à Kempis was largely built up on the basis of the early Fathers. The chapter on Prayers for the Departed will help many. If prayer is what Clement and Augustine believed it to be, if it is what the Early Church believed it to be, it could but include prayers for those who have achieved life's victory.

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THE ROMANCE OF HISTORY.*

To make bygone days live again is surely to give history high place among the Arts. Yet the more precisely facts are recounted, the less truthful they become: the historian is seldom an artist. No science of botany can reveal the flower, no textbook of astronomy the singing of the stars to young-eyed cherubim. Art is essential to truth-speaking; and fiction may be the only truth-revealing garment for the skin and bones of historical records. Yet Art, sharing in the schools' worship of facts and systems, misled too, more or less, by the ephemeral in a modern world, finds in the portrayal of history her pigments inadequate, her perspective faulty, her very groundwork of facts insecure. Prompted, it seems, by a determination to lift from history the reproach of textbook precision and give real illumination, Mr. C. Edmund Maurice, an historian whose devotion to accuracy is

wedded to vision in every subject he has tackled, has written *Unquenchable Fires*. Its title suggests his key-idea, namely, that the incentive to noble action is always the same—whether in beneficent rule, in inspired teaching, or in rebellion against illegal or spiritual restraint: that "Truth is within ourselves"; that the passionate hunger for freedom, so personally religious, is yet so divinely impersonal that men and women will give all even for a semblance of fruition.

In the first part of the story we find this spirit binding the German States together in spite of their jealousies, and the English to the Prussians, to rid themselves of Napoleon. The second part treats of the industrial unrest at home prior to the Reform Act of 1832. We find educated men and ignorant mechanics, their fires equally unquenchable, uniting to throw off the yoke of parliamentary tyranny and capitalistic greed—quite as mischievous as, if less infamous than, the Corsican's iniquity. All such facts the writer presents to us clothed in personal story and characters interwoven, and by no means passively, with these very facts. If the Waterloo victory and the Peterloo infamy—both "loaded with fate"—are passed over too lightly, it may be precisely because such events are bare facts in history, familiar to everyone; but the story of the unquenchable fire which accounted for them is revealed in the character of, for instance, James Wilson, who—not to be confounded with the James Wilson of Corn Law fame, with whom he seems to have had much in common—has adventures in the earlier part of the story and marries a German girl whose charm lies in her sweetness, her fidelity and her racial sentimentalism. In the younger persons we find similar impetuosity, and perhaps not the less divinely significant that it is sometimes misdirected. The prolonged fight for Irish freedom crops up in strong writing, and the story ends with a vivid portrait of the breeches-maker, Francis Place, whose brain was a veritable emporium of moral powder and argumentative shot for the equipment of reformers. Mr. Maurice gives credit to Place's organised run on the Banks as one of the chief causes of the Duke's resignation and the passage of the Reform Bill, thus averting the civil war he and his friends had been hatching in his library behind the shop.

X. Y. Z.

SHORTER REVIEWS.

Dr. E. G. Hardy, in *The Catilinarian Conspiracy in its Context: A Restudy of the Evidence*,* tries, "in reconstructing the familiar story to make the conspiracy and its more immediate antecedents occupy a distinct and intelligible place in the history of the political situation between 67 and 63 B.C." Dr. Hardy puts forward what he believes to be a new explanation of the reserved and guarded attitude of Cæsar and Crassus which, with some historians, has created the suspicion that they sympathised with Catiline's designs. Dr. Hardy takes the large view which is consistent with Cæsar's character. The Catiline affair was merely a sign of the times and Cæsar saw that "the ultimate solution of the political situation was to be found in a coalition of himself and Crassus with Pompey." That was the necessary position, and it is plain enough that the wordy Cicero was merely an unconscious tool in a much deeper plan. Cæsar knew how to wait, for he was playing with smaller men and was satisfied with the gradual evolution of a plan that the pawns could not check.

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We must record the issue of *International Law and some Current Illusions and other Essays*,† from the pen of an eminent American international lawyer, Mr. John Bassett Moore. He stands firmly for the reaffirmation of the distinction in future wars between combatants and non-combatants. Yet it cannot be denied that there are difficulties to-day in maintaining the old distinction. The issue can be best raised by a discussion of the question whether the Germans were or were not justified in bombing London or would have been justified in bombing New York. Mr. Moore considers that it is "often hastily assumed (1) that the rules of international law are, as contrasted with the rules of municipal law, exceedingly indeterminate, and (2) that, even when they are ascertainable, they are little heeded. Both of these assumptions are for the most part unfounded." He felt, however, ten years ago that "we lack in the international sphere that organisation which gives to the administration of law within the State a certain security," and affirms that view to-day, but holds that there must be a mental change in peoples which will lead them to think first of amicable processes rather than of war when differences arise. But what about Bolts from the Blue? Unpreparedness invites them.

* * *

Mr. Malcolm Letts, in *The Administration of Criminal Law in Flanders, chiefly in the Fifteenth Century*‡ (reprinted from the current number of the *Law Quarterly Review*), draws attention to a fifteenth century jurist little known to the historical students of law in this country, Philippe Wielant. He was born at Ghent in 1439 or 1440, the son of Jean Wielant, of the Council of Flanders. He was an historian as well as a lawyer and became President of the Council of Flanders. He died in 1519. His Constitutional History lay unprinted until 1864 and his work on Criminal Law until 1872. He made a general survey of the

* Basil Blackwell, Oxford. 7s. 6d. net.

† The MacMillan Company. 20s. net.

‡ Stevens and Sons.

law of Flanders (which was edited in 1911) while his treatise on Feudal Law became from the first a standard treatise. Wielant was largely under the influence of Roman Law. His work will well repay study by the student of comparative law.

NOTICES OF BOOKS.

Lovers of music will welcome the result of Mr. Eric Blom's researches among the hidden treasures of music in "Stepchildren of Music."* He has aimed at "a form of criticism which could not be accused—whatever else its defects—of following the two main currents of present-day musical journalism, with neither of which he is much in sympathy," the cult of established reputations and the cult of now unknown gods. Many of these Stepchildren of Music are by composers little remembered, and as a result some of the work which is worthy of remembrance is barely known. "This collection of desultory essays may, it is hoped, give the reader a taste for exploring the byways of musical history."

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The Dean of Swarthmore College, Pennsylvania, Professor Raymond Walters, in his "Educational Jottings Abroad,"† has brought together reprinted articles which appeared in "School and Society," of which he is Associate Editor, "The Journal of the National Education Association" and other important periodicals. He gives accounts of the Annual Conference of Universities held in May of last year at University College, London, and the 1924 Triennial Education Conference held at the same College in July. Summer meetings at Cambridge and Oxford, the Newdigate Poem, the Tercentenary Meeting at the Birthplace of George Fox, Conferences in Holland on History and International Law, and vacation courses for foreigners in French Universities, make a varied and very interesting collection of short articles.

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Mr. Walter Willingham, in his "Handicraft for Girls,"‡ advocates the teaching of handwork other than domestic science to girls. He says that "Domestic science and needlework are good for the girls because they fit them for the hearth and the home, but they are directly utilitarian in character and they do not take the place in the physical and mental development that handicraft could and should take." Boys are taught carpentering as a matter of course, and it is a pity that girls are not taught also this or some other craft which can be both useful and recreative as well as bringing out individuality. Why does the spinster no longer spin?

* * *

Mr. Gerald Bullett, in his "Students' Notes to an Anthology of Modern Verse,"§ has compiled a very useful notebook to certain poets of our own time. He aims "at providing the student, not with an exhaustive commentary, but with such odds and ends of criticism and biography as may heighten his interest in the poems and the poets, and with such

* C. T. Foulis and Company. 6s. net.

† The Science Press, Lancaster and New York. 8s. cents, post paid.

‡ H. Brown and Sons Limited. 6d. net.

§ Methuen. 1s.

discussions, quotations, and allusions as may whet his appetite for literature in general." Most space has been devoted to authors eminent in prose as well as verse. Mr. Bullett most fairly says that "due allowance must be made for the personal equation" in what is said as well as what is unsaid in these pages. We are glad to see due weight given to the noble verse of Mr. Lascelles Abercrombie. We wish Mr. Bullett would not use the word "artistry." It is a *cliché* as hideous as it is tiresome.

* * *

In "Up and Down the City Roads,"* Mr. A. A. Methley takes the reader back through the centuries to London life of other days. Cheap-side, Ludgate Hill, St. Paul's Churchyard, Fleet Street and the Strand all play a part in the history of London little realised by the ordinary pedestrian going to and fro each day. The Mansion House, the Tower of London, and London Bridge itself, Smithfield, Whitehall and Westminster are better known, but English people can never fail to be interested in these centres of English history. Mr. Methley has added greatly to the interest of the book by giving many illustrations of places of particular interest.

* * *

Professor H. Stanley Schwarz, in "An Outline History of French Literature,"† has given to the student a quick reference book supplying the main facts, values and tendencies in the history of French literature. It "is not intended to supplant existing histories . . ." but "may, it is hoped, be used in conjunction with them, as an aid and guide to the student in concentrating his attention upon what is salient and essential." The work begins with the Middle Ages and is brought up to the present day; each section has a brief resumé of the chief persons and events of the period; and many bibliographies and a good general index complete a most useful book.

* * *

We must record the publication, from the pen of Mr. G. Currie Martin, of a very bulky volume entitled, "The Adult School Movement: Its Origin and Development."‡ It is a somewhat diffuse work, but it does not seem to give any figures that indicate the size of the movement. The schools appear to be most effective in Birmingham and Leicester, and least effective in Manchester and Liverpool. "The Scottish and Irish cities are either untouched, or represented by but one school." The movement to-day is chiefly a Quaker movement and in the war was, of course, largely representative of Quaker ideas in respect to the struggle. Mr. J. W. Graham regards Adult Schools as the most signal service that the Society has rendered to the nation in the latter half of the nineteenth century, and continues to render to-day. It is "the simplest form of religious, social and intellectual fellowship that could be found." A group of men sit round an amateur leader, study the Bible, and are possessed with the spirit of fellowship. Sir Michael Sadler, in his commendation of this volume, declares that "Goodwill is the secret of the power of the Adult Schools."

* Wells, Gardner, Darton and Co. Ltd. 2s. 6d. net.

† George G. Harrap and Co. Ltd. 6s. net.

‡ National Adult School Union. 3s. 6d. net.

WILL THE EMPIRE HOLD TOGETHER?

AT the time of Mr. Winston Churchill's famous Chanak appeal in the autumn of 1923, I happened to be in Toronto and was seated one evening between some very eminent Canadian politicians at a public banquet which they generously gave to us. They discussed the matter with great plainness. "We do not intend," they said, "to send our resources to another Imperial war until we have recovered from the last." "And not even then," added another, "unless we are consulted beforehand on the policy."

That was the Canadian view in 1923: and since then we have witnessed two signal outbreaks of Canadian opinion—one over the signing of the Lausanne Treaty, and another over their representation at the London Conference. At this moment we are faced with the fact of Canadian signatures to separate Treaties with the United States: and we have still the steady and dogged Canadian insistence on her own diplomatic representative at Washington. What is even more significant, we are hearing from Canada, for the first time since the death of Professor Goldwin Smith, ominous murmurs about independence, or annexation to the United States.

The Dominion of Canada, of course, is always subject to the near gravitative attraction of an immensely larger body of the same language and faith living almost at her very doors. Ever since she rejected the far-sighted wisdom of Sir Wilfrid Laurier, the great Dominion of Canada has saddled herself with a superfluous economic strife. She is losing, in that strife, both wealth and population. The leakage of her youth across the border into the States has immensely increased since "America" raised her anti-immigration barriers at her Atlantic ports. In return Canada sees her land and her houses bought up by rich invaders. The results are not pleasing to the Canadians.

But although Canada is thus subject to a very special strain, all our great Dominions at the moment are passing through a grave phase of unrest in regard to this matter of their relationship towards the Imperial centre. It is not, I think, in any sense a phase of disloyalty. On the contrary, never has there been a more passionate attachment to the Home-land than since the Great War. The blood-tie has thickened. There are the memories of common sufferings and common heroisms. There are the graves in France and Gallipoli.

There is, indeed, a small section in each Dominion who remember the experiences of the war only to murmur "Never again!" There is the dogged Labour section in Australia which twice pre-

vented Mr. Hughes from applying conscription. There are the extreme Nationalists in South Africa who claim that South Africa should have a foreign policy of its own. There is the French-Canadian section in Canada who, strangely enough, are hostile to a closer entente with modern Republican France. But none of these sections really control the Dominions for long. They do not represent the dominant opinion. That dominant opinion is still so strongly Imperialist that no reasonable doubt need be entertained that if the British Empire were again in really serious peril, the great White Dominions would in the end answer the S.O.S. call. They would again, in the last resort, send their diminishing manhood to our rescue. The British Empire would rally to the call if the "Alarm" were sounded.

It is perhaps precisely because they are so deeply conscious of that fact that the minds of all thoughtful British folk throughout the Dominions are at present so deeply disturbed. They perceive that here is now an issue of life or death for the British people throughout the world. They have lost, perhaps, their first fine confidence in the supreme wisdom of the Home-land. They now know too much about the history of the Great War. Most of their Prime Ministers during that period sat with British Cabinets in Downing Street. The mysteries of rule—the *Arcana Imperii*—have been disclosed.

For we shall make a grave blunder if we interpret that Dominion loyalty as a blind passion for martyrdom. The Dominions have a shrewdly practical outlook on their own fortunes. The Great War deprived them of the cream of their youth, and left them saddled with heavy debts. Both Canada and Australia are seriously troubled about these debts. Australia received mandated islands in return: though little to compare in area with the vast mandate of South-West Africa added to the territory of the South African Union. That addition paid the Union of South Africa well for the part—considerable in Africa although small in Europe—which she took in the Great War. But Canada received practically nothing. Neither in territory nor in reparations has she, as yet, received any material reward for her immense services. Southward, across her border, she sees the United States self-acclaimed as the inheritor of a decisive and conquering tradition in the great struggle. Yet out of her nine million population Canada lost as many killed and wounded as the United States out of her one hundred and ten millions. Moreover, Canada earned poverty as her share in the spoils: while the States stumbled on exceeding wealth.

These memories will fade into their proper perspective. Canada has manifold resources, and will recover from the strain of that

great trial. The real, deep, underlying anxiety of both Canada and Australia is—could they stand another such a war? Could they survive it? Could they, in men or resources, seriously contemplate, as part of their normal political existence, the repetition of such an ordeal?

Probably not: and their sober feeling is that they would be wrong to risk it except in an issue of very existence for the Empire. Thus it is that now, in the calm of peace, they wish to be satisfied that everything is being done to avoid this awful peril. They hear, on visits to Europe, with very mixed feelings the talk of British military men about the "Next War." The "Next War" may be fun for Europe. It is going to be the "day of fate" for the Empire. So, in spite of themselves, they are moved to a deep and strong desire for closer consultation, keener and more continuous co-operation with the Home Country. But having arrived at that point, the Dominions have not, strangely enough, got very much further. They are certainly not satisfied with the official machinery of our present "Commonwealth" relationships. They do not at all like being subject to the control of a Department called the "Colonial Office." They detest the name: and even if, as the present Government once more promise, that is changed, they definitely dislike the thing.

Yet it is difficult to know what is to be the next step. Do the Dominions know themselves? They are not satisfied with their present exclusion from the Foreign Office. Yet they do not desire to be daily vexed with all the details of the Foreign Affairs of the whole British Empire. Above all, they do not at all desire Imperial Federation or any of the devices that stand by that name—an Imperial Parliament, an Imperial Second Chamber, an Imperial Cabinet, and so forth. They have made little or no use of the various devices readily, almost pathetically, provided for them by a succession of Home Governments, all equally anxious to meet the wishes of our British Dominions. The Canadian Peers—Lord Strathcona and Lord Mountstephen—were given no authority to act for Canada in the House of Lords: and since their deaths Canada has—almost roughly—vetoed the creation of any more Peers of that type.

Nor is it easy to develop other means of co-operation. At the present moment every great Dominion is represented in London by a High Commissioner, generally a man of Cabinet rank, sometimes an ex-Prime Minister. It has been the thought of many Empire reformers that these Commissioners should be employed as Ambassadors between the Home Country and the Dominions. At present they are relegated chiefly to commercial affairs—trade, emigration, shipping and so forth. They are all quite capable of

higher and broader tasks. They might easily play the part in London which the Ministers of the other German States played in the old German Empire—of representing the units of the Empire at the central capital. Now that since the Irish Treaty we have begun talking, in certain moods, of the British Empire as a “Commonwealth of Nations,” there seems a great deal to be said for the plan of easing the relationships of the Empire by employing the High Dominion Commissioners on such important tasks.

But here the trouble is not so much with the Home Government as with the Dominions themselves. I am not aware of any deep political objection on this side to the establishment of a closer daily relationship between our Foreign Office and the High Commissioners of the Dominions. So elastic is our Constitution that we can easily conceive of such a change being lucidly explained by a Foreign Minister in the House of Commons on a Monday and being in operation in Whitehall on a Tuesday. The visits of the High Commissioners to the Foreign Office would simply add one more labour to a heavily burdened Office: but probably as much work would be saved next door in the Colonial Office by a diminution in the drafting of laborious despatches. We should not see the Imperial Government held up for weeks, as it has been this winter, by delay in obtaining a simple reply to the question whether the Dominions would attend a Conference on the question of the Geneva Protocol.

The real trouble is that the Dominions do not seem able to make up their minds as to what they actually do want in this matter of day-to-day Imperial consultation on Foreign Affairs. They appear reluctant to give more power to their Commissioners. “From the moment we arrive in this country,” said a conspicuous High Commissioner to me, “we cease to be trusted in any important affairs by our own Governments.” So far from trusting the supervision of Imperial Foreign Affairs to their High Commissioners, the tendency is for the Dominions to treat them as Consuls rather than as Ministers in any true sense of the term. “However high the offices we may have held in the Dominions,” said one High Commissioner, “we find ourselves subject to the smallest clerk in a Government office at home from the moment we reach Great Britain.”

The Dominion Prime Ministers, it would thus appear, greatly desire to keep the day-to-day conduct of Foreign Affairs in their own hands. But that is impossible. The Prime Ministers of our Dominions are much too far away, and far too deeply absorbed in their own very distracting home affairs to be able to share with our Foreign Office either responsibility or knowledge of all the very complicated foreign relations of our far-flung Empire. Nor do

they really desire it. The utmost that the Australian Government demands is that they should be consulted on the affairs of the Pacific Ocean. All that the most exacting Canadian Prime Minister requires is a greater grip, if not complete control, over their relations with the States of North and South America. In no Dominion is there a claim put forward by the Prime Minister or the Government to be kept in daily touch with the awful vicissitudes of the problems of European reparation and security. Europe is far off. From what they hear of her increasing turmoil, they all heartily wish that she was farther.

Yet there is the question of sovereignty: and the dignity that goes with it. These Dominions of ours, rightly or wrongly, were made partners not only in the Great War, but in the great affairs that centred round the making of the treaties of Versailles and Paris. They were nominated as equals on the Assembly of the League of Nations. They have been given the powers of negotiation. They are fully conscious of these important developments. It is the active political realisation of these Imperial facts which has checked the movements towards independence and separation both in Canada and South Africa. Notably, on that account, Hertzog, once the champion of a separate Union, now rules as South African Premier in full loyalty to the Empire. But the Dominions will not, now that they are so fully conscious of being sovereign States and fellow-members of the League, much longer accept the status of subjection still allotted to them in London.

We must take a broad view. It may well be prudent for the Home Government to take action by itself, and no longer to wait upon the hesitations of Dominion Governments. We must think of these young, proud peoples, and the perilous effect of addressing as “colonies” in London countries that are now treated by all the rest of the world as fully developed States. It is a situation not without danger, and should be remedied before it becomes acute.

There are many ways of remedying it, many ingenious devices. But probably the best way would be to create a “Dominion Secretariat” attached to the Foreign Office: giving to the Dominion Commissioners the status of Ministers. The offer itself would produce a profound effect on our Dominions; and whether accepted or not by the Governments of the moment would, for the next generation at any rate, deprive them of all reasonable grievance.

The peculiar peril of our present Imperial situation is the existence of a dormant, hidden crisis, which will only escape from becoming inflamed if it is handled with wisdom and farseeing courage. The wise householder, when he sees a domestic demand approaching, goes halfway to meet it. Courage of this kind has always been the keynote in all our successful deal-

ings with our Dominions : whether the courage of a Durham when he gave self-government to Canada, or of a Campbell-Bannerman when at a moment of considerable risk he gave Home Rule to South Africa. It is the old audacity inherited from Edmund Burke, the greatest of our Imperialists : the audacity which, at the height of a great war, and in the face of a hostile Parliament and country, was so nobly preached by him in his second famous American speech on " Conciliation " (1775). It is in the peroration of that speech that we find framed, for all time, the true basis of peace between an Empire of free Commonwealths :

" My hold of the colonies is in the close affection which grows from common names, from kindred blood, from similar privileges, and equal protection. These are ties, which, though light as air, are as strong as links of iron. Let the colonies always keep the idea of their civil rights associated with your government; they will cling and grapple to you; and no force under heaven would be of power to tear them from their allegiance. But let it be once understood that your government may be one thing and their privileges another; that these two things may exist without any mutual relation; the cement is gone; the cohesion is loosened; and everything hastens to decay and dissolution. As long as you have the wisdom to keep the sovereign authority of this country as the sanctuary of liberty, the sacred temple consecrated to our common faith wherever the chosen race and sons of England worship freedom, they will turn their faces towards you. The more they multiply, the more friends you will have: the more ardently they love liberty, the more perfect will be their obedience."

" The more ardently they love liberty, the more perfect will be their obedience." Golden words, as true to-day as then : let us never lose hold of them, and we shall never lack courage in our dealings with our " Commonwealth of Nations." For to-day, as then, "*Magnanimity in politics is not seldom the truest wisdom: and a great Empire and little minds go ill together.*" That, too, we may have again to remember when this vital matter comes to an issue. Claims may be made from the side of our Dominions which may strain our pride : which we may find it hard to concede; even steps taken which may savour of ingratitude. The wise father turns the blind eye on all the smaller matters of adolescent revolt. " These things do not make your government." It may seem confusing at first—when it comes to that—to find a Canadian or an Australian Minister at Paris, cheek by jowl with our Imperial Ambassador. But the claim will be made. It may become a little fatiguing for us to have to receive the Prime Ministers of our sovereign Dominions as the chiefs of Allied States, although colonial in origin. But the time is coming when only in such guise will they respond to the invitations to our Conferences. Let us be prepared for the event.

It may be a little troublesome to us if, before the next Imperial Conference, our Dominions should refuse to come unless we are willing to sign our agreements as treaties : if they should refuse to expose themselves to the " unpitied calamity of falling for the second time into the same error " by signing agreements which the British Parliament and public may afterwards again, as in 1924, refuse to ratify. We must not be too much surprised if such things should happen. Above all, we must not be angry. " Great Empires," let us always remember, " and little minds go ill together." Never forget that these men of our Dominions are of the same blood as ourselves : they, like us, hold firm to good faith, and detest the doctrine of the " Scrap of Paper." They, like us, loathe to be " left on the door-mat." We must, in short, be ready for great changes. It is the common delusion of every age that the process of change is finished : that it was a good and acceptable rule of life for those who came before : that now it must be resisted and called " revolution." But change is the eternal law of all sentient human existence. It always comes as a shock and a surprise. But it is the daily habit of this circling globe—

Meet is it changes should control
Our being, lest we rust in ease.
We all are changed by still degrees,
All but the basis of the soul.

The whole question is—the critical question that always decides the fate of Imperial nations—how shall we meet this shock of change? Our forefathers of George III's England met it with rude resistance, the spilling of much blood, the breaking of many hearts and lives. Burke's new gospel of a free Empire, that sounds to us to-day almost a commonplace, seemed " wild and chimerical to the profane herd of those vulgar and mechanical politicians " who then crowded the benches of the House of Commons. The motion with which he ended that speech which is now the chief glory of our political literature was roughly dismissed by 270 votes to 78. The plea of peace fell on barren ground. The olive branch was rudely broken. The bitter strife went on for another six calamitous years. Let us never forget that warning or how enduring is the power of folly—how strong the resistance of the past.

It is quite certain to-day that things will not for long rest where they are at present in regard to our relationships with our great Dominions. We are on the eve of this new period of change. They must either come nearer to us or go further off. Their proposals for a better understanding may, when they are formulated, sound to us grotesquely like welding together a marriage by way

of divorce. But that is often the road to a better understanding—by way of a new freedom. “There are ties which though light as air are as strong as links of iron.” Burke was right. Our White Dominions love us because we have allowed them to be so absurdly free: because our ties are as “light as air.” Those ties are still as “strong as links of iron.” Our peoples love us with the same breath as they love Liberty.

After all, it is nothing else, this extending grant of freedom to our children across the seas, but the repetition, on a larger scale, of the process which has made the citizens of these British islands a loyal and obedient people. “Is it not the same virtue which does everything for us here in England?” If we keep that beacon light shining clearly in view, we cannot go very far astray. Each extension of the franchise in Great Britain has been heralded with prophecies of woe. Each grant of British self-government was going to be the end of all things. On the contrary, with each enlargement of these popular powers, England has grown more steady, prudent and conservative. Even from Ireland the rumour now comes that the heroic grant of complete self-rule made in 1923 has already miraculously changed the temper of Irish feeling towards England. If Ireland, then what of the other Dominions?

So confident may we be of their loyalty—so I believe—that our wisest attitude will be to receive all proposals that come from across the seas with a presumption of assent. Once realise that new methods are to be sought, and the way is open: for agreement will be born of good will. Adopt that spirit, and the new devices will become sure experiments of Empire, based on the axiom of a common loyalty.

For it is only by allowing our adult Dominions to attain the stature of full freedom that this immense strength of sea-scattered Empire can be maintained: so vast that it is now only endurable if the weight is shared between all our children. For our own shoulders, in spite of past boastings, are no longer “Atlantean” enough to bear the burden. Of such Imperial children it may indeed still be said, in the simpler words of an olden time: “Happy is the man that hath his quiver full of them: they shall not be ashamed, but they shall speak with the enemies in the gate.” Let them speak—speak freely in the gate—that is the policy that holds the key to our future Imperial peace.

HAROLD SPENDER.

THE POLITICAL LEVY BILL.

IT is universally agreed that the Prime Minister added many cubits to his political stature by his remarkable speech on Mr. MacQuisten's Bill. While assenting to a principle of political liberty which is denied by none, and thus enabling his followers to abandon their Bill without continuing an acrimonious controversy as to whether the principle is in fact extensively infringed, or can be further safeguarded by Act of Parliament, Mr. Baldwin touched on the problems arising from the development of industry and mass organisation; and in reality his speech became a plea for a wise Trade Unionism. In short, he would not let the one difficulty which is the genesis of the present quarrel blind him to the importance of the right of Trade Unions to participate in national activities, though as a business man he belittled the value of political interference in industrial affairs.

The difficulty must be examined, however, and it is, in a word, how to harmonise Trade Union solidarity with diversity of political views. Although it is far from the case that all industrial workers are organised in Unions, the membership of Trade Societies since the War has shown a remarkable increase, and the opinion is widespread—the Prime Minister apparently shares it—that a powerful Trade Unionism not only protects the rights of those who cannot defend themselves, but makes for industrial peace. The tendency, therefore, is for the membership of Trade Unions to become universal. Now the nearer we approach to this point the more important becomes the protection of minorities. If a man must belong to his Union in the ordinary course of his livelihood, he should not be called upon to make his political opinions necessarily conform to those of the majority of his Union. In short, you cannot have the universal Trade Union membership which will make the organisations industrially strong unless you have some opportunity for the political minorities—and they may be Conservative, Liberal, or Communist—to preserve their liberty.

This brings us to the question of fact. What is the size of the problem? How great are the minorities concerned? Some will take the returned figures of ballots, and, showing that only small numbers at times participate in the ballot, they will base on this the false argument that only the numbers actually voting are in favour of the raising of a political fund. The answer to this was admirably put by Mr. Churchill on May 30th, 1911, when he said:

“In the majority of cases the workers did not object, or feel injured even if their small contributions were taken to support Trade Union politics with which they did not agree. . . . A workman had

often voted against the political candidate for whom his political subscription had gone without being conscious of any injury to himself. When there was no sense of injury, there was no injury."

It is, in short, the practical acceptance of majority decisions.

In our extremely rough and ready electoral system we go much further. Is Mr. MacQuisten himself prepared to declare that an absolute majority is required to make a proposition effective? If so, how does he stand himself, having received 9,240 votes while his opponents received 10,743, and 11,904 electors did not trouble to vote at all? It is not safe to assume that those who do not vote in a ballot are opposed to the proposition put forward. The *reductio ad absurdum* is found in the case of the Prime Minister himself, who in the House represents the Bewdley Division. At the last election no ballot took place, and of the 27,502 electors it sufficed for 10 to come forward to signify their approval of his candidature. It is far from fair to suppose that the inert electors are dissatisfied with things as they are. They cannot be counted in the minority to be protected by special legislation.

The real minorities are the conscientious political objectors. They have three forms of protection. First, they may ballot against a levy being made at all. If defeated it is open to them to apply for exemption forms. When exempt, if dissatisfied with their treatment or the rules governing the procedure, they may apply to an independent authority in the person of the Registrar-General. It is thought by some, however, that if the process is inverted, that is, if instead of having to claim exemption, members desiring to contribute have to intimate the fact, the risk of undue pressure is avoided. It is not clear how this would be so. If a member is a marked man because he has contracted out, would he not be equally unpopular if he refused to contract in? The fact is, no machinery can be worked except by a spirit of independence exercised in an atmosphere of fair play.

It is said, however, that pressure is brought to bear on dissenters by their fellows. No doubt there is the ordinary pressure, to which we are all subject, coming from our daily associates. There may be cases of undue pressure, but Lord Henry Bentinck may be quoted as saying that there had been no proof of widespread victimisation. Indeed, the figures supplied to me on February 24th show that tens of thousands of members of Unions which have decided on a levy actually use with success the machinery set up in 1913. The answer should be read in full, but some of the more striking figures—not necessarily representative—are given:

THE POLITICAL LEVY BILL.

Reg. No.	Name of Union.	No. of members contributing to Political Fund	No. of members exempted from contributing
		31.12.23.	31.12.23.
8	National Union of Railwaymen...	307,875	55,355
193	Amal. Society of Wood-cutting Machinists ...	2,990	13,366
339	Nat. Amal. Fur- nishing Trades Association ...	11,524	10,295
424	Amal. Engineer- ing Union ...	141,803	11,505
640	Electrical Trades Union ...	12,000	14,125
1,157	Workers' Union	139,900	100
1,654	Nat. Union of General workers	201,366	110

Some of the chief Unions are not registered, and therefore figures are not given; the Miners' Federation of Great Britain is one of these.

Would an inversion of the process produce better results? Here I quote Lord Peel, speaking on behalf of the Conservative Government on June 13th, 1923, who said that, so far as an Act of Parliament could do it, contracting out was carefully safeguarded, and, further, the *Law Journal* of February 28th—an independent authority—which was of opinion that the Trade Union movement was sane enough to cure itself of the compulsory element without the pressure of the suggested prohibition.

There is no reason to suppose that the leaders of the Unions themselves are anxious to compel those to pay who do not wish to do so, and in support of this view I may mention that the right of appeal to the Registrar-General, which was given by an amendment of the Bill of 1913, was not inserted at the instance of the active Conservatives (including two present Ministers) who were members of the Committee, but at the instance of Mr. Wardle, who was a Labour Member. If there is one way in which pressure, if it exists, would be increased, it is by the passage of such a Bill as Mr. MacQuisten's. The figures of the growth of the fund in registered Unions suggest that it is enthusiasm which counts, the years of greatest membership not showing the largest funds:

Year.	Number of members at end of year.	Political Fund.
		£
1912	2,561,885	6,845
1913	3,220,360	21,449
1914	3,216,859	38,174
1915	3,507,213	31,951
1916	3,669,656	

Year.	Number of members at end of year.	Political Fund.
1917	4,386,833	42,950
1918	5,294,462	133,754
1919	6,559,247	112,862
1920	6,981,750	185,415
1921	5,506,490	160,418
1922	4,559,167	267,787
1923	4,413,589	238,051

Now as to the Bill itself. I take first that portion of Section 2 which deals with the method of collecting the levy. From being a levy imposed by a majority vote of the Union, it becomes a fund voluntarily subscribed to by individuals who happen to be members of Trade Unions. Is it going too far to say that to propose legislation to govern the administration of such voluntary funds is unprecedented? What other Party would tolerate a Bill to decide how their central fund was to be administered? Would the Farmers' Union, or the Mining Association, or the Drink interest—all of which are understood to be interested in political activities—would any Protectionist organisation submit to it? And yet the method of participation in politics by the last named interest is far more objectionable than any other, because money is laid out to induce Members of the House to vote for specific motions which are to the special advantage of contributors to the fund.

The real dividing line in opinion, however, was not drawn by the Bill. It separates those who approve from those who disapprove the growth of the Trade Union Movement. The Liberal standpoint—and I am judging by the history of the action of Liberals from 1871 onwards—is clear and consistent. We believe first, that poor men should have, so far as it is possible to give it—and it is very difficult—an equal opportunity with rich men to take their part in the counsels of the nation; and, secondly, that inasmuch as the character of our legislation is becoming more and more industrial and large employers' interests are, by one means or another, very powerfully represented in the House, a similar opportunity of representation should be afforded to the working class interest. Assuming it were denied, what would be the situation? That in matters, for example, of workmen's compensation, of unemployment insurance, of international labour conventions, one side only of the case would be fully heard. These topics, as the book of statutes shows, have become increasingly, in recent years, the concern of Parliament. Is it to be supposed that the House could deal justly with them, or even deal with them with true knowledge, if one of the parties were freely to be represented, and the organisation of the other were to be crippled? Moreover,

if bias is to be shown, it must clearly be shown to the weaker side. Working men, because of their individual powerlessness, are compelled to organise, and it is only in batches of thousands that they can defend their point of view on equal terms with their employers.

Whatever may be said to-day, the records of the past show that the Tory Party have always opposed these views. Let me take first the entry of poor men into the House. Mr. Balfour described the payment of members as "a subtle poison" and 128 Conservative Members voted against the estimate for the payment when it was proposed. Further, the leaders pledged themselves to repeal it so soon as they had the power. I pass over the opposition to the Trades Disputes Act, and come to the Second Reading of the Trade Union Act of 1913, which the MacQuisten Bill proposes to amend. On that occasion 134 Conservatives voted, not against the method of contracting out, but against the whole proposal to reverse the Osborne Judgment, and that minority included no less than ten members of the present Ministry. Mr. Balfour in the early stages of the controversy had expressed himself not only as to minorities, but on the whole question of Trade Union activity in politics in the following words:

"What is happening now? These industrial associations . . . which were brought into existence for industrial purposes, are apparently in danger of being perverted to political uses. That would be bad. But in my opinion it is not the worst, or nearly the worst result, which was occurring before the Osborne Judgment was delivered, and which will recur with redoubled strength and authority if the Osborne Judgment be reversed. What are those other dangers? They are not merely that an industrial association shall be perverted into a political association but that men belonging to an industrial association who hold one set of views shall be compelled to subscribe to the return to an Imperial Parliament—not a Trade Union Congress but an Imperial Parliament . . . of men to whose general conception of national policy at home and abroad they are profoundly and irreconcilably opposed."

As soon as the War was over, the campaign was continued, and in 1922 Colonel Meysey-Thompson introduced a Bill similar to the present one. In 1923 a Lancashire Member proposed the repeal of the Trade Disputes Act, and further proposed an amendment to the 1871 Act. Later in the same year, the Member for Macclesfield proposed to abolish payment of Members from Trade Union funds, and, again in the same year, the Unionist Conference passed a unanimous resolution in favour of the MacQuisten Bill.

Last year, Captain Ainsworth again introduced the Meysey-Thompson Bill. In support of it, two Ministers spoke. Sir Philip Sassoon said:

"The Bill was neither more nor less than a measure of common justice to which many thousands of men and women were looking

to restore to them the liberty of thought and action which was the birthright of every Englishman."

And Sir Philip Cunliffe-Lister :

"The present Bill ensured that only those who were willing should pay. With its plain straightforward provisions, it would greatly simplify the administration of every single Trade Union that sought honestly to carry out its duty. The Bill was essentially fair, and did nothing to take away any right or privilege under the Act of 1913."

To bring the history up to date, the Under-Secretary of the Board of Trade, speaking with all the authority of his position, said that they must know

"whether it is in the interest of the community that Trade Unionism has become a great political organisation, and whether it is for their good that members are compelled to contribute to the political funds, whether they agree or not with the political doctrine of their Union. I would be the last man to wish to weaken the Trade Unions in their proper function, but so important are Trade Unions that the people have the right to know that their great power is wisely directed for the good of the whole community."

And then comes the present Bill. The Conservatives are never tired of saying that they are the friends of Trade Unions, though all their actions are aimed at crippling the freedom of Trade Unions. Why did they permit political representation to go on for forty years from 1871 until 1908 without objection, and why do they now attempt to bring it to an end? They say circumstances have changed. What circumstances? The character of Labour representation? Is it that while they had no objection to Mr. Broadhurst or Mr. Bell, they must draw the line at Mr. Maxton or Mr. Wheatley? This may be a good party reason, but it is not logic.

There are many people in the Trade Union movement who have a contempt for Parliamentary methods. One of the most advanced of the Unions—the Electrical Trades Union—has 14,000 members contracting out, and only 12,000 paying the levy. But do not let it be supposed that they are 14,000 honest Conservatives withholding their money from their Trade Union in order to contribute it to the Primrose League. These men are seeking other methods, and the sane and wise thing for us is to teach them that the Parliament of the United Kingdom is the best machinery for redressing the grievances of which they complain. We have here another proof that the Liberal Party is the constitutional party, anxious both that the House of Commons should be the trusted weapon of the democracy, and further, that representing every class in true proportion, it should be an effective weapon to secure the just remedy.

The clue to the answer to the Trade Union levy question is the old watchword, Trust in the People, qualified by prudence.

WEDGWOOD BENN.

ANGLO-INDIANS AND THEIR COMMUNAL CLAIMS.

THE Anglo-Indian Association have issued in this country a Memorandum setting forth the anxieties they feel in the face of the Reform Movement in India. They say that during the three hundred years of our connection with India there has come into existence a permanent population, partly of British descent through both parents, and partly of mixed British and Indian parentage: the former known as "domiciled Europeans," the latter—formerly known as Eurasians—now officially styled "Anglo-Indians." Their traditions, speech, dress, habits, customs and manners are English and they profess the Christian faith. Intermarriages between the two classes are common and together they form one political and social unit. They number in all some 200,000, and as almost all of them have lost touch with their relations in the British Isles and have no intention or chance of returning thereto, they must be regarded as one of the permanent distinct races or "communities" of India. They are distributed in the larger industrial, commercial and railway centres in every part of India and not concentrated in any one district or province. Bishop Whitehead, writing on this topic in *Problems of India* (1924), says that the 1921 Census gave the "Anglo-Indian" population as 121,000, but that "a large number, especially of the poorer members of the community, are descendants of the Portuguese. The majority in British India are descendants of British soldiers or civilians. A very few are of French or Italian origin."

The question of safeguarding the rights of this community presents, so far, the same problem as do the cases of other minority communities or religions; and by the Government of India Act 1919, which gave extended recognition to the device of communal representation for such aggregates, they were in fact given such special protection and are directly represented in the Provincial Councils and the Indian Legislative Assembly. The device of communal representation for securing the rights of minorities in a democratic government is essentially unsatisfactory and must ultimately prove illusory and unworkable: it is at best only a transitional expedient for enabling sectional interests to be voiced. The Government of India Act, sympathetically recognising this inherent futility in the system in regard to this particular community, made further special provision on their behalf that the Governor-General and Provincial Governors are to "acknowledge and retain effective power to discharge the obligation to see that their (Anglo-Indian) interests are not prejudicially affected by

the Reforms. By that provision the Act differentiated between this community and other minorities to which it was giving similar representation.

The Association claims that, notwithstanding this special provision, Anglo-Indians' interests have, during the four years that the Reforms have been in operation, repeatedly been prejudiced and that the Heads of Government have not been willing or courageous enough to exercise the protective powers with which they were entrusted by the Act. They give particulars of their grounds for this charge. Briefly, these are:

(a) That the Bengal Legislative Council last year rejected the whole Budget provision of 99,000 rupees for European Primary Education, while voting the Budget for Indian Primary Education in full, and that the Governor did not "restore" this vote.

(b) That in interpreting the policy of associating "natives of India" in increasing numbers with the administration of Government, many Anglo-Indians have been and are still being discharged from their positions in the public services to make way for Indians, although Anglo-Indians and domiciled Europeans may be, and the great majority of them are, statutory "natives" of India.

(c) That Anglo-Indians and domiciled Europeans are not regarded as eligible for service, either in the British Army in India or in the Indian Army, although until 1921 they furnished the rank and file of the Volunteer Corps and now constitute two-thirds of the Auxiliary Force, which, they state, is the "second line of defence" in India, and into which, they add, "Indians are not eligible for enlistment." They claim the right to serve in the Regular Army.

(d) They complain that Anglo-Indians and domiciled Europeans always suffered more or less neglect at the hands of the Central and Provincial Governments, but that the neglect under the old *régime* has developed into acts of injustice at the hands of the newly constituted Councils. The acts alluded to are presumably such as are specified under (a) and (b) above.

They urge that a question which every Briton should ask himself is: "When full measure of self-government is given to India what will be the fate of our descendants and kinsfolk in that country?" They add that their community did not welcome the Reforms when they were introduced, but that they undertook to co-operate to make them a success. But that whilst they have in no way embarrassed the Government, they have "incurred the odium of the Extremists by standing up for law and order." They omit, unfortunately, to indicate what precisely they mean by this phrase. Attacks on law and order may mean in Anglo-Indian

phraseology anything from criticism of the Constitution to the organisation of rebellion or terrorism. Finally, they appeal to Parliament not to agree to any extension of the Reforms until full inquiry has been made into the disabilities Anglo-Indians have suffered during the probationary years of the Reforms, and not to endorse any future legislation which does not effectually protect the vital interests of the permanent British population in India.

Both the specific claims made and the premises presumed as their basis suggest a case for careful examination. If Anglo-Indians and domiciled Europeans have been discharged from permanent positions in the public services to make way for Indians, that on the face of it appears indefensible. One would like to have fuller particulars and to learn the justifications advanced for a proceeding of so unusual a character. On the other hand, the paragraph which sets forth this grievance appears in another application to imply a somewhat questionable assumption of right. "Anglo-Indians and domiciled Europeans live by English standards. They cannot follow the avocation of peasants or unskilled labourers. They can earn a living wage only in lines that require something higher than mere literacy, and to deprive them of appointments which they have been accustomed to hold for generations and give them nothing in exchange, is to cast them down to unemployment and sequential poverty."

If this argument is intended merely to defend the claim to fixity of tenure on behalf of those Europeans and Anglo-Indians who are, or were, already in the public services, it is sound. But if it is intended to suggest a claim on behalf of that community to continue to have a privileged place in the recruitment for those particular branches of the services, public and semi-public (e.g. Railways), in which they have hitherto been accustomed to find careers, it is difficult to see how it can be maintained. Eurasians did formerly predominantly fill such positions because for generations they not only were the class which had the best particular qualifications for holding them, but had personal claims on those who filled them. But one result of the advanced education now generally provided for Indians by the deliberate policy of the British-Indian Government has been to create an abundant supply of Indians equally well qualified for those particular branches of work, and it is impossible to maintain that Anglo-Indians or domiciled Europeans (claiming as they do to be "statutory natives" of India) should have any special prerogative in selection for such employment. It is suggested, and there is doubtless warrant for the suggestion, that where the right of selection for public appointments rests with an elected responsible Minister

dependent upon Indians' suffrages there will be unfair discrimination in favour of the appointment of Indians to new vacancies, as it is suggested there is unfair dismissal of Anglo-Indians from occupied positions. The remedy for this is to establish an independent Public Service Appointments Commission, as has been for a long time recommended, and as is most strongly advocated as a necessary act of policy in the Report of Lord Lee's Commission.

But how can it be argued that as between candidates of equal qualifications Anglo-Indians or domiciled Europeans should have preference over Indians; or be expected that as Indian Higher Education progresses the proportion of Indians selected for all modes of employment will not naturally and properly gain on that of Anglo-Indians? This process is already far advanced and must go on, in a degree of which no complaint can be made of injustice in hundreds of cases, although there are doubtless some in which prejudice acts. But is there no longer any prejudice acting the other way? The only ground which is suggested by the Memorandum for treating this community with special privilege is that they are the descendants of Englishmen, and that because Englishmen directly or indirectly placed them in Indian life the British Government is bound to maintain for them those special opportunities of livelihood which they have hitherto enjoyed. They explicitly emphasise this ground for their claim. "The Anglo-Indian and domiciled European community," they say, "have a claim such as no other race in India can put forward. *The British nation has called them into being.* If the British had not occupied India there would not have been an Anglo-Indian and domiciled European community in that land. It is the solemn duty of Great Britain before any further advance is made in the policy of giving India self-government to take their sons and daughters into account." But what must be the obvious reply, not only of any fair-minded Indian, but of any clear-headed English critic of constitutional questions? Surely, that if "the British nation" is responsible for these people and they require special emoluments and privileges, it should discharge that responsibility itself, and not rivet it as a special relief charge upon the Indian community. Even if there be ground for considering that Indians are unfairly prejudiced against the claims of these people as common citizens of their own country, must not such a claim for privileged treatment be a provocative to a retaliatory attitude? Surely, before it can be charged against Indians that they desire or intend to discriminate against this community, the board must be cleared of any demand on its behalf to have special discrimination made in its favour.

The question of educational provision raised in the Memorandum (see (a) above) provokes similar criticism: but is more complex than is there indicated. So far as primary education is concerned, the discrimination complained of looks rather like a spiteful and unfair demonstration on the part of the opposition in the Bengal Council against the European and Anglo-Indian population, who have a right to their fair proportion of provision for elementary schools. Whether the provision budgeted for was an equitable proportional grant or more than that I cannot say. Its entire excision would, anyhow, not on the face of it appear justifiable. The position, however, is complicated by the fact that a larger proportional provision is made out of public funds for secondary education in European and Anglo-Indian Schools than for those of other communities, and although, in pursuance of the policy of retrenchment lately applied, these grants have been reduced, their proportional excess still gives colourable excuse for jealousy of the special treatment of this community. The European secondary schools are now in great difficulties and the threat to their efficiency is one of the gloomy features of the present position of Anglo-Indians.

Bishop Whitehead, to whose *Essays* I have referred, recognises that the reduction of grants to European Schools will make it increasingly difficult to provide for the education of Anglo-Indians, and that it is impossible to expect a return to the former scale of grants or even the maintenance of the comparatively excessive provision still allowed for these Schools. He makes in this connection a suggestion for dealing with the situation which seems to me much more intelligent and sound than the hopeless demand of the Anglo-Indian Association, that the Government should resolutely certify continuance of the present or former scale of grants for such Schools. The line which he suggests is that whereas the funds and energies of missionary societies are largely applied to providing elementary education in aided Schools for Hindus and Mohammedans, Christian missionary educational effort and funds should be applied in a more concentrated manner to dealing with the educational needs of the Christian communities. As increasing provision is made for elementary education, the question of a conscience clause with regard to religious education comes increasingly to the front. Its adoption has already been made a plank in the platform of the Indian National Congress, and will certainly be pressed in the Legislative Councils during the next few years. If the principle of a conscience clause is adopted, the reason for the provision out of missionary funds for elementary schools falls to the ground. Missionary Schools and Colleges, Dr. Whitehead points out, are established in India for

the sole purpose of providing education on Christian principles, and of training character by setting before pupils the teaching and character of Jesus. They cannot be maintained for the purpose of giving a cheap secular education to Hindus and Mohammedans.

The old policy of British Indian Government was logical and reasonable. It was natural for a Christian Government to view not only without concern but with favour the inculcation of Christianity through institutions which they subsidised: but now, under the Reform Scheme, the educational system is to be no longer based upon the will of the Christian people of Britain, but upon the will of the people of India, of whom the vast majority are Hindus and Mohammedans. The general trend, therefore, of Dr. Whitehead's remarks on the educational problem is that, if the Anglo-Indian Community in India and their Christian sympathisers here find it necessary to provide more expensive education for their children than the Indian communities can afford for their own, that is a charge which may reasonably be expected to be borne by British and British-Indian Christians here and in India.

This is, of course, very largely the position already, for the European Schools have been liberally endowed by private benevolence, and are maintained to a great extent by private subscriptions. The parents of children attending them cannot, as a class, afford to pay high enough fees to keep them properly staffed, and, as has already been indicated, their economic position in competition with Indians is growing worse, not merely because equally qualified Indians may have a lower standard of living and consequently be prepared to accept lower pay, but because the number of Indians who can command the same pay is increasing.

The main difficulty in the whole situation of the Anglo-Indian community, and especially in regard to education, lies in the fact that a generation ago and earlier they were a comparatively more valuable element in India than they appear to be now considered. They have not, in this country at any rate, the reputation of being very vigorous or efficient, but anyone who realises the unfairness of the prejudice common in this country against persons of mixed African and European origin and the popular illusions prevalent with regard to their capacities, can well believe that persons of mixed parentage in India are subjects of similar undue disparagement. In earlier times of the Company rule in India the best material for training as a subsidiary commercial class were the English-speaking Eurasians. It was of public advantage to India that this material should be made the best use of, and special educational provision was justified. The pursuance of this policy has

created an element in the community whose qualifications it would be a pity to throw away. If they cannot be employed they will have to be maintained. They are not likely to be welcomed as immigrants in other British Dominions. The Anglo-Indian, like the Anglo-West-Indian, has some qualities which are to some extent due to his mixed racial origin, and which I can hardly believe may not be as valuable to the future of India as such men of mixed origin are and will be to the future of the West Indies.

It is hardly necessary to say that whereas in times past there have been used in British Colonies of mixed race precisely similar arguments in favour of special endowment for the children of white families, no one to-day would dream of suggesting in any British West-Indian Colony controlled by the Colonial Office that any such distinction or special provision should be made. British parents do not send their children to the public elementary Schools in those Colonies, nor do the coloured people (Anglo-West-Indians, they might be called) of the better-to-do classes: but Anglo-West-Indians of classes corresponding to a large proportion of the Anglo-Indian community do send them to mixed secondary Schools, whether endowed under public trusts or receiving Government grants. There is no discrimination, and they are frequented jointly by black, coloured and white: all of which divisions of the population (fortunately we do not call them "communities") have furnished their Rhodes Scholars to the Universities. "European" Schools in India may only receive a small fixed proportion of "Indian" scholars.

With regard to the Army, the Memorandum does not make it quite clear whether the complaint is against exclusion from commissions or exclusion from the ranks: but in either case it is a grievance against the War Office and not against the Government of India proper. Incidentally, however, the manner in which this grievance is dealt with throws a rather unhappy sidelight on what may be partially a cause of the prejudice which the rest of the Memorandum imputes to Indians in their attitude towards this community. For it is pleaded that it has furnished the rank-and-file of the Volunteer Corps and two-thirds of the Auxiliary Force, "the second line of defence in India, a force into which Indians are not eligible for enlistment." Put plainly, this means that Europeans and Anglo-Indians have been enlisted as part of the British garrison in India for the purpose of maintaining "internal security" against Indian disquiet in the event of the regular forces being employed elsewhere. The remedy (which the Army Council and the War Office will be very slow to accept) for what is unsatisfactory in this situation is to abolish any discrimination between British-born, Indian-born, European, Anglo-Indian or

native candidates, either for enlistment or commissions in any part of the Indian Army.

The position of the Anglo-Indian community is unquestionably difficult, disquieting and worthy of sympathy, and of such help as can be given for improving its future prospects. But their case affords a good illustration of the inherent fallacy of reliance on a policy of communal representation as a remedy for such a position. Once the policy is embarked on of protecting minorities by giving them Parliamentary representation as separate communities—a policy already pursued to an elaborate degree under the Government of India Act, 1919—which even gave Indian “Christians” special representation—Christians of all communities! any Government finds itself in increasing difficulties and complications. As this Memorandum points out, the framers of that Act did not fail to recognise that one or two Anglo-Indian members in the several Legislatures might be impotent to protect special interests of their Anglo-Indian constituency. Therefore, the memorialists argue, you must give special Executive protection. But if you give special Executive protection you should not need to be giving them also protection by communal representation in an elected Legislature.

And the same argument applies to other communities. Already an influential section of the Moslem community, dissociating itself from the Khilafatist section, which sought to secure Moslem rights by pacts with the Hindu Swarajists, discern that even proportional representation would not give them a safe position in competition with a communal policy representing the predominant Hindu constituency, and are asking that their interests may be overweighted and that they may receive more than their share of public appointments and more than their share of seats in the Councils. Every other community, Sikhs, Jains, Buddhists, commercial and industrial classes, etc., are in precisely the same predicament. When you once begin to attempt to build up Parliamentary institutions on the basis of communal representation or proportional representation, on the theory that by so doing you are protecting the interests of minorities, you are quickly faced with the fact that the effect of such arrangements is to make the attitude of the majority communities more unscrupulous and intransigent towards the minorities than they would be at all likely to be if all citizens vote for and go into the Legislature on an equal basis.

Our principle of equal citizenship may not, indeed, quite fully and effectively protect the rights of minorities, but everyone who studies politics must recognise that it does so more effectually than a communal system of representation, and that the communal

system, in the course of a democratic development such as is proceeding in India to-day, only gives rise to demands which it is impossible to satisfy, that every minority community shall have its interests guaranteed by special privileges and prerogatives to be vested on its behalf in the Executive. In Madras it was absurdly conceived to be necessary to give the enormously preponderant non-Brahman community special communal representation in the Provincial Government. In the elections they returned not only all their own communal members but also non-Brahman members in open constituencies. The result has been that the Brahmans are complaining that they are not getting even their rights as a community; and if the present situation continues the Government may be faced with a similar demand on behalf of the Brahmans as they are faced with on behalf of the Anglo-Indians and Moslems.

Any progress on those lines is impossible; and any attempt to pursue them implies—as the Die-Hard party desire that it should imply—an increased involution of the Indian Constitution until it reverts to a bureaucracy of the pre-Minto-Morley type, with advisory Councils, and the abandonment of the attempt to develop democratic institutions in India. Which is impossible.

OLIVIER.

A VISIT TO CEYLON.

A VISIT to Ceylon was projected to serve the double purpose of giving a break in the routine of party politics, and of having an opportunity of seeing, at first hand, what prospect there is, under favourable conditions, of solving the racial problems which confront Great Britain in the contact of East and West. In Ceylon there is administrative efficiency of a high order; a wide experiment in the grant of representative government, both centrally and locally; a population not too large to be manageable, and a general spread of prosperity, in which the native Sinhalese, and the Tamils, who come from India, have no inconsiderable share. To use an expression, attributed to a Member of the present Cabinet, not even the old women in Ceylon are frightened at the spectre of Socialism, and a Socialist railway system, constructed, owned and managed by the State, gives an admirable service, to the general satisfaction of the public, who use it as passengers, and for freight consignments.

The combination of these administrative and economic advantages will not, in themselves, bring about a peaceful solution of the racial problems. Mr. Fraser, for so many years the well-known Principal of Trinity College, Kandy, had the vision to realise the importance of missionary and educational influence in creating an atmosphere of friendly understanding. It is a misfortune that his ripe experience, and sympathetic attitude, are no longer available in Ceylon and India. I heard regret expressed, more than once, that Mr. Fraser had not been elected Bishop of Colombo. Perhaps it was too well known that he did not care to play for safety in his religious work, and that he was ever willing to take the risk of venture. In a letter written to England (before the War) Mr. Fraser says:—

“The growth of a national movement has compelled, during the last few years, the attention of all serious students of India and Ceylon, whether the interest is missionary or political. That this movement is a mighty and growing force few can doubt. . . . In Ceylon we have almost all the problems of India, religious, racial and political. In the Island they can be grasped and any experiment can be noted at once. As a Bengal educationalist once said: ‘India is so vast, our complexity so great, that we can scarcely bring all under one vision at once. In Ceylon you might do much to solve our problem for us.’ ”

Since the War, the difficulties to which Mr. Fraser refers have been intensified. I am no supporter of the principle of self-determination as applicable to all cases—it was one of the popular methods of propaganda, used to raise a fictitious enthusiasm in favour of a selfish nationalism—but the lesson to be learnt from the

wholesale appeal to this principle was not lost either in India or Ceylon. The riots in Ceylon, during the War, were more serious than would be gathered from the official reports published in England. At the present moment there is no appearance of recrudescence. I did not, however, meet a responsible resident in Ceylon who did not accept the view that self-government is the only true ultimate solution. As to the right moment for the concession of self-government I say nothing; but it would be a shortsighted policy not to study the influence of the various agencies engaged in the endeavour to bring into friendly contact the races interested in the future of Ceylon. Unless this contact is established, no scheme for self-government is likely to be permanently successful.

One or two statistical details must be kept in mind; they shall be stated as shortly as possible. No British Dependency to which self-government has not been conceded has a larger measure of representative institutions than Ceylon. Experience, so far as it has been gained, falsifies the prediction of the critics who foretold that friction between the official and unofficial elements on the Council would make efficient administration not possible. Under the latest ordinance, there are 37 unofficial members on the Council, giving an unofficial majority of no less than 25. The President is the Governor, but the Vice-President is elected. The position is now held by Mr. James Peiris, a highly respected Sinhalese. No one doubts his qualification. I had more than one opportunity of meeting him during my stay in Colombo, at his own house and elsewhere. In local government, the recent and comprehensive measures covered by the Local Government Ordinance, and the Village Communities Ordinance, require time to develop their representative character, but they are so framed as to allow fair opportunity for trial. There are municipalities in the three chief towns, but a more liberal constitution has been asked for, especially in Colombo and Kandy. It is clear that the last chapter on representation in Central and Local Government has not been written. There are sure to be difficulties and periods of reaction, but the only way to utilise in a beneficial manner the concessions already granted is to make them preliminary steps towards the grant, in due time, of a system of self-government.

Efficiency of administration implies a high standard in judicial procedure. I was present at the holding of a criminal trial in the Circuit Court at Kandy, and also at a sitting of three judges in the High Court at Colombo. I noted that, in accordance with the traditions of British justice, every care was taken that a fair trial and a fair hearing should be assured. The argument in the High Court was ably stated by a native barrister, with an exhaustive reference to all relevant authorities. The procedure followed was

the same as in the High Court in England, the judges showing great patience, and giving every opportunity for a full and impartial hearing. In the Circuit Court, the position of the prisoner was safeguarded with the same care as if the trial had been held in England. The only doubt which I felt arose from the fact that the proceedings were carried on in a language of which the prisoner was ignorant, and in which it was necessary to have, throughout, the assistance of an interpreter. There came to my mind the story of the trial in *The Village in the Jungle*. This does not purport to be a picture of an ordinary trial, but it does represent conditions which may arise, when an ignorant and uneducated native prisoner is tried in surroundings which he does not understand, and the trial is conducted in a language wholly unintelligible to him. The District judges hold an important place in the judicial system. In Kandy the District Judge is a Sinhalese of high standing, and an Honorary LL.D. of Cambridge University.

The Rev. A. Stanley Beatty, a Wesleyan missionary at Kandy, has analysed in an able paper the present position of Christianity in Ceylon, based on figures contained in the last census returns for 1921. These figures are not encouraging. In 1871, 10 per cent. of the population of Ceylon were enumerated as Christians, whereas fifty years later, in 1921, they were 9.9 per cent., showing a slight decrease over the period of fifty years. Mr. Beatty does not attempt to disguise the importance of these figures, but draws a distinction between the work of Mission schools and evangelistic effort. The actual number of Christians enumerated in 1921 was 443,400; no less than 83 per cent. of these were members of the Roman Catholic Church. The Church of England numbered 44,730, a small minority in a population estimated, in the census, in round figures at 4,500,000. It might be expected that, at Kandy, the Sinhalese would show a small percentage of Christians, since Kandy is the head centre of the Buddhist religion in Ceylon; but the analysis of Mr. Beatty shows the small percentage of .7, which emphasises his view that, although Mission schools have been successful from an educational standpoint, and have given a higher standard of education within the Church, the number of converts from such schools is not high. We propose to deal later with the general influence which such schools have exercised.

There has been in recent years a religious revival in the direction of Buddhism. I was at Kandy during an Exhibition of the Buddhist Sacred Tooth. The town was full of Buddhist pilgrims, who were quiet and orderly, creating no disturbance. We were invited to attend the uncovering of the sacred symbol from the casket in which it is carefully guarded, and noted the real reverence with which it was worshipped.

Education in Ceylon is under the official control of the Director of Education. It has been compulsory under the Town Schools Ordinance of 1906, and the Rural Schools Ordinance of 1907. I heard differing estimates of the number of children actually in school attendance, but official returns for 1922 have placed the attendance at 428,512, or rather less than one in ten of the population. More than half of those in attendance, 235,000, were educated in assisted schools under the control of various Missionary and other societies, or privately owned; all these schools received annual grants so long as they conformed to the regulations of the code.

Foremost amongst the Mission schools in Kandy stands Trinity College. It has succeeded in bringing within the reach of the native population, and especially of the sons of the Kandyan chiefs, many of the advantages claimed for the public school system in England. A photograph shows a group of students from thirteen nationalities at Trinity College in 1920, a valuable testimony to its character and reputation. The present position of the College is undoubtedly due to the influence of the late Principal, Mr. Fraser. He has been succeeded by the Rev. J. McL. Campbell, an undergraduate at Balliol, and afterwards a Fellow and Tutor of Hertford College, Oxford. When in Oxford, he started Boys' Clubs in the slums of Oxford and he has won a general confidence. There is little doubt that the future of the College is safe in his hands, but he has not been sufficiently long in office to publish a report. The buildings are now fairly complete, subject to the erection of a College chapel, but a College chapel is vital if the view of Mr. Fraser is to be carried out, *viz.*, the translation into carefully planned action of the belief that the hope of the future lies with the native Christians.

It is not only in its educational and disciplinary methods that Trinity College has attempted to follow the public school tradition, but also in the encouragement of a loyal fellowship, binding together all pupils, both new and old. It is an instance of association which would have satisfied the ideals of Mazzini. A special feature has been the Trinity Union for Social Service, of which the objects are defined as "rendering practical social service, and the study of social questions." This included slum visiting, to learn the home conditions of the poor, combined with a genuine attempt to improve these conditions; a work of very similar character to that undertaken by Settlements in the East End of London. The past and present members of the College took their full share in war work, and exercised, under Mr. Fraser's leadership, an excellent influence in quieting the riots in Kandy, and protecting the Moslem population. I gave an address to the students

of the College and could not but appreciate both their reception and attention. The impression left was that the College was doing admirable work, aiming not so much at examination results as at the all round character of the boys, who will be citizens of the future, and should be capable of fulfilling the ideals of Mr. Fraser, that the pupils of Trinity College might take a notable and responsible part in directing the growth of the national movement in Ceylon on sound and friendly lines.

There is not space to refer to the Girls' High School, Kandy, under the Wesleyan Missionary Society, with Miss Mallett as Principal, or to the Training Colony, under Mr. Gibson, which is an off-shoot of Trinity College, but the work of Miss Mallett, and of Mr. and Mrs. Gibson, deserves every support. I visited both these institutions, giving an address to the students. There is another school at Kandy, Hillwood, of which Miss Chapman is the Principal. It was started in response to an appeal from some Kandyan chiefs that their daughters should be given an English education, such as their sons had been given at Trinity College. Miss Chapman came to Hillwood in 1900, and the whole system of the school life has depended on her guidance and influence. There are on the rolls at the present time 125 pupils, of whom no less than 36 are of the second generation, the daughters of mothers educated at Hillwood. A beautiful chapel has been erected, and has become the centre of the school life. To use Miss Chapman's own words:—

"The chapel stands as the secret of the inspiration of all our work and is the centre of all that is best in our school life. Eighty per cent. of the children are Buddhist, but they are deeply reverent in our services, and many, with full consent of their parents, have been baptised, and later married good Christian men whom they had been privileged to meet at Hillwood. The *summum bonum* of all Mission work is the foundation of the Christian home, and this is the final goal of all our work here."

This sentence will appeal strongly to those Wykehamists who found all that was best in School life in the chapel at Winchester, built more than 500 years ago by the great Bishop, William of Wykeham.

Two more quotations from Miss Chapman illustrate the character and scope of her methods:—

"In 1903 we gained permission for a girl to sit for the Cambridge Junior, on condition that she was never left, and so in a small room adjoining the Examination Hall, I spent the dullest week of my life whilst my 'ewe lamb,' as the inspector called her, wrote her paper. But she passed her examination, and, though we have 35 Cambridge successes with 13 distinctions since those days, yet the first success marked a crisis in the School's history, for we be-

gan to keep our elder girls at school and thus a blow was struck at the custom of early marriage, which has meant a tremendous lot, both physically and mentally, to the Kandyan women, and the race."

A second extract relates to the war time:—

"When English girls could not get home, and as a little bit of extra service arising out of the war, I placed a bedroom in the Bungalow at the disposal of four English girls and they were able to share in all the activities of the school life—East and West met in school-girl life and friendships were cemented between the Orient and the Occident."

I do not know how many persons in England are cognisant of such educational work as Miss Chapman carries on at Hillwood, but her success raises a spirit of hope that in this direction much may be done to further the spirit of racial co-operation.

Before leaving Colombo, I was asked by the Colombo Young Men's Christian Association to visit the Headquarters, and to give an address on the League of Nations and the Geneva Protocol. The meeting was held in the Central Hall, with the Vice-President of the Legislative Council, the Hon. Mr. James Peiris, in the chair. There was seating accommodation for about 500, with additional space on the platform, and for persons standing. I mention this as an indication of the excellent character of the accommodation provided for the Y.M.C.A. in Colombo. The Chairman was a Sinhalese, but the vote of thanks was proposed and seconded by men of British birth. The seconder was the Chief Justice of Ceylon, Sir Anton Bertram, who received a remarkable ovation. He and Lady Bertram have encouraged every project for improved religious and social welfare in Ceylon. Their approaching departure from the Island was a source of widespread regret. The guiding inspiration in the work of the Y.M.C.A. came from the Secretaries, Mr. Brooks and Mr. Wishard, the former a Canadian and the latter an American. In the main the work is similar to that of the missionary educational schools, and aims at promoting among all races a spirit of friendly association. A meeting of a similar character was held at the Headquarters of the Young Women's Christian Association, and addressed by Lady Parmoor as President of the World's Committee of that Society. This meeting was in every way a success and largely attended.

What of the future? Is it possible that native Christians and natives who, though not Christians, have been influenced by Christian association, will exercise a real influence in Ceylon in the contact between East and West? How far is there understanding of the great historical traditions of the Island? Ceylon has been the victim of many invasions. More than 2,000 years

ago, it was the centre of a great civilisation. The dynastic history, extending over twenty-three centuries, has been carefully recorded in the *Mahawanso*, a metrical chronicle.

The buried cities, in spite of the neglect of centuries, stand as an ever present testimony to the skill and art of the ancient Sinhalese inhabitants. Anuradhapura appears to have been a garden city, free from the great evils of overcrowding, surrounded by great monasteries, with mighty Dagobas containing sacred relics. It has been estimated that, in size and population, Anuradhapura was at its zenith fairly comparable to modern London. Without accepting this estimate, it must have spread over a wide area, with a population of not less than 500,000. Specimens of artistic sculpture have been unearthed, capable of comparison with specimens of Greek art, possibly inspired, in the first instance, by the Greek artists at the Court of Asoka, through whose son Buddhism was introduced into Ceylon, in the reign of Tissa. No less wonderful than the artistic discoveries is the system of water irrigation, including some five thousand tanks, small and great, capable of fertilising the dry districts in Northern and Eastern Ceylon, so as to enable them to produce two crops in the year. This civilisation was overthrown by the devastating invasion of the Tamils from Southern India. Later came the invasions of the Portuguese and the Dutch, though, in neither case, was the position stabilised, nor was their power established over the whole Island. The British occupation dates from 1796, but it was not until 1815 that the Kandyan provinces were ceded, when the whole Island became subject to British rule.

No one who has travelled in Ceylon will doubt that great progress has been made during the last hundred and ten years, especially in the construction of roads, and in the provision of a railway system. It must, however, be recognised that three-quarters of the area is, at the present time, in jungle, and that large portions, formerly highly cultivated, have relapsed into waste land, infected with mosquitoes, and made almost uninhabitable by the prevalence of malaria. Much remains to be done before Ceylon reaches the level of its ancient civilisation, but nothing should be impossible in such a favoured climate and situation as are the natural heritage of Ceylon, provided that the energy of the races interested is combined, to strive consistently for their common good, in a contact of friendship and understanding. It would be well to keep in mind the words of William Blake:

"In my exchanges every land
Shall walk: and mine in every land
Mutual shall build Jerusalem
Both heart in heart and hand in hand."

PARMOOR.

THE PROBLEM OF THE SLUMS.

THE problem of the slums is a special problem, though at the same time part of the wider question of housing. But even the eradication of slums is more than a single problem. There are hundreds of small villages scattered up and down the country, each with its slum area of tumble-down cottages and yet surrounded by wide stretches of open country, inviting the building of new dwellings. This is the question of the rural slum. But there are the slums of the larger centres of population, buried deep in the midst of our towns and cities. This is the question of the urban slum.

In a sense, the rural slum presents fewer difficulties than the town slum. Here no question arises of driving the slum dwellers far from their familiar environment and uprooting their deep attachments. There is plenty of land of relatively low value near at hand on which to build both emergency houses (if they are needed) and more permanent dwellings. The acquisition of land for housing purposes is not a difficult matter. The real difficulty is that the smaller local authorities in only too many cases possess neither the will nor the means to undertake a rehousing programme. To a small rural district council or even a small urban district council, a housing or rehousing enterprise is a task of considerable magnitude; whilst the produce of, say, a penny rate, or even a shilling rate, does not yield a large sum. The assessable value in many areas amounts to between £2 and £3 per head of the population, whereas in many towns it is double this amount. Of course, the cheaper houses can be built, the more rehousing comes within the capacity and means of small local authorities. Broadly speaking, however, there are no overwhelming difficulties in the way of slum elimination in the countryside.

In the towns, on the other hand, there are obstacles of a more serious kind which neither generous financial assistance nor determination can readily overcome; and the obstacles increase with the size of the towns until one sees them at their worst in London. It is true that the urban authorities may be more progressive, drawing their representatives from men and women of wide and varied experience, and that they control resources, because of their higher rateable value, denied to the small authorities. The real difficulty—apart from vested interests—is of a different kind. It arises from the interests, traditions, and occupations of the people. The Napoleonic way to deal with the problem is to evict the slum dwellers, load them and their belongings on motor vans, and carry them off to new dwellings on the outskirts of the large towns or to new satellite towns. But this heroic policy, even if

it could be carried out without resort to force, would create new and serious problems.

What are the facts about the town slums? In the first place, the slum occupies land which is often of very high value, and so situated that it is a "desirable commercial site." The former consideration raises questions of cost in relation to rent, whilst the latter opens up the important problem of town planning and the best utilisation of sites. On health grounds, some of the present slums are in districts which ought not to be places of human habitation, because, for example, of dampness or the presence of high commercial buildings which shut out the sunlight that we now know is so important a factor in banishing disease. Moreover, the slum almost invariably houses far more people than ought properly to be housed on the area, and all the slum dwellers cannot in the public interest be rehoused on the same site, and therefore alternative accommodation must be provided.

The root trouble, however, is the people themselves. It is not, as some people would have us believe, that the slum dweller will manufacture a new slum out of a new district for there are many illustrations to disprove this. Broadly speaking, it is the slum which makes the slum dweller rather than the slum dweller the slum. The real difficulty is that, generally speaking, the slum dwellers were born and have lived in the slum area all their lives. All their interests and their friends and relatives are centred in it or in the contiguous districts, whilst the wage-earners are often employed near at hand and could not well leave the district. These are considerations not easily brushed aside. They are problems vitally affecting human lives. Many slum dwellers would gladly welcome a chance to make a new home away from the overcrowding to which they have hitherto been accustomed; but the happiness of many more seems to them to be bound up in the narrow area they know so intimately. Such happiness as they have enjoyed they have made there for themselves, and they view with misgiving any attempt to uproot them from the only environment with which they are familiar.

This difficulty may perhaps be overcome in time. But what of the men whose livelihood depends upon their being close to their work? What of the dock workers by the Thames side and near the docks and wharves of the large ports? What of the market porters and other workers who would find difficulty in keeping their jobs if they moved far away, and who could ill afford any expenditure on travelling? What of the night workers who must rely on their legs in the absence of trains, trams or buses to carry them home in the early hours of the morning? What of

the charwomen and washerwomen with a clientèle on the fringe of the slum in which they live, if they were sent to reside on a Council estate some miles away from their meagre bread and butter? What of those who, however mistakenly, prefer to live near their work rather than submit to a long journey twice a day, and a mid-day meal away from home? These questions, of course, are most acute in London, where the fact that the metropolitan boroughs have little or no land available for housing intensifies the problem of slum clearance. The Borough of Bermondsey, for example, has no building land within its area, and it is therefore confronted with the problem of reducing its density of population.

The suggestion that temporary dwellings should be erected in public parks and other open spaces hardly meets the situation, unless it is proposed to erect huge blocks of tenements in the parks, and such structures could hardly be regarded as temporary. In the congested condition of many towns, more especially in the metropolitan area, such temporary dwellings would become permanent unless there was an enforced exodus of inhabitants, and in the interests of public health it is undesirable that open spaces should be closed in with dwellings. It is of the utmost importance that such open spaces as exist in our towns should be jealously safeguarded. Nor does the proposal to house the slum dwellers under canvas whilst their dens are demolished and new homes erected get us out of our difficulty; for it would mean rehousing in barracks in densely built areas, and probably perpetuating human habitations on sites which ought in the general public interest to be utilised primarily for other purposes. Again, whisking people away from their old homes, friends and jobs leaves us with a new unemployment problem which may not be readily solved.

The slum problem is not the creation of the last few years. It is a product of a century of delay and neglect. The slum is not a mere excrescence which can be cut away by a simple surgical operation. It is an institution which has become firmly rooted and worked its way into the life of every town and village. It has created vested interests of the most diverse kinds, from the house owner and sweating employer to the religious community which would lose its membership if the slum population were dispersed. And though all right-minded men and women earnestly desire to see an end of the human degradation and the eradication of the social dangers which slumdom entails, it is idle to pretend that the slums are to be cleared by the adoption of any single method, however heroic. But a powerful, enlightened and determined public opinion is necessary to extract the utmost out of the various possible ways of coping with the slum evil.

Considerable powers already exist to enable local authorities to require the repair of houses which can be made reasonably fit for human habitation. The owner can be compelled to do what is necessary in this direction, or, if the house is not capable of being rendered fit for human habitation without reconstruction, he may close the house. Moreover, under the Rent and Mortgage Interest (Restrictions) Act of 1920, the Court could suspend the operation of the permitted increases of rent until it was satisfied that a house had been rendered reasonably fit for habitation, though little use appears to have been made of this provision.

It is true, of course, that in these respects the law does not carry us very far along the road to the abolition of slums. At the best, these provisions will make slum life a little more bearable; and though a determined and ruthless local authority might utilise its power to the full under these heads, it could do no more than see that houses are patched pending more suitable permanent provision, for congestion would still remain.

Individual houses may be closed by a local authority, and arrangements made for their demolition. But whether the landlord himself closes a house or it is closed by the orders of the local authority, the closing of houses is but a negative line of attack. It can only be successful if side by side with the closing of houses there proceeds the erection of new ones, or if there is already existing some alternative accommodation. The execution of the law has, however, been hampered by the scarcity of houses, and local authorities have often refrained from a vigorous policy because of the housing shortage.

It is not difficult, if other houses are available, for a local authority to mark down individual houses for closing and demolition; but when they come to consider a slum area as a whole, the problem is more difficult because of the existence of buildings which a local authority would hesitate to condemn. In improvement schemes a local authority usually arranges for the purchase, either compulsorily or by agreement, of a defined area. Buildings which are unhealthy or would interfere with the proper redevelopment of the area are demolished, the whole district is laid out, new houses built, and any surplus land there may be disposed of.

The preparation and completion of an improvement scheme is generally a long and tedious process. What usually happens when, after delays and difficulties, a slum clearance scheme is put in hand at the present time? It may be that on an area scheduled for clearance there is a population of 2,500, but on which for health, comfort and proper amenities no more than 1,000 people should be rehoused, even if the site is suitable for housing purposes. Clearly, it would be the height of folly to perpetuate the

old density of population. Consequently, the surplus population of 1,500 must either be provided for elsewhere by the local authority, whether within or outside its boundaries, or they must fend for themselves. In neither case is the disruption of a slum community carried out without a good deal of dislocation and real hardship, but in existing circumstances those who must find new homes for themselves are in a desperate plight, for they merely increase the pressure on the available housing accommodation elsewhere.

As regards the thousand to be rehoused, preference will naturally be given to those whose claims to remain in the district are the strongest. Where there is land in the area under reconstruction which is not already built upon, building operations can begin on this site. Where demolition is necessary before new dwellings can be erected, accommodation must be found at once for a few families whose homes are then demolished and new dwellings erected in their place. Then families are "decanted," as the phrase is, from condemned houses into the new ones; demolition proceeds again, and new dwellings are built for further families, until the housing scheme is completed for a thousand people.

This, of course, is a slow process, and obviously somewhat quicker progress could be made if the whole slum could be razed to the ground, and the new dwellings built on a single scheme, instead of piecemeal. From the point of view of cost—though this is certainly not the final consideration—temporary housing pending rebuilding for a proportion of the original inhabitants on the site is probably as expensive as the decanting process.

This method may seem slow and inadequate; but behind the slum question lies the much larger question of the serious housing shortage. If the number of houses in the country were increased, shall we say, by a million, it would be much easier to deal with the slums. The present housing situation creates two problems. In the first place, it renders it difficult to break up slum communities because of the lack of housing accommodation for the surplus; and secondly, slum demolition and piecemeal construction of houses do not utilise the available labour to the best advantage from the point of view of house production. In a sense, it will be seen that the slum problem merges itself in and is part of the general housing problem, though special methods may need to be devised for dealing with it.

The slum question is partly one of overcrowding, though overcrowding may exist without all the other conditions of slum life. In the London area, to get rid of the worst overcrowding it would be necessary to dishouse about a million people, of whom less than half can be housed by building within the county area, leav-

ing over 11 per cent. of the entire population of London to be housed outside its borders. Now whilst the slum problem is but part of this question, these figures illustrate the magnitude of the task of finding new homes for the dispossessed slum dweller.

The Committee on Unhealthy Areas, of which the present Minister of Health was Chairman, in its report published in 1921, concluded that

“unhealthy areas which have grown up under conditions extending over long periods cannot be dealt with satisfactorily by any one panacea. All available powers must be utilised and methods must be adapted to suit differing circumstances. Clearance and reconstruction on any large scale can hardly be attempted until the existing shortage of houses has been substantially reduced, but whenever it is undertaken, it should be in accordance with a carefully prepared plan, dealing not only with the reconstructed area, but with the whole town and its surrounding districts.”

The “carefully prepared plan” to which reference is made raises a large issue which cannot be ignored—that of town and regional planning. After all, part of our trouble to-day is due to the lack of foresight of our forefathers, and in slum clearances and housing schemes we should pay regard to the development and needs of the future. The carefully prepared plan, as the Committee rightly point out, should take into account all the relevant circumstances, including “the proper distribution of housing, commercial and industrial buildings, together with the provision of the requisite means of transit and transport.”

There are, however, certain immediate steps which can be taken, though in themselves they cannot solve the problem. Slum areas, in the first place, might, as the Unhealthy Areas Committee recommended, be “materially improved if they were purchased by local authorities on terms equitable to the present owners, but not prohibitive in cost, and the houses thereon altered, repaired and managed on the Octavia Hill system.” Of course, not all slum dwellings by any means can be sufficiently improved to become even moderately adequate homes. But, pending permanent provision, a good deal could be done by energetic action on the part of local authorities to bring slum dwellings up to the standard laid down by the Ministry of Health for “a fit house.” Dampness could be largely eliminated, lighting and ventilation improved, proper drains, sanitary conveniences and water disposal arrangements provided, a satisfactory water supply installed, arrangements made for the cooking and the storage of food. These improved slum dwellings would be merely “emergency houses,” but it seems desirable to begin the attack on the slums by making the best of the existing provision. There is much to be said for the local authorities taking over the slums. It would give them

a direct moral responsibility both for making the best of existing conditions, and for making more satisfactory permanent arrangements as soon as possible.

The next step is that of the provision of temporary dwellings where this is practicable; and this clearly should be attempted where existing slums are incapable of being rendered temporarily fit and where permanent accommodation is not available. But it is well to recognise that this method is not simple and straightforward, though it would be wrong to deny that it has no place.

Behind these emergency measures, however energetically they are pursued, there must be a large-scale policy for relieving the housing shortage, as, in the last resort, it is only by these means that slums can be finally eliminated. And with the expansion of house building must go town and regional planning. It is this larger problem which has undoubtedly prevented as much being done in the way of slum clearance as should have been done. The Addison Act of 1919 contemplated a vigorous policy of slum clearance, but local authorities have naturally felt impelled to concentrate on the provision of additional new houses rather than on slum clearance schemes. Between 1919 and March 31st, 1924, 95 local authorities in England and Wales had indicated their intention to carry out such schemes, and 56 authorities had actually submitted 66 schemes. Of these schemes 39, involving the demolition of 4,840 houses, have been confirmed by the Ministry of Health. In Scotland 669 houses have been completed under slum clearance schemes, and on September 30th, 1924, a further 1,615 houses were under construction. This is certainly a poor crop and it should be increased. Further, it must be admitted that, though over 400,000 houses have been built since the war, very few have gone to the slum dweller. It is reasonable to expect that local authorities, so far as they are concerned with house building, should see that the most unfortunately placed receive prior treatment. The Chamberlain Act, however, has mainly produced houses for sale which have gone to those who could afford to buy them. The Wheatley Act, which is primarily concerned with houses to be let, offers the more advantageous opportunity for the provision of houses which will ease the slum problem.

ARTHUR GREENWOOD.

TURNING POINTS OF THEOLOGY.

CHRISTIANITY is the Absolute Religion. This means at least that, in the Person of its Founder, the highest Truth about God is revealed and the completely corresponding attitude towards Him is realised; both the truth and the response being held together in the vital unity of a transcendent spiritual experience. It implies also that the Christian Religion is so comprehensive as to appropriate, transform and satisfy all that is living and therefore permanent both in preceding and in outlying religious beliefs. In order to make good this comprehensiveness Christianity, as a formulated belief and a distinctive manner of life, must needs relate itself to and interpret itself by means of the entire range of thought and life, which mankind has found essential to its well-being and progress. This means that the Christian Religion is so many sided as to stretch out points of contact with all elements of truth and life; and that these, on the other hand, are congenial with Christianity since they embody, on lower planes and for restricted ends, a measure of that manifestation of Reality which reaches its culmination in Christianity.

It follows that Christianity has, throughout the ages, expressed itself to and established itself in the faith of successive generations by the adoption, sometimes temporary and always critical, of forms of thought and modes of life, which make it both intelligible and practicable. The conception of a self-contained, clear-cut and rigid deposit handed down through history, without interactions between it and current modes of thought and life, is unthinkable when regard is had to the nature, history, and education of mankind. An artificially heightened divinity can only be obtained in this way for Christianity by deepening and exaggerating the secularity of all besides. Hence Christianity receives as well as gives in the course of its development, for it stands in vital, because spiritual, and not in mechanical relationships to the spirit of man. It retains its absolute character, however, throughout this process by its continuous power to subordinate, to supersede, or to transform all the forms of thought and life that it has temporarily adopted in order to reach complete conformity with its own deepest meaning and highest truth.

Thus it has come to pass that the deep waters of the Christian religion have been fed by many tributaries, and that its broad surface reflects many tracts of thought through which it has passed on its way towards the ocean of the infinite Reality, which is God. For the unceasing process of statement, criticism, and restatement which has marked the history of the Christian religion, outstanding personalities—saints and thinkers, statesmen and reformers—

have been of decisive importance. These have, in varying degrees, gathered up and expressed the mind of the Church, stamping upon it the imprint of their genius, have closed controversies by transcending them, and have either bequeathed formative statements and influences to the thought of following ages, or have reacted against such legacies in order to a completer synthesis of thought and satisfaction of spiritual life.

The Christian religion, as it has eventually manifested itself in an organised system of Faith, Thought and Life, is the result of three main influences which have operated in succession to produce it.

1. First and foremost stands the creative Fact—the Personality, the history, and the influence of our Lord Jesus Christ. This Fact is not merely objective and external; it produces a spiritual experience, which reflects it and by which it is interpreted. The creative Fact and the answering experience form an organic unity. And while the Fact and the experience stand out in transcendent distinction from all that has gone before, yet they absorb the entire content of Hebrew religion and are only completely intelligible by means of it. The assumptions, conceptions, and expectations of the Old Testament pass over into the Christian religion, being both consummated and sublimated by it. Hence the Christian faith, both objective and subjective, has been so moulded and coloured by its Old Testament and Hebrew antecedents that it could only find expression by means of them.

2. Yet as the Catholic religion, Christianity attracted to itself both Gentiles and Jews of Gentile culture. It assimilated their modes of thought and used them for its own purposes. Eventually its claim to be both final and universal required to be made good by means of reasoned thought and as a complete and consistent interpretation of Reality. In other words, Christian faith must provide its appropriate theology and this theology must become philosophical. For this purpose Platonism, and some elements of Stoicism provided, not the substance, but the requisite and congenial forms of thought.

3. Furthermore, Christianity had to organise itself as a spiritual fellowship, pressing forward to world-wide acceptance. Hence it came inevitably and increasingly under Roman influence and adapted Roman analogies to the growing needs of its far-flung organisation.

All this is obvious. Yet it must not be misunderstood, as though these three influences were either self-contained, or were limited to one particular service, or were altogether successive in their operation. Even the earliest writings of the New Testament cannot be understood without the appreciation of both Greek and

Roman influences as affecting the original presentation of the Christian religion. Again, when the influence of Greek thought became predominant, it was utilised, not merely in its original forms, but as modified by the Wisdom-literature of the Old Testament and by Alexandrian Judaism. Moreover, both Hebrew and Greek contributions were made to the order and organisation of the Church.

And, what is still more important for the purpose of this article, Roman influence was not confined to the practical needs of the Church, but reacted powerfully upon its theology. And this, not merely by selection and emphasis, or even by giving precision and rigidity to conceptions derived from other sources. Above all, Roman influence imported political and juridical conceptions into Christian theology, and thereby eventually transformed it. The reaction of the Reformation, profoundly important as in many respects it was, did not cast aside, or immediately modify, any of these influences, so far as theology proper is concerned.

Christian theology has, up to the present time, had three turning-points, and passed through three stages: first of all, the predominance of the doctrine of the Fatherhood of God, then its supersession by the doctrine of Divine Sovereignty, and lastly, the gradual recovery of the doctrine of the Fatherhood of God, as the supreme expression and explanation of His relationship to mankind and the universe.

I. The predominance of the doctrine of the Fatherhood of God is the outstanding feature of Christian theology down to the end of the second century.

First of all, the consentient testimony of all parts of the New Testament is most striking as to the prevalence of the doctrine not only in the teaching of Christ and of His Apostles, but in the common experience of the Christian Church. The document which forms the common basis of the Synoptic Gospels shows that Christ's own consciousness was entirely based upon and moulded by His sense of the Fatherhood of God as revealed in and reflected by His completely responsive Sonship. The universal implication of this relationship is disclosed by the accompanying, or consequent, consciousness of His representative relationship to mankind conveyed in the title "The Son of Man," so frequently assumed by Him. In keeping with this, the reports of Christ's teaching show that it was precisely by means of this consciousness of the Fatherhood of God that He transformed the religious tradition which He had received, giving to it a new inwardness, spirituality and freedom. The marvellous combination of searchingness with generosity and vitality that characterises

the teaching of Christ springs naturally from this pervasive sense of the Divine Fatherhood and of its fatherly ends.

When we pass to the writings of St. Paul, only slight examination is needed to show that the motive behind much that appears to be Rabbinic or forensic in his reasoning is simply to find in Christ and in His work the means of explaining the transforming and uplifting experience of sonship to God, which is not merely the new and henceforth characteristic possession of the Apostle, but is treated by him as the type of all truly Christian consciousness. The same predominance is to be found throughout the rest of the New Testament. Perhaps the most remarkable evidence that this predominance represented the common belief and attitude of Christians is to be found in the fact that the First Epistle of St. Peter describes Christians as those who "call upon" God "as Father" (1 Peter, i. 17). When account is taken of the apparently fortuitous way in which the New Testament writings were severally produced and ultimately brought together this consistent predominance becomes all the more arresting and convincing.

The same emphasis on the Fatherhood of God prevails with minor fluctuations throughout primitive Christian literature and culminates at the end of the second century in the great work of St. Irenæus, who is entitled to be called the first systematic thinker among the Fathers, and who ended the Gnostic controversies by the comprehensiveness of his thought and the force of his reasoning. Just because it combines evangelical mysticism with insistence upon historic facts and upon ecclesiastical fellowship, Christianity has to steer its way between the perilous extremes of spiritual idealism and pragmatic realism. It can only do so successfully by presenting to faith and reason a higher synthesis in which both elements are harmonised and interfused. Irenæus accomplished this task for his age. During his lifetime Christianity was threatened by the various sects of Gnostic theosophy, which, while Oriental and not Christian in their source, conceptions and temper, threatened the Christian religion just because it shed a measure of light upon the murky clouds of their speculation. These Gnostic systems, though differing in details, were alike in offering cosmogonies that were intended to explain the origin and nature of the universe by means of personalised abstractions. By these abstractions the Gnostic teachers first of all divided, then graded, and finally paired the ideal qualities that go to make up perfection, so as to produce the universe by an ordered process of begetting and birth. This process resulted, according to them, in the gradual lowering of the value of these successive spiritual entities, until, finally, the comparatively worthless, or

even positively evil, material universe was reached through their descending activities.

In his counter-statement of Christian truth, Irenæus was, therefore, constrained to insist upon (1) the Personality and Absoluteness of God, (2) His infinite perfection as uniting in Himself all the "fullness" (the technical term *pleroma*, common both to Christians and to Gnostics) of Divine attributes, (3) His direct and sovereign, yet immanent, activity throughout the universe, (4) the creation and ordering of all things as the manifestation of His love, and, therefore, (5) the substantial goodness, and not evil, of the universe. How could all this be so suitably and completely expressed as by the Fatherhood of God? Hence the sequence "He is Father, He is God, He the Founder, He the Maker, He the Creator" (*Adv. Hær.* ii. 30) is characteristic of all the thought of Irenæus.

Yet the very fact that Gnosticism concentrated attention upon cosmogonies compelled Irenæus to emphasise the cosmological significance of the Divine Fatherhood rather than its evangelical and spiritual content. Moreover, the growing decline of the filial consciousness towards God, which is not only the true attitude towards but the living reflection of His Fatherhood, caused Irenæus to fail in his representation of the essential form and spirit of Christian piety. Strong in presenting the Fatherhood of God, he is weak in setting forth the corresponding sonship of believers. Hence the great statement of theological belief, with which the second century closes, brings with it the presage of approaching change.

II. This change, which superseded the doctrine of the Fatherhood of God by that of His Sovereignty, was completed by St. Augustine. The transformation had in great measure been prepared for by the failure of the filial consciousness which has just been mentioned. Contributory, though accidental, influences in the same direction came from the Alexandrian School of thought and from the Christological controversies of the fourth century. The former intellectualised Christianity, interpreting Divine relationships in terms of Wisdom and not of Love. The latter so preoccupied the minds of theologians with the Sonship of our Lord and with all that its unique nature implies, that almost insensibly the Fatherhood of God came to appear so related and relative to the Divine Son as to lose its place as the primary description of the relationship of God to mankind. The Fatherhood of God was seen as the outcome of His creatorship, rather than as its source. Thus the way was opened for the epochmaking teaching of St. Augustine, which put the stamp of his genius upon the spiritual tendencies of his time.

The interpretation of Christianity given by this greatest of the Fathers was, in a pre-eminent degree, moulded by his training, spiritual temper, and experience. Like his predecessors, Tertullian and Cyprian, to whom he owed so much, Augustine had been trained as a Roman lawyer. Hence he naturally followed their example in giving prominence to political and legal analogies in his theological conceptions. Then his spiritual experience was the result of the prolonged conflict between his intense desire for God and the turbulence of a passionate temperament. His spiritual nature needed the continuous and energetic reinforcement of Divine authority in order to triumph over the insurgence of the flesh. The form of his conversion met this demand. The mysterious command *Tolle, Lege* was followed, when he obeyed it, by the soul-transforming injunction "Put ye on the Lord Jesus Christ and make no provision for the flesh to fulfil the lusts thereof." Henceforward the watchword, often repeated, of his personal religion became *Da quod jubes, et jube quod vis*.

Next among the formative influences that moulded Augustine's theology came his Platonism. God was seen by him to be the *Summum Ens*, Who is so completely the Author of all things, constituting and ordering them, that existence and evil are essentially contradictory, so that evil must be treated, not merely as the opposite of the good, but as the negation of existence itself. Furthermore, supreme emphasis must be laid upon the will of God in the threefold interest of His Personality, His Creatorship and His Saviourship. His Creatorship was the sign and effect of His free Personality: the words *fecisti* and *fecit* are incessantly used by Augustine as a barrier against any doctrine of emanation. So also grace must be due to the Sovereign will of God: *Gratia vero nisi gratis est gratia non est*.

Of all this the Sovereignty of God was the fittest expression. Christian Platonism might have been expressed in terms of Divine Fatherhood quite as well as in terms of Sovereignty, had Love, instead of Will, been treated by Augustine as primary and determinative. But the extreme emphasis upon Will was decisive. Moreover, in adopting the Sovereignty of God to the practical exclusion of His Fatherhood, Augustine was powerfully assisted, first of all, by the Old Testament doctrine of the Kingship of Jehovah and then by the splendid analogy of the imperial commonwealth of Rome, which, with the help of New Testament figures of the Heavenly Jerusalem, suggested to him the august conception of the *Civitas Dei*.

Thus came into being the majestic, but awful, doctrine of the Sovereignty of God, which, despite partial reactions against its severity, dominated religion throughout the Middle Ages. Re-

ligious faith finds in God compensation for and the means of correcting the deficiencies of men. Hence, during the centuries when order was struggling first to maintain and then to re-establish itself against disorder, the thoughts and hearts of men turned to God as the Sovereign *Ordinator* of all things, and used His influence, thus conceived, to create and subsequently to fix and uphold the secular order without which civilisation would have perished.

III. The rediscovery of the doctrine of the Fatherhood of God and its reinstatement as the most comprehensive and satisfactory account of His nature and relationship to mankind and to the universe, has only been gradual and has not yet been completely accomplished.

The influence of the Reformation in regard to this tended in two opposite directions. To begin with, the spiritual earnestness of the Reformers led them to go back to Augustine past the scholasticism and ecclesiasticism of later times. In the next place, their new consciousness of spiritual freedom and their joyous confidence towards God sharpened and deepened their sense of the distinction between His relationship to true believers and His relationship to the rest of mankind. Hence Luther accepted the Augustinian theology and Calvin restated it with the added austerity of his Stoicism and relentless logic. But so far as the experience of the justified or the elect was concerned Luther passed from the Divine Majesty to expatiate upon the homeliness of the Incarnation and the fatherliness of God, while Calvin found in the Pauline doctrine of the "adoption of sons," not only the form in which his entire exposition of the Christian life was cast, but an influence that gave surprising tenderness to his descriptions of it. Hence the doctrine of the Fatherhood of God was revived and made predominant within the sphere of Christian life, yet, with the exception of some recognition of fatherly beneficence in Creation, was treated as a special and limited manifestation of grace that was conditioned by the overarching Sovereignty of God and by the fiat of His absolute, not to say arbitrary, Will.

The special service rendered by the Wesleys and by the Methodist movement as represented by them, was that they came to see and to proclaim that the special grace of God to believers sprang out of and manifested the universal graciousness of His Will "that all men should be saved." Hence the greatest of their hymns gave utterance to their consciousness of the universal Fatherhood of God, although their more formal teaching was incompletely recast in this sense.

It remained, so far as British theology is concerned, for certain great teachers of the nineteenth century to carry forward this work

of restoration. Charles Kingsley in England, moved by fervid social sympathies, Erskine of Linlathen and McLeod Campbell in Scotland, reacting against the harshness of Calvinism and against artificial "Plans of Salvation," made the universal Fatherhood of God the central theme of their teaching, the touchstone by which they tried and the truth by which they restated the prevalent theology of their time. Above all, Frederick Denison Maurice, the greatest British theological thinker of the century, gave completest expression to the new point of view by means of the combination of deep insight, philosophical breadth, and humane sympathies which constituted his remarkable spiritual genius. A more comprehensive account than is possible in this article should take notice of the influence of Schleiermacher on religious thought, since his emphasis, excessive though it was, upon the element of feeling and the sense of dependence in religion, did much to break down the shallow formalism and rigidity of theology, though not contributing directly to its restatement in precise terms of the Fatherhood of God. It should be borne in mind that the growth and spread of humane sympathies exerted a powerful, if not the predominant, influence upon this restatement. Moreover, the breaking down during its process of the old belief in the fixity of Nature through the acceptance of the doctrine of Evolution has carried with it the abandonment of rigid conceptions of the Divine Will as the mechanical and external explanation of the Universe and of its relationship to God.

An influential motive in the restoration of the supremacy of the Fatherhood of God has been the desire to do justice to the belief that the well-being of His Creation and the salvation of mankind are a vital concern of God; and that "in all their afflictions He is afflicted." This is indeed a legitimate and pressing demand to make upon theology. Careful thought, however, will satisfy it with due caution. Intense feeling and consequent suffering in men are caused in large measure by their sensory nature, and are to a great extent protective, corrective, and incentive in their functions. These elements enter into human sympathy, and are intensified by the apprehension, which springs from inability to see the end from the beginning and to place any particular event in its true relations to the whole. Moreover, the comparative helplessness of the human sympathiser adds to his distress. None of these functions and disabilities can be attributed to God. Yet, when purged from all such crudities, men must rightly insist upon the fatherly sympathy of God as meaning that His purposes are beneficent, that He is concerned for their fulfilment, and that they spring, not from His bare Will, but from the self-giving of His Nature, that is, from His Fatherhood.

In conclusion, the supreme task set before the Christian Church at the present time is threefold. First of all, to organise both thought and life in the light of and as expressing the Fatherhood of God as revealed in our Lord Jesus Christ. Secondly, to establish the Fatherhood of God, so understood, as the true interpretation of Reality and the trustworthy promise of its possibilities. And, thirdly, to present the doctrine as containing and completing, correcting and harmonising all other enduring modes of thought about God and His relations to the world, according to the measure of their validity for thought and their indispensability to meet the needs of spiritual life on its way to complete realisation and satisfaction.

J. SCOTT LIDGETT.

SOVEREIGNTY.*

THE essence of my disagreement with the champions of "sovereignty" lies in their "absolutist" attitude, by which, of course, I do not mean that they favour what is commonly called "despotism," i.e., violent and unfeeling treatment of subordinates. But they seem to regard "sovereignty" as a necessary element in, or basis of, all government or control, whilst I, recognising that the phenomenon of sovereignty has made, and probably will again make, its appearance in the world, and, perhaps, being prepared to go so far as to say that it is a common stage in the evolution of progressive communities, deny wholly that it is to be found in anything more than a small number of communities known to history, or that it is a necessary basis of a civilised form of political life. And I am glad to be able to come to this conclusion, for I feel convinced that the exercise of absolute, uncontrolled authority is profoundly demoralising, not only to those over whom it is exercised, but, perhaps even more, to those who exercise it. The former are, by the process of inhibition which it involves, stunted and repressed in their attempts towards self-development; the latter are insensibly led to take a wholly false view of their capacities and wisdom, and, when these claims are, naturally, criticised or opposed by their subjects, to resort to violent and oppressive measures. This tendency has, of course, been modified by the adoption of representative institutions; but it is proverbially difficult for the leopard to change his spots.

My opponents and myself alike appeal to facts. Unfortunately, we come to diametrically opposite conclusions; and I think it is not difficult to see why. The champions of "sovereignty" seem to consider all kinds of authority, and even certain exercises of personality which hardly deserve the name of "authority" at all, as being examples of "sovereignty." But is that the sense in which the word is, or has been for the last three hundred years, understood by jurists, historians, statesmen, or publicists of any kind? Granted that we can go back to a time when "sovereign" merely meant "pre-eminent" (for example, Heads of Oxford and

* This discussion has arisen out of an inaugural address delivered by the writer as Professor of English Law in the University of London, at the London School of Economics and Political Science in October last. The article by Professor de Montmorency was in the Literary Supplement of the February CONTEMPORARY REVIEW.

It is difficult for a controversialist to avoid the appearance of deliberate contradiction when he is dealing with an opponent who appeals to the same evidence as himself, but who draws from it diametrically opposite conclusions. May I therefore make it quite plain at once that my friend Professor de Montmorency and myself are "except in opinion, not disagreeing," that we are both, I believe, animated by the same ultimate hope, and that I welcome cordially his friendly and vigorous criticism, profoundly as I disagree with it.

Cambridge Colleges were spoken of as "sovereigns" in the sixteenth century), surely the famous writers of the seventeenth century appropriated the word to express for ever what the Romans meant by "Imperium," i.e., the absolute authority of a ruler or ruling body, who, or which, recognised no control from above or around, and no independent action, far less resistance, from below. This is the sense in which the word is used by diplomats and international lawyers, though, naturally, they are concerned more with the former than the latter feature of sovereignty, which is the peculiar province of the jurist seeking to expound a system of national law. Both lodge this sovereignty in the State, i.e., the organised political authority; and their desperate efforts to find a political organ to which this kind of authority can be attributed in a given State are becoming more and more amusing to observers who prefer facts to phrases. In this country, owing to the undoubted fact that the Austinian theory did, more or less exactly, fit the realities during the period between the revolt of the thirteen colonies and the introduction of self-government into the Dominions, we have been very badly infected with Austinianism, and find it hard to shake off the virus. On the Continent of Europe, where written constitutions have made it obviously untenable, it has never had much following since the French Revolution overthrew the absolutist monarchies; though the school of Treitschke in Germany favoured it for political reasons, and Esmein, in France, cherished it to the last.

Now a man who is threatened with the loss of an old and favourite cloak, which he has worn for many years, is apt to feel rather alarmed, even though he is offered a better, and even though it is pointed out to him that his cherished cloak has, in fact, let in the rain and snow, and no longer covers his expanding figure. So it is not surprising to find the champions of "sovereignty" appealing desperately to all kinds of things which are obviously not cloaks at all, in order to prove that they do not need a new cloak. What, in the name of sober history, may we ask, has feudalism, or the gild, or marital authority, to do with sovereignty? Feudalism is a peculiar phase of political evolution (widespread, though by no means universal, even in progressive communities) which, when it succeeds, destroys the authority of the State, and has to be stamped out by the State as incompatible with its existence. The gild is a self-developed institution, and, though it may from time to time have been recognised by the State, was certainly not created by the State, which regarded it with suspicion, and in many cases, waged successful war against it as inconsistent with the State's own claims to authority. The authority of the House-Father (of which marital authority, where it survives at all,

is a survival) was certainly not "sovereign," being always subject to the control of the State or other superior group, though, doubtless, its control over the other members of the household group was ill-defined.

Many of the champions of "sovereignty" seem to think that the existence of independent self-governing groups within the larger community over which the State claims to be "sovereign," can be reconciled with a theory with which they are obviously inconsistent, by a resort to the hard-worked principle of "delegation." But is not this a mere travesty of the facts? The precise rules of delegation (or, to use a more familiar term, agency) vary in different systems; but they all include, or, at least imply, a power of revocation by the party delegating and a prohibition of sub-delegation by the delegate (*Delegatus non potest delegare*). How then, even if we make the enormous assumption that the powers exercised by the Dominions, the Church, the Municipalities, and the Professions, were created by the State (an assumption notoriously at variance with the facts of history), can we treat them as delegated, when we know that any attempt on the part of the State to resume them is unthinkable, and that they are frequently sub-delegated? We have, if you like, a *sharing* of powers between the State and these bodies; but that is a different thing from delegation, and is wholly inconsistent with the Austinian (or any other) doctrine of "sovereignty"—indivisible, inalienable, omni-competent, unlimited. The French, with their keener sense of logic, having abandoned the doctrine of sovereignty, are, under the somewhat unpromising cover of *droit administratif*, building up an admirable system of distributed authority. We, handicapped by our pathetic clinging to an exploded doctrine, are somewhat in danger of falling behind in political development, though, happily, we rarely let devotion to a theory stand in the way of practical reforms.

In all probability, the real reason for the survival of the Austinian theory is the fear which haunts the minds of its champions, that no other satisfactory basis for the maintenance of law and order can be suggested. To Austin, trained as a soldier, the simple maxim: "Do as you are ordered, and nothing but what you are ordered, and all will be well," seemed to be the essence, not only of political wisdom, but of political science. As has been admitted, Austin was so far justified by the facts of his immediate environment, that neither the inherent weakness of his doctrine, nor its immorality, was so glaring in his day as it is in ours. The fate of the German and the Russian Empires, where his doctrine was practical, was not before his eyes. We, having

long abandoned Austin's doctrine as a working rule, owe it to ourselves and the world to substitute a better.

In effect, though not in theory, we have done so; but we run grave practical risks by clinging to an obsolete doctrine which is apt to hamper us at critical moments. We are running serious risks because we cannot agree with the Dominions on a plan of common action which will enable us to meet contingencies with a united though not a uniform front. We cannot make up our minds whether the State, if it acts as employer, trader, or trespasser, *i.e.*, as a person, is to be treated as such for all purposes, or whether it is to be able to fall back, at any moment, upon its abstract position as the embodiment of sovereign, uncontrolled power, having neither rights nor liabilities. We have long been familiar with a State whose actions have been determined by the vote of the majority of a representative body; yet we hesitate to allow other governing and administrative bodies to act on a similar principle. We continually maintain that the State can do certain things which we know in fact that the State has long lost the power to do, if it ever had it, *e.g.*, to make a grant of public money dependent on the profession of a particular religious belief, or to deprive a person accused of felony of his right to a trial by jury.

Some modern exponents of the doctrine of sovereignty are, apparently, so far in agreement with me as to give up that part of Austin's doctrine which defined Law (in the jurist's sense) as the *command* of the State. For my part, I should be prepared to admit that, at any rate for the present, it is necessary that a good deal of the law which a community makes for itself should be *enforced* by the State; though I do not by any means agree with the current view that the line between Law and Morality is to be drawn where the action of the State ends and other authority alone enforces the rule. Thus, for example, I should incline to think that the rule that, on the Cotton Exchange, a broker's note which does not comply with the requirements of the Statute of Frauds is as binding as one which does, is quite as good a law, or better, than the Statute itself, because no one would deal with a man who broke it. But I freely admit that, at any rate for the present, the activities of certain abnormal persons, for whom success does not demand the co-operative sympathy of their fellow-citizens, can only be kept within bounds by the exercise of the State's peculiar weapon of physical force. But the duty of dealing with abnormalities seems to be a somewhat slender foundation for the support of a superstructure of sovereignty. Policeman X is a first-rate fellow; but we should hardly entrust him with the control of a delicate economic or educational organisation, with power to alter it at will.

Is it a fact that if the control of the "sovereign" State were withdrawn, the community would lapse into anarchy? In some countries, I think it might, though I would observe that there are vast countries in which life goes on peacefully enough, although there is, in effect, no exercise of State authority. In this country and in the great Dominions, I am pretty certain it would not, and that we should, as a community, survive even the disappearance of the annual miracle of the Statute Book. We have taken our medicine, and learnt the advantages of intelligent and peaceful co-operation. Whether the faculty of self-government which we have learnt is based on any emotion or rational conviction which would make it as impossible for us to destroy our painfully acquired heritage as it would be for a sane mother to starve her child deliberately to death, I do not feel absolutely certain; though there are suggestions that this may be possible. But I am quite sure that scepticism with regard to the "sovereignty" of the State is a much more wholesome condition of mind than the German worship of the State as a "sovereign" to which everything (including its own subjects) must, if necessary, be sacrificed.

I know little about Bolshevism; but what little I know leads me to suppose that its administrators push the doctrine of sovereignty to its logical extreme, and work it out with a thoroughness rarely before attempted. Doubtless their objects are very different from those of the Tsarist *régime*, but their methods bear a striking resemblance to those of that famous model, even in details. The world has yet to see the ultimate results of the experiment. At present the system appears to be hardly suitable for civilised peoples. At any rate, I felt free in my Address to suggest a better alternative.

EDWARD JENKS.

ASIA'S STRUGGLE AGAINST OPIUM.

THE International Drug Conferences at Geneva are over. Three separate agreements have been signed. It is not yet certain what their effect will be. It might seem, then, that, after all the noise of many words, the time has come for silence. But it cannot be. One of the issues, perhaps the most vital, has not been cleared up. That is, what is the real attitude of the great peoples of Asia to drugs? Does the average morality, or, let us say, the morality of the intelligent classes in China, in Japan, or in India accept drug addiction—at any rate moderate addiction—with the same tolerant acquiescence, or even approval, as the morality of European nations accepts moderate drinking or immoderate smoking? Or is even moderate addiction widely condemned? Those are questions that still need authoritative answers.

During the past few months attempts have been made to show that the League of Nations machinery, in the Drug Conferences, was being used to force a peculiarly narrow, western, Puritan morality upon a reluctant world. I believe it would be truer to state what may seem almost the opposite: that the debased materialism, the economic imperialism, of Europe has prevented the machinery of the League from being used as effectively as the peoples of the East would have liked. The purpose of this article is to summarise the evidence on which this conclusion is based.

First, we may consider the Chinese. Everyone knows, or ought to know, the story of the astonishing reform carried out through the length and breadth of China in the years before the war. The punishments meted out upon those who resisted the reform are said to have been ruthless. But fear of punishment cannot account for so rapid and complete a reform in a vast and thickly populated country, with very bad communications. The whole people had seen the ruin caused by opium: parents, children, brothers or friends, falling into the habit and unable to rise. So, the moment they knew that they could be free from the foreign opium, imported under treaty from India, they acted almost as one man and destroyed the evil thing. But was this more than a flash in the pan? Have they not since revived the cultivation of opium, until now it threatens not their own country alone, but the whole East?

This appears to be true, but the answer to this second question does not carry with it the answer to the first. For why has opium been cultivated anew? Cultivation is still illegal in China; but over vast areas it has been enforced by lawless military Governors, who have learnt only too well from the example of Western Governments and traders that opium can be used as a most lucrative form of revenue. Their policy does not seem to be popular; one recent telegram stated that a Governor had found it necessary to

execute some farmers who would not grow opium. Letters in *The Times* recently, from the Professor of Chinese at Oxford and from a British official lately returned from South China, both expressed the conviction that the Chinese would soon rid themselves of opium when they got rid of their *tu-chuns*. The present writer has heard the same opinion from people who know various parts of China. Mr. T. Z. Koo, the distinguished young Chinese leader, has been telling people in England and in Geneva of the great organised efforts now being made by the student class, by means of all kinds of propaganda and by collecting statistics, to combat the policy of the *tu-chuns*. The student class have always been the acknowledged leaders of China. The Governor of Shansi has been able to keep that province, with its eleven million people, out of the hands of the militarists, and consequently free from opium. The Acting Minister of Foreign Affairs in Peking lately assured a Press correspondent that "China's withdrawal from the Conference at Geneva does not mean that we shall abandon our policy of prohibiting the cultivation of the poppy. We are as strongly opposed to it as ever. The present recrudescence is due to the ineffectiveness of our authority in the provinces, but as soon as control is re-established, the world can rely on us to take vigorous measures to stamp out the evil."

We must pass to India. In India, we are assured by Government representatives, there is no opium vice. Opium smoking, it is said, has been stamped out. Opium eating is rarely if ever indulged in to excess; in moderation it does good rather than harm; in some parts of India, where the medical service is as yet inadequate, it is the one recognised medicine for many complaints. Opium eating is universally accepted as harmless. Excess is prevented by the Government licensing system, and by Government control of manufacture and sale. That appears to be the Government case. If you ask Government servants for information in support of this case, they will refer you to the report of the Royal Commission that visited India in 1893-4, and to a pamphlet recently issued by the India Office called *The Truth about Opium*. Few people will make much out of the disorderly chaos of the Royal Commission's report; so they probably confine themselves to *The Truth about Opium*. It certainly reads very plausibly. But I would ask any serious student of the subject to go a little further, and read also Joshua Rowntree's book, *The Imperial Drug Trade*, published in 1905. The contrast between this and *The Truth about Opium* is startling; the latter gives one side of the picture, the former both. I think the impartial reader of the two will soon perceive that *The Truth about Opium* has omitted a great deal that is vital, beginning with its title-page, which should read "*Much less than Half the Truth about Opium*." Most

of this, it is true, concerns what is now ancient history; and it would not be worth referring to, had not the Indian Government recently dug up the Royal Commission Report. That Report was riddled by men like J. E. Ellis, H. J. Wilson and Joshua Rowntree; but they are no longer living; so the Indian Government thinks it safe to drag the Report out, and say, "This is the truth."

No other official Commission has investigated the opium situation in India; but in the past twelve months two unofficial investigations have been carried out, one a local inquiry in Assam, ordered by the Indian National Congress; the other a more general inquiry carried out by the National Christian Council of India. The results of such inquiries must be received with caution. Just as the evidence given before the Royal Commission of 1894 was invalidated by the fact that it was got together by a powerful alien Government, whose interests were known to be associated with the opium revenue, so, on the other hand, witnesses who volunteered to give evidence before a Committee of the Indian National Congress *might* be inclined to exaggerate the evils they were describing, so as to assist the Nationalists in attacking the Government. The National Christian Council's inquiry is hardly open to the same criticism; but—we all know what missionaries are: instead of mixing chiefly with officials and big-wigs, and exchanging generalisations about the habits of the people, they sometimes mix with common people, and even share their home-life. Bearing these things in mind, let us look at the evidence.

The first witness before the Opium Enquiry Committee in Assam* made the startling assertion that "about 25 per cent. of the adult Assam population either eat or smoke opium." Smoking is hardly mentioned by other witnesses, so perhaps it is quite exceptional. Most of the witnesses seem to refer only to eating. And eating is harmless! So the apologists say. Well, here are a few examples from Assam: At Dibrugarh the President of the Bar Association stated that "opium eating, in early age, stunts the growth of man. The opium eaters are easily distinguishable from others. They are unreliable and untrustworthy. He considers that twenty per cent. of the Assamese adult population in Dibrugarh are affected by this pernicious habit." A Government Pensioner said, "If the present process goes on, sooner or later we shall be extinct as a people." An Excise Mahaldar said he thought the Assamese people were being ruined by opium eating. Another Government Pensioner said that "Public opinion is decidedly against the continuance of the trade." And so on—the same kind of evidence from scores of witnesses—lawyers, landowners, the Chairman of a Municipality, an opium-eater—at Dib-

* The quotations that follow are from a preliminary summary of the first part of the enquiry; the full Report has not yet reached England.

rugarh, at Gauharti, at Nowgong. At least four doctors gave evidence, and all denied that opium had any prophylactic action against kala-azar or malaria; "neither is it necessary for a damp and humid climate like that of Assam." Most witnesses favoured total prohibition, some suggesting that people of over fifty should be registered and put under medical care; one "would give between six and twelve months to the Government and the consumers to adjust themselves to the new situation."

In 1921 a resolution was passed in the Assam Provincial Council to abolish the opium trade within ten years. Twenty-six members voted for it (a missionary and twenty-five Indians); thirteen against (eight Europeans and five Indians). The only action the Government would take was to record the names of the consumers; this has shown that there are about a hundred thousand. When the Non-Co-operators carried out a temperance and anti-opium campaign, as part of their plan of non-co-operation with the Government, they reduced opium consumption by 50 per cent. Then the Government intervened, and put 44 out of 63 in prison!

But this is only Assam. One of the witnesses, however, an English temperance worker, Miss Mary S. Campbell, who has worked in many parts of India, made this interesting observation: "I asked the opium eaters [she has just been describing the crowd waiting their turns at an opium shop], but they said that they were not taking the opium for their babies. That impressed me, as it is so bad in the Central Provinces and the United Provinces." "It" evidently refers to the doping of babies with opium pills. Every social worker in India seems to recognise this as a fact, even in official reports; in the factories of Bombay it is said that practically all mothers dope their babies day by day to keep them quiet. The editor of the National Christian Council's pamphlet, *India and Opium* (Rev. Wm. Paton), declares on the basis of his evidence that "In almost every part of India it appears that the custom of giving opium pills to small children prevails." In some parts it is given to appease hunger. Comment is needless.

It is impossible to quote at length from the Christian Council's report. Evidence was sent in by "members of the Indian Medical Service, missionary doctors and Indian private practitioners, both men and women; by educationalists of various kinds, and by missionaries, social reformers and others." The editor has summarised his conclusions from the evidence. Here are a few sentences:

When once it [the habit of opium-eating] is imparted, no raising of the price will break it. The poorest man, once he is in bondage to the drug, will give his whole daily pittance for it, will steal for it, may even kill for it. For such addiction no one will offer any defence. We do not pretend that it is common. Taking the country as a whole, it is comparatively rare. Probably Assam, Orissa, the

Central Provinces, Central India and the northern parts of Bombay Presidency see most of it. But it is only possible because there is no effective restraint upon the buying of opium by the poor wrecks of humanity to whom it has become food and drink.

After quoting the various estimates made by doctors of the proportion of opium used purely for addiction purposes, ranging from 40 per cent. to 95 per cent., Mr. Paton concludes: "Not a single person has written to us that he or she regards the indiscriminate use of opium as beneficial, and the great majority unite in deploring it." Concerning the effects, Mr. Paton notes: "Some doctors regard eating as the more deleterious habit of the two [compared with smoking], on the ground that the whole of the morphine content of opium is absorbed into the body of the eater, and only a part into that of the smoker."

Now, what of public opinion in India? Mr. Paton says:

We should sum up the state of public feeling by saying, first, that mass opinion on the subject does not exist; secondly, that enlightened people increasingly dislike and are conscious of the evil of opium-eating; third, that the reforming minds of India are giving their attention to the problem more and more with every month that passes; and fourth, that the restrictions which in our view the facts demand would not be followed by any outcry, if only because those who have shown themselves most able to sway the masses of the people have definitely ranged themselves in favour of such restrictions.

One is almost tempted to leave such a concise statement without comment. But a few facts may be adduced to show the tendency of opinion in India. With the introduction of the Montagu-Chelmsford reforms of 1919, opium became a transferred subject, and the elected Provincial Councils had the right to propose anti-opium measures. This meant, in most parts, curtailing revenue which was badly wanted for educational and social projects. Nevertheless, proposals were brought forward in five Provinces besides Assam, passed by one (Punjab), held up by Government on constitutional grounds in two (Bombay and Madras), and defeated in the other two (United Provinces and Behar). The *Swaraj* party is committed to the policy of abolishing the opium revenue, but its resolutions in the legislative Assembly have not hitherto been accepted by the Government.

The All-India Congress Committee declared last summer that in its opinion "the opium policy of the Government of India is altogether contrary to the moral welfare of the people of India and other countries." And at the end of December, 1924, the National Congress endorsed this, stating that:

The Congress hopes that the peaceful endeavour of workers to wean those who are addicted to the drink or the opium habit from the curse will receive further and greater strength and encouragement than hitherto. The Congress is of opinion that the policy of

the Government of India in using the drink and drug habit of the people as a source of revenue is detrimental to the moral welfare of the people of India, and would therefore welcome its abolition. The Congress is further of opinion that the regulation by the Government of India of the opium traffic is detrimental not only to the moral welfare of India but of the whole world, and that the cultivation of opium in India, which is out of all proportion to medical and scientific requirements, should be reduced to such requirements.

At the same time the National Liberal Federation declared that it "supports the restriction of opium to medical requirements."

Readers of Rolland's remarkable study of Mahatma Gandhi must be impressed with the contrast between Gandhi and Tagore, the two great Indian leaders whom all the world respects. Their views on politics and nationality often clash; on the drug question they are united. Both, together with many other Indian leaders, signed a petition that was presented to the Conference at Geneva last November. Mr. Gandhi also sent a special telegram: "Please tell the Conference that all India wants complete stoppage of the opium traffic save for medical purposes." There is the voice of India: her spiritual leader has called on his fellow-countrymen to purify themselves and make ready to enter into their great national heritage, and they are responding to his call. Ask any young Indian who has been touched by the Non-Co-operation Movement what he thinks of the Indian Government's opium policy; the nature of his reply is almost certain. Yet the Government seems to be immovable. Questions in the Legislative Assembly are answered almost scornfully. The impossible thesis quoted on an earlier page is still upheld as truth. Why? Probably not in the main because of revenue; largely, perhaps, because it would be difficult to induce the Princes of some of the Native States to give up their opium revenue; but perhaps most of all—so it seems—from a profound difference in outlook between Anglo-Indian officialdom and the new Indian nationalism.

The contrast may perhaps be illustrated by a quotation from a lecture about Japan by a young Japanese to which I lately listened. The outlook of India, of course, is very different from that of Japan in many things; but not, I think, in this. "Even in these days," said this young Japanese, "our artists, when they are engaged on a piece of work into which they mean to pour their whole heart and soul, take care, first of all, to keep themselves from all sorts of personal indulgence. . . . In short, it is to this day one of our highest ideals to live clean, undefiled lives, which seem to be as serene and beautiful as a cherry-tree in full bloom." "Even in these days"—that is to say, in spite of the influence of the West, Asia still believes that the mental and spiritual faculties of man are worth keeping pure and serene. Europe may yet learn from Asia.

HORACE G. ALEXANDER.

THE WAHHABITE REVIVAL.

TO British people the politics of Arabia (by which I mean the Arabian Peninsula) must always seem a little remote, and of small import to the interests of so vast an Empire as ours. Its history, like its very topography, is yet obscure, and but for the geographical part that it perforce played in the War, it would probably still remain unknown to most of us, and unable to excite curiosity. There is hardly one person in a thousand who could precisely fix its frontiers. Almost more than any other place in the world this desert and deserted land has lived apart. Why, then, it may be asked, should we worry about it now?

There are many reasons. First, it was the birthplace of one of the world's religions, the one which most nearly threatened our own Christendom; it is, moreover, the source to which each year Islam turns, in the *haj*, or pilgrimage, for fresh inspiration. Now, so long as the Moslem Holy Lands were governed, or, at least, were nominally lorded over, by the Turk, there was little need for anxiety. Turkey was always, since the sixteenth century, safe enough in the keeping or under the kindly tutelage of some European Power or other, and there was no real fear of Islam's running off the rails.

Now, however, all is changed. The old Ottoman Empire is gone. And in its place, who reigns? For Arabia proper, there is but one answer: Abdul Aziz Ibn Saoud, the Wahhabi Sultan of Nejd. Even before the War this mighty Arab was of very considerable significance, and was but waiting the day when he might cast off the yoke of the Turk, and enchain or unite Arabia with the bonds or the bands which his followers, the famous *Ikhwan*, were to forge. Blocking his desires, however, were several rival Arab chiefs, notably Ibn Rashid, of the Shammar tribe, and Hussein of the Hejaz. When war on Turkey broke out in 1914, Ibn Saoud saw his opportunity. He struck hard, and successfully, at Ibn Rashid. But farther than this he could not go during the War, for the Allies (with perhaps more justification than has been accorded to them by those wise after the event) had put their money, so to speak, on his deadly rival, Hussein, of the loathed House of Hashim. Thenceforward, until the end of the War, Ibn Saoud could but passively assist the Allies.

When the Armistice came, Ibn Saoud saw with dismay that Hussein was inflated more ridiculously than ever with promises and encouragements, and, feeling this discrimination keenly, determined to oust his rival on the first chance. This was some time in presenting itself, for the subsidy of £60,000 a year which the

British Government paid him expressly to keep the peace was scarcely a factor that could be overlooked. Eventually, however, the subsidy ceased. And then the quarrel began.

I will not weary my readers with the details of this struggle, but will content myself with setting out its causes and its effects. The former were threefold. First, there was the extraordinary personal hatred existing between Ibn Saoud and the Hashimite Family; it was a hatred of intensest bitterness, bred of the superiority which a fine but unrewarded man feels for an ignoble but pampered one, and finally made to overflow by the assumption by Hussein of the title of Caliph. It was, incidentally, a hatred that in its correctness has been widely confirmed by subsequent testimony on the part of British observers. Next, there was the vexation which the Wahhabis of Nejd felt at the laxity with which Hussein guarded the *haj*. It does not appear to be generally known that the Wahhabis, Puritans of Islam though they be, do regard the pilgrimage to Mecca (though not to Medina) as a sacred duty. Consequently, they were as indignant as were the thousands of other Moslems at the appalling conditions attaching to the pilgrimage under the Hussein régime. In setting out to the world in general the origins of the Nejd-Hejaz dispute, indeed, Ibn Saoud specifically referred to the ill-treatment which his Nejdīs had suffered in the Hejaz. And, lastly, there was the Wahhabis' natural and perennial horror of the easy practice of Moslem teachings by the Meccans and the Hejasis generally. War was really made with two objects in view: the abolition of the Hashimite Family and the purification of the Hejaz.

How the quarrel broke out last autumn; how easily the Wahhabis captured Taif, that dream-city of the Hejaz; how Hussein was impelled to abdicate and to place, or to have placed, the finest of his sons, Ali, in his stead; how the Wahhabis took Mecca; and how, after a long delay, explained probably by the attractions of a better fight farther south against the Idrisi of Asir, Jeddah is commanded by Wahhabi guns—these things must all be fresh in the minds of readers. Somewhere near Taif the Hejasis may have put up a fight, but nowhere else. Their much advertised army simply melted away before the invading *Ikhwan*, until at the last Ali, the noblest of the Hejaz Arabs, and in no way responsible for the rapacity and omissions of his father, was left to defend Jeddah with but a handful of men. Ali, deserted by his countrymen! Something was very obviously rotten in the state of the Hejaz.

However, the Kingdom of the Hejaz, which once in fond imaginations was to have been the nucleus of the quite impossible Confederation of Arab States, is now at an end; by the time that these lines are in print, its northern towns, Medina and the rest, may

also be in the victors' hands. Ibn Saoud is *the* man of the Peninsula: undisputed, and indisputable, master from Persian Gulf to Red Sea. (I eliminate the possibility of rivalry from the Imam Yehia of the Yemen, because, according to the best available evidence, these two chieftains are working in conjunction, and not against, one another.) What will he do with it—what can he do with it?

The Wahhabis' intentions and desires are probably limitless. Were they unchecked by central authority, they might attempt, as did their forbears, to go rampaging over the borders, pillaging Nejef and Kerbela in Iraq, overrunning Amman in Transjordan (as they very nearly did last August), and surging up through Palestine and Syria to the pleasaunces of Damascus. But one has good grounds for supposing Ibn Saoud's objectives are limited. He knows that the reserves of his Nejd are far from being inexhaustible, and that the future of the Holy Places is one that very properly concerns not only his own Puritans but the whole of Islam. In this knowledge, he has, it is said, forbidden raids upon mandated territory; and the problem of the Holy Places he is leaving to a Moslem Commission to solve. That, perhaps, is not a very satisfactory solution, but at least it shows that the Sultan of Nejd does not care to be playing with fire. The question of the appointment of a Caliph he is also leaving to others. Admittedly, he intends to dominate the Peninsula, to make of it as far as is possible a united Arabia; but the talk that is imputed to him of xenophobia, and of the preserving of the Peninsula from all foreign influence, is probably so much bunkum. Ibn Saoud is an extremely far-sighted man, who knows that there is wealth in his country, and that foreigners alone can exploit it. And wealth to an Arab is much more than hay to a horse.

What Ibn Saoud does in Arabia itself is, perhaps, no concern of Great Britain. But this country must preserve some sort of relationship with the new master of Arabia, not only because of her longstanding rights in the Persian Gulf, nor because of her essential communications *via* the Red Sea, but also because of the interest which she must inevitably take in the welfare of her Moslem subjects making the pilgrimage. The question of the recognition of Ibn Saoud has, of course, already been raised; but in the House of Commons the suggestion that a British representative should be appointed to Riyadh, the capital of the Nejd, was rather roughly handled by the authorities. Yet surely there was much, and there is now much more, to be said for the suggestion. Riyadh is now neither an unknown nor an inaccessible spot; several Europeans and Americans have visited Ibn Saoud there; and there appears to be no doubt on any side that the Sultan is a man of his word.

It can scarcely be a more unpleasant place to live in than Jeddah, and one imagines that if Mr. Bullard, who, as British Consul in the Red Sea port, has behaved with extreme competence in these last very trying months, were asked which was preferable—Wahhabi or Hashimite sway—he would by no means plump for the latter.

It may, of course, be said that this Wahhabi revival is but an ebullition, that it is a Puritanical flare up, which like all Puritanical movements in the end overreaches itself, produces a neighbouring reaction, and collapses. There have, it can be said, been such ebullitions before; they are periodic and not permanent. Give them time, and the *Ikhwan* will decline as certainly as their ancestral Wahhabis declined. In any case, the opponents of intervention can say, the order which the Wahhabis are at present manifesting is, so to speak, but a whim on the part of Ibn Saoud, upon whose decease the movement will most surely degenerate into anarchy. These things may be so: but the end of this Wahhabi revival under Ibn Saoud is at least not yet. Some time ago it was asserted that the Sultan of Nejd, weary of fighting, was anxious permanently to delimit the frontiers of his State, that he might hand on to his successor a defined and compact land; and, indeed, at the Koweit Conference at the beginning of last year, he showed himself willing to do so. But his subsequent conduct hardly suggests a spirit of *laissez faire*; there are still no *longueurs* about Ibn Saoud; nor have his followers, apart from their first excesses in Taif (where, incidentally, excellent grapes are grown, and whose heady pleasaunces might well have contributed to a certain disintegration), shown any falling off in discipline. At least for a few months, the experiment of sending a representative to the Court of Riyadh might be hopefully indulged in; it could do no conceivable harm now; it might do an incredible amount of good.

It is a little misleading, moreover, to argue from the past in regard to Islam; there is a vast difference between the twentieth century *Ikhwan* and the nineteenth century Wahhabis who so shocked the conscience of the more normal and civilised part of Islam. The religious effects of this latest revival are difficult to foresee, and hence—a fact which is much more applicable to Islam than to Christendom—its political effects are equally unpredictable. But, for those who fain would refuse it more than transient notice, it may be recalled that even the last Nejd ebullition of a hundred years ago, which, compared with the surge of Ibn Saoud's men, was a very rude affair, inspired among certain Moslem communities in India the establishment of Wahhabi schools, schools founded, that is, upon the principles of the first great eighteenth century Wahhabi. These schools became a serious embarrass-

ment later to the British authorities. How much more, in these advanced days, may this decently conducted purging of the Hejaz effect! The consequences of Hashimite laxity in caring for the *haj* were most disastrous among our Indian Moslems: Hussein was the protégé of England, who, therefore, was careless of the interests of Islam! Again, its potential effect upon such a community as the Sennussi in North Africa, who derive their principles from the same source, the Koran, is patent. The Puritanical prompting is a feature, indeed, not long absent from many religions, and with such an one as Islam, born of the desert, it must invariably recur, even if it does not stabilise itself.

But it is a self-evident truth that, while Islam endures, Mohammed must be worshipped and his birthplace be constantly the object of thought and of devotion; which merely means that the occupiers of the Holy Places, whoever they be, will leave their impress upon the most considerable and esteemed followers of the Prophet. And it is well to remember that it is neither the Caliph (at present non-existent), nor a political bond, that binds Moslems together: it is the *haj*.

There is, admittedly, another side to the picture. It is a fact, for example, that since the War the *haj* has considerably declined. This fact has led some observers to suppose that Islam itself is declining, or at least is losing its fervour. The decrease in the numbers of the *hajis*, however, is due rather to temporary causes than to any that can be seen to be permanent. One cause is the unsettled condition of the entire Middle East—a ferment which is now on its way to subsidence; another is the collapse of the Hejaz Railway—it was partly destroyed during the War, and only recently and still but seldom have trains begun to run again on its southern portion as far as Maan; and another, more difficult and subtle to estimate, is the atheistic or indifferent tendency (by no means a monopoly of Islam) among young Moslems. This, when it does not dismiss as unnecessary the idea of a pilgrimage to so distant and uncomfortable a place as Mecca, is prone to find less irksome substitutes for the birthplace of the Prophet. Against this decline must be set out one of the most interesting experiments that has yet been conceived by a Briton in the interests of British Moslem subjects. This is nothing less than the transport of the *hajis* across the Syrian Desert from Iraq and more remote lands to Amman, Jerusalem and Akaba by motor-car! From Akaba they are to be conveyed to Jeddah by steamship. This scheme is as yet only in the stage of conception, but it is a brilliant one, and, given the construction of a road fit for motor-cars over the lava that stretches about twenty-five miles east from Amman, there would appear to be no obstacle to its success. Quite cer-

tainly, other things being equal, the pilgrim traffic would by means of this provision increase by leaps and bounds.

Finally, there is the question of Mecca itself. Is this Holy City, so confidently reported to be a "sink of iniquity," actually declining, as several observers assert? It may be so. Obviously Mecca could not exist without the "fleecing" of the pilgrims; and certainly its inhabitants are as corrupt and as immoral as those of any other sacred city in the world. But do these things amount to a decline, a decline which, as I have indicated, implies the decadence of Islam itself? It is too early yet to speak. One will watch with close interest the decisions of the Commission which Ibn Saoud is gathering for the resolving of Mecca's future governance, because the obtaining of decisions by means of a Commission has not hitherto proved as easy in Moslem hands as, say, in those of a European body. The administration of Mecca must always be a difficulty, first, because of its temptations, and, secondly, because of a certain jarring of interests that focusses there. If one credits its decline, however, one believes in the decline of all Islam, and certainly in the unimportance of this Wahhabite revival of which I have been writing.

But, as I believe, the future of Wahhabism will probably much more closely affect the position of Islam than it has done in the past. No longer can it, with the rest of the world looking indifferently on, surge up from its native Nejd through the Middle East: British interests, if nothing else, inhibit the possibility. But it is quite conceivable that, when it subsides, Islam will temporarily slumber, and that when, as if in accordance with some obscure geographical law that appears to apply equally to all Puritans, the Wahhabis once more proclaim the iniquities of all other Moslems, Islam will rouse itself. Just as Mr. G. K. Chesterton lately called our European "progress" a sort of cheerful zig-zag path, so may the course of Islam be. A series of recurrent impulses drives it forward, and then, subsiding, lets it down again. Yet it is at any rate probable that under Ibn Saoud the Wahhabis have more nearly hit the mark of truth, the path of real progress, than have any other body of considerable size and force in the long history of Islam.

KENNETH WILLIAMS.

THE DEVELOPMENT OF ROUMANIA.

THAT Roumania seems destined to play an important rôle in the Europe of to-morrow there is every reason to believe.

Not only does she control both banks of the Danube and, by her geographical position, form a kind of link between the eastern and western worlds but, bastioned as she is by the Carpathians, the Danube and Dniester, she has enormously added to her military strength.

Like many another new State, however, she has only just emerged from a period of great economic stress and difficulty, and though the war has doubled her population and territory and added considerably to her potential economic wealth, it has left her in a state of exhaustion, which for many years has seriously interfered with her wellbeing. Two-thirds of her former territory had been ruthlessly occupied by the Germans and systematically exploited to the point of exhaustion, while the remaining territory did not suffer less from the agglomeration of people imposed upon it by the retreat from Moldavia and the exactions of the Russian hordes who, after fattening on the land, turned to devastate it when Bolshevik anarchy supervened. For a time, consequently, the Roumanian people, though an agricultural nation, was obliged to feed itself with corn imported from America.

There were many other obstacles that for a time retarded her progress. There was the difficulty which she experienced in unifying the various legal systems that she found functioning in the new provinces—the Russian in Bessarabia, the Hungarian in Transylvania, and the Austrian in Bukovina; the lack of experienced officials from which she suffered and which compelled her to appoint many inexperienced men to posts in the new administrations; and, furthermore, a constant fall in the exchange that was brought about, partly by the necessity of printing unsecured paper money to reprovision the country abroad when her economic balance was in deficit, and partly by the fact that she was forced to absorb in her national funds large sums of foreign money that were without covering. Little or no money was consequently available for making good the wastage of the war, with the result that farmers were unable to till their fields through lack of fertilisers, tools and animals, while mines and industry gradually came to a standstill.

Given these circumstances, the enormous progress which has lately attended the efforts of the Roumanian Government to put their financial house in order can hardly be over-estimated. And, like the Czechoslovak and Serbian Governments, the ministry of Mr. Bratiano, by a process of rigid economy, coupled with a

systematic readjustment of taxation, has not only arrested further progress on the downward path but has succeeded in equilibrating their budget.

The policy adopted by the present administration has, in fact, been characterised by very sound finance and, while much still remains to be done before Roumania will have entirely re-consolidated her financial stability, considerable progress has been achieved in this direction. She has re-established a normal transport and is securing the service of her Public Debt; she is developing her natural resources and is organising a sounder system of education.

Much criticism has, of course, been levelled against her agrarian reform and it has been urged that, like Czechoslovakia, she could have proceeded more leisurely with its application, but her nearness to the Russian menace left her no other alternative. Like every nation that has carried out similar reforms, she very quickly realised that the peasant, once industry and exchanges had become disorganised, had become the only indispensable class; and that consequently there was little that it could not do or undo. Drastic as was, therefore, an agrarian reform which left no large estate untouched, and condemning, as we certainly do condemn, the policy that, where the Hungarian and other racial minorities were concerned, proceeded with even less scruple and mercy, we must acknowledge that it was to a large extent made necessary by circumstances and that, by creating so large a peasant land-owning class, it at least helped to render the country more immune from Bolshevik infection.

Roumania is, however, greatly in need of foreign assistance and capital if she would adequately exploit her many new resources and, though she realises this need, is following an economic policy which is hardly calculated to attract that help.

What, in the first place, are the resources to which we are alluding? It is evident that in this respect the new Kingdom is singularly fortunate and privileged. Grain lands that rival the Beauce in fertility; gold, silver and iron mines, deposits of manganese and copper; large quantities of brown and black lignite; a few coal mines and vast forests, and, above all, oil wells which, if properly exploited, would rapidly turn the country into one of the chief exporters of the world's oil supply.

Before the war Roumania was the richest country in the Balkans and in 1913 had a favourable trade balance of nearly 16,000,000 *lei*. Of her exports oil constituted 20 per cent. and cereals 67. Yet, though this happy position has never been attained since the war and only one-tenth of the Roumanian oil fields are at present being exploited—a circumstance which is per-

it was, perhaps, the tardy realisation of the truth that the Mining Law was not only misunderstood abroad but also little likely to invite the co-operation of that capital which inspired Mr. Bratiano to visit Paris and London to see if he could not dispel the suspicion that it had there engendered.

However high and proud rise the palace of our dreams, the humble work of foundations is the concern of the present generation, and, Time being the only arbiter, ultimate issues only remotely concern us. Let Mr. Bratiano remember that compromise is the soul of politics and that, while it is imperative that Roumanian industry should stand firmly on its own legs and live and thrive on its own strength and stamina, the day is not yet. The country has only just emerged from a period of great vicissitude and unceasing struggle, and for the time being must rest content with developing to its full stature with the help of foreign supports. No other method is open to it to-day.

Accordingly, the present Government would be well advised if it reconsidered the proportion of profits that it considers the fitting reward of capital, initiative and enterprise, while foreign investors should be reminded of the fact that Roumania is not a subject colony but a new and independent State that is entirely justified in wishing to safeguard its future interests. As few statesmen are more far-seeing than Mr. Bratiano, I see no reason why a *via media* should not very shortly be discovered, which will both satisfy the very legitimate pretensions of the Roumanians and amply reward those adventurous spirits which to-day, as yesterday, will be ready to invest their money, intelligence and initiative in further attempts to develop Roumanian wealth and resources. And, without pretending to be a seer in matters that, like everything Balkanic, lie very much on the knees of the gods, I consider that there is much to justify the hope that, given good and orderly government, the new kingdom of Roumania will very soon become a most important economic factor in the East of Europe.

For the moment, however, there is an enormous amount of spade work to be accomplished and many dangers to overcome before her friends will be able to discard all further care and anxiety on her behalf; there are administrative abuses that she would be well advised in removing if she would confound her detractors and prove that her methods are un-Balkanic, and there is the Bolshevik menace always near at hand and the risk that Bessarabia will revert to Communism—a danger that the Roumanians tell me is non-existent but which I fancy is ever looming in the horizon.

“We are a window of Europe, and as intermediary between the Slav and the Westerner will play a preponderating rôle in the

Europe of to-morrow if only we prevent the Bolsheviks from obtaining a preponderance in the Black Sea and secure the liberty of navigation on the Danube that was guaranteed by the treaty of Lausanne.” In these words of Mr. Bratiano, uttered at the close of the last conversation that we had together prior to his return to his country, I sense a great truth, if coupled with his provisos I add those of peace and concord at home and abroad, and, above all, a reknitting of economic ties between Roumania and her neighbours that only the fear of the old order has hitherto prevented from taking place. There is still a lean and thin time, however, to be gone through before the prosperity that is on its way is fairly within her reach, and Roumania will only survive this period by a spirit of co-operation and forbearance, and if the big purposes that she has set herself to accomplish are never diverted for petty ends or obscured by personal ambitions.

DUDLEY HEATHCOTE.

THE REVOLUTION IN PLACE NAMES.

TWICE since the outbreak of the Great War the name of the former capital of Russia has been changed. In the autumn of 1914 the Emperor Nicholas II decreed that the city was no longer to be called Sankt Petersburg, but Petrograd. Recently the rulers of the Federation of Soviet Republics decreed that it was no longer to be called Petrograd, the city of Peter, but Leningrad, the city of Lenin. These changes are but the two most conspicuous illustrations of a widespread process. The war has not only profoundly modified the outlines of the political map of Europe; it has played havoc with the old and familiar place-names.

The revolution has been most complete in Eastern Europe, where the triumph of this or that national cause has led to the elimination of names which perpetuated the memory of a hated domination. Names famous in history, such as Brünn, Pressburg, Bromberg, Graudenz, Posen, Teschen, Czernowitz, Olmütz, Troppau and Laibach, have no longer an official existence; instead, the maps show us Brno, Bratislava, Bydgoszcz, Grudziadz, Posnan, Czeszyn, Cernauti, Olomouc, Opáva, and Ljubljana. In Western Europe the process has been less marked. In Alsace and Lorraine, of course, the German names have resumed their French form, which indeed had never wholly fallen out of use among English writers (*e.g.*, Strasbourg for Strassburg). The Norwegians have decided to alter the name that in 1624 Christian IV, King of Denmark and Norway, gave to the capital which he founded near the site of the old town of Oslo (Opslo), which Harald Sigurdson had founded in 1048 and fire had now destroyed. Henceforth the capital of Norway will no longer be Christiania, but Oslo. This, however, is an isolated case; and it is only in Ireland that an effort is being made to revolutionise place-names on anything like the scale of Eastern Europe. The most conspicuous instances are the change of the name of Kingstown to Dun Laoghaire (pronounced Dunleary) and of that of Queenstown to Cobh. The name of Dublin has not yet been officially altered; but a change is foreshadowed by the fact that all letters from the Irish capital are postmarked "Baile atha Cliath" (pronounced Bollacleea, "city of the hurdle-ford").

All these changes, whether they remain permanent or not, have an historical interest as marking an epoch. There is plenty of precedent for the process. From time immemorial conquerors have renamed the cities they subdued, to their own greater glory. Sometimes the names survived long after the glory had passed:—the Kaisariyehs remain, sorry witnesses to the vanished majesty of the Cæsars. Sometimes the old names lived on in the popular memory, to be revived when the tyranny was overpassed: Hadrian might give the name Aelia Capitolina to his new Jerusalem; the

new name is dead, the old name lived and yet lives. In this matter the modern conquering nations have been on the whole more conservative. The official German names in the subject Slav provinces, for instance, were generally those already long in use in Germany. Sometimes they were translations of the native name, *e.g.*, Lemberg (*i.e.* Löwenberg, for Leopolis) for Lwów, sometimes mere adaptations, *e.g.* Posen for Posnan. Napoleon did not change the names of places; the genius of the French language, intolerant of alien sounds, merely assimilated them. The English in 1664 renamed New Amsterdam, calling it New York in honour of the new proprietor, afterwards King James II. This, however, was an almost isolated case; elsewhere, as in Canada, the old names survived the new domination. Revolutions have similarly followed no consistent course in this respect. The Americans, after independence, republicanised the names of institutions; King's College, New York, for instance, became Columbia College. The old place-names they left for the most part untouched: Maryland, Virginia, Georgetown, Charleston—named in honour of English sovereigns—survive the sovereignty. The French Revolution, on the other hand, was more drastic. In the supposed interests of national unity a clean sweep was made of the historic provincial names, and France was divided into eighty-three departments named after mountains and rivers.

The process, then, is not new, and it has mostly had a political purpose, to emphasise a dominion or to symbolise a change of government. Sometimes the change has been intended to mark the rejection of alien influence and the reversion to native tradition. The name of Sankt Petersburg symbolised Peter the Great's ideal of a Russia brought into line with Western civilisation under the influence of German ideas and principles; by altering the name to Petrograd, Nicholas II intended to announce to the world that henceforth Holy Russia would be free from this influence. The substitution of Slavonic names in the former German and Austrian provinces annexed to Poland, and in the various "Succession States," proclaims the victory of the various submerged nationalities over their former conquerors and rulers; and in the case of Poland, Czechoslovakia and Yugo-Slavia the process was natural enough, since the vast majority of the population of these countries is Slav-speaking. In Ireland, on the other hand, the substitution for what Mr. Justice Goff recently called "the old English garrison names" of Gaelic names long disused and archaic in form, though it also symbolises a national victory over foreign forces, is largely an artificial process, since the vast majority of the Irish people neither speaks nor understands Gaelic. None the less, it has some historical justification. After all, King George IV landed at Dunleary (not then Dun Laoghaire), which was re-

named Kingstown in his honour, and Cobh (Cove of Cork) was only named Queenstown in 1849 to commemorate one of the all too rare visits of Queen Victoria. King's County and Queen's County, so called after Philip and Mary, are names with a longer history; but Leix and Offaly are the more ancient, and no sentiment is offended by their revival. On the other hand, such changes as that of Navan into An Uimh (pronounced Onoov) seem to be symbolic of nothing but nationalist pedantry. The change in the name of Dublin (the Gaelic equivalent of Blackpool), were it ever officially decreed, would be the *reductio ad absurdum* of the whole process. If it symbolised anything, it would be the ideal of restoring that golden age of purely Irish civilisation which is supposed to have existed before the Norsemen, who founded Dublin, had begun to batter it to pieces.

To tell truth, in such matters the idealist proposes, but popular custom disposes. Traditional names are tough things, and they are apt to survive official prohibitions and substitutions. From the governmental point of view the creation of eighty-three new departments, which took scant account of the traditional divisions of France, was perfectly effective; but the traveller in France soon finds that a modern official map, which ignores the old provincial boundaries, has but a limited use. In the consciousness of the people, and in their speech, the old names are still very much alive. No rearranging of the map could wipe out the memory, nay the effective existence, of Brittany or Burgundy, of Provence or Dauphiné. The French are all intensely French; but they have also their local pride and patriotism, outcome of long tradition, and they continue to speak of themselves as Bretons, Bourguignons, Provençaux or Dauphinois, as the case may be. So, too, in Ireland. The Post Office may conscientiously mark all letters with its stamp of Baile atha Cliath, but scarce a soul in all the capital of the Free State calls it anything but Dublin. Trains and trams are labelled Dun Laoghaire or Bri Chualann, but ninety-nine people out of a hundred still take their tickets for Kingstown or Bray. It may be doubted if the Russians ever lost their habit of speaking of Peterburg, or more familiarly "Peter." Certainly only the Red Terror will persuade the mass of them to call it Leningrad.

The somewhat wholesale changing of familiar place-names raises a question of some practical interest. How far ought the new names to be generally substituted for the old by English writers? Unlike the French, we have in this matter no strong tradition to guide us. Our grandfathers spelt outlandish place-names with reckless variations, and pronounced them yet more recklessly, and some of these forms have become stereotyped in the language. Rome, Vienna, Venice, Florence, Warsaw are fixed beyond possibility of change; to speak of Roma, Wien, Venezia, Firenze, War-

szawa, would be intolerable affectation. But in recent years, with the spread of a knowledge of foreign tongues, our practice has become very inconsistent. We pronounce Paris as of old, but we shrink from speaking of Reims as Reems or of Calais as Caless. Certain old forms, too, have tended to disappear: Cologne survives, but Aix-la-Chapelle has largely become Aachen, and Ratisbon has almost entirely given place in the history books to Regensburg.

In most cases these changes have been unconscious, or only semi-conscious. In the case of St. Petersburg, however, the alteration—owing to the peculiar circumstances—was made consciously and enforced with a zeal that amounted to fanaticism. The name, with its evil German associations, was to be absolutely banned. It was not only to be rejected from contemporary use, but expunged from history! Thus we may now read in the history books that Peter the Great laid the foundations of "Petrograd," or that such and such treaties were signed at "Petrograd" in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. In certain cases known to me the name St. Petersburg has actually been expunged from new editions of historical works published before the change was made.

All this seems to me to be historically unsound. The name of the city for two centuries after its foundation was officially Sankt Petersburg, and this name had a distinct meaning as symbolising all that the city stood for in the intentions of its founder. The name, then, is associated with the tradition set by Peter the Great and carried on by his successors. The change of the name to Petrograd symbolised the abandonment of this tradition. To speak of the capital of Peter the Great, Catherine II, or Nicholas I as Petrograd, then, is not only absurd but misleading. Fortunately for my argument, further change has made the absurdity more apparent.

Petrograd is no more, for the time being at least. Leningrad has officially taken its place. Are historians solemnly to tell young people that Peter the Great founded Leningrad on the banks of the Neva? Will they be right in speaking of a Treaty of Leningrad in 1762, or a Protocol of Leningrad in 1826? If so, they must be consistent. They will have to speak of the Conferences of Opava (Troppau) and Ljubljana (Laibach) in 1820 and 1821, and of the Convention of Olomouc (Olmütz) in 1851. When the time comes, too, they will have to erase the name of Dublin from the history books and speak of the Lords Lieutenant ruling Ireland from Baile atha Cliath. Which would be absurd.

On the other hand, if it be wrong to call the capital of Peter, or Catherine II, or Alexander I, Leningrad, would it be equally wrong to call the city now under Soviet rule by its old name of St. Petersburg? There are many cases, usually those of famous cities, where the old names remain in current use abroad in spite of local alteration—Constantinople, for instance, or Alexandria.

From the historian's point of view this is unobjectionable, and even instructive, since it proves a living tradition. The case of Constantinople is, from the point of view of the present argument, perhaps the most illuminating. The city of Constantine was built on and around the old Greek colony of Byzantium. In spite of the new glory the old name clung and, through its new association, even came to be applied to a civilisation and an empire. To this no objection can be raised, since there is in it no such *suggestio falsi* as in the use of Petrograd to denote the capital of Peter the Great or of Catherine II. But, though it is legitimate to speak of Constantinople as Byzantium, it would not be legitimate to speak of Constantine as the founder of Byzantium, nor of the older Greek colony as Constantinople. The new name marked a new epoch. The later, unofficial application of the name Byzantium to the city—whenever and wherever first made—also marked a definite change, namely, the triumph of Greek-Oriental influence over the Roman tradition.

In view, then, of the large transmutation of place-names now going on, it would be well, if not to lay down a rule generally applicable, at least to establish a principle. In dealing with the past the principle should be to use the name—or the English conventional equivalent for it (*e.g.* Rome)—by which the place was known at the period written about. As for the present, the most convenient plan would be to keep to the names to which we are accustomed. Thus it will be equally convenient and correct to continue to speak of the Conferences of Troppau and Laibach, or the Convention of Olmütz. It may be doubted whether the English-speaking people will ever be able to assimilate such names as Bydgoszcz, Grudziadz and Daugavpils; they will still prefer Bromberg, Graudenz and Dvinsk. Englishmen will still go to Carlsbad, even though it be now officially named Karlowy Vary. They will still have to ask for tickets to Navan, since they will not have the faintest notion how to pronounce An Uimh. As for Lenin-grad, the Post Office has announced that all letters should be so addressed, but it may be doubted whether the name will ever "catch on" in England as that of Petrograd has done. In view of its short-lived applicability, it is a pity that this latter name was ever adopted into our language. In the circumstances this was perhaps inevitable. It has possibly come to stay. But it would have saved a good deal of trouble and misunderstanding had we clung, without prejudice, to the traditional St. Petersburg. This would have set a useful precedent. The current use of an old name, conventionally established in the language, could give offence to no one. If once we begin altering our use of foreign names to suit the fashions or prejudices of our friends abroad, we shall fall into endless confusion.

W. ALISON PHILLIPS.

THE ÆSTHETIC APPEAL OF BIRD-WATCHING.

ON the stone surrounding the grave of the late W. H. Hudson are inscribed these words: "He loved birds and green places and the wind on the heath and saw the brightness of the skirts of God." The inscription could hardly be bettered; one cannot read a page of Hudson without realising that he had seen the vision, and that its glory still shone in his face. "The wind on the heath" links him with George Borrow, a kindred spirit, who also loved to go afoot in England. The last line, from the American poet, Bryant, was quoted by Hudson himself in *Birds and Man*. It echoes Goethe, who called the Cosmos "the living mantle of God." And, in that rich and many hued vesture, birds are, to give them no higher a place, a rare embroidery of colour and song. To some, indeed, they are more than mere embroidery, for the varied beauty of their plumage, the sweetness of their music, and the subtle charm of their insouciant yet complex personalities touch a very deep chord in the æsthetic sense. Though they may adorn but the hem of the mantle, yet there are those who find healing in its touch.

The full appreciation of beauty in birds, or elsewhere, is vouchsafed to most of us only at rare moments. Sometimes

Casting the body's vest aside,
My soul into the boughs does glide;
There, like a bird, it sits and sings,
Then whets and claps its silver wings,
And, till prepared for longer flight,
Waves in its plumes the various light.

More often, in times of ill-health or dejection, we, like Coleridge, "see, not feel, how beautiful they are." "To speak truly," says Emerson, "few adult persons can see nature. . . . The lover of nature is he . . . who has retained the spirit of infancy even into the era of manhood." One must have the heart of a child. I still remember, and shall never forget, my first song-thrush's nest; the breathless scramble up a very prickly holly on the edge of a Somerset wood, the touch of the crisp clay lining as my fingers reached over the edge of the nest, the warmth of the eggs from beneath the mother-bird's breast, and the gasp of sheer astonishment and joy at their perfect blue, as they lay in the hollow of my hand. In later life

When these wild ecstasies shall be matured
Into a sober pleasure,

it is difficult to recapture our "first fine careless rapture." The fault—if fault it be—is ours. Nature does not change. We let

the commonplace crowd out beauty; we become, if we do not watch ourselves, like "the great atheists . . . which are ever handling holy things, but without feeling; so as they must needs be cauterised in the end." The cock chaffinch, were he a rarity, would be sought out by bird lovers with infinite labour and pains until exterminated by the baser sort of collector. But because he is so common we forget "no chaffinch but implies the cherubim."

Nevertheless, there are times when beauty will strike through the film of inattentive eye and brain with such poignancy that its image is scorched upon our memory, despite ourselves. One evening, during the war, in passing across a fine stretch of parkland, my path led me to a stone bridge over a narrow sheet of water. Suddenly, from underneath the bridge, a cock Redstart flew out, and hovered amid a swarm of flies. The slanting rays of the setting sun smote on the rich chestnut of his tail, as he hung there suspended, and made the feathers glow like living flame; they struck through and kindled them with glorious glowing light, until this "Fire-tail" seemed like a flashing jewel, some giant firefly, suddenly transported here from the fierce sunlight of the tropics. And, below, on the still face of the pool, this jewelled atom was mirrored, faintly, indeed, but yet clear, so that looking at the water, there seemed to be two fireflies hovering. For some ten seconds he hung there, winnowing the cool air of evening, while I watched him with delighted eyes.

Last summer I was watching one of the warblers in a coombe on the borders of Exmoor, when, not five yards away, a cock Gold-crest flew down to the edge of a tiny water-trickle, and began to make his toilet. After the bath he sat on a stone, and gave himself a thorough preening. As he ruffled up his feathers a shaft of sun caught his gleaming, wet crest, and its red and gold, scintillating in the pure light, burned and glowed until I seemed to be watching not a bird, but some tiny elfin sprite, strayed for a few moments from Titania's revels; surely he had borrowed one of her "rubies, fairy favours," and its gold setting too. It was a wonderful moment, whose memory returns again and again to gladden me in dull winter days.

These moments of ecstasy are the greatest. "The hours when the mind is absorbed in beauty," wrote Jefferies, "are the only hours when we really live, so that the longer we can stay among these things so much the more is snatched from inevitable Time. . . . This is real life, and all else is illusion, or mere endurance."

It is difficult to convey to others the beauty of the sights and sounds that appeal to us in these rare times of exaltation; words never have exactly the same value for all of us; it is scarcely an exaggeration to say that no two persons agree as to the precise colour

of a particular object. The poignant impressions made upon the mind and heart by scenes of outstanding beauty are elusive. We have to be content with "mute thanks and secret ecstasy."

As regards birds, W. H. Hudson had this rare faculty of description in a greater degree than any writer with whose works I am acquainted. Someone once called him more poet than naturalist, and, perhaps unwittingly, thereby paid him a great compliment. Really, he was both. Many will remember his delightful picture of "White Duck":

"And on this fairy lake in the midst of the pale green field, its blue surface ruffled by the light wind, floated three or four white ducks; whiter than the sea-gulls, for they were all purest white, with no colour except on their yellow beaks . . . and just then, when I stood to gaze, the sun shone full out after the passing of a light cloud, and flushed the blue pool and floating birds, silvering the ripples and causing the plumage to shine as if with a light of its own. 'I have never seen a more beautiful thing!' I exclaimed to myself."

Equally charming is his description of the Long-tailed Tits he saw by the Avon on a very bright day in February:

"The long deep-red pendent catkins and the little pale birdlings among them in their grey and rose-coloured plumage, with long graceful tails and minute, round, parrot heads; some quietly perched just over the water, others moving about here and there, occasionally suspending themselves back downwards from the slender terminal twigs—the whole mirrored below. That magical effect of water and sunlight gave to the scene a somewhat fairy-like, an almost illusory character."

The description is vivid enough; we seem to see the very birds. Yet hear what he says: "Such scenes live in their loveliness only for him who has seen and harvested them; they cannot be pictured forth to another by words."

To select from one's own store of lovely memories of bird life is difficult. Many field naturalists would tell you that the mention of a bird's name calls up at once a dozen beautiful settings. Hudson said that he could, in some cases, think of as many as fifty images of the same species of bird "as it appeared at some exceptionally favourable moment and was viewed with particular interest and pleasure." His memory was, of course, extraordinary: he could recall distinctly the songs of over a hundred and fifty South American birds whose songs he had not heard for twenty-six years. When I think of a Kingfisher two ideal images rise up in my mind; one is of him flying, on a windy summer day over a field of young corn, on whose emerald surface the impetuous gusts ploughed momentary troughs and gullies of paler light; imagine the joy of his metallic blue, flashed upon such a background! The other is of him darting headlong from beneath a bridge, like a green and cobalt scarab, across a smooth sheet of

almost black water, on a still January day. The unexpectedness of this rare vision almost took my breath away, and, incidentally, added another to the many beautiful bird glimpses I have gleaned from an old habit of never passing a bridge without looking over it.

Quite recently I acquired my most perfect picture of a Green Woodpecker. I was looking down into a deep coombe, when, below me, he came flying. Slanting autumn sunlight caught his golden rump, green shoulders and scarlet crest, and heightened all those striking hues. The sides of the coombe were clothed with golden bracken, and trees whose leaves passed imperceptibly through every tone and semi-tone of colour from tawny russet to pale yellow; over this golden sea he flew, in undulating flight, rising and falling rhythmically, as though he were a swimmer breasting invisible breakers; and flying, he laughed, as only a Green Woodpecker can, with a sheer joy of life which echoed all down the valley.

I was walking one June afternoon in a Cotswold wood, which consisted almost entirely of saplings—ash, hazel and oak—all in the freshest of spring leafiness. Below and among the young trees flourished a thick undergrowth, so that following a tiny pathway which wound waywardly through the copse, I was completely shut in, and could scarcely see more than a few yards on either hand. The afternoon was sultry; I had seen little bird life of unusual interest, and was feeling rather jaded in body and spirit. Suddenly, from a spot some distance in front of me came a low, plaintive whistle “Heigh—O, heigh—O.” I stopped and listened, and again the sound came, like notes from a wind instrument, played by elfin lips and fingers; and now followed a warbled sequence of soft fluted notes, as though the singer were musing in his melody over old memories of joy and sorrow, exultation and regret. Half wondering whether Pan were still piping in this secret Cotswold glade, I crept noiselessly nearer, till I saw, not Pan, but a Bullfinch. There he sat, quietly preening himself, upon an ash sapling, his beautiful breast flushing rose-red against his jet black cap. He stretched his wings, and with his black, hawk-like bill combed out each delicate feather, as though he loved it. And ever and anon he piped, for pure joy. Dappled sunlight filtered through the wavering leaves into the dimness of the woodland alley-ways; the interplay of light and shade fretted mony. And then, with a twitter, and a flash of his white rump, he disappeared into the gloom of the thicket. The spell was broken.

Naturally, one sees birds in their greatest beauty at the time of courtship and nesting. For one thing, the season is then at its

kindest, and the conditions of bird watching are as ideal as they ever are in our “brisk and giddy paced” climate. It is a fine sight to see a raven tumble and loop the loop, chortling to himself in his joy after every evolution; but when the watcher is exposed to a biting March north-easter, his interest pales more quickly than it would under kindlier conditions. Memories of the love idylls of birds in early summer crowd upon the mind. Once, when walking over a stretch of sand-hills on the Lancashire coast, full of interesting bird life, I was overtaken by heavy rain. Looking round for shelter, I noticed an old wild-fowler’s hide, rather dilapidated, but still fairly weather-proof. I crawled into it. It was only a few yards from the edge of a shallow pool of water, evidently a favourite drinking and bathing spot. Soon a Common Tern alighted; calling hoarsely, she raised her tail, and first elevated and then depressed her wings almost to the ground. Her calls were answered by her mate from the air, and in a moment he settled beside her, with a small, silver fish in his beak. Raising her wings again, she ran to him, and with persistent cries begged again and again for the morsel; but he was in no hurry to yield to her entreaties. To attempt to put human words to avian language is usually foolish, and leads to sloppy sentimentality. But one can hardly doubt that the sense of the conversation was: “Give it me, give it me, quick, quick.” “Wait a bit, wait a bit, ask for it nicely.” However, after a decent interval, he yielded up the dainty to her, and a long colloquy of a definitely connubial nature ensued.

I was walking one May morning through a wood in North Wales; the path lay in shadow; as I turned a corner my eye fell upon a fallen tree, lying in a patch of bright sunshine. At that moment a cock Chaffinch alighted, and with spread tail, drooping wings and lowered head ran along the trunk towards a hen. The sun gleamed upon his blue head, crimson flanks and white outer tail feathers and wing patches; it may have been fancy, but it seemed to me that his passion flamed in and through his very feathers, so that they burned with a lustre of their own, fuller and more luminous than the brightness they borrowed from the sunlight.

There is another mind-picture, of an afternoon in May, when the lovers were a pair of Great Spotted Woodpeckers. I sat down, without attempting concealment, where I had a clear view of their nesting hole, but so engrossed were they in each other that they paid no heed to me. They circled round me, in and out of the fresh green beech leaves, with a loud, chiding note, like that of a starling, but hoarser. Only after a long chase did she allow him to capture and mate her. Their happy encounter ended, the male

stood a little behind her and advanced his bill towards hers; she, turning her head backwards, with her own bill touched the tip of his. It was as pretty a piece of love-making as one might chance to see in Arcady. Below, a couple of red squirrels were playing and frisking among the beech-boles; the wood throbbed with bird-music—wren, wood-warbler, blackcap, thrush and blackbird—and through and across the scene the two revellers, pranked out in crimson, black and white, flitted and chattered and made love.

Another equally happy memory is of a pair of Wood-warblers; again it was mid-May, in the early morning. The sun gilded the glistening saffron of beech-leaves fresh unfurled, and its warmth drew delightful woodland scents from the drying compost of earth and leaves underfoot. The nest was near by, and both birds were floating from bough to bough around it. Ever and anon the cock, a tiny sylph in pale green livery, sailed with slow and deliberate wing beats towards the hen; and as he flew he sang, pouring out his shivering cadence like golden rain; and, indeed, was it not thus that Jove wooed Danæe? This scene returns again and again to "flash upon the inward eye": all conditions were ideal; scent, sight and sound combined to heighten the beauty and imprint its memory upon the mind.

The solicitude of birds for their eggs or young—the mother instinct—often allows the bird lover to observe them at their best, for at this time they forget themselves. When one considers the apparent indifference of birds to their companions' welfare at other seasons, the self-sacrifice they show for eggs and young is very wonderful. It is true that many remarkable instances of friendships among birds, and of attachments formed by them for animals and human beings, are recorded. There is the marvelous episode related in *The Life of a Scotch Naturalist*, Thomas Edward, where a party of terns united to carry one of their number, wounded in the wing by a gunshot, out of danger. But such instances are, generally speaking, rare, and we may say that it is only in the breeding season that birds show any marked affection for their own kind. Anyone who has kept a bird-table knows only too well the envy, malice and uncharitableness which is rife where they congregate. Whether the maternal "instinct" is only instinct, or whether it is in part "intelligent" is a complicated question. Psychologists tell us that "instinct is intelligence become automatic, and intelligence is always tending to become instinct." Be this as it may, proximity of nest or young makes a bird careless of its own safety, as photographers and, unhappily, certain unscrupulous collectors, know only too well. "I see that love hath made thee a tame snake." Happily, this characteristic is also the opportunity of the harmless collector of bird memories

—"souvenirs," in the best sense of that much abused word. The Peregrine is the wildest of all falcons; but I have seen her come swooping headlong down to her eggs, in an old raven's nest on the cliff side, as though she were stooping at a pigeon, although I was watching her from a vantage point only twenty yards distant. I have stood for ten minutes only a foot or two from a brooding Cirl Bunting, and have even had my intruding fingers pecked by a hen Chaffinch on her nest.

But, perhaps, the Nightjar is the bird which shows the most complete disregard for her own safety when incubating. For two years in succession I have watched a bird which has laid her eggs on identically the same spot, to the very inch, and her tameness was really remarkable. She remained sitting on her two eggs while three of us stood for a quarter of an hour within two yards of her, talking in ordinary tones. Later, when the young were hatched, both she and they maintained complete immobility under similar circumstances. The protective colouration of these weird and beautiful creatures is almost inconceivable; it has to be seen to be appreciated. They were lying on a bare patch of peaty ground, covered with a tapestry of dead leaves, lichen, sticks, and pieces of bark. With these materials the nightjars, barred and brindled with various shades of brown, buff and black, assimilated so completely that they were almost invisible. They sank into the picture and became as inanimate as withered leaves. Even when the eye discerned them, they seemed like dead husks of birds, embalmed long ages ago, to sleep with some "Lord Rameses of Egypt" in "tombs unfathomably deep." Mr. Edmund Selous has told how, returning to a spot where he had been watching a nightjar sitting, and which he knew like his study table, he failed entirely to see her. He thought he was looking at a piece of fir-bark, and, in fact, looked for the eggs *upon* the bird. I had a similar experience myself when watching another pair. My wife and I crept up stealthily to a clump of gorse, in the midst of which we knew the nightjars usually roosted by day, and peered into it. "They're not here," I said, and, as I spoke, the cock flew up almost in my face!

Nightjars are eerie birds to watch; flickering in mothlike flight against a fading sunset of amber and faint emerald, they seem, indeed, disembodied spirits, "lych-fowl"; but they are even more sinister when viewed at rest. The wide mouth, the flat head, and half-closed, chameleon-like eyes, suggest that they retain more of their reptilian ancestry than most birds. This illusion is heightened by their power of moving the pupil backwards so as to watch objects behind them, without moving the head. I once approached a bare patch, upon which the hen and two young were lying, from

behind. They made no movement, but by a flicker of her eyelids I could tell that the hen had seen me; it was afternoon, and as she slanted her eyes backwards the sunlight was reflected upon them, and they glowed with an uncanny and malignant fire; the glance had the same paralysing and fascinating effect as a squint, and made one think of the evil eye and the basilisk. If she did not cast a spell upon me, nevertheless she seemed momentarily to do so. It would have been a sin to dissolve so fascinating a *mise en scène*, and I left without disturbing the birds. As I withdrew, I could still feel that malignant, penetrating eye upon me.

Together with this episode goes another, in which a bird of a different species, a female Red-backed Shrike, impressed her malevolent personality upon me. Her nest was in a dense thorn bush at the top of a steep bank; I caught sight of her when I was at the bottom of it; she was perched near the nest, watching me, her head a little lowered, and her wings a little raised. Her black eye, and the dark line running thence to the ear-coverts, accentuated the forbiddingness of her demeanour. As I advanced slowly up the bank she never budged an inch, but fixed me with her wicked eye, and seemed to scowl. It was remarkable how so small a bird contrived to make herself so menacing. Her feathers positively bristled with concentrated hate. She looked like a small hawk, ready poised to fly in my face; it was not till I was within five yards of her that she retreated.

One of the greatest joys of the bird-lover is his first sight of a species that is new to him; if he be a watcher of the meres, it may be that his new "planet" will literally "swim into his ken." My first view of Bewick's Swans was upon a Cheshire mere, where they were feeding among Mute Swans. The scene was of singular beauty; the little flock of six was floating on a sheet of water, unruffled by any wind, and so dark that it seemed almost black; the background was a beech wood in the zenith of its glory of autumn foliage. The dead white of the swans' plumage stood out brilliantly against the swart pool, and their smaller, neater outline as well as the stiff, upright carriage of their necks distinguished the Bewick's at once from their larger companions. With glasses, the brilliant lemon-yellow patches at the base of their black bills shone vividly. What struck me most was the quiet grace of their movements; the Mute Swan is a graceful bird, but beside the slim, delicate beauty of the smaller species it appeared almost vulgar.

Another rare bird I saw for the first time in a less attractive environment—on a settling tank in a Sewage Farm; such places, though unsalubrious to men, are much favoured by wading birds on migration. The Spotted or Dusky Redshank is an uncommon

passenger in Great Britain; fortunately this bird, an immature one, was very tame, and allowed me to come quite near him; probably he was fresh from his Lapland birthplace, and had not yet learned what a dangerous animal man is. He was stepping delicately on long orange-red legs, probing the black sewage sludge with his long bill; in bright sunlight his back and wings were a glossy chocolate-brown, in which were set symmetrical triangular spots of white. His breast, white, lined with lavender grey, reflected every ripple of changing light from the water below.

It is fascinating to surmise the story of the migrations of these rare birds. Bewick's Swan nests in North-East Russia and Siberia, and winters in Western Europe. It has been seen on migration at Fair Island, midway between the Shetlands and Orkneys, and in the Hebrides. The Spotted Redshank's summer haunts are in Northern Scandinavia; in winter it repairs to Southern Europe and Africa: when finally my bird took its departure from the sewage farm it circled upwards in wide irregular ellipses with ringing cries and then struck out boldly towards the South. The same wonder is aroused every year by the returning migrants: each spring we find them at the same places and at practically the same dates; we duly record their return in our notebooks. But what do we know of their experiences? It has been proved that some British swallows pass the winter in South Africa, but we can tell few details of their journey thence and thither, of their escapes from wind and weather, from shot guns and birds of prey. We can only guess how they "o'er Afric's sands careened," or how others "shadowed Arctic snows." Yet our ignorance is not altogether regrettable; where knowledge is veiled, mystery still lives, and mystery is the mother of romance.

This paper deals with the æsthetic appeal of birds, but the author is not blind to the fact that, to many, the scientific aspect of ornithology appeals as much as, or more than, the æsthetic. No one can look at a feather, and learn the marvellous and intricate interplay of barbs, barbules, barbicels and hamuli without acknowledging the debt which the æsthete owes to the scientist. Knowledge increases appreciation of beauty in a well-balanced mind. It is a question of temperament which face of Nature has the strongest appeal. To Jefferies "the sun was stronger than science, the hills more than philosophy." The contest between collectors and protectors splits every Natural History Society. There are fanatics on both sides; if there are black pots, there are also some very dirty kettles. A purely scientific interest in birds may lead to the selfish acquisition of a series of skins and clutches, and to the extinction of rare and interesting species. On the other

hand, indiscriminate protection upsets the balance of Nature, and defeats its own ends by increasing the enemies of the very birds it desires to protect.

For my own part, I do not collect because, to me, it is horrible to destroy or remove from its ideal surroundings a beautiful thing, be it a bird, or its nest, or eggs. A pair of Goldcrests flitting to and fro to their young in the fragile cradle rocking quietly beneath a spray of yew, are a delight and a joy. Take them away from their natural environment, and, however cunning the taxidermist's skill, they are nothing. You cannot re-create the scene in a museum or a collection, any more than you can breathe life into their stuffed skins. A leading ornithologist wrote to me the other day: "The older I get the more rabid a protector I become." The gifted author of *Ianto the Fisherman*, in later life, came to the same conclusion. "The great difference is that whereas once I thought more of the hidden nest and of a probable addition to my cabinet of eggs than of the sweet woodland music, I have gradually lost my passion for collecting, and now desire only that I might note each habit of the free, joyous creatures among their shady retreats in the garden copse." It is better to watch and listen, and thus to store up memories in the mind; such collections destroy no beauty, and they are more lasting than faded eggshells and moth-eaten skins.

E. W. HENDY.
(Ernest Blake).

TREASURY GRANTS TO SOCIAL SERVICES.

ALTHOUGH various Socialistic schemes were frustrated by the remarkable vote at the last General Election, the effect of similar schemes on our national and local finances is a matter pressing for public attention. For there are others who are too ready to demand the financing of a favourite project by means of Treasury Grants, as though that same Treasury were replenished from a Fortunatus' purse, whereas its only source of income is derived from taxation. This article is written to expose our present commitments by way of financing "Social Services," to enable readers to judge of the work done, and also to afford an opportunity of reconsidering the practice and the policy involved. The matter is pressing; for it threatens to overwhelm in disaster our finances, the sound condition of which is the measure of national prosperity.

I must begin, however, by displaying our very different position to-day from that of 1914, with regard to the National Debt and other compulsory or Consolidated Services—services *not* to be revised from year to year by Parliament. Let us contrast the years 1914-15 (actual) with 1924-5 (estimated). In 1914-15 the National Debt was a net debt of £649,770,091; in 1924-5 it is £7,710,683,353. The annual charge on the Debt in the former year was £22,668,897, but this year it is £350,000,000. Together with that Annual Charge there are other items, including the King's Civil List, Annuities to the Royal Family, Pensions and Salaries to the Judges and other Permanent Officers, which brought up the "Consolidated Fund Services" to £35,419,809 in 1914-15, and to £384,840,000 this year. Thus these inevitable Annual Charges have increased, in the ten-year interval, eleven-fold. And behind these there is the Corpus of Debt, and the responsibility for it, which have increased twelve-fold. Yet the population is very little more than it was at the outbreak of the Great War. We, therefore, stagger beneath the load of our financial liability; and cries of distress are heard in various tones, depending on the quarter whence they issue. Plainly, what we have to remember at the outset is that we are much less fit to carry a burden than we were ten years ago. But we are carrying the burden with much difficulty, and yet there are those who cry more! more! *i.e.*, from the Treasury—from the fund secured by taxes on the people. Hence the necessity of looking into what we do bear, and specially into charges which used to be regarded as of a nature to be met from private sources.

The Services found for, or supported from the Treasury are, among others, Education, Poor Law, Unemployment, Insurance—for health and for unemployment—General Health, Pensions (War and Old Age)—Maternity and Children, Labour, Compensation (Land Improvement and Drainage) and for Damage by Enemy Action. To these, others are added by recent suggestions and proposals, such, *e.g.*, as for Illegitimacy, Widows, and Family Endowment. It is easy to enumerate such Services in brief, while missing the nature of them, and, above all, failing to realise what the cost of those already aided amounts to. Here we reach the heart of the question before us.

When we consider the Services aided or wholly supported by the Treasury we cannot omit grants for local Education. For England, Wales and Scotland, the estimate for the Parliamentary Grants for all forms of education in 1924-5 is £49,859,000. In 1913-4 the total was only £16,861,000; thus the cost to Parliament has trebled. In addition, we must remember that quite £35 millions more are spent from local rates. No one grudges expenditure on Education, but, in recording our expense on Social Services, we must not overlook the fact that we appropriate to it more than £85 millions a year.

As I approach Health and other Services in charge of the Ministry of Health, I am more than ever conscious of the lack of a sharp but inclusive definition of "Social Services." The Services in charge of that Department embrace, among others, Medical, Housing, Insurance and Maternity. For these the estimates for 1924-5, in England and Wales are £19,486,861, and for Scotland £2,497,832, or a total of £21,984,693. Of this, £8,050,000 goes to Housing—perhaps the foremost Health question of the day. But at once we are met by a further estimate of £14,060,339 for Labour, which includes salaries, the Industrial Court, Umpires and Referees, Committees, Employment Insurance (the heavy item), the International Labour Organisation, and the training of ex-Service officers and men. In addition, there are smaller sums for the cost of the Insurance Audit and the deficiency on Friendly Societies' accounts. The total grant in this fiscal year on Health, Labour and Insurance comes to £36,222,534. The whole of this is a very recent development of public responsibility.

Under the head of Pensions, so as to be well within my intention, I shall cite only Old Age Pensions and the expenditure of the Ministry of Pensions. The Estimate for Old Age Pensions for 1924-5 is £24,207,000. And here is seen most plainly of all the tendency of these new Services to begin at a moderate cost, but to show a vigorous growth afterwards. In 1908-9, when Old Age Pensions were first granted, the total cost was under £2½

millions. We see the cost now at nearly twelve times that sum. Further, it is well known that it is proposed to extend this Service, in two respects. Only those of seventy years and upwards are now eligible for pensions, but it is proposed to make sixty-five, or even sixty, the age qualification. Under the Ministry of Pensions, we have to regard not only the cost of administration, but chiefly the pensions, gratuities, and treatment, allowances of officers (with their wives and children), non-commissioned officers and men, and also of nurses. Under five subheads we find here provision for 1924-5 of £66,947,810. This, too, is another of the new Services, the expense arising from the commitments of the war. To this vast sum we have to add £486,525 for Merchant Seamen's War Pensions, including allowances to widows and children, and the cost of medical treatment.

Among sundry grants which, in official language, are "unclassified," we have some important additions, large and small. Grants, for instance, for Unemployment (1924-5), of £845,000, which the Treasury is empowered to make "in respect of approved works of public utility on which the unemployed can be engaged." Relief of Unemployment is down for £2,385,000, the classes and causes for which it is provided being denoted as Labour on Land Improvement and Drainage, and Railways; the Training and Equipment of Women; Juvenile Unemployment Centres; Loans to Local Authorities for various works, and relief to those not in regular employment. Then there is the promotion of Forestry, useful for like relief. These Unemployment Grants amount to £3,230,000 together.

There are also two or three other Grants not strictly classified as of the "Social Services," such as Compensation for Enemy Action, £500,000, which is a portion of the £5,000,000 that the Treasury was empowered to use as *ex-gratia* Grants, the money coming from receipts from the Reparations awarded to the United Kingdom. £352,860 is for House Building and Housing Schemes by the Board of Works, and £200,000 for the purposes of the Development and Road Improvement Funds Act of 1909, for which purposes some millions have already been issued.

All the items of expenditure enumerated so far have drawn upon the Treasury. We have yet to regard the action and expenditure of the Local Authorities, for Poor Law and other Social Services. Here at once we are met by the responsibility of such Local Authorities for Housing, Poor Law, and so forth. Above all, before entering on the question of Grants by these Authorities for such Services, it is necessary to give the Rateable and Assessable Value of property subject to rating, and a part of the burden of the Services of a local nature.

YEAR 1923-4.	ENGLAND.	WALES (with Monmouth).	TOTAL (England & Wales).
Gross value of rated property... ..	£ 316,515,344	£ 25,323,334	£ 341,838,678
Rateable value of agricultural land (Act 1896)	23,715,475	2,239,757	25,955,232
Rateable value of Buildings (not agricultural land)	215,679,815	11,641,282	227,321,097
Non-rateable Government property (Contributing)	2,609,056	45,735	2,654,791
	242,022,346	13,926,774	255,931,120
Assessable for Act of 1896, $\frac{3}{4}$ val. ...	224,217,740	12,246,956	236,464,696

On the basis of these valuations for Rateable and Assessable purposes we shall be able to give, not only the amounts incurred by Local Authorities, but the burden and the comparative burden on the basal rateable value—a main purpose of this article.

Let us begin with the prime matter of Housing. Though there were previous Acts dealing with Housing, interest to-day largely centres round the Acts of 1923 and 1924. Housing subsidies paid during 1923-4 amounted to £7,774,684—to 1,384 Local Authorities, 70 Public Utility Societies, 6 Housing Trusts, and 9 County Councils. Under the Small Dwellings Acquisition Acts, between 1919 and 1923, £368,814 was granted in aid, and during last year £1,405,119 more: further aid is about to be granted.

In addition to the above Social Services, which are of a comparatively recent origin, we have such ancient Services as those which are forms of Poor Law relief. In connection with this we may usefully ponder the following paragraph from the Report for 1923-4 (p. 86):

“The amounts, per pound of valuation, of the rates levied [in England and Wales] in the years 1922-3 and 1923-4 respectively have been published already. . . . It is there shown, *inter alia*, that, taking England and Wales as a whole, the average amount of the rates per pound of assessable value, which was 6s. 8½d. in the year 1913-4, had shown a continuous rise from 6s. 8½d. in 1916-7 to 14s. 7½d. in 1921-2. In the second half of the latter year there were clear indications in many places that a fall in the rates had commenced, and the average rate in the pound fell to 13s. 3½d. in the year 1922-3, and to 12s. 2d. in the year 1923-4, a decrease of 16.7 per cent. in two years. There are indications that this fall in the rates is being checked by the tendencies of the rates and prices to become stabilised. Some further reduction is, however, probable in many places if the decrease in the number in receipt of Poor Law relief, which has been in progress for some months, is continued.”

As for this last suggestion, we know that from the first, and all

the more now that the standard for Old-Age Pensions is 10s. a week, the charge for Poor Law relief in country districts, especially those of an agricultural kind, has been falling almost in direct proportion to the amount of Pensions granted. There are many cases, however, where some kinds of Poor Law relief, such as medical, institutional and nursing, are granted to those in receipt of an Old-Age Pension. This interlocking of State Grants and local Poor Relief is one of the aspects of our subject which calls for careful reconsideration. Who gets the benefit of a lower burden?

It is considered that the total expenditure on Poor Law relief in 1923-4 was £38,000,000, as compared with £42,020,000 in 1922-3. The amount of this raised by rates was about £32,900,000, as compared with £12,078,000 in 1913-4, and with £38,537,000 in 1922-3.

The cost of out-door relief in England and Wales during 1923-4 was £14,664,802, which included £7,202,970 in respect of persons normally employed, with their dependents. Of this, £6,409,265 was for persons insured under the Employment Insurance Acts. The figures corresponding for 1922-3 were £17,473,155, £10,363,834 and £9,414,708 respectively. The figures given in the last few paragraphs embrace all forms of relief administered by Local Authorities, including Grants where local relief and insurance of various kinds overlap. It is evident that as the Grants increase in number and in cost, the social burdens increase, not only in weight and number, but in their incidence on the population, peculiarly on the Poor Rate and relief. This is a matter to which the Government should promptly pay attention by means of a Committee or Commission, so as to get a review of the whole—the financial and social effects.

This article cannot include all the Grants from the Treasury for all manner of social purposes. But I must here refer to the Local Taxation Accounts, as they are called, under which grants amounting to £3,319,239 are made under the Agricultural Rates Acts of 1896 and 1923; a Grant for the collection of Licence Duties, £60,000; Customs and Excise (or Whiskey Duties), £1,259,508; Licence Duties (sale of drink), £1,994,327 7s. 9d.; Carriage Licences, £600,956 5s.; other Local Taxation Licences, £465,714 3s. 7d.; and Estate Duties, under some Finance Acts, and Agricultural Rates Acts (1894-1923), £4,087,446 in relief of rates: relief from clerical titles £370,925; Agricultural Rates and consequential measures, £1,504,513 4s. 7d. These make a total of £13,662,631 for 1923-4, of which England and Wales received £11,880,537, and Scotland £1,782,093. The reader should not miss the fact that since Mr. Goschen's rearrangements in 1891-4, and the Agricultural Rates Act of 1896, these Grants have bodied out into a sum more than five times what they were in the earlier

years. Whether we should agree about a definition of "Social Services" or not, to take note of these is imperative, for they have proved the model for all the Grants, the total of which to-day is causing anxiety to all save those simple Socialists who would turn to "Government or State" for the wherewithal for every project.

All the above observations, with one exception marked in its place, on the Local work in Social Relief apply only to England and Wales. Scotland may be regarded as adding between one-ninth and one-eighth to the sum. Then there is Northern Ireland, which at present is still connected with British finances. Let me attempt to sum up the Services already referred to in columnar form:

1923-4-5.—The National Debt ...		1913-14.	1924-25.
		From £649 to	£7,710 millions
The Annual Charge ...		From £23 to	£350 millions
Various Grants—			
Education	...		£49,859,000
Local do.	...		35,000,000
Health and Housing (England, Wales and Scotland)	(say)		£85,000,000
Labour	...		22,984,193
Old-Age Pensions	...		14,060,309
Ministry of Pensions	...		24,207,000
Merchant Service Pensions	...		66,947,000
Unemployment and Forestry...	...		486,525
Compensation for Enemy action	...		3,230,000
Board of Works—for Housing, etc.	...		500,000
Development Fund	...		350,860
			200,000
FROM THE NATIONAL FUNDS			£217,965,887
From Local—			
Housing (Subsidies)	...		7,774,684
Small Dwellings Acquisition Acts	...		1,405,119
Poor Law Relief (from Rates, £32,900,000)	...		38,000,000
*Local Taxation Account	...		13,662,631
			£60,842,434
FOR SOCIAL OBJECTS—GRAND TOTAL ...			£278,808,321

Thus the Grants of a "Social" nature amount roughly to about one-fourth of the amount spent annually by the Administrations. Does the populace realise that such a huge sum is thus spent, and, specially, that among us are some untiring advocates of further grants of this nature? So far as the Chancellor of the Exchequer's expenditure goes, in 1913-4 his total Budget was below £190 millions; in 1924-5, when we are below the figure which the Great War caused us to spend in post-war years, the figure is no less than £800 millions!

Finally, we come to the conclusion, which may be treated most conveniently in two parts, as (1) the prudence, and (2) the policy, of this great practical matter. As for prudence, we must judge

* The Local Taxation Funds are really Nationally derived.

of it almost exclusively by reference to the national expenditure, which is, as given above, over four times that of 1913-4. In my opinion, we have, since the Armistice, attempted too much from a Governmental point of view. We could not avoid great expense over the demobilisation of the Army and Navy, and also by way of provision for retired and maimed men of all classes. But we attempted much more, and have tried to promote new Services, whereas we were, and are, much weaker than heretofore in the resources from which this new expense must be met. To stimulate trade and industry, all sorts of economic effort was clearly and urgently necessary. A rigid adherence to *status quo* as regards demands made on the taxpayer might have been justified, with the widest support among the people.

This leads us up to the policy which should now be our guide in this matter. We come to our old question—what are the limits of a State's activity? The more our rulers in 1918-23 endeavoured to aid, the more bold did the demands become, until we reach such demoralisation as was lately instanced in the Magistrate's Court at Greenwich. The Magistrate to a man before him: "But you do work, don't you?" The man: "No, I don't—I prefer the dole." The facets of the question are many, but from the economic, financial and moral points of view, the position is such that we should follow the old counsel—*festina lente*. The policy of Grants to one Social Service after another involves much larger expenditure, much heavier taxes. It is imperative that we should be so governed as to strengthen the citizen, and to consolidate the State. We are doing the very opposite by this practice of doles and other Grants, in the vain hope of improving social conditions.

Thus I range myself with those who call for an instant cessation of any further Grants of this nature, with a view to a thorough-going review of the whole field. Such a review would unquestionably, as I think, result in an unhesitating demand for more economy in this direction—an economy required by the material needs of the people and the fortifying of their trade and industry, but also required more and more imperatively as we perceive that the policy of "cakes and ale," of "bread and circuses," results, to-day as ever, in making the marrow of the people weak, in hastening on our decline and fall. This attitude would be reinforced were we to follow the economic incidence of all Grants from Central funds to Local and Social Services. Were this incidence generally known, we should realise our dilemma—the fact that the doles and Grants are made and allowed at the cost proportionately of the very crowd who are supposed to enjoy them. It is for such reasons as these that I venture earnestly to ask for a thorough re-investigation of this matter by all far-sighted citizens.

W. M. J. WILLIAMS.

MEREDITH AND THE COSMIC SPIRIT.

WE are far from arriving at the last word about Meredith. From time to time the critics come back to him to read into him some new intimation of their own minds, and our friends across the Channel use him to display through him their acknowledged critical gift and their less acknowledged grasp of our language. M. Galland in particular recently published a considerable and scholarly work on the first fifty years of Meredith's life. One's first impulse after reading M. Galland's volumes is to congratulate him upon having brought to light the hidden connections between the writer and his work, but presently a note of interrogation, an almost bitter scepticism, is born in one's mind after reading so many pages. Does this critic really believe he has discovered where Meredith found his reflective pages, his inimitable aphorisms, and that strange magnetism which makes Meredith, Meredith?

It is all very well for the French critic to tell us that one of Meredith's chief qualities is his innate gift of introspection. That is true of every author who has any claim to be called a great writer. The latest fad of modern criticism is, of course, to try and lay bare the arcanum, the holy of holies of a poet's inspiration. Yet any apprentice with a spark of understanding knows that the Muse's inspiration—as the Greeks saw so clearly—is utterly independent of the life of a writer of genius. Absolutely nothing is discoverable by lifting the skull from a writer's brain. The competent observer of a writer's adventures sees in them most frequently a tissue of tales and some history, across which runs the writer's self playing a part, often a very small part.

Writers, too, were deceivers ever, their very art consists in wrapping a glowing cocoon round the reality they feel pulsating within them. Nor was Meredith himself aware whence he derived his sparkling dialogue, or the interplay of diverse characters, or the comic gift—all things which place him in the very front rank of great Englishmen. Moreover, it is a good thing for a legend to grow up round a writer: it is well that to the imaginary picture we draw of him there should be added the ambiguous charm of a dreamer and great walker, talker and athlete. We are led thus to muse upon a fabulous person, a hero striding down the Bergsonian slopes of Duration. Meredith is the poet whose thought is constantly active, whose spirit is soothed by self-communings flowing gently amidst adorable feminine shapes. He must be situate in that background he chose for himself—in that wonderful corner of Surrey whose very trees seem kindly, with the sweeping horizon of the hills over the crest of which the wind leaves a taste of salt on your lips. Quite a magic pose for the writer who always

lets the peace of the countryside speak within him, and cunningly blends with it all the worldly rumours, vicissitudes of love, the tragedies and comedies which divert him even as he listens to the nymphs sporting among the Dorking trees.

Perhaps indeed this is the very source of his great comic gifts—the contrast between the calm surrounding all the beautiful, silent country things, and, on the other hand, men and women, so mobile, so storm-tossed by their puerile passions. From the discordant clash of these two elements in his soul Meredith produces a symphony of enchanting harmonies. The soft cloud effects of southern England, the very stream flowing at the foot of his hill, transport him, by a perfectly natural reaction, into that London society with its motley crowds which is the battlefield of so many egoisms. That is the summit of Meredith's art. It is the continual triumph of order and method, and that is why Meredith is a classic. The great Nature-lovers are not foolish dreamers, those who think so merely prove their own complete incomprehension of art and the artist's range. The writer of genius extracts Duration itself from the mobility of life, he creates the eternal, and this requires an iron will, an almost savage energy. We are in no wise astonished to learn that Meredith was a "difficult character." There was a good deal of the tiger even in Racine.

If the Meredith historian pushed his investigations a little further he would see that his author's gift of self-analysis was an essential condition of the existence of the real Meredith, of this eternal rover, who, in order to write his reveries, deliberately wills to be an artist differing essentially from, say, a Rousseau, who merely chases shadows. The truth is that we can never escape from the eternal problem formulated by Plato: does the individual truly exist as an individual or is he merely a social abstraction? Schopenhauer declares that individuality is an illusion. (It would be profitable to study his disciple, Mr. Bernard Shaw, from this point of view.) Nature has a sovereign disdain for the individual and is really interested only in the current of life, in the torch which the runners hand on one to the other. Life loves life, for itself and for the way in which it differentiates. Here we grasp the difference between Goethe or Meredith on the one hand, and Schopenhauer and his school on the other. Where Schopenhauer sees the void, an unsubstantial phantom, Goethe, and still more Meredith, see reality, truth; or, to speak in more philosophic terms, a moment in reality.

But all is interwoven in the world of thought, and since reality implies duration, nothing can be more real than the life of each being. That is why Meredith wants to see in all his books the

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fulfilment of human destiny. And lest we should have any doubt upon the subject he is very careful to explain himself. Read what he says of Providence at the close of *Harry Richmond*:

"I was still subject to the relapses of a not perfectly right nature, as I perceived when glancing back at my thought of 'An odd series of accidents!' which was but a disguised fashion of attributing to Providence the particular concern in my fortunes: an impiety and a folly! This is the temptation of those who are rescued and made happy by circumstances. The wretched think themselves spited, and are merely childish, not egregious in egoism. Thither on leads to a chapter—already written by the wise, doubtless."

But in the light of Bergson's philosophy—or Schopenhauer's (for these two philosophies shed light one upon the other as much by their differences as by their points of resemblance) we realise that Meredith just as much as they, with all their depth and more than their genius of style, said that for a great writer life is the life of the passions, and can only be that.

That is a far-reaching remark. Think of Meredith's novels, in which his characters deplore the evil of their passions, their egoism, their loves, and you see how well the novelist realised that it is just in this way that the world of the passions is presented to our eyes as in a mirror. "It's the fault of fatality," cries Charles Bovary at the close of Flaubert's great book. A Greek cry. But a Meredith will declare that the fault is with Life. Superficial critics see in Meredith's plots only a series of chance happenings. That is Meredith's cunning; he deliberately leads his readers astray and coquettishly hides his plan. Just as there can be no individuality without matter, so does passion manifest itself, develop, progress and, being in the long run a dead weight, perish.

For Meredith this is the truth—the only truth. Pain is the result of the errors and sins of those who suffer. The consequences of every action are ineluctable.

I am not of those miserable males
Who sniff at vice, and daring not to snap
Do therefore hope for heaven.

(*Modern Love* XX.)

Passions spin the plot
We are betrayed by what is false within.

(*Ibid.* XLIII.)

Or take another metaphor from the *Hymn to Colour* where the poet magnificently cries:

Love took my hand when hidden stood the sun
To fling his robe on shoulder heights of snow.
Then said: There lie they, Life and Death in one.
Whichever is, the other is: but know,
It is thy craving self that thou dost see,
Not in them seeing me.

Never was the poet better inspired for showing us within ourselves and all around us the unforeseeable which is the creator of life. The act of creation can never measure itself with the reality created. Here we arrive at the cross roads where Art meets Life in the very heart of reality. Let there be no mistake on this point: all Meredith's art is there to prove it, neither has Shakespeare's any other meaning. There are as it were two orders in life. If the accent in a life, instead of resting on a clear-cut system of duties, is put on mere pleasure, if the weight of matter, *i.e.* virtue, be lacking, then you arrive at the truth portrayed in the parable of the Foolish Virgins.

Meredith's philosophy was bound to crystallise round the problem of liberty. It is most interesting to compare him from this point of view with those contemporary French novelists whose characters are their own undoing. To dismiss Meredith by calling him Anglo-Saxon, meaning thereby an instinctive, irresponsible lover of freedom, is to go quite astray. It is only after deep reflection and long groping that Meredith arrived at the conclusion that freedom is the great fact of life, and must be faced in any act which is performed. From this point of view certain of his dialogues are in the highest degree illuminating.

We see that for Meredith the spontaneous is of priceless value. For him, as for Bergson, the great moments in human life are those unique moments "which may no more be reproduced than the past phases of history can return for a people"* in which we took some weighty decision. Meredith's ideal is made up of voluntary, even strained elements, but contains at the same time something irreflective. For indeed the free act is often unpremeditated, it springs from the very depths of our consciousness. We all know by experience that we think often that we have made up our minds in a certain way for no special reason.

Meredith's child-studies, young Feverel, the boy Richmond, and above all Crossjay, are so living because the writer was irresistibly attracted by the unexpected, the spontaneous in childhood with its curious mixture of charming egoism and chivalrous devotion, its present impressions which are so strong because they are founded on the whole of a past. Meredith has a real physical need of exalting that infinite *in posse* which lies within us and which is just the sum of our recollections and our subconsciousness, since we are composed of things which ceaselessly fade and change and recreate, gushing forth from an inexhaustible stream at the expense of a possible limitedness.

For the same reason Meredith must extol passion, because it

* *Creative Evolution*, p. 181.

is the mainspring of feeling. Feeling is never "in neutral," it passes always from a lesser speed to a greater in order to give itself the impression of being everything. In *Sandra Belloni* or *Harry Richmond*, still more than in *The Tragic Comedians*, we see what Meredith really thinks about Passion, about woman's true part in society, and the close communion which ought to exist between ourselves and Nature. And the more one reflects the less does one understand the epithet of *bourgeois* which Henry James flung at Meredith, on account of his moral preoccupation. Certainly Meredith acknowledges the existence of evil; evil is the sentimentalism of his time, a hateful form of egoism. That has been so often pointed out that it is needless to dwell on it here.

But just as a noble countenance is living only by its expression, the hint of meditation and of drama in its movements, so life is beautiful only in so far as it is the effort of the mind ever readapting itself, and always communing with its natural surroundings. "Carry your fever to the Alps, you whose mind is sick," cries Harry Richmond after learning of Ottilia's betrothal.

Every Meredith lover knows that in all these characters there exists one very intense state which spreads over the whole character engulfing it, with at the same time a consciousness of an indefinite power of action. That is the real profundity of Meredith, this gift of showing us the human mind in full activity and, by the mere force of its desire, creating the universe. In Meredith's world there is no Hamlet, thrilled by every wind, dreaming over the terrace as though on the brink of the void, reasoning with the phantom figments of his imagination.

The famous Countess de Soldar is a symbol of all the Meredith characters, a veritable virtuose of infinite scope. She is so living because she rejoices in that happy plenitude which shows her "the future in a multitude of equally happy shapes."* Heroines who are primitive like Clara Middleton, or capricious like Renée, or with leanings towards duplicity like Rose Jocelyn, and superstitious like Clara Doria: mobile, irresolute, at the mercy of the passing hour with its passing sensations and passing thoughts, are nevertheless just those who keep the universe on the march and perpetuate the race. Remember how Redworth thinks of Diana:

With her, wound in his idea of her, he perceived love to signify a new start in our existence, a fine shoot of the tree stoutly planted in good gross earth; the senses running their live sap, and the minds companioned, and the spirits made one by the whole matured of Earth, divinely indicating more than happiness: the speeding of a compact of what we are between the ascetic rocks and the

* Bergson, *Time and Free Will*, p. 7.

sensual whirlpools, to the creation of nobler races, now very dimly imagined.

The creation of noble races! How clearly we see that with Meredith artistic creation is a joy! And in this connection the great sonnet sequences of *Modern Love* bring us right into the heart of that vital impetus of which Bergson speaks. No work proves more clearly than these poems that the true artist must emerge from the delicious indolence of dreams, and construct, create. And if Meredith could find pleasure in composing these deeply tragic poems, it is because his egoism disappeared, fused entirely in the thought which dominates all his work, the belief in the profound unity of Earth.

For Earth that gives the milk the spirit gives.
(*Earth's Secret*, p. 183.)

It has been pointed out with justice that Sandra Belloni is based upon the philosophy of Mazzini, the idea that progress is the evolution of the idea of God. The same thing recurs in Vittoria.

From childhood Meredith was haunted by this idea of our duty of living in perfect harmony with the Universe. His search for moral truth is closely bound up within his love of Nature. Wordsworth, too, knew this feeling, yet no two men could be more unlike. Where Wordsworth is heavy, utterly lacking in humour, and crushing us rather than making us smile, Meredith is quick, witty, and always keeps his childhood's spontaneity and need of laughter.

"To remain in contact with things and with men," says Bergson, "to see only what is, to think only what holds together, demands a continual effort of intellectual tension." Common sense is this very effort. Now, common sense is just the quality the majority deny Meredith, which in reality he possessed in the very highest degree. Indeed, to him, one of the values of the Cosmic Spirit is that she is "the Sword of Common Sense." It is this gift which showed Meredith that moral values are values of action, because life is a duration diving into the past and feeding upon it, and because life is above all a psychological fact. More than any other writer does Meredith produce in us the sensation of that great wave of duration in which we live and which sets us in harmony with the infinite. For to live is to worship a great many necessary *idola*: the man who can see only evil and wrong in ordinary existence is better dead. Thus the great initiators of man are those primordial forms, those instincts which are called our passions and which fling wide open for us the portals of the future.

Behold the life at ease: it drifts;
The sharpened life commands its course.

Just as all holds together in the physical world and we see Gothic columns in the old cedars or melting human curves in the great hills, so in the spiritual world no real boundary line separates intellectual moral life from intellectual artistic life. There are interchangeable connections between a fine landscape and a fine action. Not only is there nothing vile in Jove's house but nothing therein is out of place, nothing jars: all is harmony since all is the same idea expressed in various ways.

Bergson saw very clearly that Laughter is a philosophy ordained by Nature springing up fountain-wise to correct our tendency towards inertia, and this in alliance with the forces of Nature to restore to life its ease, lightness and grace. But Meredith had seen the same thing long before Bergson:

—Thou wouldst but have us be
Good sons of mother soil, whereby to grow
Branching on fairer skies, one stately tree.

The Comic Spirit is our refuge, with her we are safe, for her friendship connotes a rare freedom in the handling of our ideas. The comic gift is pre-eminently a gift, but it may be increased and enriched by art, by the art of the traveller or the collector who has seen much, read much and remembered much, and who, after trying all things, deliberately decides to be amused by them.

"To be amused by everything," that is the vulgar conception. But laughter is man's proper province, and if so, it is because laughter sets us in the heart of reality. When we laugh, the living part of us mocks the mechanical, rigid, customary—the dead part—or what should be dead—in a human being. Therein Love and Laughter are twin brothers. To laugh is to share in the very power of life over matter. The great comic authors, Aristophanes or Rabelais, Molière or Shakespeare, are real forces of Nature. *Je ris, je vis.* Laughter is the overflow of a happy creation. When we laugh we are disarmed. Every woman knows she should beware of a lover lacking in sense of humour. Meredith knew it well too, and the key to his philosophy is to be found in his *Essay on Comedy*.

The *Essay* is a treasure-house of pregnant phrases: "To become intensely sensitive to comic laughter is to advance in civilisation. To fear to be exposed to it is to advance in inner culture." Meredith saw clearly that laughter is social, and that wherever human intelligences are gathered together there exists one collective intelligence. Here he anticipates M. Bergson saying clearly that laughter is a social "rag." By self-study as well as by studying the great comic writers Meredith realised that social man laughs at himself: that is one of the reasons why he admires the

French. "The French recognise all that they owe to Molière. We may teach them many things, in *this* they are our masters." Meredith understood that the true comic is Molière's comic, and that true comedy is Molière's comedy. But why? Because Molière like Meredith brought something out of his own heart into the light of day and held it up as an object to evoke laughter. Molière the elderly husband of a young wife writes, *l'Ecole des Femmes*, *le Misanthrope*, and continually reverts to the subject. In the same way there was in Meredith something of Sir Willoughby Patterne, something of Dr. Middleton, a good deal of the Don Juan who slumbers more or less in all men, and he sought always for a fuller comprehension of woman, and to aid her in her evolution.

That is why the poems of *Modern Love* are so intimately connected with the *Egoist*, and if there be in truth a Meredithian philosophy it cannot be other than that of Comedy.

Later on, Bergson was to show us that this philosophy of laughter was very nearly his own, a popular edition of his own, since the man who laughs is a Bergsonian unawares. Is it not then abundantly clear that this *Comic Spirit* is the *Cosmic Spirit*? The connection between the two is like the connection between understanding and intellect. The instinct of the *Sphex* which tells him to sting the caterpillar in just the right way to assure the existence of his progeniture, is analogous to the instinct of the Comic spirit whose aim is to bring back the individual into the great vital current. We have grown too fond of saying that love and death are sisters. Man is in reality quite close to truth, his life is in sympathy with Life when he strives to save living beings from falling into routine, habit, mechanism.

The lover of life holds life in his hand
Like a ring for the bride.

It needs a great deal of wit to love, and none less to laugh. They are both great things. Eros is the secret bondsman of Reason and the bandage over his eyes does not hinder his smiling nor even his laughter. The poets are not quite right about this. Bernini showed himself wiser in his famous Saint Teresa.

There is nothing sentimental about the Comic nor about the Cosmic spirit. There is nothing sentimental about Meredith or Bergson. However variously we may explain the causes of laughter, we shall always come back to this fact that laughter is a means of social defence. Meredith was very careful to differentiate it from capricious individualistic humour, and equally so from malice:

But never with the slayer's malice fired:
As little as informs an infant's fist
Clenched at the sneeze!

The Comic spirit reaches into the furthest and deepest recesses of our nature. That is why we should admit the laughter "broad as ten thousand beeves at pasture," as well as the elegant pure wit.

Critics have often been puzzled to know how one may arrive at a conciliation between Meredith's love of Nature and his love of society, or between Bergson's love of Philosophy and his love of Comedy, for ever since the age of Aristophanes there has been no love lost between Thalia and the Sages.

But here, indeed, is their meeting place. The true lover of universal life is in his essence a lover of Nature and laughter. "The Lacadæmonians," says M. Thibaudet, "perceiving the possible danger that social life might leave them stiff and graceless, wisely raised an altar to Laughter." So ought we to build a temple to Laughter on the hills commanding our fairest landscapes that we may blend Nature, that ever active creative force, with our desire to mingle with the vital impetus.

In this way Rabelais' Laughter and Molière's and Meredith's comedy are not merely an intellectual force but one of the forces of Nature. The *Comic Spirit* is the *Cosmic Spirit*.

GLADYS TURQUET-MILNES.

FOREIGN AFFAIRS.

THE MIRAGE OF SECURITY.

"OF immense, of overwhelming importance" were the words with which Mr. Chamberlain, speaking in the House of Commons on March 5th, described the question of security. It already seems clear that the European diplomacy of 1925 will be mainly concerned with that question. Mr. Chamberlain himself, on assuming office nearly half a year ago, left no doubt in the minds of those who observed him that his diplomacy would be primarily dominated by the problem of European security, and he has remained true to his first impression. Since that time, he and other members of the Government have been doing some new thinking on old lines. Mr. Chamberlain has taken several months in travelling the preliminary road of education which each successive Foreign Minister, or each Prime Minister who concerns himself with foreign affairs, has to travel. They have all reached essentially the same conclusions as were reached by their pioneer, Mr. Lloyd George, in 1921 and 1922. Mr. MacDonald got there quickly, for he was working with the sword of Damocles suspended over him; Mr. Chamberlain, who has four leisurely years before him, has restricted his output accordingly. Lord Curzon, curiously, concentrated his diplomacy in other fields and never busied himself to any important extent with the question of security.

At this moment, therefore, Mr. Chamberlain, as it were, is using a familiar melting pot. The process of melting down the same material produces the same results, as Mr. Chamberlain and his advisers have discovered. The reflective thinking, however, that has been done in Government circles during the past few months over the whole field of foreign policy in Europe in its relation to the problem of European security has, with one important reservation, led at any rate to a clear conception of the business in hand. It has led a not unimportant body of opinion in Whitehall to certain conclusions which in some important respects remind one of the conclusions which Mr. Lloyd George reached in December, 1921, and in the first months of 1922. The only important difference between the two was that Mr. Lloyd George regarded Russia as indispensable to any scheme designed to achieve European security, whereas it has now been decided to banish Russia from the field of study. Whether the Government will travel the familiar road to the end and recognise that Russia cannot be thus ignored, we shall have to wait and see.

At the beginning of March, however, that is, on the eve of Mr. Chamberlain's second journey abroad as responsible British Foreign Minister, a certain state of mind had been reached which

must be analysed in some detail before the important events then pending can be chronicled.

Europe was regarded by them as an entity of three elements, the ex-allies, the ex-enemies, and Russia. Russia was left aside for the purpose of evolving a policy on security, on the ground that Russia, for the moment, belongs to the sphere of Asiatic rather than European politics—a surprising hypothesis. The only bearing which, it was conceded, Russia had on the European problem was that she vaguely contributed to the sense of insecurity and uncertainty which had for so long undermined the work of Western European pacification. Had they so quickly forgotten the work of Mr. MacDonald, which had, in fact, for the first time since the armistice, produced a feeling of harmony between Great Britain, France, and Germany? But no matter.

Western Europe was certainly unsettled again during the first two months and a half of the present year. Germany was resentful of the losses she sustained at the end of the war, especially on her eastern frontier; France was afraid of Germany's winning something back. Discontent on one side and fear on the other prevented the harmonising of Europe. It was the old vicious circle in which fear had prompted armaments, secret alliances, a challenging and suspicious policy, the ill-treatment of minorities, and in which those manifestations of fear increased the restiveness of the aggrieved side. So far as Germany's smaller ex-allies were concerned, Austria, Hungary, Bulgaria, they were helpless in the face of powerful neighbours and were not an active danger, Austria's desire for union with Germany being a smothered aspiration rather than a policy. Germany, at the moment impotent, had potential resources in arms, fighting power, and chemical equipment which in the long run, unless she were appeased, would make of her a renewed danger to European peace. The immediate concentration of sensible Germans on economic revival, to be achieved through a loyal execution of the Dawes plan and of the Treaty of Versailles was regarded, in the opinion of those whose view is here being interpreted, as not incompatible with the distant danger. And even such Germans have never concealed their disinclination to accept for ever the injustices of the peace settlement, especially those of the Polish corridor and the position of Upper Silesia.

France on her side was more afraid of Germany than ever. The two countries were neighbours. France had been invaded twice within fifty years. Her birth-rate was declining. At present her population numbers 40 millions; it may be halved during the next fifty years. Germany, by contrast, whose population in 1922 amounted to 61½ millions may in the same period increase to 80

millions. Such were the main elements of the European problem as seen by important sections of Government opinion at the beginning of March.

The stages through which the disastrous unsettlement of the post-war period has passed throw some light on the present phase of the problem and are worth recapitulating briefly.

MR. LLOYD GEORGE AND SECURITY.

In 1919, Marshal Foch, who had played his part in the fictitious Allied victory over Germany, advanced certain theories about the reaping of the harvest. It was an unconscious irony on his part that made him, flushed with "victory" over Germany, give way to an unreasoning fear which still obsessed him. He insisted on a political safeguard for future security. There could be no security for France, he said, no peace for Europe, unless the German frontier ceased at the Rhine. He explained that France did not want to annex the territory which lay between the French frontier and the Rhine, but only to detach it from Germany and thus make of the Rhine an effective barrier between the two countries.

The first fruits of victory were a refusal of the Allies of France to grant to France what Marshal Foch wanted. The war was over. Mr. Lloyd George had changed his tone, had ceased beating drums and stirring up war feeling, and had become a pacifist. He was full of the analogy of 1870. He showed how a German policy of *Vae Victis* in 1871 had fomented the spirit of revenge which waited till 1914 to find its opportunity; how the annexation of Alsace and of Lorraine had constituted an irritant *irredenta* which, after forty-four years, had split the peace, or helped to split the peace, of Europe. If France, he argued, sowed German seed, she would reap a German harvest. Partly, however, as a sop to France he and President Wilson offered a treaty of guarantee whereby Great Britain and the United States were to pledge themselves to leap to the assistance of France (simultaneously in this case) in the event of an unprovoked attack on France by Germany. Mr. Lloyd George also agreed to an Allied occupation of the Rhineland for an extended period, to the imposition of disarmament on Germany under the supervision of an Allied Commission, and to Articles 42 and 43 of the Treaty of Versailles, the effect of which was to give an assurance that any violation of the provisions for the demilitarisation of the Rhineland would be considered by the Allies of France as an act of war. Article 42 read: "Germany is forbidden to maintain or construct any fortifications either on the left bank of the Rhine or on the right bank to the west of a line drawn fifty kilometres to the east of the

Rhine"; and Article 43: "In the area defined above the maintenance and the assembly of armed forces, either permanently or temporarily, and military manoeuvres of any kind, as well as the upkeep of all permanent works for mobilisation, are in the same way forbidden."

That elaborate edifice naturally began to crumble as soon as it was finished. President Wilson was repudiated by his country; the tripartite pledge fell to the ground: and it happened to be the only part of the edifice that French opinion had placed any faith in. The occupation of the Rhinelands and the disarmament of Germany were regarded by the realist spirit of France as ephemeral, not as perpetual safeguards, while the assurance that a violation of the demilitarised Rhinelands would be considered an act of war was simply not believed in.

France, therefore, having sacrificed two millions of her best men out of her small and dwindling population, had precisely nothing to show on the other side. Marshal Foch had been refused his Rhine barrier and the next best thing for France had been ruled out by the American scuttle from the European inferno which America had played her part in producing. Mr. Lloyd George was left with a difficult situation in hand. He had to deal with a snarling, suspicious, discontented France. He talked pacifism, commonsense, idealism. He might as well have apostrophised the moon. For the simple and obvious truth was that France had started to make her own arrangements for security. She had, with her accustomed agility and lack of sentimentality, dropped all her Allies at once, except in so far as they could serve her new purpose. The talk one heard at the time about France clinging to the war spirit and Great Britain wanting to forget the war was ignorant trash. France had forgotten the war. Great Britain pathetically went on sacrificing her vital interests out of loyalty to a France which she persisted in regarding as the ally of 1914-1918. Mr. Lloyd George lectured France, cajoled her, argued with her. She did not even hear. She was engaged in fresh woods and pastures new.

What did she set about doing? In the first place she began, logically enough, to repair the French army. The flower of French manhood having been wiped out under the brilliant leadership of Marshal Foch (what shall it benefit a nation if it win the Great War and lose its manhood?) she started calling in the savages. Large numbers of coloured troops were enlisted in the French army, and there are still large numbers of North African and French colonial coloured troops stationed in France and on the Rhine.

Next, France set about encircling Germany and courting new

allies for the peace-time offensive against Germany. In the philosophy of the Quai d'Orsay the Little Entente, especially its chief constituent member, Czechoslovakia, was exclusively valuable as a potential enemy of Germany. Czechoslovakia, Poland, and the rest were, according to Paris, to be welded together into a compact body, united among themselves by an anti-German motive and tied to the chariot wheels of France by a complicated system of alliances, military missions, and financial subsidies. The debts of France to Great Britain and to the United States were long ago dropped, as it were, into the waste-paper basket, for Great Britain and the United States had ceased to exist in the eyes of the Quai d'Orsay. All the better: there was the more money to spend on the more profitable project of arming the Poles. By such means France hoped to have at her disposal Poland, Czechoslovakia, Rumania, Yugoslavia, Austria (who on December 16th, 1921, concluded an agreement with Czechoslovakia) Italy (who had agreements with both Czechoslovakia and Yugoslavia), and Greece (who had an agreement, dated May 19th, 1913, which was not to expire till December, 1925). It happened later on that France began to distrust the efficacy of this complicated political network in Central and South Eastern Europe, caught, as it were, between the two fires of Germany and Russia; and therefore France, in 1924, adopted the device of the Geneva Protocol for the Pacific Settlement of International Disputes, which, according to the French view, would create a general guarantee of peace and engage the prestige of the League of Nations in the guarantee, while safeguarding the *status quo* in the East of Europe. Now that the Protocol has fallen through, France has in 1925 reverted to the 1919 thesis of Marshal Foch.

So far as Mr. Lloyd George was concerned he had to deal with a France which was in the first throes of reaction from Great Britain and in the first optimism of the alternative entente in the East of Europe. Between the years 1919 and 1922 there seemed only one thing lacking to complete French satisfaction. The Polish corridor was an accomplished fact. There remained the problem of detaching Silesia from Germany.

THE POLISH CORRIDOR AND SILESIA.

By the Treaty of Versailles, Poland was reconstructed a free and independent nation, and was also, at the expense of Germany, given access to the sea and the use of the port of Danzig. As a result of this arrangement East Prussia was completely cut off from the rest of Germany by the narrow strip of territory which is known as the Polish corridor. At the same time the city of Danzig, originally a German town-colony planted on conquered

Polish territory, was declared a free city under the protection of the League of Nations. In it special rights were granted to Poland, including the control of foreign affairs, customs, and external railway communications, and the port was placed under separate administration ensuring facilities for Polish trade and shipping. The French game was therefore going well on Germany's eastern frontier.

There remained the question of Silesia. Mr. Lloyd George became involved in a prolonged struggle with France, who wanted to detach the whole of Silesia from Germany for the obvious purpose of crippling Germany. Mr. Lloyd George was, of course, unsympathetic to such a purpose, and again began talking about 1870. The conflict came to a head at a conference held in Paris in August, 1921, when M. Briand stuck to his guns and Mr. Lloyd George to his principles, with the result that it was decided to hand over the decision to the League of Nations. That was the first occasion when the countries agreed to differ openly. The scene of the discord was the Hotel de Crillon situated, ironically, in the Place de la Concorde. In Upper Silesia, therefore, a plebiscite was held in conditions of frantic uproar and excitement. Poland, to the chagrin of France, received only forty per cent. of the votes, which made it difficult for French diplomacy to work. It worked none the less, and the League's decision was to hand over to Poland a big slice of territory containing at least eighty per cent. of the developed and eighty-five per cent. of the undeveloped mineral wealth of Silesia and large enclaves inhabited by clear German majorities.

Germany, a nation of sixty million people, was thus deprived, by the combined efforts of megalomaniac Poland, terrified France, and a cowed League of Nations, of the mineral resources on which her national prosperity had been largely based. So far as the East of Europe was concerned, France had succeeded in surrounding Germany, cutting off her wealthy districts, dismembering her of East Prussia, and organising on her border the armies of several small nations backed by France and trained by the French military staff.

Mr. Lloyd George none the less prosecuted his gallant fight for decency. He appeared to be genuinely persuaded that he could carry the French with him. In December, 1921, he flew the first kite for an Anglo-French-German understanding, to be achieved by means of a Western European tripartite pact—the kite which has been fashionable ever since. M. Briand came to London that month to discuss the plan, the central principle of which was to reassure France in the first place, then to win German approval, and thence to harmonise the whole of Europe. M. Briand showed

himself to be so far prepared to talk about it (as he was about most things) that the arrangements for the Cannes Conference were immediately pushed forward.

CANNES AND GENOA.

Mr. Lloyd George, therefore, travelled to Cannes at the opening of 1922 and propounded his big plan for the pacification of Europe. Exactly three years before, in January, 1919, when the Peace Conference had only just started its work, a flash of inspiration made the same Lloyd George propose that the Russians should be invited to an economic conference on the Island of Prinkipo, so outlandish a rendezvous being prompted by French fastidiousness. Even so, however, French fastidiousness counted, and Mr. Lloyd George's proposal was howled down by the French politicians on moral grounds and by the French bondholders on financial grounds—for Frenchmen were averse from having any dealing with odd people who did not pay their debts. At Cannes Mr. Lloyd George pleaded for disarmament, trade revival, and peace. He was prepared to pay for them at the price of a British pact of guarantee for French security (badly conceived and fortunately refused), a cancellation of the French debt to Great Britain, and a British acquiescence in France's reaping of the fruits of the Rathenau-Loucheur agreement made at Wiesbaden. But the central point in Mr. Lloyd George's scheme was that which he stated in his Point Six: "All countries should join in an undertaking to refrain from aggression against their neighbours." M. Briand proved himself to be slightly susceptible to the personal jam with which Mr. Lloyd George gilded the pill. He was hauled back to Paris, met a stormy Chamber, resigned, and gave way for M. Poincaré. M. Briand's fall illustrated the depth of France's infatuation with her new friends in the East of Europe. The whole hypothesis of French policy was hostility to both Germany and Russia, to be effected through the new nations which were situated between the two. Mr. Lloyd George wanted to reabsorb Russia and Germany into the European system, and M. Briand had entertained the proposal, thereby committing political suicide.

There is little need to recapitulate the precise stages whereby M. Poincaré undermined the whole security of Europe in the sacred name of security itself. It says much for the power of Mr. Lloyd George's diplomacy that he was able to hold the Genoa Conference at all after the accession of M. Poincaré to the French Prime Ministership. M. Poincaré began by writing long and clever fighting memoranda designed to postpone the Genoa Conference for three months, postponement being in M. Poincaré's opportunist eyes the same thing as abolition, or at any rate a step towards it.

One remembers the brilliant success with which Mr. Lloyd George, one Saturday afternoon in February, 1922, coaxed M. Poincaré to meet him half way between Paris and London and to hold a personal conference in the house of the subprefect of Boulogne; how Mr. Lloyd George asked M. Poincaré point blank whether France would or would not go to Genoa, and go there on the Cannes programme; and how M. Poincaré, after three hours' debate, said yes. Genoa was saved. M. Poincaré, however, having accepted the conference on behalf of France, refused to go to Genoa himself. That was not all. M. Barthou was sent to Genoa not as a plenipotentiary, but as a marionette, the strings of which were held in M. Poincaré's hands in Paris. Genoa failed. France, helped by Germany and Russia, who turned Mr. Lloyd George into a French laughing stock by their Rapallo intrigue, defeated Mr. Lloyd George's wholly admirable purpose. But the interesting thing, from the point of view of European security, was this. At one stage in the Genoa Conference Mr. Lloyd George could have broken the Entente with France, could have carried through the Conference with Italian, German, Russian, Czechoslovak, and even Belgian support. He refused. Why? Because to bring Germany into the European family by driving France out was simply to jump from the frying-pan into the fire. Harmony, security, and pacification were the objects, and they could not be achieved through a rupture with France any more than through continued hostility to Germany. It is the fashion to revile Mr. Lloyd George. The good he did was interred with the official bones of his Prime Ministership.

MR. BONAR LAW, MR. MACDONALD AND MR. CHAMBERLAIN.

When Mr. Bonar Law became Prime Minister and attempted the same feat, he failed at the first hurdle—which was not entirely surprising, because in January, 1923, M. Poincaré was a million times more impossible than he had been twelve months before. At the short Paris Conference of January, 1923, Mr. Bonar Law, realising that France and Germany would not mix, accepted the fact, and came home. M. Poincaré rushed into the Ruhr and the whole work of European pacification was torpedoed. In the summer of that year Lord Curzon launched into a bitter quarrel with France, and in the autumn Mr. Baldwin tried by one afternoon's work to recapture the psychological entente. He failed. Then in 1924 came Mr. MacDonald who, in more favouring circumstances than those of Mr. Lloyd George—for, among other lucky events, M. Poincaré gave way to M. Herriot—had the satisfaction of real achievement, as a result of which, for the first time since the Armistice, France, Germany, and Great Britain were brought harmoni-

ously together. Mr. MacDonald was turned out of office before he had completed the work; but he left a clear path for Mr. Chamberlain.

Unfortunately, Western Europe slipped back into the condition which was analysed at the beginning of this article. Whether or not Mr. Chamberlain be regarded as responsible for that retrogression, no criticism can be made on the thoroughness with which he examined the resultant situation. The Government came to certain conclusions, which constituted Mr. Chamberlain's equipment when he left London for Paris and Geneva on March 6th. They may be summarised as follows.

The League of Nations could not, in their view, be relied on as an effective instrument for pacifying Europe and guaranteeing her security. It had done good work as a clearing house for international disputes, and in certain minor disputes had averted serious trouble; but it had not yet acquired, and probably would not for many years acquire, the authority necessary for the restraining of any Great Power which regarded its interests at stake in given circumstances. Witness the Corfu incident of the autumn of 1923. Therefore Geneva could not be expected to provide for European security, no matter what the machinery it employed. The Protocol must therefore be killed.

What was Mr. Chamberlain's alternative? Certain premises were clearly fixed. Russia was for the moment out of the picture; France had to be given sooner or later the sense of security which she lacked if her diplomacy was to become constructive; Germany might reasonably be expected sooner or later to attempt a readjustment of the settlement on her Eastern frontier by destroying the Polish corridor and reclaiming the lost portion of Upper Silesia.

The British Government examined the problem on the criterion of British interests. Two main schools of thought emerged. One was the so-called "isolationist" school, the other what may be called the European school. The latter argued that in present conditions, any attempt at isolation, even if it were possible, would expose Great Britain to certain dangers and could be made effective only at the price of Great Britain's influence abroad, but that in any case it is not possible, for the developments in aeronautics have, according to most military experts, reduced the Channel to a ditch. Both schools agreed in ruling out the Geneva Protocol. It was inadvisable, they thought, to commit Great Britain and the Dominions to responsibilities which would not be approved by the Dominions and which could not be accepted by the Admiralty, War Office and Air Ministry as essential to Imperial Defence. According to current political gossip Mr. Chamberlain

was said to belong to the second or European school of thought, although at the time of writing no decision appears to have been taken by the Cabinet.

A WESTERN EUROPEAN PACT.

The Government had not as yet thought the matter out fully, but was working on the hypothesis that the first essential object was to restore confidence and security to Europe and to that end it would be best perhaps to make restricted and special commitments, as, for instance, a Western European pact, on the execution of which both France and Germany could rely. Having hit on the idea of a Western pact, the Government proceeded to examine how far it might serve the purpose of British defence, which *ex hypothesi* was the ultimate object. One argument was that it was necessary for the defence of Great Britain that no single Power should ever be in a position to occupy or to dominate all the Channel and the North Sea ports, that therefore the hostility of France or Belgium in the first place and of Holland, Germany and Denmark in the second place, should be avoided; further, that no third Power at war with France or Belgium should ever be in a position either to invade French or Belgian territories and to seize their ports or occupy enough of those territories to serve as an air base against England. Therefore, concluded that argument, it is a requisite of English security that an understanding be reached with France and Belgium such as would make it impossible for any third Power to invade their territories.

The argument continued that, given the necessity of a guarantee for France and Belgium, such a guarantee could be made to serve the general purpose of European security. It would bring with it certain political advantages. The whole of Europe would know what to expect; the mistake of 1914, when Great Britain refrained from declaring her policy till it was too late, would be avoided, and by the same token, knowing that, if France were invaded, Great Britain would fight, Germany would be the more likely to refrain from invading France. The effect on France would be to induce her to abandon her present anti-German policy, which is due to fear of Germany; to agree willingly to an evacuation of the Rhinelands; to stop arming the Eastern European nations; to turn her attention to financial reform and the payment of debts. The small European countries would realise that they could henceforth devote their whole energies to peaceful ends. The basis of security, thus established, could be extended, and first Germany, then Italy, then Czechoslovakia and Poland could be drawn into the guarantee pact. Then, and not till then, there would be a chance of revising by common consent some of

the Versailles injustices, particularly those of the Polish corridor and the partition of Upper Silesia. The concert of Europe (with Russia excluded) would thus be assured, French fears would be allayed and Great Britain would as an ally have an influence over France which now she lacks.

THE GERMAN OFFER OF A PACT.

That was the position reached by the beginning of March, that is, on the eve of Mr. Chamberlain's new journey abroad. He was presumably fortified by a communication which had been made to him by the German Ambassador in London at the end of January. It was a proposal from the German Government which has been kept secret, but of which the main lines are known. It amounted to a German offer to enter into a pact with France, Belgium and Great Britain to guarantee the *status quo* in the West of Europe, it being at the same time made clear that no Western pact would be countenanced to which Germany was not a party. The offer to guarantee the Western frontiers was made conditional on a French abandonment of the objections raised at the time of Dr. Cuno's pact proposal of 1923. Those objections were that any security pact must apply equally to the Eastern and to the Western frontiers of Germany. They had been maintained by France ever since. The advance made in the German proposal of January of this year was to offer not to attempt any revision of the Polish clauses of the Treaty of Versailles by military means, but to try first a direct understanding with Poland and in case of failure to submit the dispute to peaceful arbitration, preferably to arbitration set up by the League of Nations.

That proposal was important. It suited the British purpose admirably. The question was: would France agree?

PARIS AND GENEVA.

Mr. Chamberlain left London on March 6th *en route* to Paris. On the 7th he had his conversations with M. Herriot and proceeded to Geneva, where the League Council was to begin its session on the 9th. It was clear that Mr. Chamberlain's main object on the 7th was to find out from M. Herriot whether France would agree to the differentiation between the problem of Western Europe and that of Eastern Europe, a differentiation which was common ground between German and British policy. The German Ambassador had been told by M. Herriot, before Mr. Chamberlain reached Paris, that the French Government regarded the German proposal (which had been communicated to Paris, Brussels and Rome as well as to London) as a possible basis of discussion. The prospect therefore seemed hopeful.

On the eve of Mr. Chamberlain's arrival in Paris Count Skrzynski, the Polish Foreign Minister, arrived in Paris, a stormy petrel, fed on French food and demanding further sustenance. It was as well that the facts should be faced; for it is clear that Poland will have to be considered. It is a fact in diplomacy, as in every-day life, that the principle of compromise generally operates; and one of its incidental results is that the disgorging of ill-gotten gains is generally rewarded in other ways. If France had not bound up her prestige with Polish prestige, if she had not lent large sums to Poland, if she held the same view about the payment of debts owed to her as she holds about the debt she owes to Great Britain—if any of these "ifs" were facts, then Poland would simply have to accept the verdict of justice and restore to Germany what rightly belongs to Germany. She would be a stronger Poland, if reduced to national solidity, than she is in her present distended condition, undermined by foreign and hostile elements within, and surrounded by enemies without. But the fact of the Franco-Polish alliance makes it expedient to produce some opportunist *quid pro quo* for Poland. What can it be? The half-hearted acquiescence of the British Government in the Polish acquisition of Lithuanian territory, including the Lithuanian capital, Vilna, was due to opportunism. Vilna is a serious weakness to Poland. Would it not be possible to encompass German, French, British and Polish agreement to an arrangement whereby the Western European pact, with Germany as a partner, be extended to include Poland, on the express understanding that the present Polish-German frontiers were to be safe-guarded until such time, say ten years hence, as Germany can pay a substantial compensation in cash to Poland for the return to Germany of the present Polish corridor and the present Polish part of Upper Silesia? Poland, even with her reconstructed finances, can hardly despise money. There is no more reason in equity why Germany should buy back her own territory than Lithuania should buy back Vilna: but if money will serve, is it not worth the price? Lithuania is solvent, with a currency which holds its exchange against the dollar. Germany is potentially rich. If Poland gave up the corridor, Upper Silesia and Vilna, and abandoned her unwise claims in Danzig—claims, which, as manifested in the monstrous affair of the pillar boxes, came before the March meeting of the League Council—and if in return she were given substantial sums which could be used for internal improvements, the gain would be entirely hers. She would have gained money on the one hand, and national security on the other. The German payment might perhaps take the form of a German payment to France of the Polish debt to France—

an arrangement which might make it more generally agreeable. Moreover, at a time when Germany is capturing some British trade, there might be no objection from the British point of view to the payment of a German indemnity, direct or indirect, to Poland.

I have attempted above to sketch the essential points in the whole problem of European security as developed since the war and as now presented to Europe. That problem will be the outstanding business of the diplomatists this year.

GENEVA AND THE PROTOCOL.

So far as the record of events goes, it only remains to be added that Mr. Chamberlain duly appeared before the Geneva Council on March 12th and made his funeral oration over the Geneva Protocol. He delivered some 4,000 words explaining why Great Britain could not accept the Protocol. His arguments cannot be summarised here, but the speech has been published in full for those who want to read it. Its importance, so far as its actual argument was concerned, was slight. So far as its effect, its simple rejection of the Protocol by Great Britain, was concerned, it was, to use Mr. Chamberlain's epithets of another occasion, "of immense, of overwhelming importance."

In a few sentences at the end of his statement he just glanced at the alternative to the Protocol which the British, as yet vaguely, contemplated. He said: "His Majesty's Government conclude that the best way of dealing with the situation is, with the co-operation of the League, to supplement the Covenant by making special arrangements in order to meet special needs. That these arrangements should be purely defensive in character, that they should be framed in the spirit of the Covenant, working in close harmony with the League and under its guidance, is manifest. And in the opinion of His Majesty's Government these objects can best be attained by knitting together the nations most immediately concerned, and whose differences might lead to a renewal of strife by means of treaties framed with the sole object of maintaining, as between themselves, an unbroken peace. Within its limits no quicker remedy for our present ills can easily be found, nor any surer safeguard against future calamities."

Tactically the effect of Mr. Chamberlain's speech was bad. M. Briand and Dr. Benesh at once assumed the rôle of disappointed idealists and drove home the contrast with Great Britain's desertion from a League scheme for disarmament, arbitration, peace, etc. Mr. Chamberlain, on March 13th, therefore made a supplementary statement designed to checkmate the propaganda which immediately started and of which the object was to place Great

Britain in a bad light. He said that he wished to repeat the statement in which he had proclaimed the British Government's attachment to the principles of arbitration and disarmament and its keen anxiety to contribute to the peace and security of the world. He added that the British Government had rejected the Protocol only because the Covenant, in present circumstances, was the better instrument of the two for the purpose of the League, and that Great Britain wholeheartedly stood by the Covenant—a statement which certainly undermined a good deal of the anti-British propaganda.

The Council formally decided to refer back the question of the Protocol to the next meeting of the Assembly, which is the proper body to bury it. Dr. Benesh proposed, and it was unanimously decided by the Council, that the Protocol should be included in the agenda of the next Assembly. There for the moment the matter rested. Mr. Chamberlain had taken the first big step of his career as Foreign Minister. It remained for the Government's general lines of policy, as interpreted in considerable detail in the preceding pages, to be carried through to practical achievement.

PRESIDENT MASARYK.

President Masaryk reached his seventy-fifth birthday on March 7th amid world-wide congratulations. The world we have lived in since 1914 has given little satisfaction to those of us who long for pleasant subjects to write about. The name of President Masaryk is an oasis in this post-war desert.

He was largely responsible for the creation of the Czechoslovak Republic of which he is the first President. The problem which that Republic has had to face since 1919 has been a severe test of courage and statesmanship. If the President of Czechoslovakia had not been Dr. Masaryk during these critical years, Europe would now present an even worse picture than she now presents. British opinion has criticised Czechoslovakia for her inevitable reliance on France, has at times received unsympathetically the efforts of Czechoslovakia to bridge the broken down Franco-British Entente: but the name of Masaryk is universally respected in this country. It is a tribute also to the commonsense of the Czechoslovak people that they have honoured the prophet in his own country. There were three great statesmen thrown up by the war—President Wilson, Mr. Venizelos and Dr. Masaryk. The American people and the Greek people threw out their great men. Czechoslovakia has had the sense to count her blessings.

President Masaryk's son, Mr. Ion Masaryk, will shortly come to London as Czechoslovak Minister in succession to Mr. Mastny, who will go to the corresponding post in Rome. The arrival of Mr. Ion Masaryk in London will in some ways strike a new note

in diplomatic representation. He is a young man of thirty-eight, always full of high spirits, with a rollicking sense of fun, liked wherever he goes, possessing great knowledge of Europe and of Great Britain. He speaks English fluently, although with a slight American accent. At present he is in India, where he is spending his honeymoon, having married a daughter of Mr. Crane, the New York millionaire, two months ago. Mr. Masaryk stands well over six feet high, is athletic and handsome. One of his most attractive characteristics is a boyish frankness, a gift for sympathy and a reliance on common sense rather than on cold diplomatic argument. In conversation he always gives the impression of enjoying debating points made against his country—a form of humour which few ambassadors possess, but which is probably the most effective diplomatic weapon.

THE OPIUM CONVENTIONS.

The story of the Geneva Opium Conventions was carried in these pages last month to the deadlock which preceded the winding up.

On February 7th, after the withdrawal of the American and Chinese delegations, Lord Cecil made a short but important statement to the Conference which deserves to be placed on record. He began by answering Mr. Porter's assumption that the Second Opium Conference had been called to give effect to the American proposals. He quoted the resolution of the Fourth Assembly of the League, the effect of which was that the chief object of the conference was to discover means of arresting the traffic in narcotic drugs. The Americans had alleged two reasons why it was impossible to accomplish the purpose of the conference. The first was that the Powers in whose possessions opium smoking was temporarily permitted had refused, with the exception of Japan, to reduce the consumption of opium smoking unless the producing nations agreed to reduce production and to prevent smuggling. No such refusal, said Lord Cecil, had been made. The countries concerned were energetically attempting to abolish opium smoking in their territories, but their efforts were nullified by the contraband traffic, the immense extent of which it was impossible to deny. What the countries concerned refused to do was to sign a paper prohibition which must be ineffective until the smuggling was stopped. That point of view was supported by the best expert opinion, as, for instance, that of Sir John Jordan. Nevertheless, the countries concerned were ready to supplement the nebulous obligations of the Hague Convention by undertaking to suppress opium smoking within fifteen years from the date when over-production and the contraband trade no longer formed an obstacle

to such suppression. The date when the fifteen years should start was to be left for an impartial authority to decide. In the meantime the countries concerned would continue their efforts to bring opium smoking to an end. Mr. Porter's second reason was that without control over the production of raw opium and coca leaves, it was impossible, owing to the ease of smuggling, to control the drug traffic effectively. But it was impossible, at present, to control the output of coca leaves, which grow wild in South America and in Java.

Thus Lord Cecil. The International Drug Convention was passed by the Second Opium Conference, after the American withdrawal, on February 18th and signed on February 19th. The work, such as it was, was thereby finished. One of the final ironies was that, owing to the withdrawal of Mr. Porter and his delegation, it was left to the British delegation to advocate the case for drug control singlehanded, although it was precisely that part of the work in which America was most interested. After February 6th, the date of the American withdrawal, the work proceeded on the lines originally laid down, with the result that the First Convention, drawn up by the First Conference and dealing with the restriction and control of opium-smoking on the lines laid down by the Hague Convention of 1912, was signed on February 10th. It was signed by all the countries within whose territories and possessions opium smoking is still temporarily allowed by the provisions of the Hague Convention, with the exception of China and Russia. The Second Convention, signed on February 19th, dealt with the thornier problem of controlling the traffic in drugs, and the discussions leading up to it were taken part in by forty-one nations, including the United States and Germany. Russia refused to take part.

GEORGE GLASGOW.

LITERARY SUPPLEMENT.

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KING EDWARD VII.*

So much has been written in every newspaper in almost every land on the first volume of Sir Sidney Lee's admirable life of King Edward VII that there is little left to say, nor, indeed, much need for comment on a book with which practically every English speaking person is familiar, directly or indirectly. This volume tells the story in just detail and perspective of the life of King Edward whilst he was Prince of Wales. Sir Sidney has been accused by some critics of slurring over what may be called the frivolous and lighter side of the King's life. Great injustice has been done to the biographer and to the late King by this criticism. The two so-called outstanding scandals were the Mordaunt case in 1870, in which the Prince gave evidence, and the Tranby Croft case in 1891. In each case the Prince frankly faced the ordeal of the witness box and absolutely cleared himself of the cruel charges made against him. In 1870 he was aged 28, and after the case he wrote to the Queen: "I trust that by what I have said to-day the public at large will be satisfied that the gross imputations which have been so wantonly cast upon me are now cleared up." Mr. Gladstone, a fearless critic of morals, was absolutely satisfied. No doubt the Prince, both by reason of popularity, of his singular gift

* *King Edward VII: A Biography*. By Sir Sidney Lee. Vol. I: from Birth to Accession, November 9th, 1841, to January 22nd, 1901. (Macmillan. 31s. 6d. net.)

for friendship in all classes of society and his frank love of brightness and pleasure, laid himself open to the gossip and the spitefulness of those who enjoy to find flaws in other people's characters, and no doubt in days between 1870 and 1872, when a temporary republican movement in England was in vogue, those who disliked the monarchy were glad to find in the Prince someone whom they could attack without fear of reply. But the Prince's faults were largely due to his love of social intercourse—an intercourse that covered every form of social life from the gravest to the cheeriest—and to the very loyalties of his nature. An instance of his unwisdom in this latter respect was his famous letter to the ex-Empress Eugénie and his efforts to secure the release of the captured French General, the Marquis de Gallifet. The ex-Empress refused his offer of a house and the Germans refused to release the General. The Prince's reply to English criticism, and especially the criticism of his own circle was, "when one's friends are down on their luck one would wish to help them if one can."

The unpleasant Tranby Croft affair involved the charge of gambling. The Prince was playing baccarat for low stakes, and one of the players was charged with cheating. The case eventually came into court and the Prince gave evidence. A popular outcry followed. The Prince "resented the allegation that the affair at Tranby Croft reflected his habitual practice." He did not resent criticism but he resented criticism that was not based on facts. In a private letter to Dr. Benson, he wrote:

I have a horror of gambling, and should always do my utmost to discourage others who have an inclination for it, as I consider that gambling, like intemperance, is one of the greatest curses which a country could be afflicted with. Horse racing may produce gambling, or it may not, but I have always looked upon it as a manly sport which is popular with Englishmen of all classes; and there is no reason why it should be looked upon as a gambling transaction. Alas! those who gamble will gamble at anything.

That was the Prince's point of view. He liked cards as he liked every form of amusement, but he never supposed that he was gambling if he played for low stakes.

So much for the late King's love of social pleasures. He had no doubt the defects of his qualities, but we have also to remember that hardly any great public man, even a man as austere and deeply religious as Mr. Gladstone, escapes reckless and cruel charges.

The qualities of the late King are of more importance than the defects of the qualities. He had a social instinct that revealed itself in earnest, honest endeavours for the betterment of the British people. Had he had his own way it is not at all improbable that the Irish troubles would have been avoided. But he was not

allowed to reside and find definite employment in Ireland. The record of his public social work is overwhelming to any ordinary man, and behind it was love of doing good. Despite the Queen's persistent opposition to any proposal that would give the Prince regular official employment he worked quietly, steadily on at any task of social help or amelioration of an unofficial character that came within his reach, and all the while he was in touch with every continental movement and line of thought. He knew the British Empire well. He as a boy of eighteen made a great impression in Canada, and not less important was the mark that he made in India in 1875-1876. Soon after his return from India in Lord Beaconsfield's last Administration, he began to press forward his services as a social reformer. He urged the Prime Minister, at the end of 1878, to appoint a non-party committee to deal with industrial depression and offered his services. In 1879 he associated himself with the effort to improve the water supply of the nation and summoned a conference to investigate the position. It was not until he became king that his ideals for London were carried into effect. A small point of social polity he took was direct action in the House of Lords in favour of the abolition of the prohibition of marriage with a deceased wife's sister. He pressed Mr. Gladstone to place a woman, Miss Octavia Hill, on the Royal Commission of 1884 on the Housing of the Working Classes. Mr. Gladstone felt unable to create a precedent. Again on a point of precedence submitted to his arbitration in respect to this Royal Commission, his width of mind and tolerance comes out. He decided that Cardinal Manning should sit as a "Prince" of his Church and therefore immediately after himself. It was in connection with this Commission that the Prince delivered his only full speech as a member of the House of Lords. He described a recent visit which he had made to "two of the poorest courts and districts in St. Pancras and in Holborn, where I can assure your lordships that the condition of the poor, or rather of their dwellings, was perfectly disgraceful." In May, 1885, the Prince signed the Commission's first report upon dealing with housing conditions in England and Wales. Those who desire to recall the records of the Prince's social services and of his indirect foreign services will find them all in Sir Sidney Lee's careful and critical book. Certainly few public servants have worked as hard as the Prince whom some people pretended to think had a sinecure.

But why did he work in this way? Well, it was the only way that it was possible for him to work in view of the attitude of Queen Victoria. She meant well, and, to be frank, did ill. It was not until 1896 when the Queen had nearly completed her sixty-first year of rule that by a sort of accident the Prince presided at the

Privy Council table in the absence of his mother abroad. "It was thus at the mature age of fifty-seven that he enjoyed his sole experience of serving in an affair of State as the sovereign's legally appointed deputy."

The fact is astonishing and shows the extraordinary tenacity of the Queen in perhaps its worst light. She also had the defects of her qualities. It is, perhaps, usual to attribute this setting aside of the Prince of Wales to a logical consequence of the system of education that the Prince Consort and Baron Stockmar imposed upon the Prince as a boy and as a young man, but it was really nothing of the sort. The strict education and the isolation that befell the Prince in his early years have been a good deal laughed at in the reviews of this book, and certainly Sir Sidney Lee does not approve of the educational method. Yet there was a great deal to be said for it, more to be said for it than critics think. No doubt a more elastic system of education might have made the Prince a little different to what he became. As Lord Melbourne said, education "may mould and direct the character but it rarely alters it." The stern training given to the Prince certainly did not alter his vivacious, kindly, happy character, but it is very possible to think that it moulded it and directed it. Disraeli, in 1858, declared that the prince was "intelligent, informed and of a singular sweet manner." The letter that the Queen and the Prince Consort wrote to him at the opening of his eighteenth year on his duties to God and his neighbour brought "floods of tears" to the boy's eyes as he read them. That he feared his father and mother was true, but that he loved them and obeyed them is also true; and there is much to be said for the opinion that the stern education that King Edward VII had as a child contributed much to the growth of the desire to help others which was a mainspring of his character. This able book brings out all that is essential in a life that was, when all is said and done, a life of effort and of helpfulness.

* * *

EARLY ENGLISH PROSE AND VERSE.*

Mr. Sampson has compiled an excellent anthology of early English prose and verse from the dim beginnings to the cycles of Romance, the volume being intended as a companion to the first volume of the *Cambridge History of English Literature*. The new venture fills a much needed gap. A history of literature re-

* *The Cambridge Book of Prose and Verse: In Illustration of English Literature from the beginnings to the Cycles of Romance.* Edited by George Sampson. (Cambridge: At the University Press. 10s. 6d. net.)

quires full illustration if it is to be something more than a cram-book or a book for occasional reference. Mr. Sampson drily remarks: "Examinations in English being what they are, it is still possible to find a candidate at a University examination attempting to write about (say) *The Mirror for Magistrates*, without knowing whether it is a play, a poem, a prose work or a collection." But this anthology is not merely, or even especially, for the student. Mr. Sampson has sound regard for the purpose and the intention of, at any rate, most literature, the enjoyment or the satisfaction or the craving of the reader or listener. "With the English *babu* who takes all literature for his province I am not at the moment concerned. English literature belongs not to the examinee but to every man. There is no reason why the ordinary reader should not enjoy Middle English lyrics as he enjoys Burns or Barnes." Mr. Sampson, with his running glosses and his collection of translations of selections of the great Anglo-Saxon literature, throws open the gates of these noble gardens of literature to "every man." Moreover, his glosses have a saving sense of humour which is not usually associated with the purveyors of Middle English.

The volume opens with Professor R. W. Chambers' noble translation of the seventh century *Widsith*. The end of the translation must be quoted because the seventh century singer seems to foresee the world-wide literature of which he was the immortal forerunner:

So are the singers of men destined to go wandering throughout many lands; they tell their need, they speak the word of thanks: south or north they ever meet with one, skilled in songs, bounteous in gifts, who desires to exalt his fame before his chieftains—to do deeds of honour: till all departeth, life and light together: he gaineth glory, and hath, under the heavens, an honour which passeth not away.

The melancholy note of the early Anglo-Saxon poems such as *The Wanderer*, the lordless man, is not the only note. As Mr. Sampson says, the earliest literature that survives is not primitive. "The writers of *Beowulf* and *The Wanderer* knew what they wanted to say and how to say it. They were not struggling after expression . . . *Beowulf* narrates epically the deeds of primitive heroes, but the poem itself is no more primitive than the *Iliad*." Mr. Sampson says that "there is no British literature," but this saying is perhaps a little dogmatic. The Runic Poem which he prints is certainly Celtic, and the Runic remains are not limited to this poem by any means. Moreover, Welsh literature, though the manuscripts are late, contain echoes, and probably a good deal more than echoes, of a substantial literature which

may well far precede the coming of the Jutes and Angles into Britain, or even the coming of the Romans. Early Celtic literature has as much right to consideration as early Old English or mediæval Latin written in England. Mr. Sampson notes that though Britain was part of the Roman Empire for four centuries "there remains not a trace of any literary activity here in the period that gave Apuleius and Augustine to Africa, Ammianus to Antioch, Ausonius to France, and Quintillian to Spain." But is this quite true? Even if we cannot claim Caius Cæsar as a British author, yet there was a British heresy that gave rise to something like literature almost immediately after the departure of the Romans. Bede wrote in Latin as his vernacular. Moreover, Nennius contains Latin intrusions, some of which may be very early, and it is impossible to forget St. Patrick and other ecclesiastical writers of the Celtic world to whom Latin was a living tongue. The direct Roman influence never died, and it was possibly Ausonius himself who organised schools in Britain before the end of the fourth century.

There was, as Mr. Sampson shows, a very substantial Latin literature in England from the days of Gildas to that of Alcuin. But a special Teutonic offshoot of the Aryan tongue, though destined to be eventually modified by Latin and the Celtic and Romance tongues, became the literary vehicle of England. The old English Christian poetry, magnificent in its literary completeness, and the influence of Alfred were responsible for this. The noble but not very elastic Old English from the time of the Conquest was gradually revitalised by Latin and French influence—it must be remembered that from the end of the eleventh century till the Black Death Anglo-Norman was the tongue spoken in the grammar schools and the universities—and so comparatively swift was the process that in something like two hundred years we pass from the first English as represented by the famous quatrain known as *Canute Song* to the almost modern English of Gower and Chaucer. It is worth while quoting again *Canute Song* as showing how crude it is, especially as with this brief poem Mr. Sampson begins "the regular quotation of passages in their original English":

Merie sunge muneces binnen Ely,
Tha Cnut Chyning reu ther by;
Roweth, cnihtes, noer the land,
And here we thes muneces sang.

The early transition English is bountifully illustrated in both prose and verse, and will be found with a little patience quite readable and in some cases readable with a sense of great enjoy-

ment. Thomas de Hales' poem *Luwe Ron* is exquisite. It begins:

Hwer is Paris and Heleyne
That weren so bryht and feyre on bleo,
Amadas, Tristram and Dideyne,
Yseude and allë theo.

[“en bleo” is “in face,” and “theo” is “they.”]

Another poem of 1275 (*Ubi sunt qui ante nos fuerunt?*) gives some exquisite lines. The righteous are in Heaven:

There-inne is day with-outen night,
With-outen ende, strenkthe and might,
And wreche of everich fo;
Mid God him-selven eche lif,
And pes and rest withoute strif,
Wele with-outen wo.

That is not hard to read and yet it is a century before Chaucer.

Next Mr. Sampson takes the reader to the early documents on the Arthurian Legend, passages of extraordinary virility of phrase. The *Mabinogion* is famous, and the Welsh and Celtic influence on English literature is well brought out by the Welsh material gathered here. Mr. Sampson regards Geoffrey of Monmouth as "the real father of the Arthurian legend." He certainly made Arthur and Merlin "the romantic property of all literary Europe," but it is beyond reasonable surmise that he worked from earlier Welsh material. The view that he invented most of his material can hardly be accepted to-day when writers such as Geoffrey are found, as the result of what may be called scientific analysis of their material, to have far more historical significance than was formerly thought. To some minds the mediæval form of the legend is more alive than either the Elizabethan or the Victorian.

We are next taken to the metrical romances written between the years 1200 and 1500, and so to the later transition English legendaries and chronicles. This section opens with a passage from Robert of Gloucester. The poetic value of this writer is too little recognised and the passages containing the account of the battle of Evesham should be studied, though there are passages of far more striking character from the point of view of pure poetry. This useful volume closes with a full and valuable selection of songs and satires in later transition English. Some of these songs are beautiful indeed, and foretell the lyric triumphs of the English tongue.

RUSSIAN POETRY.*

Though comparatively few English people will be able to read Russian verse in the beautiful Russian script exquisitely printed by the Clarendon Press, yet the venture of faith will be justified, for Russian is a tongue that is slowly becoming familiar in this country and must of necessity become more familiar when trade between the two countries becomes a daily reality. The Russian text can wait for readers, and meantime all can read Mr. Maurice Baring's admirable introduction.

Russian poetry, though its seeds belong to immemorial folk poetry, is a creation of the last century. It is true that there was an early age of culture when the Normans pushed down the rivers of Russia from the north, and building strongholds and founding cities on their way, finally made Kiev, on the Dnieper, their centre of government and humanism. But many religious dissensions and the coming of the Tartars in the thirteenth century cut the vast area which we call Russia off from Western and Southern Europe. The south was abandoned, Poland fell away, Moscow took the place of Kiev, and literary growth became impossible. Slowly the wall of impassibility of ideas, however, was broken down, and various men of genius strove to reintroduce the humanism of the South and West. Michael Lomonosov, who died in 1765, showed the literary possibilities of the Russian tongue after Prince Kantemir had proved that under French influence some literary music was possible. Peasant verse in Russia retained echoes of the Greek modes and, perhaps, for that reason "when national poetry blossomed in Russia at the beginning of the nineteenth century, it revealed certain qualities and characteristics of its own which are different from what we find in the verse of other European nations, but in some respects singularly like the qualities which are peculiar to the verse of ancient Greece."

In this new poetry national realism abounds.

"It is based on and saturated with sound common sense, with a curious matter of fact quality . . . What the Russian poets did, and what they did in a manner which gives them a unique place in the history of the world's literature, was to extract poetry from the daily life they saw around them, and to express it in forms of incomparable beauty. Russian poetry, like the Russian temperament, is plastic. Plasticity, adaptability, comprehensiveness, are the great qualities of Pushkin. His verse is 'simple, sensuous, and impassioned'; there is nothing indistinct about it, no vague outline and no blurred detail; it is perfectly balanced, and it is this sense of balance and proportion blent with a rooted common sense, which reminds the reader of Greek art when he reads Pushkin, and gives us the impression that the poet is a classic, however much he may have employed the stock-in-trade of Romanticism."

* *The Oxford Book of Russian Verse*. Chosen by the Hon. Maurice Baring. (Oxford: At the Clarendon Press. 8s. 6d. net.)

Mr. Baring tells us of Krylov, who died in 1849, the master of folk songs who knew how to give them the turn that La Fontaine might have given. He prepared the way with Zhukovsky who did something to popularise English and German poetry. Then came Pushkin, the greatest of Russian poets. He was succeeded by the brilliant and romantic Lermontov, who was killed in a duel in 1841. We meet Tyutchev, who died in 1873, the greatest poet of his day in Russia, a Parnassian in a sense, Nekvasov (1821-1877) the people's poet, Maikov, Fet, Polonsky and Count Alexis Tolstoy. Russian poetry has not been killed by the revolution. It will grow and will mean everything to a people who have great spiritual gifts which will in time overcome their great and apparently endless sorrows.

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SOMERSET EPITAPHS.*

Mr. H. S. Macmillan's volume of Somerset Epitaphs is of substantial antiquarian value and full of general interest. In it he has attempted "to preserve and to put into some kind of order a fairly comprehensive collection of that particular section of Somerset Epitaphs in which one of the principal features is a direct reference to the relationship of the dead person to the mourners who inscribed his monument of stone." It is curious to note in a certain number of cases an absence of hope or belief in a future life. For instance, a High Ham epitaph of 1787 says:

Mouldering to Dust, here lies a husband dear,
A tender Father and a Friend sincere.

and again in 1827 at Swainswick:—

I am come to thee my dearest joy
To help furnish this bed of clay.

The majority, however, refer in various ways to an after life, such as the following lines from Dulverton (1881):

Farewell my wife and child dear,
Weep not for me in vain,
For when the trumpet it do sound,
We all shall meet again.

or from East Harptree (1795):—

To heaven I hope my wife is gone,
In time to her I hope to come,
In love we liv'd, in peace she dide,
Life was desir'd, but God denide.

Perhaps some of the most interesting are those which give char-

* *The Somerset Folk Series*. Number 18. *Somerset Epitaphs (First Series)*. "Relations." By A. S. Macmillan. (Folk Press Limited, 15, Ranelagh Road, S.W.1. 2s. net.)

acter-pictures of the dead, many of them awakening vivid visions of their various personalities, such as the following lines from Burnham (1783):

Meek was her temper,
Modest was her life,
A kind companion,
And a virtuous wife.

or from Butleigh (1851):—

Honour and truth lie buried here,
A neighbour and a friend sincere,
Mother more kind or tender-hearted
Ne'er from this vale of woe departed.

In others the reader feels that the lines have a deeper meaning, portraying a pathetic insight into the hardships and sorrows of daily life, combined with unconscious incongruity. An epitaph from North Cadbury illustrates the phase:

Oh! husband dear weep not for me
Tho suddenly we parted be,
Our children (twelve) I've left behind,
In hope a better place to find.

or from Curry Rivel (1743):—

Worn out by sickness and disease,
Heres one laid down to take his ease;
A faithful friend, a husband dear,
A tender father lieth here.

The majority of them are not poetry, but here and there we find a tiny poem almost perfect in expression and tone. Thus "the following verse which appears in the Church at Baltonsborough, on William Martin, who died in 1638, and his wife Elizabeth, who died in 1652, contain in the third line a play upon the name of the dead man, which may be taken as an example of the puns which were so frequently introduced into epitaphs about 300 years ago." The first four lines are worthy of Herrick:

Would you know whom this tombe covers,
'Tis the non parell of lovers.
It's a sweet-william sweeter far
Then the flowers that so stil'd ar,
And Elizabeth, his dear wife
Both expecting a beautifying life.

It is to be noted that there are common forms, how provided is a by-path of literary history, which individual mourners still vary and have varied for centuries, to meet their particular grief and hope. On the whole the earliest epitaphs are the best. They all reflect indeed in some sort of fashion the phases of literary history. Mr. Macmillan has visited every churchyard, except those in the city of Bath, and regrets that the work was not undertaken earlier, since as far back as 1885 the nineteenth century work of desecra-

tion and destruction had reached a stage of definite loss. The early seventeenth century epitaphs are comparatively rare, but they show something of the sense of poesy which was a feature of that age. The following example illustrates this point. It is crude but full of what is the poetic spirit.

Here under buried lyeth, but lives above,
A female Joseph for her father's love;
Loving and loved of her beloved mate,
His care-away, and stay unto his state;
Whom winter's chill that all things elce decaies
Nipt off before the autumn of her daies;
Seven buddes she left behind, her fruits of grace
Are with her gon unto the heavenly place,
Where we which now do part with grief, with joy shall meet
When God shall raise up us, and tread death under feet.

That was written in 1628. The description of a wife "His care-away, and stay unto his state" might have been written by Shakespeare, then dead only twelve years. Mr. Macmillan has done excellent work and his careful survey should be repeated by himself or others in many counties.

* * *

THE ART OF LANDSCAPE PAINTING.*

Mr. Adrian Stokes has given of his best in this volume, neither grudgingly nor of necessity, but for the love of his art and the desire to help the student whether a beginner or one more advanced in his studies. Art demands a long apprenticeship, and the apprentice is never out of his indentures. Observation and a faithful following of nature are essential to the art of painting. No imagination, however vivid, can exceed the wealth of beauty that opens on every side to the true worshipper of nature; but eye and hand must be trained, and the author of this book has spared no pains, even to the smallest detail, to help the student in his task, both physically and mentally. There is the mechanical side to every art, be it music, sculpture, or painting, and it is only by patient and loving attention to the fundamental things that the artist can hope to reproduce the fleeting and elusive beauties of the world of nature and of atmosphere.

The history of art is written in the masterpieces of the great painters, whether past or present. Mr. Stokes illustrates his theme from them, and also from diagrams of his own. His manner and method of elucidating his subject is so excellent that even the beginner will easily assimilate his teaching, for it is lucid and in all stages interesting. The chapter on "Drawing and Composition"

* *Landscape Painting*. By Adrian Stokes, R.A. (Seeley, Service and Co. 15s. net.)

is especially good. The author quotes Sir Joshua Reynolds, who says, "Composition, which is the principal part of the invention of a painter, is by far the greatest difficulty he has to encounter. Every man that can paint at all can execute individual parts; but to keep these parts in due subordination as relative to a whole, requires a comprehensive view of the art that more strongly implies genius than perhaps any quality whatever." And again, "Invention is one of the great marks of genius; but, if we consult experience, we shall find that it is by being conversant with the inventions of others that we learn to invent, as, by reading the thoughts of others, we learn to think." Whistler says, in a lecture which all students should read, "Nature contains the elements, in colour and form, of all pictures, as the keyboard contains the notes of all music. But the artist is born to pick, and choose, and group with science, these elements, that the result may be beautiful—as the musician gathers his notes, and forms his chords, until he bring forth from chaos glorious harmony."

Colour is a most fascinating theme, and the student will do well to devote much attention and thought to it. Colour is part of the artist's natural environment. "Let there be light, and there was light," and the rainbow is the palette set, and from it man learns the law of colour, and the artist applies the law. To some it is a gift, or a sense, as much as music is to others. The harmony of nature is all one, but science steps in to help the gift by propounding the law, and the would-be artist must learn and digest, if he hopes to excel. In reading the lives of the great painters the student must note the incessant industry in the acquirement of their art, and in the practice of it. In the elder days they had to work out their own salvation both in study and in pigment. To-day the aids to art are manifold, as the publication of this treatise testifies. The reproduction here of many well known pictures should be of great value to the student, for they serve to illustrate the teaching of each branch of the painters' art with which Mr. Adrian Stokes deals in this valuable addition to art literature.

S. DE M.

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PUBLIC SOCIAL SERVICE.*

It is desirable to draw attention to what Mr. Whitley, the Speaker of the House of Commons, rightly calls "a very remarkable document." He goes on to say:

It ought to be on the desk of every important officer engaged in

* *Public Social Service: A Handbook of Information.* (The National Council of Social Service, 33, Bloomsbury Square. 2s.)

National or Local Government, and in the hands of every elected public servant and every voluntary social worker. Never before has there been within a single cover so complete a statement of the powers and responsibilities or of the rights and opportunities which go to make up the great code of our social service. Its accuracy is guaranteed by the fact that every paragraph has been passed by the Government Department concerned: the legislation of 1924 is brought into each appropriate chapter. Its scope is nothing less than the whole of our public provision for health, education, industry and employment—distress arising from unemployment or disease, old age or the disabilities of war all come within its field in orderly arrangement. Its possession will save time and worry without end to everyone who feels himself to be, in whatever degree, his brother's keeper.

The Speaker of the House of Commons has not in any sense overrated the value of this Handbook issued by the National Council of Social Service, of which he is the honoured president. The Council represents a vast range of activity. On it are representatives of no less than nineteen councils of local service, of great numbers of famous institutions, such as the Boy Scouts Association, the Girl Guides, the Y.W.C.A., the Y.M.C.A., Toc H, the Church Lads Brigade. The Dean of Canterbury represents the Church of England, the Rev. Leo O'Hea, the Roman Catholic Church, Dr. Scott Lidgett, the National Council of Evangelical Free Churches, the Rev J. F. Stern, the Hebrew Congregation (nominated by the Chief Rabbi). The Council also contains representatives of important educational organisations and representatives of no less than eight Government Departments. In a word, the National Council of Social Service is, in the highest and broadest sense, a national institution with as its object:

To bring into association the groups of men and women engaged in Social Service—nationally, by providing in the Council a meeting place for the representatives of Government Departments and voluntary bodies; locally, by promoting the formation of similar councils representing the statutory authorities and voluntary agencies at work in the locality.

The Council has crystallised into noble shape the fact, always recognised in the long history of social endeavour in England, that voluntary effort and State effort must go hand in hand. Legislation, however good and however well administered, cannot be effective (whether in education or in what we may call social preventive medicine) unless it is supplemented by enthusiastic voluntary service.

To-day the fact is as well recognised as ever in national education. The possible disappearance of the voluntary schools and the dual system will indeed let loose for even higher educational

effort those who have been concerned so long with the supply of education, permeated by true religious thought, to the nation. The voluntary schools may disappear if there is full security given by the State as to the provision of adequate religious instruction for all children, but the need for voluntary service will not disappear. Sunday schools, voluntary evening play centres, and care committees need development on every side, while adult education is primarily a matter for social service. This is only one example of the need and the demand for social service. The need and the demand cover the whole range of social life, though it is especially associated with the many forms and grades of education, the object of education being the supply of an outfit for life in the physical, moral, intellectual, and religious spheres as they intersect in every individual. But social service is in a great measure inefficient unless the worker is fully cognisant of the conditions of his service. Social affairs to-day are inextricably affected by State statutory intervention. The worker must know the law in the region of his work, not as a lawyer knows it perhaps, but as a working code from which he or she can give aid, advice, protection, and help. This Handbook provides that working code in matters relating to public health, and national health insurance, poor law and old age pensions, education, industry and employment, and the administration of justice, as well as full information as to war pensions.

There is one point as to education and employment to which special attention may be drawn. A very considerable number of children between the age of fourteen and fifteen are employed in casual occupations at very low wages, and are given work in the way of lifting and carrying that ought only to be performed by grown men. These little fellows are to be seen carrying half-sacks of coal up many flights of stairs, or staggering along under burdens of various kinds. Young boys are proud to get any paid work at all and fearlessly undertake tasks that mean curvature of the spine, rupture, and heart strain. Now this intolerable evil, which exists on a large scale, can be met in the case of a child at school by the application of sections 92 and 94 of the Education Act, 1921. The law has been on the Statute Book for nearly seven years, but apparently the child who is no longer at school and is engaged in casual injurious and dangerous occupation cannot be protected. By section 92 (2) of the Act of 1921, a child under the age of fourteen shall not be employed to "lift, carry or move anything so heavy as to be likely to cause injury to the child"; but the moment the child leaves school he can be, and very frequently is, so employed. Surely this is a case that the National Council of Social Service should deal with

at once by securing the introduction of a brief amending Bill raising the age referred to in section 92 (2) to sixteen or even eighteen. But the chief evil is the case of children under fifteen who are being shamelessly exploited by the small trader, and even by respectable tradesmen, at the present time.

SHORTER REVIEWS.

The eighth edition of Mr. W. E. Hall's admirable *Treatise on International Law*,* by Professor A. Pearce Higgins will be found to be a very useful work for all who are as students or as public servants engaged in the study or the application of the principles of the Law of Nations, since it brings necessary information as to international affairs up to August, 1924. The last edition from the hand of Mr. Hall was the fourth, published in 1895, and that edition is still greatly valued, but thirty years have passed since then, and many wars—the Spanish-American, the South African, the Balkan and the Great War of 1914-18—have shown ranges of development in international law which Mr. J. B. Atlay, in the fifth and sixth editions, and Professor Higgins in the seventh and eighth, have striven to grasp along the lines that Mr. Hall would have approved, though Professor Higgins differs at times from the views of his author. Moreover, since Mr. Hall's day the Hague Conferences of 1899 and 1907 and the Treaty of Versailles of 1919 have introduced new features, and perhaps new ideals, into the Law of Nations. The principles of arbitration, the establishment of a Permanent Court of International Justice and the formation of a League of Nations hold out a hope to the world that was perhaps beyond the dreams of jurists in the comparatively peaceful days of the early nineties. A quarter of a century of almost ceaseless war has emphasised the need of limiting the reference of disputes to the bloody arbitrament of arms. Professor Higgins points out that the introduction of the Mandatory system and the general acceptance of the principle of the protection of Minorities in a nation "are evidence of attempts to apply principles of justice to large numbers of the human race who at one time were helpless in the face of oppression." The editor has added two chapters dealing with the League of Nations and has dealt at considerable length with new developments. All new matter is very properly indicated by square brackets. Hall is a classic and his text is sacred.

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Professor Roman Dyboski's *Outlines of Polish History*† were delivered as lectures at King's College, like his volumes on Polish Literature published last year. The Professor is one of the most distinguished Intellectuals of the new Poland, and his mastery of our language is astonishing. In the Preface the author expresses his desire not to incur the reproach of turning history into special pleading, and he has succeeded. But though the book is entirely free from patriotic gush, the author occasionally breaks forth into a panegyric on his beloved country. He speaks, for instance, of "the glorious picture of Poland's political civilisation in the later Middle

* Oxford: At the Clarendon Press. 36s. net.

† Allen and Unwin. 8s. 6d.

Ages," and he is rightly proud of the venerable University of Cracow, of which he is the chief living ornament. The closing chapter, entitled *The War and the New Polish State*, is commendably free from heat. He makes no attempt to hide the difficulties with Russia, Germany and Lithuania; and in the controversy between "thoroughly Nationalist views and liberal Home Rule conceptions of the position of national minorities" his sympathies are clearly with the latter. His book may be recommended as the best of the shorter histories of Poland in the English language.

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The Case for the Central Powers,* by Count Montgelas, is an excellent translation of the well-known volume, *Leitfaden zur Kriegsschuldfrage*, of which a French version appeared last year. It is the best presentation from the German side of the problem of responsibility for the world war, and as such deserves careful study by all who follow the momentous controversy. The mass of fresh information which has appeared since the Treaty of Versailles is summarised in these pages, which also contain valuable unpublished material. The volume, which is commendably concise, sketches the development of the European situation since 1907, reviews the stages of the crisis in July, 1914, and concludes with a series of brief discussions of particular points, such as the legend of the Crown Council at Potsdam on July 5th, and the special edition of the *Lokalanzeiger*. No one in Germany has so completely mastered the whole available evidence as Count Montgelas, and every student of war origins must weigh the facts and arguments set forth in this remarkable book.

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In his *Origins of the War of 1870*,† Professor Lord has cleared up most of the difficulties that surround a famous controversy. "The archives of the German Foreign Office," he writes, "are now opened to historians to a degree and with a liberality that one would like to see emulated in every other country. I have had the privilege of using and transcribing in full the seven volumes of documents which contain the German official record of the crisis. With the aid of these documents, which fill the larger half of this volume, the Harvard Professor proceeds to reconstruct the tangled history of July 3rd-15th, 1870, in a hundred pages of impartial narrative. Though many details are new, and many old facts are presented in a new light, his general verdict merely confirms the opinions now held by scholars all over the world. King William played a difficult part with dignity, patience and courage, and did all that he could to avoid war. Whether Bismarck, from the beginning, intended the candidature of Prince Leopold to lead to war is not certain; but in the latest stages of the controversy he was heart and soul for war, and was tormented by the fear that his pacific master at Ems might balk him of his prey. The renunciation of the candidature at the wish of King William filled him with anger; but, at the very moment that he appeared to have lost the game, the Emperor Napoleon and his Foreign Minister, Gramont, played straight into his hands. France had won a great diplomatic victory by securing the withdrawal of the obnoxious Hohenzollern candidature, but she threw

* Allen and Unwin. 10s. 6d.

† Harvard University Press and Humphrey Milford. 16s.

it away by the demand that the King of Prussia should promise that it should never be renewed. The demand was sent without the knowledge of Ollivier, the Prime Minister, who justly stigmatised it as "a mad improvisation," and it was presented with injudicious urgency by Benedetti at Ems. Bismarck's editing of Abeken's report of the proceedings at Ems is discussed in a perfectly judicial temper. The words were not altered, but the character of the communication was completely changed by omissions. It is a sorry story of blunders and intrigue that is told in these admirable pages.

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The handsome volume entitled *Tudor Studies*,* presented to Professor Pollard by twelve of his colleagues and pupils, is a well-earned tribute to the scholar who has done more for historical studies in London than any other man. The occasion of the *Festschrift* was his resignation of the chairmanship of the Board of Historical Studies after twelve strenuous years, which witnessed the "historical renaissance" referred to in the Preface of Dr. Seton-Watson, the editor. The essays form a valuable contribution to our knowledge of the century on which Professor Pollard is our greatest authority. Three of the twelve deal with foreign countries. Professor Seton-Watson writes on the Abbot Trithemius, the learned friend of the Emperor Maximilian; Mr. Allen's sketch of the Political Conceptions of Luther reaches conclusions widely different from those put forward by Figgis; and Professor Hearnshaw explains Bodin's invention of the theory of sovereignty. Of the nine essays on domestic themes the longest is that by Professor Claude Jenkins on Cardinal Morton's Register, which is full of curious material. To Londoners the most interesting will probably be the essay on the Transformation of London by Miss Jeffries Davis, University Reader in the History and Records of our great city. Mr. Plucknett's study of the Lancastrian Constitution corrects in some points the view of Stubbs and his generation. Miss Thornley's essay on the Destruction of Sanctuary illustrates the tendency towards unification and standardisation which was one of the aspects or at any rate one of the results of the Reformation. The volume, which contains several other contributions of equal merit, is intended rather for scholars than for the general reader; but there is much in it which will appeal to any reader with a fair working knowledge of the sixteenth century.

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Sir Edmund Gosse has published his Zaharoff Lecture for 1925, entitled *Tallemant des Réaux, or the Art of Miniature Biography*.† He tells the story of the *Historiettes* of Gédéon Tallemant des Réaux, bought in 1803 at an auction in the Château of Montigny-Lencoup by the Marquis de Châteaugiron for twenty francs. It was an immense folio of 798 pages and was published between 1834 and 1836. The volume deals with personalities of the age of Louis XIII. Some, including Victor Cousin, regarded the work as a forgery and the ground for such a suspicion is that it was realistic, in the good French logical fashion, though written in an artificial age. It may be assumed to be authentic. The fact that it has collected the portraits of great and

* Longmans. 15s.

† Oxford: At the Clarendon Press. 2s. net.

famous men from their valets and discontented servants and has reconstructed their characters from the point of view of the servants' quarters with strict Gallic logic certainly does not really challenge authenticity. What surprises Sir Edmund Gosse is the different light thrown on great people from a different angle. But the French know and always have known, as many earlier documents assert, that no man is a hero to his valet. The new light, if so it may be called, thrown on Richelieu is no new light at all if regarded from the point of view of the valet. Does Sir Edmund Gosse expect that Richelieu or any other great man is a statue in Parian marble to the man who shaves him and cuts him? "The tone is not one of malignity or scorn; Tallemant wishes to set down the truth, and he is not afraid of the facts." But the facts are supplied by the valet or the discontented secretary or some disappointed chaplain. That is often written on the face of the narrative. Moreover, Tallemant was of Protestant stock, a friend of the adventurer who became Cardinal de Retz. He had the opportunities of tapping the gossip of the servants' quarters. He "found no difficulty in penetrating to the innermost recesses of the Hôtel de Rambouillet," and, of course, reported conversations as well as gossip. "J'y étais" was his motto and he contributed, whether he was there or not, a number of footnotes to the social history of not very savoury times. But there is no reason to suppose that he has really altered the true estimate of things or even of peoples, and there is a good deal of sympathy due to Victor Cousin's wave of disgust. He arranged his little histories of people to please old Madame de Rambouillet, and that is perhaps enough to say about them. He eventually formally abandoned Protestantism for Jesuitism, but not soon enough to save him from the honour of persecution. His is an interesting but not an attractive figure: a Huguenot watching with the patience of a Jesuit the evil details of a largely Catholic society. It is right, however, to record the opinion of a contemporary friend that Tallemant "was one of the most honourable and the most honest men whom I have ever known." He might, however, have been better employed.

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The public to-day are so greatly interested in education that attention may usefully be drawn to the volume of *Statistics of Public Education for the year 1921-22 (England and Wales)*, just issued by the Board of Education. The figures are, of course, on a vast scale. The total number of children in the public elementary schools was 5,860,744, and of these 547,708 were between the age of 13 and 14 years. Thus we may assume that something approaching half a million children leave school for good or evil every year, and of these Lord Eustace Percy recently said, about 400,000 have no more organised schooling of any sort. It is a depressing thought that this great army of children each year should be cast on the streets and into the economic world at the crucial age when home education is reaching its most important stage. In the secondary schools there were 354,956 children or young people, and the proportion is far too low. It is generally admitted that the percentage of children securing a full education in no way represents the number of those who are fit for such further education. The question of the size of classes is very important. There were, in 1921-2, no less than 4,973 school classes which contained sixty children or more. There has been a reduction of this number in the last year or so, but

the movement for the reduction of the size of classes is in practice too slow. In England (except Monmouthshire) there were 7,614 Council Elementary Schools containing 2,969,243 children in average attendance and 11,422 voluntary schools containing 1,814,540 children in average attendance. The proposed abolition of the dual system will, therefore, involve great administrative changes. The number of teachers in the public elementary schools was 178,286, while 17,668 teachers were at work in the provided or aided secondary schools. These figures show how vast is the problem, pedagogic and administrative, of our national system. Fortunately with the growth of public interest the various aspects of that problem become more capable of solution.

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Professor J. G. Robertson, in the Taylorian Lecture for 1924, *The Gods of Greece in German Poetry*,* makes a real contribution to the history of German poetry. In this country the Gods of Greece, as a poetic inspiration, from the days of Gower and Chaucer to those of Browning, have had a very different history from that which they suffered in Germany. It is true that the German mediæval poets had something in common in their use of the Gods with the first English poets. With Heinrich von Veldeke "the old gods are little more than the knights and ladies of chivalric romance." They are rather more than that with Gower, who could draw a philosophic moral with any poet that ever lived. The later Germany developments are essentially German. The gods of Hans Sachs in the sixteenth century were "plain and simple Nuremberg citizens," as, indeed, all his characters were. But the Renaissance, which came later in Germany than even in England, gave us no true gods. There was no Hellenism about them, and, indeed, they became grotesque gods of a Scandinavian heaven. This *baroque* poetry, despite its intrinsic artificial charm, was not even a remote echo of Homer. Gottsched, the literary dictator of the earlier eighteenth century, produced what we may call beer-drinking gods, no nectar for them. But with Winckelmann and Lessing, the real gods were sighted from afar, while the artificial *rococo* trilled about Bacchus and Venus. Then in the midst of "storm and stress" the real Venus and Neptune peered above the waves and Jupiter himself looked down upon the German forests called from the abyss of time by the humanism of Herder, the passionate voice of the young Goethe and the sentimentalism—so like the sentimentalism of Keats—of Schiller, who read, like Keats, no Greek. The Hellenism of Weimar was a natural reaction from a Christian world which was wholly unchristian in spirit. Where Christ seemed to have failed Weimar sought the aid of Apollo. But the vision vanished, perhaps at the voice of Heine, and a century passed, until to-day Spitterler is calling the Greek gods once again from the vasty deep, and Professor Robertson thinks they will answer.

* Oxford: At the Clarendon Press. 2s. net.

NOTICES OF BOOKS.

"Some People of Hogg's Hollow,"* by Eleanor Boniface, is a delightful collection of stories by and concerning the inhabitants of a Sussex village. Their joys and their fears are recounted with that cheerful optimism familiar to all who know the people of any small English village. Bedridden Mrs. Jolly and the versatile Mrs. Culver, of Romany ancestry, belong to all time and to all villages. They know all there is to know and a great deal of what there is not, about local doings past and present; their minds are store-houses of ancient recipes for other things besides cooking, of folk-lore, of ghosts, and of life in general. This little book will be read with pleasure by lovers of the country people.

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"Rivers and Lakes: The Story of their Development,"† by Martin A. C. Hinton (Nature Lover's Series), deals with the work in divers ways of the rivers and lakes. "The first two chapters describe the processes by which rivers and lakes are fed, and the work which they do"; the third chapter deals with the story of the Thames, and in the fourth, "the evolution and rivalry of our rivers are described, and the development and significance of many of the broader features of the English landscape are explained." In the last chapter and, perhaps, one of the most interesting, Mr. Hinton deals with the "lakes and their origin" in some detail. This very interesting work has many illustrations, a select bibliography and an index.

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In "The Mystery of the Evil Eye,"‡ Mr. Anthony Wynne, through the medium of a rather horrible detective story, tries to unravel some of the mysteries of madness, or alleged madness, in relation to crime. On the whole, stories of this type are undesirable since the questions are at present in the difficult regions where the sciences of law and medicine overlap, and the amateur is not likely to solve problems that are the subject of highly technical consideration. Potential criminals are much more under the fear of the arm of the law than is commonly supposed, and the fact that an unwavering law deals with crime on definite principles restrains many who would commit crime if they felt that the criminal law were uncertain. That is a fact well to bear in mind.

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Mr. Charles R. Gibson has, in "Electrical Amusements and Experiments,"§ produced an excellent introduction to a practical elementary knowledge of electricity through the medium (which will appeal greatly to boys who have hands that are not all thumbs) of "interesting and amusing experiments, illusions and clever conjuring tricks easily performed, with directions for making inexpensively the necessary apparatus when it is required." There are numerous illustrations which will guide the future student of electrical phenomena. The chapter on microphones and telephones will appeal to all who are fascinated with broadcasting. The book opens a window into the great and fundamental mysteries of an electrical world.

* Basil Blackwell. 4s. 6d. net.

† The Sheldon Press. 6s. net.

‡ Hutchinson. 7s. 6d. net.

§ Seeley Service and Co. 5s. net.

THE INDUSTRIAL OUTLOOK.

THE production of the modern newspaper affords a suggestion of how the economic perplexities of the age might be solved. Watch in any newspaper office the great rotary machines at work, turning out hundreds of thousands of newspapers: each, in respect of the amount of paper used and the number of words printed, the equivalent of a book. Think of the vast circulation (only another term this, for production) of these newspapers; and how, for the trifling sum of a penny, poor and rich alike have placed on their breakfast-table every morning a panorama of the news of the whole world. We have only to cast our minds back to the days of Caxton, when there were no newspapers and when books were rare, costly, and laborious to produce, to marvel how the intelligence of man has made it possible to produce the printed word in such incredible abundance as to satisfy almost to satiety one great demand of civilised man, the demand for news.

But there is another side to the story. The workers in the newspaper industry do not, unfortunately, reap the full benefit of its wonderful mechanical development. In exchange for the newspapers which they produce and distribute with such efficiency, they can only get from the recipients, their fellow-workers in the community, the stunted product of industries less developed or not so well organised. If all the other industries in the country were as well organised as the newspaper industry, the workers on the printing presses would receive more houses, clothes, and food in return for their labours than they do at present.

If the production of food and furniture, of clothes and houses had kept pace with the progress and enterprise shown in the newspaper industry, we should all be rich and prosperous in England to-day. Unfortunately things are very otherwise, and it is not a period of prosperity but of decay for British industry that confronts us.

In the nineteenth century the industrial and financial problems of the British people were solved by a continued and sensational increase in wealth and producing power. Between 1817 and 1862 the national income had doubled, and while incomes had increased prices had fallen nearly thirty per cent. By 1875 the national income had trebled and the rise had been accompanied by a still further fall in prices. By 1891 the national income had quadrupled and the price level of commodities stood at about half the 1817 figure. All classes of the community had shared in the increased profits, increased wages and the higher standard of living which

was the natural and inevitable consequence of that great increase in the national production of wealth.

During the first 25 years of the present century there has been on the average no increase in the national income, because there has been a complete stoppage of the steady increase in production which characterised the nineteenth century. We are no longer becoming richer in proportion to our population, notwithstanding the fact that science has in those 25 years added enormously to the productive resources and capacity of mankind. On the other hand, the better education of our people, the wide diffusion by the cinematograph and the popular press of knowledge of all the pleasant places and comfortable things which the world contains has stimulated healthy and proper desires for a higher standard of living among all classes of our people, but we are doing little or nothing to satisfy those desires.

Consider the following facts :

(1) A state of unemployment in Great Britain which has become stabilised at the alarming total of one million and a quarter.

(2) The wholesale pauperisation of our people—one in every 34 persons in the land is in receipt of poor relief.

(3) Our export trade is down by a quarter compared with its pre-war total. We are no longer able to pay for our imports with our exports. We are living upon dwindling reserves and upon the credit which we are still able to command in foreign markets. We have entered on a way that leads traders to insolvency.

These are the symptoms of the disease—of the progressive paralysis which is affecting our industrial system and which threatens to destroy it.

Let us examine the conditions of which these symptoms are the reflection. A century ago when modern industry was born, with its incalculable productive capacities, we were the first and for a long time the only country to make effective use of the new resources which science had placed at man's service. We had the coal; our inventive genius gave us the steam power; and this steam power enabled us to produce iron and steel, to build great ships, sending these ships all over the world, carrying coal to others and bringing back raw materials (which we made up into manufactured articles, sending these again all over the world) and exotic luxuries and foodstuffs which raised the standard of life in our midst.

We did not get rid of poverty, it is true, but there was less of it with us than with those peoples for whose raw materials and foodstuffs we exchanged our coal and manufactured articles. So long as these other peoples did not do as we did—that is, produce their own coal or substitutes for coal and manufacture their own

articles of need—all went well. The foreigner kept us going. We made him pay a good price for our knowledge and skill, and for his own ignorance and backwardness. And he gave us more in food and raw materials than we gave him in coal and finished products. The result was that we became a nation of manufacturing specialists. We deserted our own countryside, and became dependent upon the foreign peasant for our food. But other nations learned the business of manufacturing, and some had their own coal supplies, which they began to develop. They drew upon our experience, and found compensation for their late arrival in the application of the newest discoveries of science to their own requirements.

Take only one example—the example of America. America's resources of coal are far greater than ours and far less costly to work, and in addition she has cotton and other raw materials which we lack. Thus our industrial position was menaced long before the war. But because of the war history was made at a lightning speed, and developments took place which, in other circumstances, would perhaps have taken a century to accomplish. It is directly as a consequence of these developments that Great Britain is face to face with industrial calamity.

Suddenly we find that the bottom has fallen out of our industrial system. The bottom was coal, and an end to the foreign demand for our coal is within sight. It follows that there is a corresponding decline in our manufacturing exports, all of which are based on coal. The causes that have led to this stagnation are not temporary. They will endure, and not only endure, but become more and more serious in their effects upon our trade. Let us give proof of this assertion.

France now exploits coal-mines that once were German, and gets reparation coal from Germany. At the same time she is making use of water power for the electrification of her railway system. When this electrification, which has already made much progress, is completed she will save 15,000,000 tons of coal per annum. Germany, deprived of coal, has developed as a substitute vast resources of lignite. Italy is exploiting water power on a large scale, and is purchasing her coal supplies from Russia, not because Russia has a super-abundance of coal but because her own industry is in such a bad way that her coal must be exported if her mines are not to close down. But even Russia, which was a market for British coal at one time, is developing water power. As a consequence electrification will be applied to the whole of the industries of Petrograd this year.

Thus one by one, British markets have vanished. But the worst tragedy of all has yet to be narrated. Oil is driving coal

from the seas. Mercantile ships run by oil have increased thirteen-fold since 1913, and five-sixths of our warships consume oil. The effect of this decline in the use of coal upon our staple industries is ruinous. Shipbuilding, iron and steel, cotton—all these industries are in a bad way. We paid for their raw materials largely with coal—and now that no one wants our coal, we cannot afford to buy the same quantities of these raw materials as we used to do. In addition, the nations which formerly supplied us with these raw materials in abundance now make use of them themselves in manufacturing finished articles for their own use and for export. Cotton is a case in point. The depression in Lancashire arises from the fact that, owing to the growth of American manufacture, the cotton industry cannot any longer obtain adequate supplies of raw materials from America, and obstinately refuses to accept inferior cotton from India, in the use of which other countries, particularly in the East, are building up a flourishing commerce.

The other day a well-known French publicist wrote these words: "Since the war three big groups of industries powerfully equipped have to be considered; British, Franco-Belgian and German. The Franco-Belgian and German groups are more or less equal in capacity for production and perfection of equipment. The British group is in a more backward condition."

What this writer says is true. Since the war Germany, France and Belgium have to a large extent re-equipped their industries and readapted them to meet the after-war needs of to-day. But if Great Britain is backward among European industrial nations, how much more so is she as regards America, now the first industrial country in the world. Whereas our national income is falling, that of America has risen during the last decade, chiefly since the war, from thirty-four to fifty billion dollars. This increase reflects higher production—not brought about by an increase in the number of workers employed, but by the increased output of each individual worker. In most of the leading American industries, the output per worker has trebled in ten years. The result has been to enlarge enormously the earning opportunity and purchasing power of the worker, whose standard of comfort and sense of security is infinitely greater than any enjoyed by the British worker.

It must not be forgotten that the workers produce primarily for themselves. The surplus of profit which goes to the so-called capitalist class, if confiscated and divided among the working classes, would not give them sufficient money to pay for a single extra meal per week. It is not an over statement that in America every worker is a capitalist; he has become so simply by taking his share of the colossal fund of wealth which he and his fellows

have created. When a trade cycle of unemployment comes, it finds the workers in a position to face it without the need of insurance or doles; the vast majority of individuals in employment are comfortably off. Frequently we are challenged by Socialists to name a country where the worker prospers under the Capitalist System; the answer is America.

There is no secret about this success of capitalism in America. It is due to several reasons. Karl Marx said: "The workers of the world have a world to gain; they have nothing to lose but their chains." In America the worker has already lost his chains—the chains of regulated output and restrictions on production. He is consequently gaining a new world of higher wages, of greater happiness and material comfort than Europe has ever known. His high output is helped by enterprise on the part of the employers. The supply of mechanical power per worker in America is double what it is in this country, and when equipment is not being improved, organisation is being overhauled. The result is a steady progression in the production of wealth per man. The responsiveness of the worker comes from the knowledge that already he is well—even highly—paid, and the knowledge derived from experience that the more wealth he produces, the more wealth he is getting and enjoying for himself. He finds the proof of the Capitalist pudding in the eating thereof.

With us the situation is bad, but by no means desperate. We have lost valuable markets—lost them irretrievably. But there are other markets awaiting us, markets far greater than any which we have been driven out of. Apart from the population of the Empire, there are in Asia and Africa alone over a thousand million people who in the mass are awakening to needs which only modern industry can supply.

Think of the opportunities in China alone with its 400,000,000 people! Can we imagine for a moment that it will not be possible to find compensation and much more for the twenty-five per cent. of export trade which we have lost? It is true that the industrialisation of Asia, and to a lesser extent of Africa, has begun. But as a century or more had to pass before the Continent of America became a menace to us, so another hundred years will have to pass before Asia and Africa imperil Western industrial supremacy.

And, finally, there is the market at our own door—the market here in England. So long as each individual in this country is not a capitalist as in America, so long as he does not possess not merely all he needs but sufficient for a generous margin of comfort, the demands of the home market will not have been satisfied. With a million and a quarter unemployed, with thousands more steeped in poverty and housed in slums, we are still far from that

standard. And it will only be attainable if both employer and worker drastically change their outlook and method.

Let us take the employer first. Industry must be reconstructed, revitalised, and re-equipped as it has been and still is being in America, France, Germany, Italy, Belgium and elsewhere. We must abandon all hope of recovering foreign markets for coal, and proceed to put our coal supplies to new uses. To guide us in making this great transformation we must recognise that the coal age, as we have known it, is ended. The age on which we are entering will derive its power from electrical energy and the oil-driven motor. If we are to survive, let alone hold our place in the world, we must then put our coal to new uses; there is no other way to save the situation. These uses may be summarised as follows:

(1) Development of electrical energy as near the pit's mouth, and thus as economically, as possible. By this means at least three times the amount of existing power would be produced, and at a price so cheap as to develop to an undreamt of extent the home market, thus bringing comfort and security to every single individual in these isles. At the same time British goods would be produced at prices that would compete successfully in the markets of the world. Incidentally there would be an immense saving in our coal resources which at present are being wasted at a fantastic rate. America and all Western European countries have already made great progress in the electrification of railways and industry generally. So far we have done very little in this regard. We cling to the mechanism of steam power which already ought to be in the museum of antiquities, along with the spinning-wheel.

(2) Both on land and sea oil is ousting all other forms of fuel. As with the development of electrical energy, so with the use of oil, we are backward. The consequence is that our motor industry is only in its infancy compared with that of America, and whereas in America a motor-car is an every day possession of a large proportion of the workers, with us the car is still mainly a luxury of the rich. Motor transport for commercial purposes is also ill-developed in this country. Motor roads may yet completely supersede the railway. We are not heeding sufficiently the coming of this change. All these things tell us plainly that the grimy epoch of coal as fuel is at an end. But we are fortunate none the less in having coal inasmuch as we can make oil from it. At present we import 350,000,000 gallons of oil: nearly all that could be produced in this country from mines that are at present regarded as inferior and uneconomic.

(3) Extending and improving the canal system of the country. The introduction of the motor barge and boat would lead to a

great revival of inland water communications, and would provide a means of transport much more economical than any at present existing. Since the war other countries have not neglected their waterways. France, along with the electrification of her railway system, has broadened, deepened and extended her canals. But we have allowed many of our canals to fall into disuse, to become stretches of deserted, stagnant waters. We did not realise that the oil-driven boat could bring them, and all the country-side through which they pass, back to life and activity again.

Imagine the great changes that all these developments would bring about in the land. No more recurring cycles of trade depression. There would be work and well paid work for everybody. Poverty would be banished from our midst, and with poverty much of the disease and vice that afflicts our society. The whole aspect of life would be transformed. The smoke that begrimes cities would be got rid of. Slums would go too. Factories would be bright and pleasant places to labour in. There would be no dirty work, no hard work. Man would enjoy his toil and have abundant time for leisure and cultivation, thus advancing towards the ideal of all enlightened economists who say that the work of the world, if intelligently organised, could be done in a five-hour day.

Why, it may be asked, should employment always be regarded as so meritorious and unemployment as little less than a crime? Surely employment that is unintelligent and non-productive, that results in the extravagant waste of energy and material, is equally as harmful, if not more so, than the ills of unemployment. Is it not one of the happiest designs of nature that man's instinct has always been to lighten his toil on the earth so as to have more leisure at his disposal? Why all this reverence for work regardless as to whether or not it is of an intelligent character, productive or non-productive?

To be worth doing at all work must be reasonable, that is light and productive. We ought not to work too much ourselves; nature must be harnessed and subdued in our service. The function of man must be that of overseer of nature, not its slave—overseer of the forces of nature despotically brought under control and set to work to create the wealth which man needs. But before he is able to simplify his life so drastically and enjoy it so fully, he will have to undergo a period of hard thinking and hard working. In other words, he will have to reconstruct the whole of his industrial activity on the basis of oil and electrical energy. When this has been accomplished, as I have said, many of the problems which at present seem insurmountable will find a natural solution.

Emigration would then begin in earnest—emigration from crowded places to the open country. The towns would spread out

and become what we now call garden suburbs. Electrification and motor transport would revolutionise the country as completely as the towns. Agricultural machinery would be driven by electrical energy, and the drudgery of farm work, which frightens so many people away from the land, would disappear. Vitalisation applied from the same source to soil and crops would assure bounteous harvests with unfailing regularity. We would become almost independent of foreign nations for our foodstuffs. All these things are within the bounds of early realisation if we will only make use of the inventions which science has placed at our disposal during the last half century.

The steam age brought wealth to the few and increased the welfare of the many. But it left large numbers steeped in poverty. Dependent as it was upon the consumption of coal in fiery furnaces and upon the motion of heavy machinery, it created noise, dirt, ugliness. The electrical and oil age will be the age of neatness, cleanliness, hygiene and beauty. It will be the age when for the first time in his existence man will cease to be the slave and will become the master of nature, when he will enter upon full possession of the earth and all the fruits and riches thereof.

We have no water powers such as Switzerland, Japan, Norway, and other nations possess. The Titanic energy of the tides has yet to be harnessed. Nor have we oil. But our coal properly used will do for us what water powers will do for others. Coal which made us will yet save us.

I have dealt with the part which the employer must play in the industrial revolution of the twentieth century, with his duty to provide the worker with the best available plant—plant which will reduce toil to a minimum, and which will enable a maximum output to be obtained. But the employee too has his part to play in the scheme of things. At present the British worker has lost his incentive to work. He thinks that the less work he does, the more there will be for others to do; he does not realise that the less he produces, the less there is for himself and others. This limitation of production is the sabotage of civilisation. It is a process of slow death.

In the United States of America, in France, in Belgium and in Germany gigantic efforts are being made to increase productive capacity with a view to increased and cheaper output and distribution of all kinds of manufactured products in the near future. No developments at present contemplated in this country approach in magnitude the schemes for electrical super-power stations or for the electrification of transport which are now in course of construction in those countries.

The reason is mainly psychological. We have the brains, the

knowledge and the organising ability. We are inhibited from using them by the almost universal belief now prevalent amongst British manufacturers and British workpeople that in the limitation of output lies the surest prophylactic against trade depression and unemployment. British industry is imbued with a fixed belief that the more wealth we produce the worse it will be for masters and men alike.

The first step in the right direction, as I have insisted elsewhere, is to remove from the mind of the worker at any reasonable cost the paralysing obsession that the more wealth he produces the sooner he may find himself without a job. The origin of this obsession is fear of unemployment, but its effect is to lower production and thus to increase unemployment. We are revolving in a vicious circle where insecurity breeds discontent, discontent breeds strikes and ca'canny, strikes and ca'canny reduce output and lower efficiency, reduced output and lowered efficiency lead to a loss of foreign orders and to a lessened consumption in the home market—diminished wealth and reduced wages—and from that comes more discontent, more strikes and hundreds of thousands of working days lost to productive labour.

Complete security against unemployment would, I believe, be more than repaid by increased production. But if it cost a good deal it would still be worth the price. It could hardly cost more than the present palliatives! £300,000,000 alone has gone on unemployment payment and poor relief since the Armistice, and how many millions more on useless schemes invented to make work but not wealth. Had this money been wisely spent instead of having been foolishly wasted, the reconstruction of our industrial system would have been well-advanced by now, and the problem of unemployment would have been in sight of permanent solution.

C. A. McCURDY.

THE DISEASE OF INDIAN DYARCHY.

THE motive for appointing a Committee to inquire into the working of the Indian Constitution of 1919 was two-fold. It was intended to call the bluff of the Swarajya Party Election manifesto of October, 1923, and at the same time to test the complaints that were being made almost universally by Indian well-wishers of the Reforms, whose friendliness and moderation of temper could not be questioned, that the Reformed Constitution was failing and could not be made to serve satisfactorily its intended purpose as a training school for responsible Government. The Swarajist Election manifesto declared—

“The party believes that the guiding motive of the British in governing India is to serve the selfish interests of their own country, and that the so-called Reforms are a mere blind to further the said interests, under the pretence of granting responsible Government in India, the real object being to continue the exploitation of the unlimited resources of the country by keeping Indians permanently in a subservient position to Britain by denying them at home and abroad the most elementary rights of citizenship.”

The manifesto was disingenuous, because there were among those who framed it men who had known Lord Minto or Lord Morley, Lord Hardinge or Mr. Austen Chamberlain, Lord Chelmsford or Mr. Montagu, or had known enough of their record to know them not only incapable of the duplicity and stupidity imputed to them, but as themselves convinced and warm adherents of the policy of Indian self-government, who had, in the face of great difficulties and obstructions, done their best to build the road towards its attainment. It was silly, because even without such knowledge, no man of adult intelligence in public affairs could so misread political psychology or be misled by such misreading. It was paralytic, because it attempted, in policy, an impossible straddle between the anarchism of Mr. Gandhi and political constitutionalism—constructive democracy. The inherent ricketiness of its programme (combined with Mr. C. R. Das's flirtations with Bengal terrorism) has not failed to develop itself during the last fifteen months in increasing dissension and confusion in the counsels of the National Congress parties.

I have criticised elsewhere in the Press, both here and in India, and in Parliament, some of the acts and expressions by which some Englishmen have afforded excuses for the assertion of the British purpose in India alleged by the Swaraj party. All intelligent and progressive British public opinion on Indian affairs repudiates these vagaries. The Labour Government desired, by confrontation and contact, to dissipate whatever legitimate cause

there might be for such a suspicious attitude. The Swarajists were invited to state their case before the Reforms Inquiry Committee. They evaded the challenge, declining the representation offered to them on that body or any direct contribution of evidence to its proceedings.

The Committee was requested

“To inquire into the difficulties arising from or defects inherent in the working of the Government of India Act and the Rules thereunder, and to investigate the feasibility and desirability of securing remedies for such difficulties or defects, consistent with the structure and policy and purpose of the Act.”

They presented two reports, one signed by the three English members, with Sir Muhammed Shafi (member of the Council of State) and the Maharaja of Burdwan (who also in a personal report expressed an intermediate opinion), the other by the four remaining Indian members. There is little substantial discrepancy between the recognitions on which rest the criticisms of the two sections as to difficulties and defects, though the emphasis laid on them differs. The Majority observe that the Minority deal with some matters which they had felt themselves precluded from considering by the terms of the reference, and therefore did not allude to. The Minority say that they felt at the outset that, though it was open to them to examine a wide field, so far as inquiry was concerned, in the matter of remedial proposals their scope was limited by the language used in the reference, but that, whilst the remedies they were competent as a Committee to recommend must consist with the structure, policy and purpose of the Act, or be addressed to the remedy of administrative imperfections, they had held that if the inquiry showed that such remedies would not lead to any substantial advance, they were not precluded from indicating their views to that effect. The minority had warrant for this attitude in the words used by Sir Malcolm Hailey in announcing the proposal of an inquiry:

“We do not limit ourselves to demanding that the system should be further tested. We propose to make a serious attempt to investigate justifiable complaints against the working of the scheme in practice, to assess the causes and to examine the remedies necessary. We claim that this must precede any general inquiry into the policy and scheme of the Act itself or general advance within the Act. . . .

“If our inquiry into the difficulties of the working of the Act shows the feasibility of any advance within the Act, that is to say, by use of the rule-making power provided under the Statute, we are willing to make recommendations to that effect, but if our inquiry shows that no advance is possible without amending the constitution, then the question of advance must be left as an entirely open and separate issue, on which the Government is in no way committed.”

These statements, I think it must be recognised, justify the minority of the Committee, and would have justified the majority, in expressing an opinion whether any "advance" was possible without amending the constitution, and, if not, what kind of remedies might be indicated.

While the Majority refrained from the expression of any such opinion, they quote, with apparent concurrence, the judgment of the Governor-in-Council of the United Provinces, that the "partial dyarchy" of the Reformed constitution is "a complex, confused system, having no logical basis, rooted in compromise, and defensible only as a transitional expedient." They accord to the Reform constitution the very moderate testimonial that, whilst the period during which it has been enforced has been too short to enable a "well-founded opinion as to its success" to be formed, the evidence furnished to them was "far from convincing them" that it had failed. Turning to the report of the Government of the United Provinces, quoted above, we find that the conclusion of Sir William Marris and his Council on their whole inquiry was that there is no half-way house between the constitution which they so forcibly damn and a new constitution, and that concessions falling short of complete provincial autonomy will placate no section of the opponents of the existing system.

"It seems," they say, "to the Governor-in-Council that the difficulties and defects inherent in the scheme are quite incurable by any mere alteration of the Act or rules. The utmost that changes so restricted could do would be to oil the wheels of the constitutional machinery; they could have no effect on the *general and permanent tendencies* of the constitution itself."

This conclusion is not obscurely implicit in the report of the Majority, as it is explicit in that of the Minority.

The Majority make recommendations, from few of which the Minority expressly or uncompromisingly dissent, for enabling the constitution to be worked with less friction and greater efficiency. None of these recommendations really touch the inherent vices of the dyarchical constitution in regard to its main purpose of forming a training ground in the working of Parliamentary institutions. And it is these that it is most necessary to examine.

The Majority, after expressing those gloomy views of dyarchy which I have quoted, proceed to say the best they can for it: and this is all they can say:

"A complex constitution like dyarchy requires more particularly to be worked by reasonable men in a reasonable spirit, if deadlocks are not to ensue." (So, whisper the Minority, does any constitution whatever.) "The existing constitution is working in most Provinces, and it is giving a training ground in Parliamentary

Government to the electorate, and also to the members of the Legislatures and to Indian Ministers. If recently, in some of the Provinces it has not achieved the expected measure of success, it is because it was not worked on the lines and in the spirit which were intended."

These opinions are all legitimately open to question. Disagreement is possible—as the Irish juryman felt—as to what is to be expected of "reasonable" men. The epithet is question-begging. The constitution is working, but, as the Government of Bihar and Orissa observes, it is working "creakily—minor remedies may cure a creak or two." The statement that it is giving a training ground in Parliamentary Government directly raises the most crucial question of all, and that on which it is most essential to examine what the reports and evidence show. The majority express their opinion that except by some form of dualism it was not possible to afford an *equally* valuable training towards responsible Government in India *and still to safeguard those conditions upon which Government depends*. This last phrase indicates what it was that determined the framers of the constitution to accept a scheme in which so many inherent faults were freely recognised at the time. They did not see how they could safely go further towards responsible institutions without losing the control which they deemed it then essential to retain in the hands of the Governments, pending further Parliamentary experience. This is an intelligible and arguable position: but it ought to be recognised that the kinks in the constitution which were introduced with a view to such safeguarding, may really have been, as the Minority and practically all Indian witnesses argue they are, destructive to the concurrent purpose of giving a training ground in Parliamentary Government.

The Majority attribute some of the difficulty in working the constitution to "the atmosphere in which it was introduced," but admit that "within the legislatures themselves there was at the commencement a spirit of goodwill." The Minority say:

"The system of dyarchy was during the first three years everywhere worked in the legislatures by men most of whom were professedly its friends and who, generally speaking, tried to work it in that spirit of reasonableness which was referred to by the majority of our colleagues, and it is no exaggeration to say—indeed, this is the testimony of several Local Governments—that generally a spirit of harmony and co-operation prevailed between the Legislature and the Executive, notwithstanding the fact that the atmosphere outside was for some time markedly unfavourable."

The very fact of the abstention of the advanced political party from co-operation in working the reforms helped to give them a better start than they might have had, had the Swarajists entered the Councils. The Minority, therefore, do not admit the theory

that the reforms have not been given a fair trial, or perceive how they could have been worked in a better spirit if, instead of men who offered to take advantage of them, others, frankly opposed, had entered the Councils. With the views these held at the time the reforms would have broken down at a very early stage. The atmosphere which prevailed outside the Councils was one of hostility to the Act, but they do not consider it prejudiced the working of the reforms inside the Councils.

The crucial Parliamentary defects of the constitution as a training ground for responsible administration (admitted, though not emphasised by the Majority) are brought out very clearly by the Minority. The first is the inter-dependence of the administration of "reserved" and "transferred" subjects, and the mutual reactions of policy in regard to them. They quote the prophetic despatch (November, 1918) of the Governor of Bombay, pointing out this complication.

"Practically all proposals of importance put forward by the Minister in charge of any of the departments suggested for transfer, will involve a reference to the authorities in charge of the Reserved Departments. There are few, if any, subjects on which the functions of the two sections of the Government would not overlap: consequently it will be seldom possible in the case of a transferred subject for a Minister to dispense with a reference to the departments concerned with Reserved subjects."

The Minority endorse this criticism, which has been verified, and add that Ministers cannot be responsible solely to the Legislature, as the Parliamentary Joint Committee intended, because of the very real control that the Finance Department must exercise over all expenditure, and because the points of view of popular Ministers and of members of Executive Councils in charge of inter-current departments, who owe no responsibility to the Legislature and are steeped in official tradition, may and not infrequently do differ. In Madras, and to some extent in one or two other Provinces, Governors have ignored the principles of the constitution, and treated both the responsible Ministers and the official heads of Departments as constituting a single Cabinet. The majority recommend that "joint deliberation" between the two sides of the Government on important questions should be definitely enjoined by a Rule. But this proposal, like the Madras practice, as has been repeatedly pointed out, is neither dyarchy nor responsible government: the responsibility of the Ministers to the Council must needs be in competition with their responsibility as members of a combined Cabinet, whilst there is no real responsibility of the other members of such a Cabinet to the Council.

Further, it is desired that the two or more Ministers shall be

jointly responsible and have a responsible Party leader; and the Majority go so far as to recommend that the Instructions should be modified so as to indicate this, rather than that transferred subjects may be administered by the Governor acting on the advice of a single Minister. But this brings us right up against the snag of the communal principle, members being elected and ministers nominated not as representing a policy or a party, but to placate competing electoral communities constituted on a basis of religion or other sectional interests. Further, the more responsible Ministers are amalgamated by joint deliberation with the official heads of department in a *quasi*-Cabinet, the more will they become identified in the popular view with the official Government, and the more difficult it is for them either to summon opposition among their own followers to support them against the Government or to freely oppose the Government on questions of the policy of the Reserved Departments.

In the present phase of politics the representatives of the electors must show as a whole the temper of an Opposition: if they do not do so they will be undercut by a new Opposition, as they were in the last election, very largely, by the Swarajists. The Majority refer to this fact as showing misunderstanding by the electors of the intention of Dyarchy, and need for their fuller education. The electors simply do not understand how any man can serve two masters. They still regard Ministers as Government servants. The functioning of the Councils under these circumstances is not and cannot be made a training for Ministerial Parliamentary responsibility, the Ministers not being Party leaders, however much it may be made a training for Ministerial administration, which is a different thing. The purpose of the transitional constitution, however, was not only to train Ministerial administrators or Parliament men, but also, by experience, to educate the electors.

"It is upon the electorate (say the Majority) that the whole framework of responsible Government must be based, and it is necessary for us to emphasise that there has not been sufficient opportunity yet to train it in the exercise of its responsibilities. The evidence on this point is definite. The existing electorate may be characterised as illiterate and untrained, though we have received evidence to the effect that the electors are able at present to understand broad issues, which is their main function, and to choose a candidate who in their opinion will serve them best."

In this connection it is interesting to note Sir Malcolm Hailey's remarks to the Punjab Council in November last:

"The extension of the electoral system has brought into the orbit of politics classes whose interests were previously unvoiced, and the free discussion here of their needs and requirements has given

a new aspect to the whole of the public life in the Punjab. The awakening of political consciousness among our rural classes has given them a new outlook, as there is an insistent demand among them for better education and for vocational training, great activity in availing themselves of character-building institutions such as co-operation, a new and more intelligent interest in all that concerns their economic welfare."

The same Governor, one of the most reputed authorities in Indian high politics, emphatically set his face against requests addressed to him recently for increase of representation on a communal basis. It is encouraging to see a stand made against that pernicious principle, by one who at the same time bears witness to the educative influence of the ordinary political franchise.

The canker at the root of constitutional evolution in India is the communal principle in elected representation. I will not repeat what I said in last month's CONTEMPORARY REVIEW on its vices. We are constantly told by adversaries of the reforms and of any extension of them that religious dissensions are fundamental in India. But we have ourselves accentuated these dissensions by giving them recognition in the Parliamentary scheme, and it is now being claimed that in any development the communal system must be still more accentuated in order to protect the minority. And it is precisely the politically educated classes in India, of all religious denominations, that have found in political interests a solvent of sectarian antagonisms which has enabled them to rise superior to them. The only way to eliminate religious factionism from politics is the way that we have followed in this country, to make secular interests the basis of the political representation. The adversaries of Indian democracy incessantly harp on the sectarian fanaticism of Indians because they see in religious antagonisms a buttress of their policy of dividing and ruling, which however alien it may be from the minds of our responsible statesmen is, as everyone who has consorted with Anglo-Indians and military club-politicians knows, still their cherished stand-by as an assurance against "sedition"—meaning Indian Nationalist policy. Nationalism is the only force that actively and effectively combats that dissidence.

The Committee had verbal and written evidence from past or present Indian Ministers and Executive Councillors from all the Provinces. All of these (they include two Rajas) were men of selected ability and capacity in public affairs who had entered the Councils and taken office to support the Reforms and had personal administrative experience of their working. With the exception of three out of five ex-Ministers from Bengal, no doubt disheartened by the proceedings of the Swarajists in last year's Council, all these witnesses gave reasoned opinions, varied but con-

gruous, impossible to dismiss as negligible merely because the Governors in Council officially (for reasons not so clearly expressed) opposed their conclusions, that the experiment of dyarchy has already taught all that it can be used to teach, that it is impossible to work it satisfactorily, that it is condemned, not only by themselves, who have tried to work it, and by all politicians of all Indian parties, but by an increasingly pronounced popular feeling, due to its failure to fulfil popular expectations—that no mere alterations of Rules and Orders under the Act of 1919 can avert increasing difficulty and disorganisation in its administration, and that the time has come for attacking the consideration of further developments with a view to increased Provincial autonomy, and (less generally and emphatically) increased responsibility in the Central Government. If this opportunity is not taken, the situation, they are convinced, will become yet more difficult.

That most distinguished and authoritatively representative Indian statesman and soldier, the Maharaja of Bikaner, in an interview with the Editor of *The Review of Reviews*, last October, spoke words of which all that I learnt of India during my recent term of office confirms the literal truth (the italics are mine):

"One of my strongest impressions of England is the absence of an *informed* general interest in Indian affairs. . . . We Ruling Princes, as Indians, *sympathise fully* with the surge towards full national status within the Empire, *which is the strongest force in India to-day*. . . . I deplore the occasional talk of reaction—of the abandonment of the policy embodied in the Reforms, of steady progress towards responsible Government, and of a reversion to the *status quo ante* and an autocratic bureaucracy. . . . I cannot for one moment believe that any responsible authority could ever be so ill-advised as to attempt such a step—the mere talk of it is *pernicious at the present time*. . . . Progress may be difficult, often disappointing, and there may be dangers and risks to be faced. But if progress is difficult, *reaction is disastrous for all concerned*. . . . We, the Rulers of Indian States, know that the policy of 'Divide and rule' which is sometimes so loosely talked of is bound, sooner or later, to recoil on the heads of those who dream of it. . . . Let me insist once more that *the strongest force* in India to-day is this irresistible impulse towards responsible Government and full National status. No system of Government, *however efficient from the administrative standpoint*, can be durable which does not take continuous account of it."

The significance of these reports and these opinions cannot be ignored. The Minority urge that the constitution should be put on a permanent basis with provisions for automatic progress—that is to say, progressive establishment of Provincial autonomy according to the development of the Provinces, so as to secure stability in the Government and willing co-operation of the people.

the Government ought immediately to take in hand the examination of this possibility. The doctrine that because the Act of 1919 contemplated ten years of inaction in regard to reform no motion should be made within that period is a futility which even the responsible spokesmen of the Indian Government have never themselves accepted. Indian politicians are critical and intelligent men, and reasonable men resent an irrational obstinacy, founded not on practical reasons, but on a formula. Formulas have no validity with Indian philosophy. If there are reasons against extension of responsibility, either because Indians are deemed incompetent or the electorate unfit to be enlarged, let them be frankly examined and stated, and the facts of the position faced. If matters are left as they are the Swarajist party will be returned in increased strength at the next elections, the defects of dyarchy be more exasperatingly felt and its purposes still further defeated. There is general consent that the line of development lies in the direction of Provincial autonomy. The implications of that consent should now be explored and the practical task of adjusting the constitution in that direction taken in hand.

OLIVIER.

THE GERMAN-POLISH FRONTIER.

THE German-Polish frontier has suddenly, and rather strangely, been thrust into the forefront of public attention.

Rather strangely, because it would appear that the German Government in making its proposals regarding the Guarantee Pact in the West, intended in the first instance to say little or nothing about Germany's Eastern frontiers. When conversations with M. Herriot and others made it necessary for relations with Poland to be brought into the question, Germany would seem to have contemplated a far-reaching Arbitration Treaty which would, however, not have involved frontier problems, and it was left for Mr. Austen Chamberlain in his speech in the House of Commons on his return from Geneva in March to declare that Germany had offered not to attempt to change her Eastern frontiers by war. That gloss on her original proposals Germany seems to have accepted—a most wise and satisfactory decision on her part. However that may be, the result of the whole discussion has been to focus attention afresh on the German-Polish frontier and make it desirable to re-examine the possibility of any measures calculated to alleviate the difficulties arising from the territorial dispositions in that region. The real problem is to find the right basis for discussion. On one point, indeed, the ground may be cleared at the outset. It is manifest that no change can be effected without the free consent of the two Powers concerned. Both of them are sovereign States and no arbitrator could require either of them to part with any of its territory; and even under Article 19 of the Covenant it is only open to the League Assembly to exercise that strong moral pressure which would be involved in any unanimous or almost unanimous resolution declaring that a change of the *status quo* was to be desired in the interests of justice.

The second consideration can be disposed of almost as summarily. It is argued that the present situation is anomalous and impossible. That it is anomalous is manifest enough. It is clearly not impossible, for it actually exists. The real question is whether any change that may be proposed would actually reduce the anomaly or merely replace an anomaly tending to the disadvantage of one party by an anomaly tending still more to the disadvantage of the other. If it is contended that Germany will never consent to tolerate the existing arrangement, and that therefore it must be changed, that is tantamount to saying that the choice lies between a discontented Germany and a discontented Poland, and that since the danger to peace from German discontent is the greater, the frontier must be revised to meet German desires. Such an argument cannot be seriously countenanced. To admit it would be to

accept the view that wherever a stronger Power demanded satisfaction from a weaker, its wishes should be satisfied in the interests of world peace. That is a principle which the whole post-war organisation of international society was created to destroy.

We come back then to the question of whether the German-Polish frontier, as drawn by the Peace Conference, was the best, or substantially the best, solution that could be reached in a situation where every possible solution was open to grave objection. If, indeed, there were reason to believe that the situation had changed in its essence since the Peace Conference, it would hardly be worth while harking back to 1919, but in point of fact the only change calling for mention has tended slightly to diminish the difficulties rather than increase them. There has been, as always happens in such cases, a certain voluntary shifting of populations. Germans have no desire to live under Polish rule, nor Poles under German, and as a result, a certain migration in both directions has taken place in the last five years, so that, numerically, the minorities under alien rule on either side of the frontier are smaller than they were. There are unsatisfactory features about this, but the fact remains that to the extent of the migration, the minority problem is a little less acute than it was.

Taking then the Peace Conference solution as we find it, and as it has worked out after five years' experience, are we to conclude that the best has been made of a bad case, or that serious grounds exist for urging some change either on Poland or on Germany? If it is difficult to find the right basis for discussion now, it was almost more difficult to find it in 1919. There was, however, one fixed starting-point which could not, and cannot, be ignored if international agreements have any value. The lot of Poland was decided, in effect, not when the Peace Conference was signed in June, 1919, but when the Armistice was offered and accepted in November of the previous year. President Wilson's Note of November 5th, 1918, is on this point conclusive. In that Note, the terms of which Germany accepted without qualification, the Allied Governments "declare their willingness to make peace with the Government of Germany on the terms of peace laid down in the President's address to Congress of January 8th, 1918, and the principles of settlement enunciated in his subsequent addresses,"—subject to two qualifications, neither of which has any relation to Poland. The address to Congress of January 8th, 1918 is, of course, that containing the Fourteen Points, and the thirteenth of those points laid it down that

"An independent Polish State should be erected which should include the territories inhabited by indisputably Polish populations, which should be assured a free and secure access to the sea, and

whose political and economic independence and territorial integrity should be guaranteed by international covenant."

That, then, was the accepted principle which the Peace Commissioners had to apply as best they could in the light of the ethnological and territorial facts, and it is in relation to that principle that the three several problems raised by the German-Polish frontier must still be examined. Those three problems are, of course, Danzig, the Corridor and Upper Silesia. Of these, the latter is probably the least acute. It being necessary under the Armistice terms to award to Poland districts with indisputably Polish populations, it was the business of the Peace Conference to discover what part of Upper Silesia was indisputably Polish. It endeavoured to elucidate the facts by a plebiscite, possibly the least unsatisfactory method under the circumstances, and the interpretation of the plebiscite results was, in the end, referred to the League of Nations. In a situation in which any solution—owing to the hopeless mixture of the population—can be no better than the least among various evils, it is easy enough to carp at the League's decision or any one else's. Any conceivable line drawn through Upper Silesia is open to criticism, and it is a simpler, as well as a more agreeable, hypothesis to assume that the League did its best under difficult circumstances than to elaborate theories of an astute and malign French intrigue triumphantly successful in hoodwinking incapables like the British representative on the Council, Lord Balfour. In any case, Germany appears to be making no serious claim for territorial adjustments in Upper Silesia. There is not one mention of that region in the Press and public discussions for every ten references to Danzig or the Corridor. Much no doubt can be done, and should be done, to improve in the light of experience the economic agreement the League negotiated, with great labour, in Upper Silesia, but the fact remains that the serious problems are Danzig and the Corridor.

It is difficult, indeed, to believe they can ever be anything but serious problems until the still distant day when international understandings are so far developed that political frontiers no longer constitute economic barriers. On the basis of the Armistice conditions it is hard to see how the Peace Conference could have done other than it did. Poland was to have all districts inhabited by an indisputably Polish population. That the Corridor is predominantly Polish no one has ever doubted. German ethnographical maps demonstrate that as clearly as any others. The Vistula has always been Poland's great highway to the sea, and Poles have been settled for centuries along its channel. The Corridor goes to the sea, and it goes to the sea west of Danzig. It is true that, like other districts now Polish, it contains many

Germans but, as Mr. H. J. Paton has pointed out in his illuminating chapter on the Polish negotiations in the semi-official "History of the Peace Conference," Germany had first annexed and then assiduously colonised Posen, and in districts where the population numbers roughly one German to every two Poles it was clear that you could not transfer two million Poles to Poland without transferring a million Germans with them.

That was the justification for the Corridor. It was given to Poland because it is indisputably Polish in population, and equally because it had been stipulated that Poland should have free and secure access to the sea. (It was never seriously contended that that access meant anything but territorial access. Poland, indeed, could argue to-day with some show of justice that she has not got all she was promised, since the fact that Danzig is not in her hands robs her of the full security and freedom of access to which she might be held entitled.) But if there is that ground for assigning the Corridor to Poland, the difficulties attending such a delimitation are manifest. East Prussia is cut off completely from Germany, and trade between it and the main part of the country to which it belongs has to be carried on over a double customs barrier and across a strip of alien territory. What is perhaps almost worse, the effect in Germany of looking constantly at coloured maps which show a severed island of German red cut off by a strip of Polish green is to foster a spirit of irredentism gravely prejudicial to peace.

Has, then, the right choice been made between two palpable evils? Which, in other words, is worse—to cut off a Poland of 27,000,000 from the sea after free and secure access to it has been promised them, or to cut off some 2,000,000 Germans from their mother country by a strip of intervening Polish territory? The Germans, of course, had a strong case to put before the Allies at Paris, and they put it with characteristic vigour. The reply of the Allies was equally emphatic. "The German Government" it was rejoined in the Allied Note of June 16th, "declares that it cannot accept the solution by which East Prussia shall be separated from the rest of Germany. It must therefore be recalled that it was so separated for many hundreds of years, and that at no date until 1866 was it actually included in the political frontiers of Germany." Some weight, but not too much, must be given to the historical argument. East Prussia was, of course, conquered in the first instance by the Teutonic Knights and it has always been something of an outpost of the German Reich. It is not an industrial region, but thinly populated agricultural country, a good deal of its surface covered by the Masurian swamps. Its commercial associations with the rest of Germany are therefore not as

extensive as they might be, and in point of fact, much of its communication has always been by sea. The Poles, indeed, declare (*vide* a recent speech of Count Skrzynski) that a larger proportion of traffic now goes overland through the Polish Corridor than was the case before the war. This much homage, perhaps, should be paid to history, that in framing a settlement designed avowedly, as that of 1919 was, to repair the wrongs imposed by the crime of the Polish partitions, it is hardly open to any of the beneficiaries of those partitions, whether Germany, Austria or Russia, to make claims resting on the *status quo* created by the partitions. That is a not unfair answer to German objections to the establishment of the Free City of Danzig subject, under League trusteeship, to certain Polish rights which fall far short of actual suzerainty, the city thus reverting to something like the position it held for over four centuries, until it was seized by Prussia in the partition of 1793. But the creation of the Free City is little more than a desperate expedient. All that can be said for it is that if Danzig became definitely German or definitely Polish, the situation would be even worse than it is. So, at any rate, both Poland and Germany respectively are entitled to contend.

If then we are driven to the discouraging conclusion that, bad as the situation is, a territorial change would be calculated to make it worse instead of better, is there no hope of alleviation of the friction and hostility which prevail? Clearly there are faults on both sides. Anti-German propaganda is active in Poland and anti-Polish in Germany. That is inevitable so long as changes are confidently hoped for or seriously feared. The example of the Saar, where the flames of propaganda are fed ceaselessly by the fact of an impending plebiscite in 1935, is a standing warning. If attention could be diverted from the idea of territorial change to the idea of economic agreements, there might be some prospect of stability being gradually attained. It is manifestly to Poland's interest to remove every possible barrier to the free flow of trade across the Corridor and to reduce to a minimum her difficulties with Danzig. There is, unfortunately, no full realisation of that so far at Warsaw, though it is fair to Count Skrzynski to admit that he is making a sincere endeavour to improve on the not very high standards set by some of his predecessors at the Foreign Office.

The elaborate economic agreements negotiated as regards Upper Silesia under the auspices of the League of Nations are a model worth studying. The Upper Silesian Convention, which is actually longer than the Treaty of Versailles, represents agreements reached direct between German and Polish Commissions sitting at Geneva. It covers fully such questions as nationality

and domicile and change of nationality; the protection of Minorities, particularly in regard to religion, education and language; the organisation of employers' and workmen's unions and social insurance on both sides of the common frontier; customs duties, frontier permits, currency and banking systems, water and electric power, posts and telegraphs and railways. There was created by it a Mixed Commission of two representatives of each party, with a neutral chairman, as an organ of conciliation, and an Arbitral Tribunal consisting of one arbiter from each party, with a neutral chairman, as a judicial instrument.

A number of these agreements have broken down as a result of the unlooked-for débâcle at different moments of both the German and the Polish currencies. That had effects going far beyond mere financial dislocation, and readjustments based on the now established rentenmark and zloty have not yet been effected. Nevertheless, Upper Silesia does present, even now, an instructive example of an endeavour, at any rate partially successful, to prevent a political frontier from becoming an economic barrier. On the whole, it may be claimed that enough has been achieved to show that this kind of agreement can be worked if the two parties desire to work it. That is manifestly the root of the whole trouble between Germany and Poland. Any delimitation of their common frontier must be open to the gravest objection, and it has not yet been shown that a change of the present frontier would improve matters. But the best can be made even of a bad frontier with goodwill, just as the worst can be made of a good one without it. Poland and Germany, with the aid of the expert knowledge centred at Geneva and elsewhere, could go far towards revolutionising the relations now prevailing in the valley of the Vistula. Unless and until they show readiness to do so, there is small hope of stability in Eastern Europe.

H. WILSON HARRIS.

THE REFUGEE PROBLEM.

DURING a recent visit to the Near East the writer found himself, after a motor journey of 140 miles from Salonica, in a little old-world township called Kastoria, situated on the edge of a beautiful lake bearing the same name in Western Macedonia. At the inn where we spent the night we received a Committee of Refugees from the district in order to consider their grievances. A bowl of fish from the lake, most of them dying for lack of air and without room to move, gave the opportunity to one of the refugees who came from the Pontus to point the moral. "We refugees," he said, "are very much like these fish. We have been taken out of our native element and the surroundings to which we are accustomed, and huddled together in low-roofed barracks or in houses that are already fully occupied, without room to move or to breathe; no wonder that so many have died and that those who are left behind despair of life."

Never in the history of the world has there been so tragic an exodus, so terrible a diaspora of the nations as the last few years have witnessed in the Near East. The figures themselves are astounding, so staggering, in fact, that the average man is unable to imagine or to credit the magnitude of the disaster which has fallen upon these people. Not less than 3,500,000 men, women and children have had to leave their homes and most of their worldly possessions and start a new life in countries where a different language is spoken and where the habits, customs and traditions are in many cases foreign to the new inhabitants.

It is not our purpose to deal with the Russian refugee problem; but it should be noted in passing that out of the 1,500,000 refugees there are still 200,000 Russians in Europe unemployed and unsettled, while in Manchuria there are 70,000 living under conditions of terrible privation and misery. For these latter nothing seems to be done, although the League of Nations is sending a mission to investigate and to report. The great majority of the refugees are in Germany and France, the remainder in the Baltic and Balkan States.

The Greek refugees number not less than 1,500,000, and although it may seem at first sight that the difficulties of settling the Greeks in Greece are less formidable, it must be remembered that they constitute 20 per cent. of the population of that comparatively small country. This would be equivalent to 9,000,000 in Great Britain. Hundreds of thousands of them from the interior of Asia Minor speak only Turkish and are several generations away from purely Greek life. To add to the difficulties of the refugee question in Greece it is estimated by the League of Nations that out of the 320,000 Armenian refugees, some 100,000 are in

Greece, the majority of the remainder being in Syria. It seems improbable that these refugees will be able to return to Turkey, and although many of them have already found some sort of occupation in Greece there are about 10,000 without employment or settlement. The estimate of the Greek Government is much larger, namely, that 65,000 Armenians are a charge on their funds.

Bulgaria has had three distinct periods of mass migration. The first dates from the Macedonian revolt to the Balkan War, 1903-12, when 200,000 refugees crossed her frontier. During the second period, from 1912-1919, there was a further influx of about the same number. The third migration resulted from the Treaty of Neuilly in November, 1919, when Bulgaria gave an undertaking to carry out such dispositions relative to the reciprocal and voluntary emigration of ethnical minorities as the Powers might deem necessary or expedient. The result was that 220,000 additional refugees entered Bulgaria and a further 10,000 or 15,000 are still expected, even if the proposal of the Greek Government to move 150,000 refugees from old Greece and the Islands to Western Macedonia is not carried out, a policy likely to be pursued.

The Turkish refugees number about 390,000, being the exchange populations from Thrace and Macedonia. Eastern Thrace has 79,000, Smyrna 64,000, Samsun 56,000, and there are eight other centres.

The main object of this article is to deal with a situation which has been created by the Treaties of Lausanne and Neuilly. The Treaty of Lausanne required members of the Greek Orthodox Church in Turkey to emigrate to Greece and Moslems established in Greece to emigrate to Turkey. During the retreat of the Greek Army and the capture of Smyrna hundreds and thousands of Greeks left their homes and fled to the coast. How many perished it is impossible to say, but it is known that only a small proportion of the inhabitants of comparatively large towns ever reached Greece. Those who remained in Asia Minor after the capture of Smyrna have now been transported to Greece by the Mixed Exchange Commission, and the only Greeks left in Turkey are now in Constantinople. How many of these will be compelled to leave depends upon the definition of *établi*. A recent decision seems to imply that something like 50 per cent. of the Greeks in Constantinople will be compelled to migrate. About 300,000 of the Greek refugees were possessed of some means, and have already established themselves in various places and new townships like Byron; but the remainder have had to be assisted first, by charitable societies, secondly, by the Greek Government, and in the third instance by the Settlement Commission of the League of Nations. The American Red Cross, which gave great assistance at first,

withdrew its aid in June, 1923; but the Save the Children Fund administering also on behalf of the Imperial War Relief Fund, is still feeding some 40,000 refugees in the Athens-Piræus area, Salonica, and Western Macedonia. It was soon discovered that no solution of the Greek refugee problem could be arrived at without help from the outside, and a sub-committee of the Council of the League of Nations finally approved a scheme for the settlement of refugees to be financed by a loan and administered by an independent Settlement Commission. A Protocol was drawn up containing the general conditions of a loan of £10,000,000, which has now been raised, and a Commission appointed of which Mr. Henry Morgenthau was the first chairman. His place has now been taken by Mr. Charles P. Howland, Mr. John Campbell remaining as Director.

The Settlement Commission has taken over the work of settling the agricultural population in rural areas, while the Greek Government confines itself more especially to housing urban refugees. The Settlement Commission is limited by its statutes to the settlement of refugees in productive work, and is *explicitly prevented from giving charitable assistance*. The land required for settlement in the rural areas is transferred to the Settlement Commission by the Greek Government, which has undertaken to provide not less than 1,250,000 acres for this purpose. Certain monopolies and duties, together with the land, form the basis of the security offered for the loan, and it is estimated that the land and property which has already been transferred to the Commission is worth rather more than the amount of the loan of £10,000,000. The Settlement Commission works in collaboration with the Colonisation Department of the Ministry of Public Assistance. Its first business was to establish the refugees from Eastern Thrace on the land provided by the Greek Government. In Western Thrace already about twenty villages have been built in the Gumuljina area, and a very large number of families have now been permanently established in that district. It was in Western Thrace that the League of Nations first requested the help of the Save the Children Fund for emergency feeding, and that work has now been completed though, of course, numbers of refugees unsettled.

Although the Settlement Commission has perhaps a more difficult problem to face in the settlement of refugees in the rural districts, the agricultural refugees, who are estimated to number about 500,000, are many of them industrious and capable peasants from Anatolia and elsewhere who have been in the past entirely self-supporting. The Commission was faced with the fact, however, that the spring drought of 1924 ruined the cereal crop and rendered the task of the Commission more difficult. On the other hand, about 40,000 families of tobacco growers have now recovered

financially after the last harvest and need practically no help of any kind. It is in Macedonia, Thrace and Euboea that the Settlement Commission is doing its principal work. In Macedonia something like 67,000 families had been settled or partially settled by the Greek Government up to December, 1923. Since then the Settlement Commission has settled considerably over 30,000 families in that area, 5,500 families in Western Thrace, and about 8,000 in the rest of Greece. The problem of finding housing accommodation for these refugees is a very heavy one. The houses evacuated by the Turks were comparatively few in number compared with the number of refugees requiring accommodation. In Macedonia, together with the houses built by the Government before January, 1924, and old houses evacuated by Moslems, 50,000 houses were available. 6,000 houses have since been built in that area, and in all nearly 10,000 by the Settlement Commission alone. There are still under construction 25,000 houses. Certain families receive help for a sufficiently long period to enable them to become self-supporting. Indiscriminate grants are avoided, and the needs of each family are carefully considered. Whenever a family has become self-supporting the grant is discontinued. It was the general opinion of those who had responsibility for the work of the Commission that the refugees were honourably discharging their obligations, that they had introduced new methods of cultivation, and had increased the productive capacity of the districts in which they were settled.

The Salonica and the Athens-Piræus areas are the two most important urban settlements. In the neighbourhood of Athens there are settlements containing over 80,000 people. The largest of these is at Kokkinia, where over 35,000 people are housed. There are still, however, large numbers without any proper habitation living in shacks or hutments, even under the shadow of the Acropolis. These shacks are an attempt on the part of the refugees to establish small shops for trading purposes, and the very fact that so many thousands have been absorbed, raises the hope that in time it may be possible to give them some more regular and lucrative employment. Athens is so overcrowded with refugees that even the big theatre has been requisitioned for many months past. It contains some thousands of refugees, one family to a box and all the corridors and passages packed with people, who must have shelter and who have been unable to find it elsewhere. It is a weird sight to see the washing hanging out from the boxes and balconies and to see the women cooking the meals over charcoal braziers, perhaps their most cherished possessions. It is, however, in the Piræus itself that the worst confusion is seen. If an ancient Greek could come back and see it as it is to-day he would be astonished that another huge town has grown

up, and I fear he would be dismayed by the type of houses that have been constructed and the general unkempt condition of that large district. The Greeks of Pericles left it marble, but to-day!

The work of providing houses for the refugees in and near Salonica was first begun by the Settlement Commission, but has now been handed over to the Colonisation Department under the direction of M. Vassileos, the Greek engineer. By next month it is hoped that he will have been able to complete 3,000 houses at Toumba, a new village to the east of Salonica. The refugees in various camps outside the city are being fed at three kitchens established with the help of the City of London. The conditions in these camps are not good. Many of the buildings are old barracks, long low huts, 100 feet in length, without proper partitions of any description, filled with families trying to obtain some sort of privacy by pieces of sacking and old coverings suspended from the roof. In other cases hutments hurriedly put together and constructed of wood are occupied in the same way by twenty or thirty families. The condition of many of these refugees is extremely bad, their clothing ragged and their footwear deplorable. All of them bear the marks of extreme suffering and great hardship, and some have been marched from point to point in Asia Minor for years before they reached a port whence they could be shipped to Greece. The result is that families are broken up and separated, and often the man has died before his wife and children reached Greece. The death-rate amongst the little children is very heavy—from 150 to 200 per thousand—and it is estimated that there are in Greece at the moment 300,000 widows and orphans for whom scarcely any provision so far has been made.

The quarantine station at Mikra Bay, through which passed so many thousands, is now almost empty, but there is always the possibility of another influx from Constantinople. There are still 15,000 refugees there who have not been settled and who live in hutments at Kalamaria about a mile from the Quarantine Station. M. Karpatos, the Chief Engineer of the Colonisation Department, hopes that 80 per cent. of the refugees will be settled by July of this year, but unless houses are built more rapidly this seems an optimistic view to take. In the remote villages of Western Macedonia it is difficult to get the necessary materials, and supervision is almost impossible. If it is the intention of the Government to bring another 150,000 refugees from old Greece and the Islands and establish them in Western Macedonia, a further 18,000 houses will be required in addition to those that have already been constructed or are under construction. At Kastoria and Mikra Bay and in Crete some provision has been made for sailors and fishermen, and boats have been supplied.

A serious problem is the apportionment of the land; for al-

though the Turkish large estates have been broken up the inhabitants have claimed a considerable portion of these lands for themselves, leaving less than half for the refugees. Of the houses evacuated by the Turkish peasants the refugees have obtained about 80 per cent. and the inhabitants the remaining 20 per cent. The Settlement Commission, alluding to the difficulties of the land distribution, points out that the large estates were cultivated by "metayers," who must now give way to the small proprietors.

"There are four parties to claim their share: the owner who tries to keep as much as he can; the 'metayer' who would like to keep for himself all the land he used to cultivate; the small farmers who want their portion, and finally the refugees, who, destitute of everything, claim a large share of the land upon which they have already established themselves. The Seven Sages of Greece would not be too many to unravel this tangled skein. There is no public register of property and the lands for allocation are disputed; moreover, equal areas, specially in this country, are not of equal value, and the difference in price between land for tobacco, olive groves, vineyards and for other uses is immense."

The declared intention of the Greek Government to establish another 150,000 refugees in Western Macedonia, to which reference has already been made, is likely to create a serious political difficulty with Bulgaria. M. Albert Thomas has recently paid a visit to that country, and the experience of others confirms his report that public opinion is greatly disturbed by the Greek attitude with regard to minorities. Bulgaria has been fulfilling her Treaty obligations, but other nations have not been equally scrupulous in this respect. This is specially the case with regard to ethnical minorities, and the Greco-Bulgarian position, with which Mr. Austen Chamberlain dealt at Geneva as "rapporteur," is a good illustration of this failure to carry out the clauses of the Peace Treaty. It will be remembered that on September 29th, 1924, the League of Nations signed two separate Protocols with Bulgaria and Greece respectively. These Protocols, which were similarly worded, appointed two representatives of the League to assist the Greek and Bulgarian Governments in protecting the minorities of both countries. The Council asked Col. Corfe and Major de Roover, the Commissioners for Emigration, to act on their behalf, and, as their report on the Tirlitz incident was very unfavourable to Greece, it was essential that Greece should sign the Protocol. Since that date the Bulgarian Parliament has ratified, and the Greek Parliament rejected it. The introduction of this large additional number of Greek refugees into Macedonia will mean that the Macedonians who speak Bulgarian will be driven out and compelled to find a refuge in Bulgaria. It may be that Greece has political reasons for this, especially as Yugo-Slavia has already denounced the Treaty of Alliance of 1913. The

desire, however, to consolidate the Greek position in Western Macedonia is not a sufficient reason for a policy which would certainly tend to drive out the entire Bulgarian population. The social and economic position of Bulgaria has already created much discontent, and the difficulty of settling the large number of refugees has intensified the evil. Bulgaria may therefore be placed, unless the economic position can be eased, in a very serious position, and stable government under such circumstances will be impossible. The country has a population of only 5,000,000, and over 500,000 of these are refugees from Macedonia, the Dobrudja, and Thrace. It is not difficult to conceive that the growth of the Macedonian Revolutionary Movement in Bulgaria would be hastened and no doubt spread to other countries. There is also the danger that the Greeks in Southern Bulgaria will be compelled to leave by the action of the new refugees. In fact, there is little doubt that, if a large number of Macedonian Bulgarians are driven into Bulgaria, the 60,000 Greek inhabitants of Bulgaria will also be forced to migrate. The Bulgarian Government has no adequate police or military force at its disposal to protect the Greeks, and all that the authorities can do is to use their powers of persuasion to keep order. If they are to do this successfully the causes of discontent must be removed.

The refugee problem in the Near East cannot be neglected or ignored by the nations of the West. The grievances and hardships which these people have to suffer will sooner or later be manifested in the political world, and will, therefore, have their repercussion not only at Geneva, but in the Chancellories of Europe. Greece is doing its best, but had it not been for the Settlement Commission, the solution of the refugee problem in that country would be indefinitely postponed. Turkey has injured herself by her expulsion of the Greek population, and has not even made proper provision for the relatively small number of her own refugees. Bulgaria has been weakened in her action by the neighbouring States, and it is doubtful whether she can deal with the refugee situation without financial aid. As to Armenia, the only hope is that all Governments who have Armenian refugees unsettled, and therefore a burden to the country, will assist them to migrate to lands in the Caucasus, where, with the approval of Moscow, which is friendly disposed towards the Soviet Republic of Armenia, they may be settled upon the land after due preparation has been made. The resources of civilisation are not yet exhausted; but it is slow work making new worlds out of old, especially when there are so many politicians in those countries more anxious to gain political kudos than to solve the problem of these wretched homeless folk.

PERCY ALDEN.

EMPIRE SETTLEMENT AND UNEMPLOYMENT

HISTORY is supposed never to repeat itself, yet at least it abounds in interesting precedents and analogies. For example, just over a hundred years ago, as now, this country was suffering acutely from the economic effects of a great war. Six hundred millions sterling had been added to the public debt of an impoverished nation; taxation, both national and local, was oppressively heavy; industry was still largely paralysed, wages were low, and the towns were crowded with workless and discontented men. In that emergency, to which our own day offers in many ways a striking parallel, Parliament looked across the seas for relief from the burden of unemployment; and looked not altogether in vain.

There had been an increasing flow of emigration across the Atlantic from 1815 forward, but in 1820 a novel experiment was made in the form of assisted settlement. *The Times* of June 18th, 1819, lamenting that emigration had hitherto "taken a westerly course" (a reference to the independent American States), wrote that superior opportunities were open to migrants in the British dominions, and spoke of South Africa, meaning the Cape, in particular as "the most precious and magnificent object of our colonial policy and the most fruitful field of adventure to our emigrant population." Then followed words which have a peculiar applicability to the position in which the home country finds itself to-day:

"We shall at the same time advance our firm persuasion that for colonisation to become an effectual source of relief to this country it must be powerfully aided and supported by the State. Thousands and tens of thousands of our fellow-subjects must be provided for in some way or other, and cannot be so while they remain at home. . . . Make the Cape a free port for the nations of Europe, and we banish North America from the Indian seas; carry out as settlers all the families who have not bread or labour here, and we lay for posterity another England, with which, by skilful government, the mother country will be joined in bands indissoluble."

Several months later the House of Commons did, in fact, vote the sum of £50,000 to enable the Government to settle at the Cape as many people as were willing to go, and as the money would take, to that Colony, and during the following year a large contingent of settlers, commonly estimated at something under 5,000, was conveyed free of charge to Algoa Bay (later Port Elizabeth) and thence inland to the Albany district, and placed on free holdings at the rate of a hundred acres for each family. These were the "1820 settlers" of South African history, in whose

memory an imposing monument was erected at Port Elizabeth a year and a half ago. It is said that their descendants now number 150,000. That estimate may be exaggerated, but the fact cannot be gainsaid that the British emigrants of that day—for they were drawn from all parts of the United Kingdom—played a determining part in the development of the Eastern Province, and have contributed to the national life of South Africa permanent elements of stability, order and prosperity. Visiting the country a year ago, I met several namesakes of those old pioneers; all were men who had thriven and now occupy positions of distinction in public or commercial life.

Have we not here a clear indication of one method, at least, by which our present far heavier load of unemployment might be lightened, and permanent help be given to its worst victims, who are not the taxpayers, but the men and women who ask for work in vain?

Hitherto it has been the policy of the Colonial Office to treat the question of Empire Settlement as one having no connection whatever with the state of the home labour market. The Dominions are all crying out for more population of one sort or another, but in responding to their cries the mother country must refrain from the bare suggestion that it is struggling against the handicap of progressive over-population. But why this unnatural reserve and reticence? Why the pretence that all the home Government is doing, and offering to do, for the settlement and development of the Empire is motivated by a selfless regard for the Dominions and no thought whatever of advantage to ourselves? There is neither substance nor reason in the pretence, and the Dominions know well enough that it is pure make-believe and camouflage.

It is high time that the question of Empire Settlement was removed from the rarefied atmosphere of mock sentiment, and regarded as a commonplace business transaction, to be arranged for mutual benefit by two parties, each of which is able, while serving the other, to promote its own interest. If the pressing need of the Dominions for population is to be supplied in any appreciable degree, it will be necessary to review the existing arrangements for overseas migration and to adjust them to the special conditions of the present time.

The fact that the hopes which were built upon the settlement agreements concluded by the home Government with the Dominions four years ago have not so far been realised is a warning that should not pass unheeded. It will be remembered that the Imperial Economic Conference of 1921 decided in favour of co-operation, both financially and in other ways, in a comprehensive policy of Empire land settlement and Empire-directed migration, to be

carried out by the British Government and the Governments of those parts of the Empire suitable for settlement from the British Islands. The first practical step was taken by the British Parliament when it passed the Empire Settlement Act of May 31st, 1922. This measure empowered the Colonial Secretary, acting on the advice of the Oversea Settlement Office (formerly the Government Emigration Committee), of which he is ex-officio president, to co-operate with the Dominion Governments, or with public authorities or public or private organisations, either in Great Britain or overseas, in carrying out agreed schemes for the joint assistance of suitable persons in Great Britain who wished to settle overseas.

In this sense our Government undertook to give financial help to development and land settlement schemes, or schemes for assisting with passages, initial allowances, training, or otherwise. The limit of such help was fixed at £1½ millions for the then current financial year and £3 millions for each of the succeeding fourteen years, representing an aggregate commitment of £43½ millions. This money was to be available for loans at interest and in a minor degree for free grants. It was assumed that Australia would each year absorb 68,000 settlers, New Zealand 10,000, and Canada 17,000, giving an annual total of 95,000 for these Dominions, but the results to date fall far below the forecasts.

Had the scheme worked according to plan, seven and a half millions of public money might have been expended on, or definitely pledged for, specific Empire settlement activities up to the end of March, 1925; yet the aggregate cash commitments under the Act up to December 31st last came only to £842,725 while the actual expenditure was £679,654. Even allowing for further commitments up to the end of the financial year, it is probable that not more than one-eighth part of the money voted by Parliament is so far being used for the purposes intended, though the Oversea Settlement Office is clearly eager that the fullest possible advantage shall be taken of the Act which it administers. The figures of actual settlers are equally disappointing. On the original forecast the three Dominions named would have absorbed 95,000 settlers each year, giving a total up to the end of December last of, say, 245,000. The approvals at that date were 89,673 and the actual departures 85,940, of whom between 55,000 and 56,000 went to Australia, between 14,000 and 15,000 to Canada, and 14,600 to New Zealand, the great majority going out under assisted passage schemes. It may be noted that at the present time no scheme exists under which the Government is able to make grants or advances to persons desirous of settling in the Union of South Africa.

It is, of course, regrettable that the Dominion Governments have not as yet been able to make more extensive use of the settlement funds placed at their disposal, yet there is really little need for surprise. The fact is that the inducements offered are not sufficiently attractive to people possessed of means and are positively deterrent to those who are without. The assistance now offered to settlers mainly takes the form of loans, though contributions may be made towards the costs of transport. But free grants of land, such as used to be common, are no longer offered. Loans have, of course, a certain value, though men and women must have a very strong incentive to depatriate themselves if they are only able to settle overseas by the help of borrowed money.

Cannot both the home Government and the Governments of the four Dominions named do something better and more generous for those who would be willing enough to seek home and fortune overseas if the way were made easier for them? What are the positions of the Dominions and Great Britain at the present time? All are in sore need, and concealment of the fact is neither attempted nor possible. The Dominions urgently want a large influx of population, and some of them are prepared to seek it in foreign countries if it cannot be of British race. On the other hand, the mother country is burdened with a million and a quarter of unemployed, a considerable proportion of whom cannot hope to find permanent work again in the home land except by putting other people on the streets; and in the meantime the disbanded members of the army of labour are for the most part being maintained in idleness by the expedient of relief, the enervating and demoralising influence of which, when unaccompanied by work, is in no way diminished by the fact that a considerable part of the unemployment benefit is covered by the contributions of the recipients.

Here, shown numerically, is our unemployment record as it has now confronted us for four years. The number of unemployed persons on the "live" registers of the Employment Exchanges at the end of December in each of these years was as follows:—

	Men.	Boys.	Women.	Girls.	Total.
1921	1,375,026	58,130	304,332	38,643	1,776,131
1922	1,096,780	42,316	187,016	31,869	1,357,981
1923	927,115	36,052	353,070	33,872	1,350,109
1924	946,187	34,551	231,200	28,941	1,240,879

In elucidation of these figures several facts should be noted. (1) The persons enumerated comprise those insured against unemployment who are known to be unemployed, whether in receipt of unemployment benefit or not, except insured persons who are in-

eligible for the receipt of benefit under the trade dispute disqualification. (2) Unemployed outworkers, and persons employed in agriculture and domestic service, not being liable to unemployment insurance, do not figure to any important extent in the foregoing totals. (3) The "boys" and "girls" of the table may be of any insurable age up to 18.

Looking at the financial side of the question, the amounts of the joint unemployment insurance contributions levied and of the benefit paid out during the four insurance years from 1920-21 inclusive, with the average numbers of insured persons who were unemployed, were as follows:—

Insurance year.	Contributions £	Benefit £	Average no. of unemployed insured persons.
1920-21	13,472,000	34,118,000	1,133,000
1921-22	42,224,000	52,848,000	1,751,000
1922-23	46,171,000	41,881,000	1,363,000
1923-24	50,096,000	35,971,000	1,203,000

During the last of these years the employers and work-people contributed together £36,500,000 (the former paying rather more than the latter), while the State's contribution was a little over £13,000,000; yet however the cost of unemployment relief may be divided it forms a social burden which every citizen in some measure helps to bear.

Granting that the figures for the last two years show a welcome improvement, they are still without parallel in earlier experience, and the present outlook is as doleful as ever. It has been estimated that a quarter of a million persons a year are available for migration overseas, and will be for a long time, taking into account the natural increase of population, which continues unchecked, though work does not increase. Nevertheless, we are sending to the Dominions under the Empire Settlement Act only between 40,000 and 50,000 persons (including children) a year, a large part of them men and women who would not figure in the foregoing table of unemployed persons at all, and could not fairly be regarded as belonging to the real surplusage of our population.

Here is a grave and urgent national and imperial problem—for it is two-sided—which might be greatly mitigated, both for every one of the Dominions and for this country, if there were any disposition to face it boldly; yet all the Governments concerned still persist in toying with it. The plain truth is that while the home Government, for no convincing reason, seems afraid to mention our army of unemployed in connection with the subject of Empire settlement, the Dominions have for a long time been trying to get

settlers far too cheaply. Without exception their Governments stipulate for the cream of our citizens; it is expected that all shall be of the "A.1" class, and be capable of passing very severe physical, educational, and moral tests. Yet what is usually offered to them in return, beyond conditional assistance towards the cost of passage, is only a loan of money at a good business rate of interest. Several Governments are willing to help settlers to find suitable farms and offer to train them, but free grants of land are not made as of old, though in all the Dominions the Governments control unused land in abundance, and profess impatience to see it occupied and cultivated.

In the case of South Africa, even though an intending settler may have reason to believe that he has complied with all the conditions of admission known to him, there is no certainty that after crossing the ocean at heavy cost he may not have to return home, since the Immigration Laws are administered at certain of the Union ports, and "the High Commissioner can give no assurance that a person will be allowed to land."

In general, agricultural settlers—who together with domestic workers are the only ones for whom the Dominions have any large demand—are expected to take with them a capital varying from several hundred pounds in the case of Canada and Australia to £1,000 or more if going to South Africa, the amount varying according to the class of farming chosen and the advances available. No allowance is made for the fact that such in-coming settlers, carefully chosen as they have to be, will represent man and woman power of real economic as well as social value. They will go out as workers and producers of wealth, not as sight-seers and pleasure-seekers; they will be elements of stability and order, and in every way positive assets of great worth. Not only so, but it has cost this country much money to educate these people and bring them to maturity as efficient workers, heads of households, and the like. Yet the Dominions not merely expect them as a free gift, but stipulate in addition that each shall bring with him an endowment in the form of ready capital of his own and have behind him the credit of his Government as well.

Are all such conditions and safeguards quite reasonable, and can the settlement movement be expected to flourish so long as they continue unrelaxed? Good settlers are worth some substantial sacrifice to the countries of their choice, and unless the Dominions are prepared to make such a sacrifice it is to be feared that they will not be able to populate their vast empty spaces on this side of doomsday, and then it would no longer be necessary.

Addressing the Imperial Economic Conference of 1923 Mr. L. S. Amery, now Colonial Secretary, said truly, "We have to create

the point of view which thinks not of recruiting labour but of recruiting citizens," and later, in distributing admonitions for appropriation overseas wherever they applied (and they apply pretty well all round), he told the Dominion delegates:

"You have on the one side the type of person who simply thinks of immigration in terms of getting cheap and adaptable labour. The cheaper it is and the more readily adaptable it is, the more he is favourable to it. He would prefer the sheepskin-clad Galician, regardless of what kind of citizen he makes in future, to the less adaptable but in the long run sturdier and more self-reliant Britisher. On the other hand, you have got the Labour objection, arising from the same point of view, which simply thinks of competitors."

So long as these narrow and parochial ideas prevail the over-sea Empire will either continue to clamour for population, or it will be populated by the wrong sort of manhood and womanhood. We need to get into a new order of ideas altogether—ideas larger, bolder, more unselfish and forward-looking, and above all, the statesmen of the Dominions will have to recognise that citizens worth having are worth paying for. But, conversely, for Great Britain, too, it would be well worth while to face an equal sacrifice if thereby the mounting tale of our surplus population could be reduced, and even a substantial part of our unemployed men and women be enabled to find the work of which the homeland offers no prospect, together with new homes and a new start in life, on hospitable British soil overseas.

So strongly did the idea of emigration as a palliative of unemployment appeal to the political imagination a century ago that the sturdy Radical Mr. Joseph Hume proposed that able-bodied men who were workless should be transferred overseas against their will. When the 1820 settlers went out there was no need for any sort of coercion of that kind, for in response to the Government's invitation applications to be settled at the Cape were received from some 90,000 persons, though only several thousands were wanted. Owing to faulty methods of recruitment and to official negligence and want of foresight in other directions, the South African experiment of that time did not prove an immediate success, though it worked out all right in the end. The mistakes then made, however, are on record and all are remediable, and there is no reason to doubt that similar action, adapted to the changed conditions, and safeguarded by intelligent preparations, would prove far more successful to-day, while the need for it is vastly more urgent.

The Dominions have a right to capture as many moneyed settlers as they can, much as we may regret the loss of substantial citizens of that class; but cannot they provide free places on the land for chosen men and women whose only recommendations are vigour, capacity, and character, and will not our own Government recog-

nise the wisdom of co-operation with them to that end? It might be done on the familiar pound-for-pound principle. For example, the Dominions might offer grants of land (transferring it on their own conditions and in any case retaining the freehold until the settler had cultivated his holding satisfactorily for a stipulated number of years), equipping the farms, providing the first simple dwelling thereon, and undertaking responsibility for training and after-care; while the home Government agreed to meet the cost of personal outfit, passage money, and up to a fixed limit of house equipment and the maintenance of the settler and his family during the period which would elapse before a farm could pay its way. The distribution of all these liabilities, however, is a mere matter of detail, and would be determined by the special conditions applying in each Dominion.

The question who should be allowed to benefit by such schemes of assisted migration would need to be carefully thought out, and the final selection would naturally be determined by reasonable tests of suitability. The recruitment of the would-be settlers might be left to county welfare organisations, and private profit-seeking agents, who did so much harm in the case of the 1820 settlement enterprise, should be rigorously warned off. It should, however, be clearly understood that the home Government's grants on these special lines are intended solely, or in the main, for persons on the Employment Exchange registers or otherwise belonging to overcrowded trades. There is no reason why, with proper training, able-bodied members of any trade or profession, given average intelligence and aptitude and a clean record of character, should not make successful agriculturists, and indeed the experience of every Dominion is proving it daily.

The operation of schemes of assisted migration of this real kind would benefit the Dominions and the home country equally. In the former, the work of settlement would receive a great and immediate speeding-up; industrious communities would be planted in empty areas; lands now lying waste would be put to profitable use; and larger and bolder schemes of national development would become practicable. On the other hand, our own Government, by merely discounting and capitalising part of the unemployment relief funds now expended unproductively, and in part wastefully and harmfully, and applying the money in setting deserving but now depressed families on their feet again in more hopeful surroundings, would be grappling with the problem of unemployment on positive and constructive principles, giving promise of permanent results, while at the same time helping the cause of Empire development on more fruitful lines than heretofore.

WILLIAM HARBUTT DAWSON.

CONSTANTINOPLE AND ANGORA.

CONSTANTINOPLE, from every point of view, is always a fresh revelation of beauty, and when that point of view is the deck of a Russian emigrant ship after three winter days and nights in the Black Sea, Constantinople, with its domes and minarets, its marble palaces, its battlemented walls and wooded hills, looks indeed like *Der al Sa'adet*, the City of Felicity.

But, once you have fought your way ashore through boatmen who combine the methods of mediæval Levantine pirates with those of the latest Trades Union organisation, and through its Customs House that combines old Eastern fecklessness with a new Western thoroughness, then the vision of the City of Felicity vanishes. You find yourself in a dirty and dingy Levantine town; a town that is dying without dignity; a town that would be better dead. For Constantinople, that was the first capital of the Christian world, and a few years ago still the capital of Eastern Europe and Western Asia, does not prosper as a commercial port for the little hill capital of a peasant State. Vienna, once the capital of the Austrian Empire and the mistress of the Austrian aristocracy—the most arrogant in Europe—has found its new masters in the Balkan profiteers. Petrograd, that other famous courtesan, has fallen to the workers. Constantinople, most infamous Jezebel of all, is dying in a ditch.

And Constantinople deserves it. For centuries it has corrupted and betrayed every master. The Turks, for example, when they fell into the siren's clutches, were an honest and manly race. Young Turkey has, thank goodness, enough manliness and good sense to cast her off; but cannot make up its mind to cut loose altogether. Constantinople has been degraded from a sovereign to a "slavey"; and as a slavey is almost equally a nuisance.

I admit that I am annoyed with Constantinople. After travelling for two months, much of it alone, in the remotest and wildest corners of Soviet Russia, without losing a penny, I have been robbed three nights of the four I spent in Constantinople on the way home. It came of going to a cheap hotel. The first night I missed some money. The second I took all the usual precautions of the wary traveller and again paid toll. The third, I set a series of the most elaborate booby traps, and woke up to see the thief disappearing through the door, and fell into all the traps myself; he, probably, having happily watched the setting of them through some spyhole. Constantinople takes a lot of beating.

The Turkish national movement had learnt by bitter experience what would happen to it if the capital were kept on in Constantinople. It was a promising proof of political insight when the

new leaders of Turkey, Mustapha Kemal and the soldiers, wiser in their generation than their predecessors the Young Turks, decided to stay at Angora. But this did not altogether solve the difficulty. A white elephant is a white elephant, whether you go for a ride on it or keep it tied up in the back yard. The difficulty of the Turks is, in fact, the opposite of that of the Russians. The Russians suffer from still being cut off from the international centres of commerce and capital. The Turks suffer from still being coupled up with this international centre of commerce and capital, for which their national State has no use. The temptation to take it back as a prize of war and as a protection against further war, was no doubt great, when the defeat of the Greek invasion of Asia Minor and the collapse of the Anglo-French Allied occupation practically made them a present of it. But they do not seem to have had any clear idea of what was to be done with it.

The original idea was to clean up and Turkify it. This labour of Hercules was made possible by the sanction given in the Treaty of Lausanne to the policy of an "exchange of populations." Expressed in plain English, this broadly recognised the right of any of these Eastern nations to deport in a body all races or religions they did not like; subject to no restriction other than that their nationals should, as a reprisal, be similarly deported. The "wastage" in such an exchange, even of peasant populations, is of course enormous. Only the able bodied survive the hardship of transfer; and, of these, only a proportion take root in the new soil. Peasants are like plants. A diplomat is as at home in Lausanne as in London; but a Greek of Pontus is lost in Macedonia as is a Turk of Western Thrace in Eastern Thrace. And when exchange is applied to Constantinople, it becomes a polite word for extermination. Because Constantinople, as a commercial capital, is not, never was, and probably never will be Turkish. The whole business life of the town was in the hands of Greeks, Armenians, and Levantines; for no Turk ever yet was a trader. They may learn trade in time. But to begin with, Constantinople is rather like a farmer taking on the business of a bankrupt and very disreputable broker. If the Greeks and Armenians are all deported, as they are now being from the Patriarch downwards, the business dies. If they are not all deported, then those left will demoralise their Turkish proprietors and partners.

That is the present problem. And those who, like the writer of this article and many English, want to help the Turks in their effort to set up a clean and wholesome national State, have some difficulty in giving advice and assistance. Probably the best way out of the difficulty would be for Angora to apply the provision of the "Fundamental Statute," the written constitution of the Turkish nation, which promises self-government to Constantinople.

By making the town itself a free port, with full autonomy, it could be cut out of the Turkish body politic in which it now threatens to become a cancer. Constantinople, even with its business population half deported and its business activities more than half dead, is still a danger to the Turkish nation.

The gravitational pull of Constantinople on Angora is still that of a very large and sophisticated city over a very small and simple country town. It is all very well for Angora to turn up its nose at and to turn away its eyes from Constantinople. It is all very well for Mustapha Kemal, when on his way to such regions as cannot be reached by rail, to take ship at Moudania and steam past Constantinople without stopping as though there was nothing there. Constantinople is none the less there.

Mussulman law says a marriage with a fairy is valid, but a marriage with a Djinn is null and void. Angora has married a Djinn and should annul the marriage. It can then bottle up the Djinn in a municipal government of its own and put a treaty seal on the cork. The treaty might be an European guarantee of Turkish territories on the Straits in return for a Turkish guarantee of a control by Pera-Galata of its community and commerce, including customs.

If Constantinople is left tacked on to the body politic of Turkey, the tail will before long again wag the dog. The solid ranks of the Republican Nationalists are dividing, now that the fighting front against the foreigner need no longer be maintained.

The inevitable division between Conservative and Progressive has already developed. A new party of Progressive Republicans, made up of a combination of liberal intellectuals and the remains of the old C.U.P. and Ittihad Young Turks—men and women who see farther and think faster than the farmers and shopkeepers of up-country Asia Minor—have already forced Mustapha Kemal and his diehards to define themselves as Popular Republicans. The base of these Progressives is now necessarily Constantinople; and a Constantinople that sees its one chance of survival in "penetrating" politically that puritan hill town Angora. This Progressive Party has captured not only the intellectual leaders like Adnan, but even successful soldiers like Rafet. Without Constantinople, the new party would be a necessary, a natural, and a thoroughly wholesome development. With Constantinople as its centre and support, it means the ultimate victory of Constantinople over Angora.

There could be no greater contrast conceivable in the matter of cities than that between Constantinople and Angora. Constantinople is, from outside, a dream of beauty. Angora is not. Angora is, for the present, virile and virtuous. Constantinople

is not. Constantinople could never be anything but a world capital and a culture centre. It will take Turkey all its time to make Angora into a capital worthy of a nation of peasants and small traders.

Angora can now be reached with comparatively little trouble and in comparative comfort. But, from a tourist point of view, the journey is not worth the trouble; for the discomforts of a stay there are still considerable. A large hotel is building—and has been for some time. Meantime a traveller has to take what is left in a town where members of the Government are sleeping in their offices, and four or five in a room at that.

Angora, with its citadel on a bluff over a river, its main street with a few shabby shops, its provincial Government buildings that have now to do duty as national Ministries, its burnt-out Christian quarter, and its scattering of modern and modest houses, might be any Anatolian country town. And, as a Turkish official explained, it is a good place to work in, for there is nothing else to do. Certainly, the Turkish government officials do now work hard and honestly, relatively speaking. Two years ago their honesty was still absolute. But Constantinople has been putting in a good deal of permeation and penetration. You cannot bribe an Angora official as you used to do a Pasha of the Ottoman Porte. But he very often has a friend in Constantinople whom you will be well advised to make a sleeping partner. It is this sort of liaison between that old cosmopolitan Levantine courtesan of the Golden Horn and the young national Government at Angora that gives anxiety to the foreign friends of Turkey.

How is it that Constantinople is getting a hold over Angora, even while Angora is bullying and boycotting the ex-capital? Well—Angora is deadly dull and very unhealthy. It enjoys all the disadvantages both of a high-level and low-lying site. It has the trying extremes of temperature of the former and the diseases of the latter. Though it is on a barren, stony plateau, it nevertheless is surrounded by malarial, mosquito-haunted swamps. After a few months of eating, sleeping and working in an Angora office, the most strenuous Turk looks forward to a holiday in Constantinople with an almost passionate longing: an appointment in Stamboul becomes his dream of delight. For example, I left Constantinople with a most unhappy man. As an Angora official he had applied for a foreign Mission to escape at all costs from Angora. Soon after he wangled his way to heaven, otherwise into a post in Constantinople. But, alas, the first application that he had forgotten all about took effect all the same, and there he was *en route* for a remote Northern Legation.

Life in Angora can be led on the less than modest pay allowed by the new peasant State; but life in Constantinople means ex-

pensive motor cars and mistresses and, moreover, the money to pay for them. For those pleasant foreigners of gentlemanly manners who haunt the Pera clubs and hotels can always put a Turkish friend from Angora on to a good thing.

No wonder Constantinople is beginning to console itself a little. It has been through it all before, and history has a way of repeating itself. When the Crusaders in the early Middle Ages overthrew the Byzantine Empire, the Greeks, driven from Constantinople, set up a little national State in Anatolia with a country town capital just as did the Turks five years ago, when driven out by the Allied occupation. This kingdom flourished under the Laskaris rulers and became a wholesome, hardworking little State. Thus John III was a farmer king and a father of his people, quite in the manner of Angora. When his wife asked him for a new crown, he told her to start a chicken farm; and two years later gave her a crown bought from the profits. But, later, when Constantinople was recovered and the kingdom became the Greek Empire, then it also became Byzantine and Levantine again. All the old corruption and decadence revived until, in the last stage of imperial decadence, it fell to the Turks. And if the Republic of Angora is to avoid a like fate and escape becoming again an Ottoman Empire, it must cut the Constantinople cancer out of its body politic.

How can we help Turkey to do this? In the first place, by making it easy for them to give Constantinople self-government and semi-independence. It is impossible for them to do this so long as the Allied Powers maintain their diplomatic Missions at Constantinople. No doubt the idea of exchanging a palace on the Bosphorus for a wooden hut at Angora is unpleasant to a Minister Plenipotentiary. But the Russians and Germans have already partly transferred their Missions and have thereby secured a valuable diplomatic advantage. The French are arranging to do so. There are the makings of a diplomatic deal in getting commercial autonomy for Constantinople in return for political acceptance of Angora as the capital and financial help to the Turkish State.

In the second place, we can help in making Angora habitable. Americans, who have made the Isthmus of Panamá a health resort, would find it easy to clean up the malaria and clear off the mosquitos from the Angora plateau. What finer job could the Rockefeller foundation have than saving a young nation from relapsing into the corruption of the Constantinople cesspit by making its new capital habitable?

In the third place, there is further humanitarian help required in settling the Turks deported from Greece under the exchange of populations. The Turks suffer under this policy more than

any other race, perhaps justly, as they are more responsible. They are an admirable but very unadaptable people. All along the Gulf of Ismid, South of Constantinople, the fine orchards and market gardens of the deported Greeks have dried up, because the Turks who have taken their place know only how to grow tobacco. These tobacco plantations are now beginning to yield; but in the meantime nearly a hundred thousand of European Turks, the finest of races, have perished of hardship and hunger. Later immigrants are to-day perishing in the villages north of Constantinople. A relief organisation to keep them and their successors going until they can strike root in a new soil would be the best guarantee to Turkey that the Western Powers meant well to the new nation. And such help would be worth while. The various industries of Anatolia, such as carpet-making, etc., have been transferred to Greece with the deported Greek workers. Anatolia has become purely agricultural, but its mineral resources remain. Any capitalist country getting the confidence of the Turks by really helping them now would reap a royal reward in some of the richest mineral resources remaining in the world.

GEORGE YOUNG.

A TWISTED MASTERPIECE.

THE purpose of this essay is to describe, as exactly as may prove feasible, the reason of an effect which *King Lear* produces upon most readers. This is so magnificent a work, its beauty and pathos are so profound and all-appealing, that we are reluctant to detect a sense of dissatisfaction, uneasiness, perhaps even of repulsion. But that something is amiss, that *King Lear* stands somehow on a different plane from *Macbeth*, *Othello* and *Hamlet*, will scarcely be denied. Professor Bradley writes: * "This tragedy is certainly the least popular of the famous four. The 'general reader' reads it less often than the others, and, though he acknowledges its greatness, he will sometimes speak of it with a certain distaste. It is also the least often presented on the stage, and the least successful there." He goes on to tell of Nahum Tate's "happy-ending" version, which held the stage for a hundred and fifty years, until well into the nineteenth century. The fact is that the strictly dramatic merits of this play are vastly inferior to its excellence as a poem; and the uneasiness, the dissatisfaction, above mentioned are due ultimately to the jar between comparative dramatic poverty and immense poetical wealth.

But where, precisely, lies the element which produces this feeling? If the reader questions himself he will probably find that his awe and delight are almost wholly confined to the storm-scenes of the Third Act and those passages in which Lear takes part after his recovery; and that, when the work is candidly considered as a whole, an undeniable element in his impression is a sense of perversion, morbidity, something unbalanced, even half-witted. The tone which causes this element is utterly different from the playfulness of *A Midsummer Night's Dream*, from the supernatural features in *Macbeth*, even from the feverish sense of disjointedness which arises in *Hamlet*. What we feel is not so much that man's world is terrifyingly immense and mysterious, nor that it is out of joint, but that it is *sick*, afflicted with some corrupting malady. This impression arises only in slight degree from the poignant statements made by Lear and others as to the unnatural villainy shown by certain characters of the play. Its main cause is that Shakespeare, profoundly concerned to present one of the most universal and simple human interests, has been comparatively indifferent to the dramatic structure underlying that presentation.

It has often been remarked how strangely slight is the effect upon us of the battle, which indeed occupies an almost ludicrously

* *Shakespearean Tragedy*, p. 243.

small area of the text. But this forms only one example of an extremely odd feature which marks the whole drama, which accounts more than any other single cause for the dubious feeling of readers, and which provides some clue to Shakespeare's purpose, or (more accurately) to his frame of mind, when he conceived the whole. Yet this feature seems never to have been clearly indicated by any critic. It may be thus described, with some exaggeration for the sake of brevity and clearness: *the whole political framework is a sham*. That is, though of course all such facts as Lear's partition of his kingdom, the French invasion, and the minor political data clustering round them, are to be accepted as true, they make no difference to the spiritual nature and progress of the tragedy, which in its essentials would be unchanged if the story were shifted from the regal and national plane into the conditions of private life.* How much should we lose if Lear were a landowner dividing a thousand acres and three villages between his children, if Gloucester were one of his tenants, and the princely suitors of Cordelia a couple of foreign merchants?

The one exception is the invasion by France, and this is precisely why the invasion jars upon us æsthetically, and why the poet has instinctively given such a tiny space to the battle itself. It serves to remind us, too, that Lear has intended to bestow one-third of Britain upon the French king—or indeed the Duke of Burgundy; it seems to matter little to this extraordinary monarch. But one hardly notices that ludicrous fact, simply because no one, not even Shakespeare, ever thinks of Lear as a king at all, save in a ceremonial sense. The stage-direction, "Enter, with drum and colours, Lear, Cordelia, and their Forces" is painfully grotesque; one would as naturally expect "Enter, with drum and colours, Little Nell, her Grandfather, and their Forces."

No poet can give a national scope to his play by the simple expedient of naming his characters Kings and Dukes. From beginning to end there is scarcely a hint that any act performed by Lear or others has the slightest bearing on the national interests, scarcely the gleam of a conception that there is such a thing as the commonwealth. Lear certainly exclaims (III. iv. 32 sqq) "O! I have ta'en Too little care of this," but nothing else of the kind do we hear from him, and even this brief phrase points more to personal kindness than public spirit. Kent makes allusion (III. i. 31) to "this scatter'd kingdom," and Albany (V. i. 20-27) speaks of persons "whom the rigour of our state Forc'd to cry out" and whom "most just and heavy causes make oppose"—

* Such a transference is to be found in Tourgénief's *A King Lear of the Steppes*.

words which presumably refer only to the treatment of Lear. Finally, Albany exclaims (V. iii. 321 sq):

Friends of my soul, you twain
Rule in this realm, and the gor'd state sustain.

This last, it must be owned, is much to our purpose; but we observe with stupefaction that Albany proposes again to divide the crown at the very instant when that policy has given such hideous results.

These microscopic evidences of political sanity are all that can be set against the prevailing assumption that a king owns his territories as he owns his gloves. Contrast *King Lear* in this regard with *Macbeth*, where, despite the magnificent power and sustained attention which are lavished upon the personal aims and character of the usurper, we are never allowed to forget the misery wrought by him upon the whole nation. Where in our play do we discover anything corresponding to that conversation between Macduff and Malcolm which dwells with vehemence and detail upon the sufferings of Scotland? Let us observe an even more interesting example. As it happens, Shakespeare has twice given us a scene where South Britain is divided into three realms. Here is the geography of *King Lear*:

Of all these bounds, even from this line to this,
With shadowy forests and with champains rich'd,
With plenteous rivers and wide-skirted meads,
We make thee lady . . .

To thee and thine, hereditary ever,
Remain this ample third of our fair kingdom,
Not less in space, validity, and pleasure,
Than that conferr'd on Goneril.

Contrast with this infantile vagueness the arrangement between Mortimer, Hotspur, and Glendower (*Henry IV.*, Pt. I, III. i.):

England, from Trent and Severn hitherto,
By south and east, is to my part assign'd:
All westward, Wales beyond the Severn shore,
And all the fertile land within that bound,
To Owen Glendower; and, dear coz, to you
The remnant northward, lying off from Trent . . .

Methinks my moiety, north from Burton here,
In quantity equals not one of yours:
See how this river comes me cranking in,
And cuts me from the best of all my land
A huge half-moon, a monstrous cantle out.

It is obvious to reply that *Henry the Fourth* is a historical play, whereas in *King Lear* all we can say as to dates is that the events happen in vague and very remote antiquity: "This prophecy

Merlin shall make; for I live before his time." But the answer is invalid. Why should Shakespeare not assume that in Lear's day Trent and Severn existed, and under those names? Even Burton is not out of the question; when personal interests and superb word-pictures are to his mind, he can mention Dover and its cliff; moreover, three of the characters take their titles from English counties.

Strangely associated with this nervelessness in imagining the political bearings of kingship, is an equally curious insistence upon the purely personal and spectacular side of Lear's rank. This, of course, at once strikes us in the bickering about the size of his retinue; an attempt to imagine discussions of the kind in *Macbeth* or *Hamlet* emphasises instantly the downright babyishness of *King Lear* in some of its assumptions—and it is precisely this combination of babyishness with immense poetical force which produces the sense of something crooked or half-witted. But, further, this effect is strongly reinforced by the horrible insistence of others (in the unhappy Lear himself, of course, it is excusable) upon this personal and spectacular side of kingship after Lear has lost his reason. And this attitude is taken up by Kent almost throughout. Never has the theory of "divine right" been pushed to such insane lengths. It is nothing short of nauseating to watch this unhappy lunatic, who we have no reason to suppose ever conferred, even in his sane years, any notable benefit upon his country, regarded with an adulation which Augustus and Charlemagne scarcely deserved.

Moreover, the presentation itself of Lear's madness adds much to the effect we are considering. It is by no means implied that a drama is rendered half-witted if its main personage is depicted as insane. The scenes of Lear's frenzy are magnificently, overwhelmingly, tragic. But those which exhibit him as a nerveless gambolling idiot are merely hideous. Let us not suppose that these things increase the pathos. There is a point beyond horror and pity: Lear "fantastically dressed with flowers" and gabbling like Tom o' Bedlam is matter for loathing. His splendid speeches about authority and the like do not mend matters. By the time he runs out with imbecile ejaculations, his keepers at his heels, we feel with one of the bystanders that the sight is "past speaking of in a king"; the page is infected with a noisome odour. Small wonder that the play is seldom acted!

Another and possibly even more potent cause of this sense that there is something unbalanced in the tragedy, lies in what may best perhaps be summed up as its grossness of fibre. This quality has various manifestations. One of them is grossness in the narrow and most familiar sense; the language at times is not

merely "outspoken," but rank, and though there is no more of this talk than in many other plays, it is strange to find such a person as Lear almost obsessed by the topic.* A second instance of this grossness or coarseness is Lear's monstrous irritability and injustice throughout the earlier half of the play. His treatment of Cordelia and Kent, and his frantically exaggerated outburst against Goneril because of her request that he should "disquantify his train," are all of course dramatically justified as the necessary foundation of later events; they provide moreover a piercingly pathetic contrast with his gentleness later. But they are none the less coarse and raw in themselves.

A more curious example is rankness or morbid artificiality of style. Lear speaks of him "that makes his generation messes To serve his appetite" (I. i. 119 sq.). Kent gives us the astonishing sentence, "Nothing almost sees miracles But misery" (II. ii. 172 sq.). When Edgar plainly asks (IV. vi. 217), "How near's the other army?" he is answered in this fashion:

Near, and on speedy foot; the main descry
Stands on the hourly thought.

But the palm should be awarded to Gloucester's phrase, "All cruels else subscrib'd" (III. vii. 65). This is no sort of human language. And the impression of unevenness in manner is reinforced when we observe that this same play contains equally arresting passages of exactly opposite style. Such things as Edgar's (V. ii. 9 sqq):

Men must endure
Their going hence, even as their coming hither:
Ripeness is all,

and his marvellous "Bear free and patient thoughts" (IV. vi. 81), are notable triumphs of the sublime and simple manner.

The third element of this kind lies in the crudity wherewith certain of the characters are projected. Regan and Goneril are thoroughly unsatisfactory; it would be difficult to find in Shakespeare another character of equal importance who is so clumsily imagined. The defect or difficulty about them is not chiefly, nor indeed markedly, that they present us with the mystery of unredeemed evil. Edmund is plainly more Iago-like, and he is admirably drawn. Regan and Goneril resemble Iago only in their wickedness; as dramatic figures they are immensely below him. Sometimes they are merely objectionable, sometimes they are rawly melodramatic; never are they tragic. In the early scenes they are simply unpleasant women who have much sound, if cold-blooded, logic on their side. Knowing Lear well, they

* This point has been noted and developed with splendid vigour and skill by Mr. Gordon Bottomley in *King Lear's Wife*.

realise that their chance of securing shares in his kingdom lies in effusive protestations of love. That they supply these, and insincerely, is no doubt wrong enough; but this vital point of technique must be noted, that even if their conduct be put at its worst, it is too trivial, too commonplace and prosaic, to constitute or help to constitute great figures of tragedy.

The same objection applies, but more fatally, to the recalcitrance shown by Regan and Goneril over the entertainment of Lear's knights. Is there any reader who has not found these scenes tiresome and aesthetically distressing? That uncomfortable effect springs from two causes. The first is the strange lack of incisiveness—only half-veiled by the pungent language—in demonstrating the dramatic values. It is by no means clear that the daughters are lying when they complain of the knights' behaviour; or that Lear is not causing unnecessary trouble by wandering in and out of his daughter's house with a hundred knights, their squires, and horses; or (on the other hand) that Regan and Goneril ought not in any case to endure this nuisance, or that Lear has not still so much regal authority left that herein his will is law. The second cause is, once more, the triviality of the whole dispute when considered in the light of tragic art. If we go back to our imagined landowner and his three villages, their conduct corresponds to that of two grasping middle-class women who should deny their aged father his churchwarden pipe. It is detestable, but it is not enough.

The whole conflict,* up to a point, is a mean squabble put into tragic diction. Up to a point: for the poet suddenly remembers (if we may so put it) that Regan and Goneril are taking part in a tragedy. Then he leaps forward from the commonplace, but not into tragedy: he overpasses that whole domain and reaches melodrama. The daughters allow their father to pass the night unsheltered amid a frightful storm, with very little reason even from their own callous standpoint. Gloucester's eyes are put out in the presence of the audience in a scene which even the grim Tourneur would have deleted. On the other side, much of the later activity shown by Regan and Goneril consists in armed resistance to the French invasion, a resistance obviously just if we are to take the politics of the play seriously, yet apparently meant to be looked on as wicked because Lear and Cordelia are in the French camp. But intertwined with this are the love-affairs of Edmund and the sisters, intrigues in which it is impossible to take any interest, and scarcely to believe. Nevertheless these

* The reader will remember that we are discussing construction, and are leaving on one side such things as Lear's emotions. The picture of his attempts at self-control, for instance, is beyond all praise.

intrigues cause Goneril of a sudden to murder Regan and commit suicide. So unconvincing is the situation that we feel no thrill of satisfaction, resentment, horror, or any other kind of interest. Finally, we learn that one of the sisters has signed the order for the execution of her father and sister—an act not more vile than insanely unmotivated.

These women are mere *simulacra* dressed out in exaggerated vices and blazing with theatrical devilry. Even as “fiends” they are wooden and unreal; when the comparatively normal plane is left behind, they never move like animate beings, but jerk convulsively into incredible depravities. A play which depends for its action so considerably on two such glaringly-daubed puppets cannot be accounted, whatever its other merits, as taking high dramatic rank. The truth is that they exist and act merely to call forth, at whatever cost to probability, an element infinitely greater and infinitely more valued by the poet, Lear’s experiences and speeches.

These are the main causes of that distaste which the play from time to time produces. There are others: in particular, a doubt as to Lear’s precise status after his abdication, and a recurrent feeling that the plot is loosely knit, due to the large number of speeches on the same topic, the vagueness which marks the account of the movements in Act II, and the improbabilities, inconsistencies, or puzzles, which Professor Bradley* mentions, and to which should be added the poet’s failure to explain the beginning of friction between Albany and Cornwall (II. i. 11).

But as we have spoken at length of Goneril and Regan, it is fitting to add some remarks on Lear’s other daughter. Cordelia is perhaps the finest example to be found in dramatic literature of what can be produced, in supremely skilful hands, by a method of portraiture usually and deservedly unsuccessful—the method, that is, of constructing a character out of comments made by those who come into contact with it, instead of causing it to develop and express itself. The immense superiority in vital effect of Cleopatra to Julius Cæsar is due, above all other causes, to this, that our knowledge of Julius Cæsar is mainly derived from what Cassius and other Romans say about him, whereas Cleopatra’s amazing vigour makes us independent of any aid from Enobarbus or Charmian. Cordelia belongs technically to the class of Julius Cæsar; but so adroitly and with such love has Shakespeare worked, that most of us never observe how largely our conception of her as one of his most beautiful creations is based upon what is said about her by Lear, Kent, and the unnamed Gentleman of Act IV, Scene iii—we attribute marvellous nobility and rareness

* *Shakespearean Tragedy*, pp. 448 sqq.

of soul to a woman perfectly ordinary in nature and conduct.*

Her part is curiously small in comparison with its importance, and lies in two widely-sundered passages—the scenes where Lear divides his kingdom, and the passages between him and Cordelia after he recovers sanity. Now, as to the former of these portions, what is it but superstitious reverence for Shakespeare which impels us to find anything remarkable in Cordelia’s conduct? She acts precisely as nine women out of ten would have acted, both in her first reply, “Nothing, my lord,” and, when pressed to speak again, in her “according to my bond” and other sullen-seeming words. Do we forget that she is asked before a whole court by her father, not only how well she loves him, but actually what she can say to outvie her sister’s protestations, and that, too, for the purpose of securing a gift? Again, in the final scenes between father and daughter, the pathos and charm spring almost wholly from Lear. Cordelia shows tenderness, pity, and love, most wonderfully expressed; but only her language is abnormal. Here, again, she is an ordinary loving tender woman with a strong light thrown upon her by the wickedness of her sisters. We must not fall into the common error of supposing a character great because involved in a surpassingly pitiful or exciting or dangerous situation.

One of the most pleasant features in the history of literature is the impulse under which the greatest writers have composed masterpieces “to please themselves.” Not that their other works did not yield them pleasure; not that hitherto they have misrepresented their own beliefs and feelings in order to edify the world; the point is that, whereas they are normally constrained by artistic dutifulness or a sense of responsibility to the public, nevertheless such a master may on occasion say to himself: “Let me write to-day just what comes into my head, following my own unfettered instinct. Let my readers or audience lose the track if they must; let the stage-manager cry as loud as he will that my drama cannot be staged; let critics complain that a performance would last twenty-four hours or that the subject is no proper material for art. I will for once write what I feel inclined to write.”

So it comes about that Browning dilates on a single criminal trial in a poem as long as the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey* taken together; for though one recognises the sound and indeed magnificent principle of composition on which *The Ring and the Book* rests, one feels that the poem could yet have been extensively pruned down. So it comes about that Goethe conceived *Faust*,

* Victor Hugo even regarded her, rather than Lear, as the central figure of the play. (Dowden, *Shakespeare: His Mind and Art*, p. 274.)

expressing a titanic gusto for all life's manifestations by an immense poetical edifice containing not only superb halls and galleries, but endless nooks and passages, rambling annexes, and a mythological museum. So even Sophocles at the close of his long life, despite his Attic spirit of self-repression, puts his profoundest sense of the pathos and mystery of life into the *Oedipus Coloneus*, a drama far longer than the normal, which demands considerable service from the fourth actor elsewhere almost unknown, and the closing scene of which, while surpassing in sublimity all other achievements of Athenian literature, is on the technical side highly unusual in length and slowness of development. So, in the nineteenth century, Ibsen, the master of stage-technique, presented the world, when he composed *Peer Gynt*, with a play which, in virtue not only of its extent but of its matter, is well-nigh unactable.* So, finally, Mr. Thomas Hardy turns from the humble scenes wherein his wizardry throws round a Berkshire milestone, or a chance-split wooden die, or the very mud of a highway at dawn, an aura of yearning, passion, or adventure, and shows forth the working of Fate on an immense stage where the back-scene is the coastline of a continent or a bird's-eye prospect over an empire.

Such a work as these Shakespeare has executed in *King Lear*, like them not only in its godlike spaciousness but also in its deep allegiance to the artist's own inclination. He has failed to remove inconsistencies, to avoid obscurity; his psychology, as often as not, is crude or distorted; the political conditions which give high colour and light have no structural import. For all such things he cares little as he pursues his one true purpose, to depict at their highest power the agony, the rapture, the illumination, which hover round a man from the moment in which a child is born to him.

GILBERT NORWOOD.

* A remark of his, concerning a critic's theory as to the Strange Passenger, is much to our point. "If my head had been on the block, and such an explanation would have saved my life, it would never have occurred to me. I never thought of such a thing. I stuck in the scene as a mere caprice." (Introduction to W. and C. Archer's translation, p. xxiv.)

THE NONCONFORMIST MOSLEMS OF ALBANIA.

THE most desultory student of Balkan politics is aware that three religions co-exist in Albania, viz., the Roman Catholic in the north, Mahomedan in the centre, and Greek Orthodox in the south. But not everyone seems aware that the Mahomedans are further sub-divided into orthodox Moslems (*Sunnis*), who inhabit central Albania, and *Shia* sectarians of the Bektashi religious order, who live chiefly in the south. Otherwise certain writers could scarcely have stigmatised last summer's insurrection as a crusade of Christians against Moslems: in point of fact, it was a rebellion of the liberal, progressive Catholics, Orthodox, and Bektashis combined against the hide-bound, reactionary *Sunnis* of Ahmed Zogu's party. In these circumstances English readers may find some interest in an account of the Bektashis which will at least try to explain this union of Christian and Moslem against Moslem.

Albania is now the most important sphere of Bektashi activities; but the order is of Asia Minor origin, its reputed founder being Hadji Bektash, a fourteenth century saint who is traditionally said to have consecrated the first Janissaries raised by Sultan Orkhan. This consecration, says the legend, is commemorated in the Janissary headdress, where the flap behind is intended to recall the saint's sleeve, which slipped back as he raised his hand to bless the new recruits. The legend is picturesque, but probably not to be taken too seriously, especially as nothing is really known of the saint except that he lies buried in a convent (*tekke*) called by his name near Kirshehr in the depths of Asia Minor, and frequented by Bektashis as the centre of their order. It is not even certain how far he is responsible for present Bektashi beliefs, which have been much influenced by the Hurufi order. The latter was founded by a Persian mystic named Fadlullah, whom one of Timur the Tartar's sons martyred about fifty years after the alleged date of Hadji Bektash's death. Soon after, Fadlullah's disciples introduced the Hurufi doctrines, with their Persian tincture, to the inmates of Hadji Bektash's convent as the secret learning of Hadji Bektash himself. The simple dervishes accepted this and thenceforward, Hadji Bektash being still regarded as orthodox by the *Sunnis*, the Hurufi used his name as a stalking horse for the wider dissemination among the laity of their heretical beliefs. In this way the heresy was enabled to spread more or less unnoticed, until a considerable number of daughter convents had been established in Asia Minor, each with its dervish founder buried in it and worshipped as its chief saint.

Meantime the order had been gradually forming a connection with the Janissaries, no doubt for the purpose of their religious propaganda, while the soldiers, who had early begun to dabble in politics, found the dervishes useful in their political intrigues. Their connection remained unofficial until the end of the sixteenth century, by which time it was a matter of course that Bektashis should accompany the Janissaries everywhere, as the number of Bektashi tombs still extant in Turkish garrison centres testifies. By the opening years of the nineteenth century Bektashi doctrines held sway in almost every Turkish village in Asia and Europe, while the Janissaries had become as much of a political as a military force in the empire, even making and unmaking Sultans at their pleasure. The reforming Sultan, Mahmud II, therefore, considered both a dangerous menace to the State and, to get rid of them, ordered a general massacre in 1826. He succeeded in permanently breaking the Janissaries but only crippled their dervish supporters, who lay low for a time and then emerged to grow stronger than ever. Albania, being remote and inadequately controlled by Turkey, was admirably adapted for both purposes.

This Bektashi need for shelter, by giving the dervishes opportunities to push their propaganda, probably changed the fortunes of Albania, which hitherto had not been much touched by the heresy. True, Ali Pasha of Tepelen and Yannina (1750-1822) had highly favoured and advanced the order for his own ends. As is well known from the writings of Colonel Leake and others, it was his ambition to carve himself out an independent satrapy from the Turkish empire, for which purpose, like the Janissaries before him, he found the Bektashis useful tools. One dervish, for instance, he used regularly as a diplomatic agent, another toured Albania, collecting contributions and doubtless information also for his master. In return Ali, who was possibly himself a lay member of the sect, built and endowed several Bektashi *tekkes*, but death ended his favours in 1822 when, in accordance with an early prophecy, he took his last journey to Constantinople "with a red beard." Afterwards, no doubt, his patronage did the Bektashis no good, while Sultan Mahmud's massacre, with all its consequences, followed immediately, as related above. The order nevertheless spread underground, until in the eighties of last century its members were again strong enough to take a prominent part in the agitation for Albanian independence, with which they have been closely and honourably associated ever since.

The protagonists of this early movement were the three Frasheri brothers, Sami, Abdul, and Naim. If not themselves actually Bektashis, they came of Bektashi stock and dreamt of making their creed the State religion of an autonomous Albania. Politic-

ally, they made little headway: Bismarck cynically answered their pleadings for freedom by bidding them "well water Albania with blood" first, while Abdul died a lingering death in a Turkish prison. On the other hand, their literary leanings, particularly Naim's, are "still speaking" in Albania. The indigenous Albanian language was at that time without an alphabet and almost unwritten. Accordingly, whether the history of Greece and Serbia had taught him that the cultivation of his country's vernacular would afford a skilful means of undermining Turkish domination, or whether he merely wished to encourage education among his illiterate countrymen, Naim set himself to invent an alphabet and compose books, many of which are still widely read. Unfortunately, Turkey had become belatedly aware of the danger of allowing her *rayah* and non-Turkish subjects to read and write their own language, so she forbade the printing of books in Albanian within the Turkish empire and their importation from abroad. The Bektashis, however, came to the rescue. Many a foreign consulate's *cavass*, as a good Bektashi, had the forbidden books sent him from abroad under cover of the consulate's inviolability and distributed them to eager learners: many a dervish, too, acted as carrier of such books and, being caught, was imprisoned for the same. And so, in spite of Turkish obstruction, the educational movement slowly spread.

Then came the Young Turk revolution with its promise of better things. The Albanian Bektashis took the professions of the Young Turks at their face value and voted solid for them, only to be disillusioned. Thereupon they reverted to the Frasheri ideal of Albanian independence, which brought them into conflict, not only with Turkey, but also with the Christian States that were waiting to step into her shoes. It is therefore not surprising that their nationalism cost them dear in the disorders which succeeded the Balkan wars, when Greek irregulars left scarcely a *tekke* standing in the south, while in the centre Serbian guerillas and Essad Pasha's *Sunni* partisans were equally thorough. They have now their reward, however, in the official position granted them in the young State of Albania, where, of the four Regents who head the administration, one must be Bektashi, as the others must be respectively Catholic, *Sunni*, and Greek Orthodox. In the security thus afforded them they are fast rebuilding their burnt sanctuaries, which now, to the number of nearly sixty, crowd south and central Albania as far north as Kruya and have even penetrated to fanatically *Sunni* Elbassan. The latest manifestation of their activity is the recent revolt, when, side by side, the Catholics of Scutari, the Orthodox of Koritza, and the Bektashis of Frasheri marched out to deliver their country from the tyranny of Ahmed

Zogu's feudal *Sunni* partisans, and the threat to Albanian independence which Ahmed's exaggeratedly pro-Serbian sympathies were thought to imply.

Evidently, then, Bektashism is a powerful factor in Albanian history and politics, conciliating the Christians enough to make them forget their age-long antipathy to Islam, yet remaining itself a very living force within that religion. It is by no means uninteresting to seek the explanation of such a paradox. In its organisation there is nothing extraordinary. The rank and file are not outwardly distinguishable from other Moslems but recognise each other by a secret sign, consisting, it is said, in a certain, apparently casual, touching of the chin. Above them are dervishes, conspicuous by their tall, ridged hats of white felt, and celibate or married according to the branch they choose: a single earring denotes a celibate. As usual with Eastern priestly castes, they are bearded, the Serbs rousing more resentment by shaving the abbot of Martanesh than by burning his *tekke*. Laymen live at home, but dervishes must reside in a convent (*tekke*), which the donations of the pious living and the legacies of the dead support: its essential feature is an oratory (*ibadet hane*) for common worship, and in it dervishes, as they die, are buried: a proper mosque is never attached.

Dervishes are appointed by abbots (*babas*), who generally preside each over a *tekke* and are themselves, if of the celibate branch, appointed either by the superior abbots called *khalifehs*, of whom three exist in Albania alone, or by the Akhi Dede, supreme head of the celibates, who lives in the central *tekke* in Asia Minor. Should a vacancy occur in this office, it is filled by the dervishes of this *tekke* from among themselves, as Cardinals elect a new Pope from their own number. It is remarkable that the Akhi Dede's are generally Albanians, the intelligence of the race bringing them to the front in this as in other spheres. Latterly in Albania the tendency has been for the local *khalifehs* rather than the distant Akhi Dede to appoint abbots, an innovation due to the present Balkan rage for autocephalous Churches, which has so infected Albania that the Catholics of the north actually talk of disowning the supremacy of the Pope. Married abbots depend on the Akhi Dede's rival, the Tchelebi, who is himself married and claims to descend actually from Hadji Bektash, but the claim is not recognised by celibates, who keep him outside the central *tekke*.

In this Bektashi hierarchy there is nothing unusual to attract proselytes, but in their theology there is. They profess belief in God, Mahomed, his daughter Fatima, her husband Ali, and their sons Hassan and Hussein, Ali being obscurely identified with Mahomed, esteemed next to God, and considered to be represented

on earth by any or every abbot, who is to be venerated accordingly. They believe further in the Twelve Imams, Moses, Mary, Jesus, and saints both ancient and modern. This worship of dead saints and of living abbots as saints on earth may be crude but has something tangible in it which appeals strongly to illiterate and superstitious minds. As to their form of worship, it is concealed from all but initiates and is therefore imperfectly known. Public prayers take place in the oratory of the parish *tekke* at sunrise and sundown only, not five times a day as in orthodox Islam. The abbot sits in his privileged corner, reciting prayers, some from the Koran, while the devotees squat in a semi-circle and bow to him, as Ali's representative, at intervals: twelve candles for the twelve Imams burn on a three-tiered altar. No ritual ablutions precede the prayer, no genuflexions accompany it, as with *Sunnis*. Nor is it necessary to go to the *tekke* more than twice a year. It is said that Bektashi women, unlike their *Sunni* sisters, may join the men in prayer, but this seems doubtful, though there are certainly women members of the order. It is unknown whether Bektashis pray at home, as *Sunnis* do.

Vague as this information is, it makes it clear that less taxing prayers are enjoined on Bektashis than on their orthodox brethren. They are allowed more liberty also in such details of daily observance as the veiling of women and abstention from strong drink, while instead of Ramazan they keep the less rigorous Persian fast that commemorates the murdered sons of Ali. This greater freedom is attractive to Albanians, whose temperament dislikes discipline.

On the ethical side Bektashi doctrines have a considerable human appeal. Metempsychosis is preached. Death is but a change, souls merely pass on, men's to men, women's to women, animals' to animals, for women and animals in Bektashi, though not in *Sunni*, popular thought have souls. As a man does in this life, so will his soul's next reincarnation be, for better or for worse. Love is the mainspring of life: all men are brothers, women are men's equals, Bektashis should love their brothers, and their sisters, as themselves, but most of all should they love their country, because patriotism is the highest of human virtues—this last a point of much importance in Albanian eyes. Bektashis should also turn the cheek to the smiter, abstain from violence, injustice, and untruthfulness, honour great and small, and show charity and hospitality to all men. This Bektashi gospel, so different from the conventional "fiery sword of Islam," is actively preached: its emphasis on ethics differentiates it sharply from the other religions of the Near East which are only too often merely barren ritual, and therefore it is alive as they are stagnant.

Moreover, Bektashis generally practise what they preach, a feat

they owe to careful selection of candidates in the first instance. Not everyone may become a Bektashi: neither heredity nor any other accident helps. Instead, a satisfactory sponsor must guarantee that the candidate believes in God and is of good moral character: he must also be come to years of discretion and understand the vows he takes. Lay members are made dervishes only after several years' probation in a *tekke* under the abbot's supervision and instruction: would-be abbots, for their further discipline and deeper initiation into Bektashi tenets, must serve under a *khalifeh* or at the Hadji Bektash *tekke* in Asia Minor. Then, with that curious mingling of the crude and the sublime which characterises them, they take certain precautions to prevent initiates from breaking their vows. Thus, at the banquet which precedes a layman's admission, there is much talk of the mystery to which he is about to be introduced, hobgoblin tales are told to his simple mind of the evil fate which even in this life befell those who forswore their vows—one went mad, another broke his neck, a third lost a fortune. Strung up as he already is, a secretly administered dose of opium transports him to the seventh heaven of delight, in which ecstatic state he may fancy he beholds the Deity himself. It is a brave man who is wilfully false to the oaths he takes on such a night.

To preserve dervishes from worldly temptations, convents are normally built some distance from the neighbouring town or village; sometimes, as in one at Argirocastro, dervishes are cloistered altogether; if left freer, they must be within doors by sunset. Their mental and bodily functions are slowed down by opium judiciously given out each morning by the abbot and by copious draughts of native gin at night. The gentle, slightly bemused creature that results has little capacity for positive good or ill.

As a consequence of this careful selection and handling, the lives of Bektashi dervishes are so pure and selfless that no breath of scandal touches them, though *Sunni* Moslem *hodjas* and Orthodox Christian priests figure in half the irreverent tales of the Levant. As living embodiments of the Near East ideal of goodness, they exercise a power for good which is comparable only to that of our Western clergy, and half-unconsciously they thereby win numerous adherents for Bektashism. If we may judge from such indications as the greater respect paid the celibates and the esteem generally expressed for Catholic priests, the genuine celibacy of the Bektashi dervishes enormously enhances their influence. This is because in these latitudes there still prevails the curious ascetic doctrine that the marriage state is one of sin, so that the man or woman who lives and dies unmarried is by that fact alone raised above the vulgar—a doctrine once held by ourselves but now forgotten in the general decay of monasticism. Even the dervishes' undoubted ignorance scarcely detracts from

their prestige, again because this is the Orient, where knowledge is not popularly required of a "man of God": Christ's seeking His disciples among the humblest is a precedent quoted by Moslem and Christian alike. Albania, however, now takes the Western view, and talks of establishing a college where Bektashis must secure a diploma before turning dervish. Albania is also attacking the one failing which lowers dervishes in popular estimation, that is, the terrible weakness for drink which grows on most of them as a result of their nightly potations. At the great Bektashi Congress held in 1921, a resolution was passed to restrict them to one gill of spirits per night, an allowance which still seems ample, but is less than the quart they drank when left to themselves.

By its preached and practised gospel of love Bektashism therefore maintains its position among non-*Sunni* Moslems. *Sunnis*, however, abominate its adherents for their laxity about drink, veiling, daily prayer, etc., and their blasphemous equation of Ali to Mahomed. Said a *Sunni*, "We may eat and drink with a Christian without harm, but we break the spoon with which a Bektashi has eaten, we refuse him water when he is thirsty, or, if he has already drunk, we break the pitcher and destroy the fountain from which he has drunk." This is probably an extreme view, but recently in some *Sunni* villages in western Macedonia a Bektashi abbot was refused shelter for the night and stoned by children. As Christians, too, suffer from *Sunni* intolerance, Bektashis naturally feel drawn to them as fellow pariahs. Besides, it is explicitly taught Bektashis to make no distinction in their conduct between Mussulmans and non-Mussulmans. So, instead of opprobrious names, they call Christians "brother," and in picturesque Albanian phrase say that "no more than the thickness of an onion-skin" divides them from each other. Theoretically, Christians may even be initiated as Bektashis without abandoning their own faith. If this remains a theory, as the evidence indicates, it is certain that Bektashi charity is extended to all without discrimination. Any traveller may verify this for himself and notable historical examples are recorded. An unpublished case occurred in western Macedonia at the beginning of the Balkan wars, when certain Greek villages were preserved from destruction only by the personal intervention of the Bektashi abbot of Vodhorina.

Thus, on the social side, Bektashism makes definite attempts at bridging the gap between Christianity and Islam. On the religious side, its tolerance has resulted in Bektashis and Christians frequenting each other's shrines. The primary reason is the ordinary human desire for health of mind and body, fertility of crops, and the gift of children, which leads those to whom such blessings are denied to seek help from all possible quarters: even

Sunni bigotry is not indefinitely proof against an aching tooth or heart and, when *Sunni* remedies have failed, will turn to Christian or Bektashi for relief. The latter go even further, and each claims as its own certain holy places which belong to the other. Thus, the very *tekke* of Hadji Bektash is visited by Christians as an ancient monastery of S. Charalambos, whom they make the hero of some of the best known legends of Mahomed himself. In Albania the Orthodox monastery of S. Naum, whose political fate was decided only the other day, is frequented by Bektashis as one of the seven shrines of their great missionary, Sari Saltik, as is also the Orthodox S. Spyridon of Corfu. S. Elias of Mount Tomor in central Albania has lately become Abbas Ali for Bektashis, with the consequence that during his great festival in August Christians jostle Bektashis in his precinct. To explain this strange phenomenon of common worship, Christians say the Bektashi shrines were formerly Christian: this seems true in some cases, not in others. Bektashis, being familiar with the doctrine of metempsychosis, find no difficulty in believing a saint to be at once Christian and Moslem. But whatever the cause or the explanation, the fact remains that Bektashis and Christians may pray according to their own mode in each others' sanctuaries without let or hindrance.

Bektashism, therefore, appeals to Albanians as human beings by its embodiment of the Near East ideal of goodness, its attractive gospel, the liberty it allows the individual, and the superstitious side which caters for mortal man's weaknesses. It attracts them as Albanians by its insistence on patriotism. Then Albania, with her face now turned towards the progressive West, feels that the conservative *Koran*, noble book though it be, hampers progress. Yet Islam, once embraced, is as difficult to abandon in favour of Christianity as Christianity is in favour of its Jewish predecessor. To Moslems who feel this difficulty, Bektashism offers an Islam that permits progress along Western lines. To Christians who wish to keep their religion, it extends the hand of fellowship without contempt or intolerance. But Albanian history shows that Albanians are peculiarly susceptible to the pressure of necessity or expediency, having been converted to Islam to a degree absolutely unparalleled in the other Christian countries conquered by the Turks in the Balkans. Consequently, as three-fourths of the population are Moslem, many Albanian Christians may find it best to adopt the predominant religion. To such, Bektashism offers an Islam without rigidity or vexatious exactions, no longer, since Turkey's departure, rendering its adherents suspect. In these circumstances this nonconformist Moslem sect can hardly fail to fulfil the prophecy that it will conquer Albania.

MARGARET HASLUCK.

THE MEANING OF BOLSHEVISM.

"Hitherto I have not spoken of Russia; purposely, for here the division is not that between two peoples but between two worlds. The Russians are in no sense a 'people' like the Germans or the English; they contain the germs of many peoples as was the case with the Germans of the Carolingian age. The Russian world is the promise of a future civilisation, while the shadows are lengthening over the West. The distinction between the Russian and the Western mind cannot be drawn sharply enough. However great may be the spiritual contrast (and hence the religious, political, and economic contrast) between Englishmen, Germans, Americans, and Frenchmen, in comparison with the Russians, they form a cohesive world-unity. We allow ourselves to be misled by many westernised inhabitants of the Russian towns. The true Russian is spiritually as foreign to us as a Roman from the days of the Kings or a Chinaman from a period long before Confucius would be, could one suddenly appear among us. The Russian himself has always known this as he drew a sharp distinction between 'Little Mother Russia' and 'Europe.'"—Oswald Spengler, *Preussentum und Sozialismus*, p.92 (1923).

IN these words a most remarkable historical thinker distinguishes the real Russia from the superficial and fundamentally ridiculous idea of that vast country as a modern European State which is held by the majority of our contemporaries, deceived by the surface Europeanism of the upper and middle-class Russian. In this vital distinction the key to the real meaning of Bolshevism lies hidden, and of the numerous writers on modern Russia but few have succeeded in finding it. The reason for this failure to understand Russia and its historical development lies in the utter inadequacy of the historical measuring-rod used by most Western thinkers. Our civilisation with its immense material and scientific progress is looked on as the criterion of human development. By the "civilisation" of a country or a race we mean its approximation to European conditions, its ability to use our political nostrums (parliaments and ballot-boxes) and our mechanical conjuring-tricks (motor cars and electricity). All our newspapers, reviews, history-books and the like are crammed with examples of this superficial philosophy, which renders impossible a true and objective appreciation of historical movement.

The accepted view of the reign of Peter the Great is that with it began the real "civilisation" of Russia. Peter the Great began the Europeanisation of the country, and in the minds of most thinkers Europeanisation is a synonym for civilisation. It is not realised that it may be in the highest degree injurious to the best interests of a collective organism to force it into a mould which is foreign to it. Mineralogists have a name for this process: they speak of a pseudo-morphosis, and this term has been applied by a

recent writer to historical development. A historical "pseudo-morphosis" takes place where an old civilisation exerts such a powerful influence upon the land in which a young civilisation is struggling to develop, that the evolving organism not only does not succeed in producing its own natural forms of expression, but cannot even arrive at a consciousness of its own independent nature.

The possibility of such a "pseudo-morphosis" in the development of Russia appears during the 15th and 16th centuries. Ivan III, who became Grand Duke (Viliky Kniaz) of all the Russians in 1462, succeeded in destroying the Tartar domination by 1480. He consolidated and aggrandised his dominions, welcomed foreigners, and entered into relations with many Europeans, among others the Germans, the Venetians and the Pope. This process was continued by his successors Vassili and Ivan the Terrible, both remarkably resolute and able rulers. During the whole of the period from the fall of the Tartars until Peter the Great there is a struggle between the Old-Russian party supported by most of the Feudal Boyars, and the friends of Westernism. St. Petersburg, "the window by which Russia looks at Europe," was founded in 1703 and this date is capital. With it begins the new era determined by the ability, character and energy of Peter the Great. This remarkable man forced a civilisation just beginning to develop on its own lines into the utterly unsuited political and intellectual mould of an 18th century European State, complete with cabinet government, European foreign policy, Prussianised army, and so on. At his accession in 1669 two possibilities lay open to him. He could govern according to Russian tradition or according to Western ideas. He decided for the latter alternative and his successors continued his policy. Russia was henceforth to form part of Europe.

This decision was fateful. A people which, if left to itself, would have undergone for generations a very slow process of historical development was brought by force into an artificial and unreal whirl of historical happenings, the real meaning of which was completely incomprehensible to it. "The yearning towards the holy South, Byzance and Jerusalem," says Spengler, "which lay deep-rooted in the soul of all true believers, was transformed into a worldly-wise diplomacy with its eye on the West." Modern western art and science were introduced, together with Social Ethics, Materialism and now Marxism, although in these early days of civilisation religion is the only speech in which a people can understand itself and the world. Modern towns sprang up like mushrooms, with great blocks of flats, factories and warehouses, towns which seem in the highest degree artificial and unnatural in

the midst of the untouched country-side with its primitive and deeply religious peasantry. "Petersburg is the most abstract and artificial town that exists," remarks Dostoievsky. He felt as though he might wake up any morning and find that the town with its quays, its Winter Palace, its barracks and squares, the Nevsky Prospect and the Peter and Paul fortress, had disappeared in the morning mist. Thus must Christ have looked on the Greco-Roman towns in Galilee.

The true Russians, while not understanding fully the import of what had been done, yet hated all that represented the Europeanisation of their country, feeling it to be artificial, almost Satanic. In a well-known popular legend Peter the Great appears as the Anti-Christ. "The first condition for the freeing of the Russian people's instinct is to hate Petersburg with heart and soul," writes Aksalov to Dostoievsky in 1863. It represented enforced Westernisation. "Foreign ideas, foreign philosophy, foreign science are quite useless," says Dostoievsky, "unless our national life without any inspiration or pressure from without causes such ideas to arise naturally . . . by its inner necessity, by its need recognised practically by all." He is furiously indignant with "the men who uproot Russians, and with the students who, tearing themselves away from society and abandoning it, do not go to the people but somewhere abroad in Europe, and thus break with the people, despise it and fail to understand it." "I cannot understand Russian emigrants in the least," he says in a letter, "they are madmen! The people were the true Russians; the ruling and intellectual classes had become detached, artificial and Europeanised."

This separation of the ruling and intellectual classes from the great mass of the people, which remained almost unaffected by the so-called "civilisation" of the upper strata of society, is one of the most significant facts in Russian history. "There were thus," says M. Seignobos in his *Political History of Europe*, "two distinct super-imposed societies; below, that of the peasants, the traders, the priests and monks, which remained oriental, orthodox, a stranger to all culture and political life; above, that of the nobility and the government, which had become westernised, sceptical, disposed to adopt all the political ideas of Europe with its fashions and its language. No comprehension whatever existed between these two societies; they did not even speak the same tongue. The upper section of the aristocracy hardly spoke anything but French, and a large number of the officials were Germans from the Baltic Provinces." The nobles rarely lived on their estates, which were entrusted to the care of intendants or factors, mostly foreigners. These organised the work on the land so as to produce the largest possible incomes for the proprietors. The peasants lived primi-

tively, while their produce went to form the huge export surplus of grain (referred to by agitators to-day) which paid the vast expenses of Russian emigrants in Paris and elsewhere, and also supported the huge army and bureaucracy.

During the 19th century there arose a growing dissatisfaction with this state of affairs which is expressed in the writings of almost all the great Russian novelists; characters like Prince Nekhludov in *Resurrection*, who makes over his land to the peasants and accompanies a girl he had seduced to Siberia, are to some extent typical. This dissatisfaction was voiced by a class which made its appearance about the middle of the century—the Intellectual. These Russian intellectuals, drawn principally from the upper and professional classes, were an example of the uprooted, homeless, discontented type produced by a historical pseudo-morphosis. They could understand neither Russia nor Europe. Intensely religious, they became atheists, and were forced to express themselves in the highly intellectual idiom of the 19th century. They had no ballast and they lost themselves. They felt the vague religious hatred of European civilisation which is natural to the Russian, and they translated it into terms of Socialism, Anarchism, Nihilism or Marxism, which latter is in the highest degree European. They hated order and method. Bakunin expressed the greatest contempt for his German co-revolutionaries at Dresden in 1849 who refused to destroy the public buildings, emblems of slavery. “So were these young Russians before the war,” says Spengler, “dirty, pale, excited, hanging about in corners and always busied with metaphysics, looking at everything with the eye of faith even when the conversation apparently concerned the right to vote, chemistry or female education.” Intellectual speech was foreign to them; religion should have been their language, but they had lost the religion of their fathers, long since distorted by the Tsarist régime into a means of maintaining the *status quo* by playing on the superstitions of the people. And this is the explanation of the hatred which Dostoevsky manifests for the intellectual plane. In this respect he is the exact opposite of Bernard Shaw. Intellectual activity is for Dostoevsky hell, for Shaw heaven. “I distinguish,” says André Gide in his recent work on Dostoevsky, “in the characters of his novels an intellectual region foreign to the soul and whence the worst temptations emanate. Here is where dwells, according to Dostoevsky, the wicked, the hellish element. . . .” This hatred of the intellectual is the protest of the Russian mind forced into a mould unsuited to it.

“If only Russia could be put back 100 years!” exclaimed the Russian Ultrationalist, Markov Vtoroi. His wish has been

fulfilled. Soviet Russia, as far as at least the great masses of the peasantry are concerned, is as it was before the accession of Peter the Great. One of the first acts of the Communists after the revolution was to transfer the seat of Government from St. Petersburg to Moscow. It is said that Lenin wished to choose a town much farther East even than Moscow, such as Ekaterinburg, to be the capital, but he was overruled. This action was of the greatest importance and symbolised the return to the 17th century.

St. Petersburg is now in consequence a dying city, and its slow decay moves parallel to that gradual destruction of the whole work of its founder which is the result of Bolshevism. Bolshevism is purely nihilistic and destructive in its action as all those who have had personal experience of Soviet rule will agree. Only sympathetic Socialist idealists invited by the Government and shown the various model institutions set up by the Communists—homes for children, clubs for the Comsomol, or Union of Communistic Youth, and so on—while every effort is made to prevent them seeing the wide-spread misery and ruin, think otherwise. But what is not realised is that the nihilism and destruction corresponds to the deepest instincts of the people.

The conditions in Russia during the past year have been very serious. Trade was almost at a standstill; prices were absurdly high, and yet goods were being sold at a great loss—when they could be sold at all. There was no money anywhere and unemployment was rife. In the country districts cows were being sold for about 30 shillings and less, for the peasants thought that when the winter came it would be impossible to feed them. And yet, despite all this, there is an extraordinary, almost religious resignation on the part of the people to all the suffering, past, present and future. One Russian of the middle classes said to the author that he felt as though the Russian nation, and especially the late ruling and middle classes, were expiating a great sin. And perhaps this best explains the state of mind of the great non-communist mass of the Russian people (the Communists on their own showing only amount to some 400,000). The Russians feel the present to be a time of trial to be borne patiently. No one is contented, neither bourgeoisie, nor workmen, nor peasants. And yet one would say they felt instinctively that some great good was coming out of the misery and tragedy of this moment. They have a boundless confidence in the future of their country which nothing can shake. The great mass of the people would not have the revolution undone, and hardly anybody wishes for the return of the Romanovs and their bureaucracy. Nor does the general desire seem to be a democratic régime on the western model—which all agree would be absurd in Russia. The Russians are just wait-

ing patiently and resignedly, but with a great confidence, for what may come.

The theoretical doctrines of Marxism are, of course, quite incomprehensible to the great mass of the people. Marxism is purely Occidental in origin; *Das Kapital* was based almost entirely upon a study of English industrialism in the early 19th century, and Karl Marx was completely western in every respect. The Marxian "proletariat" does not even exist in Russia. By the word "proletariat" the author of *Das Kapital* meant the countless millions of workers, living in the industrial towns and completely free from all communion with the soil, which form the "commodity" Labour in industrial societies. But the Russians are peasants and not town-dwellers. Even the workmen in the towns are peasants by nature, and in any case they form a very small minority of the population. Marxism in Russia means something very different from what it would mean in Germany or in England. The Communists themselves, it is true, have taken *Das Kapital* to be their Bible and its catch-words are ever in their mouths—Communist Russian is almost a new language. But those doctrines which in Marx were really only the expression of a desire for the better and juster organisation of society, are turned by the deep-lying Russian instinct against the whole of Western civilisation. The doctrinaire tenets of Marxism would not have aroused the fury with which the Bolshevik movement continues even now. The Russian peasant feels, often subconsciously, a hatred against "all symbols of the Western will, of the towns, St. Petersburg before all, which have nested themselves in the endless plains as points of support for that will, against sciences and arts, against western thought and western feeling, against State, Law, Government, against money, industry, education, Society, against everything." It is the hatred of the Apocalypse for the ancient civilisation, and some of the dark bitterness of the Maccabean age, and much later of the insurrection which led to the destruction of Jerusalem, that lie at the root of Bolshevism.

The Russians have always felt vaguely that they had a religious mission in the world, and especially in Europe. Side by side with the nationalist sentiment which caused the hatred of Western institutions was the idea that Russia had a great international part to play, and was in some way destined to regenerate the western world. This feeling was at the root of all Pan-Slavism and now finds its expression in the Third International. "There was at that time in Russia" (the reign of Catherine II), says Albert Sorel in his admirable introductory first volume of the *Histoire de la Révolution Française*, "but one bond which united all, the re-

ligious belief; but one common idea which roused general enthusiasm; the extension of the empire, that is to say, the propagation of the national faith." The leopard cannot change his spots. The spirit which inspired the campaign of the fanatical Souvarov lives still in the pale Communist agitator straight from Moscow. The Communist has become atheist; the resurrection in which he believes is the resurrection by the world-revolution, but the idea of the Russian mission remains.

"Russia is returning to barbarism" is a commonplace on the lips of those who come back from the country. The expression though true in a certain sense, betrays the fundamentally false standard of comparism which is so general even among the great European thinkers. By "barbarism" is meant anything which is not western; a civilisation which found no place for railways, electricity, factories, banks, Stock Exchanges, Parliaments, Cabinets, elections and the like would be termed, if not barbaric, at least primitive. In this sense Russia is indeed returning to primitive conditions despite the enthusiasm of many Communists (including Lenin) for mechanical improvements and unrealisable enterprises such as the electrification of the country. Under the leadership of men whose ideas though distorted are really Western in origin, Russia is throwing off the European fetters which have cramped her growth for more than two centuries. This is the true historical meaning of Bolshevism. It is to some extent realised by the Communists themselves, when they say that in order to leave a clear space for building, it is first of all necessary to make a clean sweep of all obstacles. They flatter themselves with vain dreams of a Socialist Utopia reminiscent of that prophesied by Mr. H. G. Wells, but they know, probably, in their hearts that when the annihilation is completed their part will have been played and they will disappear.

"SPECTATOR."

ANDREW CARNEGIE AND HIS TRUSTS.

THE very human, self-revealing Autobiography of this remarkable man shows him to have been indeed one of the great Scots—men of practical action whose lives have yet been lit by a consuming flame of patriotic idealism.

It is unnecessary to recapitulate the account of his hard-working youth at Pittsburgh; his steady rise from humble circumstances to one position of importance after another, until he became a leading railway and coal magnate; or his determination, when finally retiring from business as a multi-millionaire, to devote a great proportion of his fortune to philanthropic purposes. The present article attempts to give some idea of the manner in which that determination was carried out.

The first of his benefactions to which he himself alludes was a Hall and Library erected by him at Alleghany in memory of Colonel James Anderson. He did so as one of the working boys for whom the Colonel had opened a library at Pittsburgh from which he had benefited as a telegraph boy. And he rejoices to have afterwards discovered that he was thus taking after his good father, who had assisted at the formation, along with his fellow weavers, of a working men's Library in Dunfermline, out of their own slender store of precious, much thumbed books, many years before. To Dunfermline he gave public Baths; he founded sixty-eight Branch Libraries in New York City and twenty in Brooklyn. He expended more than four and a half millions on the Pittsburgh Library, Museum, Picture Gallery, Technical School and Margaret Morrison School for young women, the last to his mother's memory. He founded the Carnegie Institution of Washington, to encourage research, discovery, and the application of knowledge in every direction, at a cost of twenty-five million pounds, and he established a fixed Observatory at Mount Wilson, California.

He then made a fresh departure, by creating his Hero Fund of one million pounds, a benefaction inspired by his admiration of the self-sacrifice of his former superintendent, Taylor, who lost his life in a Pittsburgh coalpit when attempting to rescue miners entombed there by an explosion. Again, with fine thoughtfulness, he established a handsome Pension Fund for old University Professors of the U.S.A., having ascertained that such Professors were, as a rule, too poorly paid, and in consequence clung on to their appointments when past their work.

The Dutch Government accepted from him later on the funds needed for the erection of the Temple of Peace at The Hague.

Then came his donations to the Church Peace Union, to the International Bureau of American Republics, to a score or more of Research, Hospital and Educational Boards, and towards the erection of 2,600 Library buildings, at a cost of £12,000,000 or more.

His benefactions all told amounted to more than seventy million pounds. To his friend John Morley he left Lord Acton's Library which he had purchased, afterwards devised by Lord Morley to the University of Cambridge.

Before considering the working of the Carnegie United Kingdom Trust, the valuable guidance he left for its administration may be illustrated by this striking passage in his Autobiography :

The details of the proposed Scotch University Trust having been read, the Earl of Elgin wished to know just what his duties as a trustee were, for Mr. Carnegie had given a majority of the trustees the right to change the objects of beneficence and modes of applying funds, should they in after days decide that the purposes and modes described had become unsuitable or unnecessary for the advanced times. Balfour of Burleigh concurred in criticising this *modus operandi*, and so did Mr. Balfour, then Prime Minister, who questioned the propriety of a Testator giving such powers to his executors. "Well," I said, "Mr. Balfour, I have never known of a body of men capable of legislating for the generation ahead, and in some cases those who attempt to legislate even for their own generation are not thought to be eminently successful." There was a ripple of laughter in which the Prime Minister himself heartily joined, and he then said: "You are right, quite right; but you are, I think, the first great giver who has been wise enough to take this view."

Ultimately it was decided that the right of change in the objects of the Trust should only be exercised by a majority of not less than two-thirds of the trustees, and this provision is incorporated in all the larger Carnegie Deeds of Trust.

Many years before 1912 Mr. Carnegie had given large sums to local authorities in the United Kingdom for the erection of Libraries to be maintained by local rates, and to churches of all denominations throughout the United Kingdom for the purchase of organs. As application for these grants increased and their administration became more and more difficult, Mr. Carnegie appointed a set of trustees and executed a deed whereby a capital sum of £2,000,000 was placed in trust

"for the improvement of the well-being of the masses of the people of Great Britain and Ireland by such means as are embraced within the meaning of the word 'charitable' according to Scotch and English law, and which the Trustees may from time to time select as best fitted from age to age for securing these purposes, remembering that new needs are constantly arising as the masses advance."

In the year 1903, he had founded the Carnegie Dunfermline Trust, which was to assist the Library that he had bestowed in 1892 on his native town, and to provide generally for the educational, social and recreational needs of Dunfermline. In 1908, Mr. Carnegie handed over to the Dunfermline Trustees the administration of the Carnegie Hero Fund Trust for the whole of the United Kingdom. The duties of these Trusts were so well discharged by them that he asked them to undertake the much greater responsibility of his United Kingdom Trust. To this they concurred on condition of being allowed to co-opt other Trustees to represent the wide area of their administration. Mr. Carnegie agreed, so they co-opted Mrs. W. L. Courtney, Miss Haldane, Lord Shaw of Dunfermline, Sir Donald MacAlister, Sir William McCormick, Sir Horace Plunkett, Sir Swire Smith and Sir John Struthers, who, with eight of the local Trustees, became the Executive Committee of the Trust.

The first step taken by the Executive Committee of the Carnegie United Kingdom Trust was to inquire into the general results of the expenditure incurred by Mr. Carnegie, and latterly by the Carnegie Corporation of New York on his behalf, in providing church organs and public Libraries in the United Kingdom. Two experts were appointed to prosecute these inquiries, Mr. David Stephen, Principal of the Dunfermline School of Music, to report on the influence on musical culture which had resulted from the Carnegie organ benefactions, and Professor Adams, Gladstone Professor of Political Theory and Institutions at Oxford, to report on the Library provision in the United Kingdom in so far as it had been affected by Mr. Carnegie's benefactions, and to suggest how the Library movement might be further assisted by the Trust.

As regards the church organ grants, five hundred and twenty thousand pounds had been paid and twenty-five thousand promised by Mr. Carnegie on condition that half the cost of the instruments should be met by local endeavour. These large sums represented contributions to no less than 3,000 organs in different churches. But the expense of paying for organists and the upkeep of the organs proving too great a strain upon local resources, the Trustees cried halt to organ grants in the year 1915. Mr. Carnegie's avowed purpose in the expenditure under this head was to improve the service of praise, and by the interest in music thus created to extend the knowledge and love of it. "But," say the Trustees in the 1915 Report, when closing down the organ grants, "there are doubtless other means by which the love of music may be fostered and Mr. Carnegie's desire realised." As will be

shown later, this hint has since been well realised by wise departures in other musical directions.

But that Mr. Carnegie thought more of the literary side of his Trust is thus proved in the preamble to the Trust Deed: "Libraries are entitled to a first place as instruments for the elevation of the masses of the people"—an opinion founded on Carlyle's dictum: "The true University of these days is a collection of books." In this connection Professor Adams makes it quite clear in his first Report how much the Library movement owes to this conception, for he reports that the grants made under the Trust have, at many centres, effected a development which would otherwise have been impossible and thereby brought home the idea of the free public Library as an invaluable local institution. This is not to be wondered at considering that nearly £2,000,000 had already been spent on Library buildings throughout the United Kingdom by Mr. Carnegie and his Trustees.

But Professor Adams's outstanding recommendation was that contributions from the Trust, hitherto given for urban buildings, should go to provide in rural districts central collections of books, to be distributed on a circulatory system over a wide area, in which village schools would as a rule be used as local libraries. For not only were rural needs more urgent than urban, but, until the urban Library rate should be raised above the penny in the pound limit, it would not be in the best interests of the smaller towns to provide buildings which would swallow up the greater part of the income available for the real function of the Library—the supply of books to the public. In this view the Commissioners concurred. Professor Adams further advised that aid should be given to a few reference Libraries, and in this direction a grant has been made, with good results, to assist the Dublin Co-operative Reference Library in developing the rural reconstruction of Ireland inaugurated by Sir Horace Plunkett.

Considerable sums have also been voted by the Commissioners to the National Institution for the Blind, for the Household and Social Science Department of King's College for Women, and, finally, to the Central Bureau for the Employment of Women, with a capital sum for a permanent endowment.

But during and after the Great War and until the year 1922, conditions throughout Great Britain and Ireland have been too abnormal to permit of the execution of schemes involving the erection and upkeep of expensive buildings, and the Carnegie Trustees have instead supported "projects, chiefly in rural areas, of an educational and social character which do not entail outlay of the kind." Hence the coming in of the Trust's Rural Development policy, which, under a very representative National

Council of Social Service, guides the activities of so-called "County Community Councils." Apart from their interest in rural Libraries, these Councils have organised concerts, musical festivals and dramatic performances in rural areas with striking success. Again, six model centres of Child Welfare in London and the provinces have received capital grants from the Trust towards their erection, and four of these have been opened during the year; while a grant of six thousand pounds has been made for the National Institution of Industrial Psychology, which has so far been chiefly and advantageously concerned with industrial fatigue experiments.

The musical policy of the Carnegie Trustees is handsomely commended in the 1924 Report of the Adult Education Committee, which remarks that:

Much of the best work of the young British composers has been brought to light through the Carnegie Trust's schemes for publishing musical compositions. These works would in many instances have been too expensive for their authors to produce and for publishers to undertake. Many of them have been successfully performed in public during the year, apart from the long run of Rutland Boughton's music of *The Immortal Hour*. Many of the masterpieces of our Tudor music have also been brought to light, notably by Sir Richard Terry and Dr. E. H. Fellowes, and published at the Trust's expense.

Moreover, owing to a handsome grant from the Trust to the English Folk-Dance Society, the teaching of folk dances has by its agency radiated from well selected centres to over one hundred villages, where grant-aided classes, taught by qualified teachers, have been formed, and now contain over 3,000 pupils.

Finally, an inquiry, assisted by Trust funds, into the actual conditions under which children's diseases arise is being conducted under the capable guidance of Dr. Noel Paton and Dr. Leonard Findlay.

But the work to which the Carnegie Trust first put their hands in Great Britain, that of the education of its people through the setting up of Libraries, must still occupy the leading position in the thoughts of all those to whom Mr. Carnegie's munificence has appealed. In an address delivered by the Secretary of the Trust, Colonel Mitchell, before the Irish Libraries Conference, Dublin, June, 1923, he justly asserted that Librarianship is not regarded, as it should be, as one of the learned professions, and that Librarians are not therefore paid sufficiently to bring the best qualified men and women into their ranks. "The Library should be regarded as one of the primary elements in the educational machine, . . . if the problem were handled in a broadminded spirit by the State all our Libraries would contain the stored brains of

all countries. It is a tragic fact that they do not, and new Library legislation will be needed to effect the required object."

The speaker pointed out that the difficulty, both in Great Britain and Ireland, was a financial one, though the large sums of money which Mr. Carnegie had left to be administered by his Trustees made it far more easy, even in these stringent times, for help to be given out of the rates and taxes to meet his grants. Though the British Museum and the National Libraries of Scotland, Wales and Ireland "are nominally open to all readers, they are practically reference Libraries and readily accessible only to those who live in the neighbourhood." The compendious Library Report of the Carnegie United Kingdom Trust proves that "Borough Libraries are terribly handicapped financially. Many Borough Libraries have not a proper supply of books; many are insufficiently staffed, and many of the Librarians are not receiving anything like an adequate salary."

"I find," states Colonel Mitchell, "that there are thirty-four Libraries out of seventy in Scotland which spent last year less than five pounds each in serious books. The County Library is the most satisfactory form of Library to be found in Great Britain, and the few County Libraries started in Ireland are doing similarly good work. The capital cost of these Libraries has been provided by the Carnegie Trust wherever the County Councils have struck a rate to maintain them; there are now forty-four of these in England, Scotland and Wales, three in operation in Ireland." Since this was written the number has risen to ninety-five.

The *modus operandi* of the County Library through the distribution of books from a central Depository has already been explained, and anxiety had been felt that until recently so many of the counties in Great Britain had not rated themselves on behalf of it. For had they not done so they would in another year's time have failed to receive the subsidies hitherto extended to the counties through Mr. Carnegie's liberality. But, happily, the position has greatly changed this year. A number of Authorities have taken action, and in England thirty-three have actually adopted the Rural Library Scheme, while practically all the others have it under immediate consideration. In Wales, it is practically certain that only two counties may be without schemes by the end of the year, and those two have been instituting inquiries.

As to Ireland, the Northern Government have recently passed the legislation necessary to enable them to strike a rate in aid of the County Libraries, and have gone so far as to urge the remaining three counties under their jurisdiction to avail themselves of the new powers. The Free State Government has drafted a Bill, which seems likely to become law quite soon, by which all

district powers will pass to County Councils, thus automatically establishing the County as a Library Authority.

It has been shown how the Carnegie Trustees, after beginning their work as builders of Libraries and organs, have used the great latitude allowed by their Trust articles to subsidise secular as well as sacred music, to endow folk drama and folk dancing and make grants in favour of various branches of public hygiene. The Trust has indeed become a veritable *Centimanus Gyas*, and still seems prepared to stretch forth more of its hundred hands in various useful directions. Perhaps, therefore, it may be inclined to lend the aid of a pair of them for two fresh objects.

First, might the Trust not consider the question of grants in aid of the publication of serious but non-popular, or important but expensive books of which publishers, in these lean times, fight shy? After all, this would only be an extension of the procedure to which they have been prompted by their desire to assist in the publication of good but expensive music. Secondly, might the Trust not find funds to provide the cost of producing our best English symphonic music worthily? At present the works of the great foreign composers are performed in preference, the excuse being that English music would not pay, as the public is not sufficiently educated in our own native art.

One final suggestion. The writer of this article has for more than fifty years been interested in the choice of books as one of H.M. Inspectors asked to report to the Board of Education on school libraries, as literary adviser during the War to The Fighting Forces Book Council and as a member of the executive of the National Home Reading Union for the last thirty years. And this long experience has convinced him that a very great responsibility rests upon the producers, circulators and endowers of literature, and the Carnegie Trust falls into the last category as regards this question of the choice of books. He believes, from inquiries he has made in authoritative quarters, and after consulting leading librarians and even the best county Library lists, that a great deal yet remains to be done before the choice of the books to be placed in the county and town Libraries can be called satisfactory. At a meeting of librarians and others interested in the question which took place in London a little time ago, the Carnegie Trust Commissioners were by resolution asked to take up this question. So far they have not moved in the matter. But surely if they can secure the services of experts to advise them upon musical values, much more should they, from their unique position in the world of books, command the very best guidance upon the choice of them.

ALFRED PERCEVAL GRAVES.

"TURNING THE WORLD UPSIDE DOWN."

THOUGH it was instituted six years before he became Prime Minister, the "Industrial Sunday" of 1925—which fell this year four days before May Day—is, thanks to Mr. Baldwin's recent speeches, by way of being chronicled as a memorable milestone in the progress of a Movement which, if its prophets and pioneers should prove to possess the energy and the ability, the resolution and the staying-power, which the tremendous task demands, may one day offer as its full fruitage a transformation in the character and acts of our nation the greatest that history can possibly record.

This sentence is in danger of being treated, on the first reading, perhaps naturally, as ridiculous journalese—a simple "stunt" of the sensationalist. If the writer, however, has clearly comprehended the language and justly estimated the determination of the General Director of the Movement, if he has rightly grasped the purpose and the spirit of those who are associated with him, the Industrial Christian Fellowship is beyond all question seriously committed to the pursuit of a huge business, an unparalleled enterprise—the more Utopian and audacious, as it would seem, because of the fact that, though carrying the highest conceivable command, billions of men and women have been unable to tender more than lip-support to it for near two thousand years. For the programme contemplates, in short, nothing less than a grand attempt at the full achievement of the greatest ideal appealing to humanity—the actual practical observance of the Gospel of Jesus, by the practice of the dictates of Love and Justice, in all the normal details of our daily life.

"We believe," their manifesto runs, "that for us as Christians the proper procedure is not to formulate a social policy and then seek to justify it from our religion, but rather to start with our Lord's revealed will and to deduce from it our social programme with no equivocation or evasion." "We have to show that 'God is Love,' and that the Christian religion has a value for this life as well as for that which is to come." So every man and woman in this country is besought to "apply Christ's principles as a solution to all the problems that confront us." "We must," it is declared, "have the courage to plead for the Kingdom of God upon earth, and to proclaim Jesus Christ as Lord and Sovereign in human society."

The special circumstances of our time are introduced most forcibly. It is emphasised that the great discoveries and inventions which increasingly knit the world into that material unity "that distinguishes our modern civilisation from anything

which has preceded it" are all over the globe "driving races, nations, and classes, with conflicting temperaments and traditions," into mental and spiritual stresses that are likely to end in "something like madness" unless these peoples in torment and agony can be speedily induced to accept the peace, for which they wait, conferred by "the life-giving power of God revealed in Jesus Christ and the healing of the Holy Spirit." This note is pitched high—having in view recent scientific revelations, it is uncommonly impressive: "The Fellowship realises that by all these new gifts which God has poured upon us, He is calling us to use them as a means of spreading through the nation the truth and power of Christ."

The foregoing language, I gather, is not merely expressive of the aspiration of these new Crusaders; while they recognise that this is "a world of imperfect human beings," it affirms, in truth, their distinct design, their positive intention, when in pursuit of their normal material affairs. In fact, their zeal, their hope, their faith, is boundless. "Our aim," they daringly proclaim "is to help to win our country to Christ in this generation."

It is obvious that at the present time the thoughts and activities of the Fellowship are chiefly centred upon the sphere of Industry. But to the writer it seems impossible for anyone to hope to carry through a campaign of this nature piecemeal: he decides that alike by the compulsion of the spirit and the working of the principle of consistency, every word and act in every sphere must be definitely coloured by the full application of the Gospel in any one sphere. If this view be accepted, it follows that we may expect to see speedily a substantial body of men and women of influence in different phases of life busily at work in our midst changing drastically and utterly the spirit and methods of our present form of Society—in fact, making an old-time phrase topical by literally "turning the world upside down."

But we will now devote our attention chiefly to the anxiety of the Fellowship to free Business and Industrialism from a variety of evils. This anxiety is manifested by the arresting assertions—"Evangelisation in this country is now at a stand-still," and 75 per cent. of the population are "mainly indifferent, but gradually becoming hostile, to all forms of organised Christianity," due in the main to "the sheer burden of social distress and the psychological upheaval caused by the impulse of the masses for a fuller life." "When a man's whole mind is absorbed in an anxious struggle to keep alive, when the spirit is harassed and almost terrified by the hardness of the world, then it is that class warfare is born; a spirit of discontent and unrest burns in the heart, and a man will not readily respond to the call of Christ, or rather to

the call of organised Christianity which, in his opinion, has failed to sympathise with his lawful aspirations for better conditions"—a "charge that has been levelled continually against the Church with a considerable amount of truth." "The Industrial Christian Fellowship believes that it is only possible to prepare a way for the Gospel by first seeing that justice is done, no matter what sacrifice may be entailed."

It is important to note that, though pronouncedly an adjunct of the Church of England, the I.C.F. is "independent of all political parties." But it protests that it is time that every reference in the pulpit to public questions should cease to be called "politics," and it seems to be distinguished here and there by Socialist sympathies. But it is just to note sentences which may explain this seeming sympathy: "Democracy is a power that has come to stay; and it does at least embody the great Christian principle that every soul is of equal and infinite value because all are children of the one Father. Labour's strength is that spirit—the spirit of brotherhood and the spirit of love for every individual soul. The hearts of crowds of the people are full of it; but it would be strange indeed if they had not imbibed something of the spirit of barbarism—and that is Labour's real weakness; it is the weakness of the world. If they turn to force and attempt to crush and tyrannise in order to obtain their rights—and there are indications of this in a certain section—there will be no prospect of peace, or prosperity, or of real government. It is the duty of the Church to take the great ideals of Labour and Christianise them, and so help to hasten the dawn of the New Jerusalem and the establishment of justice and fellowship. It would be a fatal mistake to adopt an attitude of resentment, embitterment, or hostility to a great mass movement, which indicates clearly the Spirit of God calling the people—awakening the soul of the people to a desire for emancipation, and a higher and better order of life."

Even if their pictorial proofs of the continuous championship of the Rights of the People by the Episcopal Church, devised to "break down the present hostility to the Church on the part of Democracy," should not be impregnable, the history of the Fellowship, in point of fact, furnishes legitimate justification for their intervention—for it embodies a Mission to Navvies dating from 1877 (which perhaps accounts for the presence of Mr. John Ward, M.P., in the midst of a considerable collection of Labour Socialists) as well as the Christian Social Union which was founded by Bishop Westcott and others in 1889. The present "live" form, which has the Archbishops for Presidents and the Bishop of Lichfield for Chairman, is largely the outcome of the influences of the War upon a section of the Army Chaplains associated with

the Established Church: it is inspired and enthused by the spirit so wonderfully maintained by the Rev. G. A. Studdert Kennedy, and if it may be judged by the spirit, the ideas, and the energy of the General Director, the Rev. P. T. R. Kirk, it is impossible for the average man not to feel in thorough sympathy with the programme of the Fellowship and seek to help it to the uttermost in its purposes.

The Fellowship is proclaiming the need, in the words of a captain of industry, for "a spiritual change in our industrial life." "Our economic order," it is easily maintained, "is the most unsaved part of our common life: let us save it and Christianise it." Replying to the customary cries in denunciation of a proposal of this kind—"humbug," "you cannot ignore human nature," "business is business," and so on—the Fellowship boldly declares: "Christian righteousness *will* work: it is the only thing that does work"; the anti-Christian policy—this unmistakably is an all-powerful answer—having bred "class hatred, degradation, poverty, insanity, crime—and shame for us all."

A substantial section of the literature of the movement, which is uncommonly clear and telling, gives "ways-out" in Industry; unfortunately our space on this occasion does not permit of detailed reference. Apart from the decided utterance, "the mere transfer of social and industrial control from the self-seeking few to the self-seeking many would in itself be of no benefit to the world and no glory to God," the tenor of the propositions is of a healing and progressive character.

The service of the community is given as the primary motive of industry. The ethical spirit of the New Testament is described as co-operative rather than competitive. "Fair profits" and "fair wages" upon the basis of a minimum living wage, "living" being interpreted liberally, along with a "reasonable material incentive in a world of imperfect human beings," "continuity of employment," and maintenance during slackness out of funds saved in prosperity, are set out as a working plan for the time being: "the demand for an increasing share in the control of those industrial conditions upon which the livelihood of the worker depends" is treated as "one to be met," and leisure is to include time and energy "for home life, recreation, the development through study of the mind and spirit, and for participation in the affairs of the community." Individual Christians are advised to "step out in advance of the prevailing standards of business morality," Christian employers are urged to "think of all the problems of the industry in terms of their bearing upon the personality of those engaged in it," and the Christian employee is counselled to perform his (or her) work "with honesty, diligence,

and genuine interest," and to "produce to his (or her) full capacity" and to oppose "any deliberate limitation of output on the part of other workers."

The Fellowship, possessing a speaking staff of seventy Christian men and women, is constantly in evidence in the industrial and business areas of the country to-day in the form of attacks upon the anti-Christian suspicions and accusations of Labour, the presentation of the various aspects of the Gospel of Jesus, and the inculcation of the spirit which tends to conference, to conciliation, and to co-operation. The speakers have all been carefully trained, not least in a knowledge of the economics of the period, and within a year over 12,000 open-air and 8,000 indoor meetings have been held. The pulpit, too, is often used as well as the platform, the desirability of individual conversions to acceptance of spiritual truths not being ignored. Two or three times a year the entire staff, assisted by the members of all the churches in a district, concentrates on a grand assault upon the state of things existing in some industrial centre.

The results of these various efforts have so far been entirely satisfactory, the outcome of a recent assault at Barrow being the actual enrolment of the Fellowship's opponents, including their leader, in its ranks. Yet this is not all. Manifestoes in support of the Fellowship's campaign have been signed by many employers and over 250 representatives of labour interests, nearly thirty of these being members of the House of Commons, including Mr. Philip Snowden, Mr. Arthur Henderson, and Mr. Ben Spoor, while Mr. Frank Hodges is one of the Treasurers of the Fellowship. "Industrial Sunday" is increasingly marked by processions to church in which employers and employees freely mingle. Indeed, the Directors of the Fellowship are, justly, in great heart at this moment—so great in heart that it is just possible that the Fellowship may become a valuable intermediary of conciliation in cases of dispute.

This fact was easily deduced when the other day the writer got into talk at the Fellowship headquarters at The Sanctuary, naturally within the shadow of Westminster Abbey, with Mr. Kirk, the Commander-in-Chief of this growing Army, so resolutely and confidently intent upon a wide and abiding victory for the power of Love—for this uncommon Commander-in-Chief is insistent that everything can be accomplished in this world without resort to force. Mr. Kirk, unlike many people, is in no way dismayed by the unsettlement so obvious in the ranks of Labour in all countries: from his stand-point it is a cause for great rejoicing; he interprets it as a sign that the world is at last realising that it has been utterly foolish in having hitherto neglected to put into practical operation the counsels of Christ.

Mr. Kirk is an astute leader: he is devoting a section of his mind to the recondite, and it may be secret, causes of our present position, at least in relation to the great measure of unemployment. He is inclined to decide that these causes may be discovered in the domain of high finance, perhaps in international finance; and he conceives it to be possible that a remedy for our national situation may be secured in some form by the utilisation of our national credit. The literature of the Movement advocates careful and exact research into our modern financial system, so that in it, as in other spheres, "the principles of Christ may be applied and finance be made to serve its proper purpose as a real link between producer and consumer." "The Fellowship," in fact, "calls upon men of ability to consecrate their lives to this work in the name of Christ and of humanity." Mr. Kirk hopes to find a weapon in this sphere when the internationalisation of the Churches at present in progress has attained a somewhat larger degree of solidarity.

Upon the general issue the Chief Director expressed himself well assured. He holds with his friend and colleague, Studdert Kennedy, "that so long as people believe, as they now believe, no party can solve our problems: they are insoluble." So he refuses to listen to the suggestion that the Church will decline to support the Fellowship in its unparalleled campaign for a resort at long last to the spirit and methods of Jesus: he agrees that to refuse to apply Christian ethics to affairs is to ruin the Church's influence in the life of the nation and the world. "The great issue is this: Either we are going to prove that we are a Christian country or we are going to proclaim that we have ceased to be a Christian country." But "the Church, with this issue," he confidently declares, "cannot refuse to back us: the Church *must* and *will* support us."

WILLIAM HILL.

NAPOLEON'S "MAJOR-GÉNÉRAL."

A RECENT French appreciation of Napoleon's celebrated Chief-of-the-Staff somewhat faintly says of him that "*il fut un excellent major-général pour exécuter ce que l'Empereur ordonnait.*" Marshal Berthier, Prince of Wagram, was in fact very much more than that modest description implies. It was reserved for him to elevate staff-work to the level of an exact science, and his Emperor only realised what he had lost when, in the campaign of the Hundred Days, he had to depend upon Marshal Soult as his Chief-of-Staff *vice* Berthier.

Born at Versailles in 1753, the son of a military engineer, Alexandre Berthier entered the army when his future leader, Napoleon, was only a few months old. He joined the Regiment of Lorraine, and first smelt powder under Lafayette and De Rochebrune in the American War of Independence. At the dawn of the Revolutionary era in France he was appointed to command the National Guard of his native Versailles, and, so rapid was promotion in those days, that 1792 saw him a brigadier-general. Such was his personal valour, too, that he had no fewer than three chargers killed under him during the suppression of the insurrection in La Vendée. His friendship with the young General Bonaparte commenced in 1794-5, when Berthier, now a General of Division, was nominated "*chef d'état-major-général*" of the Army of Italy. Reporting to the Directory in 1796, Napoleon says of him: "*Je ne dois pas oublier l'intrepide Berthier, qui, dans cette journée de Lodi, a été canonier, cavalier, et grenadier. . . . Le Général Berthier déploya dans cette occasion la bravoure dont il a fait si souvent preuve dans cette campagne.*"

He was one of those instructed by Bonaparte to convey the Treaty of Campo-Formio to the Directory, and in the following year had the less congenial task of entering Papal territory to proclaim the Republic in Rome. Berthier next made the campaign of Egypt with his master, and, returning home with him for the overthrow of the Directory on 18th Brumaire, was named Minister of War by the First Consul. But his talents were essentially those of the field rather than of the office, and 1800 found him playing a conspicuous rôle on the bloody field of Marengo. On the declaration of the Empire, he was created Marshal of France and awarded the Grand Cordon of the Legion of Honour. His intrepid conduct in the campaigns of Austerlitz and Jéna was rewarded with the Principality of Neufchâtel and 300,000 francs annually, and he was further honoured with the appointment of Vice-Constable of the Empire, being already a Senator of France.

Berthier now went through the sanguinary campaign of Poland. General Von der Goltz, the author of *The Nation in Arms*, remarks of the current methods of staff work that the Emperor "enumerated his measures in short words. Berthier separated them from each other, drew up each order separately, and addressed them to the several addresses. Berthier's position was more that of a chief of the Cabinet with high functions than that of a Chief of the General Staff." It was in the course of this terrible campaign that Napoleon first met the beautiful Princess Walewska, whom Berthier knew well.

After the victory of Wagram and the crushing of Austria in 1809, further honours were showered upon the "*Major-général*." He was the most richly-endowed of the Marshals. His annual income exceeded a million francs, in addition to the comfortable *dot* of his nobly-born spouse—for, after Wagram, he wedded the Duke of Bamberg's daughter, who was also the King of Bavaria's niece. Napoleon stated at St. Helena that altogether he had given Berthier upwards of forty millions of francs, and there is no reason for supposing this figure to have been an appreciable exaggeration. Yet he was frequently ungenerous in sentiment towards his Chief of Staff, and once said of him with bitter emphasis: "*C'était un oison dont j'avais fait un aigle*." This was not true, and Napoleon knew it. Berthier became Prince of Wagram (he was already Prince of Neufchâtel) because, in the crisis of that desperate encounter, the Emperor sent him with the Old Guard and eighty guns to change the fate of the battle or die. Nobly did he succeed.

At Wagram fell the dashing General Lassalle, Napoleon's finest cavalry leader after Murat (who was then in Spain). He had had an *affaire* with the wife of Berthier's brother, and after divorce proceedings had been instituted he married the lady. On the eve of Wagram, the brave, devil-may-care Lassalle left a pathetic letter addressed to his Emperor, begging Napoleon to provide for the young family he would leave behind him. It was a fatal premonition of the fate which overtook him on the morrow. Had General Lassalle survived, there was almost no position to which he might not have attained in the Imperial service, so conspicuous were his abilities. One wonders why, at that period, the matter was not put to the touch of swords as between Lassalle and the outraged husband. The General's love-letters to the guilty wife, written from Egypt, had been intercepted and published in the English Press, and there was a pretty scandal.

Berthier acquired by gift the magnificent hunting estate of Gros Bois, which the Emperor had purchased. On a vast scale were the *battues* which took place there, and it was usual with

Napoleon, when displeased with his Chief-of-Staff, to insinuate that "Berthier had rather be hunting at Gros Bois." Occasionally they shot together, and when the Emperor shot Marshal Masséna in the eye poor Berthier had to shoulder the blame!

After the treaty with Austria, the Prince of Neufchâtel was despatched to Vienna to demand the hand of the Princess Marie-Louise on behalf of the French Emperor, and he had to officiate at the marriage by proxy. He hated and dreaded the Russian campaign of 1812, and at Smolensk he joined with Murat in beseeching their master to pause and turn back. Napoleon fiercely retorted that Berthier was an old woman, broadly hinted that he might be a coward to boot, and sarcastically inquired if he was longing to be back in Paris. The Emperor was, or affected to be, incapable of perceiving that these Marshals of his were sick and tired of perpetual warfare for ambition's sake, and only longed to be quietly administering the internal affairs of the principalities and dukedoms with which he had endowed them, and to be resting from battle in the enjoyment of their princely revenues.

With old Marshal Lefebvre and a few more, Berthier was taken back to France when Napoleon deserted the remnant of the Grand Army after Moscow. But he was quickly in the field again, and throughout the chequered events of 1813 served his old master with a little less than the old zealous enthusiasm of yore. When General Jomini, Ney's Chief-of-Staff, deserted to the enemy on the eve of the battle of Leipzig, the Swiss renegade's alleged grievance was more against Berthier than against Ney. The former had severely censured him for certain dispositions which assisted the defeat of Ney at Bautzen, and this criticism was more than justified by the facts. But Jomini, though extremely able, was a scoundrel of the deepest dye. It is of interest to reproduce here, as illustrating the state of disorganisation that had begun to prevail in the Grand Army, an *ordre de jour* published by Berthier in May, 1813:

"Many soldiers have wandered into the country to right and left of the road, others follow the columns as stragglers. It is the fault of the officers who allow the men to leave the ranks. It is the fault of the Generals who march without rear-guards to pick up the stragglers. The soldiers unload their arms by firing them off, instead of using the cleaning-stick to draw the charge. Others roam about the fields firing at the cattle. This is a crime, because in war a gunshot is frequently the signal of alarm. It is also a crime because the bullet might kill or wound persons by accident. Finally, it is a crime because it is a marauding act. His Majesty the Emperor orders that any soldier who fires off his musket either as a marauder or to save himself the trouble of unloading properly,

shall be punished by imprisonment and degradation. If the shot wounds or kills anyone, he shall be punished by death.

"ALEXANDRE,
"Prince de Neufchâtel, Major-Général."

Let us now turn to Berthier's share in the melancholy events leading up to Napoleon's first abdication. During the campaign of France, the Emperor, having won the battle of Champaubert and taken the Russian General Alsufieff and 2,000 prisoners, was expressing to Berthier and Marmont the optimistic opinion that "another such victory, gentlemen, and I shall be on the Vistula." Neither of them replied to this sally. "I see how it is," said the Emperor bitterly, after a pause; "everyone is growing tired of war. There is no more enthusiasm, the sacred fire is extinct, but," turning to General Drouet, "if we had a hundred men like you we should be successful." The General replied on the spur of the moment, "Say, rather, a hundred thousand, Sire." A few weeks later, when the end of all things was at hand, Berthier came to the Emperor and requested a short leave of absence. It was accorded. "He will never come back," observed the Emperor quietly. They never saw each other again.

Events now progressed so rapidly with the *ex-Major-Général* that on June 4th ensuing he was the recipient of the usual Bourbon rewards—Peer of France, etc. He had been present at the abdication scene, when the broken Man of Destiny's appeal for "a little more time" fell upon deaf ears. In Paris thereafter Marshal Marmont was commonly known as "Judas" and Berthier as "Peter," the latter being epigrammatically said to have denied his master, while the Marshal-Duke of Ragusa had betrayed him.

When the return from Elba took place, Berthier was enjoying the sweets of rest from his arduous labours. He was now upwards of sixty years old. Doubtless Napoleon would, with a good-natured jest, have been glad to have him back as Chief-of-the-Staff; but the Prince of Neufchâtel did not know what to do with himself. There is a story of some mysterious message to him from the Emperor. "Indecent warmth" is the expression employed by one historian in describing Berthier's welcome to the restored Bourbon dynasty. He accompanied Louis XVIII in his flight across the frontier on the return of the fugitive from Elba, whom he apparently contemplated rejoining. But, possibly because his powers were failing, he did not do so. Retiring to Bamberg, to the estate of his wife's uncle the King of Bavaria, he was so upset at the sight of Russian troops marching towards France that he threw himself from an upper window and was killed. This suicide

gestion of foul play was advanced; but it was finally set at rest by the reviewer of a London daily newspaper, who corrected the misapprehension. The editors of the volume so reviewed (Stanley's *Before and After Waterloo*) therefore appealed to the *Nouvelle Biographie Générale*, which says:

"Les événements de Mars, 1815, le jetèrent dans une grande incertitude. Il voulut rester neutre et s'enfuit à Bamberg, où il eut une mort tragique. Berthier était à sa fenêtre lorsque six hommes masqués, émissaires de quelques sociétés secrètes, entrèrent dans sa chambre, et le jetèrent dans la rue où il fut relevé mourant."

They added: "If these details have been proved inaccurate by later authorities, the editors would be glad to correct the note in any future edition." Whereupon, in a letter to the editor of the *Pall Mall Gazette*, the reviewer replied: "The story of masked agents of a secret society breaking into Marshal Berthier's rooms in the palace of his princely relative, throwing him from a window, and then escaping—all in broad daylight—is so improbable that it is a wonder it was ever believed. There was an immediate inquiry after Berthier's death. The only doubtful point was whether it was a case of suicide or accident. His children and their governess, Madame Gallien, were in the room from the window of which he fell. Her statement, and that of Dr. Ziegler, who was attending Berthier, contain no suggestion of assassination. General Derrécagaix, in his life of Berthier (*Le Maréchal Berthier*: Paris, 1904-5), fully discusses the question of his death, and inclines to the view that he overbalanced himself. Henri Houssaye, perhaps the highest authority on the events of 1815, in his *Waterloo*, writes:

"Le bruit courait en 1815 que Berthier avait été jeté de la fenêtre par deux hommes masqués. C'est une légende absurde, mais il y a doute si le maréchal tomba accidentellement, par l'effet d'une congestion, d'un étourdissement, ou s'il se précipita. Cette circonstance que Berthier, étant à une fenêtre du premier étage, monta soudain au troisième étage, dans l'appartement de ses enfants, et en tomba, est plutôt une présomption de suicide. Il n'est pas invraisemblable qu'il ait voulu chercher une mort plus certaine, et qu'il ait voulu ainsi avant de mourir revoir une dernière fois ses enfants."

The legend of the masked men appears in several works of reference, but will not stand the test of examination.

As he was rarely called upon to lead armies or wings of armies in the field—and whenever he did, he was severely censured by Napoleon for poor generalship—Berthier may not be judged by ordinary military tests or standards. Well did he love his master, and well did he serve him. Never a man of strong character, he

seems to have acquired the habit of leaning on the Emperor and trusting implicitly in him for good or for evil. His devotion could not be challenged or doubted, while his grasp of detail and intimate knowledge of affairs is universally recognised. Berthier—who, it may be worth recalling, made his last journey into Bavaria unaccompanied—left a son and two daughters. The former, born at Paris in 1810, married a daughter of the Comte Clary. Becoming a partisan of Prince Louis Napoleon, he was created a Senator of France in 1852 when the latter was proclaimed Emperor.

Marshal Berthier received at his estate of Gros Bois in April, 1814, immediately after Napoleon's act of abdication, the Emperor of Austria and his daughter, the ex-Empress Marie Louise. One wonders what the Duc de Neufchâtel's sensations must have been in receiving under his roof the father whose daughter he had, a few brief years previously, been despatched to the Austrian capital to "demand" on behalf of his Imperial master.

PERCY CROSS STANDING.

THE WAGE-EARNING BOY, EMPLOYED AND UNEMPLOYED.

I.

THE pressure of larger matters has of late pushed into the background the social and economic problems arising from the entrance of boys upon work, which at the outbreak of the war had won serious recognition, and at the close of the war held prominent place in schemes of "reconstruction." The crux of the problem, as seen by the Royal Commission on the Poor Laws when their Reports awakened attention to it in 1909, was the manufacture of adult unemployment and unemployability by the entrance of boys upon occupations which, offering neither training nor prospect, cast them in later youth upon the Labour Market, unequipped for skilled work and too old to begin training.

The danger, conspicuous in the so-called "Blind-alleys"—work, that is, done by boys and uncontinued by men—was found to threaten more insidiously in the skilled manual trades, and indeed in every kind of juvenile occupation. Within the manual trades, the development of specialisation, the supersession of handicraft by machinery, the use of automatic methods of production, and other like changes in industrial methods, rendered the old system of Apprenticeship obsolete, without replacing it by any system of training adapted to modern conditions. Industrial training was haphazard, and industrial prospect indeterminate. In other kinds of normally probationary work—in clerical occupations, for example—a similar uncertainty prevailed, not because Apprenticeship had been abandoned, but because no uniform system of vocational training had ever existed.

The conditions of the war complicated, without essentially changing, the problem of the boy at work. Boys were diverted from the Blind-alleys, and to some extent from probationary employment, into the Munition industries; and the Armistice left them unemployed after having earned for a time extravagant wages. The demand for boy-work in other occupations during the war exceeded the supply. The wages of juvenile work were in consequence high; and, for the same reason, girls were, in some cases, substituted for boys. During the latter years of the war the public conscience awoke to an acute sense of responsibility towards the nation's youths, and the attention given in after-war plans to the position of the wage-earning boy found expression in the Education Act of 1918. But the axe of economy was laid to the root of this promising tree, and the economic and personal problems of boy-work are left unsolved.

The really new factor in the position since the war is the large

number of boys leaving school, and of youths two or three years older, who are unable to find employment of any kind. Before the war there was normally an even correspondence between supply and demand in juvenile work. The supply of boys fitted to enter the Trades and other kinds of probationary work always, indeed, exceeded the demand; and there were localities where industrial openings were too few to absorb the boys who sought them. But it was unusual for a boy to be totally unemployed for any length of time. The most conspicuous fact of the present situation, on the contrary, is that the juvenile unemployed number hundreds or thousands, whose number is being incontinently swelled by the "school-leavers" at the end of every term. The supply of boy-work enormously exceeds the demand. Nor, while the supply continues to pour into the labour market from the Elementary Schools, can one see any means of adjusting the balance.

It is commonly assumed that this excessive juvenile unemployment is a temporary consequence of the stagnation of trade, and that a revival of trade will gradually remove it. There are, however, reasons to fear that this is not the case; and the possibility at least must be faced that the demand for boy-work is permanently diminished. During the war, when the call of the Munition industries enlisted many fugitive boy-workers, some of the less necessary "Blind-alleys" were abandoned, and have not since been re-opened. The experiment of substituting girls for boys has sometimes been continued: far more extensively, especially in clerical occupations, the substitution of women for men. Clerical staffs, too, depleted during the war and later, for economy, reduced, are unlikely to become as large as formerly when business revives. There is likely to be a permanent residue of unemployed boys.

In any case, it is important to consider the problem of juvenile unemployment, not by itself, but in relation to the whole problem of boy-work as it normally is; and, instead of adopting expedients for the relief of unemployment, to adopt measures which may improve the position of the wage-earning boy whether employed or unemployed.

For the problem of the unemployed "school-leaver" complicates in many ways the problem of the boy at work. It makes his position in early youth precarious. He is in danger of being ousted by a younger boy who will take his place at lower wages. The pressure of unemployed school-leavers at one end threatens to push youths into unemployment at the other; and unemployment at 16, 17, or older is economically and personally more grievous than unemployment at 14. Again, a boy's first choice of work is generally an experiment. At the age of fourteen his

vocational aptitude is very difficult to diagnose, and can only be fully disclosed by experience. While the demand for boy-work was large, a boy misplaced at the start could rectify his mistake by changing to more fitting employment, or a boy starting upon a "Blind-alley" could leave it for more promising work. But the present excess of supply over demand in boy-work binds the boy-worker who has made a mistaken choice to work for which he may be quite inapt, and keeps the Blind-alley worker in his Blind-alley until he is dismissed from it, too old to train for skilled employment. The old problems of the boy at work are perpetuated and accentuated.

II.

In dealing with juvenile unemployment, commonsense suggests the obvious expediency of checking at the source the supply of unwanted juvenile work. To this end, there are frequent proposals to raise the school-exemption age to fifteen, and ultimately to sixteen. These proposals need to be considered both in their narrower and in their wider application—as palliatives of present juvenile unemployment, and as permanent educational reforms. In its effect upon the congested Labour Market, the raising of the school age seems to offer little better than postponement; for there is no reason to suppose that any revival of trade and demand for boy-work that may be reasonably expected will be sufficient to absorb after twelve or eighteen months the unemployed boy-workers.

It would be deplorable if the adoption of a higher school exemption age were regarded mainly as a relief to juvenile unemployment, and the retention of children at school merely as a better alternative than idleness. It is an educational reform ideally and practically desirable. But it depends for its effectiveness upon correlative reforms both in education itself and in the conditions of juvenile work. It involves, in effect, from the side of the school, the provision of Secondary Education and the adaptation of Primary Education as a preparation for it. It involves from the side of industry not only, of course, a higher age for the recruitment of boy-workers, but the reorganisation of vocational training and prospect. It must include some form of compensation to poor parents, by maintenance grants or otherwise, for the wages of their children. It is a reform which, in hard fact, can only be gradually realised; for it requires the increase of school accommodation, of teachers, and, very seriously, of expenditure. It will indeed be well if the acute difficulty of juvenile unemployment stimulates the demand for longer and better education; but that reform cannot be improvised as an emergency measure, and partially to adopt it for that purpose would be a practical failure and the degradation of a social ideal.

In its essence, the problem of boy-work is the problem of vocational choice and selection; and this problem has only been accentuated by juvenile unemployment. The ideal of vocational choice is apt correspondence between the capacities of the worker and the qualities required for success in the work he undertakes. In practice, however, a boy's entrance upon work is more often suggested by chance than dictated by choice; and the carelessness of vocational choice on the part of boys and parents is encouraged by neglect of vocational selection on the part of employers. Left to itself, the competition for "jobs" sharpened by juvenile unemployment will convert a boy's hitherto careless entrance upon work into a scramble. The jostle for jobs on the part of boys leaving school must somehow be checked. Otherwise, there will be a constant flow of unemployed and largely unemployable youths into the Labour Market: for older boys will be dispossessed in favour of their juniors, and younger boys, scrambling haphazard into work suitable or unsuitable, will in turn fall back into unemployment.

Meanwhile, pending the permanent adoption of a higher school age, and the reorganisation of juvenile work which is the condition of its effectiveness, we may find, even in the present *impasse*, an opportunity for the direction of vocational choice to the benefit both of employed and unemployed boys.

1. At the best, numbers of school-leavers must fail immediately to find work. They must wait; and on the whole it is better that they should await fitting work than plunge into jobs without promise of continuance, or push older boys into unemployment. But they must not be allowed to wait in idleness, or to pass from supervision; and if they cannot be retained at school, the only alternative appears to be the provision of Juvenile Unemployment Centres. Attendance at these Centres should be compulsory, and they would probably be best placed under the Education Authority. They should provide for the boys some sort of educative work, which may help to disclose and develop vocational aptitude. A boy's name should be entered as a candidate for employment upon the register of the Juvenile Employment Bureau, the development of which is the next step to be considered. In cases of necessity, aid-grants might be made to the parents of waiting boys.

2. Machinery for the vocational direction of boys already exists in the Juvenile Advisory Committees, either under the Local Education Authorities or under the Ministry of Labour, in connection with the Employment Exchanges. For various reasons, however, they have fallen short of their possible usefulness. They are resorted to only by a proportion of boys seeking work and of employers seeking boys; and they therefore cannot survey or influence the whole field of juvenile employment. Tending in

practice to become Employment Registries rather than centres of vocational guidance, they are relatively inadequate even in this capacity. Still, the machinery exists: worked at full power, it would do much to improve the position both of the boy at work and the boy unemployed.

(1) Experience has shown that the most efficient form of Juvenile Employment Bureau is that which is established and controlled by the Local Education Authority, and conducted by a supervisor appointed by that Authority, acting in close co-operation with an officer of the Employment Exchange. The Bureau is thus in touch with the schools on the one hand, and with the working world on the other; and while the concern of the Education Authority's supervisor is to diagnose boys for vocational fitness and to advise them on vocational choice the Employment Exchange officer registers applications from employers for boy-work, and both these officials in consultation supply the most fitting candidates. It is suggested that such Bureaux should be compulsorily established by every Local Education Authority in the country.

(2) The purpose of the Juvenile Employment Bureaux should not be to find *any* boys *any* jobs; and they should not work on the principle of "first come, first served." Their purpose, in relation to the boys' working world, should be to gather complete and accurate information of the demand for boy-work in various departments, and by supplying the demand in the most appropriate manner help to stabilise the position of boys actually employed. Their purpose in relation to the working boy should be to diagnose as precisely as possible his vocational aptitude, and, considering this in connection with the demands for boy-work in their locality, to place fitting boys in fitting employment. This discrimination in the placing of boys in work is vital to any reasonable treatment of the position; for to place them indiscriminately is only to create more hopeless unemployment at a later and more difficult age.

(3) Discrimination in the choice of employment and in the selection of candidates requires two conditions—knowledge of the boy to be placed and knowledge of the local demand for work, including precise information as to the qualities needed for success in the positions to be filled. The former can only be acquired by the careful diagnosis of a boy's vocational aptitude by means of reliable tests. The application of psychology to vocational selection is still tentative and experimental; but its applicability is proved, and already psychological and physiological tests have been devised which, used in conjunction with more empirical methods of diagnosis, would yield reliable indications. The determination of qualities needed in different sorts of work may also be reached by psychological testing. It is properly the business

of the trades themselves to carry out such tests: and the Juvenile Employment officers should receive from employers help in this direction which at present is generally wanting. An employer's "order" for a boy is usually without specification of the qualities sought in the candidate.

(4) The large success of such a plan obviously depends upon the extent to which the Bureaux become the normal means of placing boys in work. While boys continue to seek work, and employers to recruit boy-workers at haphazard, careful choice and selection is neutralised, and discriminating distribution of employment is impossible; nor is it possible to determine accurately the relation between supply and demand in juvenile occupation. It is therefore suggested that every boy, some months before school exemption, should be sent from the school to the Employment Bureau, and examined for vocational fitness; his parents advised of the result; and his name entered as a candidate for employment on the register of the Bureau. He could not of course be prevented from seeking work on his own account; but if the Bureau were thus in every case associated with his closing months in school, resort to it would become customary. On the other hand, if employers recognised that pains were taken to supply them with boys expertly judged apt for the positions to be filled, they would prefer resort to the Bureau to vague advertising and unskilled examination of candidates.

(5) In any complete scheme of juvenile vocational guidance the working boy should not pass from the ken and care of the Employment Bureau on his first placing. He should be kept under a supervision which need not be intrusive or officious, and which might well be the service of After-care Committees. Mistakes in the choice of work might be rectified and a boy misplaced, or temporarily employed, be given a fresh start. Youths thrown out of employment should apply to the Bureau for advice and replacement. The voluntary workers of After-Care Committees might perform for the boy at work something of the function of the Welfare Worker in some large engineering firms.

The organisation of vocational choice and selection is the basic condition of all other reform. The purpose of this article has therefore been to sketch in outline the plan of such reform; to indicate that the means of it are already available; and especially to plead that the present juvenile unemployment should not be regarded as a temporary difficulty to be treated by emergency measures, but seen in relation to the whole problem of boy-work, and met by measures which, if they cannot immediately cure it, may prevent its spread and, in relieving it, better at the same time the whole position of the wage-earning boy.

SPENCER J. GIBB.

OTFORD: THE STORY OF A KENTISH VILLAGE.

OTFORD is a village in the neighbourhood of Sevenoaks, with an ancient history. I have come to love it so that each visit increases the passion. I set down here some notes on the place and its history, to convey something of the manifold charm of this old-world haunt; it remains old-world in spite of the proximity of London. Of course, there are many new houses, but fortunately they are built outside the village so they do not really interfere with it.

When you love a place you consider the best means of approach to it. Otford may be approached by railway, for it is on the line between Swanley, Maidstone, and Ashford. Even that has its charm; the valleys of the chalk hills open one after the other as you pass by; it is like turning over a book of pictures. If you go by the main road you follow much the same route, but you have more time to enjoy the changing scenes. Yet there are still better ways. Desert the high road at Shoreham, which is the next village, climb the hill on the left hand, then descend by a footpath to your bourne. As you do so you get the best view of Otford and its surroundings, for it is fitly set. Over against you to the west is the great mass of Sepham Hill; down in the hollow, between that and the hill on which you stand, there runs the little river Darent, and there is the village on its banks. Thus the hills guard and protect Otford, holding it securely in their keeping. But the ideal way is to follow the course of the stream up from Shoreham: it is a pleasant walk through meadows low down by the river; as you go, you must needs lift your eyes to the hills, for their beautiful slopes draw your attention. Spenser long ago sang the praises of the river in words still true and not to be surpassed:

"... the still Darent in whose waters clear
Ten thousand fishes play and deck his pleasant stream."

Let us take it you have arrived and taken your stand on the village green. Here is the village pond, from which flows a stream of water that to-day represents the well of St. Thomas. A little to the south you see a battered, octagonal tower of fine old brick, curiously marked black and red; this is the palace, or castle as some call it, of Otford. The Archbishops of Canterbury held it for centuries, and each would more correctly describe it as "our manor house at Otford." In Kent the Archbishops had sixteen of such manor houses, so that when my lord of Canterbury made a progress to that city from Lambeth, he could put up

in his very own house each night. I shall have something to say of this palace later on, for much of the history of the place centres round it. At another corner of the green is the very quaint looking church; it consists of chancel, nave and south aisle, and there is a massive tower on the west end crowned by a picturesque shingled spire. The church is kept open all day for the wayfarer; it will not long detain you. Its memorials include some in honour of men who died in the Great War; to these there is also an unobtrusive monument on the green. The chief object in the church is an elaborate marble monument to Charles Polhill, who, the inscription tells, was a Smyrna merchant and afterwards a commissioner of excise in England. He is set forth as a Roman figure in appropriate classical costume. There is another Polhill commemorated; he was M.P. for Rochester and Keeper of the Records in the Tower. In these parts they were a powerful family up to our own day. Sepham Hill is by the chance wayfarer commonly known as Pol Hill, probably because there is a wayside inn called the Polhill Arms at the very top.

As you come out of the church you note that one part of the churchyard wall is formed by an ancient house of fair size, with a pleasant, well kept garden; you dwell with pleasure on its old-world charm. It was characteristic of an earlier day to mix up houses in this way with the churchyard. I think the fashion a good one; it showed a kindly feeling in that it did not thrust the dead out of sight, but kept up a certain friendly relation with them; perhaps it made the last passage of all a little easier for our forefathers. You progress down the village street. There is the usual plentiful supply of inns, and the usual village names—"The Woodman," "The Crown," etc. Notice on your left a group of little old brick houses with small windows and twisted doors; you guess them two or three hundred years old. I do not pretend that they are particularly charming, only you gather that in former days the whole village must have consisted of such. There is the old vicarage, with a crazy path to the door, its latticed windows, its pleasant trees. Round the green you have noticed some considerable dwellings of a more or less antique date, set in their gardens, but the gem of the village is to me the quaint wooden house which ends the street on the left. It looks of some considerable age and is carefully kept up.

Here is the bridge over the Darent and on the further side a Tudor building worth noting. A little way down the river is a house partly built over the water. Where the bridge stands, there was of old a ford, for does not Otford quite plainly mean "at the ford"? It was here the pilgrims must have passed. "The Pilgrim's Way" is really an old British road which ran on the

lower slope of the hills from before Winchester to beyond Canterbury. It was used by pilgrims from the west on their journey to the shrine of St. Thomas, and so got its latter day name. Although it kept mainly to the hillside, it had to descend from time to time to cross streams. It did so here, and thus got lost, and confused with the village street. But as you leave Otford on the east, just past the railway station, and in the direction of Wrotham, you are again on an authentic piece of the Pilgrim's Way. A most illustrative piece, the authorities assert, since it is easy to distinguish parts where it is the present highway, and others where it deserts the common track, darting off, as it were, to follow its own solitary course, bordered by ancient yew trees, on the hillside.

Otford enters authentic history in the year 773, when Offa, king of Mercia, fought a great battle there with Aldric, king of Kent. The Mercians prevailed; the victorious king, though he seized much Kentish land, gave Otford to the Priory of Christchurch, Canterbury. Two centuries went by, and there was another great fight in 1016, this time between Danes and Saxons; Canute and his forces were completely routed and driven in headlong flight to Aylesford. Here, by the plot of Edric, called the Traitor, Edward, called Ironside, was persuaded to stay his hand when he might have rid the kingdom for ever of the pest. A plot called Danefeld is said still to preserve the memory of the fight. A more tangible and grisly proof revealed itself in 1767, when a road to Sevenoaks was being constructed or repaired; in the chalk cliffs on either side were found many skeletons of men who, it was plausibly conjectured, had perished in the battle. Then we come to the Conquest, and in Domesday Book Otford is "writ large" with various particulars. It had, for example, six mills, and a hundred and one villeins; there was wood for the pannage of fifty hogs; it was the land of the Archbishop of Canterbury, and so forth. Under Lanfranc, the first of the Norman Archbishops, the land belonging to the Priory at Canterbury was partitioned; so much went to the monks and so much to the Archbishop; he got Otford, and here he and his successors had an abode till the Reformation time.

St. Thomas of Canterbury, vulgarly called Thomas à Becket, was often on the premises; there grew up a regular Becket legend, the "spitefull miracles" whereof are much derided by old Lambard, who in 1576 gave to the world his famous *Perambulation of Kent*. Here be the chief of these. St. Thomas, finding his palace badly off for water, forthwith struck the ground with his staff and immediately St. Thomas' well gushed forth, to the advantage of the place ever after. Again, the saint was much dis-

turbed in his study and devotion "by the sweete note and melodie of a nightingale that sang in a bush besides him," whereat he solemnly banished the bird from Otford, where, for centuries after, its song was never heard. Further, a smith of the village shod one of the prelate's horses in so clumsy a fashion that he altogether lamed the poor animal. Now Thomas prized his horses above everything else, they were superb creatures for speed and appearance. He was furious (he was not yet a saint, be it remembered), he cursed the unlucky smith and enacted that no one of that trade should thereafter flourish within the parish. These "toyes" indicate one thing. Becket was a passionate and determined man whom it was not safe to oppose. In his conflict with the State he might be broken, but he would not bend: this is just the character of the historic Becket.

Lambarde was a sturdy Protestant; he makes merry over another Otford superstition. The church is dedicated to St. Bartholemew whose feast day was kept solemnly, "both with a faire and good fare there." Now there was an image of him in the church much used in the determination of sex. If a woman desired a man child she presented the image with a cock chicken; if a girl, with a hen, and so the matter went merrily on till, in the time of Henry VIII, a certain villager named Robert Multon complained to his prince of the business as a fraud. The King's folk presently laid violent hands on the image and there was an end of the practice; yet it was by no means easy to destroy those old beliefs. The water of St. Thomas' well was credited with wondrous efficacy for curing those who bathed therein. The *Gentleman's Magazine* of June, 1820, gives a circumstantial account of an old man crippled by rheumatism completely restored to health and action by a bath in this miraculous spring, "a circumstance witnessed by the late Lord Stanhope and several of the neighbouring gentry," but no one, I think, bathes there now for any purpose whatever.

The Archbishops after Becket continued their affection for the place. They were continually adding to it, and to the lands about it. We are told of two large parks and of building and rebuilding from time to time. Chief among those old time prelates was Robert of Winchelsea. He entertained Edward I with great splendour at Otford: he passed his time between Canterbury and Otford, at which latter place he died in 1313. He was a tall, handsome man, rather corpulent in his later years, but of a most gracious and courteous manner. If he feasted his king he did not forget his poor. Every Sunday and Thursday he distributed between two and three thousand loaves, and upon solemn festivals he relieved one hundred and fifty needy persons with gifts of

money. He gave the aged and infirm alms of bread, fish, and flesh according to the seasons and their needs. He was the ideal prelate of mediæval times, who gave to the poor according to their needs, with no thought of merit, and with a sublime disregard of the principles of political economy, which science had at that time not discovered or invented.

I will not go into the long succession of Archbishops and their dealings with their Otford palace. I come at once to Archbishop Warham, in Henry VIII's time. He, like his predecessors, continually revolved plans of building and re-building; he meant to set up a splendid residence at Canterbury, but he quarrelled with the citizens about the site and in high dudgeon threw up the scheme. In place thereof he rebuilt the house at Otford, all but the chapel and hall; he spent thirty-three thousand pounds on this, an almost incredible sum when the then value of money is taken into account. He feasted Henry VIII well enough, but it was a risky thing, for Henry and his greedy courtiers were casting covetous eyes on the lands of the Church. Warham died in 1532. Cranmer succeeded and there was a fresh order of things. The new Archbishop possibly got some hints, or he may have desired to meet a possible danger. He at any rate, passed the whole Otford property over to Henry in exchange for something else; what it was does not clearly appear, evidently nothing of great value.

Succeeding monarchs gradually gifted parts away. Thus Elizabeth, in 1592, gave the Castle and great park of seven hundred acres to Sir Robert Sydney, who, in 1618, sold it to Sir Thomas Smith, one of whose descendants, a Chief Baron of the Exchequer, took down the upper storeys of the two towers which had become unsafe. Some substantial part, however, must have remained Crown land till the Commonwealth time, when it was sold; on the Restoration, it again became the King's land. The Parliament ordered a survey in 1650, from which we learn that the Honor of Otford, that is, the head of various manors, possessed several Court Leets. A local tribunal sat there once every three weeks for the trial of actions not more than forty shillings in value. Then and afterwards there was a High Steward of the Honor of Otford; he had no very clearly defined duties, but the position was dignified and honourable, and was eagerly sought after by the nobility and gentry of the county.

The palace itself seems to have gone to swift ruin. After the times of the Archbishops I do not find it regularly inhabited. It has long been a mere wreck, the acre of ground it formerly covered was strewn with its remains, but these have also disappeared. As you look from the Green you see a line of cottages

stretching from the ruined great tower to a smaller building on the left. Possibly this was the chapel, and the ground between was the site of the great hall. No doubt the relics were used to build the cottages and the farm steading which now occupies the place. A fire which occurred about half a century ago is supposed to have completed the ruin, but earlier pictures of the eighteenth century show it not materially different from what it is now. Thus Hasted, in 1778, talks of the "scanty remains of a wall and two towers, part of the outer court;" again, there is a picture in the *Universal Magazine* for July, 1779 not materially different from the photograph on the postcards of to-day.

I will not attempt further to distinguish the various steps of the decline and ruin of this once famous house. All round, the place is springing to fresh life; the chisel and the hammer are heard the whole day. Houses, bungalows, and so forth, rise up like mushrooms on these noble Kentish hills. The things must be, but a fervent desire may be permitted to the humble pilgrim of to-day that Otford may continue to keep unharmed the relics of this great palace, its old-time houses, and the memory of a long historic past.

FRANCIS WATT.

FOREIGN AFFAIRS.

THE falling leaves of European diplomacy were an interesting sight to watch during the last half of March and the first half of April, but there was little satisfaction to be got from the watching. The diplomatists were perverse enough to take to their falling in the spring. Their main business since the opening of the year had been a concentrated attempt to find a basis for a pact of security such as would in the first place reassure France, in the second place Germany, and then the rest. Negotiations were proceeding, as it seemed, with some buds of promise. And then the French Government, which was essential to the negotiations, plunged into a crisis of its own, and by Easter the negotiations were at a standstill. First, M. Herriot's Finance Minister, M. Clémentel, found himself in difficulties and resigned. Within a week M. Herriot himself and his whole Cabinet had resigned. The exchanges of view about a Western European security pact were suspended. Certain expert soundings which had been conducted in London by representatives of the British and French Treasuries about the French debt were likewise suspended. M. Theunis announced his decision to retire from politics. By all appearances still another wave of new things was coming over the face of Europe, and Mr. Chamberlain, who during the first six months of his office had met as much bad luck as his post-war predecessors in office put together, was presented by way of climax with an unpalatable Easter egg.

THE TWENTY-SIX PER CENT.

Before recording the precise stages of the retrogression just alluded to, it is pleasanter to put down the one achievement which stands to the credit of European diplomacy during the period under review.

On April 3rd there was signed in Berlin a British-German agreement for amending the method of administering the German Reparation (Recovery) Act of 1921. The text of the agreement was issued two days later and was published in the newspapers of April 6th. Three months of negotiation thereby bore fruit. When the German delegates were in London last November and December negotiating with the British Board of Trade the Anglo-German Treaty of Commerce and Navigation, which was signed on December 2nd, they took the occasion to discuss with the British Treasury the separate question of the 26 per cent. tax on German exports—the famous Lloyd-Georgian legacy. Great Britain had been the only Ally to exercise to any considerable extent her right to collect that tax. Since the time when it was

first levied it had been collected literally as a tax on German exports to Great Britain. The method used was this. A British importer buying say £100 worth of German goods would on receiving the German invoice pay £26 to the British Government, and would then pay the invoice sum to the German exporter by sending £74 plus the British Government's receipt for the £26 tax. The German trader would then present the receipt to the German Government and recover the £26. By that process the German Government indirectly paid to the British Government a tax of 26 per cent. on all German exports to Great Britain. When the German negotiators were in London at the end of last year they made the point that the method of collecting the tax had the effect of encouraging the British importer to discriminate against German goods; for, other things being equal, he would prefer to deal with exporters who could be paid for their goods without the complicated business involved in the case of German firms.

The British Treasury, while not agreeing that in fact there had been any discrimination of the kind alleged, agreed to accept the German suggestion for a change in the method of collection, but on one condition. The German suggestion was that in the future the tax should be paid in a global sum—to use the expression which the diplomatists liked to use instead of the more obvious expression “a lump sum”—monthly by the German Government, the amount of the sum to be determined by the actual volume of trade which had passed from Germany to Great Britain during the preceding month. The British condition was that it should be first of all formally agreed by the Transfer Committee of the Dawes Plan, by the Agent-General of Dawes Payments and by the Reparation Commission, that the payment of the tax should continue to be regarded technically as payment in kind, even though under the suggested new method it would be paid directly in cash by the German Government. Hitherto the 26 per cent. reparation tax had been regarded as payment in kind on the analogy of the French coal receipts from Germany, which similarly had to be paid for by the German Government indirectly in cash. The importance of the distinction lay in the fact that by the Dawes Plan the German cash annuities were fixed in amount, that the still unsatisfied priority claims on reparations had to be met from the cash annuities, and that, the German coal deliveries to France being sheltered from any priority claims, it was fair that the German 26 per cent. tax to Great Britain should be similarly sheltered. The First Dawes Committee of Experts specifically safeguarded this principle, and the London Reparation Conference of July and August, 1924, by adopting their report, gave its sanction to the safeguard. The relevant clause in the Dawes Plan (Report of

First Committee, Part I, chapter eleven) reads thus: “Where we have referred to payments for deliveries in kind in this report we have intended to include therein payments in Germany arising through the operation of the Reparation Recovery Acts.” It was therefore decided in December, 1924, that negotiations should begin between the British Government, the German Government, the Transfer Committee, the Agent-General of Payments and the Reparation Commission to see if the British condition could be fulfilled. The negotiations ended in the signing of the new agreement by Lord D'Abernon and Herr C. V. Schubert in Berlin on April 3rd.

The preamble to the agreement starts thus: “Whereas it is desired to reduce the burden and to remove the disabilities which the present method of administering the German Reparation (Recovery) Act places upon trade and commerce between Germany and Great Britain . . .” and stipulates that the new method shall operate “as from a date not later than the 1st of May, 1925.”

Article One outlines the new method, as explained above, whereby the British Customs will no longer collect the tax and “an equivalent amount of sterling will be surrendered of their free consent by the German exporters.” It is laid down that “the value of German imports shall be calculated on the basis of the statistics supplied by the British Customs.” Articles Two to Six prescribe the detailed machinery for the new method with pledges and safeguards against default. Article Seven is the all important article which embodies the British condition for having agreed to the change, and could not be understood by the man in the street without the explanation given above: “It is understood and agreed that this agreement merely provides for amending the method of collection of the levy on exports prescribed by the Recovery Act, that the payments made according to its terms shall accordingly be regarded for all purposes as a delivery pursuant to the terms of that Act, and that its provisions are without prejudice to any rights which may be enjoyed by the British Government in respect of that Act under the Dawes Plan, the London Protocol of August 30th, 1924, or otherwise.” Article Eight provides that if the new system proves unsatisfactory a joint committee of experts shall report on measures to meet any defects. Article Nine provides that the new agreement shall not come into force until the Transfer Committee and the Reparation Commission have passed resolutions to give effect to it.

LORD CURZON.

Lord Curzon died on March 20th. During his period of office as British Foreign Minister his work was often criticised in these

pages. His distinguished intellectual qualities, his genius for infinite pains and for sustained hard work, his profound knowledge of men and affairs in other countries, especially in the Near, Middle and Far East, carried him to the forefront of contemporary scholars. It was not his fault, any more than it is the fault of the rest of us, that the times we live in are what they are; nor that his temperament made him entirely unsuitable, in such times, for the position of British Foreign Secretary. The times were too much out of joint for Lord Curzon. The spectacle of Bolshevik Russia affected him to such an extent that the unimpassioned tact and gentle cynicism which must necessarily be a part of the professional diplomat's equipment deserted him, and he acted under the influence of a personal simplicity, which is one of the main charms of private life, but which unfortunately is inexpedient in a Foreign Office. Indignation, for instance, which is one of the attributes of simplicity, and which has its uses, is worse than useless as a means of smoothing out Anglo-Russian relations. The Russian temperament never understood Lord Curzon's indignation; and the main business of diplomacy is to make the representatives of other nations, differing in temperament, in habit, in training, in convention, understand one's own point of view.

Lord Curzon's period of office at the Foreign Office was in many ways an unhappy one. The unmistakeable effect of sadness in his expression was as true a mirror of his public life as the high forehead and finely chiselled features were of his essential qualities. He was consistently unfortunate in his statesmanship. He first occupied the Foreign Secretary's room at the Foreign Office under Mr. Lloyd George's Government. Now Mr. Lloyd George had no use for a Foreign Secretary, and the directive mind in foreign policy operated within the walls of No. 10 Downing Street. Lord Curzon was profoundly, but helplessly, unsympathetic to Mr. Lloyd George's Russian policy, and never concealed his antagonism. When Mr. Lloyd George resigned at the end of 1922 and his place was taken by Mr. Bonar Law after a political crisis in which the whole philosophy of Coalitionism was killed, Lord Curzon had no difficulty in his own transition from a Coalitionist Conservative Foreign Minister in a Coalitionist Liberal Ministry to a 100 per cent. Conservative Foreign Minister in a 100 per cent. Conservative Ministry, while his late Coalitionist Conservative colleagues withdrew into the wilderness. And why? Merely because Lord Curzon was essentially above party, and was essentially a Foreign Minister, even though, by an error of destiny, he grew to fruition as a Foreign Minister in times which blighted the fruit.

Under Mr. Bonar Law the Foreign Office and No. 10 Downing

Street were cut asunder into this traditionally separate entities. It is true that on first assuming office Mr. Bonar Law was so far unable to resist the Lloyd Georgian fashion of indulgence as to represent the British Government in person at the Inter-Allied Conference which was held in Paris in January, 1923: but thereafter Lord Curzon was the British spokesman abroad. The Ruhr being now occupied, his outlet for expression lay in the ordinary diplomatic channels, which channels he used with devastating effect in the summer of 1923: for Lord Curzon proved himself to be as incompatible with the post-war spirit of France as with that of Russia or of Germany. His famous Note to France of August 11th, 1923, marked the very climax of Franco-British disagreement. The disagreement was not the work of Lord Curzon: but in diplomacy, as in private life, it is doubtful if it can ever be expedient to upbraid people, no matter how badly they behave. Mr. Baldwin as Prime Minister shared the responsibility for the outspokenness of British diplomacy in the summer of 1923, but it is interesting, and no doubt indicative of Mr. Baldwin's repentance, that in the early autumn of that same year he attempted the alternative method of cultivating M. Poincaré. He failed, but that is beside the point.

The succession of Mr. Baldwin to the Prime Ministership after the death of Mr. Bonar Law contained within it the deepest phase of Lord Curzon's tragedy. The front which Lord Curzon offered on that occasion was eloquent of one of the most magnificent traits in his character, to which Mr. Baldwin himself, just after Lord Curzon's death, paid the fitting tribute. Lord Curzon was ambitious. The Foreign Office was his penultimate, the Prime Ministership his ultimate, ambition. It was true to his life that at the supreme moment he was ruled out from the Prime Ministership by being a peer—by being in character as well as in civil status above the fray. The disappointment went hard with him, as he never attempted to conceal. Having, however, faced it and mastered it with the courage which he showed under all his trials, physical and professional, he showed that his ambition, strong as it was, was less strong than his patriotism, and Mr. Baldwin, as he himself has said, had no more loyal colleague. A mocking fate had still more trials in store. At the end of 1923, when Mr. Baldwin and his colleagues were conducting their general election campaign, Lord Curzon, being a peer and independent of the people's suffrage, worked a lone furrow at the Foreign Office with results that were more truly commensurate with his abilities than any results he had achieved before. And in that moment the harvest was swept from his grasp by the Conservative defeat at the polls. It is likely, from what one knows of Lord Curzon's exquisite-

ly sensitive nature, that his removal from the Foreign Office and his contemplation of a successor in office, even so accomplished a successor as Mr. Ramsay MacDonald, was an agony to him. Few public men are less thick skinned than was Lord Curzon. When, twelve months later, the Conservative régime was restored, and Mr. Baldwin installed at the Foreign Office not Lord Curzon, but another, imagination fails at the thought of what Lord Curzon suffered. But again, as Mr. Baldwin has publicly revealed, Lord Curzon's loyalty and patriotism rose supreme. How effectively he conquered is manifest from the speeches he made in the House of Lords during the few months of life that were still his portion.

In short, his was a noble character and a fine intellect, applied to diplomacy in an uncongenial epoch.

THE FRENCH BREAKDOWN.

The seekers after security have had a set back, which it is easier to record than it will be to remedy. In this section last month some account was given of the important events which took place in Geneva on March 12th. On his return from Geneva Mr. Chamberlain broke his journey in Paris, had further conversations with M. Herriot, reached London on March 17th, and reported on his mission to the Cabinet on the following day. It was already apparent that the business of finding a formula for security would be long and difficult. Mr. Chamberlain had based his diplomacy on the axiom that France must be satisfied first. His attitude to M. Herriot was like Mr. MacDonald's attitude to M. Poincaré in 1924, Mr. Baldwin's to M. Poincaré in 1923, Mr. Lloyd George's to M. Briand in 1922 and 1921. His disappointment must have been equally great. There is no firm ground on which to assess the exact nature of the Chamberlain-Herriot interview of March 16th, for neither the one nor the other helped their friends to understand; but the evidence goes to indicate that their secrecy, as always, was dictated by their difficulties. It was indeed apparent that M. Herriot had been less enthusiastic than Mr. Chamberlain had had a right to expect about the British policy of a Western European pact.

The Cabinet meeting of March 18th, in so far as it dealt with foreign affairs, had ample ground for gloom. Mr. Churchill had had no answer, beyond a short acknowledgment from M. Clémentel, to his memorandum of February 6th on the French debt, and he was within a few weeks of his budget statement. Clearly it would be impossible to reduce income tax on the strength of any French move for funding the debt. Mr. Chamberlain was almost equally empty-handed in his report of the French reception of his security proposals.

M. DE FLEURIAU INTERVENES.

The outlook for Franco-British relations was indeed so black that the French Ambassador in London, M. de Fleuriau, who already has earned for himself the reputation of being an enthusiastic advocate of a Franco-British Entente, decided to act. He personally interviewed Mr. Chamberlain on March 19th and Mr. Baldwin on the following day, crossed over to Paris immediately after seeing Mr. Baldwin, spent the week-end interviewing M. Herriot and other politicians in Paris and returned to London early in the next week. His immediate purpose was to explain to the French Government certain aspects of British policy which had not been fully understood in France in spite of Mr. Chamberlain's visit to Paris. He is understood to have urged on M. Clémentel the tactical advisability of making some gesture about the French debt, and on M. Herriot the advisability of adopting a less chilling attitude to the pact proposal. M. de Fleuriau made a gallant attempt to build a bridge across the divergences of Paris and London, working on the foundation of the German offer of January 30th. M. Herriot had already, some weeks earlier, informed the German Ambassador in Paris that the French Government regarded that offer as a fair basis of discussion, and M. de Fleuriau was able to interpret the favourable view which the British Government took of it and to hint that the British Government would favour the holding of some sort of conference at which to discuss it.

As a result of M. de Fleuriau's intervention there emerged the promise of at any rate a serious examination of the German and British proposals by the French Government. The position was that Great Britain was committed by Articles 42, 43 and 44 of the Treaty of Versailles to regard a German violation of the demilitarisation of the Rhineland as a "hostile act" and as "calculated to disturb the peace of the world." Now Germany had offered to guarantee the *status quo* in the West. Great Britain was prepared to reaffirm her Treaty obligation by means of a special pact, in which, it was to be presumed, the vague formula "hostile act" would be changed to the vital formula "*casus belli*." France wanted the pact. What, then, were the difficulties? At that time they appeared to be as follows:—

(1) France so far had insisted on a security pact which should safeguard the Polish-German frontier as well as the Franco-German frontier, whereas neither British nor German opinion was prepared to uphold indefinitely the integrity, either of the Polish corridor or of the Polish part of Upper Silesia.

(2) France was committed to Poland by treaty.

(3) Germany made her proposed guarantee of the Western fron-

tier conditional on a future arbitral revision of the Eastern frontier.

(4) Great Britain, on the whole, regarded the Eastern frontier as a danger to the peace and could not guarantee that as well as the Western frontier.

M. de Fleuriau was therefore eliciting from the British Government on one side and from the French Government on the other, their views on how to meet this dilemma. Two main lines of approach were open. The first was that a German application for membership of the League, which would be automatically accepted if made unconditionally, would at once give Germany the right to act under Article 19 of the Covenant, which stipulates 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 Covenant being an integral part of the Treaty, already signed by France, France would, of course, abide by that; and the German and British uneasiness about the Polish clauses of the Treaty might reasonably be allayed thereby. The second line of approach was the question of a *quid pro quo* for Poland, or, in other words, the finding of a formula which would enable France to satisfy her conscience about Poland. It was clear that if League action at any future date revised the Polish clauses of the Treaty of Versailles, the Franco-Polish Treaty of 1921 would have to be modified accordingly. France could not by treaty undertake to defend frontiers which no longer existed, when she was at the same time a signatory of the treaty which made the revision. It rapidly became obvious that the main chance of success in the negotiations depended on the reconciliation of Franco-Polish relations in the East of Europe with Anglo-Franco-German relations in the West.

THE POLISH FRONTIERS.

Clearly, therefore, no progress can be made until the exact nature of Franco-Polish relations, as now effective, is grasped. Considerable emphasis has already been laid by French opinion on the binding nature of existing French commitments to Poland, and it is protested that France could not abandon honourable obligations for the selfish purpose of safeguarding French security. The question whether such a point of view is reasonable is beside the point. The important question is: What are French commitments to Poland? In the first place, there is a quite definite Franco-Polish Treaty, dated February 19th, 1921, by the terms of which France is committed to the maintenance of the *status quo* in the East. The third clause, which is the crucial one, stipulates

that if the two contracting parties "or one of the two, found themselves attacked without provocation on their part, the two Governments would concert together with a view to the defence of their territory and the safeguarding of their legitimate interests, within the limits prescribed in the preamble." Nothing could be clearer or more categorical.

In addition to the political treaty, there are three economic conventions in force between the two countries, and there is understood to be a military convention, designed to arrange for the exact military measures that would be taken if ever the conditions arose which would bring into operation Clause 3 of the political treaty quoted above. The military convention has been kept secret. The French Government has never admitted its existence, although Polish propaganda, which has an obvious interest in advertising its existence, has advertised it. The terms of the convention are not known at first hand, but informed gossip has revealed that it contains provisions for a French military mission in Poland, and for French credits for Polish equipment. There is, in fact, a French military mission in Poland, and Marshal Foch has ceremonially visited Warsaw. No one doubts the existence of the military convention, secret though it be.

The next move in active diplomacy was made by the German Ambassador in London, who in a letter to the *Times*, published on March 23rd, denied that the German pact proposal contained any mention of the German-Polish frontier. The text of the German memorandum of January 30th, had been kept secret, and it had been supplemented, explained, and generally elaborated in verbal messages on various later dates. The original written memorandum did not contain the actual words German-Polish frontier, and to that extent the German Ambassador had literal justification for his admirable attempt to smooth down Polish apprehensions. Herr Stresemann, however, in an interview which he gave to the *Cologne Gazette*, confirmed the general impression that by implication the German offer did reserve the question of the Polish frontier; and Mr. Chamberlain, speaking in the House of Commons on March 24th, threw a flood of light on it:

"The German proposals were put in a somewhat liquid shape. They have not been the subject of any precise or rigid definition. They are put forward as a possible basis for discussion, not as a thing to be taken or left. They did not come to me fully in the first instance. They came to me under circumstances of attempted secrecy which I have always admitted caused me a feeling of some suspicion, but I am convinced from what has passed since that the German Government are making a sincere and honest attempt to lead to a better state of things, and it is in the hope that we may assist to carry that effort to a fruitful conclusion that we have engaged in a serious discussion of their proposals.

"I will outline the German proposals broadly as follows: Germany's interest is in the establishment of a special treaty as a foundation for the peaceful understanding with France. Germany is prepared to consider a comprehensive arbitration treaty and to enter into a mutual pact with the Powers interested in the Rhine. Similar arbitration treaties might be concluded with other States which have common boundaries with Germany if those States desire. Further, a pact expressly guaranteeing the present territorial status on the Rhine would be acceptable to Germany, and a pact might further guarantee the fulfilment of articles 42 and 43 of the Treaty of Versailles.

"I think the House will agree with the Government that it is a signal advance that such proposals should have reached us, even in a vague form, and on her own motion, from Germany. They amount, if I understand them rightly, to this: that Germany is prepared to guarantee voluntarily what hitherto she has only accepted under compulsion of the Treaty—the *status quo* in the West, that she is prepared to eliminate war not merely from the West, but from the East, as an engine by which any alteration in that treaty position is to be obtained not only in the West, but in the East. She is prepared to disarm and abandon any idea of recourse to war for the purpose of changing the treaty boundaries of Europe. She may be unwilling or unable to make the same renunciation of all hopes and aspirations that some day, by friendly arrangement and mutual agreement, a modification may be introduced in the East which she is prepared to make in regard to any modifications in the West."

Mr. Lloyd George at that point inserted the observation: "This is most important. This is the first time that we have had any official account of this significant offer. Am I to understand that Germany is prepared to accept voluntarily the boundaries in the West, that she does not demand any reconsideration or revision of those boundaries? Do I understand that she makes the same declaration with regard to the East, or is that subject to arbitration?"

"No, sir, my right hon. friend rightly understands, that is, if I rightly understood, what Germany is prepared to do in regard to the West. She is prepared to renounce all desire of change and to enter into a mutual pact to guarantee the existing situation. In suggesting arbitration in the East, she does not propose or suggest that the Eastern frontiers should become the subject of such treaties of arbitration. She is prepared to say that she renounces the idea of recourse to war to change the frontiers in the East, but she is not prepared to say in regard to those frontiers that she renounces the hope of some day modifying some of their provisions by friendly negotiations, by diplomatic procedure, or, it may be for ought I know, by the good offices of the League of Nations."

The German Ambassador was listening to Mr. Chamberlain's speech from the gallery. He was so disturbed by what he regarded as Mr. Chamberlain's misrepresentation of what the German proposal contemplated that he there and then went to see Mr. Chamberlain to warn him of his supposed misapprehension. It was, however, subsequently established that it was the German

Ambassador himself who had not been fully instructed from Berlin about the exact implications of the German proposal, and that Mr. Chamberlain was right in every detail.

Mr. Chamberlain's statement of March 24th further contained a full and frank exposition of the British Government's attitude, and some passages deserve to be quoted here:—

"I told M. Herriot and the other Ministers that H.M. Government were not able to sign the Protocol. I had to add that, whilst we appreciated all that was involved for France in the failure through American abstention of the Anglo-American pact of guarantee after what had occurred at Cannes and after what had occurred in the troublous years that followed, it was not within the power of a British Government to offer to the French Government or to the Belgian Government a one-sided pact of guarantee of their frontiers directly pointed against Germany. But I told them, and I told others, that we attached the highest importance to these German suggestions, that we thought they should be examined most carefully in order to see whether they did not open the door to a new and better state of things and close the door not merely on actual military operations, but on that war-like atmosphere which has endured ever since the Treaty of Versailles.

"... Any arrangement that we might make should be, in the words of the declaration which I read at Geneva, 'purely defensive in character, that it should be framed in the spirit of the Covenant, working in close harmony with the League of Nations and under its guidance if possible.' It is equally obvious that our obligations could not be extended in respect of every frontier. That is the main reason why we rejected the Protocol. It was because it was a universal extension of our obligations of a most serious character.

"But we thought that what we could not do in every sphere we might properly undertake and advise our people to undertake in that sphere with which we were most closely connected, while it must be made clear that in trying to underpin the Covenant and to stabilise peace in the West, we were not licensing or legitimising war elsewhere, and that to enter into fresh engagements of a mutual character, turning into friendly agreement voluntarily made on both sides what was now peace imposed by the victors on the vanquished—that that must not be held to be an encouragement to those who were defeated yesterday to try to reopen conclusions in another sphere. On the contrary, I hold that by the mere fact of stabilising peace in the West you would give an additional guarantee to the frontiers of the East, and after all, whose interest was it to disturb these frontiers? No country has a profounder interest in stabilising peace or in promoting good relations with her great neighbour than Poland, and no impartial person who could judge Germany's interests with a clear mind unclouded by prejudice or passion can fail to see that Germany can get no advantage and no additional security by attacking her eastern neighbour. Time and friendly adjustment, the force of economic ties and obligations, and the freedom of commercial interests should lead these two great nations to cultivate an ever growing, an ever closer friendship once they can get away from the atmosphere of yesterday and

turn to what should be the attitude of the future. The essence of such an agreement is that Germany should enter the League of Nations and take her place, as she would assuredly do, in the counsels of the League on a footing of equality both of obligation and of rights. I know that Germany has raised objections to the article we discussed the other day at the Council of the League, but the real answer is that it is of the essence of the League that all nations within it are equal in rights and obligations, and that if you begin to make exceptions to the obligations you would, of course, at the same time make exceptions in respect of the rights of equality which lie at the root of the League, which would be paralysed and defeated.

"No fruitful issue can come of it unless we can deal successfully and expeditiously with one side or the other with the remaining obligations of disarmament and the evacuation of the Cologne area. But it is not a part of the German proposals, and no condition, that the period of occupation fixed for the remaining zone by the Treaty of Versailles should be shortened or altered in any way. . . . Without our help nothing will be done. Without our help we shall march surely, though slowly, to a new disaster. With our help the war chapter may be brought to a close and the real triumph of peace may begin. The British Empire—detached from Europe by its dominions, linked to Europe by these islands—can do what no other nation on the face of the earth can do, and from east and west alike there comes to me the cry: 'After all, it is in the hands of the British Empire. If they will that there shall be no war there will be no war.'"

By the end of March, largely as a result of M. de Fleuriau's offices, advances had been made in three directions in the clearing of the ground. The most important was that the British Government had stated its case for accepting the basis of the German offer and for trusting Germany's good faith. The French Government had hesitated in placing its confidence in a German signature. What, however, was likely to have an effect on the French Government was the British argument that in 1914 it was the German violation of a treaty commitment which brought a united British Empire to the support of France. While therefore the British Government proposed to rely on the German offer as a sincere offer and on a German signature as an honourable one, the practical consideration was held out to France that, if French fears proved to be founded, and Germany at any time dishonoured her signature, there would be the more likelihood of a united British Empire going to the assistance of France than if the pact of security had been signed only by France and Great Britain and not by Germany.

The second important advance concerned the exchanges of view about the merits of the phrase, "a hostile act," in Article 44 of the Treaty of Versailles, and the phrase "casus belli," which meant so much more to French opinion. By Article 44 Great Britain

was committed to regard a German violation of the demilitarised Rhinelands merely as a hostile act (which might or might not mean war), whereas by the abortive Treaties of Assistance to France, signed in identical terms by Great Britain and the United States in 1919, but not ratified, those two countries would have been committed "to come immediately to her (France's) assistance in the event of any unprovoked movement of aggression against her being made by Germany." The question, therefore, which M. de Fleuriau was understood to have put to the British Government was whether the latter would agree to the formula of the unratified treaty of assistance of 1919. The British Government had not, one gathered, as yet given a definite answer, but was favourably inclined to comply, provided Germany was a party to the pact.

The third point was whether the Western European pact between Germany, France, Belgium, and Great Britain should be extended to include other nations, and, if so, how many. Mr. Baldwin, following on Mr. Chamberlain's speech in the House of Commons on March 24th, seemed to favour an indefinite expansion of the basis. Inasmuch, however, as one of the French objections to the efficacy of Article 44 of the treaty was that the obligation therein was shared by all the signatories of the treaty, and therefore became less certain—for everybody's business is nobody's business—it was expected that France would press for a restricted commitment. The exchanges on this point, however, are still in an elementary stage.

THE OPENING OF DEBT NEGOTIATIONS.

Another of the fruits of M. de Fleuriau's mission appeared on April 1st, when two of the highest permanent officials of the French Treasury came over to London, and in the company of M. de Rinquens, the financial expert attached to the French Embassy in London, visited the Treasury here to discuss with Sir Otto Niemeyer and other Treasury officials certain questions arising out of the Churchill Memorandum of February 6th. What the French experts mainly wanted to know was the exact figure which France would have to pay to Great Britain if the basis of the Churchill Memorandum were accepted for a funding of the debt. They also wanted to know how much exactly France would be able to recover from Germany, and how much would have to be paid out of French national revenue. It was one of the points of the Churchill Memorandum that the payment of the French debt should be effected partly by means of a fixed annuity to be paid independently of any sums received from Germany, and

partly by a variable annuity consisting of a percentage of receipts from the Dawes Annuities.

Alas! M. Clémentel resigned on the very day following the opening of the discussions in the British Treasury, and those discussions were promptly suspended on the formal ground that having been initiated on M. Clémentel's instructions they could not properly be continued until M. Clémentel's successor, M. de Monzie, confirmed those instructions. The crisis developed, and within a week the French Government had fallen. The crisis was an internal financial crisis, but it is impossible to dissociate from it the effect produced in the French Right by the Herriot Government's decision to begin talking about the French debt to Great Britain. It was curious, at any rate, to find that M. Poincaré and the French Right took the opportunity to attack M. Herriot for choosing such a moment to discuss the funding of the French debt to Great Britain and, as the Right inferred, to the United States as well. It was the French Right which in the past had been distinctively indignant over Bolshevik Russia's repudiation of national debt. Yet on April 3rd M. Géraud ("Pertinax") argued in the *Écho de Paris* that France had enough financial troubles on hand without raising the question of external debts!

The philosophy of debts is a difficult subject. In a speech which he made on April 5th M. Herriot omitted to make the obvious comment on the French financial chaos. "A country," he said, "with such a foreign debt, if she fails to make any arrangement with her creditors, loses her full liberty in foreign policy." One may remark parenthetically that France has risen above her limitations in this respect and has displayed a remarkable independence in her foreign policy. The interesting point, however, is that M. Herriot failed to link up the present state of the franc with France's failure to fund her debt. Financiers on this side always predicted that a failure to fund the debt would sooner or later damage the franc, and they further predict now that unless the debt is funded the franc will further suffer. I remember Philippe Millet starting a campaign on these lines in the *Petit Parisien* a few years ago, but his was a voice crying in the wilderness, and he abandoned the attempt. What the expert financier says is that neither France nor any country can afford not to fund debts, that failure to fund debts is in the long run a costly mistake, whereas the prompt funding is good business.

DR. BENESH ON THE PROBLEM.

Prague, the home of the post-war policy of regional pacts, has naturally taken a keen interest in the Chamberlain initiative for a Western European regional pact. On April 1st Dr. Benesh

made a long and admirable statement to the Foreign Committee of the Czechoslovak Senate, which has been republished as a pamphlet ("Orbis" Publishing Co., Praha, 1925). In it he gives a detailed survey of the efforts already made during the past six years to achieve security in Europe, and recapitulates the Czechoslovak standpoint, as explained by himself at Geneva:—

"I communicated to Mr. Chamberlain the standpoint of our Government: as far as we were concerned, we considered that the Geneva Protocol was the best solution of the problem of security, but we agreed in principle to examine the German proposals and arbitration treaties as a certain advance in the universal work for peace. Previous, however, to taking any important step, we desired (a) to know the exact meaning of the pact in question and of the proposed arbitration treaties. Further, we wished to make it clear that (b) we regarded it as inadmissible for the guarantee pact to be drawn up in any way such as to encroach upon or weaken the rights guaranteed to us by the Peace Treaties, whether of Versailles, Saint Germain or Trianon; and that (c) we considered it necessary for the guarantee pact which is intended to inaugurate a new period of stabilised peace and peace treaties in Europe, to be supplemented by the entry of Germany into the League of Nations, which country would thus take over the mutual rights and duties arising from the signature of the Pact of the League of Nations; finally (d) that the pact in question would be only the first step and that it would necessarily lead under the ægis of the League of Nations to further guarantee pacts which at length might lead, just as was indicated by the German memorandum, to a guarantee pact which would be universal or at least European in scope, i.e., in the long run to the principles of the Geneva Protocol. The German memorandum—if I understand it rightly—is penetrated to a much greater extent with these principles than it seems to be at first sight."

Dr. Benesh, for all his youth, is one of the best informed, hardest working and most consistent diplomats in Europe to-day. Oddly enough the short-sighted critics in Great Britain who have objected to Czechoslovakia's sympathy with France, have at the same time objected to Czechoslovakia's "interfering" efforts to bridge the Franco-British gulf. Czechoslovakia, the child of France and Great Britain, has performed valuable services to her parents and has been largely concerned for their reconciliation. Owing to geographical and political circumstances, her orientation is inevitably more French than British, but the remarkable thing has been, not her dependence on France, but her independent statesmanship and courage. Dr. Benesh has much to teach us, if we would but listen.

Two further departures in the Central European treaty system are now to be recorded. Discussions which had been taking place at Warsaw for the purpose of a commercial treaty between Czechoslovakia and Poland resulted on April 10th in agreement on all points. The signature of the treaty waited the arrival in Warsaw of Dr. Benesh. The treaty is based on the principle of the most favoured nation, and provides for mutual Customs concessions in respect of certain classes of goods. Preferential rates were agreed on for the import and transit of important goods between the two countries on the railways. Pending the signing of the treaty, a provisional treaty on the same lines was signed on April 10th, and will be in force in the meantime.

On the same date also the first reading was finished of a trading and political agreement between Czechoslovakia and Hungary, negotiations for which are being conducted in Budapest. The object is to revise a corresponding agreement reached in 1922, which is not yet sanctioned, and to supplement it by a Customs tariff section.

The Central European network of treaties now involves France and Poland (February 19th, 1921), France and Czechoslovakia (January 25th, 1924), Czechoslovakia and Poland (November 6th, 1921), Czechoslovakia and Austria (December 16th, 1921), Czechoslovakia and Italy (July 5th, 1924), Czechoslovakia and Yugoslavia (September 14th, 1920, and September 15th, 1922), Czechoslovakia and Roumania (April 23rd, 1921, and May 7th, 1923), Italy and Yugoslavia (January 27th, 1924), Yugoslavia and Roumania (June 7th, 1921, and July 7th, 1923), and Yugoslavia and Greece (May 19th, 1923, denounced December, 1924, to expire December, 1925).

GEORGE GLASGOW.

April 14th, 1925.

LITERARY SUPPLEMENT.

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BRITISH SEA-POWER.*

Professor Geoffrey Callender, of the Royal Naval College, Greenwich, in this volume gives to the young student of history an excellent and incisive account of the part that sea-power, and the occasional lack of sea-power, has played in British history since the coming of the Tudors. There is room for this book, since, as Professor Callender rightly says, the tribute to the British fleet of the ordinary history textbooks is too frequently of the wrong sort. Those tributes are sentimental and, of course, the sentiment of the sea records is not to be neglected.

But taken by themselves they cannot be said to put us into touch with the realities of naval war; the compulsion exercised by fleets on cabinets and by cabinets on fleets; the vulnerability of sea-borne commerce; the dependence of an oceanic empire on ships and the dependence of ships on an adequate base; the cause and effects of battle at sea; and the strangle grip of blockade. These things have played so vast a part in British history that to ignore them is to set up a false perspective, against which plain facts and upright figures appear no better than distorted images.

Thus the current question of the Singapore base must be considered in the light of the dangers that beset Britain when she found herself at the opening of the Napoleonic wars without a

* *The Naval Side of British History*. By Geoffrey Callender. (Christophers. 4s. 6d. net.)

base in the Mediterranean. All such questions must be considered dispassionately in the light of history for, though history does not repeat itself, the operative principles which determine the course of history are invariable. No one considering the history of Greece or Rome or Spain or Britain can ignore the significance of sea-power. Professor Callender points out that the battleship of the eighteenth century "was more self-contained than ancient battleships, and much more self-contained than modern." He adds that "the sailing man-of-war could keep the sea for five months to the modern battleship's three." Sea-power is, in the long run, determined by naval bases.

Professor Callender draws a moral from the famous battle of the Saints in 1782 off the Lesser Antilles, when Rodney saved the West Indies from the French. Rodney had secured a base in the Island of St. Lucia and was able to force the French fleet, then about to conquer Jamaica, to battle.

If the battle of the Saints will bear comparison with Quiberon in its decisiveness, it may stand beside any recorded victory in the nature of its results. Not only did it save Jamaica, but it saved the West Indies. The long chain of islands which, with so much pains and so much labour, the French had accumulated, now returned again to their original owners. And the moral, surely, is difficult to miss. Each belligerent in turn enjoyed command of the sea, and concurrently enjoyed possession of the Antilles; and each belligerent, when forfeiting command of the sea, yielded its oceanic empire in a manner almost automatic. Such a reflection need not disturb the complacency of continental states or militaristic dynasties; but it cannot appear otherwise than profoundly disquieting to a league of self-governing Dominions whose bonds are maritime.

The successive chapters of Professor Callender's book are of extraordinary interest with their balanced judgments of men and of achievements and failures. He pays tribute to the accomplishments of the great foreign Admirals against whom Great Britain has had to strive. He certainly does not underrate the capacity of the Duke of Parma and the Duke of Medina Sidonia. The latter behaved magnificently at the dreadful battle of Gravelines and the Great Armada emerged a fleet in being—but without a base for refitment and therefore doomed to destruction in the race northward and westward for home. He does not underrate—who could—the brilliancy of Martin Tromp and of de Ruyter, and he vividly describes the battle of the Downs in 1652, when Blake, almost the greatest of all English seamen, had to yield for the moment to the overwhelming and splendidly handled forces of the great Dutch Admirals. Blake had his revenge within three months, though Tromp's defeated fleet, like von Scheer's at the battle of Jutland, managed to slip away in the darkness from Griz Nez.

And who could but praise de Grasse, not the last of the great French Admirals, and the wonderful handling, time after time, of the French battle line? The French were at their worst at the battle of the Nile, but it was not Admiral Brueys' fault. "Ships at sea" was his policy as much as Nelson's, though French tactics were not English tactics. It is true that Villeneuve hugged Cadiz, but when battle was joined off Cape Trafalgar he was beaten by Nelson's genius and not by his own lack of great courage or splendid seamanship. The combined French and Spanish fleets were rendered immobile in the critical hours by the sheer force of Nelson's personality.

Professor Callender, while he reveals our famous sea heroes, does not mince matters in respect to the darker side of our naval history: the ill-treatment of great admirals, the ignorance of great politicians, the corruption of great departments of State, the suffering of the seamen, the lack of outlook from age to age on the part of the nation as a whole in respect to the naval side of British life, all receive adequate treatment, though the reading is painful enough. We should like to have read more of the earlier naval history, of the days of the Admirals of the North and of the West. It is impossible wholly to agree with the statement that "the greatest English rulers of the Middle Age did not think of their realm as maritime; or calculate their strength in terms of what the sea had given them." From the days when the title Admiral was invented, say from the year 1300, English rulers thought in terms of sea-power to an extent that Professor Callender does not admit. Another question upon which this book might well, in a later edition, give more information is what we may call the legal side of naval history. The mediæval Law Maritime cannot be dissociated from naval history while, from the seventeenth century onwards, the growing doctrines of contraband and blockade are so intimately associated with the wars which secured the naval supremacy of Britain that much more might fruitfully be said of them in a textbook such as this. These questions must survive, as they survived for three centuries, all changes of naval armament, and one of the most interesting phases of the late war was the ultimate unanimity of the United States of America and Great Britain on the principles underlying them.

J. E. G. DE M.

THE MERCHANT OF VENICE.*

This is an astonishing book from America, full of learning and research and extremely interesting, but it conveys little conviction,

* *Shaking the Dust from Shakespeare.* By Harris Jay Griston. (Humphrey Milford. Oxford University Press. 2s. net.)

and will remain, if it remains at all, as a curiosity of literature.

The Merchant of Venice is one of Shakespeare's finest plays, and the English, holding to tradition with tenacity, will not easily be persuaded by Mr. Griston's new outlook. "The play's the thing." Shakespeare is dealing with the conflict of two opposing tribes, the Japhetite and the Shemite. The Jew, through the ages, is an inexplicable entity if he be divorced from his Scriptural interpretation: "In thee shall all families of the earth be blessed." Persecuted, yet never annihilated, abused, yet always used; out-cast and living apart, yet amassing wealth, he survives. "Blessed be the Lord God of Shem" is the keynote of Jewish history and it connects the worship of the one God with the education of mankind.

From the time of the Pharaohs to the twentieth century, the Jew has been a prime controller of finance and, indeed, of politics. He has always wielded, directly or indirectly, great power. As Shakespeare, the poet, is of all time, so is the Jew. Therefore the century he deals with is of no account, whether fourth or fifteenth, and the same may be said of locality. Roman or Venetian setting matters little, for the Jew remains constant in all ages; he is of every nation and, whilst retaining a distinct nationality, he absorbs the nationality which he has adopted, and in every nation he prepares the way for the Gentile or Japhetite, unconsciously fulfilling the old Biblical prophecy that "God shall enlarge Japhet, and he shall dwell in the tents of Shem." No nation, if it be wise, can dispense with Shem; he is as necessary now as Joseph was to Egypt. Shakespeare intuitively recognises this, and his portrayal of the Jew succumbing to the Christian is true to past and present history.

Yet Mr. Griston says, "There is very good reason to believe that Shakespeare realised that he was writing a Roman play when he wrote *The Merchant of Venice*, just as he realised when he wrote *Antony and Cleopatra* and *Julius Cæsar*." In both of these latter plays he adhered to history, so why should he, when writing *The Merchant of Venice*, have transferred the action of the play to another locality and another date? Shakespeare ignored anachronisms, and whether Bohemia had a sea coast or not did not trouble the poet; he needed a sea coast and located it where he wished.

All students of Shakespeare will be grateful to Mr. Griston for reopening the legal problem of *The Merchant of Venice*. A special interest lies in the apparent identification of the laws attaching to debtor and creditor presented in the play with Roman laws in force in the fourth century. It is allèged that Shakespeare knew of them, and founded his play, not on a myth taken from an earlier

play, but on verified fact. But Mr. Griston has apparently not considered that the famous Law Merchant, operative throughout Europe and in England in the time of Shakespeare, was derived in part from the Roman Law. The apparent identification is really explained by this fact. Shakespeare was not omniscient. His knowledge of law was, in fact, very imperfect, but he had a unique faculty of absorbing knowledge, reproduced in his plays, on almost every subject. He had plenty of converse with the scholars and lawyers of his day, and such knowledge of Roman Law as he had simply sprang from his social intercourse with the men of learning that he met.

* * *

POPE.*

When Alexander Pope was born in 1688, the Elizabethan tradition of pure music had spent its last echo, and when he began to write excellent poetry, in the year 1700, a new age had come. Cibber, in his generous life of Pope, declares that "when Dryden came into the world he found poetry in a very imperfect state; its numbers were unpolished, its cadences rough and there was nothing of harmony, or melliflence to give it a graceful flow." Cibber, while declaring that no comparison could justly be formed between Pope on the one hand and Shakespeare and Milton on the other, thinks it just to compare him with Dryden, but places him in the fourth place: "in perusing the works of Dryden, the mind will take a wider range, and be more fraught with poetical ideas. We admire Dryden as the greater genius, and Pope as the more pleasing versifier." So the son of the Laureate whom Pope made the hero of his *Dunciad*, wrote of this great master of verse. It is noticeable that the eighteenth century omits Chaucer from the range of comparison, though Pope owed very much to one of the greatest of our English poets. How does the twentieth century look on Pope? Has he kept his eighteenth century place; is he a great poet in the sense that Chaucer, Shakespeare, Milton, Wordsworth, Browning are great poets? Mr. C. W. Brodribb, in this attractive and brilliantly written pamphlet, in effect, applies himself to the question.

Dryden had died in the very year, 1700, that Pope began poetry. Mr. Brodribb points out that "Pope's debt to Dryden is enormous. He took from him a metre which Dryden had immensely strengthened and improved, and he brought it to its final perfection." That is exactly Cibber's view. Dryden was Pope's first

* *Pope: His Friendships and His Poetry*. [National Home-Reading Union Pamphlets. Literature Series, No. 9.] By C. W. Brodribb. (National Home-Reading Union, 12, York Buildings, W.C.2. 1s.)

master. Another master was Boileau, who "largely made possible" the brilliant *Essay on Criticism* and "the most perfect of Pope's poems," *The Rape of the Lock*. Mr. Brodribb says that this poem has had no worthy successor, and "it is not until we come to Tennyson that we meet with such a combination of humour and perfection of verse." The comparison of Pope with Tennyson is unusual, since Tennyson will live by his lyrics, but it is true, and it is perhaps chiefly true because both Pope and Tennyson based their thinking and their irony on the classical writers.

Mr. Brodribb writes with a good deal of enthusiasm of the poetic value of the famous *Essay on Man*. He does not admit its philosophic value. Indeed, he declares that "it shows conclusively that Pope was not a philosopher or capable of conducting anything like a sustained argument. The thought is essentially commonplace and will not bear examination." These are hard sayings. The great opening is worthy of an age in which the modern study of astronomy was born, and there are many passages, especially in the second epistle, that seem to indicate originality of thought and not mere echoes of Greek writers or contemporary philosophers. Mr. Brodribb admits that "of the confessedly philosophical poems in the world it takes precedence over all, except the poem of Lucretius," and declares that, despite its philosophic weaknesses, "it is an immortal work, if any poem is immortal."

The versification repays study, for in it Pope shows himself pre-eminently a master of his medium: there are periods after periods of consummately skilful structure. The language is at times extraordinarily compact, even occasionally to the sacrifice of strict grammar; not a word is otiose. We read it, not as a whole, but by paragraphs, and each paragraph seems perfect, alike in form and in matter. Confronted with such perfection, though we may deny Pope the name of philosopher, it is impossible not to call him a poet, or to widen, if necessary, our definition of poetry so as to admit him. The long discipline to which Pope had submitted himself bore its finest fruit in the "Essay on Man." For its art, the "Essay" must stand among the finest productions of the English muse; it is the eighteenth century counterpart to Milton's blank verse. Such complete mastery of form has none too many parallels in a whole literature. To insist, in face of it, on those qualities in which Pope was deficient, is to be considerably one-sided.

Mr. Brodribb, while conceding that "there is much of the highest importance in poetry that he cannot give us, and that he never pretended to attempt," in a somewhat cruel passage seems to contrast the architecture of the poet's mind with "the mental and material formlessness of modern suburbanism." Certainly there is need for the modern would-be poet to study Pope and study him acutely. We are in an age that somewhat resembles

the pre-Popian age of poetry after the death of Dryden, described by Cibber. There are hopeful signs to-day, but in an age when a vast percentage of the yearly crop of verse is imitative and over-facile it would be well if the study of Pope were promoted in all directions. Mr. Brodribb's admirable paper should do much to secure this result.

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KING'S LANGLEY.*

On various occasions, in these pages, attention has been drawn to the educational value of local history if presented with adequate antiquarian and scholarly knowledge. An excellent instance of work of this type is the admirable history of the famous parish of King's Langley in Hertfordshire, written by its present Vicar, Mr. J. P. Haythornthwaite. It is essentially a history of the parish and the parish church, built in the late fourteenth or early fifteenth century on the site of an earlier church, which the Vicar dates as late twelfth century. But the history of the parish links itself to that of the Manor of King's Langley, to the King's Palace on Langley Hill, a residence much used by the Plantagenet Kings, and the birthplace of Edmund, the fifth son of Edward III, the founder of the White Rose party. The moving story of the family of Edmund of Langley is well told and a successful effort is made to clear the fair name of Constance, "The White Rose of Langley." Shakespeare might well have chosen this moving story of English royalty for one of his great tragedies. But Shakespeare knew of Langley. It was in the Duke of York's garden that the famous gardener scene in *Richard II* is laid.

Richard loved Langley, and there he was first buried at the Priory Church in February, 1400. It was a hasty burying, and Fuller says that "it is probable that the obscurity of his burial gave lustre to the report that he was still alive." Henry V, in 1414, brought the remains to their present noble tomb at Westminster. It is worth noting that one of England's most famous poets, Geoffrey Chaucer, who died in the same year as the king, was Clerk of the Works for the Manor of Chilterne Langley. He, too, was buried at Westminster.

Facts such as these emphasise the educational value of local history. It makes the student visualise—especially in moving narrative such as Mr. Haythornthwaite provides—the life and death of kings and men greater than kings in ages of transition when a new social and economic order was indicating the birth of

* *The Parish of King's Langley: Its Ancient Church and its Historic Associations.* By John Parker Haythornthwaite. (The Cassio Press, 5, Lamb's Conduit Street, W.C.)

democracy and the rebirth of poesy. At Langley, we can literally "sit upon the ground and talk about the death of kings."

Inde sepultura Regis translata Ricardi
Solemni cura per Regem fit Leopardi.
A Langaleya corpus Regale levatur
Et cum Regina tunc in Westmynstre locatur.

So stumbles the old chronicler into the tragedy of Richard the King and Anne of Bohemia his Queen.

Edward II founded the Dominican Friary at King's Langley in 1308, and about 1312 gave it a permanent home on Langley Hill, near the royal palace, a usual practice in the Middle Ages. On January 3rd, 1315, the body of the murdered Piers de Gaveston was interred in the Priory Church. There, too, were laid the remains of Edmund of Langley (whose tomb survives in the parish church to-day, probably removed in 1574 by the order of Queen Elizabeth), his wife Isabel of Castille, the Lollard Duchess, Edward of Angoulême, the elder son of the Black Prince. A fragment of the old buildings are incorporated in the present Priory School, and the fact gives the scholars a tradition that should beget many historians.

Mr. Haythornthwaite gives a very full and striking account of Edmund of Langley and of his tomb. It was opened in 1877, and in it were found *three* skeletons: two were reasonably identified as the remains of Edmund and Isabel. The third "securely preserved in a mummy-shaped wrapping of lead," was the skeleton of a woman "of about thirty years of age, with auburn hair, long tresses of which still remained." Many guesses have been made as to her identity. It is a grim story and recalls Browning's Story of Pornic:

"Not my hair!" made the girl her moan—
"All the rest is gone or to go;
But the last, last grace, my all, my own,
Let it stay in the grave, that the ghosts may know!
Leave my poor gold hair alone!"

Strangely enough it is said that she was the beggared Anne, daughter of Roger Mortimer, Earl of March, who died about 1410, aged 20 years. She and her sister were described as *omnibus suis parentibus et amicis destitutis*.

Truly King's Langley is a place of tragedy as well as glory, and is haunted by many ghosts. The Vicar, in his picture of the parish and its environs, of the church, its tombs, brasses, and monuments, and in his valuable accounts of terriers and registers and endowments, has brought back to life and to new effort an English countryside that whispers forth the memories of the Middle Ages and bids the new generations to make new and, perhaps, nobler memories.

J. E. G. DE M.

JOHN DONNE.*

The revival, if that is the right term, of interest in the literary achievements of John Donne comes somewhat naturally to-day. The nineteenth century, despite its own thinkers, teachers, preachers, and poets, despite, or perhaps because of, the rebuking presence of Robert Browning, was almost wholly incapable of appreciating a man who represented all that the surface of the nineteenth century was not. The really great men and women of the century had much in common with Donne. They were peering into the mysteries of things, they were tearing shams aside, they were standing for realities in religion, law, social life, literature, art, and science. But they were prophets in the wilderness, and the century itself was intent on hiding up the unpleasant things of life, of ignoring the social horrors of the industrial revolution, of promoting a sham sentimentalism, of making everything seem neat and tidy, respectable and admirable. Apart altogether from his obscurities of literary style, John Donne, the mystic and the realist, was quite an impossible person except as a subject of antiquarian research. In 1779 his poems were reprinted, but we may doubt if they were much read after the romantic revival set in. Dr. Jessopp regarded him as a theologian, and frankly confessed that he could not appreciate his poetry. It was not until the very end of the nineteenth century that Sir Edmund Gosse's *Life and Letters of John Donne* appeared. Even this great critic found it possible to believe that John Donne was implicated in the horrible nullity suit of 1613 which enabled Lady Essex to marry Lord Rochester.

In 1912 Professor H. J. Grierson edited the *Poems* and showed how clearly they are related to the prose. To-day the work of Sir Edmund Gosse, Professor Grierson, Mr. L. Pearsall Smith, and Miss M. P. Ramsay have created a very vivid interest in the literary work and mystic thinking of Donne, and now comes Miss Evelyn Simpson's wholly admirable book, which finally clears away many misapprehensions as to the character and the achievement of a man who must rank in his best work with the greatest of English poets by the sheer force of his knowledge of the human heart and the tremendous passion of his utterance.

Izaak Walton wrote of him: "His fancy was inimitably high, equalled only by his great wit, both being made useful by a commanding judgment." It sounds like a description of Shakespeare. He, indeed, belongs to Shakespeare's age. Born in 1573, dead in 1631, his manhood covers the great Elizabethan period, and his poetry and prose must be read in the light of that period and as

*A Study of the Prose Works of John Donne. By Evelyn M. Simpson. (Oxford: at the Clarendon Press. 15s. net.)

a noble contribution to its harvest. Donne was forty-two years of age before he was ordained, in 1615, but it seems hard to speak of the event as a "conversion." No doubt Donne passed some wild years in London in his student days at Lincoln's Inn, and Miss Simpson rightly declares that "we can discern in his poems a feverish craving for experience and sensation." But he was only twenty-three when he fought at the sea battle off Cadiz and helped to thrash the Spaniards, while even in his wildest days he was acutely analysing the points at issue between the faith of his mother, a Romanist, and the Anglican Communion, and Sir Edmund Gosse makes it clear that the temporary scepticism which resulted only hid a "dormant religiosity, ready to break forth into flame as soon as the tumult of the senses and the enraged curiosity of life had been somewhat assuaged by experience." But was he so very wild? There is a tradition that Elizabethan poets were very naughty, and a special legend has been invented to fit the death of Marlowe; but were they, after all, as naughty as they painted themselves in their verses? After all, Mr. Swinburne was the most respectable of men despite the *Ballads*. Would the Lord Keeper, that excellent, grave person, Sir Thomas Egerton, have engaged Mr. John Donne, at the age of twenty-five, as his secretary if the poet was such a very naughty person?

Donne was a realist, a brutal realist in those days as in all days, but when a brilliant poet and writer is under thirty he is likely to suffer from the defects of his qualities. When the poet secretly married Ann More, Lady Egerton's niece, in 1601, he was only twenty-eight, and no one could suggest that from that date onward Donne was not an exemplary man. It is far more reasonable to believe that he was always a good man who reflected in his writings some of the coarseness and some of the realism of an age that was rather too tempted to hide its realism in what Miss Simpson calls "the Petrarchian Convention."

The true Donne dates from his marriage, with the trials and joys that it brought, and not from the ordination which was long delayed because his sensitive and mystic nature demanded a standard of spiritual achievement which he conceived that he had not reached until middle life had well set in. Donne's prose works, indeed all his works, present the evolution of a soul which, as the time of silence draws near, was fully satisfied with the promises of God. He had his dark moments, but they did not last.

Donne pressed on, in spite of fears and forebodings, to the goal of his pilgrimage. We learn from many passages that he found inexpressible comfort for his own soul in ministering the consolations of God to others. His experience resembled that of Bunyan, who relates that he was often weighed down to despair

by the thought of his own sins till he entered the pulpit, and then the load was lifted from his heart as he preached the message of God to repentant sinners. . . . There is no sign of doubt or fear in the poem written on his death-bed, the *Hymn to God, my God, in my sickness*, though in it his agile fancy still delights in paradoxes and conceits. He is tuning his instrument at the door of the room where he will be part of God's music in the choir of Saints for evermore. He thinks that Christ's Cross and Adam's tree grew once in the same place, and he prays that, as he shares in the mortality of the first Adam, so the second Adam's blood may wash his soul. The Tree of the Knowledge of Good and Evil has become for him at last the Tree of Life, whose leaves are for the healing of the nations.

Miss Simpson describes Donne as a man of letters, as a theologian, as a mystic, analyses his prose in successive chapters and provides some invaluable new material, including a collection of letters found by Mr. Logan Pearsall Smith at Burley-on-the-Hill, and a hitherto unpublished sermon preached as Reader at Lincoln's Inn. One phrase must have appealed to the Benchers of the Inn to whom it was addressed: "The study of our conversion to God is in this like the study of your profession, it requires a whole man for it." This single phrase exemplifies the aptness and the ironic humour of Donne's mind. Many instances may be found in this remarkable book, but perhaps not one that excels it in the depth of its sting and the sincerity of its intention.

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SIR ARCHIBALD GEIKIE.*

This autobiography by the late Sir Archibald Geikie is a remarkable account of one whose whole course was a wonderful progression of events; no obstacle hindered his steady performance; he welcomed "each rebuff which turned earth's smoothness rough," and in that roughness he found his life's work, and his happiness. The study of geology needs toughness both of mind and body, and Geikie gave to it all that he possessed. Heart and soul were in his work. It was never too early or too late for expeditions with the hammer or for work in the study, and inevitable achievements crowned his labours. It was a happy thought to occupy his late years with writing the story of his long life. To few is given the memory and clearness of vision that can glance backward over so great a number of years, and recount the events of a long life in such a simple and straight-a-head fashion, told, as it were, with genuine pride, over his own fireside.

Archibald Geikie was born on December 28th, 1835, in Edin-

* *A Long Life's Work: An Autobiography.* By Sir Archibald Geikie, O.M., K.C.B. (Macmillan. 18s. net.)

burgh. His father had literary tastes that were reflected in his son. His mother, Isabella Thom, of sea-faring Scottish stock, gave the boy hardihood, quiet persistency and endurance. In October, 1845, he entered the famous Edinburgh High School, where, for over three hundred years so many eminent Scotsmen have been educated. Geikie became keenly interested in Latin and was a classical scholar all his life. Country rambles to which Saturdays were devoted, gave him a taste for nature-study which, as the years went on, developed and laid the foundation of his life's work. His "first found fossil" was picked up in a limestone quarry south of Edinburgh. From this time onward geology gripped him, and it was the means of introducing him to eminent naturalists who took an interest in the young geologist, and he made many lifelong friends. In 1850 he entered the office of a Writer to the Signet, in order to train for the work of a banker, but an illness terminated a distasteful adventure, and he was thrown back upon his own resources. Geology was everything to him, but it was clear that a University training was necessary if he was to become a geologist, and in 1854 he matriculated at the University of Edinburgh as a student of the Humanities, under James Pillans and John Stuart Blackie. After a hopeful year financial home troubles ended his University course, but his dream came true. Through the recommendation of his friends Professor Ramsey and Hugh Miller, he was appointed to the Geological Survey, and began work at Haddington in October, 1855, and remained in its service till March, 1901.

This book is the story of a series of successes and of honours from his own and other countries which testify to the great service rendered to science by Professor Geikie. It began with "The Lad of the Stones" and ended with the Order of Merit and the Presidency of the Royal Society. Even to those readers who know little, or not much of geology this book will prove of profound interest both for its subject matter, which is dealt with in the simple fashion that great knowledge makes possible, and for the easily flowing descriptive fashion with which the great scientists of Geikie's day are portrayed. The book is an invaluable footnote to the history of science in the nineteenth century.

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A CONTEMPORARY POET.*

Mr. Charles Williams, in this new and remarkable volume of poems, shows increasing metrical power, a power which is gradually becoming competent to reveal the wealth of thought and idealism that he commands. Some poets have the metrical gift

* *Windows of Night*. By Charles Williams. (Oxford University Press.)

with very little to reveal, some have much to reveal and stammer in the utterance. Some have a potential metrical gift and the revelation awaits the full development of the gift. The last, we think, is Mr. Williams' case. The volume is full of metrical experiments, especially in the case of the *cæsura*. The experiments are not always successful, while the *cæsura* pause is too often an obvious device, an almost mechanical suspension, when it should be an inevitable suspension which is implicit in the thought. So much for criticism on questions of form. Every true poet has to go through the struggle that gives him an instrument at command for utterance in full measure of his thoughts.

Next comes criticism of what we may call arrangement and presentation of thought. Mr. Williams is obscure, of that there can be no doubt. He has the thought, and nearly always the profound thought, which he wishes to present to the world, but his presentation of the thought is obscure, sometimes nearly as obscure as Browning at, not his worst, but at nearly his worst. The reader in many cases has literally to dig out the central thought in the poem and, to be frank, it is always worth digging out. Mr. Williams may possibly reply, as Browning in effect replied, that things of value have to be dug out, whether it is the case of the mind or of the earth. There is a good deal of truth in such a reply.

We do not suggest that Mr. Williams is in the same rank as Donne and Browning. Perhaps no modern poet can even aspire to such a place, but we believe that he can go far, and more especially since he is the one of the few young poets who have, without parodying Browning, deliberately adopted much of the same point of view; the view that the wit of the poet should be applied to the actual problems of life and death and should not merely seek to present in beautiful or terrible fashion some phase of things beautiful or terrible. It is only a poet who takes the universal view and seeks to throw light on both temporal and eternal problems, and in the relation of these problems, who will be of any practical use to the coming generations destined to dwell in a new world of science and thought, and in a new world of desire. The most hopeful point about Mr. Williams' work is that he is, almost cautiously, feeling his way towards such an outlook.

It is impossible to read the poem, the chief poem of the volume, entitled *The Window*, without feeling this. The poet and his friend stand in a dark room looking out over London, the greatest city in the world.

Turn, turn your eyes! This is man's topmost town,
Close set beneath us: there is Thames, and here,
Where the glow gathers deepest, Westminster;
District on district thrust, while each repeats

Some huge word man's devising mind hath known,
 Some station upon his long toil, which we
 Here dimly from his first beginning see,
 But not his end, nor whereby helped or thrown.

The very sight of London carries the poet into the "backward and abysm of time" and to the future of the human race that has dared to do such marvellous things. He looks into the future, the future that the gloom of night-laden London shadows, with dread. Will all the efforts of man be vain? Will it disappear into Nothingness; will the undying soul without a conscious end in view fall into the deeps? He answers his own doubt and dread.

O let our flames renewed,
 Our toil, our hope, our tenderness, befriend
 The encompassed mind against the encompassing gloom!
 Here lies my Herrick, in the farther room
 They are playing Grieg; come in, let us attend.

The Two Domes—the Old Bailey and Saint Paul's as seen from Clerkenwell—is a remarkable poem in which the poet dwells on the apparent inability of Religion and Law, and especially Law, to penetrate into the heart of man and to bring the guilt of the criminal home as the guilt equally of the community. "This is the deep unhappiness of our race"; but, in fact, it is an unhappiness that religious and social effort are doing much to cure. The sense of social responsibility increases year by year, and more and more the principle of "preventive medicine" tends to make the world a better world.

Many of the poems are animated with the magic of true love, love as the poet's inspiration, and this spirit pervades almost all the poems. But love of London and of England, the ideal England, is one of the main notes of the volume. The poet's picture of England, *sub specie Aeternitatis*, is exquisite, and his half humorous sketch of "the English Tradition" is delightful. The most thoughtful poem in the volume is entitled "To the Protector, or Angel, of Intellectual Doubt." Here is a theme that Browning might have taken, did indeed take in *Christmas Day and Easter Eve*, but in a different fashion. It is a scientific truth that Intellectual Doubt is the only possible force which can make Faith possible, and Mr. Williams concludes a remarkable poem, redolent of faith, with the question, "But who save you can succour Faith?"

SHORTER REVIEWS.

Lord Gorell is a prolific author. Books of verse, fiction, travel, pour from his pen. His latest work, a very lengthy poem entitled *The Spirit of Happiness*,* is the most ambitious of his writings, the history of a soul. Deucalion, sped on his way by his philosophic father, comes to earth, to the valley of childhood, to the forest of youth, to the wandering ways of love which seem to lead to the haven of peace, a haven which, however, is the ante-chamber of the palace of wisdom. From that palace Deucalion descends to the plains of common life "intent at last rather to give than to receive," and enters upon the life of human service. This moral tale Lord Gorell develops at great length. Sir Henry Hadow, in an appreciation printed on the paper wrapper of the volume, describes the work as "poetry of the open air and the active life—the vigour of its thought matched and enhanced by the diatonic melody of the verse." This adequately describes the literary value of this very earnest and excellent volume. A better title, perhaps, would have been "The New Rasselas," for Lord Gorell's Deucalion is Dr. Johnson's Prince of Abyssinia in modern guise, described in Wordsworthian verse with a touch of the influence of Browning. Rasselas leaves the Happy Valley in search of happiness and he at last finds that happiness can only be found in service: "the Prince desired a little kingdom, in which he might administer justice in his own person, and see all the parts of government with his own eyes; but he could never fix the limits of his dominion, and was always adding to the number of his subjects." Rasselas, like Deucalion, began with a selfish search after happiness and ended with an ever growing desire for social service. "All service ranks the same with God" is the note that Johnson and Browning strike alike, and Lord Gorell adds the modern emphasis to it. Some of the metaphors in the poem are excellent, as for instance,

So ever Time strode onward, with his scythe
 Reaping the years to feed Eternity.

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Mr. E. W. Hendy, in *Selworthy and other Poems*,† has given his readers a breath of Somerset country in these poems. Nature means everything to him, and he interprets her with love, the only true interpreter. Nature has neither speech nor language, but its sound goes out into all lands. To some are given the ears to hear, and hearing they must tell it out. The author has a happy knack of embodying nature as in "Young and old."

"Oh, the new-born Moon is a wild young thing,
 In the glimmer o' nights, she goes junketing.

The full, round Moon is a matron stately,
 The floor of Heaven she treads sedately.

A fig for her frown! she has *had* her fling;
 Give me my sly young slip of a thing!"

Many of these poems have already appeared in various magazines and reviews. *Selworthy* has an echo of Charles Kingsley in its breeziness.

* T. Fisher Unwin. 7s. 6d.

† Geoffrey Bles, Suffolk Street. 5s. net.

"Above the woods of Selworthy, 'tis good in peace to lie,
And watch the chasing shadows like a pack of hounds in cry;
Streaming over Hawkcombe Head, racing o'er the brow
Of Rowbarrow to Dunkery, and on to Robin Howe."

An open-air refreshing healthiness pervades this little book of verse, and will bring to its readers just that pure cleanliness which town dwellers mentally and physically too often need. The poems are uneven, but some of the technique, as in the difficult metre of "White Hands," is excellent, while the knowledge of bird-life is enviable. Mr. Hendy's knowledge of astronomy is less excellent. It was an old moon, a very old moon, and not a young moon whom he met when he walked, let us say, from Withypool to Porlock "early one morning." Very young moons (quite properly) go to bed very soon after sunset and don't get up again till the broad daylight hides them.

NOTICES OF BOOKS.

Notice should be drawn to the account of the Public Secondary Schools Cadet Association Camp held at Winchester last year, issued by the Association. It was a most successful gathering, and the outstanding feature was the cathedral service and the Bishop of Winchester's address. Dr. Woods dwelt on the fact that the training was not mere or mainly military training, but "that training in discipline and duty which has always been a high road to liberty"; the training of the mind ("if you want to save the world from war you must propagate ideas of righteousness, and fellowship and peace"), "the training and duty which has always been a high road to liberty: the training of the soul." The address was indeed the central fact in this assembly of eager boys to whom camp life was a joy and a revelation of team work in life. Cheltenham will provide the next camp at the end of July.

Mr. T. W. Price, Warden of Holybrook House, Reading, in "The Story of the Workers' Educational Association from 1903 to 1924,"* gives a most interesting account of the wonderful growth in size and power of a pioneer Association started twenty-one years ago. Mr. R. H. Tawney, in his introduction to the book, says that "Mr. Price's narrative shows that the Workers' Educational Association has been able to secure for many thousand workers educational opportunities which have enabled them to serve their fellows more effectively in the various movements which claim their allegiance." The importance of adult education cannot be overestimated, and a book dealing with such an important instrument of it as the Workers' Educational Association founded by Mr. Albert Mansbridge, a great educationist himself, deserves a wide public.

This new edition of Anthony Trollope's two novels, "Miss Mackenzie" and "Rachel Ray"† (the World's Classics) bring before the public eye once more the work of an author who has a wonderful gift of depicting life as it was both in town and country, plain and un-

* The Labour Publishing Company Ltd. Paper 1s.
† Oxford University Press. Cloth, 2s. net.

garnished, yet making it full of interest and variety. These two works are not as excellent, perhaps, as "Barchester Towers" for example, but they make good reading and are full of character sketches of all sorts and conditions of men and women.

"Old Testament Legends from a Greek poem on Genesis and Exodus by Georgios Chumnos."* Edited with Introduction, Metrical Translation, Notes and Glossary from a manuscript in the British Museum, by Mr. F. H. Marshall, make extraordinarily interesting reading. The editor has made "this selection from the hitherto unpublished poem of Georgios Chumnos . . . with a twofold hope. On the one hand, it is possible that the legends, which played so important a part in the religious education of the masses in Mediæval Europe, may be found of interest and instruction even in the present day . . ." and "On the other hand, it is hoped that these extracts from a poem which has never before appeared in print may increase the interest taken in the popular language of Mediæval Greece." The poem is thought by the editor to have been illustrated by the author, "from the manner in which the illustrations are fitted into the body of the text." The book contains twenty-eight examples of the 375 delightful pictures with which the original manuscript in the British Museum is decorated, and are in fact almost the most fascinating part of the book, even though the reproduction is not in colours.

"Francisco Sanchez, El Brocense,"† by Aubrey F. G. Bell (Hispanic Society of America), is a most interesting account of the life and work of one of the great Spaniards of the sixteenth century, "whom Ticknor called the most learned man of his time, and Caspar Scioppius 'divine,' and Menéndez of Pelayo the 'father of general grammar and of the philosophy of language.'" Mr. Bell gives a great many notes and an index at the end dealing with certain persons and subjects which are mentioned in the text of his book.

Mr. F. Bligh Bond, in his new book, "The Company of Avalon; a study of the script of Brother Symon, sub-prior of Winchester Abbey in the time of King Stephen,"‡ says that it "may be regarded as a supplement" to his previous work, "The Gate of Remembrance, being the story of the Psychological Experiment resulting in the Discovery of the Edgar Chapel at Glastonbury. . . ." The book is well and interestingly written, but it is difficult to have much faith in the revelation of past history without the authentic documents belonging to the period revealed. It may be true (though it must be profoundly doubted) that this method of obtaining hitherto unknown historical knowledge through a medium has led to certain discoveries, but it is hardly a commendable method of carrying out important historical research. Moreover psycho-analysis is an obscure and dangerous practice.

"The Pupil's Empire Atlas for use by the Comparative Method,"§ by W. S. Birkett and G. G. Lewis, is the outcome of many years' ex-

* Cambridge University Press. 7s. 6d. net.
† Oxford University Press. 7s. 6d. net.
‡ Blackwell. 7s. 6d. net.
§ Evans Brothers Limited.

perience in the teaching of geography by that method, and should be of the greatest value and interest to both teachers and pupils alike. Many new and interesting maps are given, as for instance a map of the nationalities of Canada, and diagram-maps of certain great cities of the Empire. One of the most interesting of the latter maps is the page of four illustrating London, her hills and rivers, her railways, her work and her boroughs. The work map in particular is excellent, and gives a better idea than much textbook reading of the great industrial area which forms the centre and capital of the British Empire.

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The literary work of the late Mr. Austin Dobson has a wide and ever-increasing public, and this "Anthology of Prose and Verse,"* edited by his youngest son, Mr. Alban Dobson, will be welcomed by admirers, old and new. The book has of necessity, both the fault of brevity and the delight of variety common to all good anthologies; but the editor's selection and arrangement of material does much to ameliorate any feeling of scantiness. Sir Edmund Gosse, in his Foreword, says, "The editor has gathered a bouquet out of one of the most carefully arranged and exquisitely tended gardens in the whole of English literature," and, indeed, there is together with a freshness of spirit, the feeling throughout his work that the author could neither think nor do an unkind act.

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"The Paston Letters,"† with their intimate insight into the private family life of "persons of rank or consequence during the reigns of Henry VI, Edward IV, Richard III and Henry VII," must always be of great interest to English readers. This edition, edited by John Fenn, and now re-edited by Mrs. Archer-Hind with an introduction, contains many notes with an index to the letters as well as a general index. Perhaps one of the most interesting points in these letters is the remarkable knowledge of business and law apparently possessed by the women, which contradicts the popular view of to-day that the women of the fifteenth century were paramount only in those household affairs in which they excelled, and knew little of the ways of the world.

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In "Savage Life in Central Australia,"‡ Dr. G. Horne and Mr. G. Histon (of the Mounted Police of South Australia), have recorded a new range of information on the habits and customs and beliefs of the Wonkongura and neighbouring tribes in the Mungeranie district, east of Lake Eyre. "For the last eight or nine years Mr. Histon has dwelt at Mungeranie, although more than twenty years he has spent in aborigines' haunts. His position led him to become their friend and protector, and many were the stories told to him by those who were boys when the first explorers penetrated the country. The opportunity to collect this information must soon pass, for it is stored up by men of eighty or ninety years of age, and their confidence is not easily won." Dr. Horne's friendship with Mr. Histon and his surgical knowledge enabled him to win the confidence of three of these old men, and in this book the customs of this very interesting tribe are now recorded for collation with earlier records. Sir Baldwin Spencer has gone through

* Humphrey Milford. 3s. 6d. net.

† J. M. Dent and Sons Ltd. 2 vols.

‡ Macmillan. 18s. net.

the manuscript with great care and that fact adds to the scientific value of the book.

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A second edition of Mr. Mark Hovell's "The Chartist Movement,"* edited and completed by Professor T. F. Tout, is welcome. The work has been extensively used by the Workers' Educational Association, for which Hovell did such excellent work. He fell, at the age of 28, in the Great War on August 12th, 1916, a loss in the ranks of social historians that this book serves to emphasise. He would have achieved great things and carried to the highest the promise that he gave at the University of Manchester and in his subsequent research work. It was not to be, but his example and his book will live and give incentive to others and not only at Manchester.

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Mr. A. M. Carr-Saunders, in the World's Manual Series, contributes a volume on "Population"† dealing with censuses, the increase, history and theory of population, the theory of "optimum density." The difficult subject of birth-control is dealt with in a reasonable fashion, and Mr. Carr-Saunders points out that "there is no very close and definite connection between fertility and infant mortality." The future of world population is discussed and the conclusion is reached that certain gloomy prophets "exaggerate the prospective growth of population." The Bantu race, it may be suggested, offers a special problem. The international question of relative populations is well discussed. The French "fear a war of revenge with a nation which has 20 million more members than they have. The whole European situation is dominated by the anxiety which the French feel on this score." Finally, the density and the quality of population is discussed: a most useful book.

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The late Professor Vaughan's "Studies in the History of Political Philosophy"‡ represents only a portion of the *magnum opus* to which he devoted so many years of his life. His superb edition of Rousseau's political writings revealed his exceptional competence, and his wide knowledge of literature helped him to interpret political ideas in relation to the mind of their age. A brief Memoir by his friend and colleague, Dr. Little, portrays a singularly inspiring teacher, quiet in appearance but with slumbering fires beneath the surface. The first volume deals with Hobbes, Spinoza, Locke, Vico, Montesquieu, Hume, and centres round the conception of a contract. The second analyses the thought of Burke, Kant, Fichte, Hegel, Comte, Mazzini. The latter receives particularly high marks. He left, we are told, an example of speculative genius devoted to the active service of man such as Europe had not seen since the age of Luther and Calvin. The judgment is characteristic of the standpoint of the author, who never forgets the intimate connection between theory and practical life.

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In "The Dark Chapter: A Comedy of Class Distinctions,"§ Mr. E. J. Rath gives an intimate picture of American life, the life of a new-

* Longmans. 6s. net.

† Oxford University Press. 2s. 6d. net.

‡ Manchester University Press. 21s.

§ Sampson Low. 7s. 6d. net.

rich family, living in a new-rich house with new-rich grounds, one of many families who had found wealth and were seeking manners somewhere, let us say, within a Pullman run of Chicago. It is an excellent family, a shrewd papa, an idealistic mamma, an elder girl as hard as her blue eyes, a younger girl with the manners and joy of life that reside in a half-grown trout, and a negligible son spoilt by money. To them enters a tramp, first as servant then as guest, who not only transforms their lives but that of the whole transpontine area. An elegant comedy of manners and of errors, it is written in the English tongue and deserves more than passing study.

* * *

Principal L. P. Jacks, in the volume entitled "Responsibility and Culture,"* reproduces four lectures, delivered on the Dodge Foundation at Yale University, dealing with the responsibilities of the citizen. He disclaims the idea that civilisation is diseased though he admits that functional disorders of a grave kind exist. The right use of labour and leisure supplies the cure. Man is not made "for the paltry business of hunting after happiness" but for great enterprises. Education can fit him for this. "The ultimate and summary right of every individual is unquestionably the right to self-development," and this expands into the duty of promoting the self-development of others. The right is dangerous without the duty. "The final end of human society, so far as our minds are able to conceive it, is a world-wide co-operation for the development of man" and this road leads to God. Hence follows the conception of International Trusteeship. This thoughtful work should be widely studied.

* * *

Mr. R. P. Masani, in "The Conference of the Birds,"† gives the reader "A Sufi allegory, being an abridged version of Farid-ud-Din Attar's Mantiq-ut-Tayr." This colloquy of the birds was written by a Persian poet some eight centuries since. It is a mystical treatise, which preaches the doctrine of self-renunciation in the course of world-life. The world is not to be renounced but selfishness is to be abolished. Here, then, there is the mystic aspect of social service. That is the sane side, there is another side, of Sufism. This very doctrine is, of course, inherent in Christianity, and it is interesting to observe it in a mediæval Persian dress. But in mid-Asia it has not led to social regeneration, and perhaps the reason is plain. In the excesses of Sufism a new selfishness arises, as indeed is the case with all excessive mysticism. Christianity as an organised faith has never associated itself with excesses of this type. The advanced mediæval mystics were generally laymen and laywomen.

* Humphrey Milford. 7s. net.

† Humphrey Milford. 6s. net.

THE BUDGET.

I HAVE heard most of the Budget statements and all the Chancellors of the Exchequer since Sir William Harcourt. Harcourt was the most impressive. After listening to one of his criticisms of the Boer War finance I expressed my admiration to Mr. John Morley. "Yes," he said, "every word weighed a pound." Of Liberals who have held the office since Harcourt Mr. Asquith came easily first in the art of lucid, easy and polished exposition. Among the Conservative Chancellors I should give the palm to Sir Michael Hicks-Beach. He had a most attractive voice and manner. The House liked his simplicity and directness, while economists respected him for his vigorous assertion of Treasury control over the spending departments, when they ran riot at the beginning of the Boer War. But of all the financial statements in our time that of Mr. Philip Snowden last year was, in my judgment, the best in matter, form and style. It may be said that I am prejudiced as a Free Trader; and certainly it was a splendid revindication of our Free Trade system on Gladstonian lines. But it was also an admirably constructed Budget, expounded with the clearness and precision of a first rate financial artist who knew exactly what to do and how to do it.

By comparison with its immediate predecessor, Mr. Churchill's Budget is a sorry jumble. If the proposals had been as carefully prepared as the rhetoric in which they were framed, they might at least have been defensible. As it is all the novelties which were intended to be brilliant have been riddled with criticism, and it is a question as I write whether the Government can afford to force them through.

To begin at the beginning. The King's Speech promised a reduction of public expenditure in unmistakable language and on grounds of the most urgent character. Parliament was assured that "Every effort will be made to reduce public expenditure to the lowest possible limit, consistent with the security and efficiency of the State. The present heavy burdens of the taxpayer are a hindrance to the revival of enterprise and employment. Economy in every sphere is imperative if we are to regain our industrial and commercial prosperity." Within a few months of putting this pledge and argument into the King's mouth, "every effort" for retrenchment and economy "in every sphere" resulted in this—that a Conservative Government, pledged to reverse the predatory extravagance of their Socialistic predecessors, exhibited an estimated expenditure of £799,400,000, more than nine millions in excess of Mr. Snowden's Estimates. As if to emphasise this glaring contrast between practice and precept Mr. Churchill

announced his pious intention of reducing the Estimates in future by 10 millions a year. Had he begun by so doing, he would have had 19 millions of real additional surplus for reducing taxes, and there would have been no temptation to increase either customs, excise, or death duties in order to remit income tax and super tax. In fact—if his calculations of increased revenue are justifiable—he could have taken a shilling off the income tax without adding a penny to the taxes on consumption.

Let us now examine the actual proposals. Starting with an optimistic forecast of revenue of 826 millions against an estimated expenditure of just under 800 millions, he declared that this surplus of 26 millions, though “satisfactory,” was inadequate to his “twin objectives”—security for the wage earner and relief for industry. As it turned out, security for the wage earner is to be obtained by imposing new burdens on both wage earners and employers as well as enormous liabilities on the Exchequer. Mr. Churchill's conception of relief to British industry will not be popular with the working-classes; for they are entirely excluded from the benefits of his remissions, though they are allowed to participate in the burden of his new taxes. This will be made plain by a glance at the burdens remitted and the burdens imposed, with their effect on the revenue.

A reduction of sixpence in the standard rate of income tax is estimated to cost the revenue 24 millions this year and 32 in a full year. Then comes special relief for earned incomes up to £1,500 a year, which will cost three millions this year and 7½ millions in a full year. If these reductions had been accompanied by some lightening of the household budgets of the multitudes whose incomes are too small for income tax, no one could fairly have called the Budget an unjust or a rich man's Budget; for the time had certainly come when the income tax should be reduced. Even now the standard rate of four shillings in the pound takes one-fifth of their income at a blow from people of moderate means. But the next proposal—conferring a special benefit on super tax payers—seems to me altogether objectionable. A general reduction of income tax is one thing. To make special remissions to rich men in a year of general suffering and poverty is quite another. But this is what Mr. Churchill has done. Let me show how unevenly and unfairly his relief to the rich works from a table compiled by Mr. W. T. Fry in the case of a married couple with no children. If the income is £1,500 they gain £45, if £2,000 they gain £46; if £3,000 they gain £115; if £4,000 they gain £190; if £5,000 they gain £252. “To him that hath shall be given” appears to be the appropriate text. The only other remissions are to colonial growers of dried fruits, sugar,

tobacco and wine, to whom Mr. Churchill gives Preferences which are estimated to cost the British taxpayer 1½ millions in a full year.

I turn to the other side of the account, to see what the whole people of Great Britain, rich and poor, will have to pay in new taxes for these remissions. First there is an increase in the scale of Death Duties, which will bear heavily on small estates of £12,000 and upwards. It is expected to yield 10 millions in a full year; and Mr. Churchill thinks that this capital levy (rather a remarkable proposal for a Conservative Government in time of peace!) is a good set-off for his relief of super-taxpayers. The rest of the new taxes are all protective, and all with one exception preferential. Mr. Churchill declared that they were all on luxuries which everyone could do without. Most people will think that this is what he once called “a terminological inexactitude.” Let us see. The new customs duties are on silk, artificial silk, including the raw article, yarn and tissues, on cinematograph films, on clocks and watches including their component parts, on motor cars and motor bicycles including their component parts, on musical instruments including their component parts and records, on hops and extracts from hops. Compared with the burdens they impose on consumers their yield is small—only some 4 millions nett this year and 8 in a full year, after adding excise on silk and artificial silk.

The silk duties are carefully contrived so as to be protective. They rise from one-and-sixpence per pound on silk cocoons and silk waste, to 7/9 per lb. on silk tissues. The tax on artificial silk tissues is 3/6 per lb. and there are immensely high duties of 33½ per cent. on all imported clothing and tissues containing either silk or artificial silk! To call all these duties luxury duties is surely absurd, and the statement can only be excused if we suppose that its author is totally ignorant of the clothing trade and of the modern fashions in which a few lines of silk or artificial silk are interwoven with cotton and woollen cloth. Mr. Churchill's blunder is all the more surprising when we recall the complaints and protests which were made a short time ago by many Chambers of Commerce (supported, I believe, by the Board of Trade) against the so-called luxury tariff of Japan for taxing this very class of goods. Again, will anyone seriously contend that a watch is a luxury, unless he believes in Oscar Wilde's epigram that punctuality is the thief of time! Yet the Churchill tariff, reviving the McKenna tariff, will add one-third to the cost of cheap watches. Music and musical instruments may be considered luxuries by barbarians and by the unfortunate individuals who have not music in their souls and are not pleased by concourse of sweet sounds. By the same reasoning books would be luxuries, and perhaps

next year Mr. Churchill may turn his attention to a tax on foreign authors with a preference in favour of Colonial literature. After all, neither books nor music are essential to the support of life in a primitive society. Most people will agree that motor cars and motor bicycles are luxuries, and therefore proper subjects for taxation; but a protective duty which adds one-third to the cost of cheap cars of the Ford type will bear hard upon many farmers and tradesmen, who find under present conditions that a cheap car is necessary to success in business.

The new tax of £4 per cwt. on foreign hops, accompanied by a preferential reduction on colonial hops, is a tax upon a raw material of the brewing trade, and must increase the price or reduce the quality of beer, an article which I never remember to have seen classed as a luxury by Conservative orators. We may contrast this treatment of British beer with the taxation of Colonial wine, which is to be reduced from 66 to 33 per cent. on the rates charged against foreign wine. This preference, together with the preference on Colonial tobacco, has reminded a student of Mr. Churchill's past of his old speeches as a Liberal minister when he denounced Colonial preferences on wine and tobacco as unfair and unequal. He declared that "the principle of preference is positively injurious to the British Empire and will create not union but discord." He described his objections to preferential trading and discrimination against our foreign customers as "a profound political truth which will not I think soon be challenged, and which I believe will never be overthrown." The challenge has come from Mr. Churchill himself. Whether he will overthrow the truth, or the truth will overthrow him, remains to be seen. But of this we may be sure: that a politician, who won reputation and office by a series of brilliant speeches against Tariff Reform, and asserted over and over again until a year ago the sincerity of his Free Trade convictions, cannot after this Budget expect to inspire confidence among the people at large, or the respect of the party which he is attempting to lead. Consistency after all is a great virtue in politics. It is the outward and visible manifestation of a statesman's public character. Great as are the temptations of office we must hope that the average politician will continue to resist them, when they involve a flagrant sacrifice of convictions publicly advertised and long cherished.

More serious than Mr. Churchill's inconsistency in making his *début* at the Exchequer as a Protectionist is that all the protective duties which he has imposed distinctly violate the pledge given to Parliament and the country by the Prime Minister during the debate on the Address. Discussing the question of Safeguarding Distressed Industries, which he distinguished from Protection,

Mr. Baldwin said on December 17th, 1924—I quote the official report in Hansard:—

"With regard to the safeguarding itself, I take exception to what the hon. and gallant Member for Leith has said, about our having no mandate for the safeguarding of industry. We have no mandate for Protection, and we have never asked for it. I have said already, and I do not think I need repeat it, that I have no intention of using safeguarding as a wedge by which to introduce Protection, but for safeguarding we have a perfectly clear mandate. I mentioned it very frequently in my address and in my speeches, and whatever may have been the hon. Member's experience, I am convinced from my own knowledge that it formed a part of the election addresses, or at least the election speeches, of the great majority of the Conservative party. . . .

"I think, however, it might be for the convenience of Members and for the industries of the country if I lay down two or three principles. Any industry which might desire to be safeguarded under the Safeguarding of Industries Act must be of substantial importance, and it must be efficient. It must be subject to exceptional competition arising from such things as depreciated exchanges, bounties, subsidies, and lower wages in foreign countries or longer hours. I am not at all sure that it would not be fair to take into account the difference in taxation as between this country and others. Any duty, in my view, levied under the Safeguarding of Industries Act should be a general and not a particular one. The discriminating duty against a particular country has its drawbacks in working. If you put on a general duty there is no breach of the most-favoured-nation clause in Treaties, and you do away at once with the cumbrous and vexatious machinery of certificates of origin. It would certainly be our intention in any duty we imposed under the Safeguarding of Industries Act that a Preference on those duties should be given to the Dominions. Proof would have to be given, as it was under the last Act, to a Committee, but so far as the Protection of any industry goes in this Parliament, the only avenue open to them is the avenue through the new Safeguarding of Industries Act."

Nothing could be more explicit. The Prime Minister warned Tariff Reformers and promised Free Traders that the only avenue to Protection during this Parliament would be through safeguarding. Within four months of this declaration his Chancellor of the Exchequer has introduced half-a-dozen high protective duties without reference to safeguarding; and two of these are to protect the two most flourishing manufactures in the country.

Although all the benefits of the Budget, so far as this year is concerned, are bestowed on the rich and the comparatively well to do, and although Mr. Churchill thought that Mr. Snowden had made bad use of his surplus when he halved the price of sugar, yet he worked up a most pathetic passage on the pitiful plight of the cottage home when an exceptional misfortune descends upon an otherwise happy, free, and prosperous workman. On the

assumption that just now, when over twelve hundred thousand of the working classes are unemployed, they are sufficiently prosperous to be called upon for compulsory contributions to a new scheme of State insurance, and on the further assumption that, when an extraordinary number of factories, workshops, mines, collieries, and shipbuilding yards are closed or on half time, it is a good moment to call upon employers for the same purpose, much might be said for an extension of pensions. But even if the moment were as favourable as it is unfavourable, I regard Mr. Churchill's plan as a piece of thoroughly bad finance. The size of it appeals to him. The present capital value of the additional liability to be undertaken by the State, he boasted, has been computed at nearly 750 millions sterling—more than the whole national debt before the war. He asks the House of Commons to bind this formidable load upon future Parliaments and taxpayers. If Mr. Churchill could bind himself and his colleagues and their successors in office to keep the country at peace for the next fifty years and to practice severe economy in their administration of public money, I should feel no anxiety about the future finance of even this formidable scheme. Unfortunately that cannot be done. Mr. Churchill's argument is that, as the existing charge of 67 millions for war pensions will be reduced in ten years to 43 millions, and in twenty years to 32 millions, and in thirty years to 22 millions, there is a fund available on which the nation should draw, not for the reduction of public debt and rates and taxes, but for the provision of a new series of pensions, which will add multitudes of people to those who are living on public funds. But even this year 5 or 6 millions have been added to the cost of armaments, and you have only to read the speeches of the Military, Naval, and Air Ministers, and to note the obvious reluctance of the Prime Minister to promote or even to entertain any plan for international disarmament, to see how far the Government is from thoughts of peace, and how zealously it is entering upon a new race of armaments in preparation for another inevitable war. When that war comes all these fine pension schemes will vanish into thin air. The country will return to a paper currency, and its pensioners will have to be content with depreciating paper money.

No discussion of the Budget would be complete which omitted the important but anticipated announcement that Great Britain will now return to the Gold Standard. To the Gold Standard; but unfortunately not to the gold currency with that perfect freedom and full convertibility which prevailed before the war. Ever since, under the strain of war finance, the British Government began to depreciate the currency by excessive issues of Treasury

notes, we have suffered from an inconvertible paper currency of no intrinsic value, dependent for its purchasing power on the fiat of government and on public confidence that it would eventually be convertible into gold in accordance with the intentions expressed by successive Administrations. Mr. Churchill has adopted a compromise between hard and soft money, a *via media* between paper and gold. It has no name, but for want of a better may be called a managed gold standard.

Ingenuous advocates of a managed paper currency still exist. They invariably assume that it would be well and scientifically managed by persons of the highest competence and perfect probity. At its best their theory is that this is the only way to preserve the stability of the general price level; but in popular appeals their argument for a managed currency is that it will eliminate unemployment by gently raising prices and stimulating trade. It is true that when there is a boom of trade prices rise; but they rise because there is a boom, just as the glass rises when there is good weather. To suppose that you can make trade good by so manipulating the currency that prices will always rise is as reasonable as to suppose that you can make the weather good by making your barometer move upwards. A perpetual rise of prices means of course a perpetual reduction of real salaries and wages and dividends. It means a stealthy appropriation of property and of the rewards of labour. To increase the paper currency is exactly like debasing a gold or silver coinage. It is perhaps the most iniquitous form of public robbery which has ever been invented. Let me quote for the benefit of those who are not acquainted with John Stuart Mill's *Political Economy* a passage on the subject from that classical work. (Book III, Chap. VI.) After explaining how gold and silver became a measure of value and a medium of exchange, and how coinage was invented to divide metals into convenient weights and sizes for the purpose, Mill continues:—

“ Governments found it their interest to take the operation into their own hands, and to interdict all coining by private persons; indeed, their guarantee was often the only one which would have been relied on, a reliance, however, which very often is ill-deserved; a profligate government having until a very modern period seldom scrupled, for the sake of robbing their creditors, to confer on all other debtors a licence to rob theirs, by the shallow and impudent artifice of lowering the standard; that least covert of all forms of knavery, which consists in calling a shilling a pound, that a debt of a hundred pounds may be cancelled by the payment of a hundred shillings. It would have been as simple a plan, and would have answered just as well, to have enacted that ‘ a hundred ’ should always be interpreted to mean five, which would have effected the same reduction in all pecuniary contracts, and would not have been at all more shameless. Such strokes of policy have not

wholly ceased to be recommended, but they have ceased to be practised, except occasionally through the medium of paper money, in which case the character of the transaction, from the greater obscurity of the subject, is a little less barefaced."

The history of the last two hundred years furnishes an overwhelming number of illustrations of the disasters caused by managed paper currencies, in the Old and the New World. I cannot recall a single instance of a managed paper currency which has not broken down with ruinous results. Economists record the French *assignats*, the paper currencies of the American colonies, the paper currencies of the South American republics, and the paper currencies of North and South during the American Civil War. But it is unnecessary to be an economic historian. We all know what has happened to the paper rouble of Russia, the paper mark of Germany, and the paper lira of Italy. We know that even the French franc, skilfully managed by the Bank of France, has depreciated from 25 to 91 in comparison with the pound sterling, and that the great financial trouble to-day in France is public distrust of public money.

Can anyone be surprised then if it is the practically unanimous opinion of our business community that we ought to return with all practical speed to gold money? There is, however, one difficulty, and a serious one. Unless our Government takes care to fortify its position by a well contrived agreement with the United States, we may find that we have only exchanged a paper money managed by our own Government for a gold exchange standard managed by the Government of the United States, which now possesses more than half the gold stock of the world, and can at will either raise or depress the level of gold prices. In this connection we have to remember that by the Baldwin agreement we are bound for the next sixty years to deposit annually in Washington for the payment of war debts a weight of gold dollars more than equivalent to the total annual production of the South African mines. This, I take it, is the real reason why Mr. Churchill tells us that we cannot afford to allow gold sovereigns to return to circulation. By a curious inconsistency he not only begged the public not to ask for gold coin in return for notes, but explained that he would introduce legislation to make it impossible to get hard money. The only place where it is to be available is at the Bank of England, and the Bank of England is to have the option of refusing it. Then, it may be asked, how shall we return to a gold standard? The answer is that the Bank of England will be under an obligation to sell gold bullion in amounts of not less than 400 fine ounces in exchange for paper money at the fixed price of £3 17s. 10½d. per standard ounce. There is a precedent

for this, when gold money was restored after the Napoleonic wars; for it was then decided that, in order to prevent a rush for sovereigns, the Bank should only deliver gold bullion for notes in amounts of not less than 60 ounces. But it was at the same time provided (in 1819) that the Bank should be obliged to pay all its notes in coin after May 1st, 1823. The position, however, became so strong that the Bank resumed cash payments in 1821. The present unsatisfactory arrangement might have been avoided if our Government had approached the United States Government and had procured a modification of the Baldwin Treaty to ensure that our return to the gold standard would not be constantly endangered by the necessity of procuring gold for debt payments. What modifications would have been required I need not here indicate.

But until some modification is procured, it would seem that our currency policy and Bank rate will be in permanent subjection to the United States Treasury and Federal Reserve Board. The fact that our Government has thought it necessary to arrange for a huge overdraft with a New York Banker suggests that the British taxpayer may be called upon from time to time to provide large sums by way of interest to American financiers for the purpose of "pegging" the Exchange. The new gold standard is not a real gold standard. It is much better of course than the system which has been abandoned. But it is not the incomparable system which served us so well in the century preceding the war.

F. W. HIRST.

FRANCE'S FRESH START.

THE first public utterance of Mr. Alanson B. Houghton was a warning to Europe that she must keep the peace if she expects to obtain American financial assistance. It was afterwards made clear that the Ambassador was expressing the official mind of America and that everything he said was endorsed by the White House. Europe cannot afford to disregard American opinion. Obviously the address was not directed to England, since America and England are in this matter of the necessity of peace for Europe in the fullest accord, and are working together to bring to an end the feuds that have devastated the Continent generation after generation. Nothing could be plainer than that England has abandoned entirely the traditional policy of keeping apart the most powerful Continental peoples. No longer does England believe in the Balance of Power which will enable her to throw her own weight into one scale or the other as she pleases. What England desires, under a Liberal, a Labour, or a Conservative Government, is the cessation of strife in any form.

For whom, then, is the American warning intended? Doubtless it is intended in part for Germany, where Hindenburg, a somewhat symbolic figure, has just been elected President. But it is doubtless also directed towards France, where it has been criticised as unfair. I am merely setting out the impression produced on French Nationalists who have taken the incident to heart. "Pertinax," for example, imagines the German Ambassador immediately telegraphing to his Government that the American discourse confirms him in his belief that Germany may now pursue the revision of the Treaties without having to fear any embarrassment from the United States or from England. In short, the notion is growing that those who strive for a readjustment of the 1919 arrangements are the pacifists and those who resist such readjustment are the marplots and the war-mongers of Europe.

So world opinion violently oscillates and in a few years the outlook has completely changed. It would be wrong to push this interpretation too far, but there are indeed many signs that France, in spite of the dismissal of M. Poincaré at the general elections of May, 1924, in spite of the conciliatory foreign policy of M. Herriot, is still looked upon as a danger for the peace of Europe. We are beginning to see in Germany a country which is anxious to sign a pact of mutual guarantee with France, and we are sceptical of French intentions when France points out objections to the Stresemann-d'Abernon project. The downfall of M. Herriot in April was taken to be a sign that France was swinging again to

the Right. M. Millerand was triumphantly elected to the Senate ten months after he was chased by the Radicals from the Elysée. The *Bloc des Gauches*, a combination of Radicals and Socialists, was losing its temporary character of homogeneity. It was apparently cut across by deep fissures and was rapidly breaking up. The new Cabinet, formed under the leadership of M. Painlevé, was neither as solid as the Herriot Government nor did it belong so indisputably to the Left. It contained many explosive elements. The generous enthusiasms of less than a year ago were already evaporating. Caution seemed to be the key-note. The first fine careless rapture had been replaced by a spirit of circumspection. It was possible to draw these conclusions but they would not be altogether justified.

In the first place, M. Herriot himself had by no means been consistent in his attitude. He had made the most of the inevitable breaches of the disarmament provisions of the Versailles Treaty. He had uttered the most violent indictment of a nation—an indictment which M. Poincaré himself could not have surpassed. He had taken advantage of the violations of the disarmament clauses to postpone the evacuation of the Cologne section of Rhineland and, without giving any clear detailed account of his reasons, had intimated that the occupation was to be prolonged. When the days of his Government were numbered, he was careful to assert that his successor would find the French position intact. Although, on the whole, his efforts had been directed towards an understanding with Germany, in fact he had given way very little, and he proclaimed his patriotism as loudly as any other statesman. He seemed to shrink from the actual accomplishment of anything which would enable his adversaries to brand him as less sensitive to France's need of safety than the Nationalists. This is not to his discredit: it would be foolish to suppose that any Frenchman can move precipitately and without taking the utmost precautions. He had reversed the policy of M. Poincaré, in so far as that policy may be summed up in the Ruhr experiment. He had, at Geneva, laid down the foundations of a new order in Europe; but he had insisted that security, arbitration, and disarmament were three inseparable conditions of European peace.

It must not therefore be supposed that the discredit into which he fell denoted the desire of France to return to the old condition of things. Two facts may be specially noted. The first is that there was no such outcry against the promotion of Hindenburg to the supreme post in the Reich as might have been expected, and as would undoubtedly have been heard a year ago. France took it coolly, and although naturally alive to the possible con-

sequences, did not declare that all hope of a *rapprochement* had disappeared. Just as the return of the Crown Prince was accepted without undue protest, so the return of Hindenburg was, though unwelcome, not greeted with clamorous denunciations. After the first shock, France decided that she must make the best of a bad job and continue to aim at better relations with her great neighbour.

The second fact, which is of some importance, is that the municipal elections which were held throughout France on May 3rd and 10th, revealed no repudiation by the country of the general policy followed by France. In my opinion, a mistake would be made in giving too strong a political complexion to the municipal elections. Local considerations chiefly prevailed, and party labels are not to be examined too closely. Moreover, the true test of the political results of these elections would be found, not by a comparison with the results of 1919, when the last municipal elections were held, but with the results of 1924 when the *Bloc des Gauches* obtained a majority in the Chamber. Such successes as the Left obtained this year are somewhat discounted when one remembers that they were obtained last year. They do not therefore betoken a new push to the Left but, in so far as they do not reach the level of the 1924 gains, represent a set-back. Still, when all is said and done, the municipal elections were a disappointment to the *Bloc National* and demonstrated the strength of the *Bloc des Gauches*. The *Bloc National* had everything in its favour and it failed lamentably to capitalise its advantages. Nor must one forget the psychological effect of the claims of the Left to victory though those claims are inflated. There is a confirmation of the policy of the Left, and fresh heart is given to the supporters of M. Herriot who are already encouraged to believe that before long he will again be in power. If the *Bloc des Gauches* was shaken by the strenuous attacks that had been made upon it, the Socialist and the Radical leaders and the Socialist and the Radical rank-and-file received the proof that there are decisive strategical reasons for continuing their association.

It should further be emphasised that it was not on any question of foreign policy that M. Herriot fell. Probably through lack of experience, a muddle had been made of internal affairs. A policy of combat had been inaugurated which, in the opinion of many observers, was foolish, having regard to the financial position of France and having regard to the immense problem of security. It would surely have been well for M. Herriot to have concentrated on the two capital questions and to have declined to scatter his forces by fighting various sections of the community at the same time. There was never greater need of French unity: never was France so divided as under the Herriot régime.

The *Bloc des Gauches*, in seeking to accomplish too much, accomplished nothing. A balance sheet of its promises and of its performances has been drawn up by the review *Le Parlement et l'Opinion*. It promised, among other things, the suppression of the "double décime"; the suppression of the business turn-over tax; the reduction of military service; the cheapening of foodstuffs and especially of bread, which stood at 1 franc 20 the kilo; the raising of the value of the franc; the abandonment of the system of loans; no inflation; the passing of the budget before January 1st; the restoration of Allied unity. But, in fact, it maintained the "double décime" which M. Poincaré had imposed; it maintained the turn-over tax; it failed to reduce military service; it did not prevent an augmentation of prices, and in particular the price of bread stood at 1 franc 50 when M. Herriot went out of office; it could not stop the fall of the franc, which has lost another twenty per cent. of its value; it emitted two loans and had resort to other expedients which are equivalent to the borrowing of money at an exceedingly high rate of interest; it increased the fiduciary circulation by three milliard francs, while denouncing such an increase as disastrous—an increase which was accomplished occultly without the authorisation of Parliament, thanks to the falsification of the weekly returns of the Banque de France; it did not pass the budget for 1925 before the beginning of the year but has actually demanded provisional credits for six months; it could not induce the Allies to sign the Protocol of Geneva to which it had pinned its faith.

This is not an enviable record, but it becomes worse if one compares the programme of M. Herriot with the programme of M. Painlevé, his successor. M. Painlevé was reluctant to step down from his comfortable *fauteuil* as President of the Chamber, though it had been understood from the beginning that whenever a crisis should arise he would surrender his *fauteuil* to M. Herriot and lead a new Government. At first he declined on the ground that what the country needed was a respite from party warfare. When at last he was persuaded by his friends that he could not do otherwise than take up the duties which he had agreed to assume, he made a declaration which threw over the programme which had been elaborated by the *Bloc des Gauches* in the flush of triumph. M. Herriot had stated his decision not to maintain an Embassy at the Vatican. M. Painlevé stated that a highly qualified representative must be maintained at the Vatican, and rebuked M. Herriot by affirming his intention of not reopening "a controversy which was inopportune and damaging to the public credit." M. Herriot had stated he would hasten the day when the last differences of legislation between the recovered provinces and the rest

of the territory would be effaced by introducing into Alsace-Lorraine the whole of the Republican legislation. M. Painlevé stated that he would not attempt to assimilate Alsace-Lorraine too rapidly and would respect acquired rights. M. Herriot was anxious to realise social reforms. M. Painlevé considers that the financial difficulties are such that it is impossible to effect reforms which are too costly at present.

The Socialists and the Radicals had adopted the principle of a capital levy. M. Painlevé announced, though in obscure terms, that the project would be dropped. With regard to the reduction of military service, it was made clear that the Nollet scheme, which had been patiently worked out, would be thrown overboard and the military reorganisation of France would depend upon the happy solution of external problems. If this is not to be called a surrender all along the line, it is not easy to conceive what would constitute a capitulation.

When we turn to the composition of the Cabinet, we find that M. Painlevé has rejected the whole of the Herriot Ministers. He has chosen as Foreign Minister M. Briand, who has endeavoured while leaning to the Left to keep on good working terms with the Right, and to whom the Socialists in a special conference refused to lend their support when he tried to form a Cabinet of his own. He has obtained the collaboration of M. Caillaux who, although regarded as a victim of the Nationalists and therefore deserving the sympathy of the Socialists and Radicals, has managed to reassure the high financiers, and, if personal considerations could be set aside, would be acceptable enough to the Right. He has included in his Cabinet M. Chaumet, who voted in favour of the motion of M. François Marsal in the Senate which upset M. Herriot. He has selected M. Steeg, who is one of M. Millerand's friends.

No wonder that there was discontent and even some dismay on the benches of the Left. Had the Opposition been led by clever tacticians, it would have voted as one man for the Painlevé declaration. The Radicals would have found it difficult to adhere to a programme approved by the Right. The Opposition might have put up one spokesman to explain its attitude and this spokesman, while deprecating the presence of M. Caillaux in the Ministry, might have welcomed the Government's acceptance of every point for which it had been fighting for ten months. In short, there was an Opposition which could have approved every word of the Ministerial declaration, though disapproving of the Ministry on personal grounds; and there was a Majority which heartily disapproved of the declaration, though with reservations approving a Government led by M. Painlevé. But the Opposition is

not composed of Parliamentary tacticians, and the Chamber quickly resolved itself into the old party Majority and Minority. Will the Majority, stricken by doubts, be solidly welded again, or will such groups as that of M. Loucheur separate themselves from the present Majority? To this question it would be hazardous to give any dogmatic answer. One appreciates the difficulties of the Majority, but it has the greatest interest in consolidating itself. I would not put the chances of the Painlevé-Briand-Caillaux Government very high, but those chances will be augmented or diminished by incalculable circumstances.

In any estimate of the character of M. Painlevé, one must take heed of his divided interests. If he is a politician he is also a scientist, and it sometimes seems that his real talents are scientific rather than political. He is apt to become preoccupied, distracted, and unpractical. As Deputy he concerned himself with scientific discoveries and reasonings—especially those having reference to the development of aviation and the theories of Einstein. As President of the Chamber, he continued to lecture in the University of Paris as Professor of Mathematics. As Prime Minister, he has allotted to himself the portfolio of the War Department, for it is there that he will find suitable subjects on which to sharpen his intellect. When he was Prime Minister during the war, he accomplished much that was of great value to France: he showed courage and remarkable intelligence. And yet, somehow, he failed to fulfil his task and he merely prepared the way for M. Clemenceau. To put the matter plainly, he has, in spite of his short experience in high office, yet to win his political spurs. He started, in my opinion, by doing precisely the right thing in endeavouring to appease the political passions which had been aroused, but he made his part far more difficult to play by calling to his right and to his left hand M. Briand and M. Caillaux.

The return of M. Caillaux has been taken as a challenge. If banking circles believe that he understands the modern mechanism of finance and are willing to set aside objections to his personality, the numerous enemies which M. Caillaux has created in his chequered career are declaring their intention of continuing the fight. Happily, Parliament adjourned almost immediately after the formation of the Ministry and thus gave M. Caillaux a respite which he may turn to good account. He has wisely decided to refrain from all political provocation and to confine himself to his purely technical rôle. If he can indeed show that he is capable of restoring some order in the chaos of French finances, made infinitely worse by his immediate predecessors, there may be a truce about his person. The Nationalists will try to forget the Agadir incident, will try to forget the domestic tragedy in which he was

involved, will try to forget his indiscretions during the war. Their patience will be severely strained, and some of them have actually uttered such absurdities as, "Better financial bankruptcy than the moral bankruptcy implied in M. Caillaux' return." Personally, I fear that M. Caillaux has come back too soon. A great deal will be expected of him and if he does not work miracles he may quickly be discredited. He has himself too much good sense to claim the possession of a magic wand, but nevertheless something like a miracle would be worked in the realm of finances if Ministers would now cease to create panic by their foolish wailings; would cease to frighten the country by a multitude of expedients; would cease, in short, to dramatise a position which, though serious, need not be taken tragically. It is M. Caillaux' business to bring back confidence, and that can be done, not by spectacular schemes, but by a return to the simple rules of sound finance.

The situation of the Treasury, which has become a sort of deposit bank, is by no means impossible if holders of short-term bonds are not frightened by official pessimism into demanding reimbursement. If the Government will cease to antagonise all classes, and if M. Caillaux is allowed to prepare an honest and sincere budget, there are no difficulties which cannot be overcome. It is unlikely that the Socialists will press their plan for a capital levy—which, whether bad or good in itself, is most inopportune, because it would not relieve the fiduciary stringency and would probably drive still more money out of the country.

Probably the world is most interested in the foreign policy of France, and in this respect the change, such as it is, is rather a change of manner than of direction. M. Briand is certainly not indifferent to the fate of Poland and cannot permit anything which would appear to be a desertion of Poland. He has laid great stress on Articles 42 to 44 in the Versailles Treaty, which call for the demilitarisation of the Rhineland, and has intimated that under these clauses England has already agreed to regard a violation of the provisions as a hostile act, which thus commits her to intervention in the event of a fresh German aggression. He will scarcely permit any laxity in the fulfilment of Germany's disarmament obligations, and will make the fullest political use of France's need of security. He will attach more importance to a Franco-British Entente than to a Franco-German pact, but since there is nothing incompatible between these two different kinds of guarantees, since they can be blended into a single guarantee, there cannot be a definite rejection of the German offer to enter into new voluntary agreements with France.

All serious observers in Germany are convinced that the German people are tired of being looked upon as war-mongers; they

keenly feel their exclusion from the comity of nations; they are genuinely anxious to do whatever is possible on their side if the ostracism to which they have been subjected is ended. Not only do they accept the territorial arrangements in the West but they do not desire deliberately to raise the question of the Eastern frontiers. That question will doubtless raise itself. Some day it will at any rate be raised on the Russian side. It is no argument against Germany that she should not wish to tie her hands for ever.

Poland and the Little Entente—which is really the Great Entente, the only existing European Entente, so that its appellation as Little Entente becomes a misnomer—have made their voices heard and rendered the conclusion of a solid European peace more doubtful. But England, happily, in spite of the gross mistakes of her diplomatists, has not lost all influence over European affairs, and in rejecting the tradition of a perilously poised equilibrium, in frankly counselling and encouraging a Franco-German *rapprochement*, has done more to assure peace than she would have done in engaging her army and navy under a protocol which, in certain circumstances, might have become a war-chain of alliances.

France is now urging Germany to enter the League of Nations. There is much matter for irony in current politics. Only a short time ago France was blocking the entry of Germany into the League. Now she is begging Germany to step in and Germany is affecting great reluctance. Whatever may be the immediate outcome of the present conversations, they are in themselves a hopeful sign. There is an all-round desire for concord. No matter what happens in the political sphere in France, there will be no reversion to the cruder coercion of a year or two ago. Though France is abandoning her positions slowly and cautiously, it is still true to say that the outlook in the international sense is increasingly bright.

SISLEY HUDDLESTON.

PRESIDENT COOLIDGE AND CONGRESS.

IF President Coolidge and his advisers could have their way, the next four years would be an interval of unbroken repose in American political affairs. Their aim is precisely implied in the maxim of the paradoxical philosopher made famous by Carlyle: "Blessed is that people whose annals are vacant." Of course they cannot achieve it, for the main forces of American life are not directed from Washington; but it would be reasonable to forecast that the powers now entrenched in the Republican Administration will succeed so far as to command the situation at least until the approach of the next presidential year. Never have those powers been more thoroughly served by a Chief Magistrate than they are to-day by Mr. Coolidge, or been able to rely upon a President who, while identifying himself with the "great interests," enjoys in so remarkable a degree the massed support of the American electorate. At the same time, it should be noted that no President since the Civil War has held so curious a position in relation to Congress. Notwithstanding the prestige of a seven-million majority in the election of last November, Mr. Coolidge is not in any actual sense a party leader. In both Houses of Congress his measures have been rejected; nor is there at present any evidence of a coming change in his favour. Here is undoubtedly the most interesting fact in the present situation; and I judge it to be not impossible that, before Mr. Coolidge is called upon to leave the Presidency, its importance may be manifest in the rise of a movement, long overdue in America, towards constitutional reform. In other words: that the quietest and most cautious of Presidents may prove in the end to be a greater stimulus to political change than a Roosevelt or a Wilson.

The annals of representative government, as I have already suggested in this REVIEW, furnish no parallel to the career and position of Calvin Coolidge. As Vice-President he was, for two years, appropriately self-effacing, and when he entered the White House, in August, 1923, he was unknown to the American people. His accession, however, was a challenge to the Press. The President, obviously, must be a national figure; and the astonishing energy and unanimity of the newspaper effort resulted in the enthronement of a legendary hero, whom many Americans seem to look upon as the most surprising creation of contemporary folklore. Mr. Coolidge to-day is not so much a person as an image, a symbol; and there is no more fascinating subject of speculation in America than the question of the possibility of maintaining the extraordinary power of its appeal to the multitude.

It is fair to assume that the legend so deliberately built up

affords the President himself some grounds for bewildered contemplation. There must, indeed, be moments when he puzzles over the contradiction of his position, and wonders how it happens that a President elected by so immense a majority, and from day to day eulogised by a thousand pens, can be resisted so steadily, can be deprived so completely of legislative power, and yet be esteemed as the one invaluable asset of his party. His ascendancy is in danger from no rival. The business world is emphatically for him; the Churches approve him; in the eyes of Main Street he is altogether satisfactory. But it would be difficult to name any other President for whom, in a time of prosperity, the office of Chief Executive has been made so difficult. "Government, after all," said his unsuspecting predecessor, "is a very easy thing." Mr. Calvin Coolidge would be the man to annotate that saying.

It is possibly true that we in Europe are inclined to attach rather too much importance to the formal utterances of the American President, but we cannot be mistaken in assuming that Mr. Coolidge's mind is disclosed in his messages to Congress. Before the election which confirmed his authority he was content to associate himself with the policies of the Harding Administration, with the addition of an emphatic confession of belief in the all-importance of public economy. His inaugural address, of March 4th, must be taken to be the first full expression of the man himself. It had the merit of brevity and simplicity, though not in the same degree of consistency. In substance and tone it was, characteristically, a restatement of the old New England position, the appositeness of which was obvious enough in that the date of its delivery was close to the 150th anniversary of Lexington and Bunker Hill. Mr. Coolidge, as we should expect, recalled the memories of national independence and expansion, and he drew therefrom a deduction that at the moment is highly popular, thus:

"Throughout all these experiences we have enlarged our freedom, we have strengthened our independence. We have been, and propose to be, more and more American. We believe that we can best serve our own country and most successfully discharge our obligations to humanity by continuing to be, openly and candidly, intensely and scrupulously, American. If we have any heritage, it is that. If we have any destiny, we have found it in that direction."

In reference to the duty of providing adequate and most modern means of national defence, the correct phrases were used; but, said the President:

"We have never practised the policy of competitive armaments. We have recently committed ourselves by covenants with the other great nations to a limitation of our sea power. . . . This policy

represents a new departure in the world. . . . America has taken the lead in this direction, and that lead America must continue to hold."

In the President's brief references to Europe there was a sufficiently plain indication of the place where his party wishes him to stand. He made no specific mention of the League, or even of the many ways in which the United States is now acting in co-operation with the associated nations at Geneva. But, reaffirming that the United States is in favour of reason rather than force, he observed :

"We have long advocated the peaceful settlement of disputes by methods of arbitration, and have negotiated many treaties to secure that result. The same considerations should lead to our adherence to the permanent Court of International Justice."

And, once more avowing the will of the United States towards world peace, the President added :

"It seems altogether probable that we can contribute most to these important objects by maintaining our position of political detachment and independence. We are not identified with any Old World interests. This position should be made more and more clear in our relations with all foreign countries."

During the past few years the majority of European readers have examined all manifestoes coming from Washington with a single inquiry in mind : What do they imply as to American international policy, and especially as to the attitude of the United States towards the League of Nations? Our public in general, and English politicians in particular, still apparently cherish a belief that American membership of the League is to be anticipated. The belief is fantastic. Mr. Coolidge may be, like his predecessor, vaguely or negatively friendly towards the League. We know that his late Secretary of State was positively friendly, but throughout his four years of office Mr. C. E. Hughes was required to uphold the policy of isolation. Mr. Kellogg, we may assume, is through personal association more friendly still, but it would be impossible for him to suggest any departure. There is no need whatever to doubt the general direction of the State Department's policy during the Coolidge term. The United States will enlarge its co-operation with Geneva, and will be increasingly active in all the non-political departments; but it must be recognised that, so long as existing European conditions prevail, the League of Nations as an institution will continue to be without interest for the American Government and people.

We should not, in these circumstances, find it difficult to understand why Mr. Coolidge has shown himself desirous of resuming for America the initiative in the movement towards the reduction of armaments. The Harding Administration had to its credit, in the international sphere, the one achievement of the Washing-

ton Conference. President Harding had been pushed into the enterprise by popular opinion, becoming vocal after the misery of the Versailles Treaty, and strongly enforced in the advocacy of Senator Borah; and it was the decisive method of Mr. Hughes, as Secretary of State, that made possible such modified successes as were secured in 1922. Similar successes could hardly be achieved now; and there can be no doubt that Mr. Hughes, before he retired from the Cabinet, had reluctantly become convinced of the fact. Four years ago Britain and America could bargain effectively with capital ships, while the acute situation in respect of the Anglo-Japanese Alliance gave urgency to the framing of a new Pacific Pact. There is no corresponding situation to-day. If there had been, we may be sure that Mr. Hughes would have been happy to postpone his resignation until after a second Washington Conference had been held. But, although the President may have hoped, the Secretary of State was under no illusion. He saw, for example, that the question of land armaments cannot be settled in Washington, and that the discussion of their limitation there would be merely an irrelevance. And, as for naval armaments: in 1922 France prevented an agreement to outlaw the submarine and to restrict the building of auxiliary craft. Her attitude would be no different to-day, even if the French Government could be induced to respond to the timorous overtures which, in the circumstances, are all that Mr. Coolidge could make.

The attitude of Congress admits of no question. It will continue to display only the barest minimum of interest in Europe; that is to say, beyond the matter of debt-settlement, which is likely to increase in importance as the problematic character of American prosperity becomes more apparent to the general public. The Senate has forgotten the League of Nations, and neither the President nor Mr. Kellogg will be interested in furnishing any reminder of its existence. It is, moreover, difficult not to believe that the Senate will maintain its refusal to respond to the President's appeals on behalf of the World Court of International Justice. When Harding urged its acceptance, with the Hughes reservations, the Senate merely put it aside. It is at present being held up by the Committee on Foreign Relations. Mr. Borah, by far the most powerful member of the Senate, reiterates his resolve to resist America's entry so long as the Court carries any association with the League. It is easy to contend that both advocates and opponents make too much of the World Court. But the fact that two Republican Presidents have failed to persuade the Senate to look with favour upon a scheme framed with the assistance of the most eminent of Republican elder statesmen, Mr. Elihu Root, is a significant commentary upon the two aspects of government

that are now uppermost in Washington: namely, first, the difficulty of achieving a positive foreign policy under the balance of authority existing between the Senate and the Executive; and secondly, the antagonism between the President and the Legislature which has existed ever since the accession of Mr. Coolidge.

This antagonism is, as I have already indicated, a matter of cardinal importance. "Our Congress," said the President in his Inaugural, "represents the people and the States. In all legislative affairs it is the natural collaborator with the President. In spite of all the criticism which often falls to its lot, I do not hesitate to say that there is no more independent and effective legislative body in the world. It is, and should be, jealous of its prerogative." As to the independence of Congress and its concern for prerogative, Mr. Coolidge can speak from an unsurpassed experience. He has known nothing in either House save independence, which has been not seldom expressed with indifference or contempt; nor has he at any time enjoyed the collaboration which he tactfully describes as natural. The Congress with which he had to deal last year was against him on all the important questions concerning which he took a stand: for example, on the soldiers' bonus, the exclusion of Japanese immigrants, and tax revision. His defeat on the last-named was a sharp warning. The President had identified himself with a scheme devised by the Treasury under the guidance of Mr. Andrew D. Mellon. It was rejected in favour of a scale giving large relief to people with small incomes, which was pushed through by the Democrats and the insurgent Republicans who act as their allies. More serious still has been Mr. Coolidge's discomfiture at the hands of the new Senate, in which the Administration is supposed to have a clear majority.

There had certainly been nothing in the President's record as party leader to encourage him in taking a risk; and yet, immediately after his inauguration, he determined to challenge the Senate, on those very points of independence and prerogative to which he had made reference, and in circumstances that invited defeat. The Attorney-Generalship was vacant, and Mr. Coolidge nominated a business-man politician to whom he was under a political obligation of some kind. It was brought out that Mr. Warren, of Michigan, was closely concerned with a sugar combine regarding which certain cases were pending in the courts—in other words, that as Attorney-General he would be placed in the position of being at one and the same time federal law-officer and accused. The Senate, by decisive vote, twice rejected the nomination, as, under the Constitution, it had a right to do, and the President

was with difficulty restrained from offering himself for a further humiliation. The affair was sensational, since no President has, thus early in his term, undergone so unqualified a rebuke. It was not possible for Mr. Coolidge to complain of defective public sympathy, for the Press everywhere insisted upon the right and need of the President's choosing his own Cabinet colleagues, while the Senate at the time was suffering from so unlimited an unpopularity that there was hardly a newspaper in the country which would have said a word on its behalf if the compulsion of justice and common sense had been less severe. Mr. Coolidge was in a perilous corner, from which, at the last moment, he escaped by making a fresh nomination. It was accepted by the Senate with an alacrity that was none the less significant because Mr. John G. Sargent, the new Attorney-General, is a New England lawyer whose name was unknown in Washington. The Senate had exercised its prerogative. It held an invulnerable position. It had no interest in opposing, or even in questioning, the second appointment. The President for once had a bad press; but so incalculable is the operation of the Coolidge legend that no one would be surprised to discover, six months hence, that the Administration had gained credit through the presence of Mr. Sargent in the Cabinet. On the other hand, however, there is danger in the President's now well-known inaptness in learning from experience. So far he would seem not to have realised the extent of his weakness with Congress, and it may well be that further defeats are in store for him. He is, for instance, immovable on the tariff question. Not even the renewed conflict between the Western farmers and the Eastern industrialists, a conflict provoked by the revolt of the farmers against the hardships inflicted upon them by the Fordney-McCumber tariff, has availed to restrain Mr. Coolidge from making provocative high-tariff declarations. His foreshadowing of further tax reductions has the right popular sound; but he is committed to the support of a second Mellon tax-adjustment measure which will infallibly be shaped in accord with the demands of the great interests. More serious still is Mr. Coolidge's conversion to the startling project of abolishing the federal inheritance tax. It may be true, as we are often told, that the ordinary American citizen has changed in his feeling towards the possessors of great fortunes. But he has a deep resentment against their taking refuge in tax-exempt securities, and it is not likely that he would forgive the Administration which should attempt to establish complete immunity for their heirs—particularly at a time when a powerful Conservative Government in England is moving in the exactly opposite direction. Should Mr. Coolidge be so unwise as to follow in this matter the leadership

of his Secretary of the Treasury, a grave disaster to his Administration would be practically certain.

No one, I think, can miss the significance of the fact that the situation here described, with its manifold evidences of a party system in dissolution, comes immediately after the crashing Republican victory of last November, with the Democratic party lying in ruins, and the outlook for a new Progressive party markedly different from what it was a year ago. The President himself, the political power of Big Business, and the overwhelming popular vote for Conservatism seem, when taken together, to imply an all-powerful Republican combination. But Congress in action most strikingly belies this appearance; and, as Mr. Coolidge has thought it worth while to remind his fellow-countrymen, Congress is, equally with the President, elected by the whole people. It reflects a variety of strong, though unorganised, anti-Conservative forces. But the Democrats, being without leaders or a national policy, are at present incapable of turning the situation to account; and the independent Progressive Party of 1924 has melted away. It was hastily formed, of incongruous elements, with no cohesive force apart from the personality of its remarkable leader, Robert M. La Follette. Three months before the election there was a general expectation that the Progressive vote would be large enough to imperil the Republican position. Its comparative smallness showed how successful the Coolidge campaigners had been in their use of the suggestion that a vote for La Follette was a vote against the Constitution. The total of nearly five millions, though actually larger than that given to Roosevelt twelve years before, was a miserable disappointment to the Progressives. And yet it might have made a good basis for a third party had there existed the possibility of building a national organisation upon a positive programme. That, however, was not possible. There was little common ground between the three sections of which the composite party was made up: the Progressives of the East and Middle West, the farmers of the farther West, and such Labour groups as had been persuaded to come in for the campaign. These sections have since fallen apart. American Labour is still dominated by the Gompers formula of political independence, so called. The radicals of the Eastern cities are uncomfortable associates and their voting strength is negligible. Mr. La Follette himself, at seventy, cannot anticipate any further enterprises as a party leader: 1924 was his final chance. The one effective portion of last year's third party would appear to be the farmer-labour alliance of the North-West. It has decided elements of permanency, and we may expect that the well-defined economic interests of the region which includes Minnesota and the Dakotas will combine to keep this

organisation in being. America is a land, not only of large distances, but also of widely different regional interests, which make a unified national party-policy almost impossible. And there is not at present in sight any movement of unification, or any public man who gives promise of being able to mobilise the progressive forces of a country which, as many people in Europe imagine, should be the great liberalising power of the world.

There must, I think, be two main considerations present to the mind of all those who look upon the American political scene from the standpoint of the critically sympathetic English student of affairs. The first has reference to the extraordinary, the unbounded, interest of American society and activity as contrasted with the stagnation and aridity of American politics. Thoughtful Americans everywhere recognise and deplore the divorce between party politics and the things that matter. The politician appears to dwell in a grotesquely unreal world of prejudice and fantasy belonging to a vanished Past, while all around him are spread the challenging realities of a mighty living Present. It teems with problems which invite him to forget for a while the Boston Tea-party and the "Founding Fathers" and to apply his mind, quick and experimental beyond all others in business, to a world of exciting actuality and opportunity: to think, for example, about the creative use of constitutional forms, the saving of national resources that are perishing at an affrighting speed, the organisation of Giant Power, the immigrant communities, the inescapable puzzle of Prohibition, the position of an indebted Europe, the rapid growth of his country's financial imperialism, the meaning of President Coolidge's dictum as to the sacred duty of being "more and more American." No people in history was ever confronted with so glorious an opportunity for *Real Politik* of the highest kind.

The second point is like unto the first. There prevails over America to-day an unbounded scepticism and despair in relation to government and the public service. Roughly speaking, no American finds hope in politics. The name of Congress is synonymous with discredit. Between elections the public forgets the House of Representatives, and it endures the Senate as a permanent national calamity—even when, as in the oil-scandals inquiry of last year and the later affair of Warren and the Department of Justice, the Senate majority is demonstrably doing right. The party boss, the party machine, stand as the negation of all that we mean by free representative government. Hence it befalls that the ardent young American who, at college or in Europe, has begun to dream of a public career, gives up when he faces the bleak actuality of politics in his home State. Certain

events of the last ten years are in his mind: the bitter end of Theodore Roosevelt, the collapse of Wilson, the tragic farce of the League of Nations debate; the enormous unreality of the presidential contests, the betrayal of the Harding Administration by the "Ohio Gang," the shame of the 1924 Cabinet scandals, the terrors conjured up for the destruction of La Follette, the methods lately employed to prevent the evils of child labour being dealt with by amendment to the Constitution. The resultant disillusion and fatalism, universally acknowledged, are surely without parallel in the modern world. The good American citizen, wherever met with, is ready to avow his belief that politics are irredeemable—irredeemable, that is, in the most highly developed of political democracies, enjoying, as we are not seldom assured, the most perfect political institutions ever devised by man. This, let us remember, is not an English criticism: it is a bare summary of a widespread American conviction. If we are to accept it as proved, by evidence and the state of the national conscience, I wonder what the conclusion of the sympathetic English observer should be. Perfect political institutions cannot, in the nature of things, produce merely evil politicians—unless there is something gravely wrong in the social body. No one who knows the United States can believe in any danger of revolution. But it must be true that a political system of which good men despair, and of which all men speak ill, cannot indefinitely endure—even in America, where the Constitution behind the system is revered as Holy Writ. America, built upon the oldest and firmest of Constitutions, is the land of ruthless change. And, unless the present signs are all misleading, the changes destined to shape the future of the Republic will emerge, not by way of political adjustment, but through the processes of industry and the decisive needs of regional life. They will be of vast extent and fundamental import; and one cannot quite resist the conclusion that, in their presence, the American of twenty years hence may have less care for eighteenth century documents and forms than is confessed by the American of to-day.

S. K. RATCLIFFE.

HINDENBURG—AND AFTER.

IT was the Left, and not the Right, who forced the issue of "Monarchy versus Republic" at the late Presidential Election in Germany. Hindenburg himself in each of his few official utterances as candidate (which were all drafted by the Nationalist Party leaders) was at pains to proclaim his adherence to the Republican Constitution, and since his election has taken an oath to support and preserve it. There was therefore a certain element of unreality in the campaign of the Left, which did not help them at the polls. The German Left were never tacticians. The whole history of German Liberalism in the nineteenth century is there to prove it. In the short fortnight which they had between the Easter holiday (when the Hindenburg candidature was sprung upon them) and the final election, the Left devoted all their energies to deluging the electors with accounts of the bad impression produced in foreign countries by the prospect of a Hindenburg Presidency. Their reproduction of foreign Press comment was neither objective nor veracious: but, even if it had been, what country in the world is there, whose electors are impressed by the argument that other countries disapprove of them?

But the German Left have been more successful—indeed they have been very successful—in imposing upon foreign countries their own valuation of themselves. Their predecessors in the nineteenth century were equally successful in impressing English public opinion: and men like Odo Russell and Sir Robert Morier believed to the last that Bismarck was no more than a throw-back to despotism, and the events of 1866 and 1870 an interlude breaking the true progress of German life and thought along the lines laid down in the Pauluskirche at Frankfort in 1848. That is a reading of history which no longer has a foothold in any corner or back-water of German thought. But it underlies a good deal of Liberal comment in England as a kind of inherited assumption or atavistic complex.

It is written: "Beware, when all men speak well of thee!" and in politics, as in life, there is a never failing well of wisdom in the words, though few drink of it. Its waters may be prescribed to all who are disposed to take the German Left at its face value. If the German Left is the true champion of Liberty, Peace and Justice in Germany, and the Weimar Constitution the embodiment of the democratic principle, is it not calculated to give pause, when it is found that this same Party and this same instrument command the approval and support of the French Nationalists and the corresponding elements in England, whose ideas of Peace, Justice, Liberty and Democracy were writ large at Versailles,

Trianon and St. Germain, to say nothing of subsequent manifestations on the Ruhr and in the Saar, and elsewhere? Liberals at any rate may well begin to suspect their premiss and retrace their argument, when they find themselves seeking the banner-bearers of Liberty, Peace, Justice and Democracy in the ranks of the protégés of M. Poincaré.

In Germany itself no such exalted rôle is attributed to the Weimar Constitution. To the average German it represents primarily, not the triumph of Liberty, etc., over Despotism, but the triumph of the Centralist over the Particularist principle in internal administration, and in the relations of the Reich with the Federal States. The conflict between the two is an old story, perhaps the oldest story in German history. The strength of the particularism of the German States is one of those Bismarckian *imponderabilia* which the Left at Weimar, like its predecessors at Frankfort in 1848, completely underestimated. The history of the Weimar and the Frankfort Assemblies is curiously similar. All the mistakes of Frankfort were repeated at Weimar, with the exception that at Weimar the debates were not so interminable. The Frankfort Assembly debated at such length that its programme in the end was uncompleted. The Weimar Assembly produced a complete constitutional apparatus in a little over five months. But there was the same legislation by theory, the same rough riding over minorities, and the same imperviousness to all inarticulate elements, in both. And (it is already possible to add) the same causes in both produced the same results. A shrewd contemporary observer thus describes the proceedings in the Weimar Assembly: "Intoxicated with their majority, and regardless of any factors outside the limits of the division-lobby, they" (the parties of the Left) "were in a position to dictate their wishes unchecked. They did so. To one who sat there watching the debates, it was like the opening scene in some Greek tragedy, where the spectators see the tyrant in the full exercise of his power and, knowing the inevitable *dénouement*, reflect with awe that *Quem deus vult perdere prius dementat*."

In this spirit the Left proceeded to transfer to the Reich the separate Armies, Legations, Consulates, Railways, Waterways and Posts of the States. Republican Constitutions and the Reichstag franchise were imposed upon all States: and it was laid down that they should cease to be "States" (*Staaten*) and should become "Provinces" (*Länder*). The old colours of the Empire, black-white-red, were abolished, and black-red-gold were put in their place. Black-white-red had been a combination of the black and white of Prussia with the imperial colour red. Black-red-gold had originally been the colours of the Holy Roman Empire

(black and yellow being the colour of the House of Austria and red the imperial colour): but they had been revived by the Frankfort Assembly as the symbol of the new German Empire which the Liberals at Frankfort aspired, and failed, to create. From that time on they had been the colours of Liberalism in Germany: and it was as such that they were once more revived at Weimar. They were accordingly a symbol, not (like the colours of most European countries) of national unity, but (like the colours of Soviet Russia) of a party challenge.

The reaction in Germany began almost immediately after the dissolution of the Assembly of Weimar. It has gone furthest in Bavaria, which politically is of the Right. But Particularism is not in its essence a movement either of the Right or of the Left. It is not less strong in Baden and Hamburg, which have a Liberal tradition, or in Saxony and Thuringia, which are strongly Socialist and have played with Communism, than in Conservative Bavaria. The chief supporters of the Weimar Constitution have always been in Prussia. Outside Prussia it has few admirers.

In Bavaria the centralising changes made at Weimar have one by one been set aside openly, or tacitly rendered nugatory. The independence of the Bavarian divisions of the Reichswehr has been openly asserted, and a Bavarian General appointed to command them in defiance of Berlin. The managements of the Bavarian sectors of the railways have been brought under the direct control of Munich, to the exclusion of Berlin, for all purposes of administration and staff. Whether Bavaria will be able to maintain this *de facto* independence, now that the Railways have been transformed under the Dawes Plan into a private company under Allied control, is a problem which has been left to the future to solve. It will certainly be heard of again. The waterways of Germany were chiefly Prussian; and their transference to the Reich involved no Particularist susceptibilities of consequence in the other States; but Bavaria has secured a dominant influence on the construction of the great new waterway (Rhine-Main-Danube Canal) which is to connect the North Sea with the Black Sea across Bavarian territory. The diplomatic representations formerly maintained by Bavaria, Saxony and other States, either continue under some other name, or are held in abeyance pending the restoration of the deposed dynasties. The former Bavarian Post has not been revived. Its suppression is almost the only one of the Weimar changes above enumerated, which still remains intact so far as Bavaria is concerned.

But in the above enumeration of the changes made at Weimar the most important of them all—the transfer of the financial administration to the Reich—was not included. There was good

reason for its omission, for it was on a different footing from the rest in more respects than one. In the first place it was carried, not by the fiat of a parliamentary majority alone, but by consultation with the elements of the population it was calculated to affect. Secondly, though it was the most conspicuous example of the Centralist principle in application, it was not due to the Left. It was due, indeed, not to a party but to one man, the Centre (Catholic) deputy Matthias Erzberger: and it was designed by him, not in accordance with the Centralist or any other political principle, but as the fruits of bitter economic experience. As Reporter of the Budget Committee of the Reichstag for the ten years preceding the war, Erzberger had learnt to appreciate the inelasticity and unadaptability of the old financial system, and its inadequacy for any programme of reconstruction or Reparation payments. Had he known at Weimar what shape the Reparation demands of the Allies would ultimately take, it is probable that he would never have taken the financial reform in hand. Had he not done so, the Allies would have been confronted with the necessity of collecting their claims themselves with the aid of a separate organisation in every German State. The difficulties and the costs of such a procedure may be imagined! But at the time of the passage of the Erzberger reforms at Weimar nobody—not even amongst the Allies—dreamt of the shape the Reparation demands would ultimately take.

In the old Empire the whole field of direct taxation was reserved to the States: and the Reich drew revenue only from indirect taxation (Customs, Posts and Excise). The States made what were called "matricular contributions" to the Reich: that is, they assessed and collected the whole of the revenue (from the direct taxes) themselves, and surrendered a part of it to the Reich. All attempts by the Reich to encroach on the sphere of direct taxation—the most recent was Prince Bülow's attempt to introduce Death Duties—foundered on the opposition of the States. The system of matricular contributions was borrowed from the Holy Roman Empire. Financially it was as ineffective as the Holy Roman Empire itself. Only the amazing prosperity of Germany, and the consequent buoyancy of the indirect revenue, enabled the country to pay its way.

Erzberger reversed the process. He created an elaborate machinery, similar to that of any other centralised country (France, for instance), by which the Reich assessed and collected the revenue, making grants out of the proceeds to the States. It is with this machinery that the German revenue (and with it the Allied tribute) has since been collected. It was bitterly attacked at the time; and the Centre (Erzberger's own party) split over the

issue, the Catholics of Bavaria seceding and forming a separate party. Subsequently at the time of the Inflation and later the States succeeded in rendering more or less nugatory the financial working of the scheme (as they had already done in the case of the other changes made at Weimar) by compelling the impoverished and enfeebled Government of the Reich to increase its grants to them from 20 per cent. of the total, which was the figure contemplated by Erzberger, to percentages varying from 20 to 96 per cent., and averaging nearly 70 per cent., of the six principal taxes, from the revenue of which the Reich grants were made. These conditions are now to be modified by a new constitutive arrangement (*Finanzausgleich*) intended to be permanent, which the present Government has just submitted to the Reichstag. The amounts of the Reich grants to the States are hotly disputed between the representatives of the State Governments and the Reich Finance Ministry. But the machinery of the Erzberger reforms, and the principle of centralised finances, are no longer the object of attack. The measure of their stability may be estimated from the fact that the present Finance Minister, Dr. von Schlieben, a representative of a Party of the Right which at Weimar and afterwards was the principal protagonist in the opposition to the Erzberger reforms, went out of his way in his Budget Speech at the end of April to observe that experience had shown that no other system was now possible. Prophecy under present circumstances in Germany is rash; but it may be conjectured with some safety that the Erzberger reforms are the only important element of the Weimar settlement which will be found intact in twenty years' time—and that, irrespective of whether Germany is governed in the meantime by the Right or by the Left, and whether she restores the Monarchy or remains a Republic.

The battle of Centralisation has indeed been fought and lost. But it is not only the Particularist forces that are arrayed against the Weimar Constitution. The Weimar Constitution (and with it the Republic) has been identified—most unwisely—by its supporters with the maintenance of the present régime; and it is assuredly not from the present régime that it will borrow strength. The comparison of the present with the previous régime is not a political argument calculated to appeal to any large section, and least of all to the mass of the workers. What the average man sees about the present régime is that it has transferred almost unlimited power in Germany to two classes, the big industrialists on the one hand and the bankers on the other, who before the war were counterbalanced by the Army, the Bureaucracy (with which the Monarchy should be included) and the intellectual class. The prestige of the Army and the Bureaucracy was destroyed by the

issue of the war. The prestige of the intellectuals was also hit by the issue of the war, but would doubtless have recovered had the war not been followed by the Inflation, which largely ruined (and in many cases actually killed off) this particular class. The average German does not consider it a desirable development that these three checks on the monied interests of his country should have ceased to operate. It is this feeling in one form or another which is at the bottom of the present reaction.

The financial scandals, which have been dragging an unsavoury course through the Courts during the past six months, have lent it form. It has been made abundantly clear in the course of a number of different prosecutions that during the Inflation period political (Socialist) influence was used to divert the floating funds at the disposal of the Post Office and some other Government Departments to the purpose of giving inadequately-secured and financially improper credits to unsuitable capitalist interests. The scandals have been exploited for what they were worth for party purposes by the Press of the Right: and it is probable that they induced a number of electors, particularly in Prussia, to give their votes in the Presidential election for so conspicuous an example of the traditional incorruptible Prussian civil servant as the old Field-Marshal.

The flood of the Inflation, which submerged all land-marks, has now ebbed: and there are many signs that the prestige, alike of the intellectuals and of the Bureaucracy, is reviving. The revival of the latter is perhaps the most significant factor in the present interesting situation in Germany: for the Bureaucracy will be the phalanx of any leader who is found to head the revolt against the present régime.

For the present there is no leader; and the discontent seems likely to continue to simmer, increasing in volume as the pressure of the Dawes Plan begins after the moratory period (four years from last September) to make itself felt. From time to time no doubt it will find a vent in some such demonstration as the recent election. But the elevation of an old gentleman of 78 to a position resembling, and designed to resemble, the French Presidency, is not likely to move mountains. Hindenburg's predecessor, Ebert, a professional politician of life-long experience with a natural proclivity to despotism—he has been compared (God forbid that the writer should subscribe to the comparison!) with the late Lord Morley—found it difficult to use the Presidency as a means of exerting influence. The old Field-Marshal will find the task immeasurably harder—if he attempts it. His election may be described in terms of English politics as having the significance of a glorified by-election—no more and no less.

A priori one would not expect the ultimate struggle to be fought out in the parliamentary arena. The German public does not look to its Parliament for leadership: and the German political parties are ill qualified to assume the leadership of a national movement. They are all, with one exception, the representatives of particular classes or interests; and they tend to conceive their political vocation as beginning and ending with a watching brief for their clients. The one exception is the (Catholic) Centre: and the Centre has always sat, and is now sitting, on the fence awaiting the leap of the cat. There was a time when it looked as if the new Fascist party might play in the Reich the rôle of the Fascisti in Italy. But it had no better Mussolini than General Ludendorff, than whom there is no more discredited figure in Europe to-day; and after a brief and vivid moment of elation (end of 1924), during which all Germany held its breath, it collapsed and is now in process of tacit absorption by the Nationalists.

The word is now with the Nationalists, and their position is interesting. Their nucleus is no more than the remnants of the old Conservative parties (*Konservativen* and *Reichspartei*) renamed: but the failure of the Left to assume the national leadership has given them the opportunity to pose as the champions of a very much wider circle. The future of this pose has still to be seen: but they are ambitious; they have at last a share in the Government of the Reich; and their return to power in Prussia is only a question of how long the Socialists can stave off a dissolution of the Diet. The public is certainly not yet convinced that the restoration of the Monarchy, which the Nationalists steadfastly include in their programme, is the remedy for the ills from which it suffers. The public wants the old times: it is much less enamoured of the old institutions, to which much mud clings. But it is crying for a leader, and is prepared with German docility to believe what he says. Circumstances have brought the Nationalists at the moment into closer touch with the national feeling than any other party. If they are able to rise to their opportunity, as the Left were not, and to throw up a leader as the ranks of Junkerdom once threw up Otto von Bismarck, it may yet be reserved for them—odd as the speculation may appear to be—to give to parliamentary institutions in Germany that prestige, the lack of which has always robbed them of their force. It would be not the least of history's many ironies in her handling of post-war Germany if it were so. But there appears to be no reason why Liberal thought at any rate should regard the prospect with other than equanimity.

O. DE L.

CAN LIBERALISM REVIVE?

FROM Clogs to clogs is three generations, a century or there-by. After a century in the purple Liberalism has fallen on evil days. Is this a passing phase? Or is it the end? "The main feature of our time," says Mr. Charles Trevelyan in the preface of a recent book, "is that the political movement of the world has passed through a political phase where Liberalism led, and has passed into an economic phase where Socialism leads." The nice partitioning of history is the historian's confidence-trick. The deception is least misleading when the contrasted phases are things of the past: whereas Liberals will not allow that the Liberal age is over, or Socialists that theirs has come. There are, too, periods and periods, some of creative moods and organic growth, others of alarms, confusion and futility. Some are nothing but prolonged interruptions; and such may well be that which Mr. Trevelyan, shaking off his Liberalism, now hails so confidently, but which the civilised nations of the Continent have already passed through, to their great relief. Germany, Austria and Italy now look back on the *Sturm und Drang* of Socialism as a reactionary interlude. For suffering Russia, if Russia is to be counted among the civilised Powers, it has been far worse. In the order of facts, moreover, politics and economics are hardly to be separated in the manner suggested by Mr. Trevelyan. The present age has good grounds for accusing each of creating problems for the other, and for suspecting that it has always been so, and always will be so. When the Great War entangled the State in the affairs of trade and industry, it intensified the embarrassments of the two spheres. But this entanglement, the worst of the lees in the bitter cup of war, Mr. Trevelyan clutches as a gift from the gods. How persistent is the war-mind! Again, can the great Victorian crusade of Liberalism be held to have succeeded in the sense of liberalising the Conservatives? Or are the Socialists capable of winning and wielding secure power for the forces of the Left? Only a partisan, and a bold one, would answer "Yes." The Liberals have not been absorbed by Conservatism, nor Liberalism, at least as yet, by the Socialists. The Socialist irruption has not broken the threads of the nation's progress. In weakening Liberalism it has weakened the total forces of the Left. The Messiahship of Labour has still to be proved. Its very meaning is in doubt. It may be that the intending heirs of the Liberal party must don the mantle of Liberalism, lest their nakedness and paradoxical conformation should appear.

Liberalism, if it is marked for death, is dying hard. Its long agony tires the mock grief of its old enemy and the scheming

glee of the new. It dies harder in the country than in the Commons, where its shrunken form stalks like a phantom or a portent. In times past the flag rallied those jealous and unbending forces which love of freedom and country impelled to conquer the State. Now, as then, the strongest core of Liberalism is elsewhere than in the limbs of Government. Liberalism would have the State rule with moderation and serve without meddling. It rates the nation's life above the pretensions of Power. However ruinous the polls may be, it must survive as the anti-state, and beget new conquerors. For it has enemies that one day or another will force a fight in which they will be worsted. There will always be those who exalt the State above the nation: and the new Socialist Party is bent on over-governing, and is therefore *pro tanto* unfit to govern. In spite of wide franchise and frequent elections, the levelling factors of this age, Conservatism is still liable to fits of headiness. And among the Socialists these very factors inflame ambition and prepare tyranny. The enemies' errors may be counted on to rebuild the Liberal forces.

Liberalism cannot be extirpated, any more than the besetting infirmities of the State. Neither can its positive work be reversed. In the last century the nation has grown phenomenally in population, wealth and productive skill. Its political development has been even more remarkable. Its *morale* has risen. It may be doubted if in the same space of time any other nation ever advanced so far, or on so broad a front. Liberalism aided the advance by freeing energies and by imparting a humane and tolerant spirit which has permeated private behaviour as well as public affairs. The eclipse of the party has revealed how much all parties, and the public which belongs to no party, are penetrated or at least inhibited by Liberal sentiment. The watchwords of the faith have rung through the Empire and among foreign peoples, promising freedom and enjoining justice and neighbourliness. The Great War was fought in the main for those ideals. Liberalism measured itself successfully against its great adversary, though its major victory is marred by features of the Peace that were perhaps inevitable, and by illiberal policies in the sequel. It fought and triumphed, but only to break. To-day it is but a remnant and a voice.

It fell headlong from the zenith of fortune, the victim, by Fate's irony, of its own well-doing. The weapon it forged for humanity was used first upon itself. It is easier to grant the vote than to lead the new voter in the way he should go. The rapid widening of the franchise in various countries during the last two generations changed the key of politics. The newly-franchised masses deserted Liberalism, and whatever other doctrines seemed to in-

fluence them, for Socialism. Leviathan, freed at last, broke with his old mentors and plunged into self-expression. Wherever life had been hard and repression severe, his revulsion was all the more passionate. The suddenness of release provoked him to utterance. He had things on his mind which only he could express. Memories of old wrongs, present miseries, grudges, aspirations, hatred, revenge, hope and vague idealism surged up in him. The time had come for paying off old scores. The prestige of class must be abolished, or reversed: employers must be disarmed: the State must be captured. "The Camel-driver has his thoughts," says the proverb, "and the Camel he has his." Europe realised with sudden alarm what dreams had smouldered for ages in the undersoul of the race. Leviathan's aim was nothing less than to baptise the world into a new order by a sacrament of retaliation and reversal. Class was to subdue the State, and the State private enterprise. If any egoism still remained to the State, internationalism had powerful solvents ready. Simple passions led Leviathan on, while obsequious theorists trooped after with proofs. What poetic justice might have condoned in him was justified and blessed by his apologists in the great name of Evolution. The plan took shape where circumstances favoured it most—in Germany. The State governed the action and hypnotised the intelligence of the German race, and class-war was in its blood. In the propitious air and soil of Germany the new gospel spread rapidly. Beyond the frontiers its parade of theory and its call to the instincts of mischief won it converts *en masse*.

One thing was lacking in Britain without which Socialism could not expand freely or fully. The retaliatory chimeras of the German *ur-sozialisten* owed a great deal, as has been said, to the vivid and pervasive idea of the German State. The British masses had no such idea. They knew the State only as a remote and intermittent agency, slow to act and of narrow range. The War obliged the State to extend a remorseless control over all the activities of citizens. Toil, sacrifice and death were imposed on every class and age. The State took from all, but also gave. It lent life a deeper meaning, and a finer momentum. Amid all the tears and blood the travail of war diffused a consciousness of unity, an uplifting sense of corporateness, in short, a sense of the State which carried the nation through torment to triumph. It was thus that the masses discovered the State. The discovery gave the Socialists their opportunity: but the manner of it blunted the edge of Socialism. The State had shone forth in the War as the symbol of unity and the organ of reconciliation. On the morrow of the War it could not be used, with decency or success, for disrup-

tive and punitive ends. Leviathan's sudden vision of citizenship thrilled and purged his political instincts. He was in the mood for initiation and action. But in the supreme hour of awakening he was swayed by narrow theories of alien coinage and temper, for Liberalism had ceased to teach. His new nerve-ridden guides had nothing better to tell him than "the State is God, and private enterprise is of the Devil," and no plan but a gigantic usurpation of all that lies within the field of private enterprise. Was ever a noble lesson worse applied? Leviathan, however, naïve, selfish and narrow as he may be, is a steadier and wiser creature than his self-appointed keeper, the Socialist Party. The War gave Marxism its hour in Britain, but it ensured, too, that that hour should be brief and ineffectual. The militancy of class was disarmed by the deeper sentiment of race unity.

The position of Socialism in Europe in the first post-war years was curiously paradoxical. In Russia and some of the *Randstaaten* and in parts of the South-East, the Red baptism of reversal had been realised in proletarian dictatorship and agrarian revolution. The method and the result of the innovations, however, were disturbing. Western Socialism looked on in embarrassment, unable to approve and afraid to condemn, anxious to believe the best of the Marxist pioneers and to defend their aims, if not their actions. The Italian Socialists allowed Bolshevism to make enough headway to ensure a great patriotic reaction. The German Socialists, far more statesmanlike than the Italians, championed the Republic against the extremists of Right and Left, and became the Saviours of Society. Socialism was thus foiled in advance in its own homeland. It captured the masses, but it could not recapture its old venom. Internationalism, one of the chief "notes" of Socialism, perished as a principle when the Socialists made common cause with the Kaiser in the War: though it revived easily as a practice the moment the frontiers were opened. The Socialist diatribes against class and race egoism won and kept adherents by the million. But the realisation of ideals hung fire. On the other hand, *camaraderie* and the missionary spirit compensated for lack of leadership and practical objectives. What though the chiefs could not see their way, and, had they seen it, were incapable of forcing it? In the years of exhaustion after the War the mental and spiritual comfort of belonging to the Socialist movement was enough of itself. No other party and no other church could rival its consolations. And if the movement lacked motion and direction, the consciousness of power, though inferior to the confident use of it, is still a consoling thing. A veto on the action of others is next best to action in person. Control, after all, is a negative idea.

The ambitious energy of German Socialists in 1918 has declined

into the sullen resistency of to-day. The revolutionary Cabinet lost no time in setting up a Commission of Socialists to study the nationalisation of the key industry of coal mining. The brief report issued in March, 1919, condemned the ownership and management of coal mines by the State without suggesting any other method. Unification in the hands of the State being ruled out, the reappointed Commission produced in July, 1920, a plan for unification in the hands of a body distinct from and independent of the State. The management of coal mining throughout Germany was to be entrusted to a *Direktorium* of five experts aided by a vast bureaucracy and responsible to a motley Coal Council of one hundred meeting at long intervals. Public opinion, however, proved to be very hostile to a syndicalist monopoly in coal: while "big business" took the field against the "horizontal" method of amalgamation as far inferior to the "vertical" method. Stinnes and others were busy building up their serially organic units, so as to dovetail all the successive operations of production from the extraction of ore and coal to the manufacture of highly finished goods. It was a case of talk *versus* technique, and technique won easily. The Socialists had themselves condemned one form of unification, and when the country condemned the other they neither had nor could have any third plan for unification.

The initiative passed therefore to others. The idea of public ownership and management came under criticism, which was the sharper because the times were bad. Public management, it was clear, was neither economical nor efficient: and many public undertakings became grievously embarrassed. The realisation under testing conditions of the defects of bureaucracy and the unprofitable intrusion of political motives into business affairs, which are inseparable from public management, led to policies of denationalisation and demunicipalisation. The Prussian State mines, for instance, are being handed over to a company. The municipalities, from Berlin downwards, have done the same with certain services, and subsided into sleeping partners. Instead of being superseded private enterprise has regained lost ground. In its partnerships with the State or local authorities it is the active and ruling limb. The same tendency is to be observed in Austria, where the State forests are to be formed into a company. In both countries the railways have been denationalised under foreign pressure, an interference not wholly unwelcome to the supporters of private enterprise. In Italy the Fascists have carried out certain measures of denationalisation, and promised more. Italy was the scene, moreover, of one of the major defeats of Socialism. The long agitation for the "taking over" of industry culminated

in September, 1920, when a dispute in the metal-working trades was made the occasion for the "occupation of the factories." The workmen marched in under arms, confident that they could carry on industry without help from employers or financiers. Neither the Government nor the owners dared resist. The experiment in workmen's control was made in entire freedom: and within three weeks it was freely abandoned. The "garrisons" withdrew, confessing their failure and surrendering to the employers their possessions and functions. The great *coup* that had been so long preparing ended in a fiasco. From that day Socialism was doomed, and the Fascist forces were assured of success.

The cases of Germany and Italy illustrate the two Socialist procedures, by and through the State, and without the State—and the discomfiture of both. In both countries Socialism has a great future behind it. Division, defeat and disillusionment have overtaken those once confident and aggressive hosts. Their bitterest enmities now smoulder within the family circle. They have numbers without conviction, and more passion than hope. They have still Leviathan's ear, but only to mumble phrases into it, or to garble a stolen message. Their internationalism abroad is little more than anti-nationalism at home. But the benefits of their international practices are genuine and great. Acquaintance, contact, consultation and mutual encouragement between politicians of like outlook in different countries are a real asset for any party. For good or evil, the international platform is there. The question is, "Who shall mount it, and what shall be said from it?" The question may be put in another way: "Is it not time for the Liberals of Europe to seize and organise this platform, and to supersede the false leads and cries of Socialism?" The logic of events and the hard teaching of facts have stricken Socialism, but only after Socialism has overpowered Liberalism. Liberalism is eclipsed throughout Europe. It survives here as a tiny group, there as a broken remnant, and there again as a legendary atmosphere. But can Socialism hold its gains? In Western Europe its ideas have gone down: its very forces are in retreat, and some of them in rout. Does moral defeat foreshadow disaster at the polls? To answer "Yes" would be to reckon without Leviathan. Labour Parties have come to stay and the Socialist name perhaps, too, especially where proportional representation exists. The class crusade of the largest class cannot be destroyed. But it can be driven back by proper measures, and the best, perhaps the only hope lies in counter-offensives on the international platform. At the present time Liberalism fights guerilla-wise throughout Europe. Its leaders have never tried, much less learned to concert their steps or to organise a common stand. In an era of inter-

nationalism they have no international technique, and scarcely the presence of mind to reap where they themselves have sown. In the past the great figures of Liberalism voiced the rights of nationalities. Liberalism shone forth from Britain as from a beaconhill. One of its ideals, freedom for nationalities, has been realised, but neighbourliness and co-operation are still far off. Neither the prestige of the task achieved nor the urgency of the other gives Liberalism its international corps. The Sorbonne wields nowadays more influence than all the disunited Liberals of Europe. And yet Liberalism is the truest internationalism, neither disparaging nationalism with the Socialists nor overrating it with the Jingoists: just as its view of the League of Nations as the Super-diplomat, watchful, informed, single-minded and helpful to the uttermost, is truer than the Socialist illusion of Super-State, Super-Parliament, and Super-judge.

What Europe needs on the plane of high policy is Liberalism—if only the Liberals knew Europe. In the domestic sphere the Liberals have already won without knowing it. Leviathan is advancing everywhere on familiar Liberal lines. In Germany itself the Socialists began a far-reaching scheme of industrial legislation, which is inspired not by Marxism but by Whitleyism. The rights, the duties, the burdens, and the privileges of the two partners in industry have been given legal definition in the new laws. The problem of how to secure for the wage-earner due status in work and guarantees against personal and family risks is being solved the whole world over by the methods which British Liberalism has pursued amid increasing consent since 1906. Statutory Whitleyism and Social Insurance are the keys of the future. If low prices can be added, Leviathan will be still better pleased. But low prices depend on freedom in trade. The new tariffs to which the partitioning of Europe has given rise offer a broad target to international Liberalism. Whatever may be the fiscal exigencies of the Succession States, their tariffs entail a risk of inefficiency, high prices and corruption. Politics and business ought to be kept separate with the utmost scrupulousness and to the greatest extent possible. There must always be some unavoidable contacts, and therewith some risks. Integrity in public life and high standards in industry depend on the rigorous separation of the two realms. Socialism makes a virtue of mixing them up. It would turn the State, which should assure justice and peace between citizens, into the general employer and provider as well. It would create just those conditions which make dishonesty and waste easy. Corruption comes by opportunity: and Socialism creates the opportunities wholesale. Those who desire on principle to mix up politics and business are perhaps peculiarly liable

to mix them up in their own conduct. This would appear to be the lesson of the remarkable scandals which have been made public in Berlin in the last few months. The disclosures have involved, for instance, the disgrace and retirement of a Socialist ex-Chancellor, Herr Gustav Bauer, under very painful circumstances, and have humiliated the Socialist party and dishonoured its doctrines. Simultaneously the Vienna courts had to institute an inquiry into scandalous waste and inefficiency and sheer peculation in certain Government undertakings which the State, under Socialist pressure, retained after the War and ran on vague principles of control which the Socialists favoured. It is easy to argue *à priori* that the more Socialism there is, the more will personal concerns be intertwined and confused with public, and the more insidiously will private motives pervade public affairs, that corruption, in short, will be the grosser. The Berlin and Vienna scandals supply an *à posteriori* proof. The Liberal purism in these matters stands vindicated, if Liberals are prompt to drive the lesson home.

Let the Liberal Party realise the magnitude of its misfortune. It cannot conjure away the international wave that has submerged it by baling its own backyard. But the wave is lower in Britain than elsewhere, and it is sinking everywhere. In Western Europe Socialism is bankrupt in policy, divided against itself, and deeply discouraged. The world's supreme inspiration is still Liberalism, whether in international affairs or in those domestic reforms which are the common stock of humanity. Leviathan himself is more reasonable at heart than those who labour to voice and embitter his worst moods. The course of Socialism has been checked by its own ponderous foolishness, and the check is severe. The omens are everywhere favourable. Let the Liberals adopt the strategy of their adversaries, and prove themselves the better internationalists. It is not an unreasonable hope that Socialism, which has blazed up like a meteor, may spend itself like one.

JOHN MURRAY.

RECENT EVENTS IN BULGARIA.

A RELENTLESS fate seems to have condemned Bulgaria periodically to obtrude herself upon the notice of the world by a series of misfortunes. In the course of her troubled history, Bulgaria appears to have reached the highest summits of glory, but to fall almost at once into the abyss of a national catastrophe. Nevertheless, the Bulgarian race has survived the effects of this curious destiny and still forms one of the most compact ethnical groups of the Balkan peninsula, and as such, can never fail to retain all the interest of Europe.

During the last few weeks the attention of the general public has once more been focussed upon Bulgaria, yet again shaken by violent storms. First confronted with sinister facts, then overwhelmed by contradictory reports, this same public has found it somewhat difficult to form a true idea of the situation in Bulgaria at the present moment. It may, however, be possible now to take a more dispassionate view of the question. To summarise the actual facts: On April 14th last, the Tuesday of Holy Week according to the Julian Calendar, a dastardly attempt was made upon the life of the King of Bulgaria, motoring back to the capital from a shooting expedition in the district of Orhanie. Towards eleven o'clock in the Pass of Araba-Konak a band of about six conspirators opened fire on the car, in which the King was travelling with an aide-de-camp, the Director of the Entomologist Section at the Palace, a chauffeur and a loader. The royal car had just passed the motor-bus that goes daily from Sophia to Orhanie. The chauffeur, wounded, at once lost control of the car, which rolled down the road and was arrested in its descent by a telegraph post. The assailants continued to fire uninterruptedly. The loader was killed and the naturalist shot through the heart. After vainly trying to steady the car, the King dashed out with his aide-de-camp, and under a shower of bullets ran towards Orhanie, overtaking the motor-bus into which he climbed with the officer. Then driving the motor-bus himself and taking all the passengers safely back to Orhanie, the King summoned thirty soldiers from the garrison and returned with them to the place of the attack, where he directed the pursuit of the conspirators. Continuing his journey, the King arrived at Sophia at noon.

The news of the intended murder of the King and his miraculous escape from death spread through Bulgaria with the speed of lightning, causing mixed feelings of indignation and joy. The next day, after a service of thanksgiving for the King's escape, an immense procession of his subjects, headed by Cabinet Ministers and including representatives of all sections of the people,

proceeded to the Palace and cheered the young sovereign for hours.

But the Holy Week of 1925 was to remain one of the most tragic that Bulgaria has ever known. On that same fatal April 14th, one of Bulgaria's best soldiers and member of the present Parliament, General Gheorghieff was assassinated at nightfall, as he was returning to his house from the Chamber of Deputies. Two days later, on the 16th or Maundy-Thursdays, an abominable crime took place in the Cathedral of Sveta-Nedelia when, during the funeral of this same General, an infernal machine exploded, killing over a hundred and fifty men, women and children, and wounding several hundreds. We have gathered from the letter of an eye-witness, whose testimony is worthy of absolute confidence, that this appalling outrage was followed by no more than the very natural effervescence aroused amongst the population by one of the worst crimes of the age. There was no panic inside or around the Cathedral after the first terrible moments which followed the explosion. Most of the Cabinet Ministers had been inside the sanctuary but all escaped with slight wounds, and the King was fortunately absent. But the Cathedral outrage, apart from the countless innocent victims, has exacted a heavy toll from Bulgaria, deprived in one blow of fourteen generals, several colonels, the Mayor of Sophia, many Members of Parliament and civil servants.

Almost immediately after the explosion, the authorities, with commendable coolness organised the pursuit of the criminals. Sophia was at once encircled by troops, a measure owing to which the ringleaders were arrested in the very act of flight. The Cabinet meanwhile proclaimed martial law, with the consent of the King and the approval of Parliament. With two or three exceptions, complete order was preserved in the capital and throughout the provinces.

The testimonies of several foreigners in residence at Sophia at the time of the Cathedral outrage all contribute to prove that, apart from very natural outbursts of indignation in the crowd, no reprisals took place such as to justify the report of the three British Members of Parliament who passed through Sophia during that sad week.

After this brief summary of the actual facts, it might be interesting to glance at their original causes; which will enable one to discover the responsible factors, as far as this is possible in post-war Europe. One must recall that since June, 1923, Bulgaria's destinies have been in the hands of a Government drawn from the so-called "Right Wing" parties of the Chamber, and presided over by M. Tzankoff, a professor of the Sophia University, whose reputation is that of an honest and disinterested patriot.

This Cabinet is supported by all the moderate elements of the Chamber blended into one single group under the name of "Democratic Union" or "Szhgovor," whose most bitter opponents are the Agrarians, now divided into two sections; and the Communists.

The moderate Agrarians are now entirely separate from the Left-Wing Agrarians, or some partisans of the late M. Stambolisky, misled, since the tragic death of their chief in June, 1923, into siding with the Communists; action which Stambolisky would have been the first to condemn. May one be allowed to affirm that Stambolisky never favoured Communism; whatever may have been his faults, he was always deeply conscious of the terrible dangers that any form of Communism would have brought to Bulgaria; one of the last acts of his legislation was a law against the Communists—with regard to municipal administration—in which he turned their own methods against them, with his usual grim humour. It is hardly necessary to recall his personal regard for King Boris, which almost amounted to a fatherly affection; it may not have been shared by the Agrarian leader's own colleagues; but Stambolisky cannot be blamed for the crimes of his ill-advised Ministers.

As to the Bulgarian Communist Party, it scarcely existed before 1914, the reason being that Bulgaria's population is formed of about 80 per cent. peasant proprietors, who were quite proof against Communist theories. But, since the war, the causes of Communism in Bulgaria have been innumerable, greater perhaps than in most countries, the principal being the accumulated miseries of years of fighting; the burdens of the peace treaty; the loss of territories peopled by Bulgarians; the presence on Bulgarian soil of destitute refugees, including 30,000 White Russians and 18,000 Armenians; the load of Reparations; the lack of outside help; and disillusion after disillusion following conference upon conference with regard to Bulgaria's promised outlet to the Ægean. All these political and economic causes were moreover fostered, owing to Bulgaria's position on the map, by the immediate neighbourhood of Russia, and it is easy to understand why Bulgaria was the first victim to be chosen for Soviet propaganda. Indeed, the Moscow gang had every reason to believe that they had made a wise selection in a defenceless country, surrounded by rivals, and more or less forsaken by the Western Powers overwhelmed by other and seemingly more pressing problems. The Powers of Evil had, however, not taken into account the common sense of the Bulgarian peasant; thus neglecting the most important factor of the whole scheme. The first attack of the Bolsheviks to take place outside the frontiers of Russia,

against the order of Europe and the traditions of civilisation, was on the field chosen by them—namely, Bulgaria—in September, 1923, in the form of an insurrection carefully prepared by their agents. The Bulgarian Communists, armed and paid by Moscow, tried to overthrow the legal government and to proclaim separate Soviet republics. Owing to energetic measures and to the patriotic attitude of the small Bulgarian army, the Tzankoff Cabinet was able to suppress this revolutionary outbreak in less than a month. It was greatly helped by the timely discovery in the Communist Clubs of Sophia of documents proving that the real aim of the Communists, far from being the welfare of the country, was to use Bulgaria as the first outpost of Bolshevism in Europe. Bulgarian public opinion was deeply impressed and alarmed by these statements.

Some time ago, during a Government raid of a Communist Club in Sophia, a plot was discovered establishing that a revolution was to break out at Sophia on April 15th. It is now evident that the conspirators murdered General Gheorghieff simply in order to provide a victim for a State funeral in the Cathedral, at which all the important Government officials—and possibly the Sovereign—would be present. The rest is only too clear. The conspirators very nearly succeeded; if the force of the explosion had taken a slightly different direction, the whole of the Balkans might have been in flames at the present hour, and one wonders whether Europe would have had the strength to extinguish the fire. Nevertheless, in the face of this cataclysm, only avoided by an inch, there are people who have dared to advance the thesis that the recent disturbances in Bulgaria should be traced, not to those criminals who used the sanctuary of God as a slaughter-house, but to the Government which is trying to prevent any terrible renewals of such foul deeds. Such an interpretation can either be termed revolting or absurd. The so-called humanitarians of this world may perchance plead that they are afraid of reprisals. The Bulgarian Government has, it seems, in this case the right to answer that preventive measures and punishments, however severe, are not necessarily reprisals, and that nations, like individuals, are sometimes placed on the unassailable ground of self-defence.

Letters from private individuals in Bulgaria worthy of confidence all seem to confirm the revelations disclosed by the *Times* on April 22nd last, regarding the Third International and its relation to the recent Bulgarian tragedies, and the Conference held at Baden between December 29th and January 2nd last. Moreover, all the disclosures of the criminals arrested in Sophia since the cathedral outrage not only definitely establish the complicity

of the Soviets, but acknowledge their personal direction. Two former Bulgarian officers in the pay of Moscow, Captains Minkoff and Yankoff, were the chief organisers of the crime; they were discovered, as well as their accomplices, the ex-Deputy Petrini, a well-known criminal named Marco Friedmann, and minor conspirators, including the sacristan of the Cathedral, during the inquiries that immediately followed the outrage. It was impossible to capture Minkoff and Yankoff alive, as they opposed the police by armed resistance, and were killed during the struggle. Most of the arrested criminals connected with the Cathedral outrage have pleaded guilty to receiving money, implying that the sums were sent from Vienna. One of them has described the inner working of the Central Communist Committee and its two sections, political and military. It is evident that there are further and, perhaps, more startling revelations to come. As it is, the Bulgarian Government seems to be gradually unravelling the tangle of a formidable conspiracy, the ramifications of which are linked up to a system.

What is, at the present moment, the political situation in Bulgaria? Under martial law, the country is calm; but the passions so brutally aroused will take some time to die down and the part taken by Bulgarian subjects, Communists and Extremist Agrarians, in the plot directed from Moscow, will leave a wound in the hearts of all their fellow victims. Since the court-martial began to sit, fresh discoveries followed by fresh arrests are made daily; but the period of detention is short. The capital is still in deep mourning, and the view of the ruins of the Cathedral cannot fail to keep the spark of resentment burning. The Chamber of Deputies has adjourned its sittings till June, after some memorable meetings during which the entire Parliamentary opposition, including the Moderate Agrarians, promised their full support to the Tzankoff Cabinet, against the Communists and the Agrarian Extremists. Therefore, it seems that there is no immediate necessity for a change of Government; though the friends of Bulgaria generally hope that the Tzankoff Cabinet will, in due time, invite the Moderate Agrarians to be represented in the Ministry.

A step towards better relations between the present Government and the Moderate Agrarians seems to have been made by the latter last week. Through an appeal published at Sophia, the Agrarian Union—a group of Moderates—have publicly disowned the Agrarian Extremists, most of whom are living abroad, and whom the Moderates accuse of treachery. The appeal condemns the recent terrorist acts and declares that the Agrarian Union is a legal organisation, using legal methods. It adds that, as a social force for peace and democracy, the Agrarian movement must

join the other legal political factors in order to save the country.

Mr. Pastukhoff, the Bulgarian Socialist leader, is still more vehement in denouncing illegal terrors and inhuman acts in his article published in the *Epoca*, of Sophia on April 24th, and reproduced by the *Times* on May 1st. His words do not coincide with the insinuations spread through the European press after the Sophia crimes, by writers anxious to minimise Bolshevist complicity at the expense of the Bulgarian Government.

Another factor in Bulgarian politics to-day which has been greatly strengthened by the late national misfortunes is the increased popularity throughout the country of young King Boris. The charming disposition of the King, recalling that of the Prince of Wales, his great tact, his wide knowledge of international politics, his many natural gifts, his fearlessness and the genial simplicity of his manners, combine to make this Sovereign's personality one of the most attractive in Europe. The King has identified himself so closely with the Bulgarian nation that he has never even crossed the frontiers of his kingdom since his accession. Called upon to rule a Balkan people under the most difficult circumstances, King Boris has never failed, and as a British author wrote the other day: "King Boris knows his people and is known by them, and this closeness of touch is gradually proving itself a steadying factor in the stormy history of Bulgarian politics." King Boris, "the lonely King," fully deserves the sympathy of the Powers and it is to be hoped that he will have the opportunity of visiting some of the Courts of Europe as soon as possible. The simple, busy life of the King has often been described; his constant and most faithful companion is his unmarried sister, the young Princess Eudoxia.

It is difficult to foresee the consequences of the Sophia outrages. They have opened the eyes of Western Europe to the peril of the intended "Bolshevisation" of the Balkan Peninsula by the agents of the Third International.

With the friendly solicitude for the health of a neighbour inspired by a fear of infection, the great Powers of Europe are showing an unusual interest in the symptoms of Bulgarian disorder. The British press, in particular, has fully realised that the dangerous forces in action against Bulgaria were and are threatening the peace of Europe. The noble and impartial attitude of most of the great leaders of British public opinion has been noted with much gratification in Bulgaria, where it is hoped that these democratic organs may have some influence in responsible quarters.

For platonic friendship, that rare but most precious possession of the individual, is of no avail whatsoever where nations are concerned. Countries in distress do not find in kind words the equiva-

lent of effective material support. In what way could the Western Powers afford any tangible help to Bulgaria at the present moment? Since the Sophia outrages, one feeble attempt has been made in this direction by the conference of the Ambassadors who, on April 22nd, authorised the Bulgarian Government to increase the Militia by 7,000 men, within the limits stipulated in the treaty of Neuilly. The authorisation only extends to May 31st, a period all too short for the enrolment, let alone the training of a new body of men. Moreover, one cannot help wondering whether this widely advertised date will not be regarded by the Bolsheviks as a valuable guide in fixing a time for their next attempt at revolution in Bulgaria? Need one add that the Ambassadors' authorisation has aroused great nervousness at Belgrade and still more at Athens? If the situation were not so tragic, Bulgaria could almost be gratified by the terror she continues to inspire, though disarmed and mutilated, in neighbours armed to the teeth.

The Western Powers could certainly help Bulgaria by advising her neighbours to preserve peace in the Balkans, seeing that any conflict in the Peninsula would only serve to encourage the subversive activity of Moscow. Roumania, whose Government is endowed with a keener political sense than is usual in the Balkans, a fact which may be due to her geographical situation, has fully realised the impending danger and refrained from any malignant comments on the Bulgarian crisis. At the Little Entente Conference, opened on May 9th at Bucharest, the countries represented have only just proclaimed that they do not contemplate any measures which might impede the final restoration of order in Bulgaria. They are careful to add that they could not, however, admit any increases in the Bulgarian forces not in keeping with the necessities of the situation. It seems that the second statement is in itself a contradiction of the first.

The Bulgarian people still feel that Europe is to-day divided into two camps: that of the victorious nations and the satellite countries or war profiteers, and that of the weaker States or outsiders. The Great Powers should realise the danger of encouraging short-sighted theories which can only serve to create armies and suspicions, and are solely inspired by mutual distrust. It seems that European Ententes and agreements in order to be of use should be founded on the guiding principles of the League of Nations, and not constitute deadly weapons in the hands of one or several countries against one or several others. Owing, I suppose, to the proverbial patience of their race, the Bulgarians still believe in the League of Nations. In fact, Bulgaria regards Geneva as the only tribunal left before which to bring all her un-

solved problems: (1) That of Bulgaria's promised outlet to the Ægean Sea, open since the signature of the Treaty of Neuilly; (2) that of the protection of Bulgarian Minorities; (3) that of the innumerable refugees on Bulgarian territory, the presence of whom adds to the financial burdens of a State impoverished by reparation payments.

It would be difficult if not impossible for the League of Nations to take any *effective* measures against Russian propaganda in Bulgaria; the Western Powers of Europe might help the Bulgarian Government and people to eradicate the cancer by supplying them with the necessary remedies. M. J. Reynald, the well-known French Senator, Vice-President of the Commission of Foreign Affairs, has recently suggested that the task of uprooting Bolshevism in Bulgaria should be entrusted to the Bulgarian army—within the limits of the treaty 33,000 men—to be recruited by compulsory service instead of voluntary enlistment, which would have the result of relieving Bulgarian finances of a heavy load. This would in no way imply a revision of the Treaty of Neuilly and should not cause undue alarm in the other Balkan capitals. In fact, the seeds of Communism once removed from Bulgaria, her neighbours would no longer live under the shadow cast by Soviet Russia over the Balkans. However, if M. Reynald's solution proved unacceptable, the Bulgarian Government would consider any other suggestion with the deepest attention; but the nation's power of endurance must not be taxed too far. It is clear that Bulgaria would not be able to cope with the difficulties of a fresh Communist offensive without the help of the Western Powers.

It is impossible to foresee what may happen in Bulgaria in the immediate future. At the present moment the situation can be summarised as follows: The country combines the advantages of a rich and fertile soil, great agricultural and mineral wealth and the qualities of a sober and vigorous race. The King represents an element of stability, sincerity and honour. The people are craving for rest and yearn to be allowed to cultivate their land in peace. The Government sincerely desires to live on friendly terms with the neighbouring States and to respect the full integrity of the Treaty of Neuilly.

It seems that Europe in the present circumstances can scarcely afford to neglect so many valuable assets; and Bulgaria, the land of plodding workers, will not fail her in the hour of need.

NADEJDA STANCIOFF MUIR.

REUNION.*

I.

IT can be said without exaggeration that "The Lambeth Appeal to all Christian People" is a landmark in the long history of attempts that have been made during the past four hundred years to unite divided Christian communions. Those attempts have been concentrated upon the task of reconciling existing differences, and start with the discussion of what differences are fundamental and what are not, or else upon the task of reuniting some of the divided Christian bodies. The Lambeth Appeal sets before itself and all Christian people the one plain purpose of creating one united Visible Church out of the existing differences; to this united Church, in fact, the different Christian Communions may all have some special contribution to make.

It is quite true that the Appeal begins by urging all Christian Communions to repent: to place themselves in the Presence of the One Lord and Master and to admit that each in its own way has failed to carry out His Will "that all should be one." Yet at the same time the Appeal implies the belief that in the Providence of God all these differences that have arisen, the different presentations of Christianity, may be used for the purpose of creating a Church more rich in experience, more fully equipped for the work and witness of Christianity than if these differences had never occurred.

It might be argued with some force that supposing East and West had never become disunited, supposing the great mediæval Church of the West had reformed itself and had preserved the principle and practice of General Councils, supposing then in England no occasion had arisen to produce Independents, Baptists, Congregationalists, Wesleyans, still, even so, we should not have had a Church endowed with so rich an experience or so well enabled to adjust itself to the manifold needs of society as it grows more and more complex, as a Church that can become united on the basis of all these historical differences.

That is the ideal which the Lambeth Appeal invites all Christian people to entertain and to find the way of interpreting in practice. Issued amid the movements and emotions of the year 1920, the Appeal, we see at once, is in line with the lesson, taught by the War, of an Allied Cause: with the principle that struggles to express itself in the League of Nations: with the development of the idea of a British Commonwealth. In all these instances there is not only the sentiment of Unity but the deliberate pur-

* Some reflections suggested by *Documents on Christian Unity*, published by the Dean of Canterbury.

pose of giving that Unity concrete and visible form. Moreover, the "Appeal" comes as the natural sequel of certain significant signs of agreement between different Christian Communions that have marked our own lifetime, notably in the field of Christian Apologetics and the exposition of Christian doctrine.

So far, so good. It was not only legitimate, it was almost inevitable that the Lambeth Conference in 1920 should plainly declare itself for such an ideal and should ask all Christian Communions frankly to face the question—What would make it possible, what makes it impossible to give practical expression to this ideal?

II.

As soon as we begin to address ourselves, then, to the practical issue, the first and obvious question we put is—What are the marks of the Corporate Unity of this one Visible Church? What gives it its coherence and organic force?

The answer given by the Appeal is (1) The declared Profession of Faith as expressed in the so-called Nicene Creed and in the Baptismal Profession known as the Apostles' Creed. (2) The Sacramental Ordinances instituted by our Lord Himself, Baptism and the Sacrament of the Body and Blood of Christ. (3) A recognised Ministry receiving our Lord's Commission through the Church—ministers who are commissioned to be "stewards of the mysteries." This Ministry—so history and experience seems to prove—will be best secured and the life of the Church best served if it rests upon and springs from Episcopacy.

We are, then, brought immediately to the question: Do the existing differences of Christian Communions, which we say we are going to use for the purpose of creating the United Visible Church, make it impossible to create the United Church upon this basis?

As to (1), no difficulty is presented by the condition of accepting this Profession of Faith. Some difficulties appear to be raised by the question of the use to be made of the Creeds; for instance, whether they should or should not be prescribed for use in common worship? whether they should be supplemented and interpreted by "Confessions"? If so, what latitude of interpretation should be allowed? But these difficulties are not fundamental: they would not prevent Christian Communions from uniting: and, indeed, in a United Church, we may always remember, there is no need to insist upon uniformity and there need be no hesitation in allowing freedom and variety.

As to (2) no difficulty is presented by the condition of accepting the two Ordinances as essential to the life of the Church.

When we come to (3) we reach the crux of the whole problem. I confess that after reading the memoranda and the results of Conferences put before us I cannot see that we are anywhere within sight of solving it: I do see that we run considerable risk of deceiving ourselves.

The practical question which raises the fundamental issue is—How is this Ministry—and notably this constitutional Episcopacy—to be commissioned in the United Church we have in mind? What precisely gives it its authority?

The completest answer so far comes from South India.* There we have seen going forward since 1919 a definite attempt to construct a United Church in full detail: that is, to effect the union of Anglicans with what is known as the South India United Churches. The South India United Churches was a fellowship formed between five separate Missions in South India, namely, the London Missionary Society, the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, two Presbyterian Missions representing the Church of Scotland and the United Free Church of Scotland, and one Mission representing the Dutch Reformed Church in America. So we have here a scheme of Union between Anglicans, Presbyterians and Congregationalists.

The problem of the Ministry for this United Church was presented in the question whether they were to maintain a dual system of episcopally ordained and non-episcopally ordained Ministers? If not—and it seemed a pretence to talk of a Visibly United Church under such a dual system—how is the dual system to be avoided? It is suggested that there should be a form of commissioning all Ministers alike: in this Service of Commissioning, representatives of Anglicans, Presbyterians, Congregationalists should all alike take part and should each of them be an essential element. This, it is said, would effect the purpose which all desire, of including in the Commission of Ministers elements which may be considered to be lacking on one side or the other. A suggested form of service for the purpose is given.

At this point it is impossible to refrain from asking two plain questions:—First, Do Anglicans admit that there are lacking on their side elements which would be made good by the co-operation of Presbyterian and Congregationalist Ministers? Yes, it will be readily answered, “for the purpose of ministering in this larger united Communion.” But surely we are deceiving ourselves. That answer never touches the real issue. An Anglican when he is ordained Priest is commissioned with the words “Receive the Holy Ghost for the office and work of a Priest in the Church of God committed unto thee by the imposition of our

* Documents, pp. 278 ff.

hands”—not in the Church of England, nor the Church in South India. Is it conceivable then that he will now go through a form of Commissioning, which means one thing to him: not a Divine Commission to minister in the Church of God but a working arrangement, and means something different and far more than that to those who co-operate in the Service of Commissioning?

The same ambiguity, I almost call it an invitation to quibble, comes out still more prominently in the proposals made by those who were discussing ways of recognising the Ministry of the United Church in Canada. Can it really be said that the Anglican Form of Commission to Presbyterians (pp. 266-267) is anything but the Episcopal Ordination of a Presbyterian? The form is precisely the form of Anglican Ordination, with the substitution of the words “this Office” for “the office and work of a Priest in the Church of God.” It might well satisfy the Anglican that the Presbyterian had now been properly ordained, but that is precisely what the Presbyterian does not mean and would heartily resent. The Free Churches in England have therefore most pertinently asked, “Are we meaning the same thing when we talk of accepting a Commission from one another?” And no answer to that crucial question is forthcoming. At any rate we may be sure of one thing: no visible unity is worth having, indeed it would be shattered in a generation, if it is produced by diplomatic language and is the result of political arrangement. All parties must mean the same thing and know that they mean the same thing.

My second question raises the issue in its most acute form. The principle of the historic constitutional Episcopate being accepted by all, who is to give the Bishop his Commission? Do we insist upon the Anglican form of Consecration being sufficient? or do we admit that for the purpose of his Consecration it is *essential* that Presbyterians and Congregationalists should join in laying hands upon him?

I shall be told—“*Solvitur ambulando*: make a working arrangement and get it to work; then trust to time, or rather the guidance of the Holy Spirit, to bring us to be of one mind.” I should be less uneasy about the wisdom or truth of such counsel if all parties concerned were made fully aware at the start of each other's purposes and all alike were able to declare that they are prepared in this cause to abandon if need be what they now hold to be fundamental in their conception of their Ministry.

The documents relating to the Eastern Church and to the Roman give rise to thoughts which it is wiser at this stage to refrain from expressing.

III.

The general effect of the study of these documents is to lead almost irresistibly to the conclusion that the attempt to embody the spirit of unity in the structure of a visible Organisation is premature. It is beginning at the wrong end. The wise as well as the most straightforward course to pursue at this stage lies along a less heroic line. I do not believe that "interchange of pulpits" or "intercommunion" at this stage is going to carry us forward one whit: all the time in both there will be the same ambiguity, the same sense of unreality which has impressed itself upon me after my study of "the Documents." Such a line is always evading the real issue.

There are two fields in which we can all work together and find true fellowship: and no one will deny that work in both these fields needs to be done at this time more than any other.

First, we can collaborate in appreciating, in studying, in teaching the great fundamental truths of the Christian Faith. If in doing this we are brought face to face with the question—What do we mean by the Church? so much the better. We are more likely to work out the answer in sincerity and truth along the lines of thoughtful study to which all contribute than in any other way. Secondly, we can work together and indeed are working together in social service. Short of what is known as Sacramental Unity, nothing can be more encouraging to Christians, nothing will be more impressive than the witness of a Christendom so far united that all who confess Christ can stand together and work together for the highest ends of human living, for understanding and securing the principles of righteousness and justice in the relations between man and man, for social purity, for temperance, for the cause of the afflicted, the destitute, the fallen, for the effective administration of our laws, for establishing the principle of arbitration and conciliation as the means of settling disputes between nations.

If we get to work together whole-heartedly in these two fields, there is enough and to spare for us to do in this generation. Co-operation in study and enlightenment, co-operation in giving effect to the right values in social life: this is the surest step in the direction of getting rid of what Bernard Bosanquet used to call "stupidity." After our time, if we have done our work well, our successors will be in a better position to decide the question which after all is the most fundamental of all, namely—Are we or are we not mistaken in trying to represent a Spiritual Fellowship of all Christians in terms of a highly organised Visible Church?

HUBERT M. OXON:

SOME EARLY RECOLLECTIONS OF SARGENT.

"JOHN SARGENT dead!" Such was the news that fell on my astonished ears, as I listened to the Wireless about 10 p.m. on Wednesday, April 15th last. I felt as his contemporaries must have felt when they heard that the great Achilles was dead: that never more would the son of Thetis, in shining armour, dazzle the eye, never again would that wonderful voice thunder in the trenches! I was in bed and the darkness around me was crowded with recollections of the great artist as I remember him, in his youth, in Paris nearly fifty years ago. These, though few in number and unimportant enough, are perhaps worth recording at a time when even trifles about a great man are welcome.

In Art, many are called and few chosen: most art students fail entirely and drift, unless independent, into other occupations; a few succeed moderately or commercially by pleasing the mob-taste of their time, but, when dead, are immediately forgotten; sometimes a great artist achieves fame and a relative success only in old age, like Delacroix and Corot; the rarest type is that of the man who passes through life quite unnoticed—indeed, despised and rejected, but is acclaimed after death by tardy admirers as an epoch-making master, a Messiah of art! Cézanne is an example of this, who, alive, was despised by Zola as a *raté*, and introduced as Claude Lantier into *L'Oeuvre* as the typical incompetent artist who ends by hanging himself before his always unfinished canvas. Far different was the lot of Sargent. Few artists in the history of the world can have had so brilliant a career. Success came to him early, and never left him; his fame was universal, and, long before the end, he was recognised as the first of living painters. Even Death was a friend and took him suddenly, before his hand and eye had lost their cunning. "Happy," said Goethe, "is the man who in his youth knows what art is." This favourite son of Apollo not only knew what is beautiful, but could create it and did so with a prodigal profusion for over fifty years. If reincarnation be true, as seems by analogy probable, Sargent must have been an artist and a good one, in many former lives, to flower in the astonishing way he did in the avatar which has just ended.

The present writer came to know him for a little over a year in the autumn of 1878. I do not remember why I joined Carolus Duran's atelier for pupils; probably because, thanks to the generosity of French artists, who nearly always give their advice to students without fee or reward, it was a cost-price education, the only expenses being the studio, the models, and materials.

The studio was a big room with a top-light on the Boulevard Montparnasse, a little distance from the Hôtel des États-Unis where Sargent slept at that time. This was the second studio I remember: the first, for a short time, was, I think, in the Rue Notre Dame des Champs, where Sargent had his own studio. In the same building worked Bouguereau, who, I was told, judged the young American as a clever youth who was on the wrong track, which, no doubt, was true from the academic and oleographic point of view! The studio had no furniture but about thirty easels and stools, a platform for the model, and a stove for the winter months.

Sargent, as a Salon exhibitor or artist *arrivé*, did not come regularly to the studio, but attended much more frequently in the summer months of '79 than in the previous winter. He had a great reputation already in the American colony, a *Tu Marcellus eris!* for, in '78, he exhibited a "Beach at Cancale," which I saw in his studio, and, in '79, a portrait of Carolus Duran looking, as some wag said, like a fashionable dentist. Duran's baptismal name was Charles Durand, but he early discovered that Carolus Duran is much more romantic, and always signed his paintings thus.

I first met Sargent in the master's own studio, which was open to the visits of his pupils on a Thursday morning, I think once a month. At my first visit, I met a tall, burly, and genial young American with whom I soon got into conversation, and we went round the studio and discussed the pictures together. In the centre, in a position of honour, handsomely framed, was a beautiful oil painting of a woman's head, a study for a ceiling Duran had recently painted. It was blonde and silvery, not at all like Duran's solider and heavier touch, and hotter colouring. I was delighted with it and said, "This is the most beautiful thing I have seen here!" Sargent laughingly replied, "I'm glad you like it, as I painted it!" This puzzled me, as the study was visibly signed "Carolus Duran," so I asked him to explain this. "Oh," he replied, "Duran signed it as a compliment to me; he did add one or two touches, but it's practically my work." It would be interesting to know where this study now is, and if the possessor knows who really painted it.

I remember on a similar visit to the master's studio, Sargent pointed out to me, among other visitors, a beautiful woman about thirty, in deep mourning, as the fiancée of Henri Regnault, the painter of "Execution without Judgment" and "Salome" in the Louvre. Although exempt from war service as a distinguished Salon medalist, when the outbreak of the Franco-German war of 1870 found him painting in Morocco, he at once rushed to the front,

and with a bullet in his brain just outside the walls of Paris, is believed to have been the last man to perish in that war. I remember some artists saying, what folly it was to throw away thus a life so valuable to his country, but I did not think so: his life was a greater gift to France than any picture he could have painted, and recalls some words of an Irish poet, Norah Hopper: "The one false word of life is 'Ichabod.' The glory is not departed—the glory is gone before, and is hidden with God."

Sargent's presence in the public studio was always agreeable because, besides seeing his wonderful eye and hand actually at work from the life, his prestige was such that, although only twenty-three, the class was much quieter and the concentration on the work greater, and, best of all from the Anglo-Saxon point of view, the oppressively sultry and Rabelaisian conversation became much cooler and decanter.

I believe that Sargent would have preferred to live and work in Paris, and that, in that more exacting atmosphere, he would have been a greater artist than he became with us; but he wished to avoid any rivalry with his master, who was the fashionable portrait painter of the Latin races, both in Europe and America.

Allowing for the difference in age, he was four-and-a-half years my senior, and putting aside his genius for painting, much more an *homme du monde*. He was always very kind and friendly to me, and I was free to visit his studio when I liked after his working hours. He was a great lover of music and had a piano in his studio, on which he played well as a diversion from his painting. The only thing, however, I remember after so many years was a love-song, written and, I believe, composed by an early French King, in which the refrain was in droll contrast to the religious and dirge-like accompaniment. For a music lover he had the curious idea that music is an inferior art to painting and sculpture: but to some of us music will always be in its emotional appeal the art of arts, at once the most *inspired* and the most *human*. Edmond de Goncourt in his Journal confesses that, rationalist as he was, religious music often carried him off his feet into regions of awe and wonder; but he was too French of the eighteenth century to have felt the same appeal in the frescoes of the Sistine. There was, besides many printings and a Japanese suit of armour, a large scrap-book full of drawings by him, in which I saw, for the first time, a pencil portrait of Goethe, who was later to be my "master of those who know" and "sea of wisdom." In 1879 he visited Spain. On his return, I remember seeing in his studio some of the work he did there, and copies of Velasquez, of one of those in which one could count the brush-strokes: I said, "I suppose you hadn't time to finish it?" "On the contrary," he replied, "it is to

the best of my ability just what I saw in the original." He had made a beautiful copy in oils of the famous "Wax Head of a Girl" at Lille; one day, I found him beginning a copy of it for some friend and he told me it was much harder to copy his own work than to copy nature. At that time, I remember, his particular admirations were Velasquez, Goya, Frans Hals, and Paul Baudry's decorations at the Opera. He was, like Delacroix, a great reader, and more intellectual than artists usually are; the only books, however, that I remember his praising were *Madame Bovary* and Fromentin's *Une Année dans le Sahel* and *Un Été dans le Sahara*, partly because, like Delacroix, he had been there himself; also *Les Maîtres d'Autrefois*, a masterly study of the Flemish and Dutch schools. He told me that one of his sisters has as much talent for art as himself, but that she would not do the work necessary to develop it.

His generosity and hospitality were a proverb: I remember an American saying to me, "If you are ever hard up and want a dinner, you have only to call on Sargent a little before the dinner time and he will infallibly invite you, if not engaged out." Fortunately, I never was hard up in this way. I did dine with him once, and still remember his delightful conversation. I recall his telling me that he wanted to paint a picture of the burning of Shelley's body on the seashore at Lerici. Now, I had recently read in a newspaper that Gérôme was painting or about to paint this very subject; Sargent was annoyed to find his subject annexed by an older and more famous artist. If Gérôme did paint it, I have not since heard of it, or seen any reproduction. Sargent, with his beautiful sense of colour and fine eye for landscape, would have done it much better. One day, I was looking at a sketch-book he had filled in Spain and, with his usual generosity, and without the slightest hint on my part, or even idea, he invited me to choose the one I liked best as a little gift, so I chose one of a pretty girl, seated in a chair with a fan in her hand. Though relatively a trifle, I gave it later, with a splendid drawing by Augustus John which I picked up in the Caledonian Market for a song, to a public collection, where they are as secure from injury as they can be in this world. I remember seeing, knocking about in the first public studio, a life-size head of himself which, I do not doubt, he would have given me had I offered to buy it, for, like Gainsborough, he was that rare thing, a born *Giver*!

All Americans have a sense of humour, cultivated well on the surface, like a Frenchman's good manners, not so recondite as often with an Englishman or a Scot. I do not remember Sargent as amusing, though he was in no sense heavy or over-serious, but I have recently read a story which does strike me as humorous.

A lady thought the nose in her portrait too long and begged him to alter it: "Oh," he replied, "a trifle like that you can alter yourself, when you get it home!"

Though success came to him early and never left him, he was never really popular, and, like his compatriot Whistler, was essentially a painter's painter and caviare to the public. Every artist of genius, i.e., *original*, has to create the taste that is to appreciate him. I can give two illustrations of this: when the Chantrey Bequest bought his exquisite "Carnation Lily, Lily Rose" in 1886, I remember standing near the picture to enjoy the chorus of surprise and disgust with which the Academy visitors greeted this shocking abuse of a fund left to encourage genuine art! The second was at the Leighton sale at Christie's, when tiny old landscape sketches by the President sold for twenty to thirty pounds and more, and Sargent's beautiful sketch for his Boston *Astarté* sold for £10! I mentioned this later to a friend, who knew the dealer, who had intended to bid up to £200 for it, but the stupidity of the connoisseurs and public gave it him at *un prix dérisoire*.

Of Sargent's American contemporaries in Paris, I remember seeing the late Thayer, an exquisite painter quite unknown in England, paint from the life; Kenyon Cox, a fine draughtsman, who has written one or two books about art, I knew by sight, but not to speak to. Curtis, a fine colourist, Coolidge, Spenser, Hinckley, and E. J. Gregory were amateurs in the sense of being financially independent; the last-named, in his initials, was identical with our E. J. Gregory, R.A., for whose work in the *Graphic* in the seventies Sargent had a great admiration. I forget if Gregory's "Dawn," which he purchased later, was exhibited in the Paris Exhibition of 1878, but I believe it was. Gregory told me that he received scores of letters from American friends, who thought the *Graphic* drawings were his work. I only remember two noted Englishmen in Paris: Lathangue, R.A., I met once in the École des Beaux Arts, drawing from the antique to enter the School, I believe. I told him a story about some recent distinguished Academy student and he modestly admitted that he was the man I was talking about.

I remember one of the wealthy Americans showing me a photo of a charming little girl whose name was Beatrice Cenci (an unlucky name, surely!), his niece, the mother being the Princess Cenci. This little girl may be a grandmother now!

The great Condé once made a bet—and won it—that he would correctly guess the profession or trade of about 90 per cent. of a hundred men who should cross the Pont Neuf in a given time. I believe that Sargent would have been one of his failures. Great artists have often been very handsome and distinguished.

looking men. Millais, indeed, had a theory that an artist should be a handsome man and that the physical beauty would find a correspondence in his work. Millais himself as a young man, Holman Hunt tells us, looked like an angel; but, with prosperity, he got a John Bull Farmer look as in Frank Holl's portrait, of which he complained that it did not do justice to the poet that he fancied still lingered in him. Sargent looked like a stock-broker: Scawen Blunt, in his Diary, says he looked like a prosperous mechanic. I think this helps to explain the lack of beauty in many of his portraits. Velasquez and Vandyck were very distinguished looking men, and we do not find one ill-bred looking person anywhere in their work, or in Titian's, apart from that ruffian blackmailer, Aretino; not even in Velasquez' series of Court dwarfs, where El Primo has the dignity of a Spanish duke. Whereas, when we come to Goya the *parvenu*, it is impossible to imagine anything more *canaille* than his royal family and many of the Spanish aristocracy, so inferior to our own at that time, if his portraits are to be trusted. The difference, we believe, did not lie in the sitters but in the artists. Art has been described as *homo additus naturae*—man added to nature. An artist can only put into painting what he has in himself. Someone asked Dickens if there was fun down at Broadstairs: "Yes," he replied, "if you take it down with you."

Sargent's father was a doctor. Heredity, in this case, is interesting and suggestive. The father was familiar with the outward signs of physical disease, and in the son this became an uncanny faculty for diagnosing the diseases of the soul. Leighton, again, was the son and grandson of two Court physicians to the Czar, and this works out in the polished and lifeless monotony of the President's essentially academic art. Sargent was the greatest painter and in some ways the greatest artist of his time, but it is not given to a mortal to unite every virtue—*on a les défauts de ses qualités*. He lacked *imagination*; to realise this, one has only to look at his public decorations in America. The six Hebrew prophets at Boston are ludicrously inadequate, just paid models posing in blankets; a far cry from the awe-inspiring, God-inspired Supermen of the Sistine Chapel; and his war-picture for the Widener Memorial Library is what the French call "*pompier*," a thing depressing to contemplate. I prefer even his more ill-natured portraits, for they, at least, are alive and are admirable illustrations of the Seven Deadly Sins as embodied in the polite society of our time! A critic, with much wit and insight, once suggested that the one thing lacking to the Wallace Gallery is a guillotine as the crowning symbol of the ultimate towards which the aristocratic art of the French eighteenth

century was culminating from the charming, but artificial, Watteau to the sentimental corruption of Greuze and the frank lasciviousness of Boucher and Fragonard. I was once looking at the miniatures in a famous gallery, and I had a strong intuition that the men who collected this corrupt art must have bought other pictures of a quite unexhibitable nature, and I found later that it was so. Now there never was anything unclean in Sargent's art, but I do believe that the competitive, egotistical, acquisitive and luxurious society which he painted was essentially decadent and averted from the Divine, eating, drinking, and making merry like the people before the Flood, and, like them, on the verge of the Cataclysm predicted by Ruskin, William Morris, Ibsen, Tolstoi and many other prophets, which promises, unless God intervenes and the madness of Nebuchadnezzar is healed, to destroy our entire European civilisation. "Heaven," said an English mystic, "is first a temper and then a place." "When men are more spiritually evolved," said Coleridge, with the fine intuition of a poet, "they will know that the Sermon on the Mount is the expression of scientific truths." This society seems to have got on his nerves and to have made Sargent a recluse. "He was," says Sir William Orpen, "shy and extremely nervous. His conversation was jerky, and his actions were more jerky still." This shows a physical degeneration: he was very unlike that when I knew him! To be pestered by bores and autograph-hunters must be unpleasant to a man to whom art was a sacred trust and his time extremely valuable; but we do not think his way with the autograph-hunter was a graceful one. Longfellow devoted much time to writing autographs and we know a famous poet who is equally amiable. We are told, for we have not seen it, that he sent out to such applicants a curious stamped "*Damn!*" in spluttered ink facsimile. The same spirit is shown in a story told by W. S. Blunt in his Diary that Sargent had a screen in his studio, behind which he would retire occasionally when bored by sitters and relieve his feelings by putting out his tongue at them! One cannot imagine Titian or Vandyck or Velasquez acting thus.

Since his death, I have seen a flood of journalistic flattery, some denying that his portraits were often cruel. This is absurd. Except Goya, whom he greatly admired, there never was, as Mr. D. S. MacColl pointed out long ago, an eminent artist with such east-wind aspects, such a prosecuting attorney's eye! Again, the centenarian Garcia, brother of the great Malibran who perished in her prime, cut off by a tragical accident: a man who had seen three generations of men answer the riddle of the Sphinx and pass into the great Silence: and all Sargent saw was a tired, bored old man in a hard cold light, entirely lacking in the dignity,

mystery and pathos that Rembrandt always saw in venerable eld. The portrait of the late Earl of Wemyss, who was in Ruskin's opinion the finest specimen of the Caucasian he had ever seen, was much finer: but it was *age defied*, not accepted with resignation, Ajax as an old man again defying the lightning! I have seen a reproduction of a water-colour by him, of crocodiles sleeping on a bank, delightful creatures in their way, and more sympathetic than many of his portraits. His genius had something martial, arrogant and Prussian about it; tenderness is exceedingly rare: it is present, however, in the beautiful portrait of Alfred Wertheimer, the scientist who died young; his relation to Wertheimer *père* is one of those mysteries of heredity, like Shelley and his father, which surprise us at times. Again, compare Whistler, so sensitive, elusive and tender in his art, as a man so blatant and cruel, so eager for *réclame*, with Sargent in every way the reverse, a shy, sensitive recluse abhorring publicity, in his painting "Achilles shouting in the Trenches."

Sargent had many points of resemblance to Gainsborough; his love of music so great that, early in 1885, he thought of giving up painting for music; his extraordinary generosity—I doubt if any artist of his time gave away so much; his versatility—he could paint anything; and his amazing virtuosity. I think, however, that the Englishman had a far greater sense of human beauty and of human sympathy; his women and children, for a certain magical intensity of feeling, are sometimes unsurpassed, I might say unrivalled, in the whole history of art. Such was the lovely oval bust portrait of Lady Mulgrave, which was bought by the famous Paris collector, M. Groult, for 10,000 guineas at Christie's—a *Mozart in painting*—which, I hope, will adorn the Louvre some day. And, at the Old Masters, I remember a similarly magnificent oval portrait of a Miss Clarges, of which the critic of the *Gazette des Beaux Arts*, Philippe Burty I believe, said it was a Northern Joconde, a masterpiece, to see which was alone worth the journey from Paris! Sargent hardly ever painted a child, and evidently did not love children. In his work there is nothing to match the adorable portraits of children, of mothers and children, which are the peculiar glory of Reynolds, Gainsborough, Romney, and of Lawrence in the Calmady children.

The final impression is that Sargent, though the greatest painter of his time, was a portrait painter of an uncertain quality. If his portrait of Joachim be compared with that by G. F. Watts, the latter seems to me incomparably finer. Sargent was often as mannered as El Greco in his excessive elongation of the limbs and of the hands and feet; even as a painter of men, I think that Gainsborough's noble full-length of Dr. Schomberg in the

National Gallery is nearer to Velasquez than anything the American ever did. Sargent, as a portrait painter, was not in the same class as Titian, Holbein, Velasquez, Rembrandt, or Vandyck; but a little below, with Franz Hals, Goya, and Reynolds. Franz Hals, it is true, is a magician of virtuosity, but he could not paint a child, a living, breathing miracle on canvas as Velasquez did, and Vandyck in his portrait of the Royal Children at Windsor. I incline to think that his landscapes and interiors, like the wonderful picture in the Diploma Gallery and the "Courtyard in Grenada," that has recently gone to Melbourne, are the most perfect things that he painted. We learn from Aristotle, or some other ancient writer, that among the beauty-loving and idealising Greeks there was an artist who went in for realism, or nature in her ordinary and ugly moods, but the Greeks did not think much of him. He should have lived in our day, when Bolshevik principles have invaded art, and ugliness is all the fashion. Sargent's sympathies seem to have been more pantheistic than human; in this he is at one with Japanese art. Man, the ideal man made in the image of God—"the true Shekinah is Man," said St. Augustine—was not to him, as it was to the Greeks and Michelangelo, Creation's centre and flower. Nature charmed him by her beauty and indifference. As Schopenhauer wittily said, "the peculiar charm of nature is that she has no opinion of us."

The warm-hearted Gainsborough, when dying, sent for Reynolds (see Northcote's *Conversations with James Ward*), who had not treated him generously, to be reconciled, and spoke the immortal words, "We are all going to Heaven, and Vandyck is of the company!" Sargent has now joined his spiritual kin in the Elysian fields, Velasquez and Goya, Franz Hals and Tiepolo. Death was kinder to him than to our English painter, for it took him by surprise, the true euthanasia—that desired by Mrs. Barbauld in the beautiful lines which so great a poet as Wordsworth envied her:

Life! we've been long together
Through pleasant and through cloudy weather.
'Tis hard to part when friends are dear:
Perhaps 'twill cost a sigh, a tear;
Then steal away, give little warning,
Choose thine own time.
Say not good-night, but in some brighter clime
Bid me Good-morning.

HAMILTON MINCHIN.

"LEVERHULME."

LORD LEVERHULME was a near neighbour of mine at Hampstead—and he delighted to be visited on Sunday afternoons, especially if I brought some of my children with me. He was a small, foursquare man: he gave an impression of sturdy robustness that seemed to have no relation to his age. He had an expression of boyish cheerfulness, and he scarcely ever uttered a word that did not add to the gaiety of his surroundings.

He was stone-deaf. An elaborate machinery of telephonic receivers enabled him sometimes to catch a sentence or two. But the effort was too great for easy social intercourse, and the company soon preferred listening to the flow of excellent, pointed stories that would often pour from him in an increasing stream. That was when he was in the mood. At other times he would remain quite silent, absorbed by his own cheerful thoughts. He had the good luck to be happy, and the courage to confess it. But he was happy because he was good—and his thoughts were sweet and innocent. That revealed itself, almost naïvely, when he broke into speech after one of his prolonged, cheerful silences. At other times his confessions would be embarrassingly frank—especially on his deafness. I remember attending a great dinner-party at his Hampstead house. Lord Leverhulme sat in a large, solitary chair at the head of the table, and his sister, who is equally deaf, at the other end. He was silent throughout the dinner, but his smile bathed us in a pleasant radiance. It had the effect of gracious speech. Then, suddenly, over the dessert, he really spoke—"It is a great advantage to be deaf," he said, beaming on us all, "because you can't hear anything that is said against you." We all hastened to protest that we were far removed from such a crime. But he heard nothing, and, having spoken, relapsed again into a prolonged silence of smiles. Then once more he broke the silence: "Another advantage of being deaf," he said, "is in business. You can form your own plans, and need not listen to anyone's advice." Again he smiled and went silent.

I really think that he was only thinking aloud. Sensitive to his exclusion from the conversation, he was putting before himself the advantages of his defect. He was manfully fighting the cloud of depression that always hangs over deafness. That was his real greatness. He fought all the time—fought against failure, against grief, against physical feelings. His life was one prolonged fight—from the moment that he rose in the early dawn to the last minute of the day. He was a very good speaker, full of good stories, especially after dinner. They were always new—those

stories. I never heard him repeat himself. But he was at his best when he was talking of his workpeople at Port Sunlight. He loved his people. After all, he had lived their life himself. He was proud of his origins. I heard him once give an account of his success to our little literary club, The Whitefriars. "I travelled for my father in soap. Other people's soap. They took half the profits. So it suddenly occurred to me—'Why not make the soap ourselves?' I asked my father if I could do so—in the backyard." His father assented—and there, in that little backyard in Bolton, were the beginnings of Sunlight Soap. He never quite lost this spirit of adventure and initiative. He never relapsed into the rich man's habit of repose. His motto was: "On, and always on."

Take the MacFisheries, for instance: an enterprise which raised many doubts. "What does Leverhulme know of fish?" was the demand of his anxious shareholders. He used to explain it thus: "I was staying by the sea. One day I began thinking. No rent. All the year crop, inexhaustible. A badly, expensively conducted trade. The fishermen poorly paid; the middlemen gorging. In London, poor, dirty shops. Why not a service from sea to shop?" So he did; and although he met incredible difficulties, and found the fishery trade a far more complicated affair than he had ever suspected, he stuck to it, and fought it through. Of course he was quite aware of the individual sufferings produced by such a thorough reorganisation of a great trade—the little men who had to go under; even the big men that suffered. But once convinced that he was acting for the good of the community, his conscience was at rest. The people wanted soap. So he gave them good soap. Here was fish. The people wanted fish. The sea gave fish. Bring them together. That was the supreme duty of capital. It was its supreme use.

Leverhulme was as much opposed to idle money as to idle men. Work was his gospel: work for the metal as for the man. That is what kept all his great concerns simmering and bubbling: sent a constant movement through Levers Limited; kept his shareholders constantly on tenterhooks, but always in the end, happy. He was no half-hearted apologist for the Capitalist system. He believed in it with all the fervour of his ardent soul. He was almost a fanatic in that cause. He was always ready to speak for it, even to the hottest Socialistic audiences. I remember presiding over one of these lectures at Hampstead. The Socialists attended in great force. It was a crowded meeting. His speech was always smiling and genial—but also intensely provocative. The Socialists glared, and prepared questions. I was just about to announce questions when Leverhulme said to me quietly: "It

is useless for me to stay. I could not hear a word of their questions. I am going. Good-bye!" He was gone—and I was left alone with the tigers!

There was no more delightful host in London than this little Bolton grocer-man, this self-made and self-educated producer of soap; this man with the short, quick, monosyllabic speech and the "aitch-free" accent. I remember a little dinner he gave to a body of preachers and speakers from America. We sat down to small tables. He presided over one at the window. At the end of each course he rose and made a short speech, always pointed with a good story. But how difficult to recall the tone and temper of those little speeches, so cheerful, so kindly, so sunny, so hopeful. "Sunlight." That is the true word of his life. Those utterances were indeed like rays of sunshine.

Last time I visited him he took me down to see his ball-room—a long room with a swinging floor, which he had built partly for himself. Two young ladies had come to stay, chiefly for him to dance with. He clasped one of them and proceeded to march down the long room with the solemn two-step of these days, rigid, precise, very serious. He was not a dancer. He lacked the genius of easy movement. He took dancing as a duty—fatal! He gave his body no rest. He was as cruel to it as St. Francis. He defied death, that oldest of fighters, with its unbroken record of victories. He had no intention to die when death took him. All his talk was about the future. He intended to live on. Well! Perhaps that is the best way to approach the remorseless river. "It had to coom. I lived my life." I can hear him saying it.

He collected a large and interesting gallery of pictures at his Hampstead house, although I never felt quite confident as to several. A fine portrait of himself by De Laszlo looked down the full length of his ball-room. His rough treatment of the Orpen and John pictures really showed his view of modern English portraiture. He could never understand the modern artist's idea of seizing a portrait commission as an opportunity of insulting the victim. It clashed with his sense of trade. He paid the artists: it was their business to do their best for him. If not, he hit back; for he was ever a fighter. We came across this side of him at Hampstead over his offer to the Borough. He possessed an enclosed piece of heath called "The Paddock." He offered to give it up to London. But, in return, he asked for a small "right of way." The negotiation went on over many years, and raised deep passions. But what I chiefly remember is that at every critical stage he would end the argument by saying: "Then I will certainly build over 'The Paddock.'" It was his only fighting point—and he used it for all it was worth. But he never built on "The Paddock."

A man so combative was certain to provoke combat; and in every public meeting he was denounced by the Socialists as the worst of the Capitalists. There they made a mistake. The attack did not hurt, or even anger, him. "They can't help it," he would say, when, at last, a rumour of their attacks reached through his deafness. But it divided the working-classes. For those who knew Lord Leverhulme, whether at Port Sunlight or elsewhere, knew that he was a true friend of their class. He shortened their hours and raised their wages. He knew them personally. If you walked through Port Sunlight with him he seemed to know half the children. At the end of his life he carried out a bold and far-reaching scheme of profit-sharing. He preached always more leisure and light for the manual workers—a six-hours' day, playing-fields, and galleries. He was a great housing reformer. He was also a convinced and eager Radical.

Leverhulme was rather a rare type of the rich man in England. He had no wish to retire from business: he cared little for the life of the country-house and the countryside. He lived very simply, except that he loved space and big houses. He did not gamble or run racehorses. What money he could spare from his great enterprises he gave freely away to the public, as when he made to London the memorable gift of Stafford House, or to Port Sunlight the gift of the Art Gallery. In all these respects he was more like an American rich man than an Englishman—in the sense of regarding his money as a public trust; of his great trading interests as bound up with government. He did not hesitate to criticise Sir Hugh Clifford. Whenever Free Trade was threatened, he stepped forward into the ring. It was at such moments that we received the biggest subscriptions for the Hampstead Liberal Association.

That great philosopher, Auguste Comte, sketched at the end of his greatest work a picture of a modern State governed by capitalists. Few of us would desire such a state of affairs. But if Auguste Comte's idea ever seems puzzling, then a few men like Leverhulme may supply the explanation. For he had the bigness of soul to perceive that the making of wealth, in its largest sense, is a high social function; and that only in a well-ordered State can money be made well.

HAROLD SPENDER.

RUSSIA REVISITED.

I HAVE been asked to record my personal impressions of a recent visit to Russia, in comparison with two former visits in the last three years. Russia is shrouded in mystery at the present time and one is always being asked for "the truth" about it. But clearly "the truth" is impossible to know about a country so vast, so varied and so changing as is the Russian Republic eight years after a volcanic revolution such as that of 1917, and it is impossible to shake down into a neat black or white picture the conflicting impressions which crowd in on one on every hand during a visit. To a keen pacifist like the writer, the folly and wickedness of attempting to cure the ills of a people by forceful revolution is a firm conviction, and is only emphasised by realising more fully than before the cruel suffering which comes as an inevitable result. But the evil has been bruited abroad on every hand, whereas the good has been little spoken of, and as this paper deals only with personal experiences, I make no apology for dwelling especially on the hopeful side, having seen much of this myself, and being convinced that for the sake of the future it is essential that it should be realised.

Both in January, 1922, and again last winter, I visited the district of Buzuluk in the Gubernia of Samara, where the Society of Friends has worked almost continuously since 1916, and with the help of the English and American workers on the spot, I was enabled to learn the true conditions under which the people were living, far better than as merely a casual visitor. These journeys, with an intermediate one to Moscow in 1923, gave almost a recapitulation of the history of civilisation, so dramatic had been the improvement in conditions. In 1922 the journey from Warsaw to Moscow took me four nights, and that from Moscow to Buzuluk six nights, whilst on my last visit these journeys lasted about thirty-six hours each. If taken in the so-called International carriages they can be made in the greatest comfort, except for the fact that by late winter, air enclosed by double windows since the autumn is not very invigorating! In one respect there is little change. Even the weekly train which takes passengers by the shortest and best route—that from Warsaw—carries a mere handful of passengers. In my own case they were most friendly companions, so that, as probably the only foreigner on the train, I was helped through the simple customs' formalities with much kindness.

But the greatest change is in the famine district, which, from a land where death reigned supreme, has now become practically a normal place. The tragic sight of children whose one thought in life was their hunger, and whose wailing could be heard everywhere, is a nightmare of the past which one can scarcely believe

ever to have existed. Instead, one sees children laughing and happy, as all children should be, though malaria as well as famine has left its effect in countless cases. The medical equipment, for instance, is on quite a different level. At the time of the famine the Soviet hospitals had miserable food, no bed-clothes, practically no medicines or hospital requisites, and seemed only to accentuate the misery they could not alleviate. Now, though there remains much room for improvement, they are real hospitals with special departments for the various medical and surgical needs, and in particular the one in Buzuluk is a centre of much help to the people. Happily, the Friends have been able to supply very considerable quantities of drugs, instruments, bandages, etc., all of which are otherwise exceedingly difficult to obtain. They co-operate very closely with the Soviet Government authorities in their work. The laboratory started by the Friends, who trained some workers in the examination of specimens, is now carried on by the Soviet and gives free advice to about twenty cases a day.

But the Friends are concerned mainly with child welfare work, seeking to eradicate as far as possible the baneful after-effects of all that the children have suffered. And so, in malaria, children's and babies' clinics—42 all told in the county—Russian doctors, nurses and assistants are working under Anglo-American supervision to care for these children. It is a happy experience to spend an hour or two watching them come and solemnly tell their woes to the doctor. The children are accompanied sometimes by their mother but equally often by their father, either of whom shows most anxious solicitude on the child's behalf. These clinics are oases in the dirt and ignorance in which many villages have been steeped from time immemorial, but the popularity of the clinics, midwives' and hospital wards organised by the Friends is a healthy sign. The children's appreciation of the hospitals was amusingly shown whilst I was there by a young rascal who, having recovered from pneumonia, was sent home, not at all to his pleasure. Two days later his mother brought him back in great anxiety, because he was quite deaf. But the deafness, a successful ruse, disappeared on arrival and he was accorded the privilege of two days more in bed!

To return to the clinics, in no respect, perhaps, is the ignorance to which I have referred more dangerous than in the treatment of maternity cases, which, in the hands of the village "babkas," is fraught with cruelty and superstition. In a small Soviet hospital I was told that quite recently they had treated seven serious cases of women injured by these methods, and a baby I saw at one of our clinics was the seventh and only surviving child of its parents. It is not to be wondered at that, in some areas, only 50 per cent. of the babies survive. But the Russian

love of children is typified by the fact that the Buzuluk Babies' Orphanage has recently been given up, more homes for the children having been found in the neighbourhood than there were babies needing such provision.

This is, alas, not yet true of the homes for older children. In the whole county, with a population of about 350,000, there are still 2,000 children in homes and colonies. I visited many of these; they vary considerably with the personality of the managers, for it is as great a problem to find people of devotion and ability to fill such posts under the Soviet as under any other administration, and this difficulty was frequently pointed out to me by Russians. It is very clear that these qualities are abundantly needed in taking charge of the children in Russia, for no punishment is allowed, and patience and love are the only weapons that may be used. Perhaps it is this which makes the children give their wonderful fearless welcome to the stranger, a welcome which assumes that a human being is a friend. This still held true when I came upon them without the slightest introduction, when none of their elders were present. Yet these children had not enough warm clothes to allow them to go out, and hardly any could read or write, so life had not given them a very rosy time. I saw a charming instance of childish generosity in a large foundling home in Moscow, where the roughest children imaginable taken from the streets are cared for. They were giving away their precious white bread to a stray puppy, and I was told that they could not be persuaded to desist, for, they said, they had been taken off the street themselves, and the dogs, too, needed help! Nor does discipline in the better schools appear to offer very great difficulties: I asked the head-mistress of a large school in Moscow whether she had much trouble with it, and her sole complaint was that the children *would* whistle and she considered it was bad for their lungs!

But to return to the Buzuluk orphans. It is hoped, in time, that the older children will also be adopted in peasants' homes, for the policy of the Government is now inclining to this course. Each child will receive his citizen's share of land, which will be tax-free for one year, and he will receive free schooling as well as a grant of about £5 given to his foster-parents. But lack of money is at present holding up the scheme, as the Government do not, as in the case of the babies, feel that they can dispense with this help to the adopting parents. The continued bad harvests are trying the resources of this part of the country severely. Each year since the great famine, lack of snow, or drought and scorching winds have resulted in a small yield, and were it not for Government help there would be much suffering. But a "hunger loan" which in the case of Buzuluk amounts to about

six roubles per person, has been sent to the affected provinces. It is to be used for children's food, for communal work such as bridge-building, for preventing the sale of cattle for food, as took place on so extensive a scale during the famine and for providing seed-corn. When I was in Buzuluk the big open-air market, to which peasants come from all the country round, was startled by the order that no grain might be sold to individuals. It was almost all bought by the Government to ensure the provision of seed-corn, and only after this was assured were private purchases allowed.

But the peasants are learning from adversity, and I was told that they are showing far greater initiative in varying their crops. To very many of them the war has brought an extension of their world beyond their own village which so often formed their horizon before. In particular much greater stress is being laid upon vegetables, and last year when corn failed so grievously the vegetables were a great success. That the people are to some extent recovering economically is shown by the fact that they are making many more purchases, and the shops of Buzuluk, to one who saw their practical nonentity three years ago, are a revelation. In the "Co-operative," where, owing to the Government subsidy, prices are lower than in the private shops, almost every necessity of life seems obtainable.

It is sad to learn that in the matter of education the pre-war standard has not been reached and that there are not nearly enough schools to accommodate the children. A village school which I visited was filled to overflowing, while the teacher was explaining the newly introduced metric system. Adult education appears to have advanced more rapidly, and Lunacharski, the Commissar for Education, told me that illiteracy is practically abolished in the army. Great stress also is laid on quite small classes for adults, as the far greater difficulty of learning after childhood has passed is realised. He also told me that some of the minorities in far away places have hitherto had no written language and that the Soviet is reducing their speech to writing and presenting them with an alphabet. During my visit the educational ideas of the central government were being discussed by a great gathering of teachers from all over the Union of Soviet Republics, a microcosm of Russia which gave one a wonderful sense of her position as a link between east and west.

I have spoken of the medical work in the country which the Society of Friends is carrying on in co-operation with the Soviet medical authorities. This friendly co-operation has existed also with the officials in Moscow whose aim is to weave a medical net all over the country, which shall not only cure illness, but also prevent it. They desire that medical advice shall be free and available to everyone, though workers take precedence till there is

sufficient for all. As in other departments, Moscow is to be the seat of model institutions which are to be copied as soon as possible in the provinces. There one can visit the great Salanki hospital, presided over by Madame Lebedeva, the head of the Maternity and Child-Welfare Department of the Government. The hospital is an old building of the time of Catherine, ill-adapted to modern ideas. Lack of money is obvious everywhere, but lack of ideas is not noticeable, and it is wonderful to see the exhibition of posters and models designed to show even to the illiterate the proper way to guard their own and their children's health.

Or one can visit the quite newly-established school for 400 nurses where a beginning is being made of spreading the essential knowledge of how doctor's orders should be carried out. In Russia the place of doctor or nurse is often filled by a "feldscher" or half-trained doctor only, and it is interesting to learn that whereas before the revolution there were more than twice as many "feldschers" as doctors, the numbers are now said to be reversed. Another interesting medical experiment is the establishment of night sanatoria in nine different parts of Moscow, where incipient cases of tuberculosis can be treated. By giving the patients good meals night and morning and providing airy sleeping quarters, it is hoped they will gain sufficient strength to resist the disease. The question of tuberculosis is one of the most serious that Moscow has to face. I learned from a doctor in large practice that he estimates the incidence as from 60 to 80 per cent. of the inhabitants. Owing to the lack of new buildings for so many years, and the advent of the large Government personnel, the overcrowding in Moscow is appalling and there is no capital with which to overcome it. A high Government official told me that he had absolutely failed to find the three rooms which he desired for himself, his wife and his daughter. Yet every cubic foot is rationed most strictly. You receive air space and pay rent according to your profession, varying from a student who pays very little, or a professor who needs to work at home and therefore is accorded more room, to a "Nep man" who may pay seven or eight times as much as the Professor. The Nep men are having a hard time at present, and I heard of one who had to pay 75 per cent. of his profits in taxes. Several teachers told me that there was less demand for private lessons this year than last, a fact which they attributed largely to this cause.

Many interesting experiments are taking place in various departments of life which might well be described, such, for instance, as the Peasants' House, a sort of rough hotel where peasants can obtain expert advice and visit an exhibition of agricultural machinery, seeds, etc., or the orchestra which plays with

amazing unanimity, though unaided by a conductor; or again the revolutionary theatre, where scenery is superseded by rapidly shifting wooden walls, and where, as it seemed to me, noise, boredom and vulgarity took the place of art!

It is very unfortunate that vodka is gradually reasserting its power. While nothing above 20 per cent. strength was allowed previously, now 30 per cent. is in vogue and rumour says 40 per cent. is coming. The brewing of "samagonka" or illicit alcohol is very severely punished, and we saw a man in prison who seemed to think it a good joke that he was undergoing a sentence of 3½ years for having brewed sufficient to fill ninety bottles! The prisons which I visited were full of interest. They are far more ramshackle, dirty, and ill-ordered than ours, but there is far less sense of lock-and-key, and far more of interest going on. In fact, from the Sokolniki prison, where we spent many hours, we brought away samples of soap, oatmeal and straw-boxes, all products of the prisoners' work. The orchestra and chorus of prisoners would have done credit to any music school, and the doctor told me that the men's health had improved greatly since they had been employed in these ways. In some respects, indeed, prison seems to have advantage over ordinary life, for food and shelter are assured and wages can be saved up. Ordinary life, one feels, is a hard business for the great majority of people. Unemployment looms—as in other countries—as an ever-present fear, and though I doubt if trustworthy figures can be obtained, I was told that it was increasing. Though prison may have its advantages, the fear of it does not add to the joy of life, and it seems rather difficult to know what may land one there. There are crimes unknown to us—of unconscious espionage, of selling without a permit, and, I am told, of dancing or card-playing in public. All this emphasises the war-mentality which has not yet cleared away.

A complex mass of experiments in every field of life is being carried out by a body of people who believe that out of these experiments will come vastly greater happiness for the mass of the people. In this transition period, however, they fear the power of any groups who may injure these experiments and the people fear the power which holds them. Suspicion and fear seem to me to be the great crimes of Europe to-day, and it is not to be expected that they should be absent from a revolutionary country. I say "crimes" advisedly, for I believe that they can be cured only by the moral change of accepting the law of love not merely as an ideal, but as the practical law. And yet withal, to my mind, there is a quite curious sense of well-being and hope amongst the people in Russia. Of course, *plus ça change, plus c'est la même chose*, and one can see in the Tcheka and the restriction of freedom of action in hundreds of ways, the inevitable descendant

of the cruelties of old days, but there is, too, a sense of change and experiment which makes one feel that one is present at the dawn of some new era which may be of immense importance to the world. We are too near to give judgment as to its future; we must have patience to see to what the turmoil of change will give place.

One thing seems to me obvious—that we and the Russians attach different moral weight to certain shortcomings both of individuals and of nations—in fact, our thermometer of good and evil is as different as Fahrenheit from Réaumur. For instance, I think that cruelty appears to us as a particularly black crime, whereas perhaps hypocrisy in Russian eyes is as strongly marked for reprobation. Not unnaturally each nation is judge for itself of its own and others' failings, and equally naturally holds its own sins to be but minor ones and far less serious than those of its neighbours. And yet one must sorrowfully realise that a picture of the black side of England truly portrayed would give us cause for much grief. Such a mirror of ourselves can only be given to us through foreign eyes, and the Russians, who are happily very frank, make one realise how shocked they are by many of our actions, when we have been thinking that we had the monopoly of such sentiments as to their own!

And the cure—the obvious cure I believe—is more knowledge of each other, more intercourse and more toleration until understanding produces mutual respect and friendship. And I cannot too strongly stress the danger which appears to me to lie in the present state of isolation in which Russia is placed. I am told that there are about thirty English residents in Moscow, and there is no correspondent of an English newspaper in the country, so that our news of it has to be gained as it were at the key-hole. Such a state of affairs is more in keeping with the Dark Ages, for are not thinking people everywhere realising more and more the essential unity of the family of nations and seeing the great danger to the body politic if even a black sheep is left outside? I would plead that, far from being a safe course, as is urged by the protagonists of this policy, every kind of danger which their fears conjure up is likely to be increased many times by it. It is impossible to prevent the great changes which are taking place in Russia to-day; and the only choice lies between an attempt to ostracise the country, to which the natural reaction can only be the turning towards us of an unfriendly face, and a friendship with frank recognition that this does not imply agreement in point of view. Is it not time that fear, mistrust, and suspicion gave way to the international gesture of generosity whose untried potency for good awaits the wisdom of man to put it into practice?

A. RUTH FRY.

HUGO GROTIUS, FOUNDER OF MODERN INTERNATIONAL LAW: 1625-1925.

IT was the foreigner who first recognised Hugo Grotius, the Dutch jurist, as the discoverer and creator of modern international law. Not until later did his fame abroad give him celebrity in his native Holland. The reason for this was that Dutchmen were inclined to estimate Grotius according to the share he took, and a reluctant share at that, in the history of the Republic of the United Netherlands at the beginning of the seventeenth century. During the Twelve Years' Truce, the Netherlands were rent by religious strife in which Grotius, as Pensionary of Rotterdam, was compelled to play a part, and only gradually did his fame as a jurist outweigh that part in the minds of his countrymen.

The support of Oldenbarneveld, the Grand Pensionary of Holland, had secured Grotius the appointment at Rotterdam and seemed to assure him a successful career. At the time of his appointment, however, a dispute had arisen between two Leyden professors, Arminius and Gomarys, concerning the doctrine of predestination. The dispute would probably have remained, as it began, a purely religious dispute, had not the "States" of Holland, that is to say the politicians, taken the side of Arminius and prescribed to the ministers of all churches toleration towards Arminius' point of view. The Netherlands, in the midst of a struggle against Spain for the preservation of their religion, were little likely to listen to the word "toleration," implying, as it does, respect for the opinions of others. The resolutions of the "States," therefore, so far from bringing harmony to the churches, increased the bitterness of the controversy. In the meanwhile, Grotius was sent to England with other delegates from Amsterdam, Rotterdam, and Delft, to settle various disputes which had arisen between the Dutch and British East India Companies. An honourable and, in the main, an unprejudiced man, Grotius, nevertheless, took the opportunity to discuss with the King of England and the Archbishop of Canterbury the Leyden controversy and the general religious affairs of the Netherlands. The result was considerably to diminish their respect for the opinions of Gomarys and increase their respect for those of Arminius. It was an inopportune moment for servants of the State to express personal opinions on religious controversies, and the manner in which Grotius expressed his views caused great indignation among the supporters of Gomarys. The dispute lost its original academic and dogmatic character, and became entirely political. The "States" of Holland found that their authority was being undermined, that local disturbances were breaking out, and that even their personal safety was being threatened. They allowed themselves to be hurried into taking

an action which proved to be a first-class political blunder. They passed a drastic resolution concerning the peace of the churches.

This resolution was drafted by Grotius and dictated by him to the "States" after consultation with the King of England and eminent foreign theologians. The object of the resolution was twofold. On the one hand, it was to call a Conference for the definite settlement of the religious controversies which were rending the Netherlands, and on the other, it conferred the power on the municipalities to enrol militia and set up municipal autonomy. Although the federative bond of the Republic was comparatively loose, nevertheless, in this matter of enrolling militia there were definite provisions which conferred the sole right on the stadtholder and the states-general. This right was infringed by the resolution, and the states-general despatched Prince Mauritz to the town of Utrecht in order to disband the local militia. The disbandment took place without bloodshed, although the opponents of Oldenbarneveld and Grotius undoubtedly scored. As was expected, further victories for the opposition followed and Oldenbarneveld, Grotius, and others were imprisoned. The former was tried and executed, while Grotius was imprisoned in the castle of Loevestein. From 1619 to 1621 he remained in the castle under a strict and irksome guard. During this period his sole comfort was that his wife was permitted to bear him company.

It was during his captivity that Grotius drew up his famous *Introduction to Dutch Jurisprudence*, to which Dutch jurists still refer for information on old customs and ancient laws. At Loevestein, too, he wrote the greater part of his *Explanation of the Evangelists*. (It may be noted in passing that Grotius was a scholar of great versatility, a theologian, a jurist, a historian, and a renowned Latinist. Even in his days as a student at Leyden his knowledge had amazed the famous Scaliger. He also wrote poetry and translated the classics.) His two years' captivity were spent in a state of uncertainty as to his ultimate fate, and finally he chose the chances of escape rather than the possibility of sharing the fate of Oldenbarneveld. His wife and servant organised his escape, and he was successfully carried in a book chest by the soldiers of the guard through no fewer than eighteen doors of the castle, arriving safe and sound in the little town of Gorinchem. Disguising himself as a bricklayer, he fled thence to Antwerp and later to Paris, where he resided as a private individual until 1631. His attempt to return to Holland after the death of Prince Mauritz failed, and he thereupon accepted the invitation of the Swedish Chancellor, Oxenstierna, to act as Swedish Ambassador in Paris, a position which he held until 1644. The publication of his world-famous book, *De Jure Belli ac Pacis*, which appeared in June, 1625, after two years' preparation, led up to his entrance

into the Swedish service; for the book immediately attracted the attention of Europe and, in particular, that of King Gustavus Adolphus, who carried it with him on the field of battle. Indeed, his copy, heavily annotated, was found in his tent at Lützen after the "Lion of the North" had been killed.

Grotius was not the first to write about international law and the laws of war. The Spaniards and the Italians had been before him, but Grotius covered a much wider field. It was through his discussion of the laws of war and of peace that the Europe of those days learned to understand that there already existed, little perceived and little known, international customs and usages; that the relations of States, although apparently anarchical, were, nevertheless, guided by certain definite laws; that independent States which had slowly emerged from the relics of the mediæval system formed parts of a society of nations with comparatively similar aims and interests. In his "Introduction" Grotius laid down this axiom: "A citizen who conducts himself in accordance with the laws of his country does not thereby behave foolishly, although, in consequence of these laws, he must deny himself certain things which might be of advantage to him personally. Similarly a nation cannot reasonably be considered foolish that does not so strongly emphasise its own interests as to tread under foot the common laws of States and nations. The cases are identical, for a citizen who for his direct advantage infringes the social law of the country destroys the foundation of his higher interests and at the same time those of his descendants. The nation that opposes the law of nature and the law of nations overthrows the bulwark of its future peace."

De Jure Belli ac Pacis is divided into three parts. In the first, he discusses the question as to whether war can ever be justifiable and the causes which may lead to war; the second attacks the unrestrained right of waging war, an idea that was novel for those times; the third part discusses the laws and customs of contemporary warfare, and suggests limitations to them. It is quite clear that Grotius, who only knew armies of seventeenth-century mercenaries, could hardly write a code of military law which would have any significance at the present time. This does not, however, alter the fact that he was the founder of modern international law, in so far as from the first he showed clearly that, once hostilities had been opened, both belligerents must be regarded as being on an equal footing and therefore the observance of established military customs could be demanded equally from both. Grotius was also the creator, indirectly, of the laws of neutrality; I say indirectly, because he did not make a direct study of the question. In one of his earlier works he had written a book on "Prize Law" on the instructions of the "States." This book was considered

necessary at the time as grave doubts had been expressed regarding the right of the Dutch East India Company to capture enemy ships in East Indian waters. His book on "Prize Law" was only published in complete form 250 years later. But the chapter devoted to the freedom of the seas was published during his lifetime. It is an interesting parallel to the circumstances of the Great War. The publication of Grotius' chapter did not meet with approval in England. During the Great War the British attitude on the freedom of the seas did not meet with approval among all the neutrals.

De Jure Belli ac Pacis created an entirely new idea in contesting the legality of war; a legality which had never been contested throughout history. Grotius denied the right of waging war to private individuals and laid down strict limits for the right of waging war by States. Nevertheless, he and his theories should not be confused with the designers of successive plans for a League of Nations. A number of well-known people have from time to time drafted such plans but none of them was founded on reality, because a League of Nations presupposes the existence of independent nations. In the early seventeenth century the State had not fully emerged from the Middle Ages. Grotius saw no necessity for an organised League. He believed rather in the self-development of international law. Hence, too, the fact that he did not quote the written law as evidence for his international law, but preferred to derive his examples from the ancients. The only point on which one finds common ground between him and the designers of an organised League is in the desire of both to establish a world court of justice. Even here there was a difference, for Grotius wished to give executive power to his court, as in his conception war was to be allowed solely as a means of punishment against the guilty State.

The Thirty Years' War, which broke out in 1618, ranged the Holy Roman Emperor against an alliance of Protestant Sweden and Catholic France under Cardinal Richelieu. The position of France was delicate, as she required the assistance of Sweden for the continuance of the struggle but wished, on the other hand, to prevent a Protestant power from becoming too powerful. From this position arose a series of most disagreeable duties for the Swedish Ambassador in Paris. He repeatedly had to remind the Cardinal of the unfulfilment of his promises, both to Sweden and to the German princes, their allies against the Emperor. His situation in Paris was further complicated by the jealousy with which the Swedes regarded him as a foreigner holding a high Swedish position. The representatives of Holland in Paris lost no opportunity of undermining his authority, and the French politicians never forgave him for his refusal to throw in his lot with French interests in the years 1621 to 1631. It may be

understood, therefore, that these were not happy years for Grotius, in spite of his apparently powerful position and his ceremonial State entries into Paris in a State coach drawn by eight white horses and accompanied by Marshals of the King. Private troubles added to his difficulties. Sweden repeatedly failed to pay him his salary. In his correspondence with Oxenstierna, one finds Grotius referring more than once to this nonpayment and defending his economical life at the Court. He was much hampered by special spies sent from Sweden, and by messengers who brought to these spies instructions and designs which were concealed from him. Nor did he enjoy the diplomatic intriguing which played so great a part in the life of an ambassador, nor the constant begging of money from the French Treasury for the German military commanders. Nevertheless, it is clear that he was treated with distinction by the Cardinal and King, and on one occasion, when his coach and servants had accidentally been fired upon, a strict investigation was made into the circumstances because the King wished special respect to be paid to him. On the other hand, it is recorded that his more worldly colleagues of the *corps diplomatique* were inclined to laugh when Grotius spent his time in the King's antechamber in reading books of devotion instead of joining in the frivolous conversations with which he was surrounded.

Ultimately, the French Cardinal and his successor grew weary of the incorruptibility of the Swedish Ambassador, and on their representations Grotius was replaced. Grotius had previously felt that his retirement was impending and applied for leave to resign. His resignation was accepted and he travelled to Stockholm to pay his respects to the Queen of Sweden. He declined, however, her offers of employment in Sweden, and after mutual expressions of goodwill he departed for Lübeck. The ship on which he was travelling ran into stormy weather and stranded near Danzig. Grotius went ashore and hurried on to Lübeck, but the exertion proved too much for him and he fell ill at Rostock. The local doctor diagnosed his attack as simply physical exhaustion, but events speedily took a more serious turn, and at midday on August 29th, 1645, Hugo Grotius died. His body was embalmed and sent to his native country and there in great state was buried in the Nieuwe Kerk, at Delft. He was honoured by his fellow countrymen more in death than in life; numerous medals were struck; poems and songs were made about him and a great mausoleum was raised in his honour. In 1899, the members of the First Hague Conference paid tribute to him and his memory at his statue. Many international congresses and societies have found their way to that statue, and the world now recognises and honours Hugo Grotius as the founder of modern international law.

H. CH. G. J. VAN DER MANDERE.

THE FAILURE OF THE WHITE RACE IN SOUTH AFRICA.

CAN the White race, or a White civilisation, maintain its place in South Africa, or must it ultimately be overwhelmed or driven out by the coloured population? A thoughtful minority of South Africans have asked this question with increasing frequency in recent years. It has now been made a national issue by the conclusions arrived at by Mr. C. W. Cousins, Union Director of Census, in his Final Report on the enumeration of May, 1921. Summaries of his review of the colour tendencies in the sub-continent state that he asserts that the European race can only hold its own by "seeking accessions from abroad." Failing this it must for ever abandon the prospect of maintaining a White civilisation, except as a proportionately diminishing minority in face of an increasing and ultimately overwhelming majority. "It may then be forced to abandon its domination, or even abandon the country." The grave nature of this warning is accentuated by the fact that the very position which prompts it has been reached despite large "accessions from abroad." White South Africa has been strengthened by several waves of immigration during the past forty-five years. And yet the Director of Census views present conditions and tendencies with alarm.

Anthony Trollope pronounced an emphatic verdict on the same issue forty-seven years ago. After his tour in the Cape he wrote :

"South Africa is a country of black men—and not of white men. It has been so; it is so; and it will continue to be so. . . . The important person in South Africa is the Kafir and the Zulu, the Bechuana and the Hottentot—not the Dutchman or the Englishman."

And yet, even as Trollope wrote, the weight of evidence seemed to be turning against him. Newcomers were pouring into the Cape, attracted by the discovery of diamonds near what is now Kimberley. Within another ten years a wave of gold-seekers was flowing northward, and Johannesburg sprang into being almost in a night upon the bare White Waters Range. Yet another decade and the Boer War left thousands of new settlers in the sub-continent. Trollope's verdict was forgotten. People began to talk about the great White nation that would be housed between the Cape and the Zambesi. They do so still.

But it is plain to-day that, thus far, the White race has failed in South Africa in that it has not placed its own permanence or predominance beyond doubt. After more than two-and-a-half centuries of White colonisation South Africa is still a country of black men. Worse, it is becoming relatively more and more a country of black men. Under existing conditions and tendencies

the coloured people are increasing far more rapidly than the white. Of late more Europeans have been leaving the Union than have been entering it. The all-important fact which South Africa must now face is that the ordinary natural development of the last half century, although it led to large "accessions" of Whites from abroad, has yet failed to assure the ultimate domination, or even the existence, of the White race within its borders. If this truth be recognised honestly two questions must then be considered :

- (1) Will ordinary natural development upon past and present lines merely continue this gradual overwhelming of the White population by the coloured races?
- (2) If it will, can development be so altered and guided that the future of the White civilisation may yet be assured?

The first question must be answered in the affirmative. Fifty years ago there were in South Africa, roughly, 300,000 Whites and 2,500,000 blacks. From about 1880 onwards economic development was rapid. To-day the European population is approximately 1,500,000. But the coloured population (despite 500,000 deaths from influenza in 1918-19) now stands at 5,500,000; and it is increasing far more rapidly than the white. Last year the Government of the Union of South Africa appointed a Committee to investigate certain industrial problems, and its Report (signed by Dr. W. A. Caldecott) declares that if the progression of the last ten years is maintained, the Europeans in 1971 will number 3,650,000 and the native population will be 19,000,000. Another, and unofficial, estimate calculates that by 1974 the White population will be 4,000,000 and the non-white (including half-castes) will be 27,000,000. Estimates of this character vary a good deal, but they all agree that with the mere continuance of existing conditions the coloured population in South Africa will, within the life-time of men now living, become disastrously and perhaps fatally larger than the White population.

The Union Director of Census, in one of his earlier Reports on the enumeration of May, 1921, points out that between 1904 and 1911 the proportion of Europeans to the total population *decreased by 2 per cent.*, and that, but for the 500,000 influenza deaths among the non-whites in 1918-1919, the proportion in 1921

"would have been approximately 20.6 European as against 79.4 made up of other races, thus continuing the steady decline of the proportion of Europeans since 1904."

The italics are mine. Under the existing system of developing South Africa there is no reason to suppose that this "steady decline of the proportion of Europeans" will be checked. South African industries reveal a disposition to employ an ever-increasing percentage of coloured labour. There is no inducement to

large-scale White immigration. The unskilled or semi-skilled European, who contemplates emigration, does not turn to South Africa; what work he could do is already being performed by a coloured man. In any case he would not be allowed to land.

Nor does it seem at all likely that the ordinary expansion of South African activities will call for many White workers from overseas in the immediate future. Mining and farming are the two big industries in present-day South Africa, though manufacturing enterprises have sprung up in considerable numbers in recent years. In the past, mining has given a large accession of strength to the White population—particularly the mining of gold on the Rand. But much of the White influx was due to the expenditure of vast capital sums in opening up mines, and carrying out the railway and harbour works which the gold discoveries demanded and largely paid for. To-day this great capital expenditure has ceased. Mining in South Africa is now devoted to the less profitable task of earning dividends on the overseas capital invested in it. Unless new mines are opened up—and the big sums which have to be risked in deep level mining are not readily subscribed nowadays—the employing capacity of the industry must contract. The Government Mining Engineer (Sir R. Kotze) estimated in his 1922 annual report, that the output of the gold mines on the Rand, which was then £37,500,000, will fall to £31,000,000 a year by the end of 1927, and to £29,000,000 a year by the end of 1932. These gold mines on the Rand are, according to the recent Report of the Low Grade Mines Commission, the sole support, directly and indirectly, of at least 250,000 Whites and 1,000,000 natives. But as far as the maintenance of the White population is concerned, they are now a diminishing national asset. The peak of White employment and White wages was reached in 1920. To-day the mining companies insist that White wages can never again rise to the level then attained. Gold mining on the Rand will continue for many years. But the tendency will be to work with a smaller proportion of White labour.

It may be said—it is said—that rapidly expanding agriculture will more than balance the dwindling White-supporting capacity of the gold mines. Unfortunately it is easy to overestimate the probable development of White farming in South Africa. One is apt to be misled by mere acreage figures. Professor H. D. Leppan, Professor of Agronomy in the Transvaal Agricultural College, touched upon this point in an article he wrote last year, dealing with an assertion that South Africa was “a low grade country.” He said:

“We may have to admit that our agricultural resources are inferior to those of, say, Canada, the Middle and Eastern United States, and the greater part of the Argentine. . . . The soils of

the Union are on the whole poor and lamentably deficient in phosphates. . . . The percentage of good arable land in the Union is very much over-estimated. The casual tourist sees miles of untilled land, and sighs at supposedly missed opportunities. In reality, our examination of the soils over large tracts and those of individual farms shows only a small percentage on which cultivation would be successful.”

In the *Official Year Book* issued by the Union of South Africa there are frequent allusions to “low yield,” due to “a low natural fertility of the soil.” Even of maize, the great staple field crop, it is said: “That the yield per morgen is unduly low, and compares most unfavourably with that in the chief maize-producing countries, is undoubted.” Drought, stock diseases and insect pests cause immense losses to the farmers at unpleasantly frequent intervals. South African agriculture is still capable of great development by better farming methods.

In his valuable little book, *The Natural Resources of South Africa*, published by the University of the Witwatersrand in 1922, Professor R. A. Lehfeldt, in reviewing the agricultural potentialities of the Union, wrote: “It is clear that the Cape coast belt and the High Veldt must be the stronghold of the White race in South Africa; it is by no means equally clear that the White race can maintain itself even here. Great agricultural development is to be expected in these regions, leading to a population of a good many millions. What share the Whites will have in this development, depends on the future history and policy of the nation.” In Dr. Caldecott’s Report, already mentioned, the Committee affirms that it is necessary to point out in the plainest language that it is impossible, by means of agricultural immigration alone, to secure sufficient accession to the population to maintain the needful rate of progress.

“That would require at least an increase of 4 per cent. per year in the White population, and, assuming that the natural increase is as much as 2 per cent., we should require an immigration of 30,000 persons a year to provide the other 2 per cent. It is improbable that even one-tenth could be absorbed in the agricultural industry.”

Under present conditions and policies any immediate large-scale strengthening of the White race in South Africa by land settlement is out of the question. In a country in which the settler is expected to possess £1,500 to £2,000 in hard cash, there will be no flood of new farmers. The depressing history of land settlement from Lord Milner’s time onward, the low standard of living with which the average South African farmer has to be content, and the fact that a large proportion of the ever-growing body of “poor Whites” consists of families who failed to win a livelihood on the soil, all go to show that it would be unwise to look to present-day farming to restore rapidly the waning strength of the White

race in South Africa. Besides, the first demand of the White farmer is for an adequate supply of black labour—not White labour.

Finally, there are manufacturing industries, which the latest investigators regard as the main hope left for the strengthening of the White race. They may help; but it would be foolish to close one's eyes to the fact that the tendency to-day is for the factories and workshops of the Union to employ a diminishing proportion of Whites. In 1914-15 the White employees in all the manufacturing industries of the Union formed 39 per cent. of their total labour force; in 1919-20 the White employees formed only a little over 35 per cent. of that force. Professor Lehfeldt predicts, in the volume already mentioned, that coloured competition will increase in severity:

“So that unless the output of the White workman increases, it is to be expected either that White wages (reckoned in real purchasing power) will tend slowly downwards, or that White men will be increasingly replaced by coloured and employment become more difficult to find.”

Since this was written, the latter tendency has been clearly revealed.

It is foolish even for national pride to ignore facts. The hard facts are that the conditions which have prevailed in South Africa in the last twenty years have produced a decreasing proportion of Whites in the total population, a large and increasing class of “poor Whites” who are sinking below the level of the coloured people, and a growing body of unemployed Whites. That the existing natural development would give such results was predicted by the Transvaal Indigency Commission in 1908, and its warning has been reaffirmed by a number of other Commissions and by far-seeing public men who have declined to echo the vague optimisms which form the raw material of most of the political utterances in South Africa.

The years have sped by. The old Republics became Colonies. The Colonies have merged into the Union. South Africa still talks of its vast potentialities, and of the splendid future which will at long last endow it with a virile White nation playing a great part in the world's affairs. And all the time it grows blacker and blacker. All the time the White people within its gates grow relatively weaker, and the coloured people relatively stronger. And even to-day the demand of all South Africa—mines, farms and factories alike—is for black labour, and not for White labour. The Union is still importing black labourers from Mozambique, while its White workers drift oversea, or sink into that social and moral hell in which “poor Whites” exist. “The issue before the White people,” said Sir Robert Kotze, the Government Mining Engineer, to the Unemployment Commission of 1920, “is whether

they wish to survive as a White race or not. As we are going on the expressed opinion of our policy is that we do not wish to survive as a White race.”

There is no White nation growing up in South Africa. Only a coloured one. So far the White man has failed, and the White race in South Africa is drifting slowly toward ultimate extinction. But even now that drift might be checked. South Africa can never be a White man's land in the same sense as Canada and Australia and New Zealand. It may never contain a White majority. Yet it can house a White minority large enough to claim nationhood, and strong enough to retain its domination, its racial ideals and its White civilisation. Only present conditions and tendencies will have to be altered by a great, sustained and conscious national effort, in which all the resources of the State, and all the strength and the idealism of the White population, are concentrated upon the one task of safeguarding the future of the White race.

By carefully selected and State-aided land settlement, planned to enable Whites to cultivate the right crops on the best lands of the country; by special enactments devised to maintain a considerable proportion of White labour in its industries; and by the development of a powerful public opinion in favour of using White labour wherever practicable—by these measures the fatal drift of the present time can be checked, and a racial movement in the opposite direction be begun. But the effort will have to be truly national. It must be State-enforced. To take part in it must be regarded as the highest aim of the individual White South African. By such an effort the natural development of the sub-continent into a black and brown man's country may be prevented, and a compromise reached in which there will be room for the survival of a White nation and a White civilisation. Without such an effort the ultimate fate of South Africa is certain. Even though a small minority of Whites survive as landlords and experts, it will be a coloured country with a coloured civilisation. It will no longer be in the same category of States as Canada and New Zealand.

Whether the White South Africa of to-day is capable of beginning such an effort, with all the sacrifices and difficulties it involves, the next few years will show. But the time in which this effort can be successfully made is growing short. Before many more years of drifting have slipped away, the colour issue in South Africa will be settled for all time. Unless there is early and drastic action a great country will have to be added to the list of the coloured lands of the world.

L. E. NEAME.

SCOTLAND'S ISLAND OUTPOSTS.

FIFTY miles out on the Atlantic west of the Scottish coast stands a group of misty islands. They are named the Outer Hebrides, and are sometimes collectively called the Long Island, because of the fact that, seen from a distance, the isles appear to be joined one to the other. These Western Isles (their name originally was Ebudes, and by a copyist's error became Hebrides) have had a turbulent and romantic history. In 888, King Harald of Norway added the Hebrides to the crown of the country of the Vikings.

By the Norse the Long Island was ruled until 1265, when Magnus of Norway ceded all the Western Isles to Scotland. One of the articles of the treaty provided that an annual sum should be paid by Scotland to Norway in consideration of Norway yielding up all claim to the isles. Even to this day most of the place-names of the Outer Hebrides are Norse—Barra, for example, Uist, Bernera, and many other names equally well known to those who are familiar with the Long Island.

The most southerly of the Outer Hebrides is Barra Head, or more correctly Bernera. From here, on a clear day, the faint line of the Irish Coast may be seen on the southern horizon. From Barra Head the island group extends northward. Steaming on a northerly course up the Minch, one passes, in turn, Barra Island (this must not be confused with Barra Head) with its sharp pointed hill Heaval, Eriskay, notable from the fact that Prince Charles Edward landed here before the disastrous rising of 1745, South Uist, the ancient island-home of the MacDonalds of Clan Ranald, Benbecula, accessible only at low tide across the fords, North Uist, with its wild romantic coast line, Harris of the great hills, and lastly, Lewis, or as it is more often called, the Lewes.

As seen from the Atlantic in fine clear weather, the isles of the Hebrides possess a fairy-like beauty. One spring morning I sailed north in a great liner that was making a special call at Lochboisdale in South Uist to embark a number of islesmen who were emigrating to Canada. An hour before sunrise we were approaching Barra Head. A few clouds floated motionless in the serene sky. They were of a deep crimson which turned to gold as the sun neared the horizon. The air was wonderfully clear. Just north of where the rim of the sun was slowly rising stood Beinn Cruachan of Argyll, its twin peaks, 70 miles distant, sharply silhouetted against the far eastern horizon. Near at hand, so it seemed, but in reality a good two-score miles away, the great Island of Mull lay—a magic isle set in a silent fairy sea. Dominating the island was the great cone of Ben More, over three thous-

and feet high, and south of it the high cliffs that are about Loch Buie were clear-cut against the sunrise. South of Mull rose the lonely lighthouse upon Dubh Hirteach. Nearer at hand Skerryvore lighthouse rose from the great waste of waters, a salmon-tinted, needle-like object.

At the moment of the rising of the sun a solan goose passed the ship. Seeing a great black-backed gull with a fish the solan swooped down, and alighted on the sea. Here, so low was the sun, its body was in shade, but its neck and head were tinged crimson. The effect was very wonderful and unusual, and lasted until the solan rose from the water. Shortly after sunrise the Outer Hebrides appeared ahead. As we swiftly steamed towards them Barra Head took clearer shape, and soon we were off Barra Island and Mingulay with its great bird-haunted precipices. Companies of guillemots, flying in strings low over the sea, were either steering towards Mingulay or else were flying forth upon fishing excursions. Once we steamed past a great number of Manx shearwaters that dipped and swerved with characteristic graceful flight.

Soon the hills of South Uist showed up—Beinn Mhor, Hekla and Corodale—and we sailed through a blue sunlit sea, dropping anchor off the South Uist harbour of Lochboisdale, where there was much sadness because of the exodus of so many of the island folk. South Uist is an island rich in historical associations. Here the MacDonalds of Clan Ranald lived with all the state that befitted a highland chieftain. They had their harper, their piper, their bard who sang the praises of their ancient house. The Bardic order was preserved longer in Scotland than in any other country, for it was not until the year 1726 that the race became extinct. The last of all the Bards, Neil MacVuirich, was himself of distinguished ancestry. He and his ancestors had for generations exercised the office of bard in the family of Clan Ranald and had held the farm of Staoiligary and the four pennies of Drimis-dale during fifteen generations. The office of harper seems to have fallen into disuse about the same time as that of bard, for the last of the harpers, one Murdoch MacDonald, harper to MacLean of Coll, quitted his office in 1734.

It was in an unfrequented cave in South Uist that Prince Charles Edward, after the failure of his rising, spent upwards of a month, and although every islesman knew of his hiding place even the reward of thirty thousand pounds offered by the Government for the Prince's capture failed to produce information as to the whereabouts of the royal fugitive.

And now, this spring day of 1924, there was sadness everywhere. Unable to gain a livelihood upon their island the people were

setting out on a great adventure, and since the islesman loves his home and his native isle with an intense devotion there was much lamentation amongst the older folk at this parting.

Islands have always a certain fascination, but the spell of the Long Island is a peculiar one. Whence comes the indefinable charm that pervades the Hebrides? The isles are lonely, without shelter, treeless, and often the home of storms and of mist-laden winds that sweep across the sea-drowned shores from the vast and restless solitudes of the Atlantic. And yet to those who understand them how irresistibly do they call: he who has once tasted of their serene, benign atmosphere is constrained by these misty isles to visit them again and again, to gaze upon the ethereal sunsets, to watch the moonbeams dance upon the great waves of the sea and the lesser waves of the lochs, and to hear the clamour of the bernicle geese and the hoarse mournful barking of the grey seals.

It is said that environment has a great effect in moulding the character of us mortals. One would, therefore, expect to find an unusually attractive race of people in the Outer Hebrides, and indeed one is not disappointed. The people of the isles, in their simplicity, dignity, and charm are a race apart: they have retained to an unusual extent the natural refinement and true courtesy that distinguished the Highlander of old. But how could they be otherwise, living in a land of romance, a land about which broods a spiritual essence that drifts down, perchance, from *Tir nan Og*, the Land of Eternal Youth, which the mind's eye almost visualises on the far horizon of the Atlantic when the sun in soft amber skies dips below the faint blue Isle of Saint Kilda far, far to the west? Only the other day I entered a wee house wherein dwelled an old lady by herself. There was no chimney to the house. In the centre of the room burned a peat fire, the smoke escaping through crannies in the thick walls (making the cottage from a distance appear to be on fire), through the open door, and through a hole in the roof. So thick was the blue peat smoke in the room that it was at first difficult to distinguish the old lady at her spinning wheel. Yet the house was spotlessly clean, and the earthen floor sprinkled with white sand brought from the shore several miles away. To this old lady English was as much a foreign language as Russian is to the average Briton: she had never left her island, and such every-day objects as a railway train or tram-car must have been entirely unknown to her. And yet she possessed that indefinable charm and dignity which many people well endowed with this world's goods would have given half their fortune to acquire.

Because of their limitless views westward, the western shores of the Outer Hebrides are, perhaps, the most attractive districts of the Isles. How varied and altogether delightful is, for instance, the

western seaboard of North Uist. Here great stretches of sandy beaches alternate with rocky headlands, where the Atlantic rollers break in a white spray that carries to the seaweed-built ravens' nests which are set precariously on the smooth ledges of slippery rock where tufts of sea thrift cling. Then, westward from North Uist itself—which, by the natives, is known as “the country”—lie more than one group of fascinating islands—Haskeir, Causamul, the Monach Isles, accessible only in fine, steady weather that nowadays comes but rarely to the west. How enormous are the waves which strike upon Haskeir's northern cliff and, hurrying landward, break upon Houghary Point and spout in columns a hundred feet high through a small opening of a sea cave known as *Slochd a' Choire*! Haskeir must be one of the most lonely of British Isles, and years may pass without a human foot landing upon its slippery, precipitous flanks. It is given over, in summer, to the great multitude of sea-fowl that nest here and, in winter, to the clan of the bernicle geese that feed upon its grassy plateau.

It is said that, long ago, one of the name of MacCrimmon, being desirous to meditate in seclusion upon the mysteries of life, prevailed upon the fishermen of Houghary to convey him to Haskeir. At last a suitable day came, and a boat sailed out to the isle, landing the man with a supply of food to last him through the winter months. There is a well on the island, so that he did not want for drinking water. The season of his self-banishment was autumn, and the fishermen promised, after the winter storms and when spring should at last bring fine weather, to call for him again. Tradition is silent as to what befell this hardy man, but to this day are to be seen the ruins of a rough dwelling known as the Walls of MacCrimmon. Had this MacCrimmon been of the celebrated hereditary pipers to MacLeod what themes for *piobaireachdan* would he have found in the roaring of the surf, in the clamour of the geese by moonlight, in the ghostly cries of the petrels, and in the mournful baying of the grey seals! Here, indeed, would have been a superb setting for the *Piob Mhor*, and a *piobaireachd* composed and played under such conditions by a master-hand would be music that would remain ever in the memory.

One can picture the Norsemen, who ruled the Long Island, or Outer Hebrides, a thousand years ago, sailing out to their *Hafsker* or “deep sea skerry” in their galleys after seals, or returning through turbulent seas after a raid upon the seafowl and their eggs. They would, no doubt, put off from some western haven of North Uist, but now there is not one single seaworthy boat along all the western coast from Bernera to Benbecula, and the last raid on the seals took place as long ago as 1919.

An island scarce so hard of access as Haskeir is Causamul, lying a mile and a half west of *Ard an Runair*, on North Uist,

yet even here in westerly weather the spray envelops the highest point of the isle. Big lythe swim through the forests of laminarian seaweed here, and great lobsters peep furtively from their twilight lairs. There are few seals nowadays on Causamul, yet this was not always the case, for Martin, writing in 1703, mentions

"Cousmil, about a quarter of a mile in circumference . . . still famous for the yearly fishing of seals there, in the end of October: this rock belongs to the Farmers of the next adjacent Lands, there is one that furnisheth a Boat, to whom there is a particular share due on that account; the Parish Minister hath his choice of all the Young Seals and that which he takes is called by the natives Cullen Mory, that is, the Virgin Mary's Seal. I was told that 320 Seals Young and Old have been killed at one time in this Place."

Haskeir of MacCrimmon's wall must not be confused with that other Heiskeir, a group of five islands lying out into the Atlantic some four miles from Rudha Mor, the nearest promontory upon the "mainland" of North Uist.

There is a tradition that these islands, now with their small population cut off from North Uist in winter for weeks at a time, were originally joined by an isthmus to the mainland of Uist. Gradually, owing to the inroads of the ocean, the isthmus gave way to fords, and the fords at length broadened into the barrier of stormy seas. According to Dr. Alexander Carmichael, the people of Heiskeir as late as forty years ago still handed down the names of those persons who last succeeded in crossing the ever-widening fords, and the names of those persons who were drowned in crossing.

The most outlying of the Heiskeir isles is Shillay, on which a lighthouse now stands. Shillay, like so many place-names of the Outer Hebrides, is a Norse word meaning Seal Island, and shows that at some remote period the grey seal had its home here. Later a monastery was on the isle, which was then known as Eilean nam Manach, or Island of the Monks.

It is from the word Manach that the island group derives its name—alternative to Heiskeir—of the Monach Islands. The lighthouse of Monach must be a very lonely place, for the track of shipping is so far out that a vessel is rarely seen here, but, by a strange irony, a disastrous shipwreck occurred here the very day on which the lighthouse was completed.

As the last of the sunset still burns on the western horizon and the Monach lighthouse appears from Uist as a black needle against an endless waste of waters, the great lamp shines out suddenly as though a lesser sun burned here, and all night casts its brilliant rays upon the empty waters.

To the northward of Monach is a dangerous reef, Dureberg by name, where even in calm weather the breaking swell may be seen at a distance of many miles. Some years ago a vessel, driven by a northerly gale, struck this reef, and not a man survived. The

ship was carrying a cargo of whiskey, which came ashore in barrels for days afterwards.

Upon the Heiskeir islands is no peat. The people of the Isles therefore commission their friends on North Uist to cut their peats for them—mainly from the moss above Loch Dusary—and cart them to the shore at Laggan Maskeir, from which the islesmen ferry them across in their own distinctive two-masted boats. Each house upon Heiskeir burnt some fifty cart-loads of peats in a twelve-month, but now coal is replacing peat on the island group although on the western shore of North Uist peat is still the only fuel.

On summer days the light-winged fishers of the sea—the terns and the solan geese—search the shallow western bays of North Uist for fish and discern their agile prey through the green waters. In winter these fishers have departed, but in their place many duck and wading birds haunt the shores and fringes of the surf. One sees, of an October morning, handsome longtailed duck fresh from their overseas flight from Iceland, jet black scoters and black and white scaup; turnstones, godwits, purple sandpipers, sanderlings, oyster catchers, and ringed plovers search for food among the seaware, while ravens soar into the wind, moving slowly along the shore at the edge of the sand dunes. When the north winds of late October blow chill across the isle from the snow-clad hills of the mainland of Scotland across the Minch, many bird visitors from beyond the Arctic Circle visit these western shorelands. Whooper swans on large and snowy pinions move southward before the wind, geese, redwings and occasionally fieldfares press onward toward their southern winter quarters, and once I saw a great northern diver—a bird which flies seldom except on migration—passing south at the speed of an express train a mile or so out from Griminish Point.

It is, perhaps, on a day of sun and showers that the view westward from Uist is most delightful. From time to time the lonely Isles of Saint Kilda are blurred or even hidden for a space. Hecla of South Uist attracts many clouds on a day such as this, and upon the distant southern horizon Heaval of Barra shows faintly. Sun and shade alternate upon Haskeir, and when the sun has long set, and the pale moon hangs like a sickle in the soft starry sky, the last of the after glow burns across the darkening Atlantic and the cone of Boreray, on Saint Kilda, close on fifty miles westward, towers like some ghostly vessel on the dusky rim of ocean.

After nightfall the pale rays of the Northern Lights flicker above the Harris hills, and in the stillness that prevails the only sound is the deep sighing of the distant surf and the occasional querulous cry of a green plover that is seen for a moment, phantom-like, against the star-set sky.

SETON GORDON.

RUDOLF STEINER.

THE announcement of the death on Monday, March 30th, at Dornach, Switzerland, of Dr. Rudolf Steiner came as a sad blow to those who knew him, if only through his works; whilst to his fellow-workers, students, and followers of the colony at Dornach, the loss must seem irreparable. The writer feels very great diffidence in trying to give a brief account of one whom he never had the honour of meeting, but of whose writings he has been an earnest student, and of whose amazing personality and marvellous activity he has heard so much from some who knew him well for years both as students and colleagues. Dr. Steiner had been ill for six months, but, in spite of that, up to the last wrote two articles weekly for his two journals. The work he has done is so immense that it is really very hard to grasp its extent; nobody could keep up with him. He was at least a hundred years ahead of his time, a fate from which other philosophers have suffered: hence the isolation in which he lived.

Born of Hungarian parentage in Upper Austria sixty-four years ago, Rudolf Steiner became a Doctor of Philosophy at the Vienna University, and editor of Goethe's works on natural science. A keen student of modern science, for which he had not only interest but profound respect, he was, nevertheless, the founder of a "higher science" in which the world of Spirit, or, as most people would call it, of "mind," takes a rôle of chief importance. Just as religious teaching avoids the facts of science, and scientific research evades all questions of religion, Steiner's "Science" provides a bridge between them. This bridge, he maintained, is to be sought for and found in "self-knowledge," the command, "Know thyself," being at the root of all human advancement. Later on, at the invitation of the Theosophical Society, he became their General Secretary for Germany, but differing too widely from the Oriental tenets held by Mrs. Besant to enable him to conform his teachings of Christianity with hers he, with many other members of that branch, was cast out from the Theosophical Society, only to continue his work, however, under the title of "Anthroposophy" at Dornach. Very little of a personal nature has ever appeared about him, he was so entirely an expression of his work. Though of small and slender build, quick and active in his movements, his personality was particularly impressive; unusual dignity, and a strange "aloofness" compelling respect and often arousing shyness in those who were otherwise unsusceptible to nervousness. Though his expression was usually severe and piercing in repose, an easily awakened smile made it genial and particularly attractive.

Steiner's outlook on humanity was based on the understanding and belief that it has evolved and is being developed from a spiritual and not a material origin. Therein his science, recognised over a considerable portion of Europe, if not yet in England except by a comparative few, is directly opposed to the usual scientific theory that the organic springs from the inorganic, for he held and taught that all material physical manifestations are the results of spiritual impulses. When Haeckel was being attacked by the orthodox in Germany, Dr. Steiner was one of his foremost defenders, declaring that he was one of the greatest minds in its history; and yet he steadily maintained for thirty years by word and pen that the physical sciences, although the greatest achievement of the human mind during the centuries since the thirteenth, are quite misled in believing that their methods constitute the sole way by which human beings can arrive at a knowledge of truth. He taught consistently and with profound earnestness, with utter sincerity and assurance, that every human being is endowed with germinal spiritual organs for direct perception of truth, and that these can be developed, once we realise their existence, by methods of mental and ethical discipline, which coincide absolutely with sane scientific conceptions, and with the deepest ethical teachings of Christ. By these methods, so ably set forth in several of his works, notably in *The Way of Initiation*, mankind can study and investigate spiritual facts as thoroughly and as accurately as modern science now does in regard to physical research with the various appliances at its disposal. This psychic faculty he developed within himself to an extent unequalled, perhaps, by any mystic of Occidental origin, as his works show; for it was his belief that "It is in the Soul that the meaning of the Universe is revealed." He felt that humanity has now arrived at a crucial stage when it is of the utmost importance that thought should be directed in a far higher degree towards the spiritual, and less toward the material world. In this belief there are many who will agree absolutely with him.

Now, though teaching for over thirty years man's capacity for direct knowledge of spiritual reality, Steiner was greatly opposed to "Spiritualism" as generally understood, and the use of mediums; warning always that mediums are misusing their own personalities, and that resort to them is harmful to other persons. He has written a great deal, and lectured still more, on Life after Death. To the writer it seems that Steiner considered "Spiritualism" in the manner usually studied to be more "materialistic" than "spiritual," a word which from his point of view may, perhaps, be more accurately expressed by "mental-moral." Life with those who are "dead" was to him very much what life is

with those who are "alive," still together and unseparated, seeing that whilst in the flesh we are also in spirit, and when we are dead we are altogether in spirit and not in matter at all. By that it seems he wished us to realise that contact with the dead must be a spiritual or "mental-moral" contact, and in no way a material one, which to a certain extent is what is obtained through the use of mediums.

But to those who know the immense difficulty that exists of awakening in the generality of people the truth and reality of an after-life existence, the purely psychic methods of Steiner would appear infeasible and inadequate if conviction is to be forced upon the average pre-biassed intellect. Very few, indeed, would attempt to qualify themselves for intuitional knowledge, and fewer still would succeed in so doing. A more forcible and emphatic system is necessary if conviction of the truth is to be gained, for the generality of mankind can only receive such truths through their normal senses, not through that "Inward Light," which is the real awakener of the soul to what is spiritual whilst it is in the body. Consequently, Steiner's higher method of enlightenment appeals but to few. The true facts of the case, unknown to most people, are that two divergent streams of occultism exist, one favouring what might be termed "materialistic" methods appealing to the physical senses, and the other strongly opposing these. Dr. Steiner belonged to the latter stream,

A wonderful building, unlike any other existing and designed by him, called the Goetheanum, was erected by his fellow-workers and students at Dornach, between the years 1912 and 1920. Perhaps nothing so emphasised the personality and work of this profound philosopher as the fact that during the Great War men and women of no less than seventeen nationalities worked together in perfect harmony and accord on its erection, decoration, and completion within sound of the guns. Unfortunately, being built entirely of wood, vast though it was, it vanished in a mighty conflagration on New Year's Eve, 1922, due to malice it is believed. But Dr. Steiner and his colony were undaunted, and another and much larger Goetheanum is now in course of erection on the same site, built this time, however, of incombustible materials. The whole of the plans for all the rooms, but not for the decoration, were designed by him, and the building is rising rapidly. There was a pause for two days following his death, after which work continued as before, and it is possible that, since those in charge have now to rely upon themselves and cannot refer everything to "the Doctor," activities will increase. The large stage of the new Goetheanum is to be fully equipped, and with the auditorium capable of holding a thousand spectators, will be

chiefly devoted to Eurhythm, an art quite distinct from that taught by M. Dalcroze. As taught by Dr. Steiner, Eurhythm is making great headway on the Continent and is now becoming known in England; in fact, a theatre for its practice and teaching will probably soon be built in London. It is the art of expressing in movement laws which, known to occultists, exist in speech and song. These movements are no more arbitrary than is the use of colour in painting, and they can be used and expressed in accordance with the feelings and taste of the exponent, as is already the case with most great dancers, particularly of the Russian school, by whom rhythmical use of the whole body is made in the interpretation of music.

Dr. Steiner was by many considered the greatest orator living, for even those well versed in the art were immediately struck by his complete mastery of it. It would be hard indeed to find another lecturer who would be followed all over the Continent by a constant stream of students and others keenly desirous of missing nothing he might have to say. Though, unfortunately, he always lectured in German, many assiduously attended his discourses who but partially, or even not at all, understood that language; his diction being so clear and his gestures so expressive that the interest they kindled overcame the disadvantage of imperfect comprehension. His fascinating ideas on the education of children, and the wonderful way in which the efficacy of these ideas has been demonstrated in his two schools at Stuttgart and Dornach, led to his being invited several times to lecture in England. His views on the subject are ably set forth in his little book, *The Education of Children*, published in 1911.

Last year, 1924, was perhaps the most important of his work, for his teaching from the profound occultism of his early days ended in 1914, when the Goetheanum was commenced, followed by an art period until about 1919, when his mind turned to the practical activities of everyday life, what one can *do* in the world. If there be one place in the world where "international relationship" is a living and visible reality, it is the colony surrounding the Goetheanum and its schools, for teachers and students of all nationalities live there, and are being trained in many varied lines of activities. His passing is certain to be a tremendous blow to them all for he was the centre of everything, and the one to whom all looked for guidance and advice. That he was widely loved as well as deeply respected, is shown by the fact that thousands came from all over the Continent and even England, pouring into Dornach for the funeral service, completely overcrowding the town and neighbourhood, but gladly suffering any inconvenience in order to be present.

The English Press have so steadily refused to pay any attention to Dr. Steiner and his work that it seems strange to the writer that his death should even have been noticed, briefly though it was; for he was described as a "mystic" who had built a "temple" (which it certainly was not) costing about £120,000, the only item of interest, seemingly, to the public nowadays. When the first Goetheanum was completed, it was laughed at in the Press of this country on account of its peculiar design. People do not generally understand that cathedrals, temples, mosques, pyramids, and similar religious structures are all expressions of a "teaching" of spiritual rather than mundane thought and aspiration. The first Goetheanum was an emblem of Steiner's whole teaching—occultism, art, and practicality; in fact, his learning; and it was a cruel thing to destroy it in the way that was done.

To many, Steiner's works make hard reading and are difficult to follow and understand. Of this he was well aware, for he expressly states in one of his books:

"One cannot read this book as one is accustomed ordinarily to read books at the present day. In certain respects every page and even many a sentence will have to be worked out by the reader. This has been intentionally aimed at. For only in this way can the book become to the reader what it ought to become. He who reads it through will not have read it at all."

Thus it is that his works are not so well known and read in this country as they should be, though the many editions through which most of them have gone is evidence of their popularity and true worth, particularly on the Continent, for they have been translated from the German into most European languages.

KENNETH D. MACKENZIE.

FOREIGN AFFAIRS.

THE CZECHOSLOVAK-POLISH RAPPROCHEMENT.

AN illuminating comment on the failure of the Western diplomatists to arrive at an understanding could be read into the important events which took place in Warsaw in April. It may be safely assumed that the initiative in the movement for a Czechoslovak-Polish *rapprochement* came from Czechoslovakia, benevolently encouraged by France, and that its guiding mind was that of Dr. Benesh. Dr. Benesh once said to me that negative policies can never be justified in diplomacy; that, in short, it is better to have loved and lost than never to have loved at all. It follows from the whole history of Dr. Benesh as a diplomatist that he can never lie fallow, that he would prefer to follow in the wake of an operative Franco-British Entente, but that in default of such a lead he will invariably take a line of his own. Hence the formation and the intensive cultivation of the Little Entente, inspired primarily by the instinct of self-preservation against a possible German or a possible Hungarian menace; hence also the more recent attempt to extend the process of Central European consolidation.

There is little to be gained by commentators in this country who inveigh against Dr. Benesh for not playing the British game, which aims at the elimination of entangling alliances: for the truth is that the British game goes badly. It also is true that as a result of Dr. Benesh's latest move, that game must go still worse; but let the commentators first of all put themselves in Prague, and ask themselves what they would do in Dr. Benesh's place. Can anyone in Central Europe depend upon the League of Nations; upon a Franco-German-British understanding; upon the ensured prospect of peace? If not, is it surprising that, small States as they are in Central Europe, they should huddle together? The Czechoslovak-Polish *rapprochement* is a natural development; but it is not on that account any less deplorable in some of its aspects.

First, the facts. On April 20th Dr. Benesh arrived in Warsaw to sign certain agreements which had just been negotiated between the two governments. Before that time there had been no formal understanding between the two either in their economic or in their diplomatic affairs. In 1921 Mr. Skirmunt, then Polish Foreign Minister, went to Prague to try and negotiate a "treaty of friendship"—as the fashionable *cliché* runs on the Continent to-day—but the necessary friendship being far to seek, the treaty could not be formulated. Four years passed. In 1924 Mr. MacDonald was moving the mountains; Germany, France and Great Britain

were coming together; reparations were buried as a diplomatic hatchet; Geneva drew up a Protocol, in the drawing up of which Dr. Benesh took an enthusiastic part. But we are now in 1925, not 1924. Mr. MacDonald has gone; Field-Marshal von Hindenburg has come back to refute Louis Blanc's epigram that "none but the dead come back"; security is as insecure as ever; the Western triangle as obstinately refuses to be squared as ever it refused. And Dr. Benesh turned from Geneva and the Western capitals, and went instead to Warsaw. The *Central European Observer*, a Prague newspaper, on the occasion of Dr. Benesh's visit, wrote: "There is little doubt that the general international situation has accelerated this favourable development of affairs. In Germany the idea of a reversal of the *status quo* is steadily gaining ground, and the aims of German politicians tend in the direction of the union of all Germans in one great empire. The candidature of Hindenburg, too, for the Presidency must be regarded as a manifestation of the German desire for revenge and a growth of Pan-German nationalism."

Whether that diagnosis be sound or not did not matter. What mattered was that the diagnosis was made. Dr. Benesh was received in Warsaw with unrestrained acclamation, and the talk was all of Czechoslovak-Polish security. On April 21st, the final session of the conference took place in the Polish Ministry of Foreign Affairs, the delegates being Dr. Benesh, Count Skrzynski and Mr. Kiedron, the Polish Minister of Commerce. The texts of the agreements were then revised, and on the following afternoon the conventions were signed. There were three of them. The first arranged for the liquidation of economic, political and minority questions arising out of the partition of the former Teschen; the second was a treaty of conciliation and arbitration for the settlement of all future disputes between the two countries; the third, a commercial treaty which dealt with trade relations, transit, communication, railway questions and the like.

The most important of the three was the treaty of conciliation and arbitration, a document of twenty-five articles and a protocol, which merely provided for a Commission of conciliation to regulate future differences. The first words of Article I stipulate that "the high contracting parties undertake to submit to the process of conciliation or of arbitration all differences which may arise between them and which may prove insoluble by diplomatic procedure within a reasonable time limit." There is nothing startling in the thing itself; and regional harmony is always better than regional friction. Its importance lies in the fact that Czechoslovakia is now linked with Poland, that the encirclement of Germany, in accordance with the desire, if not with the design, of

France, is taken a step further, and the real problem of European security therefore a step backwards. What is wanted is confidence between Germany and France. The Czechoslovak-Polish *rap-prochement* will not help that. Neither Czechoslovak nor Polish opinion appears to have looked far ahead, but basked in the satisfaction of the moment. Dr. Benesh wrote an article in a special Polish supplement to the *Prager Presse*, in which he declared, "It is the duty of both States to continue quietly and soberly the policy of co-operation. Above all, it is necessary for us to know each other well. Further, it is necessary to show the international public that our co-operation is guided by the idea of peace and is conducted in the name of good faith." The difficulty is that since the war Polish policy has hardly been on the side of the angels. If the new development has the effect of bringing Czechoslovak policy down rather than Polish policy up, it will deserve badly of Europe: if the other effect, we may yet take off our hats to it. The Poles were elated. Count Lasocki, Polish Minister in Prague, gave an interview to the *Echo Warszawskie*, in which he went so far as to say that "the treaties recently concluded between the two countries will form the basis of permanent friendly co-operation between the two peoples and States."

THE MIST IN THE WEST.

Since the end of February the big diplomacy of Western Europe has been enveloped in mist. A confluence of mutually incompatible currents, some of them personal, some of them arising from domestic muddle, has produced an atmosphere in which the diplomatists have not seen clearly ahead, and in which all thought of the distant objective has been abandoned. March, April and the beginning of May were therefore taken up by diplomacy of a low level, and the events, important as some of them may be in their ultimate effects, were of no immediate consequence. Climatic mists are the work of superhuman forces; diplomatic mists are the work of second-rate diplomatists. What is wanted in Europe to-day is a man with the imagination, the intelligence and the courage to take the lead, as Mr. MacDonald took the lead last year.

The main events to be recorded are the formation of a new Government in France, the election of a new President in Germany, their combined effect, if any, on the stalemate in the west.

THE FALL OF M. HERRIOT.

In France M. Herriot has gone. His short period of office, starting from the uninformed mess left behind by M. Poincaré, and beset with all the difficulties of minority Government in France

—where minority governments have a rougher time than in England—none the less has a good record. M. Herriot held office from June 14th of last year till April 10th of this year. The Labour Government in France, therefore, had a longer run by one month than the Labour Government in Great Britain. M. Herriot had five main objects in view in his foreign policy: (1) to improve Franco-German relations, the Dawes settlement of Reparations being in his view a means to that end; (2) to enforce a measure of German disarmament such as might enable him to carry the French people with him in handing over the future supervision of German armaments to the League of Nations; (3) to achieve French security through some general arrangement made by the League of Nations; (4) to strengthen and enlarge the competence of the League; (5) to resume, with certain reservations and under certain conditions, normal relations with Russia. M. Herriot always regarded the question of the Vatican as a domestic question, to the disappointment of some of his own friends, and that question, therefore, must be left aside in an analysis of his foreign policy.

How far did he succeed in attaining his object? The problem of reparations was certainly transferred from the domain of diplomacy to that of finance and bookkeeping; and the "sacrifices" which all sections of French opinion alleged that he had had to make to achieve that end, more especially the undertaking to evacuate the Ruhr in August of the present year, were admitted by general French opinion, except that of the extreme Right, as being inevitable; inevitable, that is, after France had missed what was regarded in Paris as the opportunity of a Reparation settlement in the autumn of 1923, after the Dawes and McKenna experts had done their work, and the United States had been involved. On the other hand, M. Herriot was given his share of credit in France for the spirit of international goodwill which was created by the London Reparations Conference of August, 1924, and which enabled him to advocate successfully the Geneva Protocol at the League Assembly in the following month. But Mr. MacDonald fell, and the Protocol received the support neither of British nor of German opinion. As seen from Paris, the failure of the MacDonald régime and the substitution of the Baldwin and Chamberlain régime simply constituted a reassertion of "British egoism," which made it impossible for Great Britain to accept any obligations abroad. M. Herriot's altruistic idealism was generally contrasted in France with British realism, which first threw out Mr. MacDonald and the Geneva Protocol, and then made it impossible for Mr. Chamberlain to carry through a unilateral pact.

It is the business of diplomatists and of those who study foreign affairs to try and understand dispassionately the point of view of other countries. M. Herriot, in the French view, was baulked on the one side by British egoism, on the other side by Germany's suspiciousness and unfriendliness, which were expressed in her alleged refusal to execute her obligations and thus led to the Cologne affair. On still another side, according to the same view, he was baulked by Russia; for his sending of an ambassador to Moscow failed to elicit from Russia any sympathetic response. The French Right never gave to M. Herriot the support which, for instance, the British Right gave to Mr. MacDonald; a fact which perhaps illustrates not only the differing political traditions of the two countries, but also the comparative mildness and moderation of what corresponds to the "Right" in Great Britain. The French Right was out for M. Herriot's political blood from the beginning of his Prime Ministership. After the August Conference, when he accepted the evacuation of the Ruhr by France, even with a twelve months' stay of execution, the Poincarists launched a sustained offensive against him. Apart from them, however, Frenchmen had the good sense and the critical judgment to regard M. Herriot's foreign policy as a partial success. In so far as, in their view, he failed, they regarded him as a glorious failure, because his policy had depended on the goodwill and co-operation of Germany and Great Britain, both of whom refused to follow the gleam. There is another aspect to that story, but such was the moderate French view. British opinion mostly respected M. Herriot, not only because he stood for a French revolt against M. Poincaré, but because he took a European as well as French view of affairs.

THE NEW FRENCH TRIO.

M. Herriot resigned on April 10th. Six days later, after some interesting feats of personal reconciliation had been performed, M. Painlevé succeeded in forming a Government, of which he himself as Prime Minister, M. Briand as Foreign Minister, and M. Caillaux as Finance Minister monopolised the interest of foreign observers. It certainly was as interesting and as dramatic a trio as we have seen since the War: M. Painlevé, a mathematician and scientist, M. Caillaux, a "traitor," M. Briand, an ex-Prime Minister and vagabond.

The most interesting of the three was, undoubtedly, M. Briand, who is likewise one of the most interesting personalities in Europe. In repose, he looks like a tired tramp, with his unending cigarette *jaune* hanging from his lips. The moment he speaks, his whole temper seems to be transformed, and he becomes an agile and animated orator and a skilled debater, with a genius for diplo-

matic rapier-work. At conferences he was match for Mr. Lloyd George in the kind of finesse, flair, knack, readiness of repartee for which Mr. Lloyd George was justly famous throughout Europe. He has a better title to the rôle of vagabond than that of his dejected appearance. Was it not soon after giving up the Prime ministership of France in 1922 that, in the course of his daily life as a private citizen, he wandered about unshaven and alone, except for the company of his cigarettes jaunes, in a lonely wood in the French provinces; was arrested by the gendarmes of a small village as a vagrant, and being unable to produce his papers, was detained at the police station for a night pending documentary identification; and when identified, justified, apologised to, and released the next morning, took his captors for a drink at the village café?

He is imperturbable, except under the influence of his own oratory. His famous golf match at Cannes, which I happened to witness, was typical of his humour. Mr. Lloyd George being a golfer, it was a natural part of the day's work on January 4th (or thereabouts), 1922, that what was virtually a meeting of the conference was held on the terrace of the golf club house during luncheon. Philippe Millet and myself were having luncheon at the next table, having played a round in the morning. Mr. Lloyd George, in the middle of conference talk and luncheon, gaily challenged M. Briand to a match at "the golf," and M. Briand, who had never handled a golf-club in his life, equally gaily, but with his deceptive air of unruffled dejection, accepted. The match started at once after luncheon. M. Briand was matched with Sir Edward Grigg against Mr. Lloyd George and Lord Riddell. M. Briand took the honour and did good "business"; started with a left-hand grip for a right-hand stance; was corrected by Mr. Lloyd George; stopped at the top of his swing with the remark, "*J'hésite*," and generally behaved in such a way as to scandalise the normal gravity of his countrymen.

M. Painlevé's reputation as a mathematician and scientist is greater than his reputation as a politician, although he was Prime Minister of France for the last three months of 1917, has held other Cabinet posts, including that of Minister for War, and after the general election of last year was made President of the Chamber of Deputies. He has published in France a life of Edith Cavell.

M. Caillaux has returned to French public life at a time far enough removed from the war atmosphere to make it possible, even in France, to think more of his financial ability than of his controversial past. He is regarded by his countrymen as the French Bradbury, but most Frenchmen qualify the analogy by the axiom that no financier can be the equal of Lord Bradbury: for

was it not Lord Bradbury, who at one and the same time fought the case for leniency towards Germany, yet made Germany pay when France could extract nothing, and, moreover, made Germany pay more to the British Treasury than to the French? M. Caillaux is regarded both in London and in Paris as a stiff financier who is more likely than any other Frenchman to extract the payment of taxes from the French peasant, no easy task. He holds more conventional views about debts than is usual in France; and a French wit diagnosed his dilemma by observing that under M. Caillaux's guidance France would no doubt fund her external debts, but would hardly be able to refund them.

The first indication that M. Caillaux was thinking on the lines of debt funding was given in a speech which he made to the Financial Committee of the Chamber on May 12th, when he stated that he proposed to earmark a proportion, which, however, he did not specify, of the French receipts from the Dawes annuities for the purpose of repaying the debts to Great Britain and to the United States. That statement must be regarded as the first response, incomplete and indirect as it was, to the Churchill Memorandum of February 6th. Mr. Churchill suggested in his memorandum that "it might be found convenient that the French payments should be divided into—(a) Fixed annual amounts to be paid by France irrespective of the actual receipts from the Dawes annuities in a particular year; and (b) A further annual charge on the French share in the Dawes annuities." No answer had yet been given to that suggestion beyond a short acknowledgment from M. Clémentel, and the sending by him of two French Treasury officials to London to discuss the Churchill basis in terms of figures with British Treasury officials (see CONTEMPORARY REVIEW, May, 1925, pp. 657-8). Now that M. Caillaux has reopened the question of the debt it may perhaps be hoped that the French Government will answer the Churchill Memorandum and will resume the negotiations.

DEBTS.

Some confusion has been caused by certain figures published by the French Ministry of Finance about the French debt to Great Britain. The figures purport to record the position up to June 1st, 1924:—

Year	Bills Issued £	Bills Redeemed £	Balance £
1915	46,800,000	16,000,000	30,800,000
1916	431,017,000	30,800,000	100,217,000
1917	326,143,482	131,017,000	195,126,482
1918	429,480,000	337,618,482	91,861,517
1919	475,830,000	418,105,000	57,725,000
1920	544,330,000	484,330,000	60,000,000

Year	Bills Issued £	Bills Redeemed £	Balance £
1921	566,185,000	535,730,000	30,455,500
1922	586,875,700	566,185,500	20,690,200
1923	605,681,400	586,785,700	18,895,700
1924	315,408,500	303,888,100	11,520,400
Totals	£4,327,751,082	£3,410,459,782	£617,291,300

If those figures were taken at their face value it might be inferred that the French debt of some £600,000,000 was merely a margin of unpaid debt out of an enormous total debt of which the bulk had been paid back. Not so. The first two columns are merely paper figures. The French debt was contracted in twelve-month Treasury Bills. As they fell due for redemption, and as the French Treasury did not redeem them, the British Treasury consented to regard them as having been redeemed by the French Treasury issuing another lot of Bills enough to cover the former ones plus accrued interest. The annual figures of column one therefore are merely a book-keeping repetition annually. The only column that has any practical meaning is column three.

The hitherto unrelieved monotony of the Franco-British debt controversy—if the word controversy can be applied to the simple relations of a debtor who does not pay and a creditor who is not paid—has at last been relieved. A Belgian senator has made the gratifying discovery that, far from France being indebted to the United States, it is the United States that is indebted to France; for during the Revolutionary War France made a loan to the United States, and, according to our explorer, the unredeemed portion of that debt, plus the accrued interest on it, comes to more than the Great War indebtedness of France to the United States. Statistics are a notorious snare to the inexpert (witness the table printed above); and statisticians can make out diametrically opposite cases from the same figures. Senator Borah, for instance, Chairman of the United States Senate Committee on Foreign Relations, made a statement in the *Observer* of May 10th in which he affirmed, by contrast, that the United States not only repaid the Beaumarchais loan, but more than repaid it. "The fact is," he states, "that the United States paid every dollar of money loaned by the French Government to the American colonies during the Revolutionary War, and paid it, when all circumstances are considered, with great promptness and at a rate of interest much higher than we have any intention of charging the French Government. But all amounts which were loaned, or intended as a loan, were repaid, and the Beaumarchais loan was overpaid by a very considerable sum—and, as I have already stated, with remarkable

promptness. To contend that any part of this loan was left unsettled or unpaid is to contend against the plain, indisputable facts of history."

It is as well to have the plain indisputable facts of history established: but the really interesting moral which emerges from this academic statement of those facts is that there is one exception to the policy which has been adopted by the United States towards Europe since 1919, and which has been lately reaffirmed by the new American Ambassador in London. That policy shortly put is that America helps those who help themselves; in other words that America will help Europe to recover when Europe has recovered by her own devices. The exception to that readily understandable isolationist policy is that America relents in so far as the debts owed to her are concerned, an exception which again is readily understandable. As Senator Borah declared in the document just alluded to, "France at this time owes the United States, or rather the taxpayers of the United States—for it was their money we loaned—in round numbers four billion dollars. According to the terms of the loan when made, the debt bears interest at the rate of five per cent. Some six years have passed since the war. No part of the principal, no interest, has been paid . . . it has been a matter of surprise, of great surprise, that France has at no time submitted any terms of settlement. . . ." The deepest sympathy will go out from this country to the United States in her financial troubles, coupled perhaps with a sense of satisfaction that we are doing our bit.

Senator Borah, however, was wrong about the Beaumarchais loan. It was not repaid by the United States, and the less said the better.

THE GOOSE STEP.

President Ebert died on February 28th. Field-Marshal von Hindenburg was elected to succeed him, as a result of two elections. The first was held on March 29th, when the figures were indecisive, no candidate securing a clear majority. The figures were:

Dr. Jarres (Nationalist)	...	...	...	10,787,870
Dr. Braun (Socialist)	...	...	...	7,838,676
Dr. Marx (Centre)	...	...	...	3,988,559
Herr Thälmann (Communist)	...	...	...	1,885,770
Dr. Hellpach (Democrat)	...	...	...	1,582,414
Dr. Held (Bavarian)	...	...	...	999,036
General Ludendorff (Bavarian Fascists)	...	...	...	210,970
Others	...	...	...	30,000

A second election therefore had to be held, an absolute majority in this case being enough for election. Field-Marshal von Hin-

denburg, after a close struggle with Dr. Marx, was returned with nearly a million majority. The three million additional electors who voted on the second occasion swelled the Nationalist vote. The figures were :

Hindenburg (Nationalist)	...	...	...	14,639,395
Marx (Republican)	...	...	...	13,752,642
Thalmann (Communist)	...	...	...	1,931,951

The new President ostentatiously entered Berlin on May 11th to the accompaniment of ceremonial, and in two senses appropriate, goose steps. Yet it could hardly surprise those who had been watching events in Germany that she should behave like a goose at that particular time. She is normally deficient in political sense. The striking exception recorded when she made her admirable pact proposals early this year was clumsily repelled by the Allied decision not to evacuate Cologne—a decision for which Mr. Chamberlain and the British Cabinet must bear their full share of responsibility. It was known in February and March that German opinion was more restive, as a result of Allied provocation, than it had been since the Armistice; and it was clearly unnecessary to seek an explanation of Field-Marshal von Hindenburg's election in the adoration of German females for uniforms. Women are realists, if they are not pacifists, and their reactions are mathematical in their precision, even if instinctive in origin.

President Hindenburg is a fact to be dealt with. His exact official scope is of less importance than the psychology of his election. Yet it is worth noting how exactly his position differs from that of the Kaiser in the old days. It happens that an examination of this question has lately been made. Exactly a year ago, as a result of a question put to the Government in the House of Commons, Mr. Ponsonby undertook to circularise all our diplomatic representatives abroad to ask for a revised analysis of the methods adopted for dealing with international questions in the parliaments of the respective countries in which they were stationed. The answers of our representatives abroad have since been published in a White Paper (Cmd. 2282. Miscellaneous No. 19 (1924)). I quote the relevant passages in Lord D'Abernon's despatch, dated Berlin August 18th, 1924:—

“The report on the treatment of international affairs in Germany furnished by Earl Granville on December 29th, 1911, is completely out of date in consequence of the German revolution and the adoption of the new Weimar Constitution.

“Since the passage into force of the Weimar Constitution promulgated on August 11th, 1919, sovereign powers are vested by the German people in the Reichstag and the President of the

Reich elected by universal suffrage. The President in turn appoints the Government, that is to say the Chancellor and Ministers of the Reich, who must enjoy the confidence of the Reichstag during the exercise of their functions. . . . The President of the Reich is vested with the usual formal prerogatives which belong to the constitutional head of a State with Parliamentary government, but the declaration of war and conclusion of peace are effected by legislation in the Reichstag. He has the right to form the Government as well as to exercise supreme command over the armed forces. He exercises certain rights of control *vis-à-vis* the Reichstag by virtue of the powers vested in him by the Constitution. He does not possess the right of veto on legislation. . . .

“Legislation dealing with foreign relations is, according to Article 6 of the Constitution, the exclusive prerogative of the Reich. Similarly, article 78 ordains that the care and conduct of relations between the Reich and foreign States lies exclusively in the hands of the Reich.

“ . . . Article 45 states that the President represents the Reich in international law. He accredits and receives diplomatic representatives. He concludes alliances and treaties with foreign States in the name of the Reich. His authority is limited in the sense that declarations of war or peace require legislation on the part of the Reichstag; similarly, treaties involving legislation for their fulfilment require the assent of the Reichstag. His ordinances require for their validity the counter-signature of the Chancellor or of the competent Minister of the Reich. The practical conduct of foreign affairs lies, of course, in the hands of the Foreign Minister who controls the Executive and is directly responsible to the Reichstag. The Government are collectively entitled and obliged to lay down the general lines of foreign policy.”

The position of the President to-day is therefore vitally different from the position of the Kaiser under the old Constitution. Article 11 of the old Constitution made the conduct of the entire foreign policy of the Reich the direct and exclusive prerogative of the Kaiser, whose executive organ was the Chancellor of the Reich. With the exception that the declaration of war, the conclusion of peace, and the conclusion of treaties needed the consent of the Federal Council or Bundesrat, the Kaiser was completely independent in his conduct of German foreign policy. The President of the Republic now replaces the Kaiser, but his influence and power are incomparably smaller, for the practical conduct of foreign policy now rests with the Foreign Minister, and by Article 54 of the Weimar Constitution the Reichstag has the power of dismissing the Foreign Minister.

THE STUCK-IN-THE-MUDS.

By the middle of May there were indications of a leisurely resumption of activity on the part of the German, French and British diplomatists. The two immediate subjects to be dealt with were first the sending of an Allied communication to Germany to inform her of the detailed reasons why four months earlier the Allies had refused to evacuate Cologne; in what respects Germany had failed to carry out the disarmament clauses of the treaty; what precise measures Germany would have to take before she could be regarded as having fulfilled her obligations in this respect and therefore before Cologne could be evacuated; and second, the French answer to the German pact proposals.

As for Cologne, Mr. Chamberlain frankly explained in the House of Commons, on May 6th, that one of the reasons for the Allied delay in sending the Note to Berlin was that at the last meeting of the Ambassadors' Conference the British representative had not received his instructions from London. Even while Mr. Chamberlain was speaking, those belated instructions were on their way to Paris, and Lord Crewe circulated them, in the form of a memorandum, to his colleagues to save time when the Ambassadors held their next meeting. Mr. Chamberlain's frankness was a little unfair on himself. The real reason for the delay more probably was that, in spite of the technical view that the questions of Cologne and disarmament on the one hand, and of the security pact on the other were separate, they were in practical diplomacy interdependent. Mr. Chamberlain's real excuse for his own contribution to Allied delay in dealing with the question of Cologne was the sound one that the whole problem was in the last resort that of security and friendliness between the three big nations of Western Europe, and that if the major problem of the pact could be settled, the minor problem of the evacuation of Cologne would automatically disappear.

None the less, presumably for obvious tactical reasons, the British Government instructed Lord Crewe to refuse to link up the evacuation of Cologne either with the French evacuation of the Ruhr or with the pact. The British Government illogically—but Mr. Chamberlain has in more than one of his public and parliamentary speeches argued the case against logic as a political instrument—maintained that the evacuation of Cologne was a matter arising directly out of the Treaty of Versailles, and one to be dealt with strictly on the basis of the Treaty, whereas the question of the pact was outside the treaty; in other words, that Cologne must be evacuated as soon as Germany had carried out the treaty. Every baby, however, knows that formal distinctions

of such a kind are empty of practical meaning. French opinion, for instance, began to prophesy that the German defaults, especially those requiring German legislation for their acquittance, were such that they could not be made good before the League Assembly met in the autumn, that, therefore, Germany, not having carried out the Treaty, could not be admitted to the League till the autumn of 1926; that the pact proposals, which presupposed German membership of the League, could not take a practical turn till 1926. That estimate, however, was regarded as unnecessarily pessimistic on this side, the British Government clinging to the hope that Germany could satisfy the Allies about disarmament, and that Cologne could be evacuated before the League Assembly met in the autumn.

THE CRUX OF THE SECURITY NEGOTIATIONS.

The rumours of Mr. Chamberlain's impending resignation as British Foreign Secretary, which were put about in the middle of May, when the first heat wave of the year was at its height, were due to two main lines of reasoning on the part of those who busied themselves with Mr. Chamberlain's personal affairs. The first was something like this. In the first week of March, on the eve of his visits to Paris and to Geneva, Mr. Chamberlain found himself in a serious predicament. He had decided on a certain policy, which, if adopted by the Cabinet, would have involved a direct pact of guarantee to France by Great Britain. It was not adopted by the Cabinet. Instead, it was decided that British policy should advocate a tripartite scheme between Germany, France and Great Britain such as would operate against or in favour of Germany or France according as one, or the other, acted the aggressor. The diplomatic gossip of the time related that Mr. Chamberlain, on being defeated in the Cabinet, was seriously considering his resignation. He decided, however, not to resign, but to carry out his Paris and Geneva missions on a policy imposed by the Cabinet against his own judgment. Two months later the difficulties in the way of achieving success in the tripartite venture were such that some Cabinet influences began to wonder if any arrangement to which France must be a party could be made. Therefore, concluded the pundits, jumping all the rest, Mr. Chamberlain was about to resign. The second line of argument was that foreign policy being in an impasse over the security pact, and Budget policy being in an impasse over silk stockings, it would be a good thing if Mr. Chamberlain went to the Treasury as the new broom needed there, and Mr. Churchill went to the Foreign Office as the new broom needed there. On such foundations of unconfirmed, but not entirely unintelligent,

surmise Mr. Chamberlain's resignation began to be talked about.

If for no other reason, the talk was useful as an indication that all was not well in the triangle. It may therefore be of service to analyse the exact position of the pact negotiations as obtaining in the middle of May. Germany had made an offer to respect *in perpetuo* the treaty frontiers in the west, and to refrain from any attempt to revise the eastern treaty frontiers by force of arms. The British Government had accepted that offer as a sincere one and as offering a practical basis for a pact. France had accepted it as a basis of discussion, and proceeded to the discussion in such a way as to raise a serious issue between Germany and Great Britain on the one side and France on the other. No definite step was taken on the French side, till in the second week of May M. Briand transmitted to London his proposed text of a French answer to the German proposals of January 30th. At the time of writing that document had not been before the British Cabinet, and was kept secret on both sides of the Channel. From what may be called, for convenience, the informed gossip about the Chamberlain-de Fleuriau conversations in London and the ideas propagated in Paris by inspiration of the Quai d'Orsay, it is, however, possible to estimate the general tenor of the French case in its maximum aspect. That maximum will, of course, be reduced, or the pact will never be reached.

Briefly, then, the French obstacle consisted in this, that a Rhine barrier such as would be set up by the German proposals and by Articles 42 to 44 of the treaty would act in two ways. It would prevent a German invasion of France, but it would safeguard Germany from French action and would thus leave Germany free to do her will in the East without any fear of French intervention—an astonishing French argument. Equally astonishing was the suggested remedy. Let it be understood that the argument now being interpreted was entertained in serious French quarters, but had not been reduced to diplomatic form. The suggested remedy was that the pact should contain a clause by which Germany undertook to accept the eastern frontiers, not merely to refrain from an attempt at forcible revision. The point of the distinction was that France should maintain the right to cross the Rhine in defence of Polish frontiers, to the safeguarding of which France is committed by treaty with Poland (see CONTEMPORARY REVIEW, May, 1925, pp. 652-3).

The British answer to this contention was that Germany must join the League before the pact is concluded, and that, having undertaken not to take warlike action for revision in the East, the only avenue left open for revision would be that of Article 19 of the Covenant, to which we are all committed and which has

been signed, as an integral part of the Treaty of Versailles, by France. To meet French nervousness, Mr. Chamberlain, however, was understood to be willing to advise the British Cabinet to agree to the incorporation in the pact of a clause of which the effect would be that it should be no part of the purpose of the pact to weaken the treaty provisions in the East—a formula, which, as French perspicacity at once saw, meant precisely nothing in view of Article 19 of the treaty. It became obvious that the crux of the pact negotiations would be to reconcile German and British ideas with French commitments to Poland, a difficult problem.

As signs began to accumulate that America was beginning what her nationals call a "drive" in favour of a French funding of the American debt, the financiers began to argue that France would have to give way, for the franc is at the mercy of the Anglo-Saxons.

LITHUANIA AS DEBTOR.

Lithuania is one of the countries that pay their debts. At various times during the past few years her various funding operations, and her payment of her obligations, including her debts to the United States, have been recorded in these pages. She also owes a debt to France, contracted for locomotives and arms. That debt has been funded, 1,270,268 francs, with interest, have already been paid, and the balance, 1,134,168 francs, will be paid on April 30th, 1926. Let M. Caillaux observe, in his rôle of happy creditor, that his debtor is also happy, for the Lithuanian litas stands at about par with sterling. It is no accident. The French franc, the currency of a big Power, could emulate the health of the Lithuanian litas, the currency of a very small and very young Power, if the same route were taken.

FILMS AS PROPAGANDA.

It is perhaps worth recording that the diplomatists are now for the first time in history paying attention to the picture palace as a factor in the world's diplomacy. It is indeed obvious that films afford opportunities for propaganda such as can never be equalled by the printed word, propaganda which may permeate uncounted masses daily, monthly, yearly. Why, however, should that be a subject of alarm? The main object of the diplomatists is to make different countries understand each other. There seems no reason why the film producers should not ultimately decide to produce something nearer to reality than they do now; and it is unnecessarily pessimistic to assume that British films will always be so appallingly bad as to be worse even than American, and that therefore American films will continue to mislead the outlying parts of the British Empire about the sort of life that is led by the English

people. Films will have to grow up. What is interesting is that the process has started. Two European countries, Germany and Czechoslovakia, are having a race in the installation of kinemas in their main line express trains, after the American example. The German authorities have been considering a scheme, and the Czechoslovak Ministry of Railways has just approved a scheme for the construction of special carriages capable of holding 75 passengers for use on the two main lines which are the lines chiefly used by foreign visitors. It is proposed to show films which, while including a little light entertainment (in case there should be English visitors on board) will mainly have an educative value, illustrating the scenery, industries, and other national features in which foreigners may be supposed to be interested. Great Britain is likely to be a very late starter in the diplomatic film race.

May 15th, 1925.

GEORGE GLASGOW.

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THE WISDOM OF LORD COURTNEY.*

The publication of a full-length biography of Lord Courtney in 1920, revealed a personality as lovable as it was strong. At that moment we were too near the great upheaval and the military triumph to do justice to a man whose life was devoted to preaching the gospel of idealism in politics and the interdependence of nations. To-day when the inability of force to pacify and rebuild the world is generally recognised, there will be a greater readiness to listen to the voice of an older generation, which made the England of Victoria the moral leader of the world and the home of ordered freedom. "In these times," writes Sir Arthur Quiller-Couch in a striking Introduction to this volume, "when fresh dangers seem to be threatening the rights and consciences of individual men, these extracts may be of service to the cause of liberty in so far as they represent the working of one of the most individual and disinterested minds of a previous generation." That his eulogy is not overstrained will be evident to all readers of this little book, compiled with loving care by E. C. M. Stewart and E. Satterthwaite, and worthy to take its place beside similar volumes of selections from Huxley and Canon Barnett. The

* *Cornish Granite*. Extracts from the Writings and Speeches of Lord Courtney. (Leonard Parsons. 6s.)

suggestive title, *Cornish Granite*, is chosen to represent the characteristic feature of the county which Courtney loved and of which he was one of the most distinguished sons.

The extracts from writings and speeches are conveniently grouped into five parts—World Policy, Government, Economics, Religion, and Miscellanea. The pages on Religion contain some of the finest passages from the exquisite little book, *The Diary of a Church-Goer*, which he published anonymously and which reveals the depth and poetry of his nature. It is impossible to label him, either in theology or politics, for, as Bagehot said of himself, he was "between sizes." He was neither a believer nor an unbeliever. He was neither a pure Cobdenite nor a pure Gladstonian. He was not opposed to war in principle, and he repudiated the doctrine of non-intervention in the affairs of Europe. "It seems to me that in European affairs each State has its duties as each citizen within a State has his." He refused to believe in "inevitable" wars, and he declined to saddle either the Press or the Governments with their coming. "We blame newspapers, but newspapers are what their readers make them. We blame governments, but governments are as people choose them. Peace rests upon us and upon each of us." Wars arose, he taught, not merely from passion and ignorance, but also from false principles. "My maxim of international conduct is to make friends of all and allies of none. What we want is a conception of international duty, a foreign policy based on the alliance and federation of the Powers of Europe dealing with European concerns." Imperialism, which he defined as "the glorification of power, greed of possession, the satisfaction of domination," was the arch enemy. In the days of Chamberlain and Kipling such a man and such teaching seemed to the majority as anæmic and as antiquated as the repetition of copybook maxims. To-day, surfeited as we are with territory and saddened by suffering, the conception of Empire is less alluring, and the mediæval notion of a *Respublica Christiana* is once more coming into its own. Courtney did not live to see the foundation of the League of Nations, but he must be reckoned among the most eloquent of its prophets. His life-long championship of Free Trade was due not merely to his conviction of its economic value, but also to his belief that it embodied and encouraged the idea of the unity of mankind.

If interdependence was the watchword of Courtney's foreign policy, the responsibility of the individual citizen was the kernel of his teaching in the sphere of domestic affairs. Accepting democracy with full conviction, he was anxious that its possibilities should be used to the utmost. Everyone should form his own opinions and find adequate expression of them in our Parliamentary

Government. Hence his life-long struggle for Proportional Representation, which he regarded as of equal importance for the voter, the member, and the nation. "It rests upon the fundamental principles of liberty and self-government. Its aim is to give the government of a country to an assembly where the dominant voice shall govern, yet no voice be suppressed—where the assembly within shall be as the nation without." His intense belief in the responsibility of the individual citizen for the shaping of his own career was one of the elements which made and kept him an opponent of Socialism. He mistrusted the capacity of the State to grapple with industry, and he feared the effect on the average man of a sheltered life. He never wearied of voicing the claims of personal energy, initiative, foresight, self-control, and looked with scorn on the growing habit of attributing all our social ills to "society" and none of them to our own follies and failings. Men who have made their way like himself are most conscious of what hard work and character can achieve. He expressed his sympathy with the ideal of a perfect order; but he never imagined that it could be attained. If his attitude towards State action seems nowadays too "mid-Victorian" to be of much service, we may remind ourselves that the ideal of the self-reliant citizen is never out of date. Reading and re-reading the extracts in this striking little volume we shall probably conclude that there is much in Courtney's individualism that can never die; that there is much in Socialism that can never live; and that the new order to which we are groping our way will be a synthesis of the best ideas embodied in the rival but complementary schools of thought.

G. P. G.

* * *

SCHOOL LIFE.*

Here is an excellent book about school life in successive centuries, a book which presents the education period of a man's life not from the angle of theory, or of educational doctrine, nor as a matter of art or science, but as it has actually been in the successive ages which have made us what we are. Mr. Moncrieff has had half-a-century of educational experience, he has an almost unequalled knowledge of the literature of education, he has talked and worked with men who knew secondary education as it actually was before 1869 and the modern revival. He therefore approaches the problem of actual education from the point of view of diagnosis, and that is the only scientific point of view if we are to doctor

* *A Book about Schools, Schoolboys, Schoolmasters and School Books.* By H. R. Hope Moncrieff. (A. and C. Black. 12s. 6d. net.)

our present educational weaknesses. A doctor who cannot diagnose a case cannot cure it. Our case requires advice and cure. We are very pleased with ourselves educationally to-day on both sides of the Atlantic. We purr over the new humanitarianism (not humanism) which we have introduced into the education of the young, and we like our new school buildings (when we get them), our new trained teachers (when we get them), our new methods, our new school books, our large and luminous, if somewhat misty, outlook. Now, we are the patient whom Mr. Moncrieff and his friends, the historians of education, have to cure. Doctors do not always approve of optimistic patients. The optimism may be a sign of advanced tuberculosis, it may be a sign of ignorance and carelessness. But, on the other hand, it may be a sign of rude and unconscious health. In any event, Mr. Moncrieff will not allow the patient to say that there is not anything the matter with him. The diagnosis and the state of the patient's pulse, his low blood pressure, and his restless manner make it impossible for the doctor to say more than a kind word, "Our youth may be thankful for a lot gentler than the hard times of schooling in the past." That at any rate is fair, and we commend the book to the perusal of boys who are grumbling to-day.

From one point of view, Mr. Moncrieff's narrative would be dreary if it were not agonising. The boy, from the days of Solomon or earlier to the days of Busby (and, indeed, a century later) was in all countries regarded as a creature with such an abnormal measure of original sin and of latent ability, that in order to check the one and let loose the latter, the cane (*ferula*), the knotted scourge (*scutica*), and the birch (*terribilis magistratum virgis*) were in ceaseless operation. Pagan Greece and Rome, Christian Rome, Christian Europe, even into our own times, plied the weapon of correction with an energy that sickens the mind, and it is to be remembered that eminent English headmasters who adorned the Bench of Bishops not twenty years since had flogged as furiously as the disciples of Plato. Gleams of another way with boys merely throw the regiment of floggers into high relief. That good fellow Diogenes, when he saw a child misbehave, "fell to beating the tutor for not having better trained his pupil." The earliest document in the long history of British education is a Romano-British law, based upon a combination of Celtic law and Canon law which forbade a scholar to be whipped after the age of fifteen. The Middle Ages forgot the Canon, though there is some reason for thinking that in the two centuries before the Reformation in England the flogging of schoolboys had fallen from its pristine vigour. One reported law case in the Year Books rather indicates this and early chivalric education was singularly humane. But

the Reformation and the Counter-Reformation brought the rod and birch into fierce play despite the mild protests of Ascham and Wolsey, and the great schoolmaster, Mulcaster's, insistence that the rod should be reserved for naughtiness. But the rod was not abandoned in any school until at the beginning of the nineteenth century it was totally abolished in the British and Foreign schools created by Joseph Lancaster with the aid of King George III. The new school substituted ridicule for the rod and the naughty boy used to be elevated to the ceiling in a basket. He probably would have preferred a whipping. The method of ridicule was not wholly new. The fool's cap was its ancient form. But the method of ridicule required more thought than the method of the birch, and even to-day the rod is not spared in a good many schools, and is not certainly forbidden by the education authorities.

What was, and indeed is, the meaning of encouraging learning by methods of violence? The earliest manifestations are, no doubt, not so unreasonable as they look. The boy, in any event, was born into a rough world where the iron hand and the ready blow were to be seen at every turn. The boy got no more at school than he got at home. The schoolmaster stood *in loco parentis*. The boy was between the devil and the deep sea. Luther's mother once whipped him till the blood came, and at school he was flogged fifteen times in one morning. That was how they made great men (and, incidentally, reformers) in the sixteenth century and later and earlier. To-day, fathers and mothers have practically ceased whipping their children and the gentlemen who stand *in loco parentis* are following suit. Yet under the old system boys loved their parents, looked back with spiritual tenderness to their old schools, and whipped their children with hereditary relish. It is a psychological problem of real difficulty, and it is not made more easy by the fact that for untold centuries men and women of astute minds and the most spiritual outlook, from the days of Plato to the greatest schoolmasters and saints of the nineteenth century, regarded physical punishment for boys without the least touch of disfavour. It is not conceivable that in one, or, at the most two generations, the minds and consciences of men have undergone a moral transformation. There was some reason behind the flogging which has either disappeared or has escaped the eye of the modern educationist. To some extent it has disappeared. A great majority of the schoolmasters of old days were not trained to teach and had wretched or very difficult school books from which to teach, and, in sheer desperation, they had to urge the boys to the limits of the children's intellectual powers in order to secure a real modicum of effective learning. All that Mr. Moncrieff tells us as to schoolmasters and school books and school life shows this.

One reason for brutality has disappeared or is disappearing. But that is not the whole answer. That mild methods pay best is also part of the answer, and that part was realised by the school of Mulcaster from the Elizabethan times onwards. But there was another reason, and that reason has survived though it is neglected. The earlier teachers felt that they had, at all costs, to insist on efficiency, the efficiency of every child that left the school; and this cult of efficiency meant a Spartan cult not only with the rod but in school life through and through. Now a large measure of this demand for efficiency has disappeared, though the need for efficiency is greater than ever. There is that lesson to be learnt from Mr. Moncrieff's diagnosis. Education means the making of a man efficient in every department of his life. The old educationists thought that they could secure it by harsh means all round; and in fact, they had an amazing measure of success, if success can be measured by scholarship and the production of saints and statesmen, philosophers, and theologians. But we believe that efficiency can be secured in a gentler way. Then, in the name of the dead gods of Rod and Birch who did so much, let us secure it.

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J. E. G. DE M.

OLD LONDON.*

Mr. Pendrill has produced an admirable picture of mediæval London, popular in form but scientific in accuracy and goal. His goal is to make the modern Londoner really visualise this great city as it existed six centuries ago. The goal is thoroughly reached and so interesting is the narrative that the mind in studying the book feels that it is living in this strange bygone age. There is ample material for building up a structure like this since "from the thirteenth century onwards London possesses a series of records unequalled by any other city in the world." But most of the books on London are dull even if they are learned. They cover too wide a space of time. Mr. Pendrill has chosen a limited period, both bizarre and picturesque, and for the most part he has kept within the limits of his epoch.

Certain aspects of the fourteenth century are not, however, fully brought out. A terrible and vivid picture can be painted of the great city in the throes of the Black Death in 1349, when the plague, which had crept into Southampton in the autumn of 1348, had secured a real grip of the Metropolis. Mr. Pendrill might have built up this picture on the gruesome background which he

* *London Life in the Fourteenth Century*. By Charles Pendrill. (George Allen and Unwin. 10s. 6d. net.)

duly presents of a city so insanitary that it is surprising that an epidemic had not seized and destroyed it far earlier. The filth of the streets is almost unimaginable, while the inadequate supply of drinking-water drove the people to use the sewage-laden Thames. In 1337, London brewers were using so much of the water from the great conduit between Chepeside and the Poultry (built about a century earlier to render the Tyburn springs accessible to the citizens) that everyone had to go short. But even this conduit did not supply enough water for the brewers, and a great deal of the London beer was made from Thames water. It was the custom to shoot sewage and rubbish into the Thames, and in 1382 the people by Dowgate dock asked to be allowed to build stairs for the double purpose of drawing water and emptying refuse. Some houses had wells, but these were regarded as dangerous by the sheriffs and were closed if any accident happened. In the very heart of the city, on the north side of Paul's, was a charnel house. When it was cleared away in 1549 "it is said that thousands of cartloads of bones were removed and reinterred in Finsbury Fields." The sanitary conditions were, indeed, such as to make the plague, when it once came, endemic.

These conditions were appreciated by the Mayor and efforts were always being made to cleanse the town physically as well as morally. Persons of loose morals were much more sternly dealt with than in many other towns, Oxford for instance, and dirty, mediæval London with its busy life had a great deal to be said for it from that point of view. But Mr. Pendrill makes it clear enough that it was not a sleepy town nor, indeed, in any sense a drab one. There was a good deal of violent crime, but criminals had short shrift given to them. There was also much petty dishonesty, while the gay shops tempted the burglar. But amidst all these faults we see statesmanship at work. London, from the earliest days, was a city of statesmanlike merchants who were never afraid of tyrannical kings. The kings, indeed, were so dependent on the merchants that they let the city much alone except for purposes of display. We see

The honest merchant pre-occupied with the maintenance of his trade privileges, so that he can pursue his course in peace and security. But the dawn of political knowledge will be observed in that succession of enlightened Mayors who compelled quarrelsome citizens to submit their differences to arbitration, directed their utmost efforts to the pacification of mutually jealous crafts, and when on the Judgment Seat, tempered firmness with mercy; by their public zeal making London the most renowned city in Europe.

Moreover, these Mayors were, when need be, fighting men. It is interesting to recall the great Grocer Mayor who cleared the North

Sea of Scottish pirates, and when called to book by the Crown for making war declared that if the Sovereign could not keep the seas open the City could do so.

The love of colour and display was a note of mediæval London. The modern Lord Mayor's Show gives the modern Londoner a paltry echo of the splendours and the colour to be seen in the streets of the mediæval city. Below these glories were ever in progress trade problems and quarrels, financial development on a great scale (involving, of course, the use of the new system of bills of exchange), difficult questions of wages and prices—Mr. Pendrill considers that the position of the industrial classes was not too good—including their attempted regulation, but to the public eye these actualities were hidden in the pomp and glory, colour and life, that the busy city presented. The ordinary clothing of the people was full of colour; green, scarlet, blue, white, and red being greatly affected by men of means, while the fathers of the city wore gowns of damask and the clergy were gaily clad. Pageants and processions came naturally to a people so clad. When Henry VI, the boy-king, came to London by way of the Old Kent Road from France, in 1432, he passed on London Bridge a wonderful tower draped with velvet, cloth of gold, silk, and tapestry, whence issued to him Nature, Grace, and Fortune, three fair dames with flowing hair coronetted with gold, and with them stood seven golden-haired angels clad in white. In Cornhill the Seven Sciences met him, he being still a boy, and at "The Tun" sat a child on a throne supported by Mercy and Truth. The Conduit in Chepe ran with wine and Bacchus presided in an arbor of trees bearing all manner of fruit. Further on was a castle of green jasper, and as he passed from the Little Conduit to Paul's the Trinity met him surrounded by angels. So the king came unto his city and its cathedral and then passed on to Westminster to offer his sceptre on the High Altar.

The scene was symbolic of the religious spirit that underlay all adventure and all trade. It was the note of the Middle Ages. When, in 1293, news came of a victory in Scotland there was a pageant organised by the fishmongers, and no less than a thousand horsemen accompanied St. Magnus, the saint of the fishing industry. No triumphs were equal to the London triumphs, and all classes shared in the splendour. But Mr. Pendrill makes it clear that it was not only victories that were magnified. The annual festival of St. John's Eve was always magnificently celebrated, and London on the summer night blazed with colour from lamps and bonfires. "The houses were decorated with garlands of flowers and branches of trees, and at the doors of many of them the inhabitants spread tables with victuals and drink to regale their

friends, inviting any with whom they had been at variance to come and compose their quarrel on the auspicious occasion." This festival disappeared at the Reformation, though Henry VIII, in his early days, played a merry part in it. The modern mind can only dimly imagine the passion and splendour of the Middle Ages in London when all the great Church festivals were celebrated by the whole people and every triumph was London's opportunity for joyous pageants and processions. The glory has departed and now on a summer's evening in the city "even the very houses seem asleep." But in the quietude of such a moment it is well to walk and recall the spiritual significance of the fashion in which the men and women and children of London lived six centuries ago. It was, indeed, a City of Contrasts, a City of Dreadful Night from one side, a City of Light and Loveliness from another aspect. The ringing centuries have brought losses as well as gains, but the statesmanship spirit of the City of London has changed little. To-day its population is like a tide coming and going, and when the tide is out there is silence and twilight where once there was light, pageantry, and music. But beneath all the changes there is the same spirit of iron determination that made London and maintains it as the greatest city in the world.

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SONGS WITHOUT WORDS.*

Professor Chambers, in this delightful paper, gives us some estimate of the losses that English literature has suffered from the mischances of time. We can estimate to some extent what we have lost in the way of classical literature, and good scholars seem to have come to the conclusion that on the whole the best has been preserved, though the heart aches for something more from the tender soul of Erinna and a great deal more from that pure spirit of high poesy, Sappho, so misrepresented, so supreme. But there is hope yet, for who can tell what the sands of Egypt, the purloins of Constantinople, the ill-estimated contents of Italian libraries, the rummaging of Greek monasteries and the raking of the private libraries of Western Europe will give us?

The temptation is much greater to overlook the lost literature of the Middle Ages: for it has often left very little trace behind it. We do not get much light on the lost vernacular literature of the earlier Middle Ages from scrutinising the catalogues of monastic libraries which have come down to us. A good deal of this lost literature, as we shall see, was very possibly never written down at all; it may have depended entirely upon the memory of minstrels. Yet it is safe to say that if the lost poetry had been preserved, the

* *The Lost Literature of Mediæval England.* By R. W. Chambers. (Oxford University Press. Reprinted from the Transactions of the Bibliographical Society.)

whole history of English literature, prior to Chaucer and Langland, would subside till they occupied a fresh and a small proportion of saints, which bulk so largely in Mediæval English verse and prose, would subside till they occupied a fresh, and a small proportion of our attention. . . . In England, we have to deplore the almost complete loss of two distinct schools of heroic poetry. In marked contrast to this loss is the security with which the tradition of English scholarship has come down to us. That tradition begins in the seventh century, when two streams of learning met in England, the one coming from Ireland and the other from Mediterranean lands. The tradition of learning which then started in England has, despite many set-backs, continued unbroken to the present day.

We might almost say *three* streams of learning, since the Celtic literature of Wales and the Celtic spirit gave to English literature something other than the scholarship of Ireland and the South, the mediæval influence of Italy and France, and the Renaissance of Learning unaided could have given. The Celtic element is written right through Shakespeare; it is the very virtue of Scott; it is the immortal element in Keats. But that in passing, since we have not lost the Welsh or the Irish heroic literature, and the point is that we have lost "the mass of heroic lays celebrating the heroes of many Germanic tribes" that the Jutes, Angles and Saxons brought to Britain. It may, perhaps, be doubted if the Jutland and Norwegian inscriptions are in this heredity, since the Jutes did not come from Jutland but from the interior of Germany.

Professor Chambers makes it clear to us that only a very small proportion of the religious and moral poetry of what may be called the Saxon age survives, though the Exeter Book and the Vercelli and Junian codices preserve some sixteen thousand lines of work which, at any rate in the *Genesis* and the *Exodus*, represents a great art. A more complete loss is the second phase of the old heroic poetry. Apart from the Bowdlerised *Beowulf* only two fragments came down, and one of these—the fight in Finn's Hall—has disappeared from Lambeth. "That two remnants have thus survived renders it probable that, in the tenth and eleventh centuries, a considerable amount of this heroic poetry must have existed in written form. Then, again, the *cantilenæ*, narrative lays of Saxon heroes, such as the house of Alfred, have disappeared, though they must have survived well into the fourteenth century since the rules of the old alliterative verse then emerge again, and we can only account for this by "a continuous tradition, handing down these rules through a series of lost poems." The parallel body of popular poetry, "Rhymes of Robin Hood," has also disappeared. Fire and neglect and the use of Anglo-Norman and Latin were perhaps the chief causes of these losses.

But all the losses are physical rather than spiritual. We have lost the actual words of the fifth century Druid or his equivalent, the lays of the early Christian minstrels, the popular heathen songs that competed with the Christian songs, the fireside epics of the late Saxon Kings, the popular poetry of the outlaws whom the Normans failed to conquer. These to-day are songs without words, but they are alive and are instinct in a national literature that took into itself the wandering music of minstrels and gleemen of a thousand years and made it immortal.

J. E. G. DE M.

* * *

A VICTORIAN HOME.*

Henry Taylor, poet and dramatist, is the central figure of this memoir compiled by his daughter, Una Taylor, from her father's letters, and from notes in his diary. These letters and notes form the background to a vivid picture which she paints with a full brush, and from the lights and shadows which encompassed the central figure she produces a very living portrait of the poet who was the contemporary of Wordsworth, Coleridge and Southey. Miss Taylor claims for this book that it has written itself, and that she is only the amanuensis of the past as it lies beside her in the manuscripts which her father treasured. She has, however, revealed her personality, as her father's daughter, in this record of the House of Memory, the Host and Hostess and the Guests.

* Henry Taylor had a dour childhood. He was a scion of a Northumbrian family of scholar squires. Born in 1800, he was left motherless at an early age. His father, George Taylor, became almost a recluse after his young wife's death, and literature was the only solace to a life darkened by loss, and by the deliberate exclusion of friends and neighbours. Southey's description of him in 1826 runs thus: "with whom Cato might have shaken hands, for he has the better part of an antique Roman about him." Henry was the youngest of his three sons, there was no sister. The two elder brothers were gifted boys. Henry was of a dream-like temperament, and did not respond to educational demands, and his father, recognising this, sent him to sea at the age of thirteen. He hated the sea life, and never repeated his first voyage. At sixteen he obtained a small Government appointment and joined his brothers who were living in London. They were all attacked by typhus fever; the two elder boys, aged nineteen and twenty, died within a fortnight. In 1820, Henry left London, as the office where he held his clerkship was abolished, and re-

* *Guests and Memories. Annals of a Seaside Villa.* By Una Taylor. (Humphrey Milford. Oxford University Press.)

traced his steps to a home laden with loss, no longer at St. Helen's, Auckland, but to Witton-le-Wear. It was a lonely spot, suited to his father's taciturn disposition, and the isolation threw the boy back on himself and fed his poetic fancy with the varied year of wind and storm and stress of the Wear valley. Henry's father married again, and his stepmother's sense of humour and ready wit helped to enliven the dreariness of Witton Hall. But even the strong spirit of Jane Taylor could barely cope with the depression of the surroundings. It was in the summer of 1822 that young Taylor wrote his romantic poem, "The Cave of Caeda," and a romantic drama, "Don Philip the Second."

From the seclusion of Witton-le-Wear in 1822-3, Taylor once more set forth to woo Dame Fortune. William Gifford, editor of the *Quarterly Review*, had published his article on Moore's "Irish Melodies," and given it unstinted praise, which seemed to the youth of twenty-two to open the door "to the outer world and sunshine." From that time onwards there grew up a human kindness between the two. Gifford's public appreciation of Henry Taylor's abilities stood him in good stead. In 1824 he was appointed to a clerkship in the Colonial Office, when the emancipation of the West Indian slaves was at issue. Before long he became a recognised influence. He was old beyond his years, both officially and otherwise. He was drawn into the semi-official social world—the Villiers, Elliot and Spring Rice circle, while his inherited Radical sympathies brought him into touch with John Stuart Mill and his party. Among his intimates of an older generation were the "Lake" poets, Southey, Wordsworth, and Coleridge.

Henry Taylor was not endowed with the organ of faith. His lonely commune with nature had not drawn him to nature's God. Religious convictions (as he told Southey) meant nothing to him at this time. "Time might, and did, change his outlook. Thought is a sequence of experiences; creeds emerge from a consensus of unpredictable spiritual emotions and intellectual processes, and the laws of evolution are inscrutable," writes his daughter. Perhaps it was not *time*, but his young mother's faith latent in him, which brought the change. It was in these years, 1829 and onwards, that Taylor, in the intervals of business and pleasure, wrote the play, *Isaac Comnenus*. It was published, but attracted no notice. Eight years later, 1834, he produced a second drama, *Philip van Artevelde*, which proved a triumph, and upon which rests his fame. But the cause of the slave never suffered from his friendships, which were many, or the poetry and philosophy which he loved. He laboured by day and by night with his friend, James Stephen, in the war waged against English slave-owning in the West Indies. After the failure of two schemes, one by Taylor

and the other by Stanley, a third measure, devised by James Stephen, was passed in 1833 and rest well-earned came to its champions.

From the Host one passes to the Hostess of this record of an hospitable home, Lady Taylor, Theodosia Alice Spring Rice, daughter of the Secretary of State for the Colonies (afterwards Lord Monteagle). Henry Taylor was twenty years her senior. Apparently they had nothing in common, but each possessed what the other lacked, so all was well, and love, the best maker of all marriages, prevailed. Lady Taylor must have been a delightful woman. Her sparkling, Irish wit and, above all, her gift of friendship endeared her to all with whom she came in contact. The latter half of these memories attest the affection in which she was held by the guests who came year by year to the home of Henry and Alice Taylor. Aubrey de Vere, the poet-cousin, was ever welcome, and the friendship-love was strengthened as the years went by. The Taylors' home, whether at Bourne-mouth or Freshwater, was a rendezvous of a literary circle, meeting in the simplest fashion, discussing and discoursing on those subjects dear to all lovers and builders of the House Spiritual, a house not made with hands, but wrought with mind and heart and love. Vivid are the memories set forth in these letters, revealing, as they do, each man or woman guest and the social friendships of those far-off days.

Miss Taylor has edited the letters so well that her portraits stand out in bold relief. Whether it be Alfred Tennyson or Benjamin Jowett, Aubrey de Vere or James Spedding, all are so deftly touched in that the reader seems to be walking with actual friends.

Writing of Jowett, Miss Taylor asks:

What was the secret of that influence which made Jowett Master, not of a College but of Youth? . . . Was it his absolute and steadfast sincerity of soul, combined with the simple virtue of selfless kindness, reticent to the extreme in utterance, prodigal in action? It was a sincerity that cleared the atmosphere around him of all unworthy pretension. It was a generosity that put to shame the poverty of smaller minds.

Jowett's deep interest in the university career of Aubrey Taylor (the eldest child, who died in 1870) is shown in fragments of letters, and his early death was affectionately mourned. The famous Master of Balliol was the last guest—but one—who touched Taylor's spirit gently. When Death came he fell asleep with "no weakness or failure of memory or judgment." This book forms a spirit-picture of the great Victorian age, and when the time comes for a final estimate of that age the historian dare not disregard this record of a cultured Victorian home.

S. DE M.

CAMILLO DI CAVOUR.*

Camillo di Cavour, the famous Italian statesman, born in 1810, was the second son of the Marchese di Cavour, a rich Piedmontese nobleman of ancient stock who rallied to the Napoleonic settlement of Northern Italy in the days when Prince Camillo Borghese, the husband of Pauline Bonaparte, held court at Turin as Viceroy of the Emperor. The future statesman was named after the Viceroy, his godfather. After the crash in 1814, when Victor Emmanuel I was restored to the throne, Cavour's father wisely retired to his estates and watched the chaos that followed the abolition of Napoleon's great efforts on behalf of Italy. The days of bitter reaction were long. Charles Felix succeeded his brother Victor in 1821, and on his death, childless, in 1831, the throne passed to Charles Albert, the representative of the younger branch of the House of Savoy and the direct ancestor of the present King of Italy. When Cavour became First Minister of King Victor Emmanuel II of Sardinia, in 1852,

Italy was divided into eight separate States—the Kingdoms of Sardinia and Naples, the States of the Church, the Grand Duchy of Tuscany, and the Duchies of Modena, Parma, and Lucca, with Venetia and Lombardy as Provinces of the Austrian Empire. Italy thus divided was the work of the Congress of Vienna in 1815, and represented the latest redistribution of her soil in a series where permutations and combinations had prevented the unity of Italy for a thousand years. When Cavour died in 1861 Italy was a single kingdom under Victor Emmanuel, save for Venetia and the city of Rome.

It was not until 1848, the year of political revolutions emerging from the new industrial and democratic claims on human organisation, that Cavour entered the Sardinian parliament. He was then thirty-eight, and had fourteen years of work before him. A man of great intellectual power, possessed, according to his own account, of vast ambition, and certainly with wide knowledge, not only of human nature but of human affairs and of the range of human knowledge, it may seem surprising that he had not sooner taken a place in the political turmoil of his age. Many years before he entered political life he had arrived at his final position, standing midway between reaction and revolution, at a time when Italy was waiting for a dominating and guiding mind. The explanation is simple enough. He had to wait for an opening.

From his father he inherited a strong will and an aptitude for business, and from his mother, a Swiss of Huguenot ancestry, his love of freedom and his democratic leanings. The tenacity of his democratic ideas and his imprudence in advocating them ruined

* *The Early Life and Letters of Cavour, 1810-1848.* By A. J. Whyte. (Oxford University Press. 12s. 6d. net.)

the military career designed for him by his father and put him in chronic opposition to his family, his social circle, and the court. Debarred in consequence from the one career he desired, he adopted a business life. Beginning with agriculture, he was soon immersed in schemes for railways, mills, steamboats, banks, and other ventures, some of which failed and some of which succeeded, but which all brought him knowledge and experience. In spite of his multifarious business activities he found time to write a series of very able articles on social and economic subjects, and was rapidly making a name for himself as a writer, when the Piedmontese reforms of 1847 sent him into journalism as editor of his own paper, *Il Risorgimento* (The Resurrection). It was from this position that he passed in June, 1848, to a seat in the Chamber of Deputies.

It is these preparatory years which Mr. Whyte in his volume describes from Cavour's voluminous diaries, letters, and published writings. The picture emerging is, as Mr. Whyte admits, a not very pleasant one. The best side of it is Cavour's intense love of his father and mother; and it is plain enough that to the sound commonsense of the Marchese di Cavour, in critical period after critical period, the world owes the fact that the very wayward son was preserved for the great duties of his later life. The father recognised his great ability and held the reins of affection and financial control with extraordinary tact, wisdom, kindness, and ability. So far as was possible he gave a free rein to a vain, self-conscious, able young man, who in many ways was a trial to everyone with whom he came into contact. His tiresome love affairs—dealt with at quite undue length in this book—and especially those with two comparatively elderly women, are characteristic of a man who longed to be praised and purred over and found little sympathy or praise in his own family. It may be said truly that dependence on women (other than his mother) played little or no part in the preparation for his life's work. He never married. The hunger of his nature was really for the achievement of great social and political reforms in a world that seemed past reform. Almost unconsciously, he prepared himself by tireless work for a goal that might well never have been reached; and then suddenly the goal stood before him and all the waywardness of his life vanished, and his great inherited qualities enabled him to achieve results which Napoleon himself would have envied. "He stepped into public life at the darkest hour of his country's history, and by sheer ability, courage, and faith forced her to place her destiny in his hands." It is a curious record, this unexpected evolution of a very great man, and the period of preparation deserves study.

GILGAMESH, THE SUMERIAN.*

Sir Wallis Budge, keeper of the Egyptian and Assyrian Antiquities at the British Museum, in his learned introduction to this attractive and beautifully illustrated book, makes it clear that there were extant 2000 B.C. versions of the epic of Gilgamesh, the early Sumerian hero, the echoes of whose deeds went west as far as Greece. When he lived and fought is not known, but the legends about him and his deeds in the Mesopotamian lands, that took final shape in successive Sumerian and Semitic epics, were sung by tribal bards, and in this way his fame

reached the mountains of Kurdistan and Armenia and the deserts of Jordan, and it no doubt penetrated the countries that we now call Syria and Palestine, and Egypt and the coasts and islands of the Mediterranean. And the love of the epic of Gilgamesh has still power to stir the imagination, for it has moved Miss Zabelle C. Boyajian, the poetess and authoress of that excellent work, "Armenian Legends and Poems," London, 1916, to write the charming version of it in blank verse which the reader now has in his hands.

Praise from Sir Wallis Budge is praise indeed, and it is very remarkable that a writer of partly eastern stock should have obtained such a grasp of such an essentially English metre as that which Milton used for his great epics of the fall and restoration of man. Here is a passage that echoes the music of Milton's noble line.

But when Anu, the messenger, beheld
The horrid face of Tiamat from afar,
He could not bear her presence, and he fled.
Then all the gods in council met once more,
And Marduk for the fight was singled out—
The hero who should slay the senseless whirl
Of elemental Chaos, and create
New order, and a better form of life.
And Marduk issued forth in all his pride,
Arrayed with arms that glistened like the sun:
And stretching forth his mighty hand, he struck
Tiamat's own weapons from the monster's grasp
To fight her with. In solitary gloom,
Clothed with the storm and lightning, forth he sped.
The winds of heaven he captured in his hands—
The North and South, the golden East and West.
He held them in his hands, and wove a net,
And formed three other mighty hurricanes
To strengthen it. Then in his chariot
Standing erect, and drawn by fiery steeds,
He flew through space, enwreathed by wind and cloud.

* *Gilgamesh: A Dream of the Eternal Quest.* By Zabelle C. Boyajian. Illustrated by the author, with an Introduction by Sir Ernest A. Wallis Budge. (George W. Jones, Gough Square, Fleet Street.)

- This epic, Sir Wallis Budge tells us, filled the series of Twelve Tablets. The hero was the fifth, perhaps the third, of a line of Sumerian kings who reigned at Erech (the modern Warka) in Lower Babylonia, half divine, all-wise and all-knowing, but in his passion for greatness he reduced the people to slavery and the gods created a mighty being to subdue him. This being, however, became a comrade to Gilgamesh and when this comrade died Gilgamesh began his quest for immortality. This poem is the story of the quest. The hero found the spirit of his lost friend but the spirit gave him no hope, and he had to face the fact of death at last.

Miss Boyajian was born in Mesopotamia, and it was in the very land of the hero that she learnt his hopeless story. Through her mother, an English lady and a kinswoman of Samuel Rogers the poet, and Samuel Sharpe the Egyptologist, Miss Boyajian inherits her gift of literature and research, while from her father, an Armenian clergyman, she no doubt derives that bizarre Armenian art which so appropriately illustrates her poem. Sir Wallis Budge declares that these pictures (so admirably reproduced in colours in this volume) illustrate the text in a remarkable way, but that they do not blindly imitate the ancient masterpieces on which they are based, and he adds "the present volume seems to me to be one of the very few in which poetry and art act as each other's handmaid with conspicuous success." The praise is well deserved. But it is only fair to say also that the Sagas on which the poem is based possess none of the hope that inspires the great Aryan Sagas, and presents a civilisation which was certain to fail.

THE EARLY HISTORY OF BENGAL.*

Mr. F. J. Monaghan, the author of this learned book, died on November 20th, 1923, soon after his retirement from a laborious and distinguished career in the Indian Civil Service. As long ago as 1885, when he was appointed sub-divisional officer at Rajmehal, his interest seems to have been aroused in the early history of the Province of Bengal. He had in view in later years a history of the whole Province, but only the section here published was ready at the date of his death. The task he had set himself was the history of Bengal from the establishment of the Maurya Empire down to the first Mohammedan invasion. He dealt with the area where the Bengali language is spoken, and his scholarly knowledge of that language gave him full opportunities to compile his material. The volume before us deals with the Maurya period which

* *The Early History of Bengal.* By F. J. Monaghan, with a preface by Sir John Woodroffe. (Oxford University Press. 15s. net.)
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closely follows Alexander's invasion of India. The date of this invasion is fortunately known and gives a fixed *terminus a quo*. The Greek evidence shows that at about that date the Gangarides were sharing dominion in the valley of the Ganges with the Prasii, a people who subsequently attained the mastery. This was an instance of a recurring phenomenon, the dominance in, at any rate Northern India, of a Power controlling the lower valley of the Ganges. "The latest and most conspicuous example of this may be found in the growth of the present British Indian Empire."

The founder of the Maurya dynasty was Candragupta—the Greek Sandrokottos—who threw off the yoke that Alexander's successors had placed upon the neck of the rulers of India. The vast empire over which he ruled was practically identical to that governed by his famous grandson Asoka. He made himself the head of a great confederation of States, of which the Ganges delta was probably a feudatory kingdom. It is certain that Asoka wholly controlled the eastern seaboard of the Peninsula of India.

Mr. Monaghan deals fully with the Maurya institutions as set forth in the *Kautiliya Arthasastra*, said to have been compiled by a Brahman minister of Candragupta. The work certainly deals with the social conditions during the Maurya period in Behar and Bengal. This portion of the work will appeal to students of comparative law institutions and polity and is a very useful chapter on a theme of the first importance. Mr. Monaghan sets beside the direct evidence of this native treatise the evidence supplied from Greek and Latin sources. Many Greeks or Macedonians visited India in this period, and it was not till near the close of Asoka's reign that intercourse between the Hellenic world and India became interrupted. We have, therefore, in this fact a very valuable means of testing the native evidence, though it must be expected that the Greek writers were subject to error and to a different logical outlook. But, at any rate, it is important to estimate the evidence, for instance, of Megasthenes on the Indian caste system in the fourth century before our era. Diodorus, in his epitome of Megasthenes, declares that the whole population of India was divided into seven castes, and Mr. Monaghan's criticism of Greek evidence on the subject is most valuable. A chapter on the rock inscriptions of the period of Candragupta's son and grandson, and another of the art of the period, add greatly to the value of a laborious book, the compilation of which has been a labour of love and is now worthily published.

SHORTER REVIEWS.

Mr. T. J. Leonhardt, in *Open Channels for the Adolescent: a Survey and a Solution*,* deals with the future of children leaving schools at the age of fourteen. He says that these "have as good a claim to a continuation of their education as more fortunate scholars. This being so, it is the duty of the nation to provide facilities for meeting the needs of its children in this respect." "Facilities" is an elastic term. All children in theory have such facilities already and any child can stay on at the elementary school to fifteen as of right, but, in fact, there are no organised facilities for children who do not win scholarships and they either go into organised labour (in the North of England and some other parts) or into "blind alley" employment, or wander the street with nothing except play and mischief in view. The Education Act of 1918 endeavoured to make part-time continuation education compulsory, but neither parents nor local authorities nor the Board of Education wanted this solution. The present Government are going to offer some extension of the juvenile unemployment centre system, mainly intended to keep the unemployed children out of mischief. Education is not the goal and such centres could not help children in *cul de sac* occupations. The author of this book studied the brief experiment in compulsory day continuation schools in London and describes it fully. These schools failed though substantial progress was made in them, but the voluntary part-time day continuation schools in London are now being carried on with success and are applauded by employers, and there are successful trade classes. But these efforts are partial, and Mr. Leonhardt advocates a universal system under which elementary school life would end at the end of the term in which the age of eleven is reached. He would abolish the scholarship system—a thoroughly evil system which involves the "cramming" of small children and only gives secondary education to a small proportion of the candidates—and admit all seventh standard children between the ages of eleven and twelve to junior secondary schools and transfer the residue of the children of the same age to higher grade schools. The junior secondary and higher grade scholars are all to be eligible at thirteen for entry into the senior parts of the secondary schools, thus providing secondary schools for all who can benefit by secondary teaching. Those who remain in the higher grade school will remain to fifteen with a vocational training, during which the real aptitude of the scholar would be discovered. The idea is well worked out and should be considered by the Board of Education.

Mr. Denis Gwynn's striking little book, *The Catholic Reaction in France*,† contains a quantity of valuable information in its two hundred pages, based on study and observation during a three years' residence in the country. Writing as a Catholic, he naturally sees the activities of his Church through rose-coloured spectacles; but the facts which he presents will convince readers of all opinions that Catholicism has made considerable strides in recent years. Though it is impossible to determine the precise number of believers, they may be roughly estimated at one-third of the population. Brittany, as all the world knows, is the most orthodox part of France. The bravery of the priests and the

* Thomas Murby and Co., 1, Fleet Lane, E.C.4. 5s. net.

† Macmillan Co., New York. 1924.

matchless services of Foch and other Catholic Generals during the war commanded universal respect, went far to eradicate the militant anti-clericalism of the Combes era, and rendered possible the restoration of official relations with the Vatican. The clergy are described with admiration as men living on a miserable pittance for the sake of their principles, since the abrogation of the Concordat deprived them of State aid. As a supporter of the Republic Mr. Gwynn regrets the reactionary politics of *La Croix*, the great Catholic organ, which makes as many enemies as friends. The last chapter, dealing with depopulation, is the most important. Nothing, he argues, can save France from falling out of the ranks of the Great Powers except the revival of a Church which frowns on birth control.

NOTICES OF BOOKS.

Dr. W. C. Bolland has reprinted from the *Cambridge Law Journal** his lecture delivered in the University of London on the famous *Liber Assisarum et Pleitorum Corone*. Dr. Bolland, our chief authority to-day on Year Books, speaks with much weight on this book, which records the Pleas of the Crown for the whole fifty years of the reign of Edward III. The solitary manuscript was first printed (abroad) about 1514 by John Rastell. Richard Tottell reproduced this edition in 1561 with certain changes. He produced another edition in 1580, and in 1679 the Associated Printers issued a folio edition as part of their Year Book series. Dr. Bolland gives a vivid account of the Pleas of the Crown in this book, forming a close picture of mediæval life. He also gives a valuable prefatory note on the form of civil action called an assize, the Grand Assize and the four petty assizes. Law students all benefit by the study of this remarkable paper.

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The Rev. William C. Procter, in "The Story of Sacred Song,"† traces the history of sacred songs and hymns from the earliest to the latest days, and in the more modern stages of the record gives an account of the hymns written by eminent Churchmen and Nonconformists. The chapter on the melody makers is specially attractive. Few know that Dr. J. B. Dykes composed the music to "Lead, kindly Light" while walking along the Strand, while many who sing the hymn tunes written by Sir Arthur Sullivan do not know that he wrote them. He gave a spirited setting to "Onward, Christian Soldiers," though this tune is not included in "Hymns Ancient and Modern." Dr. Procter has dealt in a popular and attractive fashion with a great theme and the book should have a large circulation. He says that "the best hymns form a kind of commentary upon the Bible, for they are nothing but Gospel truth set forth in rhyme, and may be said to hold the Scriptures in solution"; but he adds significantly that the language of a hymn should be simple and sober, not morbid or sentimental, and should not drift into "drivelling doggerel." The making of a hymn needs "deep spiritual insight."

* Stevens and Sons, Chancery Lane.

† James Clarke and Co., 9, Essex Street, Strand. 4s. 6d. net.