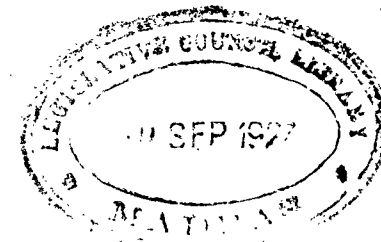


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THE LIBERAL PARTY.

I.

AT a time like this Liberals ought especially to remember that principles come before party, and party before personalities. Whatever may be the distractions, within or without, it must always be profitable to reflect upon Liberalism and its importance for the country. Indeed, it is no exaggeration to say that Liberalism is even more important to-day than ever. Our brief experience of the Labour Party in office shows that neither disarmament nor economy is safe in their hands, and although Mr. Snowden's Budget was excellent from the Free Trader's point of view, we know that his followers are largely tainted by Protection. Still less can one have confidence in the Conservative Government whose muddling with the Coal Problem shows a real inefficiency. In these, as in other matters, Liberalism has clear principles to apply.

The stock of Liberalism stands at par always, but the stock of the Liberal Party is very low. If we are not careful it might even fall to zero or to a discount. How can we raise the stock to parity? It is by emphasising our principles. We need to get back to them, examine them and re-examine them in order to see how we can best apply them to the problems of today.

Ever since the War there has been a disposition for people to look to someone else, generally a Government Department, to solve the problems for which they, themselves, ought to find the solution. We must rid ourselves of that bureaucratic spirit which has been creeping like a paralysis over the country. That spirit is the preserve of the Socialists, the very antithesis of individualism. We need to return from the wilderness of Socialistic programmes to the stronghold of Liberal principles. Again, at a General Election it is against the conduct of the Party in office that the electorate votes just as much as on the programmes of other parties. Criticism of the Government is, therefore, a necessary duty for the party to-day.

Liberalism is an attitude of mind. War—civil or military—destroys it, because war breeds reaction and fanaticism. When times are normal, a liberal attitude of mind is common to the majority of our countrymen. It is the business of the Liberal Party to impress on the voters that we represent their attitude of mind and so attract the votes of the non-politicals, who form at least 75 per cent. of the electorate. How can we do this? In my view we can only do it by preaching Liberal principles. The four most important Liberal principles are Peace, Free Trade, Economy, Education. It must be obvious to everybody that most

of our present troubles are due to abandoning the first three of these. Without peace, free trade and economy are impossible, and without freedom in trade and economy in armaments peace is endangered. These three principles are, therefore, interdependent. All but lunatics want peace, but different people have different views as to the best methods of maintaining peace. The Liberal Party believes that the best and right method is through the League of Nations, conciliation, arbitration and proportional international reduction of armaments. By disarmament we do not entertain any ridiculous idea of disarming the country and leaving it helpless. Disarmament must be international and proportional. A start was made at the Washington Conference. The policy must be pursued and applied to armies and the air. Any Liberals, who toyed with the idea that the Labour Party were the peace and disarmament party, will have been sadly disillusioned by the conduct of that party when in office. One of the first acts of the Labour Government was to lay down five new super-cruisers on the specious plea of relieving unemployment. The Liberal Party in the House of Commons solidly opposed the proposal, but the Labour Government naturally found support and encouragement from the Conservatives. The Labour Party, in fact, restarted the race for naval armaments, an example which has been copied and amplified by the present Conservative Government. We are now promised a new programme of naval construction to cost £58,000,000, and the highly provocative and totally unnecessary project of the Singapore naval base is being proceeded with at a cost which may come to anything over £10,000,000. It is obvious, therefore, that it is to the Liberal Party alone that the nation can look for a respite from warlike preparations and the crushing burden of armaments.

It would seem that the Conservative Members of Parliament are among the few people left in the country who are not convinced of the necessity for Free Trade. Protection has, of course, also got a certain following in the Labour Party, because Protection is the natural corollary to trades union restrictions. Nevertheless, it is true to say that Free Trade is the popular system in this country, a fact which is amply proved by the overwhelming majority given to Free Trade whenever the issue is put before the electorate. We Liberals believe that Free Trade is a vital necessity to Great Britain. As a manufacturing nation which lives on its exports, it is imperative that the cost of production be kept down. Raw materials and labour are part of the cost. Those economic reformers who entertain the idea of tariffs should reflect that it is better that any cheapening in costs, which is inevitable, should come, not from the wages bill, but from the raw materials side.

This is only possible by maintaining without qualification the Free Trade system on which the prosperity of this country has been built up. What is the position now? The Conservative Party swept into power on the anti-Bolshevik ticket, and Mr. Baldwin gave a pledge that he would not introduce Protection nor use "Safeguarding" as the thin end of the wedge. But Mr. Baldwin reckoned without his Protectionist colleagues. Since the Conservative Government took office we have had a succession of protective taxes, and a procession of industries applying to the Board of Trade for "safeguarding committees," through which, if successful, they may batten on the community by means of a tariff. We soon got a taste of the Protectionist proclivities of the present Government. In his first budget Mr. Winston Churchill imposed or reimposed a number of tariffs. He placed protective taxes on imported clocks, watches, motor cars, musical instruments, cinematograph films, hops, lace and embroidery, silk and artificial silk and manufactures thereof. A little later protective taxes were also placed on gloves, gas mantles and cutlery. They were imposed on the recommendations of "Safeguarding" Committees, appointed by the President of the Board of Trade, after farcical inquiries. They were merely a beginning of the Protectionist programme of the present Government. In his second Budget Mr. Churchill imposed further protective taxes—on commercial motor vehicles, wrapping paper (after a "safeguarding inquiry"), and the "Key Industries" Duties are to be re-imposed for a further ten years. Nobody knows what a "Key Industry" is; nevertheless, the Board of Trade has discovered 6,358 "key" articles, including such Bulwarks of the State as *dolls' eyes*. The Merchandise Marks Bill, now before Parliament, is another example of Protectionist interference with commerce. "But," say some people, "these are pettifogging, unimportant duties, and can have no effect on the great staple industries of the country." To such easy-going Free Traders I would commend the boast of the Empire Industries Association, a Protectionist body, "that one-fifth of the manufactured goods we imported in 1924 have been made liable to customs duties as a result of legislation in 1925." It should never be forgotten that a protective duty is a *tax*.

National finance is a fruitful field for vehement opposition and constructive criticism on the part of Liberals. Of all forms of expenditure that by a Government is the most extravagant and unproductive. It behoves us, therefore, to do all we can to reduce public expenditure and pursue the Gladstonian tradition of leaving money to "fructify in the pockets of the people." This Government has made a rake's progress. Quite unnecessarily and without any safeguards or conditions, it has paid £20,000,000 of Danegeld

to the miners and colliery proprietors. The result has been that we have been treated to a Budget deficit for the first time for several years. The financial year 1923-24 showed the lowest expenditure of any year since the war, but since then Governments have been extracting more and more from the public.

	On Armaments.	Total Expenditure.
	£	£
1923-24	105,800,000	788,840,000
1924-25	115,700,000	795,776,711
1925-26	119,377,000	826,100,000
1926-27	116,600,000 (estimated)	820,641,000 (estimated)

The King's Speech on December 9th, 1924, as soon as the present Government came into office, contained the following pledge to economise: "Every effort will be made to reduce public expenditure to the lowest possible limit consistent with the security and efficiency of the State. . . Economy in every sphere is imperative if we are to regain an industrial and commercial prosperity." Despite this promise to lighten the burden of taxation Mr. Churchill introduced a Budget designed to take many millions more from the public, and we found that instead of trying to reduce expenditure he had been devising new taxes on consumption. The net result has been that the Government spent £826,000,000 of taxpayers' money, and revenue fell short of this figure by £14,000,000 which was raided from the Sinking Fund to the detriment of the public credit. The present Finance Bill is just as bad. The Government is burdening the country with an expenditure of £820,000,000 and has again imposed fresh taxes on consumption. There are many items in the national balance-sheet which can be reduced or eliminated. First and foremost are armaments. I cannot see why, with the German fleet at the bottom of the sea, we should be spending on armaments over £10,000,000 more than in 1923. It is true that the Admiralty in response to a public outcry has slightly reduced the naval estimates. But we are entitled to ask why, if they could now be reduced so quickly, could they not have been cut down years ago.

Further waste of public money is illustrated by the subsidy for beet sugar. Last year this piece of bad finance cost the country £1,250,000, and this year it is estimated to cost £2,750,000—more than double. The Civil Service estimates for the current year are £7,500,000 more than last year at £230,000,000. There are a number of Departments which ought drastically to be cut down or, better still, abolished altogether. The Mines Department is one. It will cost £190,000 this year, which is an increase of £4,000 over last year. There can be no object in this piece of

superfluous bureaucracy when it lets us drift into a coal stoppage. Thanks to the increasing number of protective taxes the cost of the Customs and Excise Department is rising. We managed without a grandiose Ministry of Transport before the War, but an idea seems to have arisen that, although we are poorer, we require a more expensive Government. This is quite wrong. Few people realise how great a burden public expenditure is on commercial activity, and what a check it imposes on the improvement of employment. The most obvious sign is the burden of the income tax. But public expenditure also affects the rate of interest and the cost of living and production, which are potent influences on our capacity to buy and our ability to sell. The chief trouble in the coal-fields is the high cost of production, which without doubt is largely due to squandering of public money by successive Governments.

I have dilated on economy because it is a subject which is too often overlooked. It is, however, one of the most important subjects of the day, because it provides the solution of other problems. A real economy which allowed a reduction of taxation would go far to reduce unemployment at the same time, and it is only by economy in other directions that we can find more money for education and other necessary social reforms. Liberal thinkers, however, have been busy in many directions during the last few years. "Coal and Power" provides the only and complete programme for a reorganisation of the coalmining industry. Governments and Royal Commissions alike have found in that book many suggestions which they have adopted. The Land—both urban and rural—provides us with a number of proposals which a united party is ready to urge upon the country. The Liberal Summer School is doing valuable work in hammering out the solution of other problems. In every direction Liberal thought is active. Whether our principles are carried out by us or by others, it is certain that legislation for many years to come will be influenced by what we are thinking and saying to-day.

Education again is a subject dear to every Liberal. It is the only thing which can give a prospect of equality of opportunity. The Conservative Government has shown that it prefers cruisers and Singapore to education, and discourages progress by block grants instead of encouraging it by percentage grants. We should give sympathetic encouragement and endeavour to get the fullest value for the money expended by improving the administration, by eliminating wasteful overlapping, and by affording a larger measure of autonomy to the educational authorities. Liberals have a great tradition in regard to this matter, which was worthily maintained by Mr. Fisher while he was Minister of Education.

Here then are four great Liberal principles. No Liberal will

deny their importance. Apart from other Liberal principles, such as temperance, surely we have enough common ground to enable all liberal-minded men and women, abandoning personalities, to work amicably together with the object of restoring the historic Liberal Party to its former position of prestige and power.

BEAUCHAMP.

II.

EVER since the War the Liberal Party has been divided and bewildered; and its division and bewilderment have reduced it to impotence at a moment when its services are needed by the nation. The latest trouble in the party, which was precipitated by Lord Oxford's public breach with Mr. Lloyd George, may complete its destruction. On the other hand, it may clarify the issues and allow a fresh start to be made. I believe that the second consequence is the more likely of the two.

Two distinct causes of division have been at work within the party. The first has been the embitterment caused by the cleavage of 1916, when Mr. Lloyd George ousted Mr. Asquith from the office of Prime Minister, and still more by the coupon election of 1918 when, in alliance with the Conservatives, Mr. Lloyd George did his best to destroy independent Liberalism. Not only among those Parliamentarians who lost their seats, but in scores of local associations, the memory of 1918 is bitterly preserved; and that election is looked back to, not without reason, as the main cause of the present weakness of organised Liberalism in the country. Between 1918 and 1922 personal hostility to Mr. Lloyd George, and personal loyalty to Mr. Asquith, who had suffered hard usage with silent magnanimity, were the chief driving forces in the small remnant of the party in Parliament. The flame was fed by anger against some of the actions of the Coalition, notably the terms of the peace settlement and the handling of the Irish problem. The good deeds of the Coalition and its really remarkable legislative achievements were disregarded and undervalued. The official Liberal Party became merely negative and critical, a party consumed by anger and bitterness at a time when constructive thinking was the first need of the country.

The Coalition fell. The Conservative Party purged itself of Mr. Lloyd George and his followers, who had led them into strange paths. Mr. Lloyd George, unable to create for himself a distinct organisation in the country which showed any semblance of life, rejoined the Liberal Party under the leadership of Mr. Asquith, and joined in the fight for the defence of Free Trade,

which in 1923 increased the numbers of the party in Parliament to over 150. But the memories of the past forbade complete reunion. On the one hand, the party machine at headquarters and in the country was controlled by men who profoundly mistrusted Mr. Lloyd George; no doubt they tried to "play the game," but they were full of suspicions, they had an "anti-Lloyd George complex," they were ready to interpret any action of his in an unfavourable light, and their distrust extended to everybody who was known to have any dealings with him. On the other hand, their party chest was almost empty, and Mr. Lloyd George had obtained, during the coalition period, a very big fund which he did not transfer to their control, but upon which they were dependent for the possibility of carrying on the party organisation. There are, it is understood, both legal and practical difficulties in the way of a complete transfer of this fund; in any case, it was scarcely to be expected that it should be handed over unconditionally to the control of men whose deepest emotion was distrust of its present controller. The right way of regarding this fund is that, as it was not raised for the purposes of Liberalism, the party as such had no claim upon it, and ought to have raised the funds it needed for its own purposes; but that it would be a just ground of quarrel with Mr. Lloyd George if his fund were used for illiberal purposes. It was used for Liberal purposes. Some £150,000 were transferred to the party organisers for use in the elections of 1923 and 1924; and the costly inquiries which produced the reports on Coal and Land—the chief pieces of constructive work undertaken by the Liberal Party since the War—were wholly paid for from this source; they would not have been undertaken if the fund had been transferred. Still, a state of things in which two groups in the party regarded one another with suspicion, and one of them controlled the party machine while the other held nearly all the available funds, was not conducive to amity or to whole-hearted co-operation.

This has been the first and the most outstanding cause of the weakness of the party both in Parliament and in the country. But there is another, less obvious but more fundamental. There is, in the depleted ranks of the Liberal Party to-day, as there always has been in the past, a strong and growing Radical element, which holds that the supreme need of our time is a courageous policy of social, industrial and economic reform, and that the Liberal Party is useless unless it throws itself into such a policy. Many of those who should to-day be the rank and file of this Radical army have gone over to the Labour Party, in sheer impatience at the impotently negative attitude which official Liberalism seems to have adopted. Many others, not less "advanced," find it im-

possible to join the Labour Party because they reject its Socialist formulæ as obstacles in the way of clear thinking, and regard its domination by the class interests of the Trade Unions as vicious and dangerous.

In the days before the War, the Radicals looked to Mr. Lloyd George as their leader: he was often reckless, slapdash, unduly impatient, and he needed to be checked and counselled by cooler and more scientific heads. But he had restless energy; he had the imagination to devise and the courage to advocate big schemes of reform; and it was the combination of his fire and "drive" with the more sober gifts of some of his colleagues which made possible the remarkable achievements of the Liberal Party during the pre-war years. During the days of the Coalition most of the Radicals in the Liberal Party found themselves in acute opposition to Mr. Lloyd George, and they still find it difficult to forgive him for the coupon election, for the "Hang-the-Kaiser" stunt with all its evil consequences, and for the dismal episode of the Black-and-Tans in Ireland. They saw in the Coalition a growing domination of the Conservative forces, and the preparation for a Conservative reaction just at a time when courageous constructive work was desperately needed; and this anticipation has been justified by the event. But at the same time they realised, and they realise now even more clearly in the retrospect, that under Mr. Lloyd George's direction the Coalition carried into effect many reforms of the kind which Radicals desire, and that this was the main reason why the Tories were anxious to be rid of him. Home Rule was adopted. The Education Act of 1918 was passed. Unemployment Insurance was extended to the whole range of industry. The Trade Board system was greatly extended, and the Whitley Councils were introduced. The Mines Act of 1920, with its Pit Committees, Area Boards and National Mining Council, foreshadowed the reorganisation of a great industry on a co-operative basis. The record of the Coalition was as streaky as bacon, but some of the streaks were excellent Radicalism.

Meanwhile, within the independent Liberal Party, the Radicals were striving with all their might, by every means open to them, to persuade their leaders to preach a constructive policy, an industrial policy, a land policy, a coal policy. All their efforts were in vain. They were told that we must wait for a Conservative attack on Free Trade to resuscitate the Liberal Party. They were told that it was the business of an opposition to oppose, and that the Liberals would return to power on the mistakes of the Government in the good old way—as if there were no Labour Party to profit by these mistakes! The most they could ever get from the leaders of the party was an occasional vague and perfunctory reference

to industrial reform at the end of a speech about reparations or the situation in Egypt. They saw the Liberal Party being self-labelled as impotent, negative, and hidebound by old ideas. They lost confidence in their leaders. In every part of the country the younger and more progressive Liberals were ready for revolt.

Then came the reunion of 1923; and no sooner was Mr. Lloyd George back in the party than his vitality began to display itself. Some of the Radicals had been at work upon the coal problem ever since 1921, convinced that the settlement of that year had no elements of permanence, and that the industry must be reorganised. They published their proposals; but the party leaders took no notice. Then Mr. Lloyd George asked them to join him in a fresh investigation of the problem. The result was "Coal and Power." But "Coal and Power" was labelled as a Lloyd George scheme, and the official party gave it the cold shoulder: it was not adopted formally until the height of the coal crisis in 1925, when it was too late to show to the mining districts that one party at least had recognised the existence of a problem and tried to think it out.

Then came the Land Enquiry—an old Liberal enthusiasm. Mr. Lloyd George's collaborators in this enquiry were almost wholly drawn from among those who had been bitterly opposed to him during the Coalition period. Some of them were still doubtful about him. But, being Radicals, they could not resist a challenge to join in working out a scheme of constructive reform: the only such challenge which any leader of the party had issued. There were, of course, differences of opinion on the land scheme. It nearly split the party. The old leaders of the Coalition period, except Lord Oxford, were either tacit or open opponents: some of them frankly hoped that it would result in the expulsion of Mr. Lloyd George from the party. But when it was referred to a popular convention, though some substantial changes were made, there was no mistaking the fact that the rank and file were thirsting for just such a call to action. A live Radicalism was once more afoot; and a campaign for a great reform, and not merely *against* an opponent, was set on foot.

Before the campaign could be properly launched came the new breach: Mr. Lloyd George was formally excommunicated by Lord Oxford on the ground of his unpatriotic conduct during the strike. I do not suggest that Lord Oxford was consciously or unconsciously influenced by any hostility to the land campaign: very much the reverse. But I cannot help feeling that, sub-consciously, the advisers whom he trusts were exasperated by the evident growth of Mr. Lloyd George's influence among the more Radical and progressive elements of the party, and were glad to seize what

seemed to them a favourable opportunity for getting rid of him.

Lord Oxford has earned the respect of everybody as the most magnanimous and the least personal-minded of public men. It was this which gave weight to his thunderbolt of excommunication against Mr. Lloyd George. But this also makes more puzzling the mysteries which surround the forging and launching of the thunderbolt. It is very difficult to reconcile these circumstances with the character of Lord Oxford as we know it. There must be something behind.

Consider, first of all, the circumstances in which the ban was published. The reason given for the excommunication was Mr. Lloyd George's conduct during the strike. Yet Lord Oxford waited for more than a week after the end of the strike before he wrote his letter. In the interval he did not give to Mr. Lloyd George any hint of his dissatisfaction. Nor, it would appear, did he consult his leading colleagues. Immediately after writing the letter, Lord Oxford went to the north of England, where he remained until after the letter was published. Mr. Lloyd George also, as was known, had engagements at a distance from London. He only had time before leaving to write a short note saying that he wanted two or three days to think over his reply. This was on Friday. On Monday morning his long and temperate reply was posted. Before it reached London, Lord Oxford's letter had been sent to the press, Lord Oxford himself being still in the north. These may seem trivial matters. But they are puzzling. Some explanation is needed for a discourtesy wholly out of keeping with Lord Oxford's character.

The second mystery is that there is nothing in Lord Oxford's letter which seems to justify his action. The most careful reading of all the speeches, letters and articles of the various Liberal leaders during the strike reveals no difference between them, save on one point. Lord Oxford wrote an article in the *British Gazette* in which he said that there must be no negotiations until the General Strike was over. Mr. Lloyd George declined to attend a Shadow Cabinet summoned for May 10th on the ground that he differed from this view, being in favour of the Archbishop's proposals, which involved tacit if not open negotiation. But the amazing thing is that, at the very Shadow Cabinet at which this letter was read, proposals closely resembling Mr. Lloyd George's, and equally involving negotiation, were adopted with Lord Oxford's assent, and Sir John Simon was empowered to introduce them in the House of Commons in the name of the party as a whole!

As soon as the letter and Mr. Lloyd George's reply were published, almost the whole Liberal press and almost every Liberal took the same view: there must be something behind, and we

ought to hear what it was. To meet this demand twelve of Lord Oxford's colleagues signed a letter in which they announced that they also could no longer co-operate with Mr. Lloyd George, and they gave as their reasons the instability of his character, and the fact that he had a separate fund. These might have been reasons for refusing to unite with him in 1923, or for breaking with him in 1924. They could not justify his excommunication in 1926 after the party had accepted £150,000 from his fund, unless, indeed, some quite recent and glaring instance of "instability" were produced, and none was produced. Plainly there must be something undisclosed, and common fairness required that it should be made known.

The Parliamentary Party met and discussed the matter: four members of the Shadow Cabinet were present, but none of them had anything to reveal; and Mr. Lloyd George was confirmed in his position as leader.

The executive of the National Liberal Federation (from which Lord Oxford had in effect asked for a vote of confidence) had to draft a resolution in terms which included a demand for unity in order to avoid a public breach among the rank and file at the annual conference; but though they sent a deputation to Lord Oxford, no hint was given to them that he had any reason for his action beyond the quite insufficient reasons set forth in his letter.

Finally, at a meeting of the Liberal Candidates' Association, what appears to be the real reason was at last dragged into the light. It is a statement, the source of which is still unknown, that Mr. Lloyd George had arranged during the strike to go over to the Labour Party and to take his fund with him; and that this had been agreed upon at a meeting with Mr. Ramsay MacDonald, Mr. Clynes and Mr. Snowden at Mr. Snowden's house on May 7th. Mr. Lloyd George not only categorically and emphatically denied this statement, but produced an unqualified and indignant letter of denial from Mr. Snowden. The story is, indeed, on the face of it a preposterous invention.

If this invention was the real cause of Lord Oxford's action, one is compelled to ask why it was accepted without inquiry, why it was kept so dark, and why Mr. Lloyd George was not asked what he had to say about it. It seems also fair to ask that the source of this malignant slander—which may well be the same as the source of other creeping rumours that have done harm in the past—should be hunted out. Lord Oxford may be trusted to see to this. In any case, it is plain that Lord Oxford's letter was an unfortunate mistake.

The first effect of these events was to produce among the rank

and file a feeling of dismay and disheartenment. At a moment when hope and ardour were reviving, and when a great opportunity was being opened by events for a vigorous constructive Radicalism, they found themselves being forced to define their political allegiance on personal grounds and not on grounds of principle. They resented this compulsion, and refused to accept it. There are, indeed, small minorities on both sides who would welcome a final breach. But the great bulk of the party will not submit to a cleavage on personal issues. The respect and affection which all Liberals feel for Lord Oxford is strong even among that large majority who feel that on this occasion he has made a most unhappy mistake. Most of the ardent Radicals feel that, while he is no bearer of the fiery cross, he is no mere Whig, but an intellectual Radical who had a real sympathy with and understanding of the aspirations of the younger generation; and affection has been warmed by sympathy with him in his illness. On the other hand, even those who have not overcome their old distrust of Mr. Lloyd George value his fire and drive, and think them indispensable if the great opportunity which lies before us is to be utilised. Both at the candidates' meeting and at the National Liberal Federation conference at Weston, two demands were plainly dominant. The first was the demand for effective unity. The second was the demand for a bold constructive policy, for a concentration upon aims and not persons. And underlying these demands was a deep dissatisfaction with the failure to carry out the reorganisation of party headquarters which was promised eighteen months ago. Here, in the judgment of many, lies the root cause of all our troubles.

How can these wholesome demands be met? They must be met, because they come from a great body of sincere and ardent men and women who are convinced that they can make a vital contribution to the well-being of the nation if their work is not nullified by a continuance of these miserable disputes. Undeniably the difficulties are great. They cannot be easily patched up. For how can a Shadow Cabinet attain harmony in the guidance of the party when twelve of its members have declared that they will not co-operate with the most active and energetic of their colleagues? The Shadow Cabinet has broken down as the guiding-council of the party. On the other hand, if Lord Oxford continues as leader, but has no confidential relations with Mr. Lloyd George, who is leader in the House of Commons and at the head of a great campaign of propaganda in the country, the situation will be impossible: there will be no means of holding the two wings of the party together. If that happens, Mr. Lloyd George, whose position in the party is stronger to-day than it has

been at any time since 1923, will almost inevitably become the controlling leader of militant Liberalism, but his following will be an almost purely personal following, constantly hampered by the opposition of the rest and by the memory of old bitterness. Neither Mr. Lloyd George himself, nor any sincere Liberal, can desire this result. Some think that Lord Oxford will retire. His retirement in such circumstances would be regretted by all of us, and would intensify the existing acrimonies which we all want to heal. And if he does retire, there is no machinery for the election of a successor to the leadership of the whole party; for nobody would tolerate the choice of a leader, in the traditional way, by the Liberal members of both houses, seeing that these now consist of 120 peers and 40 disunited and unrepresentative commoners.

Here, then, is a difficult situation, which will demand infinite forbearance and tact if the Liberal Party is to survive as an effective force. Meanwhile, the thing that matters—the only thing which will save us from our distractions—is that those who want what the whole party needs, and what almost the whole party wants, namely, the definition of a vigorous progressive policy that can be effectively laid before the country, ought to organise themselves independently of persons and factions, and without hostility to anybody, to define this policy, and to give whole-hearted backing to every Liberal or group of Liberals who may be ready to fight for any part of it: not setting up a new leader, whose appearance would only make the schism worse, but playing something like the part which the I.L.P. plays in regard to the Labour Party, and making themselves strong enough, both in weight and numbers, to command the respect of all the existing leaders.

If those who care about progressive reform will band themselves together in strength, we can leave the question of party leadership to solve itself *ambulando*. Leadership in Parliament will be decided by the voice of those who are in Parliament. Leadership in the country will always go to the man who can command it by winning the confidence of those who are willing to work.

RAMSAY MUIR.

THE SITUATION IN MOROCCO.

BY the surrender of Abd-el-Krim to the French the organised resistance of the Riffi tribes to European control has broken down, fighting on the larger scale has ceased, and the public attention will be diverted from a theatre of international rivalry and racial struggle. The details of the later stages of the war (for a rebellion it could only be termed to suit diplomatic convenience) are little known, and the ultimate result of this enthronement of France and Spain in the extremes of Western Africa is no more appreciated in England than was the cession of Heligoland—though the ultimate result of each surrender is likely to be the same. It should be of interest, and it may some day be of importance, to chronicle the events which have led to the encirclement of our routes to India via Egypt or Africa. By the campaign of September, 1925, France had regained most of the ground lost by her armies in the previous winter, and Spain, under the skilful direction of Primo de Rivera, had forced a landing at Alhucemas and seized sufficient territory at Morre Nuevo to establish thereon a fortified camp, as well as to enable an advance to Ajdir, the headquarters of Abd-el-Krim some three or four miles inland. By the middle of October these advances were broken off by the winter rains which, in a country of precipitous hills and narrow valleys, render all movements not merely difficult but impossible. No one who has not seen rain storms in Morocco can easily understand the speed with which a hard roadway can be turned into a slippery morass, or an embankment can be swept from sight or recognition.

These torrential rains in spring and autumn, supported by a corresponding aridity and heat in summer, have been the foundation of Riffi independence in all ages, and are little less effectual in the twentieth than in the tenth century. The Governments of France and Spain, thus debarred by nature from the use of arms, turned to diplomacy, and found therein a more potent and economical weapon. The Riffi confederation consisted of a number of highland clans, each under its own hereditary or territorial chief, who, by necessity, was poor, jealous, and suspicious of his neighbour, and ambitious. Following the eternal policy of lowlander to hillman, it was not difficult to create dissension and sow doubt and disloyalty amongst men whose patriotism, though sincere, was local, and whose strategical sense was wholly uneducated. Their tradition was no doubt one of unmitigated hostility to the foreigner, Moslem or Christian, black or white, but they maintained almost equal dislike of their own kinsmen. To play on such sentiments of pride, exclusiveness and necessity was not difficult for negotiators well supplied with money and familiar with local history. The Spanish came to an understanding with

the Anjera tribes between Tetuan and Tangier, who had suffered greatly from the blockade, were desperately desirous of resuming their trade with the sea, and were comparatively distant from Riffi reprisals. The arrangement left the Spanish indeed subject to an intermittent shelling of the town of Tetuan itself, but the damage thus inflicted was slight in comparison with that already inflicted on the orchards and suburbs by Spanish soldiery in earlier days, and the relief procured by the ability to discontinue the military blockade was considerable and real.

On the French side diplomatic activity was more extended, active, and successful. They had indeed lost by the end of 1925 much of the territory reoccupied in the autumn of that year, but what they lost in mileage they gained in influence. Unquestionably the sentiments of the Moors towards the French differ from those they hold towards the Spanish. The tribesmen dislike the French, but respect while they fear them, feelings increased by French abstention from the use of gas in war. They detest and, though perhaps unjustly, despise the Spanish. Thus recognising the efficiency of the French armies, which they had themselves repelled, they were not unwilling to treat for peace on reasonable terms. All through the winter negotiators were busy, especially in the country between the Wergha and the Riff in what is the debatable land of the French and Spanish zones. These negotiations were distinguished by a new note. Speaking in the French Chamber on December 29th, M. Briand declared that the best way to carry on negotiations and resume peaceful relations was to open conversations not with a would-be despot, but with the populations themselves. In this attitude it is possible to discern the mind of M. Steeg, whose choice as Resident-General has been justified by the consistently reasonable attitude he has throughout displayed since his appointment on the retirement of Marshal Lyautey. He had apparently come to the conclusion that Abd-el-Krim's personal influence over the tribes was fast waning, and a wedge could be driven between the personal and national interests of the leader and his followers. In this belief he was both strangely right and wrong, as events at the Ujda conference and the subsequent campaign will show. At any rate, this policy was actively pursued, and east to west of Ain Aicha, the central base camp, understandings or submissions were made with the Senhaja, Metalsa, Gueznaia and other tribes.

During these negotiations the Riffis had not been wholly quiescent spectators of French and Spanish diplomacy. They were handicapped by the naval and land blockade which had largely stopped the inflow of supplies and munitions, they had lost

many of their best men and leaders in the two previous campaigns, and actual shell for captured guns and rifles themselves were hard to come by. Thus the harassing tactics of incessant attack and disappearance, sniping and desultory movement, were more difficult to carry out, but necessity demanded the display of power and reprisal. Directing his operations from Targuist, to which he had withdrawn after the Spanish advance to Ajdir, Abd-el-Krim, who had some eight to ten thousand men in the Riffi army, struck at the French posts with strong raiding forces, while keeping up an intermittent bombardment at Tetuan. No definite results were or could be obtained by such methods, but they at least served the purpose of showing the French authorities that behind individual chiefs and tribes there stood a formidable central leader, and accordingly about the end of February fresh endeavours to come to accommodation with Abd-el-Krim personally were made through the native intermediaries. There was every good reason why peace should be made. French finance was in disorder, and was going from bad to worse, and economy was treading on the heels of all military adventures, especially in view of the possibilities in Syria. Spain had indeed gained a fifth footing in Africa, but she wanted security at and for all of these, and her political leaders at home knew well the financial and political dangers of any further mishaps in this country of inglorious memories. Abd-el-Krim, half barbarian, half statesman, while aware of his own military difficulties and of the precarious nature of his hold on the tribes, based as it was on success and cruelty, was unable to appreciate the importance and validity of foreign treaties and engagements which in fact prevented that intervention by other Powers for which he hoped. He would have welcomed an arrangement with the French, but would have rejected or broken any arrangement with the Spanish.

By the beginning of April necessity had driven all three combatants into conference, France and the Riffis going gladly—the Spanish reluctantly and in deference to the requirements of their ally. The place chosen for the meeting of the delegates was near Ujda, on the eastern borders of Morocco (or the western of Algeria), and actually at Camp Bertaux, seventy miles west of that place. The delegates were three in number from each country, and of these General Simon, Senor Olivan and Mohammed Azerkane were the respective chiefs. Almost to the day when the delegates met the French and Spanish Governments thought, or pretended to think, they could exclude Abd-el-Krim from personal intervention in the negotiations, though they must have known, from the fact that one of the Riffi delegation was his brother-in-law, another his cousin, and the third his chosen associate, while all

three were his fellow tribesmen, that any such exclusion would render abortive all attempts at a settlement. This pretension had to be abandoned on the first day that the delegates met, for the Riffis, on reading the proposed terms, declared that they could only continue discussions by leave of their master. In this view of the actual situation the French and Spanish had perforce to agree, and the conference which had met for preliminaries on April 19th was adjourned till one of the delegates had had time to return to Abd-el-Krim's headquarters for instructions. The terms proposed to the Riffis were five in number: 1. Formal and spiritual submission to the Sultan of Morocco. 2. Withdrawal of Abd-el-Krim from the Rif. 3. Disarmament of the tribes by French and Spanish officials. 4. An exchange of prisoners. 5. The occupation, pending agreement, of strategical positions by French and Spanish columns. These terms were, to the indignation of the French authorities, broadcast to the world, and it was at once obvious that if negotiations were to proceed No. 5 must be withdrawn, No. 3 must be considerably modified, and No. 2 reconsidered. I am told, on the authority of one who was present at Ujda, that during the continuance of the conference the personal relations of the delegations were excellent, and that in particular the principal Riffi delegate, Mohammed Azerkane, impressed himself on all as a man of intelligence and conciliatory disposition and intention. One result of this personal good feeling was that during the enforced wait for the return of the Riffi delegate from Jarguist, informal meetings took place which eased tension and facilitated discussion. The requirements of France and Spain were not identical. France merely desired peace along her northern border, the delimitation of which was not yet agreed by Spain, and beyond this she could in no circumstances advance. The latter country was bound by the consideration that the whole of the Jebala and Riffi territories were in the Spanish zone, and that for their administration and development she was internationally responsible. Apparently she meant to try to combine a policy of commercial development with a policy of military restriction to her existing ports and stations, and for the successful accomplishment of such policies complete and final disarmament of the tribes is essential. The elimination of Abd-el-Krim, between whom and Spain there was a private as well as a public quarrel, was also essential to Spanish aims. On these two points, therefore, Spain was bound to be far stiffer than France, and on these two points resistance from Abd-el-Krim was certain to be prolonged, and not unjustifiably, certainly on the second of the two.

By the 26th April one or two of these questions had straightened themselves out. The demand for the expatriation of Abd-el-Krim, VOL. cxxx.

which had originated with the Spanish, was withdrawn on the understanding that his place of residence should be determined later on. He himself was willing to retire into private life, but was very desirous of remaining in the Riff. On the question of disarmament being necessary there was general agreement. Riffi delegates saw clearly that there would be as little security for the native rulers of an armed autonomous protectorate as for its foreign neighbours. But the difficulty was as to the method by which the surrender of arms should be obtained. They were the personal property of Abd-el-Krim and had been given by him personally to the tribesmen. He claimed therefore the right personally to withdraw his own gifts. Eventually the principle of disarmament by the Riffi leaders themselves was accepted. There remained the exchange of prisoners. The difficulty in this case was their condition, especially that of the Spaniards. The mortality amongst them in the last three or four months had been very great. This was due in part to the lack of proper hospital requirements, for which the French and Spanish authorities, military and civil, were almost wholly to blame. To every endeavour by private persons or by official agencies such as the Inter-Allied Red Cross they made the same reply, that their compatriots in the hands of the Riffi had excellent treatment. To myself they went even further. Whatever their motives they must be held responsible for nearly every death of the captives who perished from wounds or hardships. But that a certain number of the French prisoners and a large number of the Spanish prisoners died of brutal treatment is not questionable. The cruelty of the Spanish Foreign Legion was well known, and almost justified reprisals. The value of life is not the same in the eyes of Africans as it is in the eyes of Europeans. Explain as each one likes, the fact remained that prisoners could not easily be exchanged, because most were dead, and those remaining were not nice to look at. In March there were nearly 600, by April 20 there were only 36 or 37 French and less than 200 Spaniards. The higher number testifies to the heavy casualty list consequent on military reverses, the lower to their intolerable sufferings.

The request for an occupation of strategical positions pending a permanent settlement was quickly abandoned, but the advancement of regular troops to the lines held by French and Spanish partisans during the armistice, though quite legitimate and to be expected, was very detrimental to the Riffi cause. The real fight was reserved for the real issue. What was to be the future position and government of the Riff? The nominal sovereignty of the Sultan the tribes and Abd-el-Krim were ready to accept. The French and Spanish envoys were prepared to assure to the tribes the

utmost freedom in the appointment and dismissal of their own officials and to accept the principle of non-intervention in domestic matters. Thus autonomy would have been complete, so far as paper and intention could make it. But Abd-el-Krim wanted absolute authority in the Riff, over Europeans and mining and trading concessions in particular. Here he ran up against the Algeciras treaty and subsequent agreements the validity of which he had always refused to acknowledge, and the authority of which he had probably never understood. The Riffi delegates at one moment were inclined to accept a formula providing for the acceptance of "the existing situation in the Riff," and had the personal authority of Abd-el-Krim shrunk to the extent the French believed, it is almost certain that they would have ratified such a proposal. But Abd-el-Krim was still what he claimed to be, Lord Paramount, and he was adamant in refusing any such limitation of his powers. To his understandable objections there was one curious ally, viz., the violent opposition of the Riffi women to any peace proposal, and especially to any exchange of prisoners until at least the Riffi prisoners were free. This hostility was especially marked during the final visits of Azerkane to Abd-el-Krim just before the rupture, and perhaps turned the scale. It seems, indeed, regrettable that, while four out of the five demands had either been settled or withdrawn, and while there was so little in substance outstanding in the fifth, a rupture should have come. The French military leaders were to some extent not anxious to arrange terms, and the Spanish army went much further in their objections; but the French civil government were sincerely desirous of accommodation, and the Spanish civil government at least acquiesced. The Riffi delegate Azerkane, a man of admitted intelligence and charm, worked so hard for peaceful understanding as to endanger his own position and even his life. In view of what followed so quickly it is more than strange that a man of Abd-el-Krim's capacity as a general and as a tribal chief should so have misjudged his military and political strength as to refuse to accept an offer which gave him much of the reality of that freedom for which he had fought so gallantly, so long, and so successfully.

The conference having broken up on May 5th, hostilities were at once resumed. Riffi and Jibala contingents burst in on the tribes between Tangier and Ceuta, captured many prisoners and villages, and caused great loss of grain and cattle. The Anjera tribesmen between Ceuta and Tetuan who had come to terms with Spain, revolted and burnt many of the villages which the Spaniards had guaranteed to protect, and the Spanish forces advancing from Alhucemas suffered heavy losses in their march up the Nekour

valley. On the other side a combined Franco-Spanish attack was made against Targuist by the river Kert, another, already mentioned, by the Nekour, and a third from the south from the Upper Wergha. The Riffi forces were thrown back on the Jebel Hamman, which formed the outermost defences of Abd-el-Krim's capital. On May 23rd Targuist was occupied by French native auxiliaries after engagements in which the French captured a considerable number of guns, machine guns and ammunition, and inflicted and suffered appreciable losses of men. The capture of Targuist, which is about thirty miles only from the Mediterranean, cut in two the Riffi confederation and forces, and was accompanied by the recovery of all the prisoners held by the Riffi. It was followed by the surrender on the 25th May of Abd-el-Krim to the French General who received him at Tzemuran, near Targuist, on the 27th. He had apparently been sheltering on the Mediterranean near the French lines amongst the Beni Harus, but learning that his movements were known, that the tribesmen were increasingly hostile and would retaliate on his person any losses incurred by his presence, and determined at all hazards to escape falling into the hands of Spain, he decided to surrender to the French Resident-General, M. Steeg.

With the surrender of the leader comes to an end the power of the Riffi confederation, but not necessarily the cessation of minor hostilities. The Jibala and other tribes may and probably will carry on desultory war against the Spaniards. Each tribe will now follow its individual inclinations, and while it will be more easy for Spain to carry on the war, it will equally be more difficult to conclude peace when twenty or thirty separate agreements have to be reached. Especially will this be the case, since some kind of general autonomy must serve as the basis of each special tribal agreement. Incidentally, the re-establishment of normal conditions will necessitate a new military convention between Paris and Madrid, an agreement as to the nature and extent of Spanish intervention in a semi-autonomous Riff, and international discussion on the Tangier Statute. It is to be remembered that the Riff is almost wholly in the Spanish zone, that Spain sub-leases this territory from France on the condition of well governing the leased territory, that France is herself only the lessee of the Sultan of Morocco, under the international signature of thirteen different countries of whom Italy is one, and is the mouthpiece of Spain, of Morocco and of herself in all external questions. Thus a tangle of issues is found as complex and as contradictory as can be imagined.

Something has been finished, much remains to be done; and that which emerges from the discussions of the next few weeks may

well be of vital interest to this country. Take an atlas and look at the position of Morocco just at the entrance to the Mediterranean, see how completely anyone holding the high ground on the southern littoral can close the passage by means of aircraft, and by their agency can override the regulations which created a neutralised strip of littoral defined in days when artillery range was comparatively limited and aeroplanes hardly existed. Examine, too, the western flank of Africa along which France has strung a row of harbours, still small no doubt, and now incapable of harbouring much more than coastal craft. But most of the ports are capable of expansion, and France is not often slow to spend money where her supposed interests are concerned. A European Conference will also certainly consider and probably will restrict the size of warships, and any such restriction will act in favour of the smaller dockyard and port. These will be termed fanciful forecasts of danger which can properly be disregarded. Who could have imagined that Gibraltar could ever sink to the position of worthlessness that it now endures, or that the German expenditure of millions at Heligoland could ever have been contemplated or justified? Who would have dreamt twenty years ago of an Italian place of arms in the Dodecanese formidable enough to threaten the port of Alexandria? Yet these things have happened or are in process of happening. But while it is idle to take exception to past oversight, it is still possible to foresee the future adequately, and so to anticipate it that the danger which has grown silently and unnoticed may be minimised. France and Spain, it is true, have apportioned Morocco, but in very unequal shares, and their common experiences and dangers in the Riff must force them to rearrange the terms of their partnership. They can hardly do this without the consent of the third signatory to the title-deeds on which their property depends. We have renounced territorial ambitions, but some further neutralisation of Morocco should not be unwelcome to either Power, and presumably would be agreeable to the other Mediterranean nation, Italy. Outside the international zone of Tangier, British subjects can only be dealt with by British authorities, the old consular privileges still obtain. Such personal rights might well be thrown in the scale against national safeguards for trade or neutrality. With the defeat of Abd-el-Krim has passed the last shadow of African independence, save in Abyssinia. It ought to mean the cessation of all warfare in Morocco, and it might well be made the occasion of a formal prevention of any use being made of the country as a factor in European quarrels which, if unlikely, are not impossible.

CHARLES HOBHOUSE.

PILSUDSKI AND POLAND.

THE enthusiasm and love which the Polish nation feels for Pilsudski do not primarily spring from militarist tendencies or a desire for power; in turning to him the nation harks back to the idealism of fighters for freedom who died on the field of battle and the scaffold, in prison and Siberia, and whose tradition has never altogether lost its hold on the nation. In Pilsudski it sees their spiritual descendant and heir. He spent the best years of his life as one of the nameless, hunted conspirators fighting Tsarism and foreign rule, one of the "subterranean men" whose abodes and identity very few were allowed to know, phantoms carefully disguised as ordinary men. He was a leader in the vain revolution of his own time (1905-6), and for years an exile, a wanderer, an unasked guest in strange lands, as so many Poles had been before him—but more fortunate than they. "For the Universal War, for the freedom of nations, we pray to Thee, O Lord!" wrote Mickiewicz in his Paris exile. Pilsudski lived to see the Great War and lead in it the Polish Legions, named after those which had followed Napoleon across Europe; and he was to see Poland reconstituted more truly than it had ever been before. But the grey aftermath of victory is the time of trial for revolutions, and Anatole France's Lucifer, seeing in his dream that, as master of the world, he would have to carry on more or less on the existing basis in forms and terms essential to the time, renounces both revolt and victory.

The reconstitution of Poland has put the nation to a test intrinsically uncorrelated to its present condition; it was not conquered by Poland's own efforts and strength, but has come as a gift of fate, the biggest "windfall" known in history. Under the weight of inexorable historic developments, the Polish nation as a whole had abandoned the thought of active struggle for independence; social cleavages had become accentuated, and the upper and middle classes, feeling that the source of all authority is one, and that a national mass rising would necessarily be coupled with social revolution, were making their peace with the established powers, even with Tsarism. As everywhere on the Continent, middle-class Liberalism had broken down in Poland, and was displaced by an aggressive, reactionary nationalism of an especially degraded kind; not daring to pursue the contest against foreign rule, it combined nationalist exuberance with personal safety by turning against weaker nationalities, *e.g.*, against the Jews in Russian Poland and the Ukrainians in East Galicia. The old, useless tapers of romantic idealism were put out and, still in bondage, the Poles were themselves entering upon the path of Prussian and Russian reaction.

The epigons of the fighters for freedom had become few among

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the gentry class from which they originally sprang, and the positive contents of their programme, except for the demand for Polish independence, were vague and ill-adjusted to present-day problems—indeed, what figure would Mazzini and Garibaldi cut now, had their persons and ideas been kept in storage until 1918, and had then their one aim been suddenly realised by historic circumstances entirely unconnected with the moral and mental condition of modern Italy? Had at least Pilsudski been able, in the final struggle, actively to lead the nation, and not merely small groups, of symbolic and sentimental rather than practical importance, in this very process a strong political organisation might have been built up and a working scheme developed. As it is, his name stands for a legend and tradition, and not for a programme.

Originally Pilsudski had grafted his revolutionary nationalism on the Polish Socialist movement; but even in the revolution of 1905-6 fundamental differences had appeared in their aims. The revolutionary character they had in common, but there was no deeper community of ideas. Nevertheless, the Polish national Socialists continued to rally to him; but in all Poland's internal history since November, 1918, one would search in vain for a political lead from Pilsudski. By the time Poland had re-arisen he was over fifty years old, and had turned into the most dangerous type of militarist, the civilian soldier. The formation of a strong army became his predominant, even exclusive, concern.

The character of internal politics in Continental countries is determined very largely by frontiers, *i.e.*, by their relations to neighbours and to "national minorities" within the State. But not even in the matter of Poland's frontiers had Pilsudski any clear, feasible programme to put before the nation. The old Polish Republic had included vast stretches of Lithuanian, White and Little Russian land, several times larger than all ethnic Poland; and in this enormous empire the land-owning gentry had become Polonised, whilst the peasant population had retained its original nationality. Pilsudski and his school, like real Rip van Winkles, awoke with vague, historic dreams of some kind of federation with or rather hegemony over, Lithuanians, White and Little Russians, which would have enabled them to reconcile their professed idealism with the exuberant imperialism and the political convenience of the Polish nation. But as Polish influence in the "Eastern Borderland" is based on the Polish ownership of the big landed estates, the political and social outlook of these peasant nations is essentially anti-Polish. Pilsudski, the quondam fighter for freedom, finished by integrally carrying out the avowed programme of his very "realistic" opponents, who from the outset had proposed to bite out from the living bodies of other nations as

much as they thought Poland could possibly chew, and then chew it thoroughly. It is a favourite thesis of Anatole France that every clime and every country at any one time knows but one type of political morality.

The State which the Poles, owing to the temporary effacement of Germany and Russia, have been able to carve out for themselves, had in 1921 a population of 27,200,000, of which, according to the Polish official statistics, almost 8,400,000 were non-Poles. How these statistics were cooked can be seen, *e.g.*, in the case of the White and Little Russians. All Greek Orthodox and Greek Catholics belong to one of these two branches of the Russian nation; there are, moreover, a few hundred thousand Roman Catholic White Russians. But according to the Polish official statistics the number of adherents of the Greek Churches exceeds by some 900,000 the total of White and Little Russians. As far as it is possible to calculate, there are in Poland considerably more than six million White and Little Russians, almost three million Jews, and at least one-and-a-half million Germans, Czechs, Lithuanians, etc., together about 10,500,000 non-Poles, against less than 17,000,000 Poles. This alien element, greater than that of any other European State, is now oppressed and embittered, but most of them belong to the two most numerous nations in Europe, which comprise about one-third of white humanity. What prospects does this offer for Poland's future? Indeed, one cannot wonder at Count Skrzynski's passionate "pacifism" nor at his enthusiasm for the Geneva protocol; but one can wonder at Poles who, like Pilsudski, place their trust "in chariots because they are many, and in horsemen because they are very strong."

The army which Pilsudski has created to defend these, to say the least, unreasonably extended frontiers, is an intolerable burden on Poland's national finance; considerably more than one-third of her budget is devoted to armaments, a proportion higher than in any other European country. This alone has put Poland before a most difficult financial task at a time when a severe economic crisis was anyhow unavoidable, the reunion of Poland having destroyed valuable economic connections between its different parts and the great Empires in which they had been incorporated. Actually Polish finance has achieved two records: of some States the currency was annihilated by revolution, of others by defeat. Poland alone managed it without either; and of all the States which, having annihilated a currency, at a great sacrifice established a new one, Poland is the only one which has managed to unsettle it again. But then, considering the burden of armaments and the international position of Poland, which destroys her credit, the task of Polish finance would try the abilities even of the strongest men.

The Governments which Poland had so far evolved were deplorably weak, and though a good many of the severe accusations now freely levelled against ex-Ministers are probably exaggerated or untrue, so much is certain, that they have failed to establish a proper standard of decency and efficiency in the public services and administration. The Diet is now blamed in turn for the failure of the Governments; it certainly has been a clog on them and has contributed to the growth of corruption rather than checked it. But then the average intellectual level of the Polish Diet is probably the lowest in Europe. Social strata are represented in it rather than parties, and the "types" of the nation rather than its intellect. In most European countries the middle classes and the rural population incline to Conservatism, industrial labour to Socialism, and each side tries to find proper spokesmen for its programme which is honestly defined and avowed. In Poland, peculiar cross divisions prevent this natural alignment. A considerable part of the urban population, though socially radical, is politically reactionary and clerical, and indulges in noisy nationalism and anti-Semitism; whilst, on the other hand, the problem of agrarian reform destroys the Conservative character of the countryside. As a consequence, the Socialist Party is weak in the Polish Diet, and true Conservatism is practically unrepresented. The cry has gone out long ago in Polish villages: "Peasants elect peasants" — for these men of their own class, they were told, alone could be trusted to champion their true interests. No outspoken Conservative of the aristocratic, land-owning class, which in the past has produced so many of the greatest men in Polish history, would stand a chance in a rural constituency, and the Right, even more than the Radicals, has to put up peasant candidates. Similar tactics have to be adopted in the towns also. Thus men of higher intellectual standing are rare in the Polish Diet, which is filled with peasants, many of them downright illiterates, with *petits bourgeois* of a low type, and with men who "have not gone into politics for their health": a grey, inchoate crowd, divided and re-dividing into numerous, meaningless factions, without clear political conceptions or complexion, fit material for demagogues, professional wire-pullers and political sharpers, ready for every kind of political bargain, some of them even for dealings of a more sinister kind. One thing only could have saved Poland from these natural results of an uneducated democracy, lacking both political tradition and social organisation: if Pilsudski had placed himself at the head of a popular movement, and then done his work through the proper channels of representative government. Why has not he ever tried to use his enormous influence with a view to teaching the nation the difficult lessons of self-government?

During the first four years of Poland's new existence Pilsudski had been Chief of the State; after that he continued for a short time at the head of the army; about three years ago he withdrew into private life, irate and embittered. Never throughout all this time had he addressed a direct appeal or an explanation to the people whose love and respect he commanded. In November, 1925, Count Skrzynski, a diplomat by profession, became Prime Minister and formed a Cabinet based on a coalition of practically all the Polish parties in the Diet; in foreign politics he skilfully used the Polish Socialists in the way his late chief, the Austro-Hungarian Foreign Secretary, Count Czernin, had used the Austrian Socialists at the time of the Stockholm Conference, to demonstrate the pacific character of his Government and to secure undisturbed dominion over subject races; at home, he tried to strengthen his position by bringing Pilsudski back to the army. But he failed to cope with the growing economic distress, and this caused the withdrawal of the Socialists from the Government and ultimately its resignation (May 5th), before the reinstatement of Marshal Pilsudski had been effected. "Our present crisis," wrote the *Cracow Czas* on May 9th, "passes through the usual stages. First, a Government tries desperately for months to make at least some little headway in one of the vital problems which confront us, e.g., to come to some understanding with the national minorities, to balance the Budget, to reform administration, to conclude agreements with neighbours, to obtain a loan, etc. Then, after various attempts, forward, backward, to the right, to the left, it finds that there is no moving with this Parliament. Meantime, things go from bad to worse, and the general discontent increases. The Government resigns. The President of the Republic summons the leaders of various parties, and meets with nothing but refusals. At last, on the fourth, fifth, or tenth day of the crisis an unfortunate victim is found, pushed against the wall, overwhelmed with imprecations, stunned—and he agrees to form a government, having received assurances of support from several parties. Then the ghastly merry-go-round recommences and lasts until the next crisis."

This time the crisis was settled more quickly than usual, perhaps because of the approaching General Election; Governments in Poland are notoriously able to influence elections, which adds attraction to office at such a time. Even so, however, it was only after some hesitation and a preliminary refusal that M. Witos, a peasant leader of the Right-Centre, formed a Government. This Pilsudski attacked in an exceedingly bitter interview which the Government foolishly tried to suppress, adding thereby to the general excitement. Then suddenly the news spread of a mysteri-

ous attack against Pilsudski's country house, possibly its window-panes would have stood no more examination than Jenkins's ear. Various regiments hurried to the rescue of their old leader, and within a short time Pilsudski was at the head of a small army marching on Warsaw. At first the President and the Government would hear of nothing but his surrender, and treated him as an outlaw. Fighting ensued in the streets, and the civilian population suffered severely. Pilsudski, in an interview given after he had completely defeated his opponents, accused them of having turned a hospital into a military base—"contrary to all international law"—of having fired the houses of his officers while only women and children were in them, of having sent aeroplanes against his country house to frighten his wife and daughters, etc. But why in this and other interviews should the victorious leader have spent so much time on vilifying his silenced opponents instead of speaking to the nation about his own plans for the future? One cannot help suspecting that he had started the coup without a clear aim and without the least idea how far it would take him; and that after blood had flowed in the streets of Warsaw, his first reaction was an attempt to throw all responsibility on his opponents. There is something unclear and not altogether dignified in Pilsudski's behaviour during these first days after the coup.

Still, his personal disinterestedness, character and courage are above doubt; these made him a great revolutionary leader and a great army commander. But with them he combines other qualities dangerous in a statesman; his own will is law to him, and he has little respect for other men and no true sense of legality. In 1906-7, whilst at the head of the terrorist organisation in the Socialist Party, he disregarded instructions from the Central Committee which it was his duty to obey, and finished by demanding such a change in the Constitution as would have made it possible for him to determine its policy. In the Socialist Party itself he thus tried to establish the superiority of the military over the civilian element. Nor can the part be forgotten which he, as Chief of the Polish State, played in the notorious Vilna coup. In October, 1920, under the auspices of the League of Nations, Poland had agreed with Lithuania upon a demarcation line which left Vilna on the Lithuanian side. The day after the treaty had been signed Pilsudski ordered one of his generals, Zeligowski, to declare himself a rebel and march on Vilna, whilst towards Great Britain and France his Government emphatically disclaimed all responsibility for the "rebel," severely condemning his action. But after Pilsudski had ceased to be Chief of the State he openly boasted of having been the author of the coup.

With regard to the Warsaw stroke Pilsudski boasts of having

immediately regained legal ground; one wonders how much conscious irony there is in this claim? What followed in Warsaw has rightly been described as a Constitutional puppet-show. Partly from weakness and partly to avoid fratricidal war the President of the Republic resigned office and the Cabinet followed. These resignations were treated as valid and regular by the Speaker of the Diet, who according to the Constitution now temporarily stepped into the place of the President and summoned the National Assembly to Warsaw for the election of the new President. Pilsudski guaranteed its perfect freedom. Again one must ask—how much conscious irony was there in that pledge? For even though he could refrain from further violence, was there not sufficient pressure in the very logic of accomplished facts and in the exigencies of the situation? The army was entirely in his hands, the masses active on his side, his opponents completely cowed; even Posnania, though bitterly hostile to Pilsudski, saw that for the time being it was impossible to undo the work of the preceding fortnight. There were no doubt some uneasy consciences among his defeated opponents, there was cowardice and weakness; but common sense similarly bade patriotic Poles to accept and legalise the situation rather than expose the country to further dangers. Anyhow, Pilsudski would have done better not to boast about the legalisation of his actions. Has he forgotten that even the Partitions of Poland had been “legalised” by the resignation of a cowardly king and the votes of degraded Diets?

In almost every pronouncement since the coup Pilsudski discourses on the dishonesty and corruption of the past régime and names them as the reason for his action. No doubt a great number of thieves and grafters have worked and prospered under successive Polish Governments; and no doubt it was high time to put an end to their practices. Still, is there sufficient ground for such wholesale condemnation? And, anyhow, can one raise the morals and re-establish the self-esteem of a nation by bayonets and unmeasured contempt?

Before the Presidential election, for which his was universally considered the only feasible candidature, Pilsudski delivered an address to the leaders of the Polish Parliamentary Parties:

“I shall not discuss the recent incidents,” declared Pilsudski.*

“I took the decision in accordance with my own conscience, and I see no need to give explanations.

“The chief reason of the present condition of Poland, of her misery and her internal and external weakness, was thieving, which remained unpunished. . . . There has been no re-birth of the national soul in the re-born State. When I returned from

* I reproduce this translation of parts of Pilsudski's speech from *The Observer* of June 6th, first edition.

Magdeburg [from imprisonment in Germany in November, 1918] and obtained power such as no one ever held in Poland, I believed in the re-birth of the nation, and therefore did not want to rule by the whip. I handed over the power to the Constituent Assembly, which I summoned, and which I might equally well not have summoned. But there was no re-birth of the nation. Scoundrels and rascals assumed domination. In the army alone has the nation re-arisen. . . .

“Depravity has become very common in Poland. Democratic liberties have been abused to such an extent that one could come to hate democracy altogether. . . .

“Conditions now are such that I could just as well have excluded you from the halls of the National Assembly, and snapped my fingers at all of you, but I try once more whether it is still possible to rule in Poland without a whip. I do not want to bring pressure to bear upon you, but I warn you that the Diet and Senate are the most hated institutions in the country. . . .

“I have declared war against the scoundrels, murderers and thieves, and shall not be defeated in this struggle. The Diet and Senate enjoy excessive privileges, and it is necessary that the Executive should have greater power. Parliament should take a rest. Let the rulers be answerable for their deeds. Let the President form his Government without pressure from Parliamentary parties. This is his good right.

“With my candidature do whatever you please. I am not ashamed of anything I have done, for my conscience is clear. I do not care how many votes I shall get—two, a hundred, or two hundred. . . . Choose whomever you like, but seek non-party candidates worthy of the high office. Should you act differently, I see the future in very dark colours for you and in a very unpleasant light for myself, as I do not wish to rule by the whip. . . .

“ . . . What have you made of the State? An object of derision.

“The present Government tries to prepare various measures. But I fear after the Presidential election everything will revert to the previous condition. I fear the Diet may wish to remain. But it is necessary, gentlemen, that you should disperse for some time, for something new must happen. . . . I do not wish to be reproached with not having completed my work and for not having let the whip be cracked in the streets of Warsaw.

“My programme is to bar the way to scoundrels and open it for honest men. I wait, but I assure you, gentlemen, I shall not change. . . . I shall prosecute the thieves. Consider this, gentlemen, think it over, and discuss it among yourselves.”

Two days later the Assembly elected Pilsudski by a majority of one hundred votes. One could hardly have imagined a greater act of self-abasement, but this was to be still further emphasised by Pilsudski's letter of refusal:

“I thank all those who have prevented my election from being unanimous as it was in February, 1919. Perhaps there will be less treason and lying in Poland. . . . I could not manage to forget the past nor trust myself a second time in the work which I have done once before, nor confide in those who have called upon me

to take office. Before my eyes stands the figure of the murdered President Narutowicz, whom I have not been able to save from his tragic fate, and I am too much under the impression of the brutal attack against my children." [Some shots are said to have again been fired at his country house on May 26th.]

If the Polish Parliament, as Pilsudski asserts, has made the Polish State into an "object of derision," he has repaid them many times over. Having refused the Presidency, Pilsudski let it be known that he desired the election of Professor Moscicki, a man of high character and considerable scientific reputation, but who had never taken any part in Polish public life. On one occasion, a Polish Foreign Secretary, having been informed whom he would have to accept for his under-Secretary, replied that he could not possibly object to the man as this was the first time in his life that he heard the name. Such must have been now the position of the average Pole towards his new President. "I can understand that there is curiosity concerning his person," said Pilsudski, when interviewed about him; and then proceeded to explain how and why he had been selected. "When, having decided not to accept the Presidency, I was considering other candidates, I selected in my thoughts men of high culture, and of an honour and personal dignity which would not suffer humiliation. Whilst hesitating between the men whom I was choosing, I gave preference to the technical mind over that trained on humane letters, for I consider that it is the mechanic who so far has been wanting in the work on our State machine. . . ."

It had been hitherto customary for the President-elect to swear the oath to the Constitution in the National Assembly. Pilsudski to underline his contempt for Parliament, ordered the ceremony this time to be held in the old Royal Castle. As a protest, the Socialists, his first, foremost and most fervent adherents, refused to attend.

What is to come next, no one can tell. Changes are to be made in the Constitution, the powers of the President are to be much enlarged, the Diet is to be a mere "talking-shop" with strict time limits set to their talk. And after that, when the Presidency will have been made worthy, in Pilsudski's opinion, of his own person, is Moscicki to disappear, or is he to remain as Pilsudski's "mechanic"? Future developments in Poland are in the hands of a man who is able, courageous, obstinate, embittered and incalculable. On the material side he may possibly succeed; but will he make the best use of the moral values which there are in the legend the nation has built up about him?

"A BYSTANDER."

TROUBLES IN ALSACE.

THE French Government, in addition to their financial and military problems, are finding even the most loyal of the inhabitants of the recovered provinces of Alsace very restive at the present time. "Le malaise Alsacien" is freely discussed in the French press by writers who confess that during recent months the autonomist movement is gaining ground. Alsace, in fact, is becoming an Ireland in French politics, with the added complication that the majority of the inhabitants up to 1918 were unable to speak the French language, and many of them are now too old to learn.

I write as an admirer of France and a friend of many Frenchmen, but recent inquiries made on the spot in Strasbourg, Colmar, Sélestat, Mulhouse and other centres in Alsace, and a careful study of recent speeches and documents convince me that it is of no service to our ally for students of continental affairs to ignore the magnitude, or the difficulties, of the problem of these rich provinces which contain many prosperous industries, a wealth of minerals, and nearly two million inhabitants possessing a marked independence of outlook.

Up till 1924 there were few traces of any tendency towards Home Rule, but when the High Commissionership was abolished the troubles began. To-day the greater part of the Alsatian press, even that controlled by the most devoted friends of France, voices quite openly the resentment of the inhabitants at the secularist attacks made on Church Schools, the anti-Vatican policy of certain types of French politicians, and prints somewhat violent criticisms of French administration and methods. Part of this no doubt is due to German inspiration, for there are still in the recovered provinces, living side by side with Alsacians and Lorrainers, some 80,000 persons, formerly of German nationality, who were allowed to take out French naturalisation papers at a reduced price by a decision of the Treaty of Versailles, and also 70,000 Germans who have been permitted to reside in the country. There are also very close commercial relations with German business men across the Rhine, notably in the textile and potash industries. It is impossible to stay in Alsace without learning how German politicians are extremely interested in all that takes place, and there are signs that *Zukunft* (The Future), the mysterious periodical published at Saverne and the organ of the Home Rule campaign, is encouraged by German influences. This is not surprising in view of the close ties that naturally grew up between 1871 and 1918.

It is true, of course, that under the Treaty of Locarno Germany has officially renounced any pretension to the lost provinces, but

many unofficial German papers and speakers have made no secret of their hopes that the Separatist Movement, now in its early stages, will come to fruition. Dr. Curtius, for example, one of the leaders of the Popular Party, and an adviser to Dr. Stresemann, has declared publicly that "Il ne s'agit dans le pacte de Locarno d'aucune renonciation à des populations et à des territoires allemandes, mais seulement d'un engagement réciproque de ne plus faire la guerre à la frontière occidentale. Other papers, for example the *Lokalanzeiger* and the *Deutsche Tageszeitung*, consider that although Germany may have given up her claim for the recovery of the lost provinces, there is no reason why diplomatic means should not be adopted in the future to denounce the Pact, and still advocate the plebiscite of the inhabitants of Alsace-Lorraine on this question of Home Rule. There are also various non-governmental associations and leagues which continue to hope for the reoccupation of Alsace.

It is natural that the survivors of the Imperialist Party in Germany should take this view, and that echoes of their arguments should cross the Rhine, reaching the people who only live a few miles away from the frontier, and in many cases have family and commercial links with the Fatherland. But the existence of this sentiment makes it all the more essential from the French point of view that a possible source of future discord in Europe should not again be inflamed. Largely owing to the ignorance and folly of certain responsible officials in Paris, and to the refusal of some politicians to realise plain facts, the loyalty to France that was maintained in Alsace during the years of German domination is being weakened, and the post-war enthusiasm is evaporating. The defects of the over-centralised code of Napoleon that was already growing out of date at the time of the Crimean War are conspicuous to-day in Alsace. Provinces that have their own peculiarities of language and religion, and have been accustomed to a decentralised form of administration, cannot successfully be governed by the same rusty machinery as the rest of France. This is the view, not of hostile critics, but of such well trained and life-long friends of France as M. le Sénateur Lazare Weiller and M. Frédéric Eccard, both the elected representatives of parts of Alsace. I am largely repeating their considered opinions in this article, after having tested many of the views expressed, so far as it is possible for any foreigner ever to comprehend all the idiosyncrasies of another country.

To understand the significance of the Alsatian "malaise" it is necessary to go back to the days following the Armistice, when with overwhelming enthusiasm the victorious French troops were welcomed by the populace. Various pledges were then given by

Marshall Joffre and other soldiers, who in many ways understood the real difficulties much better than their political chiefs, and I was much impressed last year by the fact that the one-armed General Gourard, who was the first Military Governor of Strasbourg, received far more cheers from the crowd gathered in the streets of Strasbourg at a public manifestation than any of the prominent members of the French Cabinet whom he accompanied. Even in 1919, some of the political leaders of France seemed to suffer from the delusion that it was possible by the stroke of a pen to abolish the effects of the German domination of nearly half a century. There had been a special committee appointed during the war, presided over by M. Barthou, to consider the future administration of Alsace and Lorraine, but its recommendations and the advice of local persons were largely ignored. Decrees were issued on November 15th and 26th, 1918, to abolish the existing régime in Alsace-Lorraine and to substitute a new form that would, so it was hoped, lead in a very short time to a complete fusion of the three departments with France. Three Commissioners were appointed, and departed to a country where they were quite ignorant of the local institutions and of the Alsatian patois.* Only two days before their staffs started, a special monograph was issued describing the administration which they would find in existence, and many of the officials at the time were astounded at the variety and number of local institutions, and their complete difference from those of France.

It should be remembered that from 1871 to 1918 the French language had been systematically prescribed by the German authorities. Accordingly, from the commencement it was necessary to teach the French tongue, a task comparatively easy in the universities and secondary schools, but difficult in the primary schools and the country districts. When it is remembered that, even to-day in Great Britain, it is necessary to have officials speaking Welsh to administer our health insurances and other legislation in Wales, it is little wonder that a staff fresh from Paris discovered many linguistic difficulties when they endeavoured to carry out the rapid centralisation of the recovered provinces.

They had not only to deal with various strata of legislation, but were called upon to administer intricate and novel social measures of compulsory insurance against sickness, accidents, and old age, that were universal in the German Empire. Behind this legislation there was a deep difference of political outlook. France, even in the days before the Revolution in 1790, encouraged the centralisation of all administrative work in Paris. This policy was con-

* This sounds like German, but is a language peculiar to the country, and is spoken by most of the working classes.

firmed under Napoleon, and continued to increase during the last century, until to-day there are few countries in the world so firmly ruled by a central bureaucracy. This has inevitable defects. Germany, on the other hand, believed in decentralisation, and formed in Alsace-Lorraine an organisation modelled on that of the other German States. The Emperor, for example, had a direct representative in the country, the Statthalter. In 1911 more local representation in the form of the Landtag, which succeeded the "delegation," was permitted. This local Parliament possessed under certain conditions legislative power, and as the responsible officials lived in the country, decisions were not long delayed.

It is true, on the other hand, that there was considerable feeling against the number of Germans who occupied the best posts, and there were endless complaints because native Alsatians were not given opportunities of advancement. France has not made the same mistake, and has opened out careers to Alsatians. On this point some statistics of value are kindly provided by the Prefect of the Bas-Rhin. In 1914, out of 36 lawyers only 19 in his Prefecture were natives, while to-day all are Alsatians or Lorrainers. On January 1st, 1914, every Commissioner and Inspector of the Police in the Bas-Rhin, with the exception of one, were Germans, while to-day out of 3 commissioners 23 are native born, and out of 40 inspectors 39 belong to the original inhabitants. In the lower grade there are, to-day, 329 officials who are natives out of a total of 349, where, in 1914, there were only 30 out of 245. Generally, it may be said that whereas the Germans gave 33 per cent. of the lower posts to natives, the French Government offers 56 per cent.

It must be remembered that practically every grown-up person who has been resident for ten years or more in Alsace and Lorraine has been trained at school or the university by German teachers. It is, therefore, inevitable that they should look out on the world from a somewhat different point of view from that of those trained by the French system of education. German thought, as M. Vermeil, the well-known professor of the University of Strasbourg who has lectured in Great Britain on this subject recently, pointed out, is essentially realist, while French thought is more formal. The German rulers wisely recognised the reality of the independent strain in the Alsatian character which led them to protest throughout the whole of the forty-four years of domination, and the same spirit, not being given sufficient outlet, is behind the present reaction against excessive and far too rapid unification.

M. Millerand, who was appointed High Commissioner of Alsace and Lorraine on March 21st, 1919, fully appreciated this national trait. In one of his earliest speeches (which have now fortunately been reprinted in permanent form) he insisted that so elaborate

an administrative system as that installed by Germany could not be abolished except by careful and protracted effort. Patiently and almost without any friction he introduced week by week various modifications, and throughout two guiding principles governed the whole of his period of office. The first was that too much centralisation would paralyse the life of the provinces, and, secondly, that the assimilation of the recovered provinces to the rest of France would be accomplished by moving slowly and prudently. Unfortunately he was only at Strasbourg ten months, for after the resignation of M. Clemenceau, in January, 1920, he was called by M. Deschanel to the Premiership. In that period he had overcome endless difficulties by reestablishing the food supplies; by reorganising devastated regions and railways; by replacing the magistrates, lawyers, railway officials and hundreds of civil servants, formerly occupied by Germans, by French citizens; by transferring all departments of education from the university to the elementary schools; by deciding questions of naturalisation and the liquidation of German property; by settling problems of taxes, insurance and religious worship, and above all by helping the people to learn the French language so as to prepare the way to eventual absorption. To all those who remonstrated with him for moving too slowly he urged, "Alsace and Lorraine are devotedly French, but at the same time the people are devotedly Alsatians and Lorrainers."

He was succeeded by M. Alapetite in March, 1920. The new High Commissioner was not a politician, but had been Ambassador at Madrid. His record in the exercise of high administrative duties made him an admirable choice in spite of the fact that he had no knowledge of the provinces or of the local language. He followed faithfully on the wise lines laid down by M. Millerand, and it is probable that the present troubles would not have arisen if there had not been constant intrigues against him by politicians in Paris. He had no *locus standi* so as to defend himself in the Chamber, where, in the spring and the autumn of 1921, fierce attacks were made upon his administration by those who expected rapid unification. M. Alapetite must often have groaned at the protracted Parliamentary debates on questions that were of vital importance to the economic life of the Department, and at the interference of senators and of deputies, and the constant demand that his duties should be diminished and handed over to various ministers in Paris. For example, the control of the railways was transferred from Strasbourg to the Ministry of Public Works in January, 1920; the control of civil and criminal justice to the Ministry of Justice, on July 4th, 1921; of excise to the Ministry of Finance on December 31st, 1921; of mines and the supervision of posts and telegraphs to Public Works in 1922. In July, 1922, he was called

up before a tribunal who cross-examined him on the subject of fusing all local services with the central administration, and the conclusion of his evidence is worth remembering: "I consider that my mission consists essentially in introducing into the three recovered Departments as much of French legislation as possible provided I have the agreement and the co-operation of the local inhabitants." This was by no means agreeable to the Government who, in October, 1923, despatched M. Barthou to Alsace with the duty of making a public announcement that the High Commissionership was to be abolished without delay. This statesman, however, soon after he had arrived at Strasbourg and had learnt the situation, made quite a different speech from the one that had been prepared in Paris. He paid homage to the work of M. Millerand and M. Alapetite, and stated that the organisation could only be suppressed by a Parliamentary vote.

Shortly afterwards M. Barthou was succeeded by M. Colrat, who became the Minister responsible for dealing with Alsace and Lorraine, and who announced at Paris a few weeks later that the High Commissionership was in time to be abolished.

It is unnecessary here to enter into details of local politics or of the election that took place on May 11th, 1924, or of the numerous intrigues that mark the history of those months. It is sufficient to remind English readers that when M. Millerand resigned from being President, M. Herriot as *Président du Conseil* put the cat among the pigeons with a vengeance. He announced, for example, that he proposed to abolish the Embassy to the Vatican, which was regarded as a slap in the face by the many devout Catholics in Alsace, and that he proposed to introduce into the recovered countries the whole of the Republican legislation. The secularisation of church schools thus proposed resulted in most violent outbreaks of feeling. No attention was given to the advice of the High Commissioner, who shortly afterwards found the position so impossible that he resigned.

His place was taken by M. Cacaud, the Secretary of the Commission, who temporarily carried on. During this period many blunders were made, and M. Painlevé, who succeeded M. Herriot after his fall on April 10th, 1925, tried to re-establish calm. He agreed, for example, that the system of insurance should continue to be "controlled in the country itself," as officials who lived in Paris and had little comprehension of the complications of a national insurance system could not manage the affairs of the 350,000 contributors. But insurance was only one of the problems. There were some 45,000 officials whose gradings and salaries had to be settled. Their grievances could not be understood in Paris,

and therefore M. Painlevé agreed that they should be dealt with at Strasbourg.

But the advocates of decentralisation at length had their way, and the High Commissionership was abolished. M. Bonnet then announced details of the proposed constitution of an Advisory Council which might help to maintain contact. This was to contain representatives of Senators and Deputies, of Mayors, of agricultural and industrial associations; but fifteen months later its members were not even nominated. The position is steadily becoming worse. The leaders of the autonomist movement as advocated by the newspaper the *Zukunft*, are exploiting the general dissatisfaction. Numbers of people have a grievance, and think that their lot may be better under Home Rule. The taxpayers, for example, grumble at a local taxation that is three times as much as in the rest of France owing to the demands for insurance and the subsidy for the Church. Catholics, who compose the majority of the population, are up in arms against any threat to the Church Schools. There is, of course, always the old feud between Republican institutions and the Catholic Church. There is the hatred of commercial men of too much central control, and a natural annoyance at the complicated forms that have to be filled in for the information of Parisian bureaucrats, and at the incessant delays and mistakes. How can a clerk in a central department at Paris understand the intricacies of conditions in a frontier land hundreds of miles away?

This brief survey of the French administration of Alsace has been as candid as possible, without any attempt to write smooth words or to underestimate the clumsiness of the mistakes that have been made. It is now necessary to look to the future, and to consider what may be the outcome of the present autonomist movement if steps are not taken to meet the situation. It must first be emphasised that all educated Alsations, with whom I have discussed the question, agree that to advocate Home Rule for Alsace, a country with frontiers adjoining four European Powers, is to pursue a Will o' the Wisp. In the modern world, constituted as it is at present, a wealthy people living on a soil that is very fertile, and contains various minerals such as valuable potash deposits and oil, in a frontier land crowded with industries, cannot hope to maintain independence unless they can rely on the unwavering support of the Great Powers. For Alsace to become a small neutral state would mean adding to Europe a new possible source of future war.

It is unnecessary to discuss the example of Belgium, or of Switzerland that has to support a citizen army in order to maintain her frontiers inviolate. Alsace is not Ireland, surrounded by the

Irish Sea and the Atlantic Ocean. Owing to her geographical situation she must either be French or German. For over two centuries, in spite of the vicissitudes of war and peace, she has chosen to be French. During nearly half a century of exile the French spirit was never killed, and at the time of the Armistice it was vigorous and alive in the reoccupied territories. For the time being, talk of autonomy is encouraged by those who have not abandoned the vision of the German leadership of Central Europe; but in opposition to these, members of the educated class in Alsace, men who occupy the leading positions in the University of Strasbourg and in the business world, are warning their fellow countrymen not to be led astray by this chimera of autonomy.

In the opinion of those who live in Alsace much of the present agitation is the fever that precedes restoration to health. The protests of such men as M. Weiller and M. Eccard have not fallen on deaf ears. There is an increasing realisation that the promises made after the Armistice to Alsace must not be broken; that it is now advisable to slacken the speed of the process of unification, and not to be too hasty until the respect for national authority is regained. The appointment of a Minister who will have the time to live in Alsace, and the private means to ensure close personal relations with all classes of the community, is strongly urged in influential quarters. The selection of a member of the Government for such a post, and his appointment for a definite period, would remedy much of the mischief that has already been done, provided he were entrusted with executive power to make decisions on the spot without reference to Paris. Hasty visits paid by the most distinguished members of the Government, who attend a dinner, make a speech, and then catch the night train back to Paris, cannot assuage the present irritation. It is, therefore, to be hoped that in the interests of European peace the proposal for the appointment of a man who would be able to inquire into such delicate problems as the relation of the Catholic or Protestant Churches to the Schools, or the recruiting of officials, will be accepted.

There is an opportunity to-day, in the opinion of those Frenchmen who know Alsace best, for this country to remain under French law, but yet to be largely independent in her local administration. It will mean a sacrifice of the prejudices of those who always support centralisation; but, on the other hand, Alsace with its social legislation, and its special characteristics of independence and efficiency, will be able to bring rich gifts to the Mother country. The present "malaise" can be cured by prudent remedies if they are adopted without delay.

B. S. TOWNROE.

THOMAS JEFFERSON, APOSTLE OF DEMOCRACY.

ON July 4th, one hundred years ago, died John Adams and Thomas Jefferson, a spectacular, even a melodramatic, exit! The day was the fiftieth anniversary of the Declaration of Independence. In their youth independence had been an experiment. They had lived to see it a success. With feelings of self-approval the two old men could chant their "Nunc dimittis"; and their fellow-citizens, ancient animosities long since forgotten, laid wreaths on their graves as tokens of esteem for figures from an heroic past.

The popular imagination has been somewhat capricious in erecting sentimental shrines to their memory. Peacefully the soul of John Adams has been laid to rest with his body; and a spiritual monument, not of too titanic size, has been erected by public opinion, for he, like his contemporary Washington, belonged to his own time and environment. The national and local politics in which he was involved have left behind only hallowed traditions. Not so in the case of Jefferson. His niche in the Hall of Fame, though secure, is filled with a shadowy form with constantly waving lines and changing colours, as ebb and flow present day emotions. The man Jefferson cannot be limited by time and space. His political principles and career are still subjects of heated wrangling, even as they were a hundred years ago, when his body was lowered into the beloved soil of Monticello. At the present moment, when the world is questioning the doctrines of liberalism, when representative government is threatened on the one side by Bolshevism and on the other by Fascism, many troubled souls are turning to this apostle of democracy in the hope of revivifying their faith. They are praying for a downpouring of his abundant optimism and his constant trust in the common people. The explanation of Jeffersonian democracy is simple, too simple, for his principles have become, like those of the Sermon on the Mount learned in childhood, interwoven with the consciousness of the multitude. The religious character of the democratic faith constituted the strength in every land of President Wilson's appeal to its doctrine, thought by many the swan song of Jeffersonianism. Probably a mistake! People change their beliefs very slowly, and future years will behold many an army mustered at the battle-cry of freedom and waving aloft the flag of the rights of man.

Jefferson's thought was, of course, a product of the eighteenth century. Its particular form was cast in the mould of the law of nature; its aim was the attainment of civil and religious rights, the liberation of human thought and endeavour from artificial

bonds. The extravagances of the French Revolution made this particular species of political philosophy odious; and liberals of the nineteenth century discarded it. Outside the circles where doctrinaire revolutionists dream and politicians practise, few would risk their reputations by an appeal to the archaic psychology and illusive hope upon which it was founded. But the practice of Jefferson was embodied in an experiment in democracy so successful that his personality has been projected through the nineteenth century in his own country, whence his influence was flung across the Atlantic to encourage liberals in many lands to continue their onslaught upon vested wrongs. Thus St. Thomas still lives, and many who know not his name bend their knees in homage.

Two criticisms have been hurled at Jefferson by his enemies, whether his contemporaries or historians and politicians swimming in the stream of the Hamilton-Lincoln-Roosevelt tradition. They are supposed to be crushing, and their continuous repetition has given them wide currency. Theorist and demagogue, somewhat irreconcilable terms, are heavy burdens for any reputation to bear. I sometimes wonder when used against a political opponent if they have any meaning at all. Even the most consistent Machiavellian is a theorist. His claim that his theory is "practical" is an unproved assumption, made particularly doubtful by contemporary conditions. In the present-day world, where everybody recognises the force of public opinion, the term demagogue loses its evil connotation. The art of ruling, or at least the art of keeping in power, consists in playing upon the emotions of the common people. This the most "Die-hard Tory" has learned. Mussolini, so much esteemed by Conservatives, is a successful demagogue.

The origin of Jefferson's political philosophy has always been a subject of dispute. After the outbreak of the French Revolution his enemies, with a partisan craftiness which reminds us of recent political campaigns, tried to identify Jeffersonianism with the excesses of the Jacobins. Their propaganda has befuddled public opinion, and has been a cause of astigmatism in many a historian. Jefferson was of a scholarly mind and certainly did read Voltaire and Rousseau. As they were, he too was influenced by the *Zeitgeist*; but the origin of this thought is not to be sought on alien soil. He influenced the French much more than they did him. His sources of inspiration were truly Anglo-American. Long before Jefferson gave thought to political subjects, he was a democrat of the practical American type. The explanation of the influence of the western frontier upon American civilisation is the most important contribution to the interpretation of New World history that has been made in recent years. It provides an explanation of Jefferson, whose formative years were passed in the Vir-

ginian West, where his companions were frontiersmen. In the communities stretching along the back of the colonies from Maine to Georgia were born and nurtured the peculiar complexes of the American people which differentiate them from the Europeans. Ages-old traditions were here cast off, class distinctions were forgotten, family prestige counted for little or nothing. In a very real sense men became equal, personal ability to succeed in a rough and tumble life was the only hallmark of superiority. For the first time in the civilised world every man was offered the opportunity to make his way without unfair competition from those possessing advantages of birth and wealth. For purposes of brevity and effectiveness I exaggerate somewhat. Still the exaggeration does not affect the subject under discussion, the influence of the real democracy of the frontier upon the opinion of the young Jefferson. That this was effective in shaping the thought of men is well illustrated by the career of a neighbour and friend of Jefferson's, Patrick Henry. The latter was never a student. He prepared himself for the law examination by a few months of study. Yet Henry's political creed in the years preceding the War of American Independence was radical and democratic. The frontier was in the blood of the two young men.

Jefferson himself had the mind of a student, and he found in his father a stimulant for this side of his nature. The elder Jefferson was by profession a surveyor, and laid the foundations of his son's fortune which was increased by his portion of the estate of his mother, who belonged to the wealthy and distinguished family of Randolph. Their home was the typical plantation of the Virginia gentry; thus counteracting the vulgarising influences of the frontier was the home pressure urging the young Thomas on to self-culture. The impulse which he received from his father and mother remained a force in his life till the end. At William and Mary's College he was a marked man and won the friendship and enjoyed the companionship of several of his professors. Therefore the possibilities of his learning his political philosophy either from the perusal of books or from the conversation of his elders were numerous, and almost any hypothesis concerning its origin and development can find support in Jefferson's varied career. My personal opinion is that I have already indicated the well-spring of Jeffersonian democracy, and that his later study and thinking resulted in the mere rationalisation of a habit of thought firmly fixed in his youth. Still he did study, and his principal authority was of pure English stock, the works of John Locke. So familiar did he become with the writings of Locke that when he shut himself in his room in Philadelphia without book or notes to defend the position of the American colonies, the thought and even some

of the phrases of the British philosopher of revolution became embodied in the Declaration of Independence.

Jefferson is principally known in Europe as the author of the famous Declaration and as the rival of Alexander Hamilton, who on account of his conservatism and his Anglophilism has always enjoyed a more favourable reputation. If other events in the life of Jefferson are known they are the purchase of Louisiana and the Embargo policy during the Napoleonic wars, both of which affected Europe. In contrast with the world's appraisal of his achievements, Jefferson's own estimate of his acts is illuminating. In accordance with his instructions, there has been commemorated upon his tombstone that he was the author of the Declaration of Independence and of the Statute of Virginia for Religious Freedom, and the founder of the University of Virginia. As I think over his career, I realise that he has selected those deeds which in his estimation most perfectly typified the aims of his life. Undoubtedly he wove into the Declaration the radical philosophy of the eighteenth century, and so far as this is true the thought underlying it is ephemeral. But Jefferson was in reality not a philosopher; rather he was a man of affairs. His maturer judgment stressed the practical aspect of the document. In answer to an invitation to be present at the celebration of the fiftieth anniversary of the Independence of his country he wrote the last letter of his life. In it he summoned his countrymen to "undiminished devotion" to the principles of the Declaration, and ended with this wish: "May it be to the world what I believe it will be to some parts sooner, to others later, but finally to all, the signal of arousing men to burst the chains under which monkish ignorance and superstition had persuaded them to bind themselves, and to assume the blessings and security of self-government." This seems to be only an appeal for intelligent democracy. Metaphysical speculation is certainly subordinated to practical reform.

The Statute of Virginia for Religious Freedom is one of the noblest of laws and the first of its kind passed by a modern State. The following sentence contains its essence: "The opinions of men are not the object of civil government, nor under its jurisdiction." Toleration was one of the fundamentals of Jefferson's creed. The thought runs through all his writings. When a candidate for the presidency in 1800 he declared: "I have sworn upon the altar of God eternal hostility against every form of tyranny over the mind of man." Concerning the University of Virginia, the founding of which he enumerated as the third of the acts to be commemorated on his tomb, he said: "The institution will be based on the illimitable freedom of the human mind. For here we are not afraid to follow the truth wherever it may lead, nor to

tolerate any error, so long as reason is left free to combat it." He realised that democracy must be based on general education. It was his wish that free education should be offered to all from the highest to the lowliest, and that an opportunity for mental training should be offered to every child to the extent his talents warranted, for in this way alone could there be trained for the service of the State the only aristocracy Jefferson recognised, one of intelligence and character.

Lord Bryce has written concerning Jefferson that his "influence has been on the spirit of the people and their attitude towards institutions rather than on the formation of institutions themselves." On the whole the statement is correct within limitations. It cannot be doubted that Americans have generally become in theory Jeffersonian democrats and advocates of education, and that is what Lord Bryce had in mind. It is also evident to anyone knowing America to-day that much of Jefferson's thought has not penetrated very deeply into the consciousness of the people. Later discussion will show that he has influenced the institutional life of his people, for he was responsible, at least partially, for one of the most important instruments of government. His influence upon the federal constitution was not important, for he was at the time of the famous meeting at Philadelphia the minister at Paris, the duties of which office he performed, as he did every executive office he ever held under the Federation, with brilliancy. The new constitution did not coincide with his wishes, and as were all contemporaries he was very critical of it; but after the first amendments incorporating in it a bill of rights, he found it a workable instrument. In one respect he disapproved of it until the end of his life. It was too inflexible, too difficult to change. One of his firmest principles was that no generation had the right to extend its control over its successors. Unlike his rival Hamilton, he was convinced that no generation should mortgage the future by the creation of a national debt. The people who enjoyed the excitement of a war should pay for it. The same attitude of mind compelled him to mistrust all attempts to secure permanence in institutions and laws. He feared unchangeableness and hoped that a convention would be called every nineteen years to revise all fundamental laws. His firm conviction that society is in a continuous state of flux explains certain very radical statements of his that his detractors are fond of quoting. The two best known are: "The tree of liberty must be refreshed from time to time with the blood of patriots and tyrants. It is its natural manure." "God forbid that we should ever be twenty years without such a rebellion."

It has been pointed out that his enemies have attempted to curse Jefferson by calling him a theorist and idealist. The names do

not describe him, for he was the ablest and most practical politician that America has ever produced. More clearly than any of his contemporaries he understood the forces moulding the society around him. Consciously he took upon himself the direction of the social current; and so successful was his leadership, so completely did he identify himself with his times, that frequently he has been credited with bringing about results that were the product of the national genius. But to be specific. The framers of the federal constitution did not anticipate three great changes that were to occur in the nation for which they were acting the part of midwife. These are: 1. The democratisation of society and government. 2. The development of the party system. 3. The industrial revolution. The last of these no one foresaw. Sometimes Alexander Hamilton is credited with the necessary clairvoyance and is today the accepted saint of Big Business. But Hamilton was working for an aristocratic form of government, and hoped to create out of the wealthy of his day a real nobility who would control the Federation in the same way that the British Government was controlled. The contemporary plutocracy of America is a product of democracy. Whatever its future may be, Henry Ford, who rose from the working class, is more typical of it than are the Astors and the Vanderbilts. The Industrial Revolution, wholly unexpected as it was, thwarted the development of democracy along the lines which Jefferson had visualised. We know now that his vision was visionary.

The two other unanticipated developments of the American nation Jefferson understood and utilised to forward his policies. When the colonies won their freedom, only a few of them had manhood suffrage, and all of them were governed by small oligarchies. During the period of war the doctrines of the rights of man had been preached and generally accepted by the common people. It was too stimulating a draught and went to the head. Incipient revolutions broke out. Under the influence of a conservative reaction the Constitution was written and the government inaugurated. The moneyed men and the well-to-do class were in the saddle. Their leader was Alexander Hamilton. Yet all the time the drift was towards democracy. We have already seen that the frontier, ever advancing westward, constantly renewing itself, was a breeder of a democratic society, and with passing years its influence upon American life grew stronger. The very conditions of the country made the democratisation of society and government inevitable. Time played into Jefferson's hand.

The Hamiltonians were strongly entrenched and organised, for business interests were national. Hamilton deserves great credit for his acumen in attaching so quickly the business men of America

to the new state, provided he did not pay too heavily for it. Jefferson felt that the cost had been too high, and he also feared his rival's purposes. In his contest with Hamilton, one of the most spectacular and dramatic political fights in the world's history, he called into being, or at least he made effective, the most important instrument of government in a democracy, the political party. Its establishment is not to be found among the clauses of the Constitution, yet it is more potent in the affairs of the country than any that the wise men at the conference at Philadelphia devised.

Thomas Jefferson was the father of party government in a democracy. Naturally there were forerunners. Edmund Burke preached party rule; but in eighteenth century England, public opinion was practically non-existent. Every election was a manipulation of money and prestige. Even the famous appeal to the country made by the younger Pitt, in 1784, was not decided upon until the minister could count his assured majority. In the American colonies there were some embryonic forms of party contests, and the revolt against the Mother Country was a true partisan measure. Still all these examples do not reveal the phenomenon in its modern guise. The Jeffersonian party was truly modern, and its leader understood the game as well as any Frontbencher in Mr. Baldwin's ministry or any adviser of President Coolidge. We find the same careful organisation, the creation of newspapers for purposes of propaganda. Jefferson understood the psychology of the crowd. He used the fear motive very much as do his modern imitators. In his case it was the fear of tyranny from above, exercised by an irresponsible oligarchy or a possible king. To this he added hope, the hope of better government—less taxes for instance—provided the common people exercised their rights of which the wealthy were attempting to deprive them. His politics were successful and he was elected president in 1800.

It may be seen that Jefferson still belongs to the world in which we live. Probably we are more cynical than he was, for he had the greatest faith in the regenerating power of the rule of the common people. He was persuaded that Nature had planted in their breasts virtues which would blossom forth into a better world with more perfect governments, if only the rotten growths of traditional wrongs were cut away. The hopes which he and his followers harboured have not been realised, but neither have the prognostications of evil heralded by their opponents proved true. Perhaps, after all, democracy is the best form of government the human mind can devise. At least some people think so, and hence they are appealing to the memory of Thomas Jefferson.

CLARENCE WALWORTH ALVORD.

THE STUDY OF WAR.

"There is nothing more fearful than ignorance in action."—Goethe.

THE late Colonel Henderson, one of the few war-historians widely read by civilians, complained that no great teaching body had in his day endeavoured to supply the deficiency to which he called attention in our educational standards.* Had he survived, he would have found encouragement for the fulfilment of his hopes in movements that are now on foot, both in America and in Great Britain, towards establishing a systematic study of war. Correspondence advocating the intelligent study of war history in all American Schools appeared recently in the *American Historical Review*, and the arguments used therein were so sound that more will be heard on that subject at the conference between American and British Empire historians, which is to be held in London in July. Meanwhile we can note movements in the same direction in several British Universities.

During the current University year a course of public lectures has been delivered in London by leading authorities upon different aspects of war, and it is hoped thereby to develop a comprehensive view of the nature of warfare on the different elements. The lectures covered sea, land, air, economic and chemical warfare. The arrangements were made by the Military Studies Committee of the University, under the direction of the Senate. No one is likely to claim that the syllabus was exhaustive. The subject of war is too vast, and too full of complications. For instance, there was no special lecture on Economic Blockade, or on Man-power in war. These might have brought home to all concerned the realities of modern warfare, and have acted as an incitement to further study of a subject by which every citizen is affected. Before leaving this short series of public lectures on the study of war it will be as well to emphasise the point that the underlying idea of their originators is that they may be of service to what Colonel Henderson calls "statesmen and citizens," amongst the latter being included specially those with influence over public opinion, either by their position in the academic world, or in politics, or as members of that great force in modern life which has been called the Fourth Estate. The hope has also been expressed that with greater knowledge will come greater sympathy between the British people and the members of their fighting services, whose business it is to carry out behests, and if need be to sacrifice life or health in the cause of the nation by sea, by land, or in the air.

When these public lectures were first advertised questions were raised about the probable attitude of "anti-militarists" towards the course. There have been opponents in all ages to the acquisition of nearly all branches of knowledge, and pioneers in

* Supplement (1902) to the *Encyclopædia Britannica*.

scientific truth, like Galileo, have suffered sore persecution; but no class can ever have been so unreasonable as those anti-militarists who pride themselves on their ignorance of the nature and conduct of warfare, and oppose the acquisition of knowledge by study and research. Let us assume that an anti-militarist is the opposite to a militarist. "Without definition," we were told once by an eminent divine, "controversy is either hopeless or useless." Sir Edward Grey (as he then was), at a critical period in British history, defined a militarist as one whose outlook covers only purely material military matters, taking no account, and being incapable of taking account, of the soul which exists in nations. If that definition of a militarist be accepted, the strongest anti-militarists are to be found amongst those who are best acquainted with the realities of war, and the abolition of war between nations is more likely to be furthered by knowledge than ignorance of its realities.

Acting upon such suppositions as these, the authorities of the University of London propose henceforth to further the study of the nature and conduct of war by students in their own University. Here, as elsewhere, some difficulty arises over classification. Subjects are classed in "faculties," such as the Faculty of Arts and the Faculty of Science, and the question arises whether war is an art or a science. History (which is taught in the Faculty of Arts) is both an art and a science. I suggest that war is neither the one nor the other. The most learned disquisition which I have encountered on the question states that war belongs not to the province of Arts and Sciences, but to the province of social life. It is a conflict of great interests which is settled by bloodshed, and only in that is it different from others. It would be better, instead of comparing it with any Art, to liken it to business competition, which is also a conflict of human interests and activities. I borrow that idea from the English translation of Clausewitz *On War*, which was published in 1908. The Editor stated in a footnote that the analogy between war and business competition had become much closer since the time of Clausewitz, and he expressed the opinion that, the first business of States being regarded as the development of facilities for trade, war between great nations was only a question of time. The Great War came six years later. It will be as well to follow that point up at once.

Much support was accorded shortly before the Great War to arguments that war for financial or economic profit was a "Great Illusion"; but we know how little influence those arguments carried in some quarters. A German Chancellor (Count Hertling) pronounced publicly, as late as the year 1918, that economic development in every direction had been Germany's war aim from the beginning, and, since the war, the Carnegie Endowment has published a series of books by eminent Japanese writers who

provide striking statistics to prove that the industrial development of Japan dates from, and was caused by, her wars against China and against Russia. The fallacy, if it is a fallacy, that nations, in early stages of their industrial development, can profit by successful war, is still a potent factor in international relationship. Here we find a wide field for research, and a reason for the study by "statesmen and citizens" of the subject of war, perhaps for the amendment of political economic theories. There occurs to one's mind, in that connection, a bitter epigram which appeared in a recent collection of poems emanating from Oxford. It is based upon the well-known lines by Simonides in memory of the Spartan hero Leonidas and his men. It is entitled "War Graves," and it throws some light upon the attitude of the new generation towards their predecessors:

"Tell the Professors, you that pass us by,
They taught Political Economy,
And here, obedient to their laws, we lie."

With that attitude in our minds, we can revert to our immediate subject, the need to study war, and the movement on foot in the University of London to meet that need. We have noted the proposal to include war studies in the subjects taken up for a pass degree. The proposal for solving the difficulty about Faculties is to offer courses in war studies for pass degrees both in Arts and in Science. With war, as with all studies, the first process, and a very laborious one, must be to ascertain the truth. The next to tell it, without fear or favour. The third, and most difficult, is to persuade people to believe it; but, before any of these processes can be undertaken, it is necessary to overcome the indifference which is being displayed towards the study of war, excepting amongst members of the fighting forces whose duties are limited to the conduct of naval, military, and air operations, and the technicalities connected therewith. To overcome indifference is always an up-hill task, but not a hopeless one if the policy is sound, the difficulties realised, and experience gained. Previous failures may possibly be accounted for by a natural reaction from the old method of teaching history, called the "Kings, Battles, and Dates" method, which ignored the growth of political institutions, the conduct of diplomacy, and the social and economic life of the people concerned. Other contributory causes have been the paucity of literature in the English language dealing with war from the point of view of the statesman and citizen (as distinguished from that of the seaman and soldier), and the use of unnecessary and meaningless technicalities by so many writers on the subject. In a Press summary of the work done at the Educational conferences which were held in London

in January, 1924, it was advanced that specialists and experts in various subjects use a jargon which has to the writers the supreme advantage of being so unintelligible that it impresses the reader and conceals the ignorance of the authority on his own subject. That criticism might have been taken to heart by many expert writers about war; but there remains the phenomenon that vast sums have been and are being expended, to the great benefit of mankind, upon research into the nature, origin, and treatment of diseases, while the general attitude towards studying the nature and conduct of war resembles that of the people of the Land of Hearsay (in Charles Kingsley's *Water Babies*) whose whole strategy and art military consisted in the safe and easy process of stopping their ears and screaming, "Oh, don't tell us!" and then running away.

Leaving these broad generalities, we can consider definite examples of the value of more intensive study of the subject of war. We have touched upon the need for further research into the economic argument against war in general. Passing to other aspects, we know that the conduct of international affairs on an ethical basis is considered to be impossible, in all good faith, by a school of thought, in Great Britain and elsewhere, that has stigmatised it as "sloppy folly," so we must approach with caution the ethics of war, although most of us hold the view that the seeds of war lie in far deeper soil than that of economic advantage. In the ethical field, the most concise definition of war is the one attributed to General Sherman, that "War is Hell." That leads to the reflection that there are different schools of thought, both about war, and about hell. These schools can be grouped in two classes, one of which looks upon war and hell as altogether evil, and the other looks upon both as cleansing fires which burn the badness out of human nature and force it to improve. The views of foreign authorities who have glorified war, from Machiavelli to Bernhardi, have been treated with opprobrium of late years on both sides of the Atlantic; but we cannot ignore the point that the school of opinion, to which I have referred, can quote in support of their views many English authorities, from Bacon and his contemporaries to Victorians like Thomas Carlyle and Ruskin. One quotation will be enough. The literary style identifies the author:

"England itself, in foolish quarters of England, still howls and execrates lamentably over its William the Conqueror and vigorous line of Normans and Plantagenets; but without them, if you consider well, what had it been? A gluttonous race of Jutes and Angles, capable of no grand combinations Nothing but collision, intolerable interpressure, and constant battle often supervening could have been appointed those undrilled Anglo-Saxons. Their pot-bellied equanimity itself continuing liable to constant interruptions."

From the view that war improves nations and races, the step is a short one to opinions that idealism is "a peril to national security"; that the motive of self-interest is the "mainspring of human conduct"; that ethical standards have no place in the relationship between nations; and that force is the only possible arbiter in disputes. Such opinions were held in such detestation twelve years ago by the people of the British Empire in general that unprecedented sacrifice was endured to defeat them. Over 8,000,000 men ultimately bore arms for the purpose, and nearly 1,000,000 of them gave their lives to the cause.

The ground has already been broken for students of the pro-war argument in a paper on "War and human progress," by the late Lord Bryce, whose historical researches led him to the conclusions that "we can, with an easy conscience, dismiss the doctrine that war is a health-giving tonic offered to the human race for its own good," and "the future progress of mankind is to be sought, not through the strifes and hatreds of nations, but rather by their friendly co-operation in the healing and enlightening works of peace." I would also call attention, on the biological side, to similar conclusions arrived at by Dr. Chalmers Mitchell in his *Evolution and the War*. A wealth of other material is available for investigation by a school of war studies, which in course of time would be in a position to aid in the difficult work of bridging the chasm between ascertaining the truth and inducing people to believe in the conclusions. As another suggestion, which might help in this direction, I mention the value, from the constructive point of view, of Professor A. F. Pollard's little pamphlet entitled "The League of Nations: an Historical Argument," in which he traces the law-abiding qualities of the British people to the policy pursued by Henry II towards his turbulent barons, who, like the nations of the present day, recognised no law but that of might.

The natural result was that those barons, like the nations, lived in constant fear of their neighbours. That reflection suggests yet another line of investigation, which might be fruitful in results; an investigation into the causes of those fears. The general opinion is that they are caused by the strength of armaments. I suggest, as a more potent cause of fear, the state of readiness in which those armaments are kept. The experience of 1870 proved the military effectiveness of "mobilisation" as a process for speeding up the employment of armies. Events in 1914 taught us that mobilisation now means war, because in some countries it was a progressive process, including acts of war, which lead inevitably to conflict. Mobilisation, as a preparatory measure, merged gradually into "military necessity" during the critical period of final negotiations. The striking of the first blow carried the subject in dispute from the realms of reason to those of

emotion, and under such conditions subservience to reason could not be effectively enforced. I commend to students of "disarmament" movements the point that if they eliminate the advantage of rapid mobilisation they will help to reduce the fear of neighbours, now so prevalent in continental countries.

The state of readiness of armaments leads us naturally to the State machinery for putting them in motion, and here we find another object for study. This machinery varies widely in different countries. For instance, in the United States of America I understand that the making of war is the prerogative of Congress. The conduct of warfare is entirely in the hands of the President, but the Senate has the principal voice in the conclusion of peace. This might profitably be compared with other systems, especially those for putting war machinery in motion. The possible influence of emotional impulses, incited by the Press, upon various natures of war-making authority would be an interesting subject for investigation.

While we can visualise a school of studies in war which, in course of time, would make wars less probable, the most confirmed optimist would not expect to abolish them in a hurry, simply by research. Human nature must be more amenable to reason before wars cease. Let us, therefore, consider the advantage, both to the statesman and to the citizen, of some knowledge of the lessons to be learned from history about the conduct of actual operations of war. Here we touch familiar ground, the old controversy about "experts" in warfare—whether knowledge of realities acquired by this experience and study, or the faculty of imagination without any knowledge, is the most valuable equipment for conducting operations.

Let us consult Colonel Henderson's article in the *Encyclopædia Britannica* of 1902. He writes:

"It is not pretended that if military history were thoroughly studied all statesmen would become Moltkes, or that every citizen would be competent to set squadrons in the field. War is above all a practical art, and the application of theory to practice is not to be taught at a University or to be learned by those who have never rubbed shoulders with the men in the ranks. But if war were more generally and thoroughly studied, the importance of organisation, of training, of education, and of readiness would be more generally appreciated; abuses would no longer be regarded with lazy tolerance; efficiency would be something more than a political catchword. . . . Nor is this all. A nation that understood something about war would hardly suffer the fantastic tricks which have been played so often by the best-meaning statesmen . . . diplomacy and strategy would keep step."

The author puts forward a definite example to illustrate his meaning:

"In all history there are few more glaring instances of incompetent statesmanship than the proposal of the Cabinet of 1813, at the moment when Wellington was contemplating the campaign

that was to expel the French from Spain, and was asking for more men, more money, and more material, to detach a large force in the vague hope of exciting a revolution in Southern Italy."

The parallel with some of the diversions of military force in the late war will doubtless occur to many. We know that 3,600,000 British Empire troops were employed upon subsidiary operations, but that point still remains on the plane of personal controversy, and has not yet had time to pass into the calmer atmosphere of history. We can, however, without fear of controversy take one or two examples, derived from recent experience, of the advantage of some knowledge of past operations of war, and of the functions of sea and of land forces respectively. A fleet, without the aid of land forces, cannot capture a large area of continental territory containing a strong hostile army, but it is on record that the British Admiralty, in January, 1915, was ordered to prepare to "take" the Gallipoli Peninsula without the aid of troops. The evidence of that written order proves the need for more knowledge in those who are responsible for ordering war operations, and here we can draw a clear distinction between the conduct of operations and the conduct of war in all its aspects (including the political, diplomatic, economic and financial). That is a much wider question, requiring wider study.

One more definite example of a need for knowledge will suffice. The opinion was widely held and expressed, even by eminent historians like the late Lord Bryce, that we could have defeated the armies of the Central Powers more quickly by sending the bulk of the British army to Salonika than by sending it to France. In examining that proposal there is no need to pose as experts, or to use any technical language. It is enough to note that soldiers require food, and that under modern conditions they expend a very heavy weight of ammunition in protracted battles.* These and other weights require transport, by rail, by road, or by water, to the armies concerned. If, as has been alleged, we could have struck a decisive blow against the Central Powers by an advance northward from Salonika, we must concede to our opponents sufficient intelligence to assume that they would have sent an army to parry that blow. Let us assume that a battle would then have resulted. In that battle the facilities for transport behind the defending army would have been as five to one with those behind our own force. This disadvantage to the British army would have increased with every mile of advance. In such circumstances it is not easy to discover the benefit, either military or political, which would have accrued to us, if the bulk of the British army had been sent to Salonika.

It would be easy to overload with similar examples the argument

* In the Autumn offensive of 18th August to 27th October, 1918, the weekly average weight of British gun ammunition expended considerably exceeded 33,000 tons.

for the study of war by those who are responsible for the provision and for the most effective employment of the fighting forces. These two have been selected because they involve only questions of fact, about which there can be no controversy. The general subject of detachments from a main theatre of war offers a wide scope for students. It cannot be exploited within the limits of an article. We can take it for granted that there can be no sound reason for any such detachments unless they contribute to victory over the main forces of an enemy. Concentration upon this purpose demands a sense of proportion, sound judgment, and suppression of self, to which few attain. The pages of the history of many nations are stained with the names of those who have sacrificed fighting forces by pandering to the well-known public demand for successful combats, regardless of their ultimate influence upon the issue of a war. A more widespread knowledge of the realities of war would reduce the popularity of such operations.

Having pleaded for the study of war from the point of view, first of its prevention, and secondly of its successful conduct when it cannot be avoided, there remains a third subject, that of peace-making. Here words are the weapons, not deeds, and most people will nowadays agree that, in the long run, words, and the thoughts behind them, can be the most deadly. It is not necessary to emphasise the point that the study of peace-making and of treaty-making in the past would be a useful equipment for those charged with this tremendous responsibility in the future.

This concludes a brief resumé of a few of the arguments which can be advanced in favour of the organised study of the nature and of the conduct of war, but there remains one reflection about patriotism as a war-impetus. This moral force, like the material forces which are placed at the disposal of the human race by great scientists, can be used either for the advancement or for the destruction of mankind. Here we touch the region of sentiment, where men who feel most deeply are the least articulate. Let us content ourselves therefore with one note about movements to destroy patriotism, substituting "internationalism" as a means of averting wars. Patriotism, or love of country, is built upon the sentiment of individual families, individual towns, individual counties, or individual classes in life, without destroying family, town, county, or class loyalties. It would seem, then, to be disastrous to destroy loyalty to country, leaving no foundation upon which to build a wider outlook.

The conclusions to which the study of warfare in the past, and its tendencies in the future, seem likely to lead will be the same as those arrived at by Edith Cavell: that patriotism, however good, is not enough, and, by Lord Grey, that we must "learn or perish."

GEORGE ASTON.

CHILD LABOUR IN CHINA.

AS one by one the older races of the world experience the shock of impact with the West, a small and forlorn figure stands out against the social background—the figure of the child in industry. Not that the child was unexploited before. We have only to recall the chimneysweeps of England, the child-wives of India, the little girls crippled for life in the carpet industry in Persia, the domestic slaves of China, to realise what strange delusions exist as to the conditions of a pre-industrialised world.

But with the advent of economic imperialism comes both an extension of the sphere of child-labour, and a speeding-up of the leisurely processes of home industries. Since 1911 the growth of industrialism in China has been phenomenal, and with it, as amply demonstrated by the Child Labour Commission at Shanghai, by the Industrial Report of the Y.W.C.A. and by a multitude of Consular Reports, all the abuses of Child Labour familiar in every industrial revolution. Conditions in Shanghai and other Treaty Ports are as bad as those in the parts of the interior where neither foreign domination nor control exists. Life in the English, Japanese and Chinese factories is almost equally injurious to child welfare and happiness. Babies of five and six work quite normally twelve (in Chinese mills fourteen) hours a day, generally at unhealthy and exhausting tasks; and work is continuous for seven days a week. Though whole families are often found at work together in the factories, indentured labour exists also—the contractors bringing gangs of children from the country and taking at least half the pittance paid them for themselves. Children are easy enough to procure as “hands” where extreme poverty and large families exist side by side. Cheap labour attracts capital, and an ever-developing industrial advance.

The effect on the children is familiar: “In the main they present a pitiable sight. Their physical condition is poor, and their faces are devoid of any expression of happiness or well-being. . . . They appear to be miserable, both physically and mentally.” So states the Report of the Child Labour Commission of Shanghai. Dame Adelaide Anderson tells further how children literally work till they die. In one rug-factory of the north she saw a small child, swollen all over with dropsy, who continued to work at her frame, and would so continue till she finally collapsed. Of course, there are better employers and worse. Some of them voluntarily regulate the hours of child-labour, notably among English firms, Messrs. Butterfield and Swires and Messrs. Jardine; and among non-Christian Chinese, Mr. Niyeh, of Shanghai, is a notable exception. But no regulations are in force except on paper. The Peking Provisional Regulations promulgated in

March, 1923, are all but a dead letter owing to the lack of a trained Inspectorate and the chaotic state of the provinces; the proposals of the Child Labour Commission owing to the failure to secure a quorum at the annual meeting of the Shanghai ratepayers, and to the anti-foreign ill-will so exasperated by the subsequent “Shanghai incident” of May 30th last year, and the loss of life at Shameen. The mere reiteration of these all too familiar abuses is useless and depressing. We know their immediate causes in a potential market of cheap labour, and the absence both of Government control and of organised labour. The consequent determination to make money fast before legislation and combination intervene has always proved irresistible.

What concern us to determine are the special local conditions, whether inherent or imposed, which aggravate the inevitable results of industrialism. Is there any possibility of averting or modifying them? For, short of a miracle, or the supersession of the present economic system altogether, the industrialisation of China, at least of vast tracts of it, is inevitable; as inevitable as it was in England a hundred years ago, as it will be in India and Central Africa. For wherever cheap labour and raw material provide man with the chance of making a fortune and subject-man of earning a living, white man and yellow and black are all equally involved in the scramble. Are we ever to learn anything from history? For history repeats itself over and over again—and the fact that the Child Labour Commission’s Report of Shanghai might be taken, if names were omitted, for a report of conditions in this country a hundred years ago ought to give us to think. In both we have mere babies at work picking up the waste cotton, days of fourteen and fifteen hours work, wagon-loads of children for the factories from one side of the country to the other. Here they were workhouse children, contracted by some London parish to a Lancashire manufacturer, one idiot child to every twenty normal thrown in, for the relief of London ratepayers; there they are village children from the interior for the relief of impoverished homes. In both increasing mechanical inventions find limitless scope for child labour.*

It is certainly doubtful whether any parallel in China can be found to the hideous barbarities practised on children in the coal-mines of England. Infants of five and six were constantly immured for thirty-six hours on end in complete darkness and solitude at their task of opening and closing the doors to ensure ventilation; girls of twelve to fifteen worked all day among gangs of naked men and boys, and crawled in putrid filth along passages of eighteen to twenty inches high, dragging after them the loaded

* See Laurence and Barbara Hammond, *The Rise of Modern Industry*.

trolley by leather thongs fastened to their shoulders and backs. With a fifteen to sixteen hours' day all their waking hours were spent in the darkness.

To quote facts of this sort is not to prove that England was worse than China is now. It is only to demonstrate the truism that equally in every country the social conscience evolves much less rapidly than the industrial machinery itself. And in all countries alike reforms are opposed by two main arguments. One is from the workers themselves, who believe that the regulation of labour conditions will spell unemployment for them, and still greater destitution.* This argument is repeated to-day by the supporters of the present system in China who profit by the parents' hostility to change and the continued supply of cheap labour it secures to them.

The other argument, and it carries more force in a socially awakening country, is that employment in factories is better for the children than poverty and starvation at home; better for their morals too. Such arguments are all too familiar. Lord Shaftesbury encountered them all. The fact that better conditions with a rise of wages all round and a higher standard of living will throw light on the problem of poverty and exempt the children from servitude, is conveniently ignored.

But the analogy of England in the early nineteenth century is not a complete one. For conditions in China to-day, politically and socially, are rather those of the Middle Ages in Europe. The physical conditions are much the same. Except for the rivers, communications in the interior are practically *nil*. Combination of workmen is hardly in embryo, government is chaotic, inspection impossible. And not only are the conditions mediæval—they are further confused by the fact of an alien economic domination. The growth of a sense of Chinese nationality is the obvious result. That enormous country, which through its 5,000 years of history has been always the loosest conglomeration of provinces, presenting every variety of language, culture and custom, has suddenly felt itself one. And this in spite of civil wars and fighting Tuchuns. It is rapidly shaping for nationhood. Conditions in France under the domination of Henry VI of England are illuminating in this direction. Distracted internally, Burgundy plotting with England, just as Chang-Tso-Lin with Japan or Wu-Pei-Fu with England to-day, no centralised government at the helm, it was only the presence of the foreigner on the soil which produced a semblance of unity. With the defeat of the English a more or less consolidated France was born.

* The Report of the "First Commission of Child Labour in the Mines" in this country states that "the system is maintained by the cupidity and ignorance of the parents who dread the loss of their children's contribution to the family budget."
—*Athenæum*, 1842.

Once again civil war may be the precursor of war with the foreigner. If it is so, sooner or later the departure of foreign warships and troops is inevitable, and the final relinquishment of concessions and settlements and extra-territorial privileges.

Into the existing maelstrom another complicating issue is thrown by Bolshevism. Although it is true that Bolshevism has made way in China for quite other reasons than its desirability as an economic creed, it has to be taken into account in adjudging the present situation. It is an alien product, ill fitting the social and mental constitution of China, but it stands for a political attitude which is anti-European and therefore sympathetic. After all, it may be that Russia will not command the hegemony of Eastern nations to which she obviously aspires. She went some way towards her goal by divesting herself of the conqueror's rights in the matter of extra-territoriality and by recognising China as the sovereign power she is determined to be, but if she clings fast to her ancient rights in Manchuria in spite of Tchitcherin's disclaimers she may thereby defeat her own ends.

The population question is at the root of the industrial problem in China: there it is revealed in dramatic form. A perpetual urge from the interior, the urge of extreme poverty, drives the thousands of hungry families down towards the coasts. We are witnessing once more the sort of economic drive that led in primitive days to the migrations of peoples. With a soil depleted by unscientific cultivation, with a population of 400,000,000, and the inveterate custom of enormous families, a custom consecrated by religion and the irresistible suggestion of ages, elemental motives come fully into play. The poverty of the interior is extreme, and even the children's tiny additions to the family budgets which employment in factories secures are greedily grasped at. For bread—or rather rice—awaits the factory "hand," and as a childworker of five replied when asked why he worked in the factory, "I want my rice." If means are not taken to counteract it by the regulation of labour, by scientific production, and last, but not least, by family limitation, this urge to the coast will continue. For every decade in China will see a marked diminution in the primitive methods by which nature adjusts her population to supply. The results of famine and flood and typhoon are going to be countered, as they never used to be, by the onward march of science, and the corresponding growth of social consciousness. The practice of female infanticide is rapidly dwindling, and schemes for child-welfare and protection will still further reduce the statistics of infant mortality. The salvaging of the weakly and defective will make headway in China as it does in all would-be civilised communities. In every direction nature's ways

will be baulked. Why not then, for the welfare of humanity, by the conscious and rational control of a birthrate which invariably outruns the rate of mortality in scientifically organised countries?

In a country like China it is doubtful whether production can ever keep pace with the growth of population unlimited by the natural methods of adjustment. It is signally failing to do so even in countries like ours where scientific methods have passed out of their infancy, and the regulation of labour with the higher standard of living involved has meant smaller families, and the tendency to reduce the population to manageable proportions. But China exhibits on a huge and picturesque scale the stage that all but a few self-supporting countries have reached already, the stage in which, in default of reliable scientific data as to the ratio of productive capacity to population, plans for the future must be laid in the dark, and the proverbial chickens, economic and political, counted before they are hatched. The dangers of this working in the dark as it were for an unknown future are greater in China than elsewhere, for the forces at work there concern a quarter of the world's population directly, and indirectly the welfare of all nations who depend on a foreign market and a source of raw materials, and of those like Australia who, both on racial and economic grounds, oppose the influx of the Yellow Races.

In the end China will adjust herself to the new conditions. Her vitality is too perennial, her well-tested philosophy too penetrating, her culture too deep-rooted to be permanently crippled, or even permanently deflected by western commercialism from the inborn unconscious purpose that has informed her civilisation for thousands of years. But the process of her self-emancipation may be faster or slower, more or less painful to herself and to others according to the spirit and the temper in which that commercialism confronts her, and the adaptability which her own nature possesses. In estimating her chances all facts must be looked in the face, the facts which encourage equally at least with those that depress; and it is well to remember that the characteristics of the people themselves will play the dominant part in determining their future. The Chinese are naturally a happy race of people. A consensus of opinion among observant foreigners maintains that taken altogether they are happier than we of the West. Even Dame Adelaide Anderson, impressed as she is with the sad faces in the factories, yet notes the happy nature of family life in the country, the familiar and easy relations between parents and children; and those more competent through long experience of the country constantly express the opinion that, in spite of the poverty, and the low standard of living, the serenity of the people amazes them.

Is this happiness inborn? Is it the way they are made, these

people, light-hearted, shallow? Or is it the fruit of philosophy, of a care for the right things, of values truer than ours of the West? Until they have learned it from us—and even then the impression does not seem very profound—material wealth, reliance on physical force, the accidents of birth and social position, are not their ideal, nor, indeed, their concern. With regard to the last, perhaps it is due to the fact that nearly 4,000 years divide modern China from the Feudal System, its standards and values. With us—and it is reflected in our parvenu admiration for class distinctions—it is only 400. Intellectual attainment and learning are valued above everything else in China, and the student class occupies a unique position. The scholars are the aristocrats, the leaders of the race. Hence the indelible horror of the incidents of Shanghai and Shameen, for to fire on a student crowd is definitely sacrilegious. And deeply rooted too is the consciousness of beauty, the love of it, a sense of its ultimate value. It has left a clear impress both on the individual and on the race. It is hardly conceivable that under the impact of our civilisation with theirs these values can be submerged. If indeed to them can be added the beneficent values of science which we of the West can supply if we will, as opposed to the destructive, the general happiness of the race can be greatly increased, and thus of the child.

The coherence and intensiveness of family life in China is hopeful too in many of its aspects, for his future. In spite of its undoubted disadvantages, the reactionary spirit it breeds and the backward view, the sense of responsibility, each for all in a family, will always operate for the benefit of the child. It has been pointed out that the demand for State relief and even of organised charity on a large scale, sickness and old age insurance and so on, need never arise at all in China. For the family system supplies these needs in duty bound. And in line with the sense of family responsibility, at least in no way incongruous with it, is the slowly evolving social consciousness of the people. No doubt such a sense is sanctioned by Confucianism, but it is brought into strong relief by Christianity, which teaches a common brotherhood over and above the ties of family relationships, and which can modify even the deep reactions of ancestor-worship with its disproportionate emphasis on the past and on tradition.

Christian influences in China are tending on the whole in the right direction. Fellowship, social responsibility, an increased sense of neighbourliness are the result. The existence of the one-time type of missionary—nationalistic, intolerant, ignorant of any religion but his own, and largely of that—must not blind us to the fact of his more enlightened counterpart, inspired by ideas of Christian brotherhood and

the supersession of the barriers of race and class by the unity proclaimed in Christ. It was the Young Women's Christian Association of China who made the first move towards the betterment of industrial conditions in Shanghai, and the National Christian Council has given a fine lead to young China in the same direction.

If these facts are disputed, we have only to consider the opinions of one of the convinced opponents of Christianity in China, Mr. Putnam Weale, as expressed in his book, *Why China sees Red*. We realise then how the best type of Chinese Christianity looks to a hostile critic. For it is these very features which he, with his convictions as to the necessary dominance of the white races, deplures. And nothing could be more hopeful for the future of the country, both in its internal evolution and its relationships with foreign countries, nor for the welfare of the children. China is definitely not prepared to adopt wholesale European methods and ideals in every side of life. She may fight a losing battle against the foreign traffic in arms, as she has done against opium. But in the sphere of education, she seems to discriminate and to reject as much as she absorbs. And she realises the vital importance of the matter—devoting her best minds to its consideration even in the smoke of battle and the tangle of political intrigue. That she will prove a second Japan, modelling herself exclusively on Western ideas, is not to be thought of. For while she seems bent on acquiring the best that the West can provide, she seeks to retain what is admirable in her own venerable system. The period after the War when Young China turned a defiant back on the past, despising her classics and even her wonderful art, seems to be passing already. The saner counsels of continuity and co-operation will surely prevail, and these are factors which in spite of so much that tends to despair, our own political blunders not least, yet hold out the finger of hope to the child.

VICTORIA DE BUNSEN.

LIBERTY AND JUSTICE IN INDUSTRY.

A COBBLER, down and out, and possessing nothing in the world but a few tools, determined with the aid of an oath to turn over a new leaf and get on. He noticed at the side of a grocer's shop a lean-to shed, one end of which was open to the street of a little country town, and he sought of the grocer permission to ply his trade there, promising to pay an agreed rent out of the proceeds of his toil. The grocer, who had a large family, was his first customer and, being pleased with his tenant and his tenant's work, he recommended him to his patrons. Boots to mend came in in such numbers that the cobbler was soon busy from dawn to dusk, and little heaps of leathern shoon awaiting attention encroached upon the floor space of the shed and hurried the cobbler's nimble fingers. He was enjoying Liberty in Industry. He was doing exactly what he liked with his muscles and skill, limited only by the rights and liberties of others. And no man said him nay. He toiled early and late, he started work when he wished, and stopped when he felt inclined, but he sped on into the night when he had a job to finish to oblige a customer. Philosophic onlookers, searching for texts on which to talk from upturned tubs, called the cobbler, his tools, and his toil "Private Enterprise."

Perfect liberty to toil at any task, in any place, for any time, without let or hindrance or limitation or restraint, provided he did not encroach on the rights or liberties or possessions of others, was the Liberty in Industry the cobbler demanded and enjoyed—the Private enterprise that blessed the labour of his hands. But an upturned-tub philosopher resonantly declared that "Private enterprise was Britain's curse and must be destroyed!" The cobbler's customers came in queues, and the "profits" in his business (*i.e.*, what he had left over after he had paid all the outgoings necessary to ply his trade) grew so rapidly, that they accumulated in the savings bank and constituted his "capital." From the same philosopher he heard his "profits" and his "capital" anathematised as evil and unholy things. But he waxed his hemp and stuck to his last.

In due time, the boots to be soled and the soles to be mended accumulated in such numbers that the arrears of work could not be overtaken by himself alone, and he got a helper in his task. He paid him wages for his daily assistance, and the philosopher called the newcomer a "wage-slave"! As time went on another helper came, and then another, and finally the cobbler had to get the additional help of a machine and do less of the stitching himself and more of the supervising and buying of leather and tools. To enlarge the shed and equip it with plant, and buy more

leather and pay more wages (all of which had to be provided for, before he received anything in return for his output or his work), he borrowed money from widows and old men, who had already saved, but could not use their savings otherwise. Our philosopher of the upturned tub called the shed a "factory," and the cobbler's activities "Capitalism," and while that cobbler toiled, and the wheels revolved and the shoes were made or mended, the orator with full-throated ease rent the air with the irresponsible haverings of an undisciplined mind.

The whole "outfit" grew. It ceased to mend, it manufactured only. It was a Factory. The cobbler had started it on its journey, and became its master. He was what the philosopher called an "Employer" and a "Capitalist," and was roundly denounced by him accordingly. The Factory was an organism. It fed on leather. It secreted boots. In its internal economy it was partly mechanical, and partly vital. It contained machinery and it contained men. The machinery was subject to the laws of physics, which were known and defined and could be controlled. The men were subject to the laws of psychology which were less tangible, more difficult to estimate and to control. Chronic indigestion appeared in the organism, and an acute exacerbation of the disease followed each occasional visit of the philosopher. Strikes threatened, and then strikes came. The men complained that they did not get their fair share of the value in the boots they produced, and they celebrated their discontent in beer. The cobbler, now the mighty master, asserted that his share was to be measured by his brains, his capital, his organisation, his and other people's inventions in labour-saving machinery, and he celebrated his assertion in champagne. Our ubiquitous philosopher called this conflict of claims a "dispute," and celebrated the prospect of a row with a complacent cigar.

Now up to this point all had gone well. The origin of the factory in a humble disused shed, the vision, and the determination and the industry of the cobbler, his thrift, his service to the ill-shod and shoeless community, his rescue of "down and outs" (of whom he was once one) from the distress of unemployment—what of all this; can anyone complain or cast a stone at the cobbler? But we need not pause to defend him now. We shall hear all about it at the next election, when he stands for Parliament.

We must get to close grips with the dispute in the factory, for if boots are to be produced, contentment amongst the men is as necessary as lubricating oil amongst the machinery. The men say that they make more of the boot than they get paid for, that a bigger share of the boot than the master will allow is theirs. The Master on the other hand affirms that they get their full share, and

that he himself (who has the power to take more) takes only what is his due. The cobbler had claimed, and the claim had been allowed, full Liberty in Industry. The men now made a similar claim. They claimed full liberty to stop work, as the cobbler had claimed full liberty to start work. Who is there who will dare to deny this claim to one man, while granting a similar claim to another? But there is a third party interested in the dispute, for it is profoundly affected by the issue. The community must have its boots, and it must have them at a price which it can afford to pay.

So far then we are all satisfied that there is nothing wrong with Private Enterprise, nor with profits, nor with capital, nor with the institution of employer and employed. Nor is there anything wrong with the use and development of machinery in Industry. The point at which things go wrong is reached when the employer, having in the natural and inevitable course of things the opportunity and the power to do so, appropriates to himself an undue share of the joint product of *his* capital and his men's toil. If any power within our reach could assess what was a due share to the master, and what a due share to the men, we would have Justice in Industry—a consummation devoutly to be wished.

It was told of two women that they had a dispute about the ownership of a certain article, which each claimed she had produced. As the dispute arose at a period of time many years after man had emerged from jungle life, they did not tear each other to pieces (and incidentally the article which they both valued), but agreed to submit their case to a third party tribunal having no interest in the result. Each of the disputants *had* an interest in the result—a selfish interest. If selfishness is not blind, it always affects to be blind. The judge heard each woman's claim and story. One woman swore the thing was hers, and the other swore likewise. There was no corroborative evidence advanced on either side. "Fetch me a sword," said the judge to an officer who stood by, "and I will give half to the one woman and half to the other."

"Quite right, your honour," said one of the disputants, "half and half—fifty-fifty—split the difference." But the other cried, "Not so, oh Judge, but let *her* have the child and spare its life."

"Madam," said the third party tribunal, "the babe is yours. Take it away."

Now this is only half the story, and the Bible never stops in the middle of a story when it has a moral for all men and for all time. The great truths of the Bible (the best book on political science ever written, for it deals with men, not money), the great truths of the Bible, wrapped in the gay and ample folds of vivid story, fill all space and span all time, and take eternity in their

stride. There is perhaps no truth in its sacred pages more forgotten and more needed to-day in the agony of our industrial distress than that, still upon its shining way through all the eternity of men. The Bible adds, "All Israel heard, and they feared the Judge because they saw that the wisdom of God was in him." The wisdom of Solomon was commended—not the justice—his wisdom in fulfilling the first and highest function of a judge, that of eliciting the fact. By a stratagem he had discovered which of the women was the mother of the child. Any schoolboy could have given a just and final verdict, if he had known the fact, which it required the wisdom of a Solomon to elicit. When the facts of a dispute are known, a just verdict flows from them naturally and insensibly. Justice is the by-product of the facts, and peace is the by-product of justice.

"All Israel heard"! Public opinion was interested, and, having heard the facts, was informed—was satisfied that justice had been done, and it was content. Public opinion, the joint opinion of men in the mass, is one of the most potent forces in the world. It is equally potent whether well-informed or ill-informed. It operates notwithstanding. But it is a power for evil if it is ignorant, a power for good if informed of the facts.

Three thousand years have rolled over the head of this old world of ours, and we have discovered no better way of settling disputes between two disputants who selfishly claim possession of the same thing, than to submit the case to a third party tribunal having no interest in the result, and charged with the duty of getting at the facts.

Now to return to our Cobbler's factory. Two disputants selfishly claim possession of the same thing. That thing is the portion in the value of a boot that each of the parties claims is his share. Who shall decide? This is the only uncertain, unsatisfactory phase of the factory. If the men work willingly, everything goes like clockwork; and there is no more perfect and beautiful mechanism in our work-a-day world. But nothing is more hideous when they do not. The men are discontented, and the master is afraid—perhaps more defiant than afraid. If a strike or a lock-out emerges, the brutality of man's jungle life emerges with it. The disputants and the article they both prize are destroyed together.

Is it not possibly to apply the Bible lesson, and call upon all experience since the world began? Our omniscient philosopher promptly answers that it is not. He says that the cobbler must be removed, and a group of politicians who have been selected perhaps in time of panic, more for their cunning than for their knowledge of leather, industrially applied, should be set up in his stead. He would like to see the Factory taken by law from

the hands of those who know all about it, and placed under the control of those who know nothing about it. He says that if the State owned the factory there would be no disputes, there would be no "profits," there would be no "capitalism," there would be no "wage-slavery," and the "worker," whoever he might be, would then come into his own. An apt pupil of the philosopher went so far as to predict that there would be no "wages" at all. It would simply be a "great divide,"—the workers would have nothing to do but "divide up."

But let us leave him on his tub, and see if we can maintain order and avert chaos in the cobbler's factory. If we appreciate the Bible story and seek to apply its lesson, we will provide the cobbler and his men with (a) a third-party tribunal having no interest in the result, and charge it with the duty of ascertaining the facts relating to the dispute, and (b) opportunity for making known to the men the cobbler's position, and to the cobbler the men's position, and to the boot-wearing public the whole facts of the case, in the assured conviction that what a well-informed public opinion approves will in the end prevail.

A tribunal in order to render this dual service, must:

1. Command the confidence of the Cobbler, the men, and the public.
2. Be capable of understanding all the technical terms in the trade;
3. Be free of access to, and immediately available for, either organised disputant;
4. Be presided over by a President capable of cross-examining witnesses, sifting evidence, and writing a report in lucid phrase, and terse and justifying argument;
5. Be Advisory only, and free from all compulsory or penal powers;
6. Be dissolved as soon as the report is published, the President alone remaining.

A concrete example relating to the Cobbler's factory will show how this would work in practice. The men are organised in a Bootmakers' Union, and the Cobbler is a member of the Masters' Federation. The Secretary of the Union, who has already sought a rise in wages (*i.e.*, the disputed share in the value of the boot) from the employer without success, notifies the President of the investigation tribunal (under whose jurisdiction all leather industries throughout the kingdom have been placed, by his colleagues and himself, acting as a permanent Industrial Council) that a dispute has arisen. Whereupon the President calls upon the Cobbler to select three of his colleagues in the Industry to sit with him on the tribunal in order to hear the case, and he further

intimates that he will be in the Cobbler's town on the 10th of the month for this purpose. He sends a similar notice to the Secretary of the men's Union. On the 10th of the month an expert tribunal of seven persons is thus formed and is ready to take evidence. Note the composition of this tribunal. The President has heard all the evidence in disputes in the leather trade for years past, in all the areas of the kingdom where boots are made, from Land's End to John o' Groats. He knows all the technical terms in the trade. He knows the conditions of life amongst the workers and the employers elsewhere, and his comparative knowledge is of immense value in guiding the tribunal in its investigation. He has written many, perhaps scores, of reports with the help of his temporary assessors. He has beside him workers who have been feeling the pinch for months or years, men who know the factory in which the conditions have been endured, who know the cobbler and his methods, who have a good idea of the results of their labour as well as its value, who know the cost of living and all the local conditions. On the other side of the President are the three Employers, equally proficient in all the facts and conditions of the industry, and who know the men's powers and limitations as well as their own. This is as near the ideal tribunal for such a function as human reason and justice can construct. Only under the searching examination of such a tribunal can witnesses be tested and interrogated and the facts unearthed. Letters and fulminations in the Press are valueless and worse. Evidence on oath, with the right of cross-examination, is the only means by which the truth, and all the truth, can be brought out and held up to the public gaze.

And the three working-men assessors are able to understand the evidence, to help in eliciting it and interpreting it to their colleagues on the tribunal, and especially to the President. The workmen concerned in the dispute see their fellow-workers there. They are the best among them, for have they not been selected by them from amongst their number? They know well by months of discussion before the dispute came to a head that these chosen ones are intimately familiar with the merits of their claims, and will leave no argument un urged in the deliberations of the tribunal. Thus is the confidence of the workmen insured. In no other way can it be assured, at least to the same extent. And the employers, and especially the cobbler himself, they also know that the three representatives of their class engaged in the trade in the district where the dispute has occurred, are fully seized of all the facts, and have been engaged for months in endeavouring to devise means by which a rupture between master and man might be avoided.

The whole community, the other party deeply concerned, is patiently waiting for the facts. It does not go in search of them, nor read letters in the papers penned by interested witnesses not on oath, and who cannot be exposed to cross-examination, for it knows that in due time those facts will be revealed, and will be reliable and final. At least it will accept them as such, and will make up its mind accordingly. And when the public makes up its mind there is an end of it. The public made up its mind 3,000 years ago about the maternity of a child and it has never changed it since. Public opinion is the final tribunal, and if it is informed it can be trusted. The first and highest function of those who would in industry have justice, and peace, its never-withering flower, is to inform Public Opinion.

The seven wise men who constitute the tribunal deliberate on the facts; the President drafts a report in harmony with the consensus of opinion; it is revised and amended, if need be; it sets out the salient facts and gives reasons for recommendations; it is published forthwith, and the tribunal dissolves, having accomplished its task, the President returning to his central office to await another call. The facts are known to all. Reason and justice have had their say, as far as human limitations will permit. The clash of selfish interests may still go on within the cobbler's factory, but the facts from the men's point of view are known to the master, and the facts from the master's point of view are known to the men, and all are known to the public. They may strike now or lock-out, but in nine cases out of ten peace will reign.

Tribunals so constituted and so operated will, with the Public's experience of them, grow in authority; the justice of their reports, and the compelling influence of public opinion will enforce acceptance upon masters and men, and all the partners in industry will gradually but surely secure their just and equitable share of the things produced. Justice in industry will prevail, and the facts will stand guard, and peace will adorn.

W. A. CHAPPLE.

THE INDIVIDUAL SELF & THE RACIAL SELF IN RELIGION.

A DISTINGUISHED Swiss psychologist* has recently noted that "one of the most appreciable results of the investigations of Psychology is to make us feel the psychic unity of the human race." The subject of this paper is the psychic unity of the race in its significance for religion. Its purpose is to suggest a working hypothesis that links together some observed facts which make up "the psychic unity of the race." A hypothesis has to work its way to become an accepted truth by showing that it helps to explain many unexplained problems. If the hypothesis should prove satisfactory it would give both order, meaning and direction to several branches of study which at present are unrelated, if not chaotic.

By way of preliminary explanation it may be said that the word "race" is used always of the human race, not in the invidious sense of Nordic as contrasted with Sudic races, or with any of the limitations of nationalism. Also that the word religion includes all that we know from comparative religious study of the meaning of that word, and that psychology includes all the functions, resources and creations of the human psyche, including religion itself, which is here considered as a human fact apart from revelation.

The hypothesis is that what is called the subconscious self is a racial self—a substratum of consciousness corresponding in the mental structure of man to Weismann's discovery of the continuity of the germ plasm in our bodily structure, and that the special function of religion is to bring into consciousness, discipline, relate and develop this racial self. The racial self is the *élan vital* of Bergson. It is what Freud has called by the unpleasant name of *Libido*—what English psychologists call the supreme interest—it is a force always welling up from the deep levels of the psyche beneath consciousness and seeking some outlet like spring water through fissures and crevices of the ground—it is the racial will to live. The value of this hypothesis is that it brings under one category a large number of observed facts in different spheres: the neuroses studied by Freud, the facts investigated by comparative religion, facts observed by historians of the history of religion, and observed facts of normal religious psychology.

Without attempting to deal exhaustively with any of these subjects, enough may be said even in a short paper to indicate the unifying value of the hypothesis.

The Psychology of the Deeper Mental Strata.—The extra-

* Dr. Berguer, of the University of Geneva.

ordinary interest aroused by Freud's discoveries and writings would not have been more than a nine days' wonder if their significance had been confined to the pathological sphere. Psychiatry is important, but mainly for the wards in a mental hospital. What aroused the world and evoked a new literature was the relation of psycho-analysis to the normal psychic life. When Freud began to analyse and interpret the imaginative processes of the mind and to analyse these perfectly normal creations so as to relate them to pathological productions, students of psychology felt that they were on the verge of a new psychology. Psycho-analysis became the theory of the deeper psychic processes not directly accessible to consciousness. With this transition went another—psycho-analysis came to include the psychic functions of human communities and races, with dreams, and myths, which are the dreams of whole communities; as it is technically called, the transition was made from individual to group psychology. At this point psycho-analysis crossed the boundary between mental medicine and religion, and became concerned with the phenomena of religion. Religion has always had to deal with inner conflicts, impulses proceeding from the realms below consciousness, repressions and sublimations of impulse into something higher, checks and controls and substituted formations, the conflict between the instinctive life and the rational will in man. Psycho-analysis found itself in the midst of this department of religion, explaining, suggesting, resolving, analysing familiar facts into Freudian mechanisms. If myths, poetry and art are the results of a psychic activity proceeding from repressed wishes which have dwelt in the psyche of every person since the years of childhood, religion cannot be wholly excluded from the same category, for religion is the highest expression of the psyche in the same field as myths, poetry, and art. This is the line of development on which the works of Otto Rank have started the students of psycho-analysis.

Without attempting to go further than these known and accepted facts there is enough to show how our hypothesis proves its value. Analysis of the self reveals in human nature an everyday self, rationalised, superficial, responding to the stimulus of observation and sensation, to some extent conventionalised so as to fit in with the human society in which it exists. This intensely individual self, which in modern life is frequently a cog in a machine, does not really require the heights and depths of religion. It has little use for the great categories of conversion, redemption, sanctification, eternal life. It hardly needs the supreme reference of the facts of human life to a Father in heaven, or the promise and expectation of immortality. "*Entia non sunt multiplicanda*" is a maxim of common sense as well as logic, and common practice indicates that when there is no necessary function for religion, religion ceases to be.

But in each individual there is also a racial self with instincts and desires which are dimly present to consciousness under normal conditions, but which under the proper stimulus may become more imperative than the normal consciousness. These instincts, desires and hopes find an outlet in religion. Religion then becomes the idealism of the race. Whatever belongs to our full humanity but cannot find expression in our normal life goes over as a repressed desire or an unfulfilled wish into our religion. When actual life becomes hopelessly unideal, when it denies all our hopes and contradicts all our conceptions of what is rightly and properly human, religion becomes apocalyptic—i.e., it places the fulfilment of its desires and expectations in another world without rationalising any process by which that other world is to come into being. This is true not only of Israel under the guidance of its prophets, who became confidently apocalyptic in proportion to the misery and subjection of the nation's actual experience: it is also true of individuals in our own times. Robert Owen, for example, the social reformer who spent his life in philanthropic effort and initiated many schemes of welfare work, when his schemes came to disaster became an apocalyptic prophet, predicting a world in which all his visions would be realised. This development is not pure fantasy; it is the normal working of the racial self on the ideal side, vindicating its right to endure in spite of an actual experience which seems to deny that right.

Religion is thus a necessary and normal complement of human life—a kind of safety-valve for the energies of the psyche, holding for us all that might be ours as members of the human race, but is denied to us by the facts of our individual experience. It keeps alive hope in the hopeless, strength in the weak, optimism in the pessimist, the sense of right in those who have gone wrong, comfort in the lives of the miserable, the sense of abundance and plenty in the lives of the poor. The poorest negro in the Southern States of America sings with confidence of the golden slippers he will wear when he rides up in the chariot in the morning, and it is just this sense of unattained good which enables him to endure his miserable portion, in the hope of some future betterment. One of the striking features of war time psychology in the United States and in England was a sudden and dogmatic recrudescence of belief in the immediate second coming of Jesus Christ. When St. Bernard sings of "Jerusalem the golden, with milk and honey blest," the racial self in the saint is putting into his religious idealism all that life was not to him in his present experience of it. He was feeding the religious idealism of all who came after him down to the time when Jerusalem the Golden should appear to depend on the results of the next general election.

It is important to note that according to our hypothesis this

process of transferring to our religious idealism the unattained or unattainable portion of our human inheritance does not reduce it to mere invention, fable, or fiction. Religion can only carry forward and keep alive what is consistent with its whole content. It has to drop out a Valhalla or a Mohammedan paradise because they are not consistent with the rest of its ideals. Jerusalem the Golden becomes a new heaven and a new earth wherein dwelleth righteousness. Also what is really consistent with the spirit of the whole, if it is once taken up into our religious idealism, and passed on from one generation to another, comes back like a kind of fate knocking at the door of the human heart until it finds some kind of fulfilment.

The greatest of all feats of religious idealism is the Messianic Hope which came back in so many forms to Israel that it eventually fashioned for itself a life which was its fulfilment. When once the racial self has found some adequate expression of its will to live and endure it bides its time, but it arrives. It has all time for its fulfilment and it is handed on from one generation to another by the vehicle of a religion until the time comes which is opportune for its fulfilment. Then it comes into being.

The psychic unity of the race, if we may assume its existence, and also that there is in each individual some consciousness, dim or clear, of that unity, explains many of the characteristic features of religion, as these are revealed by comparative study. The critics of religion sometimes complain that it is unprogressive, that it keeps on saying the same things, repeating the same laws of conduct, maintaining the same ritual, proclaiming the same unfulfilled hopes. But if religion is a function of the racial self-consciousness this is not to be deplored, rather we shall say with the American poet (Samuel Johnson, 1860):

"How purely has thy speech come down
From man's primeval youth."

It may be the function of religion to speak only to man as man, to set the individual in his place as member of a race, to teach his racial duties, to quicken his racial hopes. If it retains traces of primeval race struggles, conflicts, and victories it is so much better as a link between the individual and his racial past. It is a kind of racial memory storing up in phrase and rite and symbol the human record. The essential continuity of religion is in its ideals rather than its ritual.

The immense range of information now available in comparative religion has among its most characteristic features this: that primitive religion was much concerned with the adjustment of the individual to the tribe or family or nation to which he belonged. The rules and ritual of religion were largely endeavours to control sex development in the interest of the community; to impress on

the individual his responsibility to the tribe; and to safeguard the tribe against the carelessness or wilfulness of the individual. A great part of the so-called Mosaic legislation might be described in the same way. The priestly method was to give out as having the Divine sanction regulations which were for the good of Israel as a people. But for the sanction it would have been difficult to induce individuals to conform, and probably only an exceptional minority who felt more deeply than others their racial responsibility ever did conform. There is a real and recurring conflict between the immediate interest of the individual self, and the permanent interest of the larger community to which he belongs. The more observant and thoughtful men become the more they see of this conflict. In early times the method of reducing the conflict and bringing the individual into harmony with the common interest was to invest his racial duty with most tremendous sanctions, raise it to a great height in public estimation, and to stigmatise failure in this duty as the ultimate disgrace. Later times seek to secure the harmony of the individual with racial interest by milder and more voluntary methods, but it is still a large part of the function of religion to do this. The popular idea of a clergyman even in the most civilised communities is largely determined by the fact that he is called in at births, weddings, and funerals, to baptise or register the arrival of a child in a community, to marry or pronounce valid the union of a man or woman who have agreed to set up a new household, and to bury, or witness to the conclusion of the partnership between the individual and the community to which he has belonged. In all these events ancient human instincts assumed that God had a share. They were mysterious, in them man was in the hands of forces clearly larger and more powerful than himself. In these events he crossed the border between the known and the unknown, submitted himself to the inevitable. The race was in the foreground of consciousness, the individual was in the background—therefore, it belonged to religion.

If now we try to describe the contents of the race consciousness we shall recognise characteristic features. We are describing a psychic entity but it has a physical analogy. Let us recall Weismann's description of the continuity of the germ plasm. The study of the processes of reproduction under the microscope has shown that when through fertilisation a new living being comes into existence, while part of the germinal material goes to form the body by being differentiated into bone, blood, nerve and muscle, a part is kept separate and distinct in the germ cells to be passed on when the time comes to a succeeding generation. The germ plasm is thus "the continuous stream of living substance which connects all generations. The body nourishes and protects the germ: it is the carrier of the germ plasm, the mortal trustee of an immortal sub-

stance." In a sense the child is as old as the parent since the germ plasm is the parent of both, they are branches on one continuous tree stem, or like one of those plants which run along the ground throwing up stems at intervals. Suppose that this germ plasm carried with it some power of acting on the human consciousness. What would the nature of its influence be?

It would have the feeling of immense antiquity, of having passed through many lives before. Some people maintain that they have this sense, and it has given rise to the doctrine of reincarnation in the Hindoo religions and among the Theosophists. The doctrine of reincarnation is, of course, unprovable and highly improbable. But the feeling which gives rise to it might be accounted for by cases where the race consciousness was exceptionally acute, where scenes and experiences had made such a deep impression on the vehicle of the race consciousness, that when they recurred the feeling would arise—"I have been through this before." It would account for the belief in pre-existence.

A second characteristic of a strong race consciousness would be that events would be referred to a standard much more permanent than the good of the individual. There would be a sense of two sets of values—the inner voice would say "this is bad for me as an individual but clearly it is good for the race, therefore all is well," or conversely the inner voice would judge and condemn, "this is good for you as an individual but for the race it is bad." All events and happenings, all choices and decisions, have a different aspect according to the standard by which they are judged, and a very important element in the standard is whether we are taking long views or short views. The individual self always takes short views; the racial self would naturally take long views.

The third characteristic is one to which great importance may be attached because it seems to be a real factor in human thought which is much neglected. If the racial consciousness has real influence on our mentality, clearly a large part of the influence must deal with the future. It is unexhausted, it has a long time to live, it has other lives ahead, it might carry within it an impulse towards its own perfection which is wholly unsatisfied by present experience. It might even speak in such terms as "Be ye also perfect even as my Father is perfect." The urge towards a better future for human life may be a perfectly normal and genuine part of human nature in its higher forms.

Chief of all Thy wondrous works
Supreme of all Thy plan
Thou hast put an upward reach
Into the heart of man.

The "upward reach" is clearly there. It may have a physiological, mental and religious explanation and interpretation. The

normal religious man would then be the forward-looking man rather than the backward-looking man. He would be the man for whom yesterday, to-day and forever were not separated by dates in the calendar, but only as stages in the fulfilment of the perfect life of humanity. Whether we can go a stage further than this is not yet quite clear to the writer.

The great interest in and increase of mystical literature in recent years is one of the most marked characteristics of religious development. The mystics are unanimous in finding the experience of God in an inner experience.

"Then go thou not in search of Him
But to thyself repair,
Wait thou within the silence dim
And thou shalt find Him there.

For not in far-off realms of space
The Spirit hath its throne,
In every heart it findeth place
And waiteth to be known."

Poets like Tennyson, Browning and Swinburne, prophets like Carlyle, Ruskin, Emerson and Whitman, saints like Madame Guyon, Teresa, Thomas of Kempen, would agree in this—that the essential religious experience is one in which the individual and separate consciousness is surrendered, or lost in a much larger, more universal, mystical consciousness in which God and men are intimately related.

This is how Swinburne expresses it :

"For God, if a God there be, is the substance of man which is man.
Our lives are as pulses or pores of His manifold body or breath.
As waves of His sea on the shores where birth is the beacon of death.
We men, the multiform features of man, whatsoever we be
Recreate Him of whom we are creatures, and all we only are He,
Not each man of all men is God, but God is the fruit of the whole
Indivisible spirit and blood, indiscernible body from soul,
Not men's but Man's is the glory of Godhead, the kingdom of time,
The mountainous ages made hoary with snows for the spirit to climb."*

This is worth many studies in symbolik, because it is the utterance of a genuine experience, albeit the experience of a poet. What the experience points to is that to Swinburne religion meant that his individual self-consciousness was swallowed, wholly enveloped and taken up into a race consciousness which he found within him and *which he identified with the Divine*, not the divine of dogmatic formulations but a divine in very close contact with humanity.

This point of view introduces a certain amount of illumination when we bring it to bear on the Person of Christ. Jesus, as modern historical study sees Him, was man, but He was also Son of Man,

* Hymn of Man.

more than a man because He spoke and acted wholly as racial man. In Him the relative strength and position of the usual racial and self consciousness were reversed. Normally for us the self consciousness is uppermost and the racial consciousness only makes itself felt occasionally, spasmodically, and sometimes catastrophically. With Him the race-consciousness was supreme—throughout. For Him God is an interior experience never disturbed or broken till the last cry upon the cross. His Father is in Him, with Him, He speaks as His Father teaches Him, He does His Father's works. His teaching continually sets the individual interest in subordination to the racial interest. Things most disagreeable to the individual, like poverty, persecution, loneliness, the desertion of friends, personal suffering and even physical mutilations such as the loss of hand or eye are reckoned of no consequence as compared with the entry of the individual into the larger consciousness which links the life of man with the will of God. *For Him world-denial is essentially life-affirmation.* He is all on the side of man and what is good for the whole family of God, even at the cost of the personal suffering and limitation of the individual man. He disciplined His disciples to make the same surrender of self-consciousness to the racial or more fundamental consciousness. When brought before judges they were not to be anxious about their speeches; they were to speak quite naturally out of the Father-consciousness He had awakened in them and their witness would be valid.

It was the loyalty of Jesus to this racial self, this Divine-human consciousness within Him which ultimately sent him to the cross. He could have saved Himself but only at the cost of sacrificing His racial self to His individual self. He was not an individual without obligations or significance, He was a public person, and as such must be loyal to His largest human self which could not exist except as an expression of perfect acceptance of the Divine Will. By far the best interpretation of the inner life and the high strain of the individual and the racial self in contact, conflict and harmony is found in the Fourth Gospel, where it has been brought out by reflection.

May I, in concluding, express a conviction that the psychological handling of the religious consciousness in England has a great deal to learn from the continental leaders in this sphere; men like Bovet, Berguer and Claparède and the late M. Fournoy. So far it has been timid, amateurish and badly informed. When this line of study has begun to penetrate the rather dull atmosphere of our theological centres of study, practical and far-reaching results in the management of human nature and the direction of worship may be confidently expected.

DUGALD MACFADYEN.

ENGLISH OPERA.

FOR at least eighty-five years we have been thinking about National Opera in this country. The matter has been uninterruptedly in the minds of a few people who have a warm love of opera or a belief in it as a form of national art-expression, but only intermittently has it been in the minds of people in general; and even when it has become topical for a time, the cause has invariably been the insistent advocacy of one or two individuals. Our interest in National Opera has never yet been a deeply moving realisation of the importance of the subject, spontaneously manifested. Therefore, it cannot be said that our desire for dramatic music of a national character has been supported hitherto by any national energy; whence it follows that if National Opera had been established during the past two or three generations it would not have had safe foundations. Perhaps the more earnest and more steadfast workers came to the subject from the wrong position. Without doubt, however, time was not ripe until recently.

There is no need to define here what is meant by "national dramatic music," or "national opera." All that is wanted is that the term shall be understood to signify in music what "national drama" (as the drama of Shakespeare) signifies in poetry. Yet perhaps it may be said that, in one way or another, the works of Rossini, Bellini, Donizetti, Verdi, etc., form the national Italian opera of the middle of the nineteenth century, Purcell's works the national English opera of the last quarter of the seventeenth century, those of Haydn and Mozart a national opera for the Austria of the latter half of the eighteenth century, and de Falla's the national opera of certain portions of Spain in the present century, so far as these last are known to us, and so far as their Spanish "nationality" is as yet apparent to foreigners.

The thought to keep at the back of the mind when considering such a problem as this of National Opera, is that the general conditions of life and energy in a country determine every type of intellectual productivity—artistic, religious, scientific, philosophical, musical, and so forth; and that a country is musical according to its requirements in music and its opportunities for making and using music. For a long time, two full centuries, England was so conditioned that she could not make true, vital music for herself. She could not express her personality in the manner of this art, and she was, therefore, unmusical, as an individual man or woman may be unmusical. But, like the individual man or woman, England was all the time *potentially* musical, and destined eventually to become again what she had already been more than once when different conditions obtained, namely, a highly musical nation.

This thought, however, is to be kept literally at the back of the mind, because to work it into the substance of what is to be said

here would end in a lengthy and intricate exposition. The immediate subject, which is at once more superficial and more profound, is intimated in Sir Hubert Parry's remark that "A genuine song requires a well-developed national style and a treatment of melody which is perfectly adapted to the language." It is also intimated in the obvious truth that no creative artist "has ever emerged into world-speech except through the perfect utterance of his own dialect" (Cecil Forsyth), and in the further truth that drama must be either a representation of recognisable national types of character (whether of our own day, as Captain Macheath when *The Beggar's Opera* was first produced, or of an earlier day, as Captain Macheath when *The Beggar's Opera* was revived for us a few years ago) or a representation of certain universal types, whether of fancy or reality (as the fairies and lovers of *Midsummer Night's Dream*—to which, by the way, are added the very "national" Warwickshire clowns). If art is not thus recognisably native, its audience cannot participate in it, and the art is no art at all.

Opera itself was born of dramatic interests and musical activities which had a clear national character. The Florentine inventors of the *drama per musica* and of the *musica ché parla* were not nationalists, but amateurs who rejected everything of a "popular" nature, and also everything of an established artistic nature except the pastoral drama, in their effort to reform the stage-play presented with music. Their immediate successors, however, Monteverde and the other Italians of the first half of the seventeenth century, began at once to bring into opera whatever they wanted of those earlier activities and interests; and it was these men of the second generation who really established this form of art. They took over the brilliant spectacles, the processions and the organised crowds, which had entertained people for two hundred years in the Sacred Representations of religious material. They adopted the familiar melodic singing which had developed among the common folk during the preceding three or four hundred years and which had been fostered by such folk-plays as that of the Maggi, wherein was celebrated the coming of summer. Together with this they adopted the new expressive style of art-singing which the Florentine amateurs, in their "noble contempt for song" (as the Florentines themselves phrased it), had rejected utterly—the new style of which Pietro della Valle writes so charmingly in 1640 in that famous letter to his friend, and which in the end became the *bel canto* of vocal art. More importantly as regards the present subject, these opera makers of the second generation adopted and incorporated the rhythm and the manner of national dances. The Sacred Representation and other indigenous types of drama had made use of this folk music for a long time. Certain characters and events had actually acquired a conventional music, so that Pilate had to

sing *alla Imperiale* and Abraham a Ballo; and at particular moments the company would always dance in the manner of the individual dances traditionally associated with those moments. By this means the drama gained the support of that familiarity by which an audience is able to take a living interest in it; and the transferring of the same familiar rhythms and forms into opera was the wisest, as it was the most natural act of the first composers. The process was continued, with interruptions, until native Italian music gave its character to Italian opera; so that to-day a brilliant piece of music on an Italian dance-rhythm often sounds like the lively finale of an Italian opera.

A native musical form or type can go to the making of a national art-music only when its use and significance have become conventionalised. By continuous use the type has gained an immediately apprehensible meaning. The music has become idiomatic, in the way an individual word or a particular verbal construction has become idiomatic. The moment the indigenous form is employed, the moment its initial strain is heard and its rhythm perceived, active recollection is awakened and the mind of the listener is taken into the path for understanding what the composer has now to say. It is this great stimulating power of music, words, themes, and poetical phrases which makes direct quotation so dangerous a practice in art-composition, because the strong personality of the thing quoted is likely to dominate the personality of the thing containing the quotation and so to disturb our minds.

The native type or form is at first merely transcribed into the fabric of the new art-form. It is taken as a self-contained, self-explanatory organism, and as it were merely copied into the book of the manufactured article. The latter is now in a primitive condition; its appeal is local, and for a long while it may show no qualities of growth. But in time the borrowed material becomes flexible. The composers, performers, and listeners gain a mental technique, so that they can play with it; until eventually the plain native material can be developed as required to make it serve the purpose of highly individualised poetic character and dramatic situation; and all without loss of the original set and simple meaning of the native form or type.

Within the past twenty-five years we have seen the arising of a composer with genius to select the root-material from the welter of derived and associated forms, and the emerging of a National Opera, though the matter is exceedingly complex and our knowledge little more than that of readers of contemporary newspapers. I refer to the Spanish art-music of the twentieth century and to the operas of de Falla. The art-music has not yet fully proved itself. It has, indeed, not yet fully made itself. Only three or four names of composers have so far acquired a living character, through their

works—Albéniz, Granados, de Falla, in smaller measure Conrado del Campo, and in more questionable degree Turina. José María Usandizaga (1887-1915) created in his *Las Golondrinas* a "regional opera" which, within a few hours of its first performance, filled Spain with a fiery enthusiasm for native art. Every young student of composition writes his orchestral and chamber music versions of native dances, and he dreams of becoming the Chopin of his country, looking with admiration to the statue erected in honour of Usandizaga in the birth-town of that young genius. Finally, de Falla has created those short operas and ballets by which Spanish music is best known abroad: *La vida breve*, *El Retablo de Maese Pedro*, *El Amor Brujo*, and *El Sombrero de tres Picos*. Such energy invariably accompanies the rise of a national art-music from a national folk-music. Preceding it, and for a while moving side by side, are the quieter labours of the folk-lorists, who make their collections of the songs and dances which are in use in the various towns and country districts, and who as regards Spain are led by the large, almost colossal figure of the Catalonian Pedrell; and the still quieter labours of the historians and revivers of the ancient music of the country, who in Spain are again led by him.

Since the opening-up of the musical renaissance in Great Britain forty-five years ago, we have had in England a fair manifestation of this energy. But the results are different, not only because of the different temperaments of the British and Spanish, but also because of the different conditions in respect first of the drama with music and secondly of the actual vitality of our native popular music. Spain has her *zarzuela*, while England has only her musical comedy and her Gilbert and Sullivan opera; and the popular music of Spain is as fully alive among the people to-day as was that of England two or three hundred years ago. The *zarzuela*, most primitive of the dramas with music, is even more universal in Spain than was the Sacred Representation in the Italy of the late Middle Ages. It is for the most part a one-act representation of some familiar local custom or event, or of some familiar episode of wider origin which happens to be topical. It is a thing of broad low-comedy, with obvious caricatures of prominent persons. The material is spoken dialogue, song, and dance. Chief among these is the dance, because dancing is the chief entertainment and pleasure of the Spaniards, apart from the bull-fight; and no stage play would content the people if it were not dancing practically from start to finish. The dances follow one another in apparently hap-hazard manner: they are not built up into a symphonically organised ballet, and there is no attempt to produce the cumulative impression of art.

Into this primitive entertainment are brought all the forms and types of popular music. And the average *zarzuela* spectator knows all of them. He knows the *jota* of Aragon and Navarre as well as

the various manifestations of the *cant jondo* or *musica flamenca* (the native music) of Andalucía, and the varied *seguidilla* of the southern provinces as well as the *muñeira* and *alborada* of the more northern ones. He is intoxicated by the *bolero* and inflamed by the *fandango* as swiftly and completely to-day as were the Spanish peasants and townfolk a hundred years ago. He is, therefore, a most stimulating co-operator with the actors on the stage, and a ready source of inspiration to the composer. The latter knows that he will be at once understood. He knows that this dance will in a moment be known to point to this kind of dramatic character, and that dance to that kind; exactly as in England the composer knows that one tune or rhythm will indicate a Scotsman, another a sailor, a third a soldier, and so on.

The *sarsuela* is but one of the means by which the native music of Spain is kept alive for the people. The people are constantly singing the native music and dancing to it, so that it is as unconsciously real for them as is their language or their religion. More than half their private performances are improvisatory; and a musical Spaniard will brood for hours upon the national instrument, the guitar, and all in the terms of the native music. Consequently the indigenous music of Spain is fit material for the great composer. It is already plastic in his own nature, and his audience is ready for him, provided only the people can be brought to respond to his higher efforts. De Falla has tried to perfect the national art-music of Spain by the two means possible for such an artist: he has written essays, of which the paper on "Song as the Expression of the Soul of the People" is a valuable production; and he has composed music. This is not the place for an exposition of de Falla's philosophy, practices, and personality, though a lengthy study of what he stands for would—if it could be made clearly intelligible—throw light on many of the obscure problems attending the matter of National Opera in England and in all other countries, and of national music in general.

An enquiry into the fitness of our folk-music for opera would have to be preceded by a study of its already effected use in art-music; and the latter would resolve itself into a demonstration that our composers had either made the mistake of dealing in a foreign manner with native material, or had only half succeeded in dealing with it in the manner natural to it. The enquiry would eventually show that British folk-music cannot be treated in the large symphonic manner of Wagner, or in the rattling manner of the Spaniards, or again in the quietly subservient manner of Debussy.

The successful operas of earlier British composers have been ballad operas. They have been pivoted on tunes. Those made in the first decades of the nineteenth century by Bishop, Braham,

"Tom" Cooke, and the rest, were spoken dramas with occasional songs, duets, and glees. The more unmistakably tuneful the vocal pieces, the more sure the production was of success. When Braham and Miss Stephens revived *Der Freischütz*, they introduced popular native airs. When Gounod's *Faust* was planned for an English production, the composer wrote specially for the occasion the song, "Even bravest hearts may swell." Sullivan knew that numbers like "A wandering minstrel I" were as necessary for success as the punning facetiousness of Gilbert. Santley, who remarks in his reminiscences that the Ballad is "the adoration of John Bull," tells us that many Italian singers who in the middle of the last century gave pleasure in Italian operas and in the works of Mozart, failed to give pleasure in the operas of Balfe and Wallace because they could not render the English tune. Where the Italian composers aimed to produce the grand finale and the *bravura* solo, the British composers aimed to produce the tune that in a week should pass to the barrel-organ and street-piano; for while the opera-goers of the one nation wanted the "Largo al Factotum," those of the other nation wanted "The Bay of Biscay," "The Pilgrim of Love," "Scenes that are brightest," "In this old Chair my Father sat," and the like.

As a matter of musical science, it is well known that the tune cannot be developed fugally or symphonically. A fugue on "God Save the King" is almost laughable; and there is nothing impressive in the symphonic treatment of any tune which has a determined sentimental association—not even when the purpose is descriptive or pictorial, as in the case of Tchaikowski's "1812 Overture." The tune can be ornamented. It can be robed time after time in a series of Variations; and the movement of the variations can be cumulative: but no more than the *bravura* air can the tune be wrought substantially into the larger scientific forms. British folk-song is as conclusively and unconditionally determined in respect of poetic significance as is the Lutheran chorale, while at the same time it lacks the epic qualities natural in tunes that are associated with a religion. Hence in opera its great value can be only that of the ballad.

British folk-dance is probably less characteristic than British folk-song, and it is certainly less vital and plentiful than the folk-dance of other countries—Spain, Russia, Poland, Hungary, Bohemia and the countries adjacent. The British temper, apart from practical concerns and material interests, is reflective rather than active: it inclines to contemplation and meditation rather than to such immediate physical activity as expresses itself in dancing; and when pleasure in physical activity is desired for its own sake, the British temper finds a more real enjoyment in games which have a competitive or sporting quality. This is not to say

that we have no folk-dance. On the contrary, we have many dances which are as distinctive as the Polish mazurka, the Spanish seguidillas, jotás, and fandangoes, and the like; and such composers of ours as Percy Grainger have shown how finely these may be passed into an art-music. But as at present known to us, and still more importantly as at present practised, our folk-dance is less vital than our folk-song, and it is comparatively far less varied than that of other countries. Dancing in the ballad operas and in Gilbert and Sullivan plays a most minor part, and one cannot imagine a British *zarzuela*.

The failures in British opera have been due to one fundamental cause. Art is a habit. Like thought itself, like pleasure of any kind, and like all forms of self-expression, art exists because it is exercised, and because the artist is dissatisfied when he is prevented from exercising it. We have not known the habit of folk-music for some generations. Therefore we have not exercised the music or the qualities of musicianship which go to the making of a National Opera. Conditions, however, have changed during the present generation, and children are being trained into the habitual use of our native music almost as well as into the use of our native language. Therefore, in due time this element in the fundamental cause of our operative failures will be removed. The choir-boy, bred in the traditions of the English church music, carries that art readily forward in the way the Italian opera singer or the Italian opera composer, bred in the traditions of Italian opera, carries his art readily forward. Creation is but habit made instinctive and wrought to the highest power of self-expression.

A portion of this article consists of an account of the rough and ready means by which the native music of one country, Spain, has passed into art-music, or at least has had the way prepared for its passing. Some such rough and ready means must be adopted in our country. The work must be carried on in the same manner as that which led to the great Elizabethan drama; not in the inn-yards, of course, yet still here and there in every place. There must be hundreds of performers, and hundreds of pieces made for performance; and the more local these are the better. The cultured intellectuality of the universities is not wanted, nor the self-conscious seclusion and artificial interpretation of mythology by musicians and poets who, however sincere in themselves, are not thoroughly representative of the true life of the race. Wordsworth congratulates himself (in *The Prelude*, V, lines 232-245) on being free to live the open life of the creative artist, which is the life for all national art, but for the dramatic and musical art more than any other.

SYDNEY GREW.

THE DOUGLAS-PENNANT CASE.

THE circumstances under which the Hon. Violet Blanche Douglas-Pennant was appointed Commandant of the Women's Royal Air Force on June 14th, 1918, and was summarily dismissed on August 28th, 1918, have aroused widespread interest in Parliament, the Press and the Country. Two inquiries have been held, the first by Mr. Cecil Harmsworth at the request of Mr. Lloyd George, then Prime Minister, and the second by a Select Committee of the House of Lords. Mr. Harmsworth's Report has not been published, but those who have seen it declare that it is altogether favourable to Miss Douglas-Pennant, who was neither present nor represented at the Inquiry. The House of Lords subsequently set up a Select Committee "to examine the circumstances connected with the dismissal of Miss Douglas-Pennant from the W.R.A.F." The Committee was presided over by Lord Wrenbury and after a lengthy hearing issued a Report, which has been subjected to a vast amount of general, detailed, lay and legal criticism. The case for further inquiry into Miss Douglas-Pennant's case has been presented with great force in a series of special articles in *The Manchester Guardian* by Mr. Henry W. Nevinson, supported by leading articles in that important paper, and by letters from people of authority and influence. In addition to the articles and letters in *The Manchester Guardian*, letters calling for further inquiry have appeared in *The Times*, *The Morning Post*, *The Daily Telegraph*, and *The Spectator*, from (amongst others) the Archbishop of Wales, Mr. Henry N. Gladstone, Lord Kenyon, Dr. J. Scott Lidgett, Sir Harry Reichel, Mr. Robert Smillie, M.P., Canon Peter Green, Lord Aberdare, Earl Bathurst, the Bishops of Bangor, Manchester, and Burnley, the Deans of Lincoln and Manchester, and Lord Mostyn.

In order that the position may be understood it is desirable to make a plain statement of facts proved or admitted. The case may be stated precisely as a Court of Summary Jurisdiction states a case for the opinion of the High Court by setting out facts, and making needful submissions on points of law. It is desirable to state that I do not know and have never met Miss Douglas-Pennant, and that my knowledge of the case has been derived entirely from the Report of the Select Committee and from the articles and letters of Mr. Nevinson and others in the papers mentioned.

MISS DOUGLAS-PENNANT'S RECORD. "In April, 1918, Miss Violet Blanche Douglas-Pennant was, and for some years had been, a Commissioner of the National Health Insurance Commission for Wales. She had previously occupied more than one public position. She had been a co-opted member of the Fins-

bury Borough Council, a co-opted member of the London County Council Education Committee, and Chairman of the London County Council Training College. She had proved herself active, capable, and efficient. No one affirms the contrary." (Report of House of Lords Select Committee.)

HER APPOINTMENT. On the 22nd. April, 1918, Miss Douglas-Pennant was invited by Major-General Sir Godfrey Paine to become Commandant of the W.R.A.F. On 2nd. May she was appointed Commandant by the Air Council and the appointment was notified in the Press by Sir W. A. Robinson on behalf of the Air Council. From 13th May to 11th June she was engaged in that post in having "a look round" for a month. On 11th June she wrote to Sir Godfrey Paine, Master-General of Personnel, that she felt obliged to decline the appointment. On the 14th June at the request of Sir Godfrey Paine she agreed to go on. On the 1st July, Miss Pratt, Deputy Commandant, Mrs. Beatty and Miss Andrew, Assistant Commandants, resigned. Their conduct in resigning and refusing to obey orders and carry on until relieved is described by Sir Godfrey Paine as mutiny, and the House of Lords Committee in recording and approving his opinion added that their action in time of war deserved the strongest criticism, and increased the difficulties of Miss Douglas-Pennant. On 7th August, in the House of Commons, Major Baird, Parliamentary Secretary to the Air Ministry, in answer to questions, said that the Air Council had every confidence in Miss Douglas-Pennant's ability and discretion, and that she was appointed to her position because her experience and qualifications rendered her, in the view of the Air Council, the most suitable person available. On 16th August Miss Douglas-Pennant again wished to resign, but was refused leave. On August 23rd Sir Godfrey Paine was succeeded as M.G.P. by General Brancker. On August 28th Miss Douglas-Pennant was summarily dismissed by General Brancker acting under instructions from Lord Weir, Secretary of State for Air. The reason for this summary dismissal and the grounds upon which it was based were not disclosed to Miss Douglas-Pennant on August 28th and have never been disclosed to her since.

MISS DOUGLAS-PENNANT'S ACTION. From the time of her dismissal Miss Douglas-Pennant has continued to press for a full inquiry into the reasons for her dismissal. After promises given and withdrawn, interviews and correspondence, Mr. Harmsworth held a secret inquiry, at which Miss Douglas-Pennant was neither present nor represented, the result whereof was never published, but which it is understood was entirely favourable to Miss Douglas-Pennant. Mr. Lloyd George promised Miss Douglas-Pennant that a judicial inquiry should be held, as recommended by Mr. Harms-

worth. The latter's Report was also promised publication. Neither the judicial inquiry was held nor was Mr. Harmsworth's Report published. Finally on May 29th, 1919, the House of Lords resolved to urge the Government to set up an Inquiry. As the Government took no action the House of Lords set up a Select Committee "to examine the circumstances connected with the dismissal of Miss Douglas-Pennant from the W.R.A.F., with power to call witnesses and take evidence on oath, and to ask for the production of documents." It should here be stated that the Government made it a condition that no peer who had voted for the Inquiry should sit on the Select Committee. Lord Wrenbury, an authority on Company Law, presided and the other members of the Committee were Lords Kintore, Denbigh, Methuen and Farrer.

THE SELECT COMMITTEE. Both the Air Ministry and Miss Douglas-Pennant were represented by counsel before the Committee as well as other persons against whom allegations had been made. At the preliminary meeting of the Committee the Chairman (Lord Wrenbury) announced that the Committee had decided to proceed as if it were an action for wrongful dismissal by Miss Douglas-Pennant against the Air Ministry, and for this purpose Miss Douglas-Pennant would be required to file a statement of claim and the Air Ministry would be required to lodge a reply. Any person against whom Miss Douglas-Pennant made charges was also required to lodge a reply, and when the pleadings were closed the Committee would proceed to take evidence.

MISS DOUGLAS-PENNANT'S CLAIM. It should be observed that Miss Douglas-Pennant divided her claim into two parts :

1. A claim against the Air Ministry for wrongful dismissal contrary to King's Regulations and any other Regulations governing the W.R.A.F., and contrary to natural justice.
2. Charges against certain named officers and others for impeding and hampering her administration as Commandant and endeavouring to bring about her dismissal, and other charges.

It is unnecessary here to deal with (2). Evidence in support of these charges was called and rebutting evidence was called. Upon this part of Miss Douglas-Pennant's case the Committee found her charges were not proved. In fairness to Miss Douglas-Pennant it should be stated that she had been promised an inquiry on condition that she would bring forward specific charges. She brought specific charges against certain named persons through her then legal advisers, and their letters were published as a White Paper and formed the basis of actions for libel by persons named therein. For Miss Douglas-Pennant to withdraw these charges, which she believed to be true, at the outset of the Inquiry would have been exceedingly prejudicial to her case. Yet the difficulty of proving

the charges was so formidable that it is a question whether Miss Douglas-Pennant's legal advisers should have persisted in the charges and so thrown upon that lady the burden of proof of charges which were hardly capable of legal proof. Nor is this all. The object of the Inquiry was "to examine the circumstances connected with Miss Douglas-Pennant's dismissal." If she was rightly dismissed for good reason by the Air Ministry, whatever grievance she might justly have against individual officers of the Air Ministry or W.R.A.F. would not and could not affect her rights against the Air Ministry, or the corresponding rights of the Air Ministry against Miss Douglas-Pennant.

It is not necessary to examine the question whether to treat the Inquiry as an action for wrongful dismissal was a breach of the terms of reference. In a claim in the High Court or the County Court for damages for wrongful dismissal it is sufficient for the plaintiff to prove the engagement and the dismissal. It is then for the defendant to prove, if he can, that the plaintiff was rightly dismissed for good cause and to disclose the cause to the Court, and it is for the Court, not the defendant, to say what is good cause.

THE AIR MINISTRY'S ADMISSIONS. When the Statement of Claim of Miss Douglas-Pennant and the Answer of the Air Ministry had been lodged the following facts were found to have been admitted by the Air Ministry :

1. That Miss Douglas-Pennant was appointed Commandant of the W.R.A.F., on or about the 14th June, 1918.
2. That on 28th August, 1918, she was removed from her post of Commandant by General Brancker acting upon the instructions of Lord Weir, Secretary of State for Air.
3. That no Court Martial was held upon her, and that no written report, adverse or otherwise, was made upon her by Major-General Sir Godfrey Paine or by any other officer under whom she served.
4. That the Secretary of State ordered her removal from the post of Commandant and that in coming to this decision he was influenced, amongst other matters, by the opinions expressed by Sir Auckland Geddes, Minister of National Service, Lady Rhondda, and Miss Andrew. Miss Andrew had served under Miss Douglas-Pennant as an Assistant Commandant and had resigned under circumstances which Sir Godfrey Paine described as Mutiny, an opinion in which the Select Committee concurred.
5. It was alleged by the Air Ministry that Miss Douglas-Pennant was removed from the post of Commandant because in the opinion of the Secretary of State she failed to exhibit the organising and administrative ability necessary to make her tenure of it successful, and the tact which was essential to enable her to co-operate successfully with her colleagues and subordinates and with the heads of other Womens' Corps.

Now the whole case for the Air Ministry according to their answer was that Miss Douglas-Pennant was rightly dismissed because of incapacity and want of tact. But when their proofs were produced it appeared that Miss Douglas-Pennant had been dismissed because of some charge against her. The question of her alleged incompetence though raised in their Answer was not pursued, and in view of the House of Lords' Committee's finding of fact as to her activity, capacity, and efficiency, Major Baird's testimony to her in the House of Commons on August 7th, 1918, and Sir Godfrey Paine's warm evidence at the Inquiry in her favour, a charge of incompetence was impossible.

What was the charge? Miss Douglas-Pennant does not know and the Lords' Committee was not told. It seems incredible that a Committee appointed for the sole purpose of discovering the reason of Miss Douglas-Pennant's dismissal should not have pursued their inquiries far enough to ascertain it. Such, however, is the fact. It must have been something of a very serious nature. For Major Baird, the Parliamentary Secretary to the Air Ministry, declared in his evidence, "Indeed I could not trust myself to elaborate a subject of so much importance. I preferred that Lord Weir should wait till he received the details in writing. It was far too important." Having regard to the terms of reference to the Select Committee some skill was needed to avoid inquiry on the point why Miss Douglas-Pennant was dismissed. The Select Committee escaped the difficulty with considerable ingenuity. Firstly, the Committee found that Miss Douglas-Pennant "had not been appointed to any office at all." (Paragraph 11.) In view of her formal appointment to be Commandant by the Air Council, and the admission of the Air Ministry in their Answer that she was Commandant, this is a startling finding of fact. The Committee deal with this admission of the Air Ministry that Miss Douglas-Pennant was Commandant in summary fashion. Paragraph 12 of the Report says, "It is scarcely necessary to say that a mere public statement of something as a fact which is not the fact does not make it the fact even if it be contained in a communication made by a Government Department and even if by the direction of the Department it be published in the Press." This paragraph ignores two points :

1. The announcement in the Press by the War Office, Admiralty or Air Council of the grant of commissions to named persons is authority to the Paymaster's Department concerned for grant of uniform allowance and pay.
2. The admission by a defendant in an action for wrongful dismissal that the plaintiff was employed by the defendant is final and conclusive, and the Court would not hear evidence even if tendered

to rebut an admission made in a statement of claim or defence by the party making the admission.

In refusing to accept the admission made by the Air Ministry that Miss Douglas-Pennant was appointed *Commandant*, the Committee repudiated the procedure they had laid down, namely, that the Inquiry should proceed on the lines of an action for wrongful dismissal. Having found, as a fact, that Miss Douglas-Pennant "had not been appointed to any office at all" she was plainly in the position of a person who claimed damages for wrongful dismissal from an engagement which she never held. But the Committee appear to have been rather uneasy about following their finding of fact to its logical conclusion. For they proceed to consider "whether her future services were dispensed with so as to give her just cause of complaint." Apparently the Committee think that Miss Douglas-Pennant's dismissal was not quite satisfactory, for they say (paragraph 130): "As regards the moment and manner of her supersession and the grounds assigned for it first by General Brancker and subsequently by Lord Weir, we think that there is much that must be the subject of regret."

LORD WEIR AND GENERAL BRANCKER. "Another ground of regret is that the reasons assigned by General Brancker at the time and subsequently by Lord Weir are not always consistent with each other." (Paragraph 131.) They certainly are not. In General Brancker's Statement of Defence (paragraph 6) he says, that at a meeting of the Air Council held on, or about, the 27th August, 1918, it was decided that Miss Douglas-Pennant should be relieved of her duties and that some other person should be appointed *Commandant*. Lord Weir says that he made up his mind to supersede Miss Douglas-Pennant on Sunday, August 25th, and on August 26th after seeing Lady Rhondda and reading her Report he instructed General Brancker to dismiss Miss Douglas-Pennant. General Brancker's attention was drawn to the fact that no meeting of the Air Council was held until three days after Miss Douglas-Pennant's dismissal, whereupon he admitted his statement was incorrect, but explained that it was an effort to "put a rather confused situation into official language."

THE COMMITTEE'S CONCLUSION. The conclusion of the Committee is that Lord Weir dismissed Miss Douglas-Pennant from a post she did not hold in consequence of a charge against her which was not disclosed either to her or to the Committee, and that in acting as he did Lord Weir was perfectly right. "As Secretary of State for Air it was wholly and solely for him, if he acted honestly, to supersede Miss Douglas-Pennant if, in his judgment, it was in the interests of the public service so to do. In our judgment he acted honestly. This is the sum of the whole matter"

(paragraph 143). But more startling than this proposition is what follows in paragraph 144: "It is necessary that those who are employed in the public service shall be removable from the service if the Minister in the honest exercise of his discretion thinks they ought to be removed." Whether it is necessary is a matter of opinion. But it is not law. Officers in the Army, Navy, and Air Service are not removable if the Secretary of State for War, the First Lord of the Admiralty, or the Secretary of State for Air "in the honest exercise of his discretion thinks they ought to be removed." Nor can a Civil Minister remove a civil servant if in the honest exercise of his discretion he thinks he ought to be removed.

It is a great pity that the House of Lords were not told beforehand that the only question for the Committee was whether "Lord Weir in the honest exercise of his discretion thought Miss Douglas-Pennant ought to be removed." It would then have been proper for Lord Weir to tell the House of Lords that he honestly thought Miss Douglas-Pennant should be removed and that he removed her accordingly. A vast deal of public and private money would have been saved and the public would have learnt how very wide were the powers of Ministers of State. The only reason why this convenient course was not taken was presumably that no one would say in the House of Lords what the Select Committee say in their Report. If officers in the Army, Navy and Air Service and civil servants were really liable to be dismissed at the pleasure of the Minister, there would soon be no officers or civil servants.

In the meantime Miss Douglas-Pennant has been ruined financially and professionally, and socially she has been ostracised. And all because she patriotically abandoned a secure and lucrative post in war time to undertake a post of difficulty and complexity at the urgent request of General Sir Godfrey Paine, who defended her warmly before the Committee and remains a firm and convinced supporter of her claim for justice.

H. G. BARCLAY.

THE ELECTRESS SOPHIA.

LARGE issues often hang upon small events. When in 1684, at the conclusion of the French war with Spain, the Treaty of Westphalia was signed, there was embraced within it a clause that seemed of no great interest or moment. This clause was concerned with the Protestant succession of the Bishoprick of Osnabrück, and was destined to play a part in the fate of a girl just growing up, and beginning to look out on life with shrewd far-seeing eyes. Sophia, youngest daughter of the poor Queen of Bohemia, living in exile and almost penury at The Hague, was then just eighteen. The matrimonial struggle to "place" her daughters was doubtless agitating the Queen's mind for this youngest and most attractive of her portionless girls. The issues of that one clause were undreamed of in the Palatinate family, and its potency so far as Sophia was concerned lay far ahead.

Amongst the voluminous correspondence of Mr. Secretary Nicholas lies a letter endorsed :

"The Queen of Bohemia to me concerning ye King's consent for Presse. Sophie to marry Prce. Adolphe, ye King of Sweden's brother."

The letter runs thus :

Hagh, Oct. 1654.

Mr. Secretarie,
I send you heere a letter for the King (the still exiled Charles II.): 'it is about a match betwixt Prince Adolphe the King of Suedes brother and Sophie: he has desired it verie handsomely: my son' (Carl Lutz, Elector Palatine) 'has consented to it, reserving the King of Sweden's consent and mine, who am to acquaint the King with it. I doe it now, and send you the copy of Prince Adolphe's letter, I pray gett an answer from the King as soone as you can. I have no more to say, but am ever your most affectionat frend."

As things transpired, all the effort and travail of mind doubtless hidden behind the conciseness of this letter were destined to be abortive, for nothing ever came of the Swedish project of marriage. The Queen's plight where her daughters and their futures were concerned was terrible; the restitution of her son in the Palatinate was still unachieved, while King Charles I's death had depleted her income, most of which came from English sources. All the world knows the tragedy of her husband, the Elector Frederick, who in accepting the crown of Bohemia as the champion of the Protestant cause of mid-Europe, lost substance for shadow. Not all the world knew perhaps the straits to which his unhappy country was reduced, of the "plague of famine, which brought the people to eating carrion, the corpses of animals, or failing these, corpses that hung from the numerous gibbets; failing that, corpses dug up from burial: and finally—when all else failed—

the child which expired in their arms, or the neighbour overtaken by surprise. . . . There were in the Palatinate, towards 1638, *rôtisseries* exclusively employed with human flesh." From this utter wreck of a State, revenue was unobtainable.

The Dutch then offered Elizabeth and her husband asylum and hospitality at the Hague. The royal couple were assigned a house in the Lange Vorhout there. It was Elizabeth's fortunate disposition to be always on the crest of the wave, and in this house, so small for royalty, so much beyond royalty's resources, life went merrily forward for many years, even though as Sophia averred, they "supped often upon pearls and diamonds." In those early days in Holland little Sophia ran about the old house by the canal, practising her sharp tongue and shrewish wit upon everybody. "She is thin and plain," pronounced the Princess of Nassau, when the child was taken to pay her a visit, adding, "I hope she does not understand English!" Somewhere Sophia describes herself otherwise than did the Princess of Nassau: "I had hair of a very light brown, a bright and *degagé* air, good figure, not big, but the manners of a princess."

The old family letters show that the two elder sisters, Elizabeth and Louise Hollandine, felt themselves a good deal responsible for this budding princess: ". . . my manners and behaviour had been so carefully watched over by my two elder sisters, that I was even more commended for conduct than beauty," Sophia complacently continues; but in spite of them she ever mocked at her mother's visitors, and indulged her jokes and her jibes at their expense, not least "the little mad milord's," Lord Craven, who was, years after, to be the husband of her mother's old age after half a century of devotion. This youngest daughter affirmed of the queen herself that "she would rather any day see her monkeys and her dogs than us." But therein she does Elizabeth injustice, who so far as her resources permitted was an excellent mother. In her methods of upbringing the Queen stands unchallenged; and against all odds she assured to her children an education comparable to the education of our own day. There hangs in an old country house in Wales a portrait of Elizabeth that belies the unmotherliness that Sophia hints at. It was painted in her exquisite and benign middle age; the kind, beautiful eyes smile down in the sunlight; you could fancy the mobile Stuart hand very caressing and soft upon a little child's head.

Whatever else ran short in the lean and difficult days at the Lange Vorhout, after Heidelberg was become no more than a shining dream, there was no crippling of the children's school days. When little Sophia entered upon the scenes of intellectual activity, she was quick to record matters. She says she got up at

seven and went to the governess, Mlle. de Quat; to whom, while the lady cleaned her teeth, she repeated quatrains by Pelac, having previously said her prayers and read the Bible. To this prelude succeeded lessons given by various masters who visited the establishment, "unless the Bon Dieu sent me a cold to comfort me!" says Sophia. The dancing master arrived at ten and stayed until eleven, and then, the boys being returned from the University, dinner was served. "All was so regulated," goes on Sophia, "that one knew each day of the week what one would eat, like in a convent. After dinner I rested till two o'clock, when tutors came again. I supped at six and went to bed at half-past eight after praying and reading the Bible."

Latin and modern languages were all taught to these four girls; music also, and painting. Elizabeth, the eldest, "La Grecque" of the familiar family circle, studied chemistry and natural science; she was a grave, serious creature; Prince Rupert the liveliest of the boys. "Rupert se raille de la Signora Grecque," records Sophia. To her no doubt the rigid educational system of the Lange Vorhout was irksome, but it had its aftermath in the delightful and informed "Tante Sophie," who presently shaped the personality of "Timon's" little daughter, the Princess Liselotte, who became Duchess of Orleans. "Timon" they called Carl Lutz, the eldest brother, whom the powers eventually reinstated in the Palatinate. When Liselotte was a grown woman she always said that she owed everything to her aunt and Mlle. d'Uffeln, the governess of whom that aunt approved, writing of her to Timon, ". . . a good governess is a rare thing; if I find a better than she" (Liselotte) "already has, I will let you know." Sophia had the Palatinate child wholly in her charge for four years, and the little girl learned from her aunt to love good literature and, besides, acquired a large amount of her honest common sense. Liselotte was always extolling Aunt Sophia's attainments. "I often said to my late Papa," she told her, "that none knew Montaigne better than your Highness." And Sophia records of Liselotte in one of her own letters to her brother, "Liselotte has won the esteem of the king by her conduct; I can assure you she does me great honour when she says that I have brought her up." And truly the story of Liselotte would have no sequence without that of Sophia; all her married life Madame wrote to Hanover almost daily. When in June, 1714, she lost her aunt, her letters were piteous. "Ma seule joie et mon seul bonheur, ma seule consolation, étaient d'écrire à ma Tante. . . . All my life I can never forget her. I shall venerate her memory as long as I can think. . . . she was my consolation in my numerous troubles. When I had told them to her and had her reply, I was always comforted."

To return for a little to the Lange Vorhout. Life there went on its penurious way. The daughters did not marry in spite of their beauty and their culture. Eventually Elizabeth the grave, and Louise the brilliant, slipped each into one of those peaceful backwaters which at that time could occasionally provide a way out of the matrimonial difficulty to women of rank: always supposing there were quarterings sufficient upon their coats of arms. Elizabeth later became Abbess of Protestant Herford; Louise Hollandine filled the same office at Roman Catholic Maubuisson, and painted and gardened and was gay to the end of her long life. A letter from Elizabeth about this time deals with the question of the heraldic necessities when Herford was on the tapis, not for herself, but her sister Louise: someone was creating difficulties. She wrote: "I understand that the said Deaconess has told her aunt that my sister cannot establish her ancestors on the mother's side. I confess there are two princely coats of arms among the eight not to be deciphered, if that is necessary; but the other six are royal, and one might go farther without finding among them any so mean as her" (the Deaconess) "best. You mean perhaps because the mother of Queen Elizabeth was a bad woman, but that has nothing to do with us; we come from Henry VII, whose wife was a king's daughter of the same house as himself, and so was the Stuart a sister's son, also Mary of Scotland." Of Maubuisson Sophia's letters in later years make frequent mention.

For the moment the little domestic stage at The Hague was occupied with the brief pathetic drama of Henriette's marriage; Henriette was the next older sister than Sophia. "I wish," an aunt wrote of this sweet girl, "you could have seen the dearest niece when her name was mentioned, turning pale, the tears coming into her eyes." Little more than half a year saw marriage and love and death for Henriette; and still Sophia remained a flower unplucked. Of Charles, her exiled cousin of England, she would have none. Gay Sunday walks with him on the Promenade at The Hague came to a premature end. Something her shrewdness came up against: she pleaded a corn on her foot and took no more walks with him; afterwards she said, "It was not thus a king of England wooed a wife."

No great while after this episode was closed there appeared on the matrimonial horizon a minor German royalty, George William Duke of Hanover. This personage made a formal proposal for the hand of the Princess Sophia, but changed his mind, and handed the lady over to his brother, Ernst August, Duke of Brunswick Luneburg; "il la repassa sans la consulter, à l'un de ses frères." A crude act, but in the exchange of brothers there lay a sugar plum wrapped up in that little clause of the Treaty of Westphalia. By

this document the Duke of Lüneberg stood next in succession as Protestant lay Bishop to the see of Osnabrück, and there would be one day for his wife money to spend, and consequence, and capacity to spread her wings; in fact, a future. This curious arrangement of alternate Roman Catholic and Protestant Bishops arose from political effort in mid-Europe to placate both Churches. Until the nineteenth century the Churches maintained this novel plan, when an uncle of Queen Victoria became the last Protestant Bishop.

Sophia entered upon married life with the fullest intention of seeing the best in everything. Of the bridegroom she informs us in her memoirs, "J'étais bien aise de le trouver amiable, parce que j'étais résolue de l'aimer." Being Sophia, and wiser than most, she, as one writer points out, "comprendait à merveille qu'elle était difficile à marier, et elle avait borné ses desirs à trouver un mari d'un rang possible qui ne battait point sa femme!" In the most laconic fashion in the world she tells us that the honeymoon was merely an interruption in Ernst August's long "chain of mistresses."

Of the little Court of Hanover she wrote to Timon, "There is little grandeur here, and months pass during which we only see the servants. . . . one lives in bourgeois fashion." But in 1661, four years after their marriage, the Osnabrück plum tumbled into the mouths of the royal couple. "M. le duc received the news that the Bishop of Osnabrück was gone to the next world, and made his preparations for his solemn entry into his bishoprick," writes the new bishopess. Arrived, she was enchanted. "All goes on here with a vastly different air from Hanover, thank God!" Upon taking possession of the pleasure-house of the bishops, she wrote, "Ilberg, 29th, September, 1662. It is three days since I came here from Celle, and I find myself in an exceedingly pretty house, which charmed me immensely on my arrival: everything one sees appears magnificent; plate, furniture, liveries, guards, halibediers. . . . M.M. les Bourgonestres d'Osnabrück m'ont complimement. . . etc."

The Memoirs thenceforth deal with a larger world. When her little daughter reached the age of twelve, the "best-bred woman in Europe" paid a visit to the great court of France. She proceeds to give us a series of little genre pictures of that court before the sad reign of the Maintenon had set in; when Sophia was there the king was still gracious, everything still gay. The visit really was to lead a forlorn hope that her charming little Sophia Charlotte might enslave the heart of the Grand Dauphin. Madame d'Osnabrück however found the prince insipidly "incapable de dire deux mots," and she ceased to desire the young man as a son-

in-law. Nevertheless she revelled in her visit, and her eyes were always very busy about her. Immediately on her arrival she had the good fortune to be present at a court marriage. Placed in her tribune in the chapel she soon found matters for observation of far more interest than the ceremony. There were present three ladies of whom the world talked much and was inordinately curious: Mme. de Montespan, Mlle. de Fontanges, and Mme. de Maintenon. The first was in the decline of her power. Sophia says she wore "Le coiffure de modestie des dévotes." Also she notes, "Elle était dans un fort grand negligé, avec des coiffes brodées, dans un morne chagrin de voir triompher une plus jeune qu'elle!" The "plus jeune" was, of course, the Fontanges, of whom, "Au même rang, assez éloignée d'elle, je vis Mlle. de Fontanges fort avantageusement mise, avec son bréviaire à la main, qui lui servait de contenance pour jeter les yeux en bas sur le roi, qu'elle aimait sans doute plus que le roi des rois: ce qui n'est pas étonnant, car il est fort aimable." He in his turn we are told looked up to Mlle. de Fontanges, "avec plus de devotion que l'autel!"

She was delighted greatly with Saint Cloud, and wrote of it to Carl Lutz:

"His" (Monsieur's) "palace is beautiful and magnificent. Most of the rooms give on to the most beautiful gardens in the world, all ornamented with fountains and cascades, which have a very beautiful effect. The gallery is admirable. In one of the cabinets I have seen your portrait by Vandyke very well done, and several portraits by the same master. . . . I thought that one could not find anything more beautiful in France, but I was undeceived when I saw Versailles, which in its beauty and magnificence surpasses anything one could imagine. . . . An admirable dinner, the fruit wonderful above everything, a thing to paint, I never saw anything more lovely."

The court was absent, but by the king's command the duchess was shown everything—gardens, fountains, nothing was omitted: she was enormously impressed.

The French visit concluded with a short stay with Louise at Maubuisson. Gay as ever was Louise, as keenly the artist. Of this other clever aunt, Liselotte once wrote, *à propos* of her painting: ". . . . I said, 'but to get up at night, and go into the church!' She answered laughingly that I knew very well what painters were; they liked to see dark places and the shadows that the light caused, and this gave her every day fresh taste for painting. She could turn everything that way, that it should not seem dull." Liselotte averred that the old lady at eighty was "better tempered, more lively, sees, hears, walks better than I do!" Surely a very acceptable sister to Sophia.

From the day that King William III authorised Bishop Burnet

to propose her in Parliament as Queen Designate of England, Duchess Sophia became a personage in Europe. She was the solution of the difficult problem which had exercised this country ever since King James showed his hand completely and sent the seven bishops to the Tower. The English Protestant conscience could now look confidently to the Princess Sophia as its salvation. Doubtless her own feelings were very deep and fervent. As the years went on she used often to say, "I should die happy if I could feel the crown of England resting on my brows." She was sprung from a line of kings, she was an able woman; as she aged, she showed a gr̄eat regality: she knew herself fitted. But time was long, and she grew sadly older. She was seventy when Anne succeeded, and Anne was to reign twelve years; moreover Anne's feeble jealousy forbade to Sophia one glimpse of the country that was her ultimate in hope and imagination. The hope of youth, handicapped by age; this was Sophia's contradiction, her cross: and time ever slipping from her. One can well suppose that the woman who could say, "There are so many things in religion contrary to good sense that it needs much faith to submit. . . . one can only judge by the reason one has received from nature: everybody makes the truth after his own imagination," was equipped mentally for such a probation. Letters passed between Anne and Sophia, cruel unnecessary letters from the dying woman at St. James's to the old cousin in Hanover of whom she was so bitterly jealous.

Suddenly the eyes of all Europe are turned to Hanover, to little Herrenhausen, in consternation. On a May day of sudden showers the old Electress walked in the gardens there with her ladies. They were caught in the quick spring rain and went hurrying through the walks for shelter. There was a cry, a fall; the terrified women clustered round. The electoral princess caught her mother-in-law in her arms. One Mr. Molyneux records how on May 28th he went to Herrenhausen and was told that the Electress was dying in the gardens. He says, "I ran up, and found her just expiring. . . . I can give you no account of her illness, but I believe the chagrin of those villainous letters has been the cause of it. . . . they, I verily believe, broke her heart, and brought her with sorrow to the grave. . . ."

This then was the end. She died a queen almost; the chosen instrument assuring to England that Protestant faith in quietude and peace, for which her father had sacrificed all.

ETTA ELWES.

EDOUARD ESTAUNIÉ, ENGINEER, NOVELIST AND PSYCHOLOGIST.

ON April 2nd of last year, Edouard Estaunié, accompanied by his two "parrains" (sponsors), Marshal Foch and M. François de Curel, made his entry into the Palais Mazarin as the latest Academician, elected in the place of the late Alfred Capus, journalist and dramaturge. Little known as yet outside French-speaking countries, Estaunié nevertheless ranks amongst the foremost novelists of France, and incontestably deserves the honour done him. So retiring is his disposition that the greater number of his new colleagues had never met him until he made the duty-call exacted of every fresh candidate for the Académie, previous to election. But his name has been before the public ever since 1895, when he published his third book, *L'Empreinte*, and each succeeding volume from his pen has been eagerly welcomed, whether it has been *Le Ferment*, *L'Epave*, and his splendid *La Vie Secrète*, or his later works dealing with the hidden drama in humble lives, *Les Choses qui voient*, *L'Ascension de Monsieur Baslève*, *L'Appel de la Route* (in which Fate plays an unrelenting part), or his latest short novel, *Le Labryinthe*, where a new trend of thought and development appears in Estaunié's treatment of his subject.

The astonishing thing about this prolific writer is the extraordinary will-power which during thirty years enabled him to lead at one and the same time the existence of a model in his profession as engineer in the department of Postes and Télégraphes, never neglecting a single duty, and that other life, so dear to him, so intimately his very own, that of a literary man. The circumstances that forced this double existence upon an individual gifted beyond the average with the powers of keen observation and analysis of character, with a wealth of sober language and a style peculiarly his own, dated from Estaunié's very birth, and overshadowed all his youth. His father, a brilliant young engineer, was carried off by typhoid fever at the end of eight months' marriage. When Estaunié was born in Dijon in 1862 his mother was already a broken-hearted widow, and the child grew up in an atmosphere of sadness between her watchful affection and his grandfather's austere discipline. For on both sides of the novelist's family can be noted the same serious fashion of looking at life, and all his forbears exhibit the same fidelity to duty, political, religious, or quotidian. So it is not surprising that, as soon as the lad understood that his grandfather, who had undertaken to educate him, had decided since the day of his father's death that the child to be born must, if a boy, carry on that father's career so tragically

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interrupted, he should accept uncomplainingly the imposition of a profession which had no great attraction for him. From the age of seven Edouard Estaunié had dreamed of being a writer, yet obedient and docile he went first to the Jesuit College at Dijon, then to the Lycée Saint-Louis at Paris, then to the Polytechnique, always with the fixed idea of becoming an engineer. His examinations were not sufficiently brilliant to gain him a post in civil engineering, so he lived meagrely, gave lessons in science, and seriously thought of reading for the law, when he heard of a vacant post for an engineer in the Postes et Télégraphes. He entered his name, was successful, and thenceforward his line in life was definitely marked out, and his profession conscientiously pursued until he retired, having worked his way up to the position of director, and then to that of inspector-general.

During the War he was attached to the British General Headquarters, where he superintended all telegraphic communications until 1917. Then for two years he took over the arrangements for material for France, and in 1919, having retired, was appointed to sit on a commission in Alsace-Lorraine. So much for his life as an engineer; what about that of the writer? One might suppose that literature could be only a pastime in a life so full, so constantly devoted to the calls of his profession, and that there could be no place for the serious study exacted by writing in an existence apparently given up to the details of engineering. But such was far from being the case. It speaks volumes for Estaunié's force of character, as well as for the wealth of his intellect, that even in the busiest days of his professional life he never neglected his literary work, yet never allowed it to encroach upon the time that belonged to the Postes et Télégraphes. The hours set apart for study and writing were those generally employed by others for rest or amusement, his own to do as he pleased, jealously kept by him for the work dearest to his heart, that work he had renounced in order to follow the family tradition of severity towards oneself and duty towards others.

His first novels (*Un Simple* and *Bonne Dâme*), while foreshadowing his love for the humble folk of this world, and while giving promise of a clear and forcible style, are but the beginnings, the first efforts of a writer who is feeling his way. But *L'Empreinte* marks a considerable progress. Estaunié is writing of what he knows by experience when he traces the career of his hero, a lad brought up in a Jesuit college, taught to pass examinations as if they were the end and aim of existence, educated in a purely mechanical fashion. The author has seen for himself how such a type of education will make a machine of any but the strongest of characters, and so his ending of *L'Empreinte* is in accordance

with his knowledge, and perfectly logical. The hero, deprived of all power of initiative, unable to face the manifold difficulties, material, moral and social, of life, without confidence in either himself, his friends, or his religion, finishes by taking refuge amongst the very men who have brought him to this sorry pass, and who have deprived him of the power to struggle. He becomes a novice in a Jesuit institution, where in due time he will imbue other unlucky wights with the sort of lazy obstinacy that has proved his own undoing.

If *L'Empreinte* marks Estaunié's evolution in the subject-novel, *Le Ferment* is a continuation of the evolution, being a study of a peasant's son, educated by his ambitious father for a position he is incapable of filling. This work, though powerful in its merciless exposure of the harm a little knowledge may do in the character of one who is unscrupulous and determined to "arrive," is not yet Estaunié at his best. But *La Vie Secrète*, *L'Ascension de Monsieur Baslève*, and *L'Appel de la Route* were to follow and show us what depths of penetration this writer has at his command. Henceforward there is no feeling his way; Estaunié, drilled by his mathematical and scientific studies, methodically goes to work to lay bare the hidden life of each of his characters, and to prove that every soul has its secret life, its conflict, its tragedy, more often than not unsuspected and unknown by even its nearest and dearest. That man is what his fellows take him to be. Life may go on for years and the soul may manifest itself in ways utterly foreign to the real ego. Then comes a crisis of some kind, such as the falling in love of Monsieur Baslève, and such an upheaval takes place in the individual that the onlookers no longer recognise this strange being who has broken the strait-waistcoat of habits and traditions and who is behaving in this inexplicable fashion. . . . Perhaps the person in question is as much astonished as they. . . . In any case, this inward life now liberated overthrows, kills, saves, according to the character; if selfish, it devastates a life or lives; if noble, it purifies, uplifts and regenerates.

Estaunié's psychology goes farther. For him each personality is but a collection of signs, scattered, perhaps, but capable of being united in such a way as to make a perfectly coherent equation. And he delights in solving the geometrical problems of personality, bringing to bear upon his delicate task the sympathy of a fellow-being and not the cold aloofness of the mathematician. He is ever mindful of his theory that every soul is solitary, that every soul must suffer, that indeed no progress is possible without solitude and suffering, and that man is surrounded by the Unknown; how then not be tender towards one's fellow-travellers on the Road of Destiny? The old Greek idea of Fate

obtrudes itself in his later works (*L'Appel de la Route*, *Les Choses qui voient*, poignant tales told by the Clock, the Mirror, and the Secrétaire in the peaceful old house in Dijon, of the dishonour and tragedy in the family, unsuspected by the outer world). Destiny rules; the Path of Man is the Road of Destiny, and one would expect Estaunié to speak like a confirmed pessimist. He is nothing of the sort, and the traces of pessimism apparent in his earlier works are quite lacking in his later novels.

By dint of probing the depths and cruelties of suffering, Estaunié hints that he has discovered the solution of the question which torments humanity, as it tormented him in his first works, and the pages in *L'Appel de la Route* in which he expresses his ideas are worthy both in style and thought to be compared to some of Pascal's writing. Just because suffering strips a man of all he holds dear, just because it so often appears unjust, just because nothing in this existence is capable of repairing the fatal results of suffering, the disillusioned soul seeks compensation elsewhere and tends to believe in immortality. Breaking through the limitations of a world of pain, trouble, tragedy, injustice and mystery, man looks beyond his narrow horizon, and hopes to find the realisation of his shattered dreams in some Otherwhere. Baffled in his efforts at self-expression (as shown in *Le Labyrinthe*), he endeavours to console himself with the belief that his veritable ego will come to full maturity in the Land That is Very Far Off, the Land of The Infinite.

Such, then, couched by him in a dignified incisive language, are the thoughts of this very fascinating French writer. His books, once taken up, hold one's attention to the end and cannot be easily put down. The plot, once in action, moves rapidly, smoothly and inexorably, and in this Estaunié resembles Thomas Hardy, though he is less impersonal than the Wessex novelist, and in a curious, impalpable fashion one is conscious of his presence all through the unfolding of the tale. His style is a reflection of his thought and ideas, never trivial, always elegant, unaffected and dignified. His sentences are rhythmic and pleasant to the ear, just as his books are intensely interesting and thought-provoking. France has good reason to be proud of her new Academician, and the world of letters on both sides of the Channel hopes that it has not heard the last word from Edouard Estaunié, thinker and writer.

E. EALES.

FOREIGN AFFAIRS.

LOCARNO, THE LEAGUE AND DISARMAMENT.

IT was commonly assumed at the end of 1925 that the strength of the Locarno idea would be tested during 1926 by its practical application to the problem of disarmament. It had taken a whole year of travail before the Locarno idea was born. It was born. During the first year of life it has encountered storms, and storms only, and the world's progress which was heralded from Locarno on October 16th, 1925, has seemed to be slow in the making. The stumbling block is disarmament. Once the nations begin to disarm, we may expect quick movement. Until they do we are held back. It is an indication of the depth of feeling tapped by the Locarno Treaties that they were followed by exacting impatience, and that immediate disappointment led to a reaction of despair. The events of the first half of 1926 are as true to life as actual experience always is, and on the long view may not prove to be unfruitful. After Locarno the diplomatic milieu changed to Geneva, a change which was effected without causing any surprise or comment. Even M. Géraud failed to protest.

At Geneva we first of all witnessed an innings of the old Adam. It was the necessary preliminary to the application of the Locarno idea to the problem of disarmament that Germany should join the League of Nations. As we saw, there was a moral muddle about that necessity, and it led to calamity in March. After March, therefore, it became necessary for some rescue work to be undertaken before serious business could be looked for in the cause of disarmament. The Council of the League, which was the sufferer from the March calamity, had, in short, to be consigned to what may be called nursing home treatment. The nursing home in this case was the special committee set up to consider the Council's constitution. Nursing homes, by a perversity of the names of things, are more often than not a trial rather than a help to their patients. The Council's Committee was an exception, and it did good work.

THE COUNCIL AND ITS CONSTITUTION.

The immediate circumstances attending the meeting of the Committee were chronicled here last month. It had been set up by the Council's resolution of March 18th. It met in Geneva on May 10th and at once began in a business-like way to see what could be done about the Council. It elected M. Motta, the Swiss representative, as chairman, and M. Le Breton, the representative of the Argentine, as vice-chairman. The latter appointment had in it a suggestion of the fatted calf prepared for the prodigal's return. It was

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an eminently fitting compliment to M. Le Breton's country, for the abstention of the Argentine from the work of the League since 1920 had been dictated by an appropriate motive. When the Argentinian representative walked out of the First Assembly it was to protest against the non-inclusion of Germany in the League, and now after a gap of six years the Argentine came back to help remove the difficulty of bringing Germany into the League.

Before the Committee met, certain suggestions had been made for dealing with the composition of the Council, notably by Viscount Ishii, Acting President of the Council, and by the Governments of Australia, Austria, Cuba, Estonia, Norway, Persia, and Jugoslavia, suggestions which by the unanimity with which they omitted to recommend anything in the nature of the March proposals, put the Committee in a cheerful state of mind at the outset. The Committee held twelve meetings which with one exception were held in public.

The method of meeting was a subject of some comment after the event. Political philosophers often argue the issue of secret versus open diplomacy. The meetings of the Locarno Powers at Geneva in March were an extended essay in secret diplomacy, and they were cumulatively disastrous. In May the Council Committee met in public and was singularly successful. That contrast provides a good piece of first hand evidence about the relative advantages of public and private diplomacy. The evidence was complete, even to the inclusion of an exception that proved the rule. That exception was the one private meeting of the series. What was the difference? In the eleven public meetings the delegates spoke with restraint, were anxious to be constructive and to make a good impression. Knowing that what they said would be reported to the four corners of the earth, they said things that they would like thus to be reported. They, in fact, climbed to a certain level of good sense and good humour, and every time chose the idealist argument. What happened at the private meeting? Why, the delegates worked off the bad blood that they had accumulated during the other eleven. Nobody would know what they said; their speeches would not be reported. The result was that personal remarks, not of a uniformly complimentary quality, were hurled across the table. And what of March? The meetings then were secret. Bad temper, bad manners, bad diplomacy, never had such an innings as they had in March. What is to be said, in the light of this evidence, for the argument of the "old diplomatists," that secrecy enables men to be reasonable, whereas publicity shackles them? The ideal diplomat no doubt would be as sweetly reasonable in private as in public: but it appears that diplomats, like the rest of us, need looking after.

The most important result of what took place at Geneva was that the Committee formed a definitely adverse opinion against any addition, beyond that of Germany, to the number of permanent seats on the Council. In view of what had happened in March that recommendation was a gratifying sign of returning wisdom. The Committee, did, however, accept the principle of an increase in the number of the non-permanent members of the Council, and of a change in the method of their election. It adopted at a first reading the following draft regulations:

"1. That non-permanent Members of the Council shall be elected for a term of three years. They shall assume office immediately on their election. One-third of their number shall be elected each year.

"2. A retiring Member may not be re-elected for three years commencing with the date of expiration of its mandate unless the Assembly shall so decide, either at that date or in the course of the three years, by a majority of two-thirds; the number of Members thus re-elected shall not, however, exceed one-third of the total number of the non-permanent Members of the Council.

"As a transitional measure the decision provided for in the preceding paragraph may, at the election of 1927, be taken, not only with respect to the Members whose mandates expire at that time; but also with respect to those whose mandates expire in 1928 and 1929.

"3. Notwithstanding the above provisions, the Assembly may at any time by a two-thirds majority decide to proceed, in application of Article 4 of the Covenant, to a new election of all the non-permanent Members of the Council. In this case the Assembly shall determine the rules applicable to the new election.

"4. The non-permanent Members shall be increased to nine in number.

"5. In order to bring the above system into operation there shall be elected nine Members as soon as possible in the next Assembly. Three of them shall be elected for a term of three years; three for two years and three for one year."

In the text of that draft no reference was made to the question of the permanent seats, which question was reserved for consideration to June 28th, when the Committee was to meet again. The May draft was adopted with the reservation that it was subject to any modification that might be made at the second meeting as a result of the Committee's deliberation about the permanent seats. Therein was a touch of Machiavellian opportunism conceived for a good purpose.* The calculation—whether sound or unsound we shall see below—was that Spain would, by June 28th, feel satisfied with a non-permanent seat, running, as it would be reasonable to expect,

continuously : satisfied, that is, with the substance without the form. The important event of May was that the Committee convinced itself that, apart from those states which had pegged out a claim for new permanent seats, opinion was unanimous that no new permanent seats should be created beyond Germany's. France shared that view. Poland, one of the claimant states, accepted it. Brazil, while abstaining from expressing her view, was given to understand by Uruguay and the Argentine that her case for a permanent seat on behalf of the South American states was untenable, because Uruguay and the Argentine were not willing thus to be represented by Brazil. China and Persia showed that they would be satisfied without permanent seats if no new permanent seats were given except to Germany. There remained Spain. Before Lord Cecil went to Geneva the British Government formally declared that its hand was free of commitment, and Lord Cecil at Geneva gave it to be understood that British policy was opposed to the granting of any further permanent seats. The Committee, however, in recognition of the tact, dignity and goodwill with which the Spanish case was handled, as of Spain's diplomatic status, gave a sort of moral commitment which in practice would mean that Spain would be certain, subject to the Assembly's two-thirds vote, to re-election after her three years period was finished. The process of re-election recommended might be continuous, but was conditional every three years on the Assembly's renewed vote.

When the voting took place on the Committee's draft regulations, Brazil and Spain made formal reservations in regard to the whole, China and Poland in regard to paragraph 2, and Sweden in regard to the principle of any increase in the number even of non-permanent seats. It was the feeling of the Committee that the increase in the number of non-permanent seats on the Council would enable the Assembly "to take account in a more comprehensive and equitable measure of the principle of geographical distribution of seats, in accordance with the recommendations adopted by the third, fourth, fifth, and sixth Assemblies." The Committee was unanimously in favour of an allocation of three of the non-permanent seats to Latin-America, and that "adequate representation" should be given to Asia. The view that "adequate representation" should be given to Asia wore perhaps an academic complexion, and the Chinese delegate, desiring no doubt that the point should be made a little sharper, strongly urged that at least two seats should be allotted to Asia and to the other parts of the world outside America and Europe.

Thus the Committee. The prospect seemed brighter, but it was soon to be clouded over. The Council met for its regular periodic session on June 7th, and the danger soon emerged that neither

Spain nor Brazil had as yet reconciled themselves to the May recommendations. On June 10th, the Spanish delegate, Señor Quer y Boule, made the first disturbing statement. He read a declaration to the effect that the Spanish Government had decided to ratify the amendment to Article 4 of the Covenant. That amendment had been passed by the second Assembly (1921) and provided that "The Assembly shall fix by a two-thirds majority the rules dealing with the election of the non-permanent Members of the Council, and particularly such regulations as relate to their term of office and the conditions of re-eligibility." Spain's formal acceptance of that amendment technically cleared the way for the Assembly's consideration of the May recommendations of the Council Committee, and Sir Austen Chamberlain complimented the Spanish representatives accordingly. But : there was something else. Señor Quer y Boule proceeded to make the following cryptic announcement : "Spain has not hitherto considered it possible to ratify the amendment to Article 4 of the Covenant. It desired to maintain its capacity to belong to the Council by means of successive re-elections until the time should have come for the designation of Spain as a permanent Member of the Council. As the present situation prevents the presence of Spain at an election, and as the reason which has prevented Spain from ratifying the amendment has thus disappeared, the Spanish Government has now decided to proceed to ratification of the Amendment to Article 4." That statement was a bombshell, slow as it was in bursting. Its character took some time to be recognised. What it meant on examination was that the Spanish Government proposed no longer to participate in the work of the Council, a meaning which Señor y Boule himself later in the day confirmed.

Senhor Mello Franco, on behalf of Brazil, thereupon added Brazilian gloom to the Spanish gloom. He roundly announced that Brazil would resign from the Council, read a long official statement reviewing Brazil's position and intimating that Brazil would now refuse election to the Council and would wait for a solution of her claim for a permanent seat. Appeals to both quarters failed ; for, as it was explained, both Señor Quer y Boule and Senhor Mello Franco had their definite instructions and could not alter them.

On June 14th the Secretary-General of the League received and circulated a telegram which had been sent to Geneva by the Brazilian Foreign Minister, Senhor Felix Pacheco, dated Rio de Janeiro, June 12th. It ran : "As you are aware, in the statement forwarded to Senhor Mello Franco, which has doubtless already been received *in extenso* by the Secretary and communicated to the Members of the League, Brazil resigns her temporary seat on the

Council. At the end of the document it was stated that Brazil was awaiting the opportunity to complete her action by abandoning the honour of membership of the League. Having now received an invitation to the ordinary Assembly in September which she can no longer attend, she feels bound to state that this circumstance obliges her to declare at once in this communication her decision to withdraw from the League. This telegram to be regarded as a preliminary notification in accordance with the final paragraph of Article 1 of the Covenant."

The final paragraph of Article 1 thus referred to stipulates that "Any Member of the League may, after two years' notice of its intention to do so, withdraw from the League, provided that all its international obligations and all its obligations under this Covenant shall have been fulfilled at the time of its withdrawal."

Brazil, therefore, which in March had the distinction of the spectacular rôle in the Council's catastrophe, now has the further distinction of being the first nation of important standing in the world to resign from the League. Costa Rica is the only other. The Argentine withdrew without resigning, and came back. What is now to happen is obscure. The loss of Spain to the League would be much more serious than that of Brazil, but fortunately Spain has not yet resigned. If the worst happened, and both of them packed up, there would be one consolation, for the event would still further consolidate the certainty of Germany's entering the League in September. Neither Spain nor Brazil, having given in their notice to resign, would presume to veto Germany's entrance, and even if they did, the other members of the League would readily find means of dealing with the situation.

THE SPADEWORK OF DISARMAMENT.

The June session of the Council therefore had a contribution to make to the 1926 crop of post-Locarno difficulties. Psychology is as powerful in one direction as it is in another. If the Locarno psychology went too far, so did the reaction. As was recorded in this section last month, the preparatory commission for the disarmament conference met in Geneva on May 18th. Within a week the word "deadlock" was being printed in the press of many countries, although the word was a gross travesty of the real situation. The commission had met to consider, to sift out and to record the views of the various Governments on the disarmament questionnaire of which the text was published in these pages last month (CONTEMPORARY REVIEW, June, 1926, pp. 782 seqq.), and to explore the technical questions resulting therefrom. No one expected, at any rate no one who was either in touch with affairs or who took a realistic view of affairs expected, that the delegates at those meet-

ings would promptly agree on a scheme of disarmament. Nor was that their business. It will be the business of the Disarmament Conference, when it meets, to agree on schemes. Moreover it was not surprising that the delegates should take the opportunity to ventilate their old differences. They are serious differences. The Latin-European view, which insists on hard and fast formulæ for security as the condition precedent to disarmament, is diametrically opposed to the Anglo-Saxon distaste for definite commitments in advance of hypothetical contingencies. It was never part of the Commission's purpose to adjust such differences, but to make it possible for a conference to meet at which it may be possible to adjust them. It is even recognised by all those who are in earnest about disarmament that the conference cannot be arranged before Germany enters the League, or even before Russia joins in the discussions. It is to the greater credit of the League that for several years in one way and another (See CONTEMPORARY REVIEW, June, 1926, pp. 784-5), it has been tackling the problem. It is an eminently wise thing to keep going a consultative and exploratory machinery; for a vast amount of preparation will have to be done before results can be achieved. The work of the preparatory commission is a continuation of the League's campaign. Technical questions have to be submitted to various expert bodies and sub-committees, and the Commission itself will have to meet again, not once, but often, before a conference looms on the horizon. Those who precipitantly speak of deadlocks hardly help the difficult cause of disarmament.

"RED GOLD."

One rift of rottenness in the body politic leads to another. The Great Strike in Great Britain has led to an incipient quarrel between Moscow and London. There is, however, a wise and weary difference in Anglo-Russian relations as the years roll by. The fresh vigour which characterised the Curzon-Chicherin combats of 1923 has softened into something more chastened, at any rate on the British side. The present Government in Great Britain has been in power for more than a year and a half. Could any body of men weather the storms of our present dispensation for so long a period—it is in quality a long period—without developing an intense distaste for recrimination and an intense longing for what Mr. Bonar Law used to call tranquillity? Mr. Neville Chamberlain may retain the freshness of his pre-war unsophisticated robustness, and may continue to refuse compromise with Bolsheviks or Communists or Reds of any origin. Sir Austen, however, has passed from the exhilarating heights of Locarno through the valley of shadow; Mr. Baldwin has seen "all he cares for smashed to bits"; Lord Birkenhead has brains; Sir William Joynson-Hicks has been

face to face with revolution; the Die-Hards of November, 1924 have, most of them, changed. The British Cabinet is much less inclined than it was before to accept a quarrel from the hands of Russia. Given all the circumstances, fair-minded commentators will concede that the Cabinet exercised restraint in its diplomatic representations to the Government of the U.S.S.R.

Before Sir Austen Chamberlain left London for Geneva (June 5th), a note had been prepared and sent to Sir Robert Hodgson, British Chargé d'Affaires in Moscow, for presentation to the U.S.S.R. It protested against the action of the U.S.S.R. in attempting to subsidise the Trades Union Congress during the revolutionary strike, but the protest was simple and dignified. It was even understandable. The egregious spokesmen of the U.S.S.R. in Moscow on the one hand protested their enmity to Great Britain, and on the other hand did all they could to fan into a holy crusade the raising of funds for the British workmen, to sustain them in a disastrous civil war, each day's prolongation of which was equally harmful to all sections of the British people. If the Russian Government's motive were suspect, that Government by its own unhidden sentiments towards Great Britain in general gave ample ground for the suspicion. The Russian motive was to contribute to a revolutionary movement in Great Britain, and on the ground of impertinence alone there was something for the British Government to protest against.

There were, of course, other aspects to the matter. In Russian relations, as a long experience has indicated, it is better not to fling mud, because the mud at the disposal of the U.S.S.R. is more muddy and more plentiful than any Mr. Neville Chamberlain could mobilise. We have had experience in China, in Persia, in Egypt, in India of what that mud can do to British interests. On the ground of expediency it is arguable that the British Government would have been better advised to ignore Russia and her financial extravagance. For many years Russia has been financially close-fisted so far as the debts formally incurred by Russia are concerned: and the great strike in Great Britain was defeated by road transport long before the famous Russian cheque was torn up by the T.U.C. It was, perhaps, a waste to tear it up, and the tearing up affords a symbolic confirmation of the difficulty of Russian money being transferred to Great Britain for any purpose.

The British Note was delivered to the Government of the U.S.S.R. on June 10th. On that very day Sir William Joynson-Hicks was keeping at bay certain persistent interrogators in the House of Commons who wanted to know what the Government proposed to do about the Red Gold. He announced that the Government had not finished its investigations and asked for a week's

grace before making a statement. He did, however, state, as a result of pressure, that the Foreign Office was convinced that the Russian Government did send money to Great Britain for the purposes of the so-called general strike. The position of the British Government may be summarised in this way. The strike in Great Britain was illegal, unconstitutional and revolutionary in quality. Russia's action was therefore unfriendly to the British Government and therefore—Great Britain being a democratic country ruled by an elected parliament—unfriendly to the British people. The British Government formally protested. On the evening of June 11th, Mr. Rosengolz, Russian Chargé d'Affaires in London, issued to the press the following statement, which was published in the next morning's papers:—"Mr. Rosengolz, Chargé d'Affaires of the Union of the Soviet Socialist Republics, has just got instructions from his Government to protest against the unfounded statement of the Secretary of State for the Home Office, Sir W. Joynson-Hicks, in the House of Commons, June 10th, that during the general strike the Russian Government did send money to this country transferring funds for the purposes of the strike."

What was meant, but not expressed, by that statement was that the Russian cheque was sent, not by the Russian Government, but by the Central Council of the All-Russian Union of Trades Unions. That distinction, however, hardly disposed of the matter. No money can be sent out of Russia without the consent of the Government of the U.S.S.R., for a license to export money has to be obtained from the State Bank. It is one of the drawbacks of a socialised state that the government, exerting control over most things, is, therefore, responsible for most things. By giving permission for the cheque to be sent from the Russian Trades Unions to the British Trades Unions, the Russian Government was implicated. Perhaps the Russian Government was not aware that the attempted British revolution was regarded by the British Government as a revolutionary movement, in which case it would have been more interesting if Mr. Rosengolz and the Russian Government had said so. Quibbles about the word "send"—is money "sent" if it is not accepted?—and about the formal distinction between the Russian Trades Unions and the Russian Government are a waste of breath. Of course the Russian Government wanted to make mischief in Great Britain.

There remained the further question of the help sent to Mr. Cook and received by him for the purposes of the miners' wives and dependents in the legal coal stoppage. That was more difficult, and therefore the Cabinet took refuge in continued consideration of it. Was there any case against the giving of money from any

quarter to either party in a legal industrial dispute? Was the donor in this case, directly or indirectly, the Russian Government? Those two questions were before the Cabinet. As for the first question there was a clear distinction to be made between money privately given by co-national sympathisers with the miners' dependents (as, for instance, by the Prince of Wales) and public money given by a foreign Government, either directly or indirectly, whose spokesmen, or some of them, are openly hostile to the British Government. Three courses were available to the British Government: (1) to evacuate Chesham House of Mr. Rosengolz and all his staff; or (2) to tear up the Anglo-Russian Trade Agreement of 1921, thereby tearing up the charter of Anglo-Russian diplomatic relations; or (3) to do nothing at all. At the time of writing the Government was considering its alternatives. The wisest course was clearly to do nothing at all. If the interim Note of protest sent to Moscow failed to dissuade Russia from attempting to finance the miners and prolong the stoppage, then probably no further action would succeed. There was, however, some cause for concern. A vast amount of money was being raised in Russia. The Central Council of the Trades Unions decided that money should be raised. The local unions decided how much they would severally contribute. In some districts a quarter day's pay was contributed, in others a half day's, in others a full day's. Levies were made on the receipts from football matches and theatrical performances. A crusade, as unbalanced as most crusades in Russia, was in progress, and it might conceivably have its effect on the length of the British strike.

One point made in Russian quarters was that Russia was not the only country that tried to feed the T.U.C. with strike money. There were Germany, Mexico, Palestine. In those cases, however, as in the case of the American money that was poured into the south of Ireland during the unrest of recent years, the respective governments were not implicated. They were not subject to the socialistic conventions of all-embracing State control and State interference with the corollary of State responsibility.

M. PÉRET COMES TO LONDON.

Another Anglo-French Conference was begun in London on May 17th. M. Péret, the prevailing Finance Minister in France, came to London with his experts, met Mr. Churchill and Sir Otto Niemeyer at the House of Commons in the late afternoon of May 17th, and proceeded to pick up the threads left lying about by M. Caillaux and Mr. Churchill last August. The points that were left for M. Péret and Mr. Churchill to discuss were these:

1. The exact amount of annual payment to be made by France

over the sixty-two years. M. Caillaux had undertaken to pay an average annuity of £12,500,000 over that period, but the exact scale of payments which are to give that average have never been fixed. As a result of exchanges between M. Péret and Mr. Churchill conducted in April through the French Ambassador, M. Pouyane (the French Financial Attaché in London) and M. Roger Cambon, it was already agreed that the first annuity will be paid during the present financial year, and will not be less than £4,000,000. By the agreement lately reached in Washington between M. Bérenger and Mr. Mellon, France is to pay an annuity of about £6,750,000 to America during the next five years. As the French debt to America is to the French debt to Great Britain as 7 is to 6, and as the British Government still maintains the *pari-passu* formula as one of its debt funding principles (in spite of the strain placed on that formula by the Italian settlement), the minimum below which the French payments to Great Britain during the next five years cannot be allowed to fall is a little over £6,000,000. It was, however, confidently expected on the British side that M. Péret's offer would be considerably above that minimum.

2. The question of transfers. M. Péret, as M. Caillaux before him, was understood to want a safeguarding clause in the debt agreement analogous to that of the Dawes Agreement whereby the transfer of the annuities from Paris to London should be modified or totally suspended if the transfer threatened to depress the exchange to any serious extent.

3. Finally there was the question left outstanding by M. Caillaux of stipulating in the agreement that at no time in the future should French annual payments to America and to Great Britain exceed the annual payments from Germany to France under the Dawes Plan. As M. Bérenger dropped that claim after much discussion in the case of the settlement with America, it was expected that M. Péret would drop it in London. The settlement with America was reached independently of the French interest in reparations, and the British *pari-passu* principle automatically rules out that interest so far as the British settlement is concerned.

The conference started on a Monday and ended in failure on a Tuesday, the very next Tuesday, twenty-four hours later. To soften the crudity of that performance, M. Péret left M. Barnaud and his fellow experts behind him in London to continue talking at the Treasury. M. Péret said in conversation that evening that he wanted to go back to Paris to attend a Cabinet meeting and to report progress, if any, to his colleagues. M. Caillaux, I remember, said substantially the same in a corresponding conversation last August. M. Péret added that he would return to London

"soon," the adverb being unqualified. He had not returned before his political number was up, and he resigned on June 15th.

That still another French debt-funding conference thus ended in failure was a matter of some disappointment in London, the more so as France in the meantime had come to a definite agreement to pay her debt to the United States. M. Péret was preoccupied with the franc, and he hardly showed himself master of the issue in London, but London official quarters, which are by now a little hardened over the progressive French delay in funding the debt, betrayed little emotion. One point at any rate was clarified as a result of M. Péret's visit. When M. Péret saw Mr. Churchill on the first day he hinted somewhat broadly that France expected the British Treasury to accept terms far less favourable to Great Britain than those just given by France to the United States. Mr. Churchill in a friendly but firm way indicated that M. Péret would have to double his bargaining figures of £4,000,000 or £5,000,000 as the initial annuity before serious discussion could begin. M. Péret, by way of comment, packed his bag the next day. Perhaps M. Péret thought to repeat M. Caillaux's strategy. When M. Caillaux packed his bag in August Mr. Churchill's claim for £16,000,000 was quickly reduced by an emergency meeting of the Cabinet to £12,500,000, and business was done, as they say on the Stock Exchange, at that quotation. If M. Péret was inspired by any such memory, his inspiration misled him. Both Mr. Churchill and the Cabinet were less green in May, 1926, than they were in August, 1925. Mr. Churchill, it was understood, expected an offer of £9,000,000 from M. Péret as an average over the first five funding years, although it was thought that he would be content with £7,000,000 for the current year if in the following four years the average were made up to the basic £9,000,000.

M. Péret made no offer which approached that level, and Mr. Churchill let him go. M. Barnaud stayed at the Treasury to discuss such old matters as the gold deposit, the question of the transfers, of the safeguarding clause, of the commercial debt from the Bank of France to the Bank of England. Those questions were subsidiary, and somewhat academic after M. Péret's departure. There was no doubt that the British Treasury would have conceded the claim for accommodation in case the transfers were to militate against the exchange, even though the British debt has to be paid to the United States without such a reservation. The question of the safeguarding clause will have to be dropped, that of the gold deposit was disposed of last August. The Péret proposals about the bank loans—amounting as they virtually did to a suggestion that the commercial debt payments should be reduced in

proportion as payments were made on the political debt—did not help towards a settlement.

M. Péret dined with Mr. Churchill on the second evening, and just before the dinner a gloomy statement was issued officially from the British Treasury. No doubt the champagne dissipated some of the gloom so far as the authors were concerned. The statement ran:

"Further conferences took place to-day between M. Péret, the French Minister of Finance, and the Chancellor of the Exchequer, and also between the experts of the Ministry of Finance and the Treasury. These conferences had for their object the settlement of the outstanding points on which agreement had not been reached in previous negotiations. The ground was thoroughly explored in an informal and friendly spirit. M. Péret is returning to Paris to-morrow for a meeting of the Council of Ministers, and expects to return to London very shortly. Meanwhile the French experts are remaining in discussion with the officials of the Treasury."

GERMAN INTERESTS IN POLISH SILESIA.

One of the most interesting and important rulings of the Permanent Court of International Justice has escaped general notice, largely, no doubt, because it dealt with certain acts of the Polish Government in Upper Silesia and because the finding of the Court coincided with the recent revolutionary episode in Poland, which monopolised the world's interest. The importance of the Court's decision is due not only to the magnitude of the interests involved, but to the fact that it constituted a test case which is likely to affect corresponding controversies elsewhere.

The case with which the Court had to deal arose in this way. In July, 1922, the Polish Government took possession of a nitrate factory situated at Chorzow, in the Polish part of Upper Silesia, and belonging, according to the Land Register, to a German Society, the Oberschlesische Stickstoffwerke. The seizure was effected by virtue of a Polish law dated July 14th, 1920, which ordered the record of the Land Register to be altered ex-officio by the substitution of the Polish Treasury for the German Reich as the owner of the factory.

The point of view of the Polish Government was that the law had been made in execution of Article 256 of the Treaty of Versailles, according to which those States to whom German territory was ceded acquired all property and possession situated in that territory, and that the factory in this case was the property of the German Reich. The German Reich had indeed been the titular owner of the property till December, 1919, when it was sold to the Oberschlesische. The contract of that sale was regarded by the

Polish Government as fictitious, as contrary to the obligations imposed on Germany by the Treaty of Versailles and by the Armistice Conventions, and therefore as null and void.

Secondly, in December, 1924, the Polish Government notified a certain number of landowners in Polish Upper Silesia of its intention to expropriate their estates in conformity with the Convention concluded at Geneva in 1922, concerning the partition of Upper Silesia. The notification implied the immobilisation of the estates notified, whatever their final fate might otherwise be.

In view of those two events the German Government decided to take action. In May and August, 1925, it filed two applications by which it asked the Court (1) To decide that the application in Polish Silesia of the law of July 14th, 1920, constituted a measure of liquidation in the sense of the Geneva Convention, which liquidation, in so far as admissible under the Convention, should be carried out according to the detailed provisions of the Versailles Treaty, and, in so far as it was not admissible under that Convention, was illicit : (2) to decide that the attitude of the Polish Government in the matter of the company which owned the Chorzow factory was not in conformity with the Convention, and (3) that the notification of the intention to liquidate the rural estates referred to above was also not in conformity with the Convention.

By a first judgment of August 25th, 1925, the Court decided on a plea to its jurisdiction made by Poland. The Court upheld its jurisdiction and reserved the affair for judgment on its merits.

On May 5th it pronounced judgment in the case "concerning certain German interests in Polish Upper Silesia." As regards (1) of the German submissions the Court laid down that it was not necessary for it to consider the question raised by Germany about the possible nature of the law of July 14th, 1920, as a measure of liquidation, either licit or illicit; for it concluded that the application of the law in Polish Upper Silesia, in so far as it affects German nationals or companies controlled by German nationals referred to in the Geneva Convention, constituted a measure contrary to that Convention.

As for (2) the Court upheld as valid the 1919 contract, and ruled that the Polish Government's attitude to the owner of the Chorzow factory was not in conformity with the Geneva Convention.

Finally, as regards (3) the Court held that according to the Geneva Convention such a notification of the expropriation of rural estates could not be made except in the case of estates of which the expropriation was definitely authorised by the Convention. Having laid down that ruling, the Court proceeded to consider the separate case of the twelve estates that had been notified for expropriation in December, 1924. In the case of five of them, the notification was

not in accord with the Geneva Convention. In the case of four others, the German Government's claim was dismissed. Two were withdrawn during the course of the trial owing to the Polish Government's stating that it would not proceed to expropriation. In the twelfth case the notice of expropriation had been annulled by the Polish Government before the case was tried.

In many of the districts of Europe where similar questions of property are the subject of controversy, the Court's rulings of May 5th may be expected to have a sobering effect.

It is provided by Article 35 of the Court's statute that when a state which is not a member of the League is a party to a dispute before it, that State shall pay a contribution, fixed by the Court, to the expenses of the Court. In this case Germany was asked to pay 35,000 Dutch florins.

COUNT TELEKI AND THE FRANC FORGERIES.

Count Teleki has written from Budapest to correct certain statements made by me in the February CONTEMPORARY REVIEW (page 249). He writes : " I wish to state that it is not true (1) that I am the head of the Institute which made the forgeries. The bank notes were made in the State Cartographical Institute. . . . I am head of the Geographical Institute Co. Ltd., which is a private undertaking. Both institutes are printing schoolmaps so that they are competitors ; (2) that I am the high personage referred to by Colonel Jankovich, because . . . this high personage is the former chief of police, Mr. Nádosy, (3) that the French police insisted on my being questioned . . . I went to the police out of my own impulse on February 16th, and it was I who asked that I should be questioned by the Parliamentary Commission."

It would be matter of genuine satisfaction to me if I could apologise for having wronged Count Teleki. Unfortunately his letter of " correction " puts him in an even worse light than does his connection with the forgeries. Let it be conceded that Colonel Jankovich referred, not to him, but to Mr. Nádosy : the point has no bearing on Count Teleki's guilt. Let it further be conceded that it was not at the request of the French police that he entered the witness-box—a point on which there is conflicting evidence, and on which therefore one accepts Count Teleki's statement. If, however, he acted, belatedly, on his " own impulse," it was not till Count Emerich Karolyi had written a sensational article in a Budapest paper expressing surprise that while Prince Windischgrätz and Mr. Gero were imprisoned, Count Teleki, who put them in touch with each other for the business of the forgeries, was at large and had given no evidence. The amazing thing, however, is the implication made in Count Teleki's letter that as the State

Cartographical Institute and the Geographical Institute were "competitors" ("printing school maps"), he could have no part in the affairs of the former. Count Teleki himself, in the deposition he made before the parliamentary committee of inquiry (see Minority Report published at the end of February), stated that he had been instrumental in providing Prince Windischgrätz with a technical expert from the Cartographical Institute, namely with Mr. Gero. Was he then so disconnected? Worst of all, Count Teleki made a statement in the witness box during the trial (May 15th). "Sometime in the spring of 1925" (he said) "Prince Windischgrätz and Dr. Meszaros called on me and the Prince told me he was engaged in a plan for forging French francs in pursuance of patriotic ends. The reason for his visit to me was twofold. He came to me, firstly, as to the semi-official head of the Hungarian propaganda organisation, secondly because of my relations with the Cartographical Institute. The Prince asked me in my first capacity to support his action and in my second capacity to recommend to him an expert."

Count Teleki's "corrections" in short appear to be as crooked as the part he played in the forgeries themselves. Otherwise one would have jumped at the satisfaction of asking his forgiveness for having made the two minor slips, irrelevant as they are to the issue.

GEORGE GLASGOW.

June 15th, 1926.

LITERARY SUPPLEMENT.

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DISARMAMENT.*

Professor Noel Baker, the first holder of the Cassell Chair of International Relations in the University of London, has written a masterly and authoritative treatise on one of the most urgent and complicated problems of our time. His passion for peace in no way blinds him to the immense difficulty of removing the greatest danger by which it is threatened, and his book is in consequence an admirable blend of realism and idealism. Appearing as it does when the Locarno Pact and the approaching entry of Germany into the League have removed the last excuses for inaction, it should be studied not only by statesmen at Geneva but by the plain citizen, on whose judgment and resolve depends the future of civilisation.

"No difficulty has been consciously avoided," writes the author. "Indeed, any shirking of difficulties would have defeated the main purpose for which the work was undertaken. That purpose was to explore the obscure problems involved in the preparation of an international agreement for the mutual and general reduction and limitation of national armaments; to show the complexity of these problems to those who think them simple, and to suggest solutions to those who think them insoluble." Disarmament, he explains, is not a word to be taken literally. "It does not mean

* *Disarmament*. By Professor J. Noel Baker. The Hogarth Press. 12s. 6d.

the disbanding of the whole nor even of the greater part of the armed forces of the world. It means, rather, the reduction, modest but, we may hope, not negligible reduction of those forces, and their limitation by a general international treaty to new scales voluntarily accepted by the various nations who take part. It means, in other words, a definite start in the slow and arduous journey back along the road which Europe and the world have travelled since 1860. It means a beginning of the demilitarisation of human society, a reversal of the insidious and devastating perversions of life and riches to military ends which the last two generations of European statesmen thrust upon the peoples of the world. It is the great process of the militarisation of national and international life that we are now, through the activity of the League of Nations, not only to arrest, but gradually and cautiously to undo." To the older arguments for action, such as the financial burden and the danger of war involved in the existence of millions of armed men, is now added our treaty obligation under Article 8 of the Covenant; and the rationing of capital ships at the Washington Conference is an object-lesson to reformers.

Professor Baker never allows us to forget that the malady of great armaments is of very recent growth; yet the obstacles to its cure have been increased rather than decreased by the World War. A brief but pregnant chapter, entitled "Special Difficulties due to Modern Conditions," reminds us of the millions of war veterans, of the general practice of conscription, of the progress of invention, of the convertibility of air-craft and chemical works, of the secrets of poison gas research, of the factor of varying degrees of industrial strength. Nations fight not only with men and guns and ships, but with food and money and science. Chemical warfare, which a French soldier describes as "the most important problem in the future reconstruction of the world," has a chapter to itself, and the problem of aircraft, with which it is intimately connected, is considered in detail. Yet the consideration of all these staggering difficulties does not paralyse the energies of our author, who clearly outlines the methods of advance. Justice, logic and common sense, he declares, demand the general adoption of the system imposed on the ex-enemy States; but that is at present impracticable. The change that we dream of is so vast that it can only come by slow degrees. To avert a great expansion of the air-forces, to curtail new construction in the fleets—these are the urgent steps to be taken before the actual process of reduction can begin. Yet in such questions it is the first step that counts, and the original agreed scales can be cut at each periodical revision. However small the initial reductions, the adoption of a general scheme would in itself be a decisive victory for the League. The Washington Con-

ference, with its ready-made plans, taught us how to go to work, and Professor Baker concludes his searching analysis by a stirring appeal to Great Britain to take the lead. "America stands ready, ardent if doubting; Germany, eager for the equality which only our disarmament can bring; France, democratic France, ready to take a risk for reconciliation; Russia using fair words, fairer than could have been expected; all the smaller Powers enthusiastic for results for which they have been waiting long. The influence of the British Empire, in every question of international affairs, is almost infinitely great; in this grave matter, if it were wisely, firmly used, who doubts that it would be decisive?"

G. P. G.

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THE CAMBRIDGE MEDIÆVAL HISTORY.*

The new, the fifth, volume of the Cambridge Mediæval History deals with the period from 1050 to 1200,

a period, on the one hand, of new movements and new ideas—the appearance of new monastic orders, a renaissance of thought and learning, the rise of towns and the expansion of commerce; on the other, of consolidation and centralisation—the organisation of the monarchical government of the Church, the development of monarchical institutions in the various countries of Europe, and, to give direction and solidity to the whole, the revived study of Civil and Canon Law. Finally, and most novel of all, we see Europe at once divided by the great conflict of Empire and Papacy and united by the Crusades in the holy war against the infidel. The former as well as the latter implies a conception of the unity of Western Christendom, a unity which found expression in the universal Church. For the Church alone was universal, European, international; and, as its institutions begin to take definite form, the more deeply is this character impressed upon them.

This full survey of the great field at the hands of patient and learned historians such as the late Mr. W. J. Corbett, must inspire the student with the fundamental importance of this special volume for the understanding not only of the periods that immediately follow, the florescence of theocratic Rome, the Decline of the Empire and the Papacy and the Growth of the Western Kingdoms (which will occupy the three concluding volumes of the history) but also the great movements of the Reformation and Counter-Reformation, and the coming of nationalities as they are understood to-day.

Probably the fruitful century and a half with which this volume deals are ultimately more notable for the restoration or rather the

* *The Cambridge Mediæval History*. Planned by J. B. Bury; edited by J. R. Tanner, C. W. Previté-Orton, Z. N. Brooke. Volume V. *Contest of Empire v. Papacy*. Cambridge: At the University Press. [With maps in separate cover.] 50s. net.

giving of a common law to Europe than for anything else, since learning, commerce, the organisation of society, and the welfare and influence of religion depended on the substitution of settled principles of law for the welter and chaos of conflicting jurisdictions and customary legal systems. Irnerius and Accursius probably did more for the future of Europe in this period than any other two men, since they made the work of all other men and women possible as part of an ordered basis of human endeavour. It may be doubted if the great conflict of Empire and Papacy divided Europe for Europe's ultimate harm. The struggle was essential, as we now see things in the perspective of time, for the purposes of European growth. We may doubt if this division of Europe was more than a botanic division. On the other hand the unity implied in the Crusades was no real unity at all. The Crusades carried the energy of a too robust feudalism into alien lands and rather marked the divisions than emphasised the organic unity of Europe that they announced. But both processes, the struggle of the Empire and the Papacy and the wars against the heathen, showed that Central Europe was a closed system with its own special problems, problems wholly different from those of Asia, and problems that called great ecclesiastical and lay statesmen into being. To break down feudalism, to build up law and order in ever-widening areas, to create corporate town life, to purify and beautify the life of the people, were problems that faced Hildebrand as well as Frederick Barbarossa and earlier and later Popes, Emperors and Kings, and not these only, but statesmen such as St. Bernard and jurists such as Accursius.

Throughout the period attention must indeed be "focussed upon personalities," but all the while personalities in fact reveal principles at play, and the work of each personality, little as he would have admitted it, was rather the clearing the field for the free play of the principles of social growth than any special addition to the wealth, moral or material, of mankind. The work of this great century and a half was largely the destruction of the inhibitions that the collapse of the Roman world had imposed upon the Aryan races. It was the dead Roman hand that supplied the workers with the necessary tools. First and foremost there was the Roman educational system, almost greedily adopted by the Church, there was the ancient Roman law, as greedily applied to every form of social and religious problem by Church and temporal rulers alike, there was the Roman fashion of dealing with feudal princes and outlying provinces, unconsciously and vigorously adopted not only by emperors and kings but by the Papacy itself. The great Renaissance of the twelfth century made in some such fashion possible the development of a temperate region inhabited by the

most virile races of the world, races that tempered materialism with idealism, and were strong and eager to secure the utmost and eternal benefits from both. The first and self-protective renaissance of the twelfth century made possible the second and creative renaissance, creative in art, in adventure, in literature, and religion, the renaissance of the sixteenth century, and also made possible that amazing birth of pure and applied thought which from the days of Newton and Descartes has slowly created and is still creating new and infinite possibilities for all the sons of men. If we are to understand the hope that inspires us to-day we must understand the twelfth century in Europe.

J. E. G. DE M.

THE GENERAL STRIKE.*

It is a convenience to have in one handy volume the remarkable speeches on the abortive General Strike delivered by Sir John Simon on May 6th and May 11th in the House of Commons and his supplementary speech delivered to his constituents in the Spen Valley Division of Yorkshire on May 20th, with an introduction and the diary of events from April 30th, 1926, when the coal subsidy ceased. Sir John Simon in his first speech made in the House of Commons in the discussion on the Emergency Powers Bill dealt trenchantly with the legal position, declaring that while "a strike properly understood is perfectly lawful," a "so-called general strike is not a strike at all. It is something very different." It is "a novel and an utterly illegal proceeding. . . . Every Trade Union leader who has advised and promoted this course of action is liable in damages to the uttermost farthing of his personal possessions." This view has been doubted by certain lawyers on the ground that according to Section 3 of the Trades Disputes Act, 1906, "an act done by a person in contemplation or furtherance of a trade dispute shall not be actionable on the ground only that it induces some other person to break a contract of employment." But Sir John Simon aptly points out in a note to his speech that "if the action is based on any other ground, the section has no application." What is another ground for bringing proceedings against trade union leaders who advised a General Strike? The other ground is plainly to be found (*inter alia*) in the proclamation issued by the General Council of the Trades Union Congress on May 1st, a proclamation which assumed legislative and executive powers and "directed" vast groups of national trades and undertakings, including the whole

* *Three Speeches on the General Strike.* By the Right Hon. Sir John Simon, M.P. With an Introduction, Diary of Events and Appendices. Macmillan. 2s. 6d. net.

Press of the country, to "cease work as and when required by the General Council." This is an act not done under the protection of the Statute of 1906. Such an act is to substitute the will of the General Council of the Trades Union Congress for the will of Parliament. It anticipates what Mr. Clynes called in 1919 "a condition of civil war," and therefore whole-heartedly condemned. Such a proclamation is in itself an offence against the State, and Sir John Simon declares his view that "a general strike . . . is an offence against the State and not a trade dispute in the sense of the Statute of 1906 at all."

On May 11th, 1926, Mr. Justice Astbury in the action brought by the National Sailors' and Firemen's Union of Great Britain and Ireland against various officials of a branch in London of the plaintiff union granted an injunction to restrain the defendants from calling members of the union out on strike. In the course of his judgment the learned judge held that the

so-called General Strike called by the Trades Union Congress is illegal and contrary to law, and those persons inciting or taking part in it are not protected by the Trade Disputes Act of 1906. . . . No trade dispute does or can exist between the Trades Union Congress on the one hand and the Government and the nation on the other. The orders of the Trades Union Council above referred to are, therefore, unlawful, and the defendants are at law acting illegally in obeying them and can be restrained by their own union from doing so.

It is an important fact that this decision is now on record, and the manifest and necessary limitations of the Statute of 1906 are placed beyond doubt. If indeed the decision had been the other way it would have been necessary for Parliament to intervene and to establish the fact that "furtherance of a trade dispute" is one thing and dictation to the whole of the lieges of the realm—a power that can only rest in a sovereign authority in a State—is entirely another thing. There has never before been a General Strike, and therefore earlier cases dealing with Section 3 of the Statute of 1906 in its relation to entirely different sets of facts have no relevance to the present issue.

The attempt to justify the General Strike on legal grounds has failed miserably. But the fact of the abortive strike is one that also will be closely considered by the trade unions and the members of unions from a very different point of view. It was not only illegal but it imperilled, for the time at any rate, the right to strike at all. The logical as well as the practical position became in the first half of last May a very serious matter. If the right to strike involved the right to destroy the Constitution of the country and the exclusive authority of Parliament, the right to strike would necessarily have been the subject of close scrutiny

and of statutory limitation. That there will be some legislation on the subject seems inevitable. Sir John Simon in his Yorkshire speech said:

All my public life, ever since the first speech I made in the House of Commons almost exactly twenty years ago, I have stood up for the just rights of organised labour. Those rights were put in danger by the mistakes of the last fortnight, but it will be the business of Liberals like myself, if reactionaries attempt to exploit recent events in their own interest, to take up our old task and throw all our influence into the scale, not in order to favour one class as against another, but in order to unite, in the light of modern industrial conditions, the rights of organised labour with the realities of freedom.

In his introduction Sir John Simon also deals with this subject. He declares that "it is inevitable that discussion should now arise as to the need for amending, or at any rate declaring the law." He pleads, however, for the fullest examination of the subject, and points out that Mr. Baldwin wisely insisted that no legislation should be attempted in the heat of the conflict. Sir John Simon declares that "the ultimate cure is not to be sought merely in the drafting of clauses and amendments, but in a frank recognition of the fact that the whole relation of employers and employed in British industry calls for sympathetic revision." The failure of the General Strike makes undue haste unnecessary. Sir John Simon indeed believes with much reason that "just as this is the first time it has been attempted in this country, so most assuredly it will be the last." But a good many students of social history think that a statutory declaration of the law as laid down by Mr. Justice Astbury would be a useful thing.

J. E. G. DE M.

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THE PLOUGH AND THE STARS.*

Mr. Sean O'Casey, the gifted author of "Juno and the Paycock" and the "Shadow of a Gunman," tells in his new play "The Plough and the Stars" a tragic tale of the Irish Rebellion which culminated in Easter week of 1916. Anything more vivid and life-like than this play it would be difficult to imagine. No one, who has any acquaintance with the Irish, could fail to recognise the genius which could fashion and bring to life the characters portrayed in this tragedy.

The plot is almost negligible—but the *dramatis personæ* all bring their quota to the climax. Tragedy, indeed, too true and too near, it would almost seem, to be acted to the generation which passed through those appalling times.

* *The Plough and the Stars*: A Tragedy in four Acts. By Sean O'Casey. Macmillan. 5s. net.

The first act opens in a tenement house in Dublin which had known better days. It is the house of Jack Clitheroe, bricklayer, and his young wife Nora. She is being discussed by the other occupants of the tenement, Mrs. Gogan, a charwoman, and Fluther Good, a carpenter. They agree that her notions of "upperosity" are not suited to tenement dwellers. Nora's uncle, Peter Flynn, a labourer, comes in, and begins arraying himself for a meeting which is to be held in Parnell Square that evening, where an oath of fealty is to be sworn to the Irish Republic: "Well, they can hold it for Fluther" explains his attitude to the meeting and the cause. A great deal of talking ensues, and quarrelling consequent on the talking follows. Nora enters and gets tea, and tries to pour oil on troubled waters, without much result. Her husband remains behind when the others start off to attend the meeting. He has taken umbrage at not having received an appointment to the Citizen Army. He courts his young wife and sings to her as in the honeymoon days. An imperative knock at the door startles them, and the voice of Captain Brennan, a chicken butcher, of the Irish Citizen Army demands entrance, asking for "Commandant Clitheroe," for whom he has a message from General Jim Connolly. As he enters he smartly salutes Clitheroe, and gives him the despatch. Clitheroe asks why he is addressed as commandant, and is told that he was appointed a fortnight ago. Nora has to confess that she received and burnt the letter informing her husband of his selection by the staff. Clitheroe reads the despatch, which orders him to attend the meeting at nine o'clock that evening and to have all in readiness, as at 2 a.m. the army will leave Liberty Hall for a reconnaissance attack on Dublin Castle. The document is signed, Com.-Gen. Connolly. Clitheroe goes out with Captain Brennan, telling his wife not to wait up for him: "If I am in at all, it won't be before six in the morning." Nora answers bitterly, "I don't care if you never came back." A poor consumptive girl, named Mollser, another dweller in the tenement, comes in to keep Nora company, and they hear the music of a band playing a regiment to the boat on their way to the front, "It's a long way to Tipperary." They listen silently, and as the music of the chorus dies away, the voice of Bessie Burgess, another tenant, is heard, speaking in toward the room, saying:

"There's th' men marchin' out into th' dhread dimness of danger, while th' lice is crawlin' about feedin' on th' fatness o' th' land! But yous'll not escape from th' arrow that flieth be night, or th' sickness that wasteth be day . . . an' ladyship an' all, as some of them may be, they'll be scattered abroad, like th' dust in th' darkness."

Mollser asks, "Is there anybody 'goin, Mrs. Clitheroe, with a titther o' sense?"

In the second act the scene is laid in a publichouse, an hour later. The customers are listening to a speaker who is ranting outside, and inciting the people to rebellion. Fluther and Peter Flynn are running in for their "oil," excited and heated with all they have seen and heard. The voice outside continues, the folk inside talk and quarrel, the barman has a difficult time of it, trying to calm his customers or threatening to eject them. Fluther has veered round to the Citizen Army, he shows the wounds he has received from a dragoon in O'Connell Street, and a skelf from a bobby's bâton at a Labour meeting in Phoenix Park. The Covey starts up and says, "He must ha'hitten you in mistake, I don't know what you ever done for the Labour Movement," and so they go on wrangling and drinking, till they hear Clitheroe's voice in command outside.

Act three and four, Easter week, 1916: outside the home of the Clitheroes: Nora searching for her husband, and unable to find him; the men, Fluther, The Covey, and Peter, tossing heads and harps to keep them from idleness; Bessie Burgess inveighing against the sham-battle soldiers "a lot of vipers, that's what the Irish people is!" A big gun booms, looting is the order of the day. Tragedy and comedy meet, as is so often the case. Boom goes the big gun again, and all rush for the shelter of the house. Lieutenant Langon, of the Wiltshires, is brought in wounded and dying. Clitheroe returns with them and Nora tries to stop him from going out; he flings her from him, and leaves her lying on the street. Clitheroe is shot.

Act four: a few days later: Bessie Burgess' attic: Mollser, the consumptive girl, lying dead: Nora rambling in mind, Bessie nursing her and persuading her back to bed, ambulances calling in a distant street; the men, Fluther, Peter, and the Covey playing and shuffling cards. Nora goes to the window; a burst of rifle fire. Bessie seizes Nora, and pushes her away from the window, and in so doing, is shot. Sergeant Tinley and Corporal Stoddart of the Wiltshires enter, and find her dead. They regale themselves with tea, while the attack on the Post Office continues, and the soldiers outside are singing "Keep the 'owme fire burning" in which they join, while sipping the tea. Thus ends this grim tragedy, which Mr. O'Casey has presented in a setting so realistic that the reader can hardly believe that it pictures events of only a decade ago and that Southern Ireland is full of peace to-day. Long may that peace continue and ripen.

HUBERT PARRY.*

Mr. Charles Graves' biography of Sir Hubert Parry is a long one in days when brief biographies rightly have become the fashion; but these two volumes are justified not only as supplying abundant material, largely derived from the diaries of the subject, for a living portrait "of a great British composer, who stands out as the pioneer of the renaissance of British Music," but also as providing much material for a picture of the various circles that Parry loved and adorned. Parry was almost certainly of Herefordshire stock on his father's side, though it is not possible to-day to trace his forbears further than to a family named Parry who were settled in London in the early eighteenth century. The great-grandfather was Thomas Parry, who was in the Navy, and eventually became a director of the East India Company. His son Richard was in the same service, and also became a director. He married Mary Gambier, and their son Thomas was Hubert's father. His mother was Isabella Fynes-Clinton. Thomas Gambier-Clinton was very wealthy and indulged his taste for travel and his genius for collecting art treasures in Italy and elsewhere in days when collecting was still possible. Hubert was born at Bourne-mouth on February 27th, 1848. He had French and Welsh as well as English blood in his veins, and though abundantly English in outlook the Celtic and Norman elements played their part in the eagerness and originality of his outlook.

He was at Eton from 1861 to December, 1866, and Mr. Graves gives the student of educational history a not altogether pleasing picture of Eton at that time. The boy made his mark in football and "as a musician Hubert stood higher than any school boy before or since at Eton, or probably at any other public school." The diary which he began in 1864 gives us a great deal of information as to his early compositions. "Of the earliest entries most are single and double chants, the first of which was composed when he was nine years old." The Hubert Parry of Eton days was a very sensitive, keen, conscientious, loyal boy, with a will to do everything well, but greatly subject to disappointments and inclined to kick against fate and cricket umpires. The holidays provided opportunities for attending musical festivals and much study of great music. While still at school he obtained the Oxford Musical degree. In January, 1864, he passed "Smalls" and at once went into residence at Exeter College, and while actively maintaining his musical studies he entered strenuously into the Oxford life of the day and kept, of course, in close touch with the many Eton men of his own time. The Oxford life and the pleasures

* *Hubert Parry: His Life and Works.* By Charles L. Graves. In two volumes. Macmillan. 30s. net.

of the various vacations are given in such close detail that these chapters must prove tiresome to those who do not know Oxford of the old days, and who are not interested in the rich society people among whom the young musician moved. Yet material is provided for a picture that historians of university and social life in the 'sixties and 'seventies of the last century would not care to miss. He secured a second class in the old Law and History School in 1870, and in November of that year settled in London.

But his soul was not intended for business, and this "fashionable young man," after seven years, gave up the City for music. He married Elizabeth Maud Herbert on June 25th, 1872. In September, 1875, he began his famous contributions to Grove's *Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, and plunged ever more deeply into the detailed study of the great masters, devoting much time to the organ, mainly to Bach; in 1876 he is studying Wagner, and he attended the first of the Bayreuth Festivals. He was more interested in Wagner's music than in the musician himself, whom he met in London in 1877. He was, however, a confirmed Wagnerite, and he felt that the great composer's conducting was marvellous: "he seems to transform all he touches; he knows precisely what he wants and does it to a certainty."

Parry while working strongly at music did not neglect his social life, and his range of continuous reading was wide. His *Prometheus* was produced at Gloucester in 1880, and was well received in certain publications, but the professional critics were in the main cold and unsympathetic. The Symphony in G was produced in Birmingham in 1882, and the best people were pleased. In 1883 Parry definitely chose music as a profession. He was offered, and accepted, the Chair of Musical History at the Royal College of Music, and examined for musical degrees at Cambridge. In June, 1883, his Cambridge Symphony was produced by the Cambridge Musical Society. In 1884 he was appointed Choragus at Oxford. The *Blest Pair of Sirens* was produced in 1887, and was well received, and in 1888 he completed his oratorio *Judith*, which was produced at Birmingham "with a success which secured him thenceforward a continuous series of commissions for choral works at the Provincial Festivals." But composition was not lucrative. He made about £25 from his compositions in twenty years. Music is a vocation, not a profession, and perhaps it was as well that Parry had ample private means and found no need for hack work. As professor, examiner and teacher he, of course, added to those means. His days were well filled with teaching and composition, but he always found time for social recreations and dinners after the useful day's work was done.

In 1891 he examined the first batch of candidates for musical

degrees at the University of London. "I never saw such papers—quite appallingly bad," the result of an examination planned by scientists and doctrinaires. At the end of 1894 he succeeded Sir George Grove as Director of the Royal College of Music, and his work in this position "may be regarded as the climax of his professional career." His efforts revived the musical genius of England. He not only broke down the age-long prejudices against the profession of a musician, but he added dignity to that profession. He moulded public opinion, and he laid down the principles of teaching. His lectures revealed his theme but also revealed the instinctive greatness of the teacher. It was a practical message that he gave to the world. He had no sympathy with the *fin de siècle* cult of Art for Art's sake. Art is for man's sake. Musical Art "is in itself but a detail in the vast infinity of possible forms of mental and spiritual activity." That is a great saying, and wholly reveals his creative genius. His activities in the last years of the nineteenth century were endless. But in some form or another he lived always a life of extraordinary fullness and hopefulness unto the very end, even in the darkened days of the Great War. He died just before the end of the War, on October 7th, 1918. He was an example of what a rich man with a still richer mind and soul could do with great possessions. The memorial tablet in Gloucester Cathedral with the inscription by Dr. Bridges fitly show this great man and his work:

From boyhood's eager play called by the English Muse
 Her fine Scholar to be then her Master's compeer,
 A Spirit elect whom no unworthy Thought might wrong
 Nor any Fear touch thee joyously o'er life's waves
 Navigating thy Soul into her holy Haven:
 Long these familiar Walls shall re-echo thy Song
 And this Stone remember thy bounteous gaiety
 Thy honour and thy grace and the love of thy Friends.

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FROM PASCAL TO PROUST.*

In spite of the reaction that is making itself felt among philosophers at the present time against the Bergsonian philosophy, Bergson will always be honoured by those who cannot be satisfied by a mechanistic theory of the universe. Poets and artists do not readily accept a purely rationalistic philosophy. From their own experience they know that from time to time the chain of cause and effect is broken, that the free spirit from without and the free

* *From Pascal to Proust. Studies in the Genealogy of a Philosophy.* By G. Turquet-Milnes. Jonathan Cape. 5s. net.

spirit within are ever making new and unexpected patterns from the things of the given world of the senses and the seemingly rigid laws of nature. They know that a creative force is actually in operation, that creative power testifies to liberty even while it consents to submit itself to obedience to law—by that very obedience gaining added strength and joyfully apprehending that this law is in its essential nature akin to and as free as the creative spirit itself.

Scientists have for some time been moving away from the idea of a universe of fixed content unfolding by immutable laws to pre-ordained stages of development. Science is often in advance of philosophy, and it is not surprising that so many philosophers are interpreting the universe according to formulæ that the scientists have abandoned. Bergson may well be content that he is looked upon with coldness by the mere systematisers of thought, while the pioneers of knowledge and the creative artists find in his writings a confirmation of the truth of their own experience and an ever welling fountain-head of inspiration.

At the present time, when the heavy hand of pseudo-science would stifle the study of modern languages at our universities, when, dissecting the mere dead body, so many literary historians would have us believe that a great writer's work is merely part of his life-story to be explained by the external facts of his experience, it is good to find a university professor who feels and teaches that great literature is a great thing in itself, and that creative power is a testimony to the freedom of the spirit and to the glorious and living inspiration of beauty.

Madame Turquet-Milnes has already given us a number of admirable, thought-provoking books—a study of Baudelaire, a volume on modern Belgian writers and one on modern French writers. In the book before us she traces the Bergsonian ideas as they found expression in writers born for the most part before Bergson's day. That the intellect alone is not sufficient to answer the ultimate questions was admitted even by Descartes, for his "Cogito ergo sum" is an appeal to intuition and not to reason. The idea, too, of creative evolution is based, as we have seen, on the actual experience of the creative artist. Madame Turquet-Milnes traces the story of the expression of these ideas in French writers with great skill and power. Her book is a small one, but her sentences are packed with thought. Many of her single paragraphs have sufficient subject-matter for a full-sized book.

The Bergsonian element in Meredith is very clearly shown in a chapter that raises problems of profound interest as to the influence of English thought on the French philosopher and the interaction of French and English ideas. The account of Proust, the

sick man, is the best that we have seen on this subject in English or French. The chapter on Balzac throws new light on the mysticism that lies behind his realism. The chapters on Molière and Thibaudet are full of stimulating thought for the student of literature and for the professed critic. We are grateful to Madame Turquet-Milnes for this book, and look forward to what we trust will become a vigorous movement in the universities towards a really vital and vivifying study of the literature and thought of France.

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THE GAME OF CRICKET.*

Cricket is more than a game, it is national philosophy in action. That is why English people like the Dominions to excel in cricket. The terrific event of Tuesday, August 29th, 1882, proved this. The Australian victory at the Oval, by nine runs, over a great English eleven seemed an impossible event. "The crowd sat for a moment voiceless and stunned, and then broke over the ground in one wild rush to cheer the men who had won the fight." That battle started the saga of the "Ashes," the imaginary "Ashes" over which two hemispheres are struggling to-day, forty-four years later. What then is this game that spells the philosophy of the British Empire and stirs the souls of strong men as deeply as the elemental passions? Well, a schoolmaster of Winchester College, an excellent bat who played for Oxford before the War, Mr. H. S. Altham, tells us what it is in a delightful book that has not a dull page and is a model of accuracy. Lord Harris, in his preface, declares that "if Mr. Altham is as correct about the doings of the various elevens and the style of the players in the years when I have not had intimate acquaintance with them as in those thirty years when I had, then I can vouch for it that he is a most veracious historian." To combine scrupulous accuracy with charm of style is given to few and the book will appeal to young and old who have ever known the magic of cricket.

There have been many ingenious guesses at the origins of the word and the game of cricket. Mr. Altham holds that the word cricket is simply a small "crick" or staff, the word being derived from the Saxon *cryce*, a stick. Edward II played at *creaget* at Westminster when Prince of Wales. It is something to have carried our national game back to the thirteenth century. What that game was like is doubtful. It was almost certainly club-ball and not true cricket. Nor can we possibly point to a date when cricket

* *A History of Cricket.* By H. S. Altham, with a Foreword by Lord Harris. George Allen and Unwin. 16s. net.

ceased to be club-ball and became itself." But an illumination to a decretal of Pope Gregory IX, about the beginning of the fourteenth century, seems to show that there was cricket then. The game was certainly played in Tudor times. Oliver Cromwell was said to be "famous for football, cricket, cudgelling and wrestling." In 1654 the churchwardens and overseers of Eltham, near London, fined seven parishioners two shillings each for playing cricket on the Lord's Day. The last half of the seventeenth century was the period when the game developed from a boy's or a yeoman's game to one of the favourite recreations of the fashionable world. After the Restoration, clubs began to be formed "and thus was inaugurated that régime of feudal patronage which was to control the destinies of the game for the next century and more." Before the beginning of the eighteenth century the first newspapers began to advertise and record cricket matches. The earliest extant code of laws was published in 1744, and "represents the game as played at headquarters, i.e., the Artillery Ground, London, at that date." But this code certainly represented a far earlier document as is, indeed, almost proved by the Eton Latin poem, *In Certamen Pilæ*, of 1706.

The first champion county was Kent, though in the early eighteenth century the cricketing world was really only London and the Weald. But cricket has always been a game of individual champions. Great personalities have made great counties. In the fierce match Kent versus All England, played at the Artillery Ground on June 18th, 1744, three Sussex brothers from Slindon, the Newlands, played for England, a record not repeated until the days of the Graces in 1880. The match above referred to was the first of which the detailed scores have been preserved, and even an admission ticket survives of a match of which the contemporary record stands in verse. So the story begins. We read of the ever famous Hambledon Club where the great Nyrens reigned in the second half of the eighteenth century; of the revision of the laws in 1774, when l.b.w. was first recognised as a penal offence. The M.C.C. was formed in 1787 and the next year this immortal club issued its first edition of the rules, rules that record, at slow intervals, the gradual enfranchisement (with fierce opposition) of the bowler from artificial restriction of delivery.

It is all a great story, and not the least feature of the record is how the game was by its masters freed from the curse of gambling that threatened to overwhelm it, while retaining the highest standards of professionalism. Not all games and sports have had the capacity to escape the evils of betting even to-day. The cleanness of cricket has become proverbial. To read the record is to read the story of splendid athletes and of men of whom any country may

well be proud. It is, no doubt, strange to make an idol of a game but yet, when the game reveals not only the team spirit at its best but so many of our best national characteristics, it is difficult not to do so. Long may the Empire play cricket, and play it for the game's sake.

SHORTER REVIEWS.

In "German Colonisation, Past and Future" (Allen and Unwin, 5s. net.) Dr. Heinrich Schnee, Governor of German East Africa from 1912 to 1919, argues for the restoration of colonial territory to Germany on the ground that her colonies were efficiently administered, that the charges of cruelty to natives were grossly exaggerated, that the present possessors are already well provided with dominions overseas, that sanitation and other reforms have in many districts suffered from the change, and that the natives would, if freely consulted, welcome their old rulers back. The author brings a formidable array of British, American and other witnesses to prove his contention that Germany's past record in Africa entitles her to be reinstated in the ranks of colonising Powers, and argues that the satisfaction of her demand is essential to the lasting reconciliation of the belligerents. His plea is strongly supported in a long and striking introduction by Mr. W. H. Dawson, who has studied the record of German colonisation for many years, and who expresses his deep conviction that Germany will in a few decades again be a powerful State, and able perhaps to enforce a claim for a place in the colonial sun if it has not already been granted at the instigation of foresight and common sense.

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Mr. Frederick Payler in his book *Law Courts, Lawyers and Litigants** has an excellent theme, the world of English law that has its locus in the region from Gray's Inn to the Thames and has its focus in the Law Courts in the Strand. It is a complete world and a fit theme for a complete book. Mr. Payler, though not a lawyer, has apparently reported many law cases in many courts, and has observed with care and in detail the public, lay and professional, who frequent the courts; the judges, the counsel, the solicitors, the clerks, the clients, the witnesses, the friends of the witnesses, the juries, the men and women who haunt the courts as a cheap but cherished amusement. He has a manner of describing it all that is almost Chaucerian. Occasional technical lapses such as the use of the term Justice for Mr. Justice Darling should be avoided in another edition. In the chapter on forensic oratory he rightly deplores the lack of training among barristers in the art of public speaking. Tacitus, it may be remembered, deplored the same decline in his day. Mr. Payler rightly affirms the view that eloquence in the best sense survives in patent cases, the cases that seem at first sight to give the least room for eloquence. But "no class of case makes such demand upon the power of lucid explanation, and no branch of law has provided men more gifted with that quality."

* Methuen. 6s. net.

The Parliamentary Bar, however, often provides this quality, as anyone who heard the late Mr. Balfour Browne argue a difficult question must admit. The chapters devoted to the judges collect some old and perhaps some new stories, all of them somewhat entertaining. A good instance of the judicial irony of the late Lord Macnaghten is given. His judgments provide a wonderful collection of instances. The irony of Lord Birkenhead is not less striking, though hardly so subtle. Lord Bowen was the subtlest of judges of this type. Mr. Payler is a believer in juries as at present empanelled, and few lawyers will disagree with him.

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Mr. John W. Coutts in "The Church and the Sex Question" declares that the question "What must I do to be saved?" is once again a burning question which the Church answers as of old, "Believe on the Lord Jesus Christ and thou shalt be saved, and thy house." Salvation means salvation for society as well as for the individual. This involves right thinking about the sex question. Mr. Coutts feels that the new movement for feminine freedom in all forms of activity dates from the dramatisation in England of Ibsen's *Doll's House* in 1889. One result of the movement has been "a new frankness with regard to all sex questions." How does the Church look at sex? Its attitude implies "an equal standard for men and women in sex relationship, so far as that is compatible with what may be found to be essential and insurmountable sex difference. It implies equal rights in all that goes to make up full personality, and the claim to be in the most entire measure a child of God; but it also implies equal responsibilities." Mr. Coutts presents sensible views as to birth control.

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It is desirable to record the publication of "The Report of the Fourteenth Annual Conference of Educational Associations," held at University College, Gower Street, in January of this year. The President was Dr. Seward, Vice-Chancellor of the University of Cambridge. The organising efforts of Miss Henrietta Busk were fully rewarded by the great success of the Conference, which was attended by some 3,000 persons. Lord Gorell, at the second Joint Conference of the many societies that were assembled, presented Miss Busk, who had just passed her eightieth birthday, with an Address "in recognition of the great service rendered by her to the cause of education in the country by inaugurating, in 1913, the Conference of Educational Associations and maintaining and developing it year by year." The Address "testifies to the gratitude of teachers in all branches of the profession for the inspiration of her personality and zeal."

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Miss Lilian A. Clare has translated under the title "How Natives Think"† Professor Lucien Lévy-Bruhl's work, "*Les Fonctions Mentales dans les Sociétés inférieures*." It is really a part of the same work as *La Mentalité Primitive*, which appeared in English in 1923. Professor Lévy-Bruhl in his foreword to this volume states that strangers have told him that the two books helped them "to comprehend much that had appeared both unintelligible and ridiculous in the way natives

* James Clarke and Co., 9, Essex Street, Strand. 6s. net.

† George Allen and Unwin. 12s. 6d. net.

reason, and also in their customs, and that their relations with them are accordingly facilitated and improved." Administrators in native territories, as well as anthropologists, should for this reason study these books. The chapter on "the mentality of primitives in relation to the languages they speak," is important from this point of view. The languages strive to express elaborate detail.

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Mr. Richard Aldington in "French Studies and Reviews" reprints various pieces from the *Times Literary Supplement* and *The Criterion*. Here the student of French history and literature can read of French mediæval life, of the Crusades, the troubadours, François Villon, Paul Scarron, Ninon de l'Enclos (who "attracts me still by her frankness, her sincerity, her courage, her wit. . . Ninon proved that a woman could live as independently as a man and yet retain dignity, charm, influence, and exact respect"), and of many another French theme. Mr. Aldington has a crisp style and a sincere outlook which has not been unaffected by French logic. He has courage enough to say that "there is something a little factitious and forced in this excessive admiration of François Villon." It is the haunting quality of Villon's verse that is responsible for this "excessive" admiration.

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Foot travellers—and there are many left, despite the ubiquitous car—will welcome the excellent new volume of highways and byways—"Highways and Byways in Leicestershire," † by Mr. J. B. Firth, with illustrations by Mr. Frederick L. Griggs, A.R.A. Mr. Firth notes that Leicestershire is a county that has many delights "in the spirit of Leland." It is sad to think that "local history is still sorely neglected" in this region. The schools should look to this, as patriotism is best based on local patriotism. Old Leicester teems with history, while Charnwood Forest and a hundred spots have a call for the leisurely traveller. The book should take many folk to Leicestershire this year.

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Mr. C. B. Humphreys in *The Southern New Hebrides: An Ethnological Record*, ‡ deals with a little described region of the Pacific, and his work was only just in time, as the influence of the white man is fast destroying the old order. But "the recollection of the ancient customs is still vivid in the minds of a few of the older men," though the investigator has to use care. A detailed study of the islands Tanna and Eromanga is given. Futuna and Aniwa are tiny islands, and were not examined, and Mr. Humphreys only landed on Anaiteum for a few hours, but he collected information as to the Anaiteumese people, who have much in common with the Tannese people. The Tannese show "a tendency to the broad-headed Polynesian rather than to the primitive, long-headed Melanesian type." The hair is woolly and often long. There are signs both of an earlier tribal organisation and clan symbolism or totemism, and of chieftainship. Relationship was of the

* George Allen and Unwin. 7s. 6d. net.

† Macmillan. 7s. 6d.

‡ Cambridge: At the University Press. 12s. 6d. net.

classificatory type. No tattooing exists in Tanna, but cases of scarification are to be seen on Aniwa. Exogamy prevails, that is to say, the bride comes to the husband's village. Land is owned by the tribal group, but there are indications that in some cases the chief of a village has some rights of disposal of land to his heirs after his death. The men are armed with bows (as is the case with all the pygmy folk). There is constant intercourse by boat between Aniwa and Tanna, but the boats are owned exclusively by Aniwa, who are almost pure Polynesians. Cannibalism was once rife. There are various ceremonial dances (as is the case with all pygmy negritic peoples in their pure state, and perhaps in this mixed race may be attributed to that source, but upon this point Mr. Humphreys is silent, moreover, he considers that with the possible exception of Tanna the woolly-haired people made little impression on these islands). The Tannese language belongs to the Melanesian branch of the Oceanic tongues, with strong Polynesian affinities. Mr. Humphreys contends that the fusion which gave rise to this island stock took place (except in one case) before the stock reached the five islands. In Eromanga the descent is purely patrilinear, and no one recalls any memory of matrilinear descent. Yet in the case of the Austronesian-speaking people, who make up part of the island stock, descent was through the mother, and matrilinear descent combined with exogamy remained important in this element of the island stock. Yet in Tanna as well as in Eromanga there is pure patrilinear descent, though Mr. Humphreys thinks that matrilinear descent and exogamy existed in the past. The whole position is very obscure, and it is somewhat of an assumption to consider that the Kava folk was responsible for a change, since there is in, at any rate, Eromanga, no evidence of a change at all. There seem to be signs in the customs of these peoples of a primitive negritic stock, but this is not admitted by Mr. Humphreys.

NOTICES OF BOOKS.

Old Trinity men will be grateful to Dr. Parry for his volume on Henry Jackson, O.M., Vice-Master of Trinity College and Regius Professor of Greek (Cambridge University Press, 15s.). Jackson's life was outwardly uneventful, but no one meant so much to Trinity during half a century. He had a genius for friendship and was the soul of hospitality, in addition to being a profound Greek scholar and an inspiring lecturer. Like Lord Acton, he never wrote a book, and the present volume, mainly consisting of his letters, should lead up to a collection of his scattered papers on Plato, which would come as a boon to students of Greek philosophy all over the world.

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The famous story, "Treasure Island," by Robert Louis Stevenson, is reproduced by the Oxford University Press in the "World's Classics." It was first produced in 1883. It is most interesting to note how this amazing story has lived. It will always live, because the author so completely understood a child's mind and a pirate's life.

Mr. C. H. Smyth in "Cranmer and the Reformation under Edward VI,"* gives to students of Tudor history the Thirlwall and Gladstone Prize Essay of 1925 in a shortened form. Mr. Smyth has closely studied the original authorities for the period, and has relied much on the "Original Letters Relative to the English Reformation, 1531-58," published by the Parker Society in 1846-8, and the similar collection at Zurich consisting of two hundred folio volumes of manuscript copies of 18,000 original letters made by John Jacob Simler, who died in 1788. Mr. Smyth rightly says that Cranmer "laid down unalterably the lines of future progress, and had determined that Anglican theology should be neither Zwinglian nor Roman . . . in his last hour he stood as the Samson Agonistes of the English Reformation. By the sacrifice of his life, he secured the triumph of his policy." To-day when there is much reviewing of Anglican principles this book will be singularly useful.

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It is necessary to record the publication of the first volume of Mr. George Arthur's translation of "The Memoirs of Raymond Poincaré"† with a preface by the Duke of Northumberland. The memoirs all cover the period from 1912 to 1923, when M. Poincaré left office. The present volume deals with the crucial year, 1912, and to those who are engaged in studying the origin of the Great War these memoirs will be invaluable. The Duke of Northumberland says that M. Poincaré suffers from none of the limitations of the diplomatist, the soldier, or the politician. "As the head of the State he is above and outside all sectional points of view; his only limitation is the point of view of France."

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This year is the centenary of the birth of George Meredith, who died in 1909, and Mrs. Mary Sturge Gretton, who wrote about the great novelist and poet in 1907, now returns to the task and in this centenary study‡, analyses the famous novels "The Ordeal of Richard Feveril" (1859), "Evan Harrington" (1860), "Rhoda Fleming" (1864), "Vittoria" and "Harry Richmond" (1865-1871), "Beauchamp's Career" (1867-1874), "The Egoist" (1879), "Diana of the Crossways" (1884-1885), "One of Our Conquerors" (1890), "Lord Ormont and His Aminta" (1893), and other writings and poems, and she illustrates the production of these immortal works with incidents of the novelist's private life. This process is legitimate enough, and can explain a good deal that perhaps would otherwise be inexplicable except in the light of the author's environment. Had we known more of Shakespeare's life we could get the key to many of the literary and critical problems that trouble students ever more and more. Thus Meredith's letter to John Morley, "In this life there is no life save in the spirit," explains many things. Yet it does not explain the genius that gave us some of the very greatest thinking and writing of the nineteenth century. No knowledge of environment can do this. There is no unlocking of that door. But this charming and painstaking book will find a certain place on the Meredith shelf.

* Cambridge: At the University Press. 10s. 6d. net.

† Heinemann. 21s.

‡ *The Writings and Life of George Meredith: A Centenary Study.* By Mrs. Mary Sturge Gretton. Oxford University Press. 6s. net.

FRANCE'S PLIGHT—AND AMERICA'S HOLD ON EUROPE.

RARELY has any man been such a subject of contention as M. Caillaux. He has qualities which repel and qualities which attract—if indeed the qualities which attract are not the same as those which repel. The friends of other politicians fall away in adversity. The friends of M. Caillaux are mostly foul weather friends. When fortune turns in his favour M. Caillaux somehow contrives to scatter those who warmly espouse his cause in evil days. With his extraordinary egotism, his explosive temperament, he attracts admirers and makes enemies.

A really critical examination of his career would result in the demolition of most of the legends which have been created about him. Some of those legends were absurd—but he, by his indiscretions, was their true author and begetter. It is right that one should forget now the unpleasant charges which were brought against him during the war. His own behaviour was chiefly responsible for them. He does not show the smallest tact, and seems to invite suspicions. Herein lies the explanation of a dark passage in his life. But there are other legends of a more flattering kind which scarcely resist inspection. In England, as well as in France, many people have long believed that M. Caillaux is a financial genius, that his economic knowledge is exceptional, that his fiscal flair is unequalled, that he alone is designated as the saviour of France. One would like to accept this judgment. But one is bound to ask on what it is based. His reputation as a financier is a pre-war reputation, and there is little evidence that he—essentially a classical financier—has more than his fellows grasped the unprecedented problems of the post-war period. It is frequently repeated that he was an Inspector of Finances. If this is a qualification there are a number of officials who might properly be called upon to save France. He is said to have been the great advocate of the income-tax. The idea was, of course, borrowed from England, and was seriously put forward in France by others before M. Caillaux. Indeed, the attitude of M. Caillaux was not without ambiguity, and to-day in the struggle between the direct taxers and the indirect taxers, he appears to be on the side of the indirect taxers.

In his writings and in his speeches there is much that is impressive. He has a gift for fine phrases and broad views. But when he makes concrete proposals he is liable to fall into error, and the recent debates in the French Chamber amply proved how vulnerable are his conceptions. Last year he was allowed to remain in office for eight months, and was not interfered with:

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they were eight months of comparative inaction. He has confessed his vacillation between opposing views. In short, I think it would be well to regard M. Caillaux as a financier of fairly ordinary proportions. No good is accomplished by representing him as a demigod who can dominate the financial scene.

But my conclusion is not, as the reader may suppose, unfriendly to M. Caillaux. On the contrary, it is only when he is seen in his true light, when miracles are no longer expected, when mistakes are tolerated, that he can be given a fair chance of working out a plan which may restore a situation that has, in the confusion of counsels, gone from bad to worse. His legend may have enabled him to return to power, but his legend is a handicap in difficult circumstances, inasmuch as it brings upon him the concentrated fire of critics who are, after all, not ignorant of the weakness of any system which may be adopted, and provokes a harsh verdict which legendless men might have escaped.

When he first faced the Chamber in the last days of June, after a prolonged Ministerial crisis, he was almost immediately a victim to another legend which has been fashioned around him. He at least, it was said, would know what he wanted and would be prepared to indicate in clear-cut language the methods of attaining his objective. When the Government's declaration revealed the familiar vagueness, when there were further pleas for procrastination, M. Caillaux was nearly ruined. Nor did the debates in July demonstrate his reputed precision and resolution. Even the demand for financial dictatorship was half-hearted. Instead of boldly crossing the Rubicon, he merely asked for a "delegation of powers" not dissimilar from those which M. Poincaré requested at the beginning of 1924. Was he then a lath painted to look like iron? Where was the forthright energy that was looked for? Were the hesitations of Hamlet to be staged again? The most magnificent speeches, sprinkled with the verses of Verlaine, somehow left a sense of disappointment, for action, unmistakable and unremitting, was needed. Perhaps in the long run it is unfortunate to acquire a halo in politics.

Nevertheless, my opinion is that few statesmen in France could be better trusted with the formidable task of bringing order out of chaos than M. Caillaux. With all his limitations he possesses undisputed authority, and if his choice of a particular course is doubtful, the choice of any other course would be dubious. There is so much to be said for and against this or that scheme to the extent desirable to proceed, after two years' painful disputation, the spectre of impotence to which we have been treated. It is my purpose again to point out the obvious disabilities of the

Parliamentary system which are, in an oratorical country like France (Cæsar was struck with the loquacity of the Gauls), extremely dangerous at a time of crisis. I dwelt upon the theme in the last paper I wrote for this REVIEW, and since then everybody has recognised the grave problems inherent in the actual working of democratic institutions on the Continent. To suggest remedies would take us too far afield at the moment. But it is necessary to note that one of the principal causes of the fall of the franc is the incurable bavardage of the French Chamber.

The deputies themselves, alarmed at the results of their interminable talking, would have been glad to be relieved of their responsibility. Yet how could they abdicate their functions and surrender their rights into the hands of one man or a group of men? The principal purpose of the États-Généraux, especially from the fourteenth century onward, was to control finances, and there is no prerogative of which Parliament is so jealous as its hard-won command of the country's finances. Desperate ills call for desperate remedies—but this was a remedy which shocked Parliamentarians.

Even the Report of the Experts was looked at askance, and indeed it was not difficult to pick it to pieces and to show that it might mean disguised inflation. M. Léon Blum, in an exceedingly able speech, pronounced against inflation under whatever name it might be hidden. In principle everybody is opposed to inflation, but in practice inflation is now hard to evade. Certainly M. Caillaux endeavoured to draw specious distinctions between one kind of advances from the bank and another kind, but I confess that a somewhat franker admission that fresh banknotes, however they are covered, must be emitted, would have produced a better effect. One of the most urgent questions for France is the question of the Treasury. Upon it there has been a constant pressure owing to the demands for reimbursement of short-term bonds. If the demands are not met, the State repudiates, whether temporarily or permanently, its obligations. Many financiers have advocated what is called "consolidation," but consolidation implies that the holders of mature bonds will be refused cash on which they had every reason to count. When one realises what an immense part these bonds have come to play in the financial life of the nation, it is easy to understand that the proposal to consolidate greatly accelerated the rush on the Treasury and the flight from the franc. Consolidation would be a perilous procedure, and the mere possibility of consolidation has had disastrous results. M. Caillaux appears at one time to have contemplated this heroic measure, but shrank appalled from the prospects.

Thereupon a second system known as the "single ceiling" was

envisaged. The *plafond unique* in its fullest implications is supported by the theory that the short-term bonds which the Treasury has emitted in great quantities (for some years it could emit more than it reimbursed, but the process is now reversed) may properly be regarded as banknotes. They are in circulation and are currency on which interest is paid. Now expressed quite simply, would not Treasury difficulties be overcome if bonds and banknotes could be assimilated? At present the issue of banknotes is limited by law. That limit is the "ceiling." The ceiling has been broken, and it has been raised several times. Why not, it is asked, raise it once and for all by allowing the emission of banknotes to cover and absorb the Defence and other bonds? Probably bond-holders would not present their bonds for payment if reimbursement was placed beyond doubt; and they would prefer the bonds to the banknotes. If they did present them, the Treasury would substitute banknotes for the bonds. The argument is ingenious, but it seems to me that it could be extended to apply to any kind of State borrowings, and France could get rid of her debts by making the printing presses work overtime. The single ceiling is therefore a euphemism for inflation.

What did the Committee of Experts propose? First it recommended a progressive voluntary consolidation of the Defence bonds by the offer of advantageous loans which the holders of existing bonds could be induced to take up. But this would be a lengthy operation, and in the meantime a special fund should relieve the Treasury. The fund should be alimented by a budgetary annuity equal to the interest on the bonds in circulation, an annuity of amortisation also provided for by the budget, and in addition, as an initial endowment, part of the proceeds of a foreign loan. The State would give to the Banque de France the equivalent from a foreign loan of four milliard francs to be devoted to the special fund, besides a portion of the proceeds from sales realised under the Dawes Plan. Further, the fund would be guaranteed by the proceeds of the tobacco monopoly. But temporary advances would be required pending these operations from private French banks or from the Banque de France. For other short-term bonds which are falling due, supplementary advances to the State to the amount of three milliards are advised.

The whole point is to determine how far these operations are purely exercises in accountancy, and how far the authorised advances constitute fresh inflation. M. Caillaux urges that the new notes which may be printed will be specially pledged and therefore cannot be considered inflation. But M. Blum, in his turn, urges that in the process of discounting, the circulation of notes must be increased. Stabilisation of the currency, which is the

final goal, will be jeopardised, especially as prices will tend to rise bringing new need of paper money. In part, perhaps, the economic crisis, which everybody is predicting as an accompaniment to stabilisation, will counteract the need of paper money. But it will be seen that the consequences of carrying out the recommendations of the Experts' Report are far from being certain.

Many of the points that are made need not detain us long. We may agree, for example, that the integral revalorisation of the franc is impossible, and if it were possible would completely crush the French taxpayer. We may agree that the franc should be stabilised quickly, for already persistent postponement has been harmful. We may agree that profound modifications in budgetary methods are necessary. Higher taxation is required, but some of the classes which are now overburdened deserve relief, and a re-adjustment of the charges, sometimes excessive, sometimes too light, must be undertaken. There is controversy concerning the extension of the system of indirect taxation, but successive Finance Ministers, as well as the Committee, have held that in present conditions, whatever may be their political theories, money must largely be raised by sales taxes and taxes on commodities which will increase automatically as the franc falls or as prices rise.

It is rather the method of stabilisation which was recommended by the experts and advocated by M. Caillaux that deserves special consideration, inasmuch as it involves fresh foreign borrowings and the acceptance of a debt settlement with America and England. Here is the crux of the question: should France rely upon herself or rely upon external help? It may be that assistance from abroad is indispensable, but there is a surprisingly widespread feeling in France against Anglo-American financiers and the industrial groups they represent. There is a general fear that France will become the vassal of America. Doubtless England is, in the minds of the French, associated with American designs, but on this point French anger is directed rather against the United States than against Great Britain. It is not a change of sentiment in which one can rejoice; world prosperity is not advanced by French antipathy for England being converted into French antipathy for America. Yet one must note that England has hitherto borne the brunt of French criticism, and America who has, from the French point of view, behaved much worse, has up to now preserved French respect and even affection.

In spite of the ambiguity which characterised the repeated and lengthy Caillaux declarations of policy, in spite even of semi-denials, the central idea of the Experts, as of Caillaux, is the stabilisation of the franc effected by means of foreign loans contingent upon the assured ratification of the Washington agree-

ment, whether with or without modifications and reservations, and the conclusion of an equivalent accord with England. It is laid down clearly in the Report that the gold reserves of the Banque de France—the greatest gold reserves in Europe—cannot be directly employed at this stage, though eventually they must be an element of monetary restoration. It is outside France that the Finance Minister must look, and there has been such a coming and going of the most prominent bankers of England and America that one presumes negotiations on these lines have been pursued at least to a private preliminary and conditional understanding. Indirectly it is possible that the gold reserves will be more or less pledged.

There is much that might be said on this subject of gold reserves, and indeed on the whole system of stabilisation that is adumbrated, but I must, for the sake of brevity and of clarity, confine myself to the enormous opposition which has developed against the proposal that France should fund her existing debt and add to her foreign indebtedness. As an observer of international politics I have always experienced an ironic pleasure in watching the speedy reversal of situations which appear, to the untrained onlooker, to be permanent. It is, of course, a pleasure which is purely intellectual, and it is dashed by a sad consciousness of human instability and folly. Thus, not long ago Germany wanted to enter the League of Nations and France strenuously and bitterly opposed Germany. Then Germany affected indifference and France directed all her efforts to the bringing of Germany into the League. In the same way—and examples of diplomatic variability could be multiplied—France for years looked upon America as her potential saviour, though America was publicly asserting that further loans to Europe would not be permitted. Now I gather that whatever the White House may say publicly, American bankers are anxious to lend money to Europe in general and to France in particular, while France is fighting the Finance Ministers who wish to borrow.

You may read in French newspapers on different sides in politics the gravest warnings, not only against the ratification of the Washington agreement but against long or short credits from America. The theme that Europe is in danger of being enslaved is elaborated. Did Europe escape German domination simply to fall under American domination? Belgium in her difficulties has had to pledge part of her patrimony. The Dawes Plan which was imposed on Germany is, so to speak, financed by America, and is being carried out largely under American supervision. Arnold Rechberg flatly affirms that American groups are seeking to appropriate German heavy industries and afterwards to appropriate French heavy industries. The German heavy industries, after the

period of inflation, had the most imperious need of American credits. They long resisted the temptation, but at last succumbed; and the United States—that is to say, American banks backed by the steel magnates—launched a loan destined for the German heavy industries. The loan was conditional on American participation in the shares of the companies, and Rechberg foresees that the policy will be to demand further participation in German affairs, especially in the Stahltrust, until America holds the majority of the shares. He goes so far as to pretend that Americans are also attempting to control German politics. The organisation of Hugenberg, financed by the German heavy industries, commands over 80 per cent. of the Conservative newspapers in Germany, most of the patriotic societies, and the *Deutschnationalen* Party in the Reichstag. If the scheme is successful the remnants of the German army will be a police force to guard American property. "We will not permit Germany," an American is quoted as saying, "to think of another war against France, which would be against our interests, and we will not permit Germany to ally herself too closely with Russia."

It is quite unnecessary to endorse these allegations, but they serve to explain certain French fears of American intervention in France. It is anticipated that if the debt accords are ratified the French may not be able to honour their engagements. There is no transfer clause in the Béranger-Mellon accord, and it may prove to be impossible for France to transfer the stipulated annuities. There is no safeguarding clause linking German payments to France with French payments to America. There is, on the other hand, a clause by which the debt can be commercialised. Accordingly, when difficulties arise a Dawes Plan for France may be imposed. Railways and other national property may have to be pledged, and the gold guarantees may be jeopardised. The French iron-masters in the economic crisis, lacking working capital, may have to turn to America. The conditions will be such that the Americans may be able to constitute a Franco-German coal and iron consortium which they will manipulate. How far is England joining hands with America in this immense project? How far does the project, which comports a long series of operations, consciously exist? I leave the responsibility of these charges to Herr Rechberg, but I will venture the remark that even though such a scheme does not consciously exist, there is truly a vague possibility that events may move to this end, and the apprehensions of the French be hereafter partially justified.

Evidently M. Caillaux does not share these apprehensions, or at any rate feels compelled by the circumstances of the case to ignore them, and for the sake of new credits to fund the old debt.

In *L'Avenir*, Emile Buré, one of the ablest editors in France, asserts that there is a genuine danger of France losing her independence. America has no need of French gold, and if safeguards are refused it is because there are political and industrial reasons. Hyacinthe Philouze, a prominent French financial writer, dwells upon the prospects of American economic control of the world. Economic control would escape the United States if Germany extended her means of action and her commercial tentacles; and the intense development of French industry after the war confirms the view that a Franco-German *rapprochement* of an economic character would be a formidable force. Generally, I find the most significant and curious speculations as to European subservience to America. If they are remembered, one will appreciate the outcry against the Mellon-Bérenger accord, which, according to this argument, would put France at the mercy of America, and to the borrowing of further money to stabilise the franc, which would in itself put France further at the mercy of America, and moreover bring about an economic crisis which would oblige French industrialists to accept private American aid at a redoubtable price.

In my opinion this is the most surprising turn that has yet been given to the long politico-financial manœuvres that have followed the war. The alternative put forward in influential quarters is that France and Germany, without the interposition of any country, should co-operate, forming a Continental Bloc, political and economic. It would seem to be rather too late, for the problem of the franc is pressing. The business of politicians is to choose between two evils, and if one evil is immediate and apparent, and the other evil is remote and hypothetical, it is fairly safe to assume that the second evil will be accepted in preference to the first. Therefore, since at all costs France desires to save the franc, it is likely that the politicians will welcome any help on almost any conditions, and leave the future to take care of itself.

I cannot be dogmatic: nothing is more foolish than the casting of political horoscopes in an exceedingly troubled France: but what I have written will remain valid. As I close this article, M. Caillaux has been defeated, and the future of France is indeed unpleasant to contemplate. The twelfth hour is about to strike.

SISLEY HUDDLESTON.

NATIVE LAND RIGHTS IN RHODESIA.

"You take away the black man's country, and, shirking the future consequences of your action, you blindly affix a label to what the black man is thinking of you—'The Native Question'! It isn't a question—it's an answer!" (From *Turbott Wolfe*, by W. Plomer.)

SIX years ago I was asking in this REVIEW the question* "Are we going to act justly in Africa?" with special regard to Land policy in Southern Rhodesia. In 1920 action of great importance was taken by the settlement under an Order in Council of Native Reserves. This measure (although in the judgment of some of those who had contended for years for this recognition of native rights, the area of the Reserves was unduly restricted) was a great step accomplished. The achievement was the more important because at the same time the right of natives, equally with Europeans, to purchase land anywhere in the Colony outside of Reserves was maintained. In May, 1921, the Legislature requested the Administration to approach the Imperial Government with the suggestion that "in the interests of all alike it is not desirable that natives should acquire land indiscriminately, owing to the inevitable friction which will arise with their European neighbours," and a delegation conferring with the Colonial Secretary on the subject of the grant of Responsible Government, suggested "that specific districts should be set aside, in which natives alone might acquire land and within which Europeans should not be allowed to do so." Mr. Churchill replied: "The existing clause enshrines a long accepted principle and I should be unwilling to agree to an alteration the corollary of which seems to be the exclusion of natives from other areas, but if an inquiry should show after Responsible Government had come into force that some amendment of the law is necessary, His Majesty's Government would be prepared to consider an amendment."

In 1924 the Governor appointed a Commission to inquire into and report upon this question of segregation. The Commissioners were Sir W. Morris Carter, formerly Chief Justice of Uganda and of Tanganyika (Chairman), Sir H. J. Taylor, Chief Native Commissioner, and Mr. Atherstone, Director of Lands, formerly Surveyor of Lands to the B.S.A. Company. These Commissioners recommend the policy of segregation of ownership. The evidence, they say, leaves no doubt as to the wishes of all classes of the inhabitants of Southern Rhodesia who are affected, and that an overwhelming majority of those who understand the question are in favour of the existing laws being amended, and of the establishment of separate areas in which black and white, severally, should be permitted to acquire interests in land. Missionaries,

* See CONTEMPORARY REVIEW, August, 1920.

farmers and town dwellers, the officials of the Native Department, the natives in the out-districts and reserves, insofar as they can grasp the subject, and the more advanced natives are, generally speaking, all of one mind in this respect.

The reasons for this general conclusion are fairly and cogently stated. The policy will no doubt be adopted. Perhaps the most significant argument used is the following: "In the world generally the relationships between the white and coloured races tend to become more and more embittered: and of those who have given the subject most thought, many fear that wars of extermination between the races will take place in the future unless every effort is made to secure a better understanding between them." This is not very cheerful reading as a presentment of the results of thirty years of Chartered Government in Rhodesia, a region which it was promised was to be a model of imperial expansion conducted on British principles of justice and consideration to natives. Such fears betray a bad conscience. I do not consider that the Government of Rhodesia (though the natives have the grievances I shall show and some others besides) has reason for so bad a conscience as have General Hertzog's political supporters, or for serious forebodings of imminent native troubles. And it is still possible in Rhodesia to establish healthy relations between the two races.

The country as a whole is so thinly populated, and there are still such vast areas not yet alienated to Europeans, that it is practicable at comparatively little cost, or hardship to the natives, or disturbance to Europeans, to provide sufficient and suitable areas for the occupation of each race, and to permit them to develop their own communities and habits of living without interference with or offence to each other. How far in respect of factors other than sufficiency of land this is really possible or likely to be attained is a different question. The Union of South Africa have already adopted, on paper, the Segregation policy but have not been able and are not likely to be able to carry it out. The farmers of the Northern Provinces are not prepared to give up any land for native settlement. They have acquired and intend to retain for themselves by far the greater portion and all the best of the land available, and the extension of native reserves would impair their supply of labour. The Union Economic Commission, in a report issued last February, declare that "the contact of the native and the European has lasted too long and their economic co-ordination is too intimate and well-established for the native to be excluded from the European areas and the European industries. The provision of adequate native reserves has been delayed too long for it to be possible for the present native population of the Union to live without dependence on outside employment, and it was for too long the policy of the

Union to drive the native by taxation and other devices to work for Europeans, for it to be possible now to exclude him from the field of employment he is occupying." It is in such a situation that the South African "Labour" Party, have bartered their support to General Hertzog's Government for the passing of the Colour-Bar Law, excluding or enabling natives to be excluded from any industry using machinery.

It is important to realise and appreciate the facts with regard to native rights in lands in Rhodesia. They may well appear hardly credible. The Mashonas, who predominate, had been long settled in the country when the Matabele overran them, harried and destroyed many kraals and themselves set up kraals and homesteads in parts of the country. The Land Commission, constituted, as I have said, with a legal authority as its Chairman, records that prior to European settlement the land was occupied by the natives (both Mashonas and Matabele) according to their tribal customs and traditions. All land in a tribal area was vested in the chief, and allotments were made by him or on his behalf by sectional headmen. Each member of a family had his (or her) garden land, with certain recognised claims to fallow land; grazing was communal. The Commissioners emphasise the features of this system, of all the aspects of which their knowledge is exhaustive and unquestionable, and they conclude that "as regards agriculture the rights enjoyed by the natives, though of a somewhat precarious nature, in many respects resembled our conception of individual rather than communal tenure. As regards pasturage the tenure was more of a communal nature but, taken as a whole, the system in its broad outlines bears a close resemblance to that obtaining in feudal times in Europe, where the copyholder had his holding of agricultural land and enjoyed rights of commonage over parts of his lord's demesne."

Now the Charter granted in the name of the Queen to the B.S.A. Company stipulated that "careful regard shall always be had to the customs and laws of the class or tribe or nation, especially with respect to the holding, possession, transfer and disposition of lands, and succession thereto." The Company from the outset entirely ignored this injunction and claimed and exercised unqualified ownership in fee simple of all the land in the country. The Colonial Office acquiesced, hypnotised by the aura of the impeccable personages whose figures decked the Company's office-window, and in an Order in Council of 1898 ignored all existing rights and vaguely prescribed that "the Company shall from time to time assign to the natives inhabiting Southern Rhodesia land sufficient for their occupation, whether as tribes or portions of tribes, and suitable for their agricultural and pastoral requirements." This was interpreted solely as a direction to establish Native Reserves

into which the natives were to be penned : thus laying the foundation of the principle of segregation. The assignment of such reserves was not completed till 1920, twenty-seven years after the invasion of Matabeleland.

What, meanwhile, was the position of the natives in their own country, the land of which was claimed and disposed of by the Chartered Company as their own? The Privy Council, in 1918, declared that the land did not belong to the Company, but also that it did not belong to the natives, having been lost to the Crown through conquest, just as the land of England became nominally the property of William the Conqueror. But the Privy Council admitted that equitable rights might be proved on the basis of native law and custom, just as equitable rights were admitted and conceded in English manors whose lords acknowledged fealty to the Conqueror, as the native Chiefs did to the Queen. The Land Commission, qualified as I have said, expressly asserts that such customary rights exist, and there can be little doubt that had they ever been argued in a British Court, an equitable title in the natives to hold the lands that they thus possessed must have been admitted. They have been consistently treated as having no rights at all, but as trespassers who might be allowed to remain as tenants at will on payment of rent. Their position can hardly be more concisely and clearly expressed than it is in the Report of the Native Affairs Committee of 1910-1911. "We (i.e., the Company's Committee-men) see no objection to allowing natives to occupy the unalienated land of the Company (*sic*) and pay rent" (the rents demanded were 10s. to 40s. per man and 10s. for each man's wife in excess of one). "*The occupation is merely a passing phase, the land is being rapidly acquired by settlers, with whom the natives must enter into fresh agreements or leave. We consider too that it would be a very short-sighted policy to remove these natives to Reserves, as their services may be of great value to European occupants*" (of their own land!). When these words were written some Reserves had been provisionally assigned, but their boundaries were not defined, they were inadequate and natives were liable to be removed from them if the boundaries when settled should finally leave them outside the Reserves. This, the final fixing of boundaries did in fact do to a good many, who were required to move their kraals. There were, in 1921, after the Reserves had been settled, 264,680 natives still living as tenants at will, subject to rent, on lands outside the Reserves most of which were equitably their own property. According to the Land Commission's figures there are now 274,372 natives so living.

The Land Commission, now reporting, proposes that outside of the Reserves additional areas amounting to about 7,000,000 acres shall be reserved, within which natives may purchase land for in-

dividual ownership. They recommend that purchase for communal tenure within these areas shall not be permitted. They do not recommend any gratuitous recognition of the equitable ownership of natives either communal or individual in the lands which they are now occupying within these areas. Far less do they recommend any such recognition in 17,500,000 acres which they propose to allot for purchase by Europeans exclusively. On these lands they recommend that the system of allowing natives to reside upon payment of rent should, in general, be no longer permitted. But they observe that it would be unwise to abolish existing locations forthwith without due consideration of the consequences and without provision being made for those who would be moved, and they admit that in some districts it would be unfair to require them to be moved on short notice from their old homes. As farms become more intensively developed "*they will, in any case, gradually have to go,*" i.e., the buyers will turn them off, but in the meanwhile so long as the farmer is willing to allow them to stay those who are already paying rent should be permitted to remain during their lives. As to the natives on unalienated lands in areas to be reserved for sale to Europeans, they think the natives should be allowed to remain on these on payment of rent until the land is alienated, but that no fresh permits should be given. The Commission thus persists in ignoring those equitable rights of native communities in the lands they occupy which they have themselves by implication admitted must be acknowledged, and the principle of their recommendations if pressed into execution would ultimately mean that all natives who had not acquired freeholds in native purchase areas, should be removed into the Reserves.

The British South Africa Company had a substantial and straightforward reason for ignoring any kind of native rights in the lands whose ownership they had usurped. They were an encumbrance which depreciated the value of that land as an asset saleable in freehold to Europeans. The Colonial Office, neglecting its duty to the Natives under the terms of the Charter, for years winked at this scandal: if attention was called to it the defence usually was that at any rate the Mashonas were much better off under such conditions than they had been under the rule of the Matabele, and that the Matabele being themselves invaders could not claim any consideration. Nevertheless the Matabele have a right to live somewhere. They have kraals established on the same system as the Mashonas, and have occupied them for at least two generations.

The Aborigines Protection Society, on behalf of the Natives, have long pleaded that, as I urged in this REVIEW six years ago, no native community which can show that it has been in beneficial occupation for (say) twenty years should be removed into the

Reserves against the wish of the people themselves, that occupancy titles should be granted to natives on alienated land outside the Reserves in all cases where they can show such a period of beneficial occupancy, and that natives so settled on unalienated land should be relieved from the exaction of rent, which they now pay in addition to the administrative Poll Tax imposed on all natives. If the Commission's recommendation that rent should continue to be paid, as an acknowledgment of State ownership, is adopted, it appears to me to be in such cases quite indefensible that such rent should be more than a nominal quit rent.

Decision as to the policy to be pursued rests with the Local Government, only subject to the consent of the Imperial Government if it is decided that the existing right of natives to purchase land anywhere is to be abrogated. This, if there is any conflict of interests to be balanced, is the last card held on behalf of the natives in a game in which advantage has always been taken against them. It is an important card because, until it is parted with, the segregation policy recommended cannot be carried out. If the Colonial Office, now that it has no longer to deal with the B.S.A. Company, has sufficiently recovered tone to do on behalf of the natives what it was always its duty to do, namely, to make operative its original stipulation that native land rights should be honoured, they will adopt the position that the rights described by the Commissioners must be admitted a substantial validity, that is to say that where such tenure has been enjoyed by kraals, on unalienated land, whether in the area now proposed to be reserved for native purchase or in that proposed for European purchase, and also upon the alienated lands where such locations as they speak of have acquired the rights which they recognise, all such occupancy shall be respected or compensated. In the native purchase areas, even if additional communal purchase should be barred, the communal occupants already existing ought to be allowed to remain. Where such occupancies are in the European purchase area they should be transferred to equivalent locations either in the Native Purchase area or the Native Reserves. Where they exist on alienated lands they should be transferred, with necessary compensation or assistance to migration similar to that which it is proposed should be given to Europeans who have purchased land in areas now proposed to be reserved for natives and whom it will be necessary to remove to unalienated lands in the European purchase areas. What possible justification can there be for treating Europeans more favourably in this respect than the natives?

The Commissioners say, "the majority of the natives at present understand only the communal form of tenure." . . . "The natives would prefer that land in native purchase areas should be available for purchase by tribes or sections of tribes as tribal lands

on communal tenure. Some have definitely asked for this provision and where reserves are congested it is the natural and easily understandable desire. There is at least one instance of a chief and his people having purchased land in this manner." (Note the admission that some Reserves are already congested.) It is surprising after this preamble that the Commissioners in the next paragraph say "We are clearly of opinion that this form of tenure should not be permitted in the native purchase areas. We consider that the needs of the tribal natives are sufficiently met by the provisions of reserves in the Colony." It is disputed by friends of the natives that the reserves are everywhere sufficient. If communal tenure is only to be allowed in the reserves some extension of those reserves is desirable.

Since I wrote the foregoing, what I had in mind in referring to "factors other than sufficiency of land," in the working of a segregation policy, has been expressed so excellently by Sir John Chancellor, the Governor of Southern Rhodesia, that I could not do better than adopt his words, in which Sir Charles Coghlan, the Prime Minister, expressed general agreement:

"When we talk about segregation we must be quite sure that we all mean the same thing. Absolute segregation of the natives—that is their removal from all relationship and all contact with the white races—would be impracticable and disastrous. It would be economically impracticable and the Europeans would suffer from complete segregation no less than the natives. It would be disastrous to the native population, for it would condemn them to moral, intellectual and material stagnation, and experience has shown that to keep the African races on the path of progress the constant stimulus of contact with European races is essential. When that influence is withdrawn retrogression is rapid and certain. No time must be lost if Southern Rhodesia is to learn from the experiences of the Union and avoid the difficulties that now confront them in regard to the native land question. We cannot, however, prevent the ambitious and advanced natives from desiring to emancipate themselves from the control of their chiefs and from forsaking the stagnant communal life of the kraal for a life of greater independence and opportunity. It is to their advantage and to the advantage of the country generally that natives should leave their reserves and work under Europeans on farms and mines."

If natives are ensured really sufficient land for their own purposes and no endeavour is made to force them, through exclusion from land, to work for Europeans, numbers of them will, without any sense of grievance or resentment, seek such employment willingly. But Mr. Atherstone, in the Report, adds the very sound caution, "If the European wishes to consolidate his position in South Africa, within his own areas, he should, to an ever-increasing degree, endeavour to do more and more of his own labour."

OLIVIER.

THE first question which arises when considering the problem of disarmament is this—Are any armaments required at all and, if so, for what purposes? There appears to be general agreement in regard to the first part of the question: that armaments are still necessary and consequently they cannot be entirely eliminated. The fact must be faced that armaments are just as necessary in the international sphere as a police force in any civilised community. We have to recognise that in the existing state of the world organised force cannot be entirely abandoned, and still constitutes an indispensable factor in our civilisation. I mention this obvious, though fundamental, fact because there is a tendency in some quarters to ignore it altogether and to gloss it over as though there were something particularly immoral in the use of force for any purpose whatsoever.

The first issue then with which we are concerned is the purpose or purposes for which any force or armament is to be used. If general agreement can be reached with regard to these uses, the problem of disarmament becomes simplified. We may enumerate these purposes under three heads. (a) For maintaining internal order within the confines of a particular State. (b) Preserving order in Colonies and Overseas Dependencies. (c) The maintenance of international order and the protection of States Members of the League from aggression on the part of any member of the League of Nations or of any outside State which is not a member of the League, in accordance with the provisions of Articles VIII and XVI of the Covenant. It is true that there may be a difficulty in drawing a dividing line absolutely between these three categories of organised force. At the same time they represent the three main purposes for which force is required, and they are all based on the conception that the only justification for force is to provide the necessary sanctions for municipal and international law, and to repel aggression from whatever quarter it comes, whether in the domestic or the international sphere.

There will probably be general agreement that organised force is necessary to provide sanctions for the enforcement of municipal law, for preventing civil disturbance, and for maintaining order within the boundaries of each individual State. It will also be conceded that it is feasible to determine definite figures as to the personnel and the material required by each country to effect these results. Such figures have already been fixed in the case of Germany and were incorporated in the Treaty of Versailles. There appears to be no valid reason why the same process should not be applied to other civilised communities, although the fixed standard

of 100,000 men and certain military equipment which has been allocated to Germany need not necessarily form the basis of the new allotment under this heading. It might be found possible to reduce this figure very considerably. Each State might be asked to suggest the appropriate personnel and equipment which it considers to be necessary for this purpose, rather than that these figures should emanate from some outside authority in the first instance. It is hardly conceivable that a State would desire to emphasise the lawlessness of its citizens by suggesting a high figure. The first suggestion, therefore, is that the League should ask each State to specify the effectives—military, naval, and police—which it considers necessary for the purpose of securing internal order, and the amount of money which it is proposed to expend annually on the maintenance of this particular force.

With regard to the next category (b) there is no difference in principle between this category and category (a). Forces which come under this description are also intended to maintain internal order and to repel attacks from semi-civilised or barbarous tribes who have no conception of the reign of law and who are not members of the League. Territories in Asia, notably in India, and in Africa are examples which come under this category. It is obvious, therefore, that the difference between (a) and (b) is only a question of degree, and that probably larger forces would be necessary to maintain order in countries of this description, surrounded by backward and savage peoples, than in civilised communities.

We now come to category (c) which provides for the maintenance of international order. It will be observed that no forces are to be allocated expressly for the purpose of self-protection or self-defence. When the security of any individual nation is bound up with the security of all the nations there is no longer any need to make provision for what is known as self-defence. To speak of self-defence (the protection of one individual country) and international police duty in the same breath appears to be a contradiction in terms. The former is included in the latter, and as the basis of the new security is to be found in the co-operation of all States against the aggressor so the need of any force for individual self-defence becomes obsolete. To illustrate this point, we know that in a civilised State individual citizens no longer arm themselves, as they were once wont to do. They rely for protection upon the organised force sanctioned by the community. Similarly, individual States cannot arm themselves for self-defence and at the same time rely upon an International Police Force for their security. Self-defence presupposes that there is no reign of law: it is the law of the jungle. If the reign of international law has in reality commenced with the establishment of the League of Nations, it

must rely for its sanctions upon an International Force, in whatever way this force may be organised, and not on any measures of self-defence by the individual States who have consented to conform to this reign of law. One fact alone stands out pre-eminently. It is that for the first time in the history of the world the vast majority of the nations have been brought together under the auspices of the League, and a new international organisation has been established for the avowed purpose of the peaceful settlement of disputes and the elimination of war in the old sense.

In the past every armament has been piled up ostensibly for the purpose of self-defence. In the majority of cases this theory has only served as a cloak to hide the real motive of offence. More than a hundred years ago Clausewitz proclaimed the gospel that war was the supreme instrument of national policy, and that it constituted the means whereby one nation was able to impose its will upon another nation. This theory, though seldom advocated in public, has been the dominating factor in the minds of all the statesmen, generals, and admirals who have lived during the last century. They accumulated armaments at a terrific rate under the pretext of self-defence, but with the real intention of gaining ascendancy, and if possible supremacy, over their neighbours. No one can doubt that these principles still continue to mould the policy of the men who control every war office and every admiralty. To this conception of the use of force, enunciated by Clausewitz and his followers, the idea of an International Police Force is diametrically opposed. It is also maintained that the principle of self-protection is irreconcilable with the conception of public right and international co-operation. Public right presupposes an appeal to methods of arbitration and conciliation, whilst international co-operation denotes a willingness to concentrate all the military and naval resources for the protection of the common weal.

As far back as 1871 the late Sir John Seeley wrote: "There has been found hitherto but one substitute for war. It has succeeded over and over again. It succeeds regularly in the long run whenever it is introduced. This is to take the disputed question out of the hands of the disputants and refer it to a third party whose intelligence, impartiality and diligence have been secured, *and to impose his will with overwhelming force.*" It is suggested that we have now simplified the problem of disarmament to a calculation of the "overwhelming force" which is necessary to secure the reign of law. Looked at from this angle, disarmament is not merely a question of a reduction in numbers, the lopping off here and there of certain units of military and naval establishments. Attempts to achieve results on this basis have been continuously in progress during the past half-century. During this period more

than twenty Peace Congresses have been held at which schemes for disarmament have been discussed. All these Congresses insisted on a reduction in military and naval expenditure; they all preached the doctrine of self-defence; they all passed pious resolutions condemning war. They have all ended in disastrous failure, because this was a negative rather than a positive policy, and because it does not follow along the lines of natural development. It has been found and is still being found almost impossible to formulate a standard by which this lopping-off process can be effected. Common agreement has been sought in vain.

If, however, we approach the problem from the point of view of making provision for general security, of pooling our resources in armaments for the establishment of the reign of law; if we invite the nations to co-operate together in a constructive proposal; if we ask them to become co-partners in a new military and naval régime; it may be possible to achieve a real advance in international relationships and at the same time almost unconsciously to bring about an enormous reduction in existing armaments. Moreover, this line of approach is based upon human experience in the gradual evolution of civilised States. Step by step municipal law has become effective to the extent that it has been endorsed by public opinion. This endorsement has expressed itself in a practical form through the organisation and application of sanctions. Legal enactments and processes have become firmly established as the nation was prepared to organise its police forces and endow its executive authority with the power of enforcing the decisions arrived at in the Courts. Surely the same principles should guide the process of human evolution in the sphere of international relationships.

It should be realised that disarmament does not merely consist of what I have described as a "lopping-off process." It is not merely a question of reduction of numbers either of personnel or equipment. Far more deadly than the colossal accumulation of armaments is the spirit of fierce competition which animates the respective war offices and admiralties in every country. This competition does not stop short at a simple organisation of the country's defences. It produces an everlasting thirst for discoveries and inventions which can be turned to account for purposes of destruction. Consequently, as scientific research advances, as new discoveries by chemists and engineers become available, some of the best brains in the country are endeavouring to transform them into new weapons of war. The Great War stimulated this process of scientific competition. Science became the handmaid of war, and even during peacetime the struggle for ascendancy continues with unabated zeal. This rivalry engenders suspicion, prejudice and

bad feeling, which the Press of every nation is not slow to foment. In the production of new poison gases, of swift aeroplanes, of enormous tanks, of huge submarines, of long-range guns, of high-explosive projectiles, this competition continues on an ever intensified scale. How is it to be prevented? Making provision for self-defence is not going to end it. Disarmament to a certain level of effectives, etc., is not the remedy. The only effective check is to be found in moral disarmament, which finds its practical expression in the creation of an International Police Force. When it is no longer possible to produce these weapons for the purpose of self-defence, when they are all to be used for the protection of the whole world, when there is no longer keen competition, then there will be no incentive on the part of each individual nation to pursue this blind policy, which in the long run is bound to lead to destruction.

Surely the moment has arrived when the issue must be faced before a new generation arises to whom the horrors of the Great War will be enshrined in the world of romance through the medium of their history books. The time is ripe because it is assumed that Germany's entrance to the League, though delayed for the moment, will soon become an accomplished fact. Thereafter, Germany will assume an equal status with all the other nations of the world. At present she is almost completely disarmed. The only force she possesses is expressly sanctioned for the purpose of maintaining order within her own territory. Any scheme for a general reduction of armaments which falls short of the existing standard imposed upon Germany must necessarily involve the rearming of Germany to the same level as may be agreed upon for all the other nations. Germany cannot possess an equal status and yet be forced for all time to accept a lower scale of armaments than all the other countries. Consequently the question is urgent. Is Germany to be allowed to conform to the new scale of armaments, whatever it may be, in order that she may be able to defend herself from aggression on the part of her neighbours? This is the dilemma, and upon the answer to this question the future peace of Europe will largely depend. In any case, whether Germany is permitted to increase her armaments or not, it is extremely unlikely that sixty millions of people, imbued with warlike traditions, will remain long in their present state of disarmament if their neighbours persist in remaining armed to the teeth. If Germany again becomes a competitor in the race for armaments there is an end to all hopes of general disarmament, and Europe will relapse once more into that fatal policy of fierce competition which, in the past has produced such disastrous results.

On the other hand, if Germany is asked to join the other Powers

in establishing and providing a force for the maintenance of world order, for the prevention of aggression, and generally for the provision of sanctions, she will, in concert with the other nations, have embarked upon a new phase in her history. Her outlook in regard to armaments will be entirely altered, she will be able to assume an equal status with the other nations as co-partner in the cause of peace, and she will have given a solid guarantee for her future peaceful participation in the councils of the League. I venture to submit that this is the only satisfactory way in which the problem can, with justice, be solved, in view of the peculiar conditions which now exist in the German State.

Another objection which is raised to the proposal of an International Police Force is its impracticability. We are told that no practical scheme has been put forward. It will, however, be remembered that successive French Governments have put forward tentative suggestions which have always been vetoed by the representatives of Great Britain. As to whether the creation of an International Police Force is a practical proposition, the same question might well have been asked six years ago in connection with the establishment of the League of Nations. The answer is that if public opinion in all the great nations demands this step, means will be found to make the desire effective. It is suggested that there are at least four methods by which it may be accomplished.

I.—By the provision of quotas, military, aerial and naval, drawn from each country organised under the supervision of a General Staff at the League Headquarters. These national quotas would exist in addition to the forces provided for the maintenance of internal order [categories (a) and (b)]. Their size and equipment would be determined in accordance with the requirements of the League and not on any basis of self-defence prescribed by the National Government. In peace-time they would remain under the direct control of the National Government and would be maintained by each National Exchequer, whilst on mobilisation they would automatically come under the general control of the League Headquarters. The objection to this scheme seems to be that it might not have the effect of limiting the process of scientific competition which has already been alluded to. Secondly, that when any emergency arose and a decision taken by the League had to be carried into effect promptly, certain States might refuse to honour their engagements to provide the quotas as agreed beforehand, or for other reasons delays might arise in the mobilisation of the national quotas.

II.—By the provision of national quotas, military, aerial and naval, as described in the preceding paragraph, to be maintained

and paid directly by the League out of a common fund and to be under the immediate direction and control of the General Staff at League Headquarters, not only on mobilisation but also in peacetime. This scheme, by placing the financial control in the hands of the League, would ensure that the national quota forces were never increased beyond the standard laid down by the League. Consequently it would at once eliminate the competition which now goes on in time of peace between the various war offices and admiralities. It would also minimise the uncertainty of the response of certain States when the order for mobilisation had been given by the League in any emergency. On the other hand, difficulties would undoubtedly arise in regard to the question as to whether these forces could be utilised by a National Government in the event of grave riots or internal disturbances within the country itself. Under what conditions could these national quotas be used to supplement, in case of necessity, the forces referred to in category (a)? Moreover, the idea of a national force being maintained and paid for by an outside agency like the League would probably create so much friction and suspicion as to outweigh the advantages suggested above.

III.—The third alternative consists of a combination of the national quota system with a specialised force enlisted, equipped and controlled directly by the League. It is proposed that the basis of this sub-division should rest on a distinction drawn roughly between the pre-war and post-war military and naval establishments. It is suggested that the armies, navies and air forces at present belonging to the members of the League, should be sub-divided into two main sections. The first section should comprise most of those branches of the fighting services which were included in the pre-war military and naval establishments, whilst the second section should include the new services which are based in the main on inventions and discoveries that came into being or were enormously expanded during the period of the Great War or subsequently. For example, in the first section would be included the military establishments of infantry, cavalry, machine guns and field artillery, etc., and the naval establishments of certain types of pre-war battleships, cruisers, etc. The second section would comprise aeroplanes, the poison-gas services, tanks, heavy and long-range artillery, submarines, new types of cruisers and battleships, etc. To obviate scientific competition in the new types of weapons enumerated in the second section, it is suggested that these should be handed over to the direct control of the League, and that in future these branches of military, aerial and naval services should no longer form part of any national army or navy.

The forces described under the first section would form the

national quota which each country would contribute to the international force as contemplated in the first alternative scheme. The second section would provide the League with a highly specialised force paid by and under the direct control of League Headquarters, which could be mobilised in the shortest possible time when an emergency arose. The advantages of this scheme are, firstly, that the national quotas would remain under the control of the National Governments and in case of necessity could be utilised for the purposes of maintaining internal order, as in the first alternative proposal, and, secondly, that it would definitely put an end to scientific competition between the National War Offices and Admiralties inasmuch as all new warlike inventions, whether naval, military or aerial, would automatically be handed over to the League. Consequently the incentive to improve upon the methods of destruction employed by a competing State would be removed.

IV.—The establishment of a complete, self-contained international army, and the abolition of all national forces with the exception of those required for the maintenance of internal order [categories (a) and (b)]. This scheme carries to its logical conclusion the idea of a combined force, and removes the necessity for maintaining any national forces except for this one particular purpose. This plan would probably be found to produce the most economical results. It has certain disadvantages, however, which are not attached to those already mentioned, namely, the difficulty of finding a suitable location for the International Force, the difficulty of bringing into existence in a short space of time the personnel and organisation which would eventually be required, and, above all, the hostility which the complete abolition of national forces would arouse among the reactionary elements throughout the world. There can, however, be no doubt that this is the ultimate goal to be aimed at, whilst in the meantime a comprehensive scheme to carry into operation the first or third alternative might be prepared.

It would take too long to enumerate all the suggestions and proposals which might be made in regard to the constitution and organisation of the forces outlined in the first and third alternative schemes. If there is general agreement in regard to the basic principle, it is conceivable that a Committee of Experts, imbued with a sincere desire to formulate an effective scheme, could be entrusted with the task of working out the details of a practical plan. At this stage it would be premature to pronounce a definite opinion regarding any of the alternatives mentioned above or to endeavour to elaborate the organisation and equipment of the International Force. It should be pointed out, however, that if the Great Powers were willing to co-operate and were agreed in prin-

ciple regarding the right use of force, a practical scheme could be evolved in the near future. If the representatives of France, Germany, Italy and Great Britain were able to arrive at a common agreement, the future of the International Police Force would be assured. It is not intended to depreciate the importance and the moral weight which attaches to the smaller States Members of the League. Their co-operation will make the International Force all the more effective, but in the very nature of things it is the goodwill of the more powerful States that must first of all be assured.

Lastly, I would venture to emphasise the extraordinary transformation which would take place in the mentality and moral outlook of the nations who joined together in any scheme of this kind. Their whole attitude towards war would be completely changed. No longer would they regard it as a means of acquiring territory or material gain of any kind; no longer would they be suspicious of the intentions of other countries; no longer would they be compelled to spend vast sums of money on self-defence. The ordinary, every-day procedure would be to submit every dispute to arbitration and in the vast majority of cases to abide by the result, because the parties to the dispute would realise that unless they did so an "overwhelming force" could be brought to bear to enforce the reign of law. What at first would appear to be new would very soon become a habit of mind, and the analogy between the policeman and the International Force would readily make its appeal to the vast majority of ordinary citizens.

DAVID DAVIES.

SOCIALISM: DOGMATIC AND EMPIRICAL.

ALL political parties, and especially those parties which exist to effect sweeping reforms, have to steer a difficult course between the Scylla of a too rigid dogmatism and the Charybdis of a facile opportunism. On the whole, British statesmen have proved themselves capable of avoiding disaster owing to their willingness to accept the lessons of experience and to read the signs of the times. The best of them have certainly not been doctrinaires, but, on the other hand, they have not in the bad sense of the term been opportunists. The distinguishing feature of their outlook has been a sane empiricism; and if our present economic and political difficulties are to be surmounted it is urgently necessary that our statesmanship should show that it is still possessed of this quality. It is the purpose of this article to suggest that, if the signs of the times are read aright, the ripeness of society for a change in a Socialist direction will be seen to be well established; and to examine how far political conditions are favourable to the carrying out of such a change in a steady and empirical manner.

The fact that modern society is in a dangerous and unstable condition is scarcely contested, though many people seem to be content to confine their attention to the symptoms and to ignore the disease which creates them. In Italy, Spain, Russia, and elsewhere the very principles of democracy itself are held in derision; in France and Germany the permanence of this method of government, evolved after centuries of struggle and experiment, can scarcely be regarded as secure; even in England, the mother of the Parliamentary idea, we are passing through a time of severe social tension. The truth of the matter surely is that the political liberty and equality which we have achieved are incompatible with the economic inequality which we still maintain. Political democracy, which implies the distribution of political power among a mass of poor voters, cannot indefinitely co-exist with economic oligarchy, which implies the concentration of economic power in the hands of a comparatively small number of people. It is not my purpose in this article to discuss the morality of our present maldistribution not only of wealth but also of economic power; it is sufficient to deal with its practical significance. Things cannot stay as they are. Either we take a step back, as Italy has taken a step back, admitting the unreality of past progress and writing off the results of generations of high endeavour; or we must go forward and seek to extend into the social and industrial spheres the same principles which we have already applied in the spheres of politics, of law, and of religion. At present we seem to be drifting, and drifting towards a situation in which the political sovereign, that is the mass of poor voters represented by a Labour Government, will be brought

into bleak contrast with the economic oligarchy, which has not hitherto lost its control over Parliament. The general strike, in my opinion, has brought that situation nearer. I know it is the conventional view that the Government won a great victory and gained the support of public opinion; but the Hammersmith by-election, and a crop of equally significant municipal results in various parts of the country, suggest that the conventional view is quite superficial, and that in fact the Labour vote has been immensely increased by the strike and its attendant circumstances. The question which confronts us is whether a crippling struggle between the elected representatives of the people on the one hand, and the powers that be in the industrial and financial world on the other, can be avoided. I think it can, but only if working people are able to see that the powers of the oligarchy are being gradually but successfully distributed, and are passing into the hands of the community.

Just as our political situation contains elements of grave instability, so also does our industrial system. Mr. Wheatley and others constantly assert that the capitalist system is "breaking down." In so far as they mean that private enterprise, given the acquiescence of the wage-earners, is becoming incapable of further development, or of maintaining existing standards of life, I can see no evidence that they are right. But it is true that the acquiescence of the wage-earners in things as they are is steadily disappearing, and a crippling amount of friction is being developed. In the last resort I believe that the submission of the mass of wage-earners to the conditions under which they now work and live can only be ensured by methods which no government dependent on working class votes can adopt, and which a humane society will not permit.

The system of private enterprise, as a matter of fact, has already begun to react to the circumstances in which it finds itself. It is beginning to show signs of change, and of change in a definitely Socialist direction. Competition, for instance, is steadily being eliminated. Some important trades have come completely under the domination of single firms. Others are controlled by huge combines. The big store and the multiple shop system are steadily ousting the small independent dealer from the distributive trades. In many industries, moreover, the practice of blunting the edge of competition by agreements to maintain prices has become normal. We find even that men like Sir Alfred Mond, who has changed his party allegiance in order the better to combat Socialism, are prepared to advocate the compulsory co-operative selling of coal. This is a perfectly natural development. Cut-throat competition may have been suitable to the conditions of the last century, when rapid exploration and a great fertility of invention created an almost limitless market, but it is clearly wasteful and ruinous in the more

stable conditions of to-day. We are still told, however, that unrestricted competition is at once the life-blood and the safety-valve of private enterprise; and its progressive elimination is creating a serious breach in the theoretical defences of the present economic system.

Another breach is being created by the divorce, which steadily becomes more absolute, between the ownership of capital and the management of large industrial concerns. The larger the concern the less likely it is to be managed by a man who is a large shareholder, and the more likely it is to be controlled by salaried officials. It is true that we still have our men of the Henry Ford type, men like the late Lord Leverhulme and others, who are in a sense owner-managers; but in contrast to them another type is becoming more and more prominent. Men like Sir Josiah Stamp, Sir Robert Horne, Sir Eric Geddes, Mr. McKenna, move easily and naturally from public administration to positions of great industrial and financial power, and move also from one kind of industry to another. The adventurous pioneer is giving place to the administrator, and while the cheap Press may still deride the Mr. Dillys and the Mr. Dallys of Whitehall, the commercial world sets a very different valuation on their qualities. Simultaneously with this development the real owners of industrial capital are progressively losing all power to control the concerns in which their money is invested; and the information annually vouchsafed to them in published balance-sheets is slight in the extreme.

It is noticeable, too, that public opinion is becoming less and less tolerant of the making of big profits in trades and industries which are really vital to the community. It is permissible to make vast profits out of tobacco and beer, but the profits and dividends of the essential trades are closely scrutinised and the cry "profiteer" is quickly raised if they seem excessive. But it is an important part of the theory of private enterprise that capital and labour should be attracted by big profits into the channels where they are most needed. The present tendency is that big profits sidetrack them into the trades where they are really needed the least. Attempts have been made to redress the balance by means of the Trade Facilities Act, whereby the credit of the State was placed at the disposal of certain important concerns in order that they might raise capital at gilt-edged rates. The Conservative Government has just abandoned this method, ostensibly because the credit of the State had been sufficiently drawn upon, but really, in my opinion, because it was realised that the method was definitely socialistic and must end in a demand from the community that it should have a share in the profits of and a measure of control over the concerns it was thus assisting. I feel confident that we shall find that the revival of this device is necessary if the people's vital needs are to be met.

Space forbids me to deal as fully as I should like with the changes which are taking place both in opinion and practice. It is worth while, however, verbally to note such portents as Mr. Lloyd George's scheme for nationalising the land; the recommendation of the Samuel Commission that mineral rights should be nationalised and that municipalities should be permitted to distribute coal; and the notable extensions of municipal enterprise, especially in housing, which are taking place. Finally, it is necessary to note the curious position which has grown up in connection with the relief of unemployment. The individual employer only pays a small fraction of the cost of maintaining his workpeople when they are temporarily unemployed. The State and the local authority bear a great share of it; and the effect is to keep a reserve of labour in being for the employer to call upon at need and to diminish his incentive to avoid unemployment as much as possible. It is right and inevitable that the unemployed should be maintained, but it is difficult to justify a system whereby the employer reaps the profit of a boom during which he engages additional workers, and the community bear most of the loss of the complementary depression during which he dispenses with their services. Over a long period his wage-bill is definitely subsidised, and just as surely subsidised as it was in the old Speenhamland days. Many observers of this system are being driven to the conclusion that the public money might be better expended on an organised plan to keep the unemployed at work.

Though much more might be said on these and kindred topics, I have said enough to indicate that the political empiricist may legitimately conclude that modern society is ripe for Socialistic change, and is, in fact, automatically adjusting itself in readiness for such changes. The question is how are these impending changes to be made and controlled, and here for a moment we sweep into the field of dogma.

While the British Labour movement was developing on happy-go-lucky empirical lines, continuing the Radical tradition and aiming mainly at the mobilisation of real working-class power, it coalesced with a stream of intellectual thought. The various dogmatic theories of Socialism—State Socialism, Syndicalism, and Guild Socialism—all have this in common. They have been attempts to devise a complete ground-plan of a new society, and to have the whole plan ready before proceeding to work. Their fault, of course, lies in the fact that the designs have inevitably been presented in too symmetrical and inelastic a form. No society is ever likely to be organised upon plans so rigid.

It is nevertheless true that the work of these theorists has been of great value. If we look back a century we find that the *laissez*

faire economists took up just as dogmatic a position, and that their dogmas were swallowed with even more avidity by the politicians of the day. Some of the consequences were cruel and disastrous. But relatively to the circumstances of their time the *laissez faire* school were right. They were right in their analysis of existing evils. They interpreted the crying need of their generation, which was for freedom from old restrictions, freedom for society to slough off a dead skin, freedom for industry and trade to launch out untrammelled in new directions.

In the same way the Socialist dogmatists are broadly right. Their analysis of existing evils is sound. Their estimate of the tendency of the age is right. Their view that emphasis now needs to be laid, not on competition but on co-operation, not on adventurous individualism but on social organisation, is a true vision. They are right too, to my mind, in their assertion that true liberty involves a measure of equality and of social justice which the libertarians of past generations have been unwilling to concede. As for their schemes for the reorganisation of society, probably all of them in modified forms will be found by the historian of the future to have been successfully applied in this or that particular case. Their demerit, which is common to all schools of *a priori* reasoning, is that they tend to have a cramping effect on the policy of the actual politician, who is faced with a practical task and must needs approach it if he is to be successful in a more empirical manner.

The special difficulty of the Labour Party is that its dogmatism has had too prolonged an opportunity to luxuriate in opposition. Its ideas have thus not been subjected to the test of experiment while they were still novel and fluid. Owing to the failure of the Liberal Party to respond to the needs of the time, and to accept the fundamentals of Socialism, it has been necessary for a new party to come into being and to displace it as the organ of left-wing opinion and as an alternative to Conservatism as an instrument of government. Inevitably the Labour Party spent long years not merely in opposition, but with no immediate prospect of ever being in any other position. All parties are somewhat reckless when in opposition, and it is no more than natural that a party for so long separated by a wide gulf from the responsibilities of office should have been uncritical of some of the dogmas provided for it. The growth of the party, however, its emergence on the official opposition, and its short period of qualified power, have already wrought a considerable change, and have strengthened the hands of the more experienced and far-sighted leaders. The change, of course, has produced its reactions on the left wing of the party. In opposition to the ideas underlying Mr. Sidney Webb's now famous phrase "the inevitability of gradualness," the slogan of "Socialism in our

time" is being raised by the I.L.P. But the left wing lacks leadership and lacks also the capacity to frame a coherent practical policy which will withstand criticism and inspire confidence. The first Labour majority will be in a position of great difficulty, for the party does contain within its body the germs of a possible domestic crisis. The chances, however, are against any split serious enough to cause an undue prolongation of Conservative rule and the consequent delay of the process of social change which is due. The Labour Party, based as it is on the trade unions, is very difficult to split. Its cohesive force is greater than that of any other party. The trade unions are essentially cautious. What is perhaps more important, they are essentially undogmatic. Their leaders have all had a long and practical experience of affairs and have learned the merits of the empirical method.

There is another factor in the political situation which, as it becomes operative, must influence considerably the policy of the Labour Party. That is the return to the two-party system which is now rapidly taking place. Hitherto Labour's main battle has been with Liberalism for the solid, permanently loyal, left-wing vote. Henceforward its battle will be a battle with Conservatism for the fluctuating vote which constitutes the political pendulum. It is one of the grievous facts which every zealous politician has to learn that the country is really governed, not by the party stalwarts, but by this wobbly mass which inhabits the political no man's land. A Conservative Government, if it would save its life, is compelled to be just progressive enough to retain the support of these people. A Labour Government, in a similar way, will have to refrain from doing what they will not tolerate. Extremists on the right or left can at most only unmake a government which they, on the whole, prefer to the obvious alternative; it is the people in the centre who both unmake and make governments. The three-party system has dangerously blurred all political issues, and has reduced elections to a gamble in relative minorities; but I think the electorate realises the danger and is resolutely straightening out the tangle for itself. Once it is straightened out the mediating force in politics, which at present tends to be sterilised altogether, will resume its old position of dominating power, immensely strengthening the hands of moderate men in both the main party camps.

In the long run or in the short, therefore, we are likely to find in office a Labour Government tackling the problems of the day on definitely empirical lines. It will have a strongly working-class bias, and will tend to demand of all those who enjoy special privileges that they shall prove that they are rendering services equivalent to their advantages. It will tackle the problem of inheritance, and endeavour to lead society towards conditions which will permit a real equality of opportunity.

It will also, as the needs of the time demand, have a definitely Socialistic outlook. It will nationalise the land and minerals. It will proceed gradually to reorganise and to bring under public control large monopolies and industries which are vital to the life of the community. But public control will not necessarily mean the direct control of a government department. Socialised industries are more likely to be administered by special public bodies which will enjoy a large measure of independence and stand apart from the main stream of politics. There will be a large extension of municipal enterprise; and co-operative endeavour, especially in distribution, will be encouraged. The Guild idea will find its outlet in spheres where individual craftsmanship retains a great importance. Yet there will always, in all probability, be a large margin of endeavour in which a modified form of private enterprise will find scope for its energies.

The Socialist, moreover, will acquire greater knowledge and a new technique. We are already becoming aware that the whole body economic reacts at once to pressure on the sensitive nerve of credit. We do not know quite how to use the knowledge; what effects can and what cannot be produced. But we are learning, we shall learn still more; and we shall find that a great instrument of power, capable of use for public ends but at present scarcely used at all and used only for private ends, is available to our hand. Socialist thought now looks far beyond the mere assumption into public and from private hands of powers that are already being exercised: it is envisaging the possibilities of economic controls which are altogether new.

Successive Labour Governments will only gradually be able to deal with this task. If they make mistakes, or if they try to go too fast, they will lose office and Conservatism will provide the country with a period for digestion and assimilation. But just as past Conservative Governments were constantly compelled to pass Liberal measures, so I believe future Conservative Governments will have to pass Socialist measures. If they do not they in their turn will lose the support of an electoral majority. Indeed, this is happening already. The present Government has almost been constrained, and may even yet be constrained, to nationalise mineral rights and to permit municipal trading in coal. Such steps will become more frequent and seem more natural once the ice has been thoroughly broken, and the direction in which modern society is moving can more clearly be discerned.

Political parties are more the creatures than the creators of circumstances, and it is the circumstances of the time in which we live which are impelling us along the Socialist path.

H. B. USHER.

PARTY GREATER THAN LEADERSHIP.

THAT the Liberal Party is in a sad way is unquestionable, but there is no question of the vigour of Liberalism in this country. Liberalism on the Continent may go down, but fortunately in England it is the only thing which succeeds. By it a Conservative Prime Minister secures what prosperity he has, as through it the preceding Labour Government attained its few successes. Liberalism will not die.

But how comes it that the great party of 1906, 1910 and 1914 has sunk so low? It is a bold thing to suggest that leaders do not understand their own party, but except from a Gladstone Liberalism does not take dictation, either from those who regard it with aloofness or from those who approach it with too obvious blandishment and flattery. Anyone who has been a member of a party for some years knows the ingratitude of public life, and the thanklessness with which eminent services are too often received. He will not be wanting in appreciation of the difficulties of leadership; even in times of disappointment he will let his memory recall to him what he owes. But he will remember also that leaders as well as followers are trustees of a cause, and are answerable for what they have inherited to those who should succeed them. They are not the managers of a day. Liberalism, being greater than its professors, will not die should they disserve it. It does not live by leave of the great, and is generally stronger and purer the further it is from the centre and from the coteries. Not for many years has it found its strength in London, but in the country; while in the villages, where the only fault is to believe too blindly in the wisdom of headquarters, it seems to flourish on adversity, perhaps because it has always been associated with sacrifice.

A democratic party demands for the service of its cause leaders who are capable and sympathetic, quality in its representatives throughout the country, especially in its Parliamentary candidates, and an organisation which shall be efficient without being officious. Years ago it was thought that the extension of the franchise would be the extinction of Toryism. It was not believed that democracy could be conservative. The survival of Toryism, the presence in office of a Tory Government with an overwhelming majority at a time like this, is partly due to the circumstances which have secured it the opportunity, but also to the fact that the party has, for the time being to a large extent, secured these three things. Toryism has a sympathetic leader, abler than was generally supposed. It has, as it is always able to command, a more efficient organisation, although it is probably an officious one. And it had better be recognised by those of other parties that on the whole

it maintains a certain quality in its candidates, and that many of its younger members display an earnestness and industry which speak well for its future. Nor is there at present any alternative in view. For opposition is divided, and the two opposing parties are full of dissension. There is a diversity of view, and there is an opposition of persons which make Parliamentary opposition ineffective and Liberal propaganda throughout the country for the time being most embarrassing.

If this is the best that can be hoped from party government some of us would have to reconsider our views with regard to party. We see one section or one person endeavouring to dictate to or proscribe another. We see a difference in tactics between those who hold it to be their duty to support a Government when they believe it to be taking a right course and those who would always pursue a party advantage in opposition. We see hero-worship running riot, some who are all for enterprise and activity, and prepared to "go through Hell" after a favoured leader, and others so much for prudence and caution and biding their time that their followers impatiently tread on their leisurely heels. An effective party cannot be made in times and out of ingredients like these. The party for which allegiance can alone be demanded is "a body of men united for promoting by their joint endeavours the national interest upon some particular principle in which they are all agreed." (Burke: *Present Discontents*: And see the whole paragraph as to what "every honourable connexion" will avow as its first purpose, in its "generous contention for power," "on manly and honourable maxims.") "The very style of such persons," says Burke, "will easily serve to discriminate them," and it is not necessary in any other way to attempt to distinguish one from the other.

Certainly these three things needed in a democratic party are what are lacking, and are essential for the recovery of the Liberal Party to-day. Many call for a programme, but a programme inevitably arises from the necessities of the day to which Liberalism must be applied, in European, or rather world affairs, in domestic, and especially in industrial policy, and in finance. Until these are dealt with in the Liberal spirit it is useless to produce a more extended programme, and when they are dealt with a large amount of what would appear in that programme will have been almost automatically solved. This is said, not to undervalue the great advantage of well-thought-out schemes for the application of Liberal principles to questions of the day—to Coal, to Land, to Agriculture, to Temperance, and so on. One of the most gratifying features is the study of these questions in Summer Schools and elsewhere. But to those who demand a programme before

they can justify their Liberalism let it be commended to inquire into their principles and look around.

Of these three aids to recovery, leadership, instead of coming first, must probably remain to last; organisation must be less central and arise more from the rank and file and in the constituencies than be stimulated from headquarters; and representation, while not entirely consisting of candidates, must to a very large extent depend upon them and upon their character, ability and energy. Politics have become so absorbing that few even of the officers of an Association can give them the increasing attention they require. Candidates themselves almost become a professional class. Yet it is surely a great mistake in organisation to encourage the view that no constituency can do anything without a candidate.

Liberal candidates, past and prospective, have wisely formed themselves into an association, which has been the means of accomplishing most useful work, in investigation as well as in discussion. Such organisations may be destined to play a very important part in political education in the future.

No one will dispute these essentials, if they demur at the order in which they are placed. But I fail to notice, in too many of the appeals made for the purpose of assisting organisation, appreciation of the sort of organisation that to-day requires. It is elementary that organisation depends very largely upon the qualities of the organiser. You may have funds, but who are you going to pay? You may have a system, but who is going to work it? Parliamentarians are the first to tell us that Acts of Parliament are useless unless there are public-spirited and competent citizens to carry them out. Those who are making appeals to endow organisation should be prepared to show what they mean by it, that they have one which can be worked, and which is likely to command the co-operation of the public-spirited and the competent throughout the country. Political organisers are bound more than ever to show good cause at a time when other claims are so insistent, and money is needed for charitable purposes which a non-political public naturally prefers. They ought to go further and show that a due attention to citizenship would obviate many of the calls of charity.

The organisation of a political party has two great objects. The first may be to return a sufficient number of members to Parliament in order to command a Government or at least to influence the House of Commons. But the second object is of hardly less importance, to keep alive throughout the length and breadth of the country the spirit and principles of the party. And this is entirely within the power of the organisation, depending not at all on legislation or affected by adverse electoral conditions. The first

object is increasingly difficult to attain because of the three or more parties, with a system or an attitude which only contemplates the existence of two. But I am not concerned here with arguing for reforms which must surely come in some way, induced by the suffering not of one party but of all in turn. On the whole we attach too much importance to electoral machinery; an earnest, determined voter can choose between three or more as well as between two candidates. And I question if there has been a due appreciation of the changes already effected by the last Reform Act—the Representation of the People Act, 1918—either the increased and varied electorate, the reduction of election expenses, or certain provisions aimed at checking these and the activities of outside organisations. Nor, going a little further back, has the payment of Members of Parliament yet had the effect which was anticipated. These things have altered the whole system of our Parliamentary elections, and yet we are still working through the same “experts,” using the same election text-books, spending money on the old futilities, proceeding on much the same lines of approach to the elector, and making little new effort to recruit a body of candidates equal to the increased demands made upon them, more deserving of the small payment made for their services if successful, and more fully representative of the best the party can put into the field.

It is familiar to those concerned with any voluntary organisation that neither in supply nor in quality has voluntary service improved. People expect to be paid and to render no more than they are paid for. War service accustomed them to it. The voluntary service rendered in education and propaganda in the interests of political parties is neither so qualified nor disinterested as it used to be. The consequent increase of paid service, not only in the organisation but in the platform work of a party, is adding to the professionalism of politics, and still further squeezing out the volunteer of independent views and methods. Where is the Eighty Club that used to be? One of the first aims of enlightened organisation should surely be to stop this tendency, and enlist by encouragement the best service it can secure for the cause *because* of the cause.

If we examine our views of democracy and our hopes for democratic government we shall not pretend that we respect democracy merely as government by the majority. We shall confess that we hope from it the prevalence of the will of the majority through the leadership and the constant service of the few it trusts for the discharge of its executive functions. We shall aim at the majority becoming more devoted and educated, able to take a more direct part in supplying a larger number for active service, and at the

same time growing in discernment, in self-restraint and in self-sacrifice. If that is our view of democracy, what comfort do we find in the present day, and in particular in the party to which we belong? Knowing that we are people of impulse and passionate habits, we cannot expect always to be swept aright by our enthusiasms or guided by sure instinct at the moment to the desired end or victory. We know that patient building-up and constant maintenance are needed, and that for this reliable organisation is essential.

Those who organise a party ought to take exacting views as to the quality of their responsible members. Enthusiasm is needed, but enthusiasm without steadiness has often given trouble afterwards. What sort of reputation does a proposed candidate enjoy? What earnest of his fitness has he given? What has he in himself that will add to his party chances at the election and will make him a valuable recruit if successful? The reputation that members might bring to a party through their outside activities, interests, and distinctions is too often overlooked. On the other hand the attraction of their fame in directions that have nothing to do with public life is sometimes absurdly exaggerated. At a time like this when so many people are little interested in politics and indisposed to attach themselves to any particular party, the credit of its leading members and of its local leaders attaches new and maintains the pride of the old adherents. In adversity such credit almost alone preserves the party from extinction. We talk much of "character," but it is a thing which should speak for itself.

The success of Mr. Baldwin's administration is very largely due to Mr. Baldwin's personality and to the fact that the average man finds him what he himself would like to be, sees that he is not out for himself, that he is approachable, versatile, and occasionally capable of giving a distinct surprise when he discloses unexpected quality and capacity, as Mr. Laski puts it, "a compound of Viscount Grey and Mr. Pickwick." Not long ago by sheer good fellowship he won over a difficult company of teachers. He has made more than one speech to Nonconformist gatherings which have shown sympathy and insight. And what Liberal leader really commands confidence in these gatherings to-day, still with all their disappointments and surprises the possible generating places of so much that would make for the good of the State? Mr. Baldwin's speech to the Classical Association charmed a select audience and gave the greater audience a certain astonishment. Such things, which are not to be thought of as party efforts, redound to the credit of his party and to the strength of his administration, so long as in other parts its influence can be maintained. These are the sort of things that ought to be

aimed at by all in their measure who seek the prevalence of any party, who desire themselves to fill a useful place in public life, and who would temper the asperities of party conflict and turn all occasions into opportunities for service.

But these attributes and activities, while they are so commendable and so helpful, surely furnish no sort of justification for almost unlimited power. Who can doubt that this genial, well-meaning, average Englishman is able to concentrate upon himself a measure of public confidence, withheld from nearly all his colleagues and certainly not given to his party principles, largely because of the default of other parties? Why should Mr. Baldwin represent, as he admits he does, Liberal voters? What is it that prevents the undoubted Liberal aspirations of a people from finding expression through the Liberal Party? Is the urgency of the call perceived? Are steps even now being taken so that the opportunity which must soon come may be grasped? For how long will the country be content with a Government whose chief is so amiable but ineffectual; whose members are so obviously united by nothing but office; and whose supporters are not allowed to express themselves just when the feelings of the majority are most intense?

Liberal speakers are constantly endeavouring to hearten their supporters by references to 1906, without any observation on the complicated state of affairs due to the rise of a third party since. And unless the party can show itself fit for a revival the reminder loses nearly all its point. I remember in the very depressing times preceding that election, when Liberals were hopelessly out of favour, it was freely admitted by their opponents that if they were few they had in their ranks and amongst their leaders some of the ablest and most experienced men in the country. The knowledge of that asset was certainly one of the many factors that led to success in 1906, and the new Government was formed without the slightest difficulty, although the party had been ten years out of office. I wonder if to-day anything like the opinion as to the strength of the Liberal personnel is recognised. The party may well be stronger than it appears, or even weaker, for Liberal leadership is loaded with a good deal of "war stock." The younger men of the party have had small opportunity of showing their worth. Ex-Cabinet Ministers have died or gone elsewhere, and men do not stand out as they should. But that only increases the need for the acquisition and encouragement of all sorts of adherents. An interesting list might be made of Liberals, distinguished to-day in business, at the Bar, or in literature, or of those who are giving their services in many non-party industrial and religious causes who, perhaps owing to the circumstances of the time, are preferring so to render them. They cannot but be

Liberals, but they have no zeal for service in the Liberal Party. It should be the duty of organisers and of those responsible for the lead and presentation of the party policy to rally all these to its support and see that the public knows they are ranged with it. This would be no empty vaunt, and might be a better means of securing party funds than some of those adopted in a costly and provocative "Million Fund Campaign." Every Liberal in the country must be proud of the achievement of others, not only of what they do for the party, but of the contribution they are making to their age. Such a reputation is the groundwork of public confidence. To have such a reputation is to have a "stake in the country," the only one which should be a claim on the support of their fellows.

An organisation which is seeking representatives in the constituencies who may become Members of Parliament in the future must have an increasing regard to their all-round qualifications. Have they served or tried to serve in local government? Have they previously played a generous part in helping in the return of others? Have they made one or more of the subjects of the day a field for their particular study? Have they persistence? "When I first devoted myself to the public service," said Burke, "I considered how I should render myself fit for it." Has a candidate the character and the personality likely to impress the particular constituency to which he is sent? Does he (or, of course, she) share or have sympathy with the religious opinions of many who require to be persuaded into politics? These are elementary considerations, but too often lack attention in comparison with readiness of speech, ability to pay, pushfulness and importunity or friendly backing. To hear that certain organisers could "produce" so many candidates if only money were forthcoming should fill one with disgust.

An organisation which has secured its candidates will do all it possibly can to encourage them. It will not send them out into the bleak atmosphere and forget them. It will endeavour to support them by regular visits of its better-known members, who when they come will speak for them and not for themselves and merely of themselves, or against other leaders. It will give them headquarters' support in every way, and will listen attentively in turn to the reports which they themselves bring back, for only then can headquarters itself be informed. Such an organisation in one word would be a live one. It would inspire the agents it sent out and infuse the whole party with the spirit of its just cause. It would even, in good time, solve the question of leadership.

F. W. RAFFETY.

SOME ASPECTS OF AMERICAN IMPERIALISM.

THESE are some who object to the use of the term "America's nascent imperialism" on the ground that an imperialism which first saw the light back in the early years of the nineteenth century, when Louisiana and Florida were acquired by the new nation, is well past the nascent stage. But whatever impulse to expansion there was in those acquisitions and in the later additions of territory which carried continental United States to the present boundaries, it was of a different sort from that which first manifested itself in 1898 with the acquisition of Hawaii, the Philippines and Porto Rico, which since that time has spread a measure of control over Cuba, Panamá, Nicaragua, Haiti and Santo Domingo, and which is increasingly inclined to assert itself upon occasions in more distant parts of the world. This imperialism, if it is no longer "nascent," may, at least, be characterised as "adolescent," in spite of its twenty-seven years. In its dealings with the smaller peoples mentioned it has a distinctly amateur quality. It displays none of the professional ability to handle colonial problems which is the mark of the British Civil Service: it has none of the professional cynicism or assiduity in pursuit of profit that is supposedly typical of imperialism in general. During a recent journey through the West Indies, I was impressed with the lack of these professional qualities and the resulting amateur character of American imperialism.

I

Porto Rico, as the Spanish "Puerto Rico" has been Americanised, is the only one of the Greater Antilles which is, in fact, an American possession. Here the rule of the United States has been absolute since the island was captured in the Spanish-American War. Such self-government as the Porto Ricans enjoy has been given to them by the United States without external, and with but a small measure of internal, pressure. The government of the island is palpably an attempt to reconcile the principles of democratic theory with the practical necessities inherent in the colonial relation. Porto Rico elects its own bicameral legislature by manhood suffrage. The heads of four of its six executive departments are appointed by the Governor with the advice and consent of the Porto Rican Senate. The Governor, the Attorney-General, the Auditor-General, and the Commissioner of Education are appointed by the President with the advice and consent of the Senate in Washington. The little-used right of the Governor and the Congress to control legislation constitutes a theoretical rather than a

real interference with self-government in all matters affecting the internal affairs of the island.

Such complaint as there is against this arrangement comes not from the native islanders but from the American companies which are doing business in Porto Rico. Much American money has gone into the island and the resulting development has been phenomenal. As usual in undeveloped colonies the opportunities for large profits were many. It is these profits that the American investors have sought. But the Porto Ricans have been quick to see the danger to their own well-being if they allowed these profits to be drawn off in the form of dividends to the States. The taxing power has been freely used to keep a goodly share of them at home. Here is evidence of the amateur character of America's imperialism. Honoured imperialistic precedents would have led her to stop this sort of "interference with colonial development." Substantial American business men have urged upon the government at Washington the necessity of curbing the desire of the Puertorriqueños to spend money. But for the most part, and especially of late, Washington has turned a deaf ear to these representations. The answer is always ready, "You are taxed far less there than you would be at home. We cannot interfere until you show us that the money is being wasted or misappropriated!"

This it has been difficult to do. The progress of public works, education, health work and agricultural development has been all that could reasonably be expected. It is easy to assert that some of it has been overdone, but it is not easy to arouse public opinion in America on that score. In the absence of even what might be called a *normal* amount of graft in the use of funds for these purposes by the Porto Rican officials, the case of the exploiter is a hard one. Washington has been so unsympathetic toward him that, far from bringing pressure to bear to cut down the island expenditure, Congress has seen fit to continue the practice of turning over to the island government both the customs receipts and the inheritance taxes collected from its people. These two items constitute about one-sixth of the island budget. They have a political effect out of all proportion to their size. If Porto Rico, as some of its more enthusiastic citizens demand, were admitted to the Union as a State, those revenues would, as in the case of the other States, be paid to the Federal Government. The resulting loss would far outweigh any sentimental benefits to be obtained from statehood. As for independence, even the most ambitious of Porto Rican politicians have found it difficult to urge with a sober countenance that this diminutive island, with its million and a half of people, should attempt to construct a ship of state and sail alone the international

seas. The people of the island know full well that they have neither the money, the men, nor the experience for such an undertaking.

So far America's imperialism in Porto Rico has developed no problem more important or more serious than the usual administrative issues of any one of hundreds of the larger cities in the States. The conflict of interest between the islanders and the American capitalists will continue. Sometimes the pendulum will swing one way and sometimes the other. But the ultimate position will be determined by the economic welfare of the people as it is estimated by their own representatives. Good governors and bad governors will succeed each other and add their little of help or of hindrance to progress. In time the people of the island may claim the right to choose their own governor, but more serious problems of imperialism are nowhere on the horizon.

II

Next door to Porto Rico is Santo Domingo. The turbulent politics of this diminutive republic finally brought it into the hands of a receivership under the protection of the United States in 1907. President Roosevelt found himself forced to choose between himself taking charge and allowing foreign creditors a free hand. Never had the implications of the Monroe Doctrine been more forcefully brought home to Americans. The Senate turned and twisted, but the President was clear in his course and finally had his way. His nominee took charge of the Dominican customs. Half the receipts were to go to the payment of debts, five per cent. for collection, and the remainder to the Dominican Government. The result was not just what President Roosevelt had hoped. With honest collection and accounting, the forty-five per centum brought in more revenue to the Government than had the entire receipts before the advent of the American administration. The Dominican politicians were unable to control themselves and soon the wheel of revolution was turning at full speed once more.

In 1916 a combination of impatience at Dominican instability and nervousness over what might happen in the course of a war which the United States was in but not of, led President Wilson to land marines and take over the government at Santo Domingo. For eight years the island was administered by American naval officers and imperialism had full sway. Its unprofessional character was amusingly displayed. An admiral of the United States Navy was head of the Dominican Government. Accredited to him was a United States Minister representing the State Department. And collecting his customs revenues was a Receiver-General who reported to the United States War Department. The Washington Government was too intensely occupied with what was going on in

Europe to trouble itself about Santo Domingo, and the three departments muddled along as best they might with an occupation the exact purpose of which no one of them—nor the Dominicans either—ever knew. And yet it was a time of great peace and satisfaction among the Dominicans—among that 95 per cent. of them, at least, whose sole occupation was not political machination. While these politicians devoted themselves to editorial volcanics, the bulk of the population emerged into the light of a new day. For the first time in their history they could go abroad unafraid. For the first time in their history they dared build houses out on the roads instead of hiding them in the bush. Fear disappeared as the normal atmosphere of the republic. The question of sovereignty bothered them not at all. Never having had any part in constituting their own government, they looked upon all governments as things of evil. If one arrived which pressed upon them less heavily, theirs not to reason why, theirs but to enjoy it while it lasted.

The rich plains of Santo Domingo and her several excellent harbours would make an appetising titbit for a sophisticated imperialism. The more so when the imperialists were in full control and there was no power on earth to say them nay. But American imperialism was too immature. With miles of highway constructed, a school system functioning, commerce and industry flourishing, in fact, with the fruits of imperialism ready for plucking, America delivered the island back to its politicians, attempting only to get the various elements so balanced that there might be some semblance of stability. American ships, officers, and marines withdrew and left only the Receiver of Customs to represent imperialistic rapacity.

III

The Dominican Republic shares the island of Santo Domingo with the "black republic" of Haiti. Here for more than a century has been going forward an experiment in self-government by a black people. "Self-government" in only the broadest sense of the word, however, for in all the century of existence of the "republic" no citizen has ever cast a ballot. The "presidential" succession has been determined by bribery, intrigue, revolution and assassination. The Haitian people have never derived from their status as citizens any greater benefits than they enjoyed as slaves under the French régime. The fair island which that régime had made one of the garden spots of the West Indies and one of the wealthiest colonies in the world, with plantations, roads, aqueducts, harbours and cities, had, under a century of black self-government, reverted to its primitive wildness. Land and people

alike might have been transplanted from the African jungle. In any other climate the mass of the people would have perished of hunger. Here they could live on the bounty of nature and even export a little coffee which they picked from the wild plants. Poverty and degradation, however, brought in their train to the hut of almost every family one or more of humanity's most loathsome diseases.

A more miserable failure of an experiment could hardly be imagined. It would seem a favour to the black race to end it forthwith and shift to other shoulders the responsibility for its shortcomings. Hardly so guileless as to act upon such a motive, nevertheless the United States did in 1915 refuse longer to countenance the deeds which were being perpetrated in the name of freedom and democracy. Humanity had some claims of its own. The occasion was a change of Haitian presidents. Guillaume Sam had occupied the palace for some five months following a successful revolution, at the conclusion of which he had imprisoned 167 possible rival candidates. This incarceration proved to be not sufficiently inclusive, however, and in July of 1915 revolution was again abroad in the land. As it approached the palace, Sam sent an agreed message to his jailer. All of the prisoners were slaughtered in their cells. The populace of the capital soon heard the fearful news and rose in fury. The "president" fled to the French legation, but, with the smell of blood in their nostrils, his people followed on his trail. There was no force able to keep them out of the legation and in they rushed. They found Sam crouching behind a dresser in the attic. He was dragged forth and flung to the maddened mob below, who tore him limb from limb, and for hours afterwards his dismembered body was dragged along the streets of the capital as a final manifestation of Haitian democracy.

American marines were landed and American officers took over the government of the Republic. A treaty providing an American protectorate for twenty years was drawn and signed. Since then Haiti has been administered by American officials. The machinery of the Haitian Government remains, but all of its acts are guided by advisers from the United States. A gendarmerie has established peace and order so that to-day one may travel unarmed from one end of Haiti to the other in perfect safety. Streets and roads have been constructed, water-supplies purified, and the filth of the cities removed. A health service is attacking the mountain of disease which is piled upon the Haitian people. An agricultural department is teaching the natives the first principles of agriculture. Haiti is on the road back to civilisation.

All of this arouses an endless clamour from the Haitian "élite," that three per cent. of the population which has put on a veneer of

French culture and which was accustomed to batten upon the ignorance of their fellow-citizens. To all of these except the few who hold office, the American occupation is the crushing underfoot of a small but devoted people by an imperialistic colossus, a horror of militarism, a crime against civilisation. Their complaints rise to high heaven, the League of Nations, and to any one else who will listen to their woes. But their actions before the occupation spoke louder than their words speak after it, and few have been found to concern themselves overmuch about their plight.

IV

Nowhere is there a more perplexing problem for American imperialism than in Cuba. Having freed the island from Spain and set it upon the road to republican government, two purposes constantly cross each other whenever the United States is called upon to act. One is to let it alone as if it were doing nicely: the other is to seize the helm in order to avoid the shipwreck which seems impending. The result is hesitation, wobbling, emphasis now on one side now on the other, until the Cuban policy of the United States is as incomprehensible to Americans as it is to Cubans. On their merits the Cuban politicians are entitled to almost as much consideration as those of Haiti. They have not descended into an orgy of blood such as that which marked the end of Haitian rule, but they have a persistent habit of murdering each other when occasion offers and they are quite as prone as the Haitians to the method of settling elections by revolution. In proportion as their opportunities are greater, so they have far surpassed their neighbours in the development of a technique for transferring public funds to private pockets. The peculations of the Cuban politicians entitle them to high rank among those who strive in that direction. All this in spite of the Platt Amendment. One can only imagine what the record would have been had that restraining influence been removed. That the Cuban politician imagines something greatly to his advantage in its removal is evidenced by his continual warfare against this provision in the Cuban Constitution. It is an infringement of Cuba's sovereignty, a blot on the fair name of her people, and all the other damnable things which his fluent tongue enables him to phrase against the neighbour in the North.

Among the mass of the Cuban peasants, the Cuban politician, unlike his Haitian and Dominican compeers, strikes a responsive chord. So greatly have the conditions of life in the island improved since the days of Spanish rule that, even with an utterly corrupt government, the Cuban peasant has found a better lot. He is quite ready to believe the claim of his politicians that it was they

who accomplished this for him. He is just as ready to believe their assertions that except for their valiant defence of the country's honour, the accursed "Yanquis" would descend upon him forthwith and enslave him for evermore. Hence there is a real popular sentiment against the United States in Cuba. This sentiment, however, is not universal. The great economic development of the island in the last quarter-century, the influx of American capital, and the resultant growth of trade and commerce, are rapidly creating a substantial middle class who are injecting into the surcharged Latin-American political atmosphere a stream of the cooler waters of Anglo-Saxon ideals. The prosperity of this class is dependent upon civic order and a measure of honesty and efficiency in governmental affairs. They are evaluating their politicians in the cold light of reason instead of through the steamy mists of a super-heated nationalism.

And these more substantial members of the community are well content with the purpose of the Platt Amendment. For them it furnishes a check upon political pyrotechnics corresponding to that which comes from the great solid mass of honest, plain people in the United States. There is no such mass as yet in the Cuban body politic and the Platt Amendment serves as a substitute. Many would like to see its form changed, so that it might be less derogatory to the dignity of Cuba, but if change of form were to mean change of substance, they would say with one voice, "Leave it as it is!"

V

A significant thing about all four of these political entities, overshadowed in various degrees by the "Colossus of the North," is that one practically never hears any complaint of economic or financial imperialism. The tale of woe is invariably a political one. After reading in some of our American periodicals long indictments of the activities of certain New York banks which, with the assistance of the Army and Navy and the State Department, exploit the helpless peoples of these islands, one rather expects to find some evidence of this exploitation on the ground. But one does not. American interests have benefited by the pacifying of revolution-ridden countries, but so have other interests, British, Spanish, French, and above all native interests. There seems no particular reason why American merchants and bankers should be excluded from the benefits of the improved conditions merely because they were brought about by the American Government. There can be no legitimate complaint until it appears that the Government is using its power to give American nationals special privileges or to interfere in their favour with the ordinary course of

commercial or financial transactions. Of this there is little evidence anywhere in the islands. Some American officials bend backward lest they give the appearance of such favouritism, but since some few tried it and came to grief, there is no further tendency to err on the side of leniency toward their fellow-countrymen. So generally accepted is this fact that to find any serious indictment of the American activities one is forced to go to the local politicians.

Few Americans would care to see us become too professional on this side of our imperialism. Sentiment still runs high in the United States and economic pressure is not yet sufficient to crush moral attitudes. America would help these smaller peoples and neither seek nor allow undue profit from the helping. For the same reasons, however, those who have studied our proceedings in the Caribbean would have us become a bit more professional on the administrative side.

The American scheme of government contains no provision for colonies or dependencies. Americans dislike to think of their country as a colonial Power, and have so far refused to bow to events sufficiently to make any adequate governmental provision for handling such dependencies as Fate has thrown into our hands. The Governors of the Philippines and Porto Rico are under the direction of a bureau in the War Department. A number of smaller dependencies are ruled by Naval officers. The relations with Cuba, Nicaragua, Panamá, and others, are under the direction of the State Department. There is no effective co-ordination of effort, no concentration of experience, no continuity of policy. We are adrift because we refuse to acknowledge that, as a nation, we are approaching maturity.

As a result of this indefinite attitude, this unpreparedness in men or organisation to deal with such questions when they do arise, we are forever faced with the necessity of calling in the Marine Corps to meet some emergency. This Corps is an effective instrument, but one which arouses against us a wave of hostility, not only in the country concerned, but throughout Latin-America. As we grow older in the work, we shall probably recognise its necessities and develop an organisation and a practice competent to handle the delicate questions which being a world-Power involves.

HENRY KITTREDGE NORTON.

THE WOMAN WHO DEFIED NAPOLEON.

STAYING at Geneva, I took boat one afternoon to the little village of Coppet, which lies on the northern shore of the lake some ten miles from the city. We landed and mounted the hill to pay a visit to the great château where Madame de Stael lived and wrote during the hectic years of the great Napoleon. To-day the château lies desolate. The last descendant of Madame de Stael has recently died. The public wanders to and fro on week-days, looking at the pathetic relics of that stormy life—the pretty furniture of the *salon* into which she drew so much of the wit and genius of France: the little bedroom with its great canopied bedstead: the busts and pictures of her quaint and ill-matched family: and, above all, the portrait looking forth from the walls, still with a kind of robust assertiveness, the uncouth, turbaned, bare-armed Madame de Stael herself. She seems to be still pouring forth from that canvas of Gerard's the torrent of wordy brilliance with which she assailed the ears of Napoleon and tried to hold the heart of the inconstant Benjamin Constant. On the shelves along the walls you can see the volumes of her literary output—the romantic novels in which she analysed a passion which she could not inspire, and the far more interesting descriptions of countries and places on which she looked out with her large, bold, observant eyes.

A century and a quarter have passed by since this extraordinary woman marched on her pilgrimage across the world, setting up her *salon* in intrepid rivalry to the armed camp of Napoleon: never lowering her flag; accepting exile from her beloved city of Paris rather than surrender to a despotic will: leading and inspiring with her amazing zeal and hostility to that Colossus who bestrode the world. Among all the remarkable women that France has produced there still emerges none more remarkable than Madame de Stael: and to-day we shall look through the *salons* of Paris in vain for any lady who could be her match.

The origins of this great personage have been a little forgotten by the present generation. She was the daughter of the great Necker and of that Madame Necker who, in her youth, as Suzanne Curchod, inspired the love of Gibbon. She cherished throughout her life a profound adoration for her father, and after his downfall she celebrated his memory in a famous *brochure*. She was blind to his faults and argus-eyed to his virtues. She spoke little of her mother, but she adored her father with an unqualified worship. His portrait looks down on you from the walls at Coppet—a large, plump man, with a self-complacent countenance and shrewd eyes: an immaculate coat and cravat—the counterfeit presentment of that respectable Swiss banker whose calamity it was to find himself pitted against a revolution.

It was, indeed, a moment of drama in the life of this bland Necker when he was called to give advice to save the King of France. He pointed the finger of doom to the precipice over which Louis was destined to fall, and if Louis had been anything but a Bourbon he might have been saved. But Louis was in the hands of his giddy wife, and Marie Antoinette destroyed the Swiss banker with the same irresponsible frivolity with which she had overthrown Turgot. Necker wrote his famous memorandum on French finances and retired to Switzerland amid the tears and fury of his daughter. There he lived in peace for a time, and would have been happier in his fame if he had been left to die at Coppet. But it was fated that on the first onrush of the Revolution men should call for Necker. He had become a legend, and Louis in his desperation turned to him for help. Necker arrived in Paris, smooth and self-confident, hoping to quell the hurricane with a wave of his wand. In his retirement he had lost touch with France, and he little realised the forces which had been let loose. He spoke—but the winds refused to listen. On the contrary they howled the more. His advice was quite as scornfully rejected by the "Reds" in 1789 as it had been rejected by Marie Antoinette in 1781. It was only by the skin of his teeth that he and his womenkind were able to escape with their lives from Paris and take refuge once more at Coppet on the Lake of Geneva.

Such was the man whom Madame de Stael adored—the only man. For her marriage was a marriage of convenience, and the little Swedish Ambassador, Baron de Stael, who gave her his title, was soon shuffled off the stage. Her life was to her far too great a romance to be confined within the bounds of matrimony—especially matrimony of that kind. So she proceeded to enact at Coppet a series of great romances which, after the style of that age, supplied her with fuel for her writings. True Frenchwoman that she was, she could not be happy without an "affaire," and all those years of her stormy political career were diversified with one romance after the other. She filled the halls of Coppet with rivals, whom she played off one against the other. She took with her on her journeys a random following of all kinds and nations. She became a sort of female Byron, with none of the coarseness but all the caprice and changefulness of that variable nobleman. Of all these figures Benjamin Constant became the most important, and the story of her passion for him became for many years the story of her life. Alternately they drew together and drew apart. She inspired him in his political ventures. It was the woman that supplied the courage to the man. For masculine as she was in her political audacity, she always, womanlike, required to find a man through whom she could act.

Napoleon pursued this great woman with a persistent virulence

which to us to-day seems astounding. We can see nothing to account for it in her books. Novels like "Corinne" and "Delphine" no longer stir our blood. They belong to that romantic, sentimental movement which is to-day almost as dead in England as it is in France. Nor can we easily explain why Napoleon took the step of suppressing Madame de Stael's book on Germany, and thus giving it a circulation and prestige which it did not deserve. The only explanation is that Napoleon feared this woman's tongue. He drove her from Paris to Switzerland. He forbade her to return. He laid his net of spies round her, even on the Lake of Geneva, and pursued her with his secret police throughout her travels in Germany and even in England. Madame de Stael certainly did not seek this treatment. She was not one of those people who court martyrdom or even exile. Her real life was in the Paris salons. She was a genuine child of that turbulent city. She started by being a Royalist, and she ended by becoming a Republican. She was ready for any change in order to keep her foot on the boulevards—any change but one, and that was to become a follower of Napoleon. When the whole manhood of France and Europe was bowing the knee to this idol of iron and brass, Madame de Stael stood erect, defiant and unrepentant, a lonely rebel against the war-god.

Her womanhood gave her a deep conviction that the sword could not, in the end, rule the world. It was before the time of killing women in war. Napoleon could murder the Duc D'Enghien in a ditch at Vincennes—but he could not kill a woman. With all his faults, Napoleon could never have slain Nurse Cavell. We must always remember that to his credit. Just as he refused to use poison gas, so he shrank from killing Madame de Stael. Perhaps Napoleon knew that exile was worse than death to this daughter of Paris. She was not happy at Coppet, and she flooded Napoleon and her friends with appeals to allow her to return to Paris. Sometimes she set out on her travels and crept as near as possible to the great city—pathetically haunting the suburbs as if to catch a whiff of the Paris odours. But whenever Napoleon caught the rumour of her approach, swiftly he threw his thunderbolt of expulsion. Wherever she lodged she was tracked down. There would come a rap at the door and a letter would be carried to the great lady while she was dining. She would tear open the folded message and her face would grow pale. Early next dawn her horses and chariot would be waiting at the door and she would be departing swiftly back to Geneva and Coppet.

But what France lost, letters gained. For Madame de Stael was so voluble a talker that she would probably have written little if she had remained in Paris. Tied down to her *château* at Coppet, she could find only one way of relieving her *ennui*, and that was by

writing. So it was that, with the resolution that marks the true maker of books, Madame de Stael would settle down at Coppet to the long strain and labour of composition, and in that way she would while away the hours and days spent by the Lake. Then gradually the magnet of her talk would draw from afar men of genius and learning. Schlegel would drop down from the Rhine, and Byron would come across from the Villa Diodati: Constant would slip away from Paris. Poets and musicians would journey from Paris to taste a breath of freedom in those halls. For nowhere else in Europe at that time could one speak freely of Napoleon. Everywhere the awe of his power penetrated and brought silence on the busiest tongues. The beautiful Madame Récamier, driven from Paris, took refuge with Madame de Stael. Walking through the *château* to-day one can see the little bedroom of that loveliest and most charming of Frenchwomen. You almost seem to see her little figure in her *Directoire* dress flitting through the doors—the women whom all loved so well that she had no lovers; the lady who shines amidst that circle with a spotless beauty and purity, smiling out on us to-day from the portrait of David.

It was a kind of court—was this *château* at its greatest time—a court of Europe, and even Napoleon felt its rivalry. In 1806, for instance, the year of Jena, at the height of Napoleon's power, Coppet was filled with brilliant visitors from every part of Europe—a Prussian Prince and a Courland Duchess, a Russian, and men like Sismondi, Bonstettin, and the young Guizot, destined to rule France long after the downfall of the master of arms. These men chattered and scrimmaged around Madame de Stael, often hating one another, but each contributing his share to the common treasure of wisdom and wit. The great lady shone in this circle, playing the men off against one another, glittering in the centre like a star. Her large, motherly countenance took on the beauty that comes from a sense of being adored.

There were times when Madame de Stael had to make rapid exits from difficult positions, and one of these brought her face to face with the greatest of English women writers at that moment—the brilliant Fanny Burney. This meeting of the greatest Frenchwoman and the greatest Englishwoman of that day is so vivid and interesting in its contrast that it deserves more attention than it has received. They met in a setting of great tragedy. It was in November, 1792, a few weeks after the September Massacres: and Madame de Stael had fled from Paris to join in England a little set of constitutional *émigrés* who had barely escaped with their lives from that frightful experience. The intrepid Frenchwoman had remained in Paris till the last moment, harbouring in her house many of the nobles chased at that moment by Marat's butchers. This little

group of French people, so like the White Russians of to-day in their forlorn destitution, had foregathered in a house which still stands at the foot of Box Hill, not far from Guildford and Dorking. It is named "Juniper Hall," and among the refugees there in 1792 were the Duc de Liancourt, the great Talleyrand, and above all Narbonne, that old flame of Madame de Stael, whom she had just romantically rescued from the jaws of death. The whole story of these refugees is vividly told in the letters of her sister contained in Fanny Burney's famous Diary.*

These French refugees received but a chilly welcome on the English countryside—at that time unfriendly to all foreigners, and especially French people. They were harried from house to house. They were denounced by Whigs on one side, and by Royalists on the other. But through it all they carried on with an amazing courage a brilliant intellectual society which was a new thing in England at that time. It was the fascination of this kind of life which came as a revelation to Fanny Burney and her sister and drew those young women to Juniper Hall. It was there that Fanny Burney met Madame de Stael. A great sympathy grew up between them.

But at that point the father, Dr. Burney, stepped in. He had not heard good things of Madame de Stael, especially of her relations to Narbonne. He forbade the friendship, and so reluctantly Fanny Burney drew off from Juniper Hall. To vary a famous phrase of Gibbons, she sighed as a friend but obeyed as a daughter. Now this behaviour caused the greatest grief and astonishment to Madame de Stael, who had not the faintest conception of English opinion on such matters. She was frankly amazed at the obedience of the daughter to the father. She was all the more surprised because Fanny Burney herself was carrying on a highly decorous love affair with one of the refugees—M. D'Arblay, an officer of Lafayette's staff who had fled to Holland from the Terror and then escaped to England. Fanny Burney's sister, Mrs. Phillips, gives a very vivid account of Madame de Stael's amazement.

"Is a woman," she asks, "in leading-strings all her life in this country? It seems to me that your sister is like a child of fourteen."

"I did not oppose that idea," comments Mrs. Phillips, "but enlarged rather upon the constraints laid upon families, so very unnecessary in England."

But Madame de Stael could not understand. She was bitterly hurt. She did not comprehend the effect produced on an English drawing room of that day by her free and easy manner of talking and perhaps also by her casual habit of always having some squire

* *The Diary and Letters of Madame D'Arblay.* November, 1792-February, 1793. Chapter XIX.

in attendance. She assured Mrs. Phillips that she bore Fanny Burney no grudge. But she left England full of sorrow. Fanny Burney writes to her other sister, Mrs. Locke, deploring the whole affair. "I have regretted excessively" she writes, "finishing so miserably an acquaintance begun with so much spirit and pleasure, and the disappointment I fear Madame de Stael must have experienced." But it never occurred to Fanny Burney to take an independent line of her own, although only a few weeks afterwards she married M. D'Arblay in direct defiance of her father's orders.

All this is very interesting, because it shows the great contrast between the Englishwoman and the Frenchwoman in polite society at the period of the French Revolution. On the one side we have Madame de Stael, with her free and dashing manner, her brilliant and aggressive writings, her active and defiant part in public life. On the other we have the "little Burney" as Doctor Johnson called her, Mr. Crisp's Fannykin, who wrote novels by stealth and blushed to find them fame: who almost fainted when Doctor Johnson detected the authorship of "Evelina": who visited her publisher furtively and forbade him on any account to let out the awful secret of her authorship. Fanny Burney was subject all her days to the males of her family, whether father or husband. Yet she stands to-day unique and pre-eminent, in her own way, among English women writers, the true "character monger" as Doctor Johnson called her: one who could sketch a character with a vivid and determined pencil as well as any woman that has lived in England since.

Towards the end of last century Miss Ellis published the early diaries which Fanny Burney wrote long before she met D'Arblay.* Here you have the origins of her genius as a novelist. She is practising her hand on descriptions written only for herself of the scenes in her father's house, and those diaries give us as vivid a picture as anywhere of the social life in England in the late eighteenth century. Of all these pictures of English society perhaps the most amusing and interesting is that in which she describes the visit to her father's house of a certain Mr. Twiss, who had caught some of the freedom of spirit which characterised Madame de Stael and her circle. Heaven knows how Mr. Twiss had ever inveigled himself within those decorous walls! But once in he raged round like a tiger cat, and not even Dr. Burney could suppress him. The unutterable Mr. Twiss was discussing the fascinating but embarrassing subject of Love, which formed the theme of most of Madame de Stael's books. He entirely ignored all the discouragements he received from the young ladies and from Dr. Burney, and at last he proceeded to praise the books of Rousseau:—

* *The Early Diary of Frances Burney.* 1768-1778.

"But, Mr. Burney, of all the books upon this subject, none was ever equal to Rousseau's 'Eloise.' What feeling! What language! What fire! Have you read it, Ma'am?"

"No, sir!"

"Oh, it's a book that is *alone*!"

"And ought to be alone," said my father still more gravely.

Mr. Twiss was never again invited to the Burney house, and in the same spirit Fanny Burney was forbidden ever again to see Madame de Stael.

Contemplating the present spirit of English womanhood, it is interesting to look back over the century and a quarter, and to recall this contrast between this English woman writer and that brilliant Madame de Stael. But the strange fact is that while the Englishwoman to-day has taken over the freedom of the de Stael, the Frenchwoman of to-day has rather put on the reserve and restraint of the Fanny Burney. The positions have become reversed. The Englishwoman of the twentieth century rages through our public and social life with a freedom which frightens her masculine companion, while the Frenchwoman across the channel walks more and more circumspectly. How account for this change?

Is it that we live by contrast, and that, by looking at one another across the Channel, we are more affected by reaction than attraction? At any rate, here is this pretty contrast between the Burney and the de Stael, and it is profoundly interesting to-day to look back and picture again the clash and contact of those divided souls. They parted sadly, with backward looks at one another, and it is an absorbing subject of speculation as to what would have happened if Dr. Burney had not forbidden the friendship and the great English and French writers had been allowed to meet and influence one another.

Of one thing we may be sure—that Fanny Burney with all her skill as a writer could never have played the mighty part filled by Madame de Stael when she, alone among the writers of Europe, dared to face and confront Napoleon at the highest point of his power.

HAROLD SPENDER.

THE MINISTRY OF HEALING, PSYCHOLOGICAL AND PSYCHIC.

IN all mental healing at least four methods or means of treatment are practised, viz. : (a) Re-education ; (b) Persuasion ; (c) Suggestion with its modifications—self-suggestion and hypnotism ; and to these three is added (d) the practice of Freud, viz., the method of psycho-analysis. All psychic treatment assumes that the mind is divisible into two (or three) strata, also that the totality of these two or three strata is in a condition of constant or dynamic flux—the whole “stream” of thought, but of which only one stratum—we may call it the upper—is the conscious mind or self.

It is impossible for any percept from without or any concept from within to be in the focus of attention (of the mind) longer than about thirty consecutive seconds, for it vanishes from the dome, as it were, of the conscious mind to be replaced by some other thought (or some other link of the same thought) which has thus emerged from the sub-conscious—the next, or second stratum—into the conscious mind by a recollective effort. The conscious mind is technically that part of the mind which enables the personality to adapt itself to its surroundings by help of the reason, that is by intellectual thinking, whereas the sub-conscious is that part where memories are stored which have all previously been more or less intellectually apprehended or “cognised.” The mind has once been aware of them, but at the moment they are not required, and they are not in consciousness, only on the margin of attention (as it were) in the sub-conscious mind, although they may possibly be reached by a recollective effort.

For example, we lose our keys ; a recollective effort links up memory traces of where we last stood and we remember where they were left ; their locality is brought into consciousness because we strike associative links in the sub-conscious mind that lead direct to the keys. Similarly, we may forget a name, a line of poetry or a tune, but by an effort of will we can recall these from the sub-conscious stratum and bring them into the conscious field. This sub-conscious part of the mind, like the conscious, is also in a continuing state of flux, and often when we least think of a name, or a tune, or a poem, they will recur to us by associative links through an effort of will, or without it.

In addition to these two strata, Freud and the psycho-analysts suggest there is another much deeper, thicker, larger, and more extensive stratum, also in a state of flux, which is the vast storehouse of every mind, and whose contents are believed to be of two kinds (i) the memories of early educational and environmental experience and (ii) the inherited trend from ancestors which gives

certain “tendencies” and prompts or impels an individual to act under certain conditions and in certain directions. This unconscious stratum is described as a great reservoir of memories and tendencies, but there is no proof of this, and there is no power of the will to recall these early memories, although it is claimed that they can be traced down through links of emotion—called “ab-reaction”—from the conscious mind into the so-called unconscious stratum. In this part are said to be all the basal instincts, chief of which the Freudians claim to be those of sex ; but there are in addition the instincts of hunger and thirst, the instinct to keep warm and to be clean, and there are probably very many others in addition to sex. It is maintained by this school that the sex instincts are always being kept under control and repressed by the conscious mind, and in consequence there is a conflict between the conscious and the unconscious mind. When the former is uppermost and effective, conduct is orderly, but when the conflict is acute and repression fails, then some mental or bodily abnormality results ; either fears, obsessions, delusions, anxieties and vain imaginings ; or some tremor, paralysis, or spasm ; possibly some affection of sight, hearing, speech, or a muscular movement such as a “tick” or habit spasm.

The mode of reaching the various strata of the mind is to appeal separately to each, and two special methods practised by the clergy and teachers in their efforts at mental healing and reconstruction are those of re-education and persuasion : these directly appeal to and reach the conscious stratum. In re-education the patient is enlightened as to his beliefs ; his emotions and feelings are re-directed, on moral and hopeful lines, mainly through the suppression of self-interests—for every nervously affected and mentally anxious person is unduly self-interested and egotistical. It is through these two that the exhortations of the spiritual adviser become helpful and reconstructive, and here is where he can aid the physician. A direct statement by the doctor that a disease is functional (that, e.g., a certain pain is due to indigestion and not to heart disease, or that a headache is not due to a brain tumour, or a spasm is not of organic origin) will often re-assure a nervous patient ; whilst a belief in the Divine Will or in the healing strength from above will often effect a rapid and permanent improvement, but organic disease must first be proved to be absent, and only the qualified medical man can do this. Persuasion is based upon a belief that the patient's views of his own disorder are faulty, and that a correction of this belief will end in his relief. A paralysed hand is placed beside the healthy one, and the sufferer is persuaded to move the healthy one and then the affected one in corresponding directions. The ability to do so persuades him there is no organic lesion, so he will be encouraged to use both

hands with equal facility and a cure is effected. In this way spasms, flaccidity, and tremors can be relieved by persuasion and re-education, for a direct appeal is made to the conscious stratum. It is in this *appeal* that a special ministry of healing can have the greatest influences for good.

The method which reaches the sub-conscious stratum is the practice of suggestion. This is to influence the tendencies to imitate healthy action, to believe it can be done, to do what one is told, but sometimes, under the law of "reverse effort," the opposite exercises a strong control over conduct. Such tendencies to act on suggestion are almost instinctive to many persons, and one of them, viz., imitation, is probably the earliest manifestation of the mental life. The priest-healer who acquires the confidence of his patient is more successful in making the patient do what he is bidden, and believe what he is told to believe, than a much more scientific healer who carries logic with him and who vainly tries to convince his patient by an appeal to reason. The practice of auto- (or self-) suggestion can also appeal to the sub-conscious mind. It is our reaction to a thought given to us from within, which thought is probably the affirmation of a specific truth which we respect, although it may not at the moment be uppermost in the conscious mind, but it is adopted with faith and is acted upon through the sub-conscious stratum.

What has already been said of suggestion applies also to hypnotism, which is the induction of a sleepy state effected by the contraction of the conscious field. The patient is requested to look at the point of a needle or at a glittering object: the conscious field thus has the minimum sensations coming in from without and the minimum stimulus from within, and in consequence he falls to sleep. The point of a needle is the smallest exciting space, and is the minimum sensation, and so practically nothing enters the mind. Whilst in this sleepy state, desirable or favourable suggestions are made and the patient acquiesces, but this method of reaching the sub-conscious mind is not easily impressed upon all persons; hypnotism can therefore only be practised upon the few, and consequently only illnesses of a purely psychic origin, such as functional headaches, neuralgic pains, or mild sensory disturbances, can be influenced by hypnotism, and then only when the patient willingly places himself in the agent's hands and intentionally submits himself to treatment and is keenly desirous of relief.

It is in the special department of re-education, persuasion, and perhaps suggestion, that the clergy in association with the medical man (or at his request) can be helpful; but the axiomatic injunction, that before the commencement of any procedure of psycho-therapy a thorough medical examination of the body must

be made, is to be observed, in order that disease amenable to "material" treatment may first be identified or excluded. Such a thorough and full examination by a competent authority stands always as the essential preliminary, and it is improper and unjustifiable to bring the spiritual healer in to help until organic disease has been excluded, for such an interference can only be as harmful as it will be unwelcome, and possibly dangerous to the patient.

Now we come to a more questionable field, viz., the endeavour to reach the so-called unconscious mind by the process of psycho-analysis, but it must be categorically stated that to study the hidden motives which control men and women in their daily lives and to throw light on the dark places of the human mind has always been the object and the aim of the practice of psycho-therapy, and this long before psycho-analysis was known. Freud, the discoverer of psycho-analysis, postulates, as stated, a stratum which he calls "the unconscious" which is further and deeper than the conscious or the sub-conscious stratum, and he asserts that the contents of this area may never have previously been in consciousness; but some question this view and believe that only by having been previously in consciousness can ideas produce conflicts and symptoms of disease. It is only an inference, without any proof, that the contents of the unconscious mind have not previously been cognised or have reached awareness.

The three special methods used for the alleged purpose of investigating the unconscious mind are: (a) free-association; (b) the time of the word-stimulus reaction, and (c) dream interpretation. These are not scientific methods, but they are those practised by the psycho-analyst. They do not necessarily reveal morbid thoughts, for the relation of the phenomena elicited does not necessarily correspond to the antecedent experiences inferred by the analyst in his interpretation, and very different antecedent experiences may cause the same subsequent phenomena and symptoms. Further, the dream interpretations are whimsical, weird and unscientific. They depend entirely upon the analyst's own key of interpretation, which is often not that of the person dreaming. Also many competent psychologists reject entirely that a dream has any latent meaning or is symbolised by its manifest content. Freud believes all symptoms are due firstly to repression and then to conflict of thoughts or ideas, and chiefly of the sexual instincts, but some competent critics maintain that the conflict actually precedes the repression, just as the lid of a jack-in-the-box inhibits and controls the impulse of the spring—which is itself the primary force.

The vocabulary of psycho-analysis is obnoxious and unjustifiable in its gross sexuality, and such terms as auto-eroticism,

libido, Narcissism (which is libidinous self-love), exhibitionism, homo-sexual, all indicate its depraved explanations of conduct; indeed, mythical characters such as Electra and Œdipus are invited to explain and personify the sexual instincts. Moreover, the so-called "transference," which is the delivery of the patient's mentality fully and completely into the power of the analyst, results in one of three effects: (1) Either that these two persons part and separate, or (2) that a temporary illegitimate love relationship develops between them, or (3) that a permanent legal love may occur. These three end results are specially emphasised by the followers of Freud, and it is only right to challenge the safety of this procedure if such disastrous consequences are likely to ensue.

It is right to call attention to two inevitable implications of the psycho-analytic methods; one is that (a) suggestions are made to the minds of the young which tend to upset their moral conceptions and they are therefore improper, impure and highly objectionable from the moral standard; and (b) that confessions are encouraged from the sufferer, and to elicit confessions is to imply sin, and therefore to suggest penance. Why should the doctor's patient be treated as a wicked sinner? Whether confession be right or wrong in the hands of the priest I am not concerned to express a view, but in the hands of the medical man or the layman it can only amount to an unjustifiable abolition of the personality and is damaging ethically; for this reason I believe psycho-analysis a great moral danger.

The view of psycho-analysts that all mental and moral abnormalities are of sexual origin is a pernicious doctrine, and from the scientific standpoint the suggestion that there is a floating energy of libidinous origin is not supported by evidence or founded on fact. Further, the followers of Freud state explicitly that they are generally powerless to effect relief after the age of twenty-five years, when the moral concepts have become fixed, as every one over that age is regarded as "mentally ossified." This view is not an encouragement to the spiritual teacher whose congregation is probably like himself, past this period of life. The psycho-analyst further adds that the treatment in order to be successful must be intensive, that is, the process must be carried on daily and for months or years, which implies the deliverance of the sufferer fully and completely into the analyst's hands, which implies the complete submergence of self-reliance, self-control, and self-respect, for he is thus compelled to yield up his personality to another who reads his own objectionable interpretations into the young mind of the person he treats. The assumption of mysticism and of phallic symbolism on the part of the analyst cannot but be most prejudicial to healthy mentality. Nor is the introspection and

constant self-analysis induced by this method an incentive to health, because a healthy mind and body should be performing their natural functions with harmony and without being abnormally intruded upon the mind. It is not healthy that young persons should be constantly supervised and analysed, such introspection is morbid and will only lead to brooding, suspicions, and fear, and will inevitably end in complete inability to concentrate the mind or to exercise the body in a normal manner. The psycho-analyst is far too apt to look upon all illness as of psycho-genic origin, and thus he repudiates the correlation of mind and body. Upon this view of disease he tends to neglect bodily treatment and material remedies; therefore the usual teachings by the clergy of a clean body and a clean environment are thus minimised. The use of psycho-analysis by others than medical men is not advisable, and even by them, in my opinion, it should only be very rarely employed; its use being only justifiable when all other avenues to the mind have failed, and there are many, such as persuasion, re-education, encouragement, imitation, occupation, distraction by reading or music or through pictures, amusements, exercise, rest, travel, even the use of charms or the making of pilgrimages and, above all, the aid of prayer; any of these may effect a cure, but it cannot be helpful to the clergy, or in the interests of true happiness and morality to believe that original sin remains in the unconscious mind and can there only be reached and exorcised by psycho-analysis of the "unconscious." It is neither encouraging nor complimentary to the clergy to be told that direct appeals to the conscious personality are futile, and that true reformation can only be effected by the skilled expert indirectly and not by a direct appeal, that the psycho-analyst alone has the power to alter conduct through a special technique which makes use of symbols and is carefully guarded as a mysticism, and which also disclaims any spiritual assistance in the process of reformation or healing.

In conclusion, psycho-analysis is based upon the assertion of the Freudians that no act of conduct, however trivial or commonplace, arises except it be predestined, if not consciously then unconsciously; that all degrees of our personality and behaviour from the most obscure to the most obvious and definite may even be motivated involuntarily from the unconscious mind, just as those that are purely voluntary are willed from the conscious mind. There is no such thing as a "chance" action, everything arises from some previously submerged mental cause. I am obliged to record my opposition to this method which does not appear to me to help the spiritual adviser, for it is all against morality and religious teaching, and I can see but little assistance to the divine power of healing from psycho-analysis.

ROBERT ARMSTRONG-JONES.

ABYSSINIA AND THE POWERS.

NOT the least significant feature of the recent diplomatic storm over the Anglo-Italian entente on Abyssinia is the careful concentrating of the disputants on trifles and their equally careful ignoring of the real, as opposed to the diplomatic issues, and the question one is pressed to ask is whether such ignoring is calculated or merely another of these phenomena on which one bases one's attempts to comprehend the mentality of foreign offices. On the face of it the dispute—if it even assumes that dignity—is one merely of etiquette. In strict fidelity to the treaties France ought to have been brought in from the first as a partner in the Abyssinian discussions, but, as these were concerned solely with the clauses affecting Britain and Italy, there seemed no need to do more than communicate their results—as was duly done—to the third party. Diplomacy in the person of Baron d'Avezana went so far as to make a personal explanation on the point in Paris, and as a result of his *éclaircissements* M. Briand, as director of French foreign policy, accepted the explanation and bade those careful of France's interests rest assured that these had suffered and would suffer no impairment. Unity thus restored, the three Powers blandly ask why all this ado over a pure formality, and Sir Austen Chamberlain, having published a small addition to the Treaty Series giving the Notes exchanged, emphasises his unimpeachable fidelity to the treaty of 1906 and the League Covenant, and denies all intention of coercion. This declaration is duly noted; seemingly everyone is satisfied and the solemn registration of the correspondence at Geneva sets the seal on a transaction which is the very incarnation of altruistic innocence. It has not yet been ascertained if the suggestion that France should be left out of the discussions emanated from Sir Austen Chamberlain or Signor Mussolini, but one or other gets the credit for a master-stroke. For, from the resulting controversy, it was difficult to realise that issues of grave international importance had been raised, issues grave enough in 1906, graver still in 1926. It is with these issues that it is proposed to deal here.

By way of preface it may be remarked that Cd. 2680 is a strangely brief document. The account we get there of the negotiations is abbreviated out of all intelligibility. We are told—what we already knew—that Italy raised the question in 1919, but not in what circumstances; the reference is merely made the excuse for a gratuitous expression of confidence in Signor Mussolini. Owing to that confidence the British Government examined the question again. Why, we are not told. We are left to believe that, filled with admiration for the friendly relations between the two states the Foreign Office hastily re-read all the Italian corre-

spondence in their possession and casually alighted on the "note" of 1919, which was not of Fascist authorship. This sudden lust for the perusal of dead documents results in Sir Ronald Graham being instructed to offer an agreement on December 14th, 1925, which is accepted on December 25th—surely at record speed. Of the obvious preceding negotiations we get no hint, yet these are vital and, if one excellent Italian correspondent's version is true, would present interesting reading, for Britain desired a corridor to, and a police garrison at, Lake Tsana, and was restrained only by the well-known and often-exhibited moderation of Signor Mussolini. (*Corrière della Sera*, June 29th.) We are not told when the agreement was communicated to France, or Paris's reactions to it. According to M. Gauvain the Quai d'Orsay was informed in January, but the actual document does not appear to have been sent till April.

At any rate, the first hint French opinion got of it was the veiled reference made by the diplomatic correspondent of the *Daily Telegraph* (March 27th) that negotiations were proceeding, a statement repeated by the same correspondent on April 17th, though on that date *The Times* speaks of "an agreement some time ago." Are we to take it that there have been subsequent as well as earlier negotiations? Nor are we told except by inspired and contradictory press paragraphs in what terms the French protested, and have to be content with the pious blessing of M. Briand and with another semi-official statement—stoutly denied by certain French authorities—that the ministers at Addis Abeba of the three Powers will act in unison to persuade the Abyssinian Government to accept the demands of two of them.

Nor is the agreement itself less strange. The treaty of 1906, judged by present-day standards, is not a particularly inspiring document. It is in no sense a guarantee pact; it is merely a self-denying ordinance setting forth a method whereby the three Powers will preserve peace among themselves, and affirms that the best way to do so is to maintain intact "the integrity of Ethiopia." The careful wording of the first clause: "France, Britain and Italy are in accord to maintain the political and territorial *status quo* in Ethiopia as it is determined by the state of affairs actually existing and by treaties," indicates that there was no intention of presenting a three-Power guarantee.

Still more significant is the wording of Article 4: In the case of events happening to disturb the *status quo*, the three Powers "will do their utmost" to maintain the integrity of Ethiopia. There is no definition of "tous leurs efforts." If the Powers change their minds, if they are no longer in accord, if the state of affairs actually existing ceases to exist, there is ample room to

claim complete liberty of action. There is no record apparently of any contemporary claim that it is a guarantee pact. It is in no way binding on Abyssinia. It does not even appear in their records for Menilek, who distrusted it profoundly, declined to recognise it, and his example has been followed by his successors.

Later, at the negotiations of the Treaty of London in 1915 the "integrity of Ethiopia" was clearly in question. In that treaty Italy claims "extension of her possessions in Eritrea, Somaliland and Libya and the colonial areas adjoining French and British colonies." This in 1919 at the Peace Conference was interpreted to mean Abyssinia, although the treaty of 1896 which regulates Italo-Abyssinian relations expressly recognises Abyssinia's independence. The interpretation was contested by Britain and France—the latter raised the question of Abyssinian admission to the League of Nations—but it is at least supported by the document dated April 22nd, 1915 (*L'Intervento dell'Italia nei Documenti segreti dell'Intesa*: Rome, 1923), in which Italy declares that "French reservations regarding Djibouti are unnecessary," and by even a casual perusal of Italian colonialist literature between 1919 and 1922, from which it is abundantly clear that the 1906 treaty so far as Abyssinia is concerned is actually and juridically no safeguard at all. A treaty which indicates, however vaguely, spheres of influence, is in essence, and may at any moment become actually, an instrument of spoliation.

That fact did not escape the astute Ras Tafari. It is true that the French as a result of the discussion at Paris and subsequently called his attention thereto, but the kindly deed was superfluous. Two Powers had already done that. One was Britain; the other Italy. Both Powers repeatedly made *démarches* at Addis Abeba to obtain Abyssinian recognition of the clauses concerning them. Joint action was apparently not attempted, but its appearance was inevitable, for on all occasions the Abyssinian Government turned a deaf ear. The indiscreet description of his country as "the sick man of Eastern Africa" whose disappearance as a state "would be an advantage for civilisation and for peace" (*Nuova Antologia*, July 10th, 1920), had been brought to the Regent's notice, and its plain warning was emphasised by many other similar statements in British and Italian papers.

Ordinary diplomacy failing, Britain tried another tack. At the third session of the League Assembly (September, 1922) through Sir A. Steel-Maitland, the British Government raised the question of slavery in Abyssinia. To discuss slavery is foreign to this paper, though it might be argued that in civilised countries, not excluding British colonies, there are states far less desirable than that of a slave in Abyssinia. No one seeks to condone it, but one

requires very special evidence of disinterestedness before one accepts the right of a sovereign state to interfere in the peculiar domestic economy of another sovereign state, and it is significant that the campaign against slavery followed up for months in the Press left most observers in a state of chilly indifference. It was of course a true charge. Slavery did and does exist in Abyssinia, and on the frontier where the King's writ runs with difficulty, marauders do cross the border and lift cattle and prisoners, but there was no evidence that the Abyssinian Government was implicated in or even condoned these outrages, nor was the connection between a raid in Kenya, a slave at Addis Abeba, and barrage works on Lake Tsana very easy to deduce.

What the British Government—apart from certain interests—expected at Geneva is not clear, though French writers like M. Alype (*L'Empire des Négus*, Paris, 1925) are in no doubt. The least apparently was an economic boycott—to satisfy "the country of Wilberforce"—the most a mandate of some sort; but all the League did was to pass a pious resolution requesting a general investigation of the subject which later caused some embarrassment in unexpected and unsuspecting quarters. There is, however, no doubt that an actual attempt on Abyssinian sovereignty and integrity was to be made, and it is here we may place the beginnings of Anglo-Italian co-operation since, clearly, Britain could not be allowed to act alone in the pious task of removing the stigma of slavery from the hinterland of Eritrea as well as from the headwaters of the Nile.

Meantime this sequence of events had its steady repercussion in Abyssinia, where it aroused general indignation. Menilek's proud boast: "Ethiopia has no need of anyone: she looks only to God," expressed admirably the sentiments of his countrymen, but the Regent took a longer view. He did not share the common Abyssinian opinion since Adowa that Ethiopia was invincible and inviolable; he knew of modern ways of dealing with coloured populations against which bravery and devotion had little chance, and so did what Menilek in his exaltation had never done; he sought a definite guarantee. He applied for membership of the League.

The application was formally made on August 1st, 1923, and so came before the Fourth Assembly in September. The proceedings are not without interest. In the armaments commission and the admission commission the application was fought tooth and nail by the Anglo-Italian representatives—the first public evidence of the Anglo-Italian entente—but admission conditional on the acceptance of the St. Germain's protocol on arms and of the Berlin, Brussels and St. Germain's agreements on slavery was recommended to the Assembly. In spite of obstacles physical and

otherwise the condition was accepted, and after a duel between M. de Jouvenel on the one side and Mr. E. F. Wood and Sir Joseph Cook on the other, admission was voted. Abyssinia became a full member of the League of Nations.

It is not necessary to believe all that even sober French correspondents relate on the intrigues at Geneva; the reading of the debates is sufficient to understand much of what has happened since, especially why the Anglo-Italian entente of 1925 was concluded without the knowledge of France, and to cast very grave doubts on the soothing statements of the last few weeks. As in 1906 Britain and Italy regarded the then treaty with disfavour, so in 1923 these Powers felt—and their representatives went within an ace of saying so—that they had suffered a diplomatic defeat, for the whole situation is radically changed.

Up till 1923 intervention, pressure, exploitation of the good old kind was possible; from 1923 the integrity of Abyssinia is guaranteed. To violate it in 1906 was, though not indeed as so often assumed a colonial question, a national question; to violate it now is an international question, and it is precisely that aspect that the new agreement ignores. That two Powers should agree to recognise "spheres of influence," even if "influence" is qualified by the adjective "economic," on the territory of a third and juridically equal Power independent of any consultation and agreement with that Power, and that this third Power should first learn indirectly of an agreement regarding its internationally guaranteed territory, is shocking to the spirit and contrary to the letter of the League Covenant. The old and much-abused robber imperialism can show nothing quite like this, and it certainly was never guilty, having committed what on the most charitable view is a breach of international courtesy of the first magnitude. Of adding the unctuous insult of registering the offending document with the guaranteeing authority.

Registration does not share with charity the power of covering up sin, and one would like further explanation. There is grave reason to believe that there was originally no intention of publicity, and that it was only the interference of a non-interested Power—non-interested, that is to say, in the 1906 treaty, but considerably interested in Abyssinia—that compelled revelation, and so has given the chance to Abyssinia to protest. There is no intention here to accuse either Power of immediate predatory designs. Sir Austen Chamberlain, with publicity forced upon him, has expressly disclaimed such. The accusation is on different grounds.

The first charge is that it paves the way for possible coercive action and secures in advance an agreement to resist criticism and opposition. If pressure was admittedly brought to bear by each

Power separately, can we be certain that joint action will not at least approximate to pressure? Is not an agreement excluding all the other guaranteeing powers something in the nature of a threat, since if Abyssinia's refusal is to be accepted as final why the necessity for a new agreement when such an agreement has been in existence for twenty years? Is it unreasonable to conjecture that a new agreement implies a forward policy? Can we imagine—so long at least as the United States is interested in China—such an agreement publicly acknowledged in the case of any other member of the League? To say, as one commentator does, that the two Powers "merely define their rights," only emphasises the juridical uniqueness of the position.

The agreement, in fact, is only an incident in a campaign, an incident caused by Ras Tafari's smiling obstinacy during his visit to Europe and his evident but—after Geneva—very comprehensible preference for the French. It is an attempt to get over the obstacle Ras Tafari created by the act of 1923. Should Abyssinia uncoerced agree to the demands, no critic would have anything to say. A barrage and a railway can be built without any violation to national sovereignty. In the 1906 treaty these are already envisaged; in the 1925 agreement it is agreed to secure their accomplishment in the interests not of Ethiopia but of the Powers concerned. Abyssinia's attitude now is precisely what Menilek's was then. Her government admits the paramount interest of Britain in the Nile waters, an interest persistently expressed at Addis Abeba since 1906,* and since the tension in Anglo-Egyptian relations the question has become acute. But, as Abyssinia has contracted no obligation to either Power to permit of its entry into her territory, she conceives that as far as Britain is concerned the Tsana question is sufficiently regulated by the guarantee treaty of 1902, prohibiting Abyssinia from attempting to imitate the earlier Lalibela and alternatively starving or drowning out Egypt.

If there is objection to British construction at Tsana, there is graver objection to the Italian railway. A much less shrewd thinker than the Regent might well ask why any nation should seek to spend colossal sums to build a railway between points over 1,000 miles apart as the crow flies, separated by some of the worst hill and desert in Africa, to link up two wholly insignificant colonies already and far more cheaply linked up by sea. The exclusive economic influence scarcely explains it, for, compelled

* The interest dates only from the advance into the Sudan. It is not in evidence in the partition treaties of the Mahdist period, when Britain was content merely to impose conditions on Italy. It is possible that had not Adowa on the one hand and the Boer war on the other intervened the question would have definitely been regulated in Britain's favour before the close of last century. The part to be played by the Sudan barrages in the coercion of Egypt is a subject that invites serious investigation from other points of view than that of the integrity of Abyssinia.

by the treaty of 1906 to pass west of Addis Abeba, the railway could not seriously affect the shorter Djibouti line which at present carries 80 per cent. of the trade, and in any case one is convinced that the future of Abyssinian transport lies not with the railway but with the motor wagon and perhaps the aeroplane. Ras Tafari is not ignorant of European politics. He has seen the desire for territorial acquisition in Abyssinia openly expressed; he realises perfectly the necessity for Fascism of a policy of prestige. After a series of disappointments Italian foreign policy now seeks once again the Giolittian *parecchio*. Tangier, Tunis, Asia Minor, Syria—all are closed. Can Ras Tafari be blamed if he wonders whether Abyssinia is to be the victim *faute de mieux*?

Menilek laid down the law regarding railways: "The railway to Djibouti is an easy and rapid way to the sea. I shall never allow the construction of a railway which can be leaned against my mountain barrier as a ladder against a fort to be carried by assault." A line from Massowah to Mogadishu is of little use to Abyssinia, and its strategic character is so obvious that no government could submit for a moment to its existence under control of a foreign and legitimately suspected Power, unless at the same time it admitted that it was tired of independent existence. To protect such a line would require a garrison, and to construct it the equivalent of an army corps, and when finished it would virtually be the ladder against the fort which Menilek feared. Such a railway would have possibly transformed Adowa. Had Baratieri carried his point—prevented by French protests—of sending a force through Zeila into Harrar, no overwhelming force would have faced his columns at Amba Alagi. In a future war such a railway—apart altogether from modern weapons—would render the task of the invader less difficult by one half than Baratieri's.

But the gravest indictment, and that which cuts at the root of the theory of disinterested and idealist abhorrence of slavery and the traffic in arms, is that the agreement fosters—and neither government can have failed to realise that it would foster—just that very state of things which each abhors, but which affords so regularly an excuse for intervention either by League mandate or by a *beau geste* like the naval victory of Corfu. Since the liquidation of Lij Yasu's adventure Abyssinia has been divided into two camps. One clings to the ancient ways and regards western civilisation as a sacrilegious delusion. The other looks to the west for inspiration and, *mutatis mutandis*, seeks to accomplish a miracle like that of Japan. The latter is headed by Ras Tafari. He seeks to transform his nation into a progressive, prosperous and achieving people. He realises its possibilities and its merits, and that the obstacle to all realisation is the persistent clinging to

mediævalism of an intensely proud but ignorant race to whom change in its history has so often been another name for treason. The much-abused slavery which has flourished for centuries, and whose uprooting demands a complete revolution in Abyssinian domestic economy, has already been tackled; so have education, hygiene, transport, justice. Much has been done in spite of every obstacle put in its way by those very people who are responsible for those actions against which Britain has made a habit of protesting. The argument they have used with the greatest success is that by "westernising" his country Ras Tafari is selling its liberties—an argument usually final in Abyssinia. Yet the Regent has gathered round him a band of capable and devoted adherents, many of them of a new generation and boldly engaged in the war of progress, enlightenment, health and freedom against barbarism, ignorance, disease and slavery. With the opinion of an investigator like Professor Phelps-Stoke: "the abolition of slavery is depended on the growth of the influence of Tafari," other observers concur and admit that already great progress has been made—a progress as far as slave raids are concerned admitted in Parliament by Sir Austen Chamberlain's immediate predecessor, and confirmed by the archives of the League of Nations.

Yet it is this leader of the party of progress that the two Powers have elected to stab in the back; the only man capable of enforcing the conditions they so loudly demand. In the agreement they have presented his enemies with a trump card. It is frankly regarded, even by the progressives, as an instrument of aggression; by the opposition it is represented as the first fruits of the Regent's policy of abandoning the Menilek reliance on Providence in favour of entering the community of nations and seeking to reform Abyssinia on western lines. It strikes a rude—or was it a shrewd?—blow at the party of progress, already in difficulties as a result of the constant criticism in Europe of Ras Tafari's administration. The unitary idea has so far progressed as probably to prevent a recrudescence of anarchy, but the position of the central government has certainly been weakened. Both Powers are so well informed of internal conditions in Abyssinia that it is almost incredible that they failed to foresee this particular consequence of their action. If it was foreseen, it was intended, and so becomes criminal, a deliberate attempt to check reform in the interests of selfish schemes, even to the provoking of such a state of affairs as would undo the work done at Geneva, and lead to an intervention sanctioned by a majority of nations. The history of Abyssinia from Theodore to Menilek has evidently been well studied, but the consequences of intervention, especially intervention *à la* Corfu, both to Abyssinia and to Europe, have surely received less careful study than they deserve.

There is a tendency to explain away the agreement by reference to the general political situation. It is said, for example, that the British Government took the initiative because of the serious situation arising out of Franco-Italian differences in Tunis and Tangier, and Italian ambitions in the Mediterranean. It was imperative in the interests of general peace that Italian eyes should be diverted to some place where Fascist impulsiveness would do less mischief, and a perusal of colonialist brochures suggested Abyssinia. If this view is true—and it is seriously put forward—it has failed, for the *Messaggero* (July 3rd) solemnly declares that “the limited question of Ethiopia” will not attract Italian attention from “the vast problems of Tunis and Tangier,” and it is also a specimen of political morality worthy to be eternally ticketed in the museum of history—the spectacle of a great empire using the destinies of 15,000,000 people struggling into the sunlight to avoid the risk of unpleasantness because of the inordinate ambition of a European party. One would prefer the agreement were frankly piratical rather than that sort of calculated jesuitism.

The explanation may be true; it is certainly not out of keeping with a peculiar trend in British foreign policy, and it would also account for M. Briand's extraordinary and complacent secrecy, for despite the colonialists and the genuine friends of Abyssinia one cannot see the Quai d'Orsay defending anything or anybody in opposition to its own material interests and diplomatic advantage. But no agreement is explicable if it is not intended to have results, and whatever its repercussions on the Mediterranean question, it must have been intended, if only to be effective on the Mediterranean, to produce results in Abyssinia. Some of its results are already apparent, and they may well lead to the disorganisation—the conventional prelude to dismemberment—of one of the oldest Christian states in the world, whose battle for independent existence has lasted some twenty centuries. Whatever the explanation of the agreement, whether due to imperialism, to Machiavellian diplomacy, to wanton mischief-making, or merely to ignorance, the course of action of a real League of Nations is so plain that a failure to adopt it will be final proof that the worst apprehensions of the agreement's critics are no more than just, and the banded powers of civilisation—of *white* civilisation—will have deservedly to listen to an elementary treatise on ethics from an African gentleman of longer descent than any of their representatives, a soldier and a statesman, appealing from the diplomacy of selfish Powers to the conscience of humanity.

R. T. CLARK.

BRITISH REPRESENTATIVES IN SWITZERLAND.

THE diplomatic relations between England and Switzerland may conveniently be dated from the beginning of the sixteenth century, a few years after Henry VIII's accession to the throne. At that period (1514) the Swiss Confederation consisted of the thirteen German-speaking Cantons of Appenzell, Berne, Bâle, Fribourg, Glarus, Lucerne, Schaffhausen, Schwyz, Soleure, Unterwalden, Zug, and Zürich. Valais, Neuchâtel, St. Gall, and the three Rhaetian Leagues of the Grisons were independent allies. Geneva was on the verge of securing her independence of Savoy. Vaud was not yet free. The districts forming the modern Canton of Ticino had been acquired in 1512. The modern Canton of Aargau was included in Berne; Thurgau was a “subject district,” ruled by seven members of the Confederation. There were other allied and subject territories that are no longer connected with Switzerland. “Territorially” this Swiss Confederation “was the most stable country in Europe, lying between a France, a Germany, and an Italy still broken up into small units” (M. William Martin, in the *Blue Guide to Switzerland*). It had much to say as to the balance of power in Europe, and its aid, at a time when countries changed their alliances as a man changes his shoes, was much sought after by the greater nations.

At the Diets held in 1512 at Baden in Aargau, the proudest states in Europe pleaded with the “Eidgenossen” for a share of the duchy of Milan; but the Swiss had no desire to see either Austria or France in Lombardy, and proclaimed Maximilian Sforza as the rightful heir. When Maximilian entered Milan in triumph in the same year, it was from the hands of Burgomaster Schmid of Zürich that he received the keys of the town as the symbol of sovereignty. Milan thus came under the protection of Switzerland, very much as Tunis to-day is under the protection of France. After the brilliant victory of Novara, over the French, in 1513, Machiavelli even predicted that Switzerland would secure the hegemony of Italy. It was the effective military aid of the Swiss that Pope Julius summoned Raphael to celebrate in the frescoes of the Stanza d'Elidoro; and the “Heavenly Horsemen” who have overcome the robber of the Temple undoubtedly typifies the Swiss soldiers of fortune.

It was the mutual desire of England and Switzerland to enter into closer relations with each other in regard to the Continental situation that led to the first interchange of diplomatic courtesies. In 1514, William Knight, afterwards Bishop of Bath and Wells, was despatched to Zürich, to bring to fruition the negotiations carried on a little earlier with Swiss representatives at a conference in

Greenwich. Knight, who was sent on similar missions in 1522 and later, has been described as "a faithful servant of Henry VIII and a useful diplomatist of the old school, who regarded dissimulation as one of the elements of success." He is buried in Wells Cathedral, where a pulpit in one of the chapels bears his coat-of-arms. A similar and practically contemporaneous envoy was Richard Pace (afterwards Dean of three English cathedrals in succession), who was sent by Cardinal Wolsey to the Senate of Zürich. The peace of Geneva (1516) prevented the consummation of a formal alliance between England and Switzerland; but there is no doubt that English money and English sympathy did their work; and the nascent Swiss Confederation, then struggling to assert its liberty and independence, henceforth regarded our country as one of its best friends. At this juncture, by one of the curious paradoxes of history, there were bodies of Swiss mercenaries in the armies on both sides; but in Lombardy the anti-French Swiss persuaded many of their compatriots to desert the French standard.

The outstanding Swiss personality at this period was Cardinal Matthew Schinner, the peasant-boy of the Valais who rose to the highest dignities of the church. Distrust of France was the keynote of his life, and in 1516 he visited London with the object of consolidating a strong anti-French league. Though baulked for the moment by the Geneva peace, he never lost sight of his aims. He was greatly helped by the Reformation in England, which sealed the friendship between England and the Swiss Protestants. This is borne witness to (e.g.) by the correspondence of Archbishop Cranmer, the Dukes of Somerset and Suffolk, and Lady Jane Grey with the Swiss Reformers Calvin and Bullinger; and by the asylum afforded by Switzerland to British religious exiles in the reign of Queen Mary. One of these, John Bale, Bishop of Ossory, praises the Swiss Church as the "foundation of pure religion," and in his references to Zürich and Geneva shows quite the reverse of the qualities which earned for him the sobriquet of "foul-mouthed Bale." When Elizabeth came to the throne the friendly intercourse between the two countries was naturally resumed on the frankest and most cordial basis.

The diplomatist Sir Isaac Wake (1580-1632) had a good deal to do with Switzerland, but his negotiations were mainly concerned with the side-issue of the relations of the Swiss Cantons with the then independent state of the Grisons. We may, therefore, pass on to the Cromwellian epoch. In 1653 J. J. Stockar of Schaffhausen was sent to London to try to bring an end to the internecine struggle between the two Protestant naval powers, England and Holland. In this aim he had very substantial success. Next year Cromwell sent the learned mathematician, John Pell (the eponym of the

"Pell Problem" and inventor of the sign $\div$), to Zürich, to bring about an Anglo-Swiss league. This had to be abandoned owing to England's *rapprochement* with France; but Pell was found so useful that his post at Zürich was made permanent. It is amusing in this connection to recall that Cromwell's first association with Switzerland (so far as I know) was not very flattering to that country. When, in 1647, the extreme Republican party in England put forward the "Agreement of the People," Cromwell opposed it vigorously, asserting that it would bring utter confusion on the country and "make England like Switzerland."

Associated for a time with Pell was John Durie, as eminent as a theologian as Pell was as a mathematician. His great aim was the establishment of Christian unity throughout Europe, but apparently he met with no great success, for his pessimistic conclusion was: "the only fruit which I have reaped for all my toils is that I see the miserable condition of Christianity, and that I have no other comfort than the testimony of my conscience." A little later we find Pell, George Downing, and Samuel Morland designated as the "Swiss Commissioners Extraordinary of the Lord Protector." Sir Samuel Morland, like Pell a man of science, had a share in the settlement of the Waldensian difficulty and secured copies of several of the leading Vaudois books, which he deposited in the Cambridge University Library. His own "History of the Waldenses" created a *furor* something like Foxe's "Book of Martyrs." His chief scientific work was in hydrostatics, but he also made improvements in the barometer, had some ideas on steam propulsion, and is said to have invented the speaking-trumpet. There is a calculating machine by him in the Victoria and Albert Museum. He may be classed with the second Marquis of Worcester as one of the great English "amateur" inventors.

Downing's career was more spectacular. Son of an English barrister, who emigrated to America and married a sister of Governor John Winthrop, George Downing became the second graduate of Harvard, took orders, and returned to England, where he was appointed chaplain to Colonel John Okey's regiment. Thereafter he gave up the church for the army, married a sister of the Earl of Carlisle, and became a zealous supporter of Cromwell. In 1655 he was sent to Paris to protest against the French treatment of the Vaudois. He managed to make his peace at the Restoration, averring that his New England education had made him "suck in principles that since his reason had made him see were erroneous"; and Charles II (acting on the maxim that, as he had had the plague already, he was immune against further attack) gave him a baronetcy. The famous Downing Street was laid out on his property, and Downing College was founded by his grandson. In

New England his name had less honourable connotations; a "George Downing" became a slang term for a betrayer of trusts. He was very much in the black books of Diarist Pepys, who wrote of him as "a perfidious rogue" and "ungrateful villain."

In 1655 occurred the episode of the Waldensian massacres. The Swiss Protestant Cantons found their intervention in the interest of their persecuted brethren in the Piedmontese valleys unavailing, and turned to Cromwell for help. He responded promptly and appealed to the Protestants of Europe to co-operate in the work of rescue. The result was peace for a time at least to the tormented Vaudois. The appeal was written by Cromwell's secretary, John Milton, whose more personal reaction informed the sonnet beginning

"Avenge, O Lord, thy slaughter'd saints, whose bones
Lie scatter'd on the Alpine mountains cold."

The Restoration of the Stuarts and the Catholic tendency of their policy naturally cooled the relations between England and the Protestant Cantons. The main contact between the two countries at this epoch was the protection afforded to Ludlow and the other Regicides, who were received as honoured guests at Geneva, Berne, Vevey, and elsewhere, and may be fairly called the English representatives in Switzerland for the time being.

The Swiss Confederation at this date was relatively very much as it had been in 1514; indeed it was not till 1798 that any addition was made to the "Thirteen Cantons." Geneva, however, had achieved its independence in 1526, and Vaud since 1536 had been ruled by Berne instead of by Savoy. The Thirteen Cantons accounted for less than half the area of present-day Switzerland. If Vaud and Ticino be included, the proportion becomes rather more than half. Of the population about 60 per cent. were Protestants and 40 per cent. Roman Catholics—a proportion that still obtains. By the Peace of Westphalia (1648) the independence of the Swiss Confederation (which, however, had been practically, though not nominally, effective since 1501) was definitely acknowledged, and Switzerland was formally recognised as an integral European state. It must not be forgotten, however, that within the Confederation there still remained the antinomy of the Protestant and Catholic Cantons, which often led even to foreign alliances affecting only a portion of the country. The accession of William of Orange inspired both England and Holland with the desire to detach the Protestant Cantons from France. Thomas Coxe was sent to Switzerland to hire mercenaries and conclude an alliance. He was received, as the French satirically said, like a Messiah, and the health of William III was uproariously drunk below the windows of the French minister at Geneva. But the Swiss hardly dared to

make a clean break with France, and the negotiations failed to produce any effective compact. The neutrality of Switzerland was now recognised by the Great Powers, though during the next twenty years or so (War of the Spanish Succession) the custom of employing Swiss mercenaries reached its height. At least 50,000 Swiss soldiers were engaged on one side or other, but, after all, this really reflected the divided sympathies of Switzerland itself, for the Catholic Cantons (such as Lucerne, Fribourg, and the so-called "Forest Cantons") leaned as much towards the Catholic Powers as Berne, Zürich, and the other Protestant Cantons leaned towards the Protestant.

In 1705 Abraham Stanyan, a friend of Alexander Pope, was sent by Queen Anne to the Protestant Cantons, specially instructed to counteract the intrigues of the French minister at Geneva. The main question with which he had to deal was the succession to the principality of Neuchâtel, and he was largely instrumental in securing this, in defiance of Louis XIV., for the King of Prussia. Failure might have meant the permanent attachment to France of one of Switzerland's most prosperous cantons. Stanyan wrote "An Account of Switzerland," which Lord Chesterfield advised his son to read. In this book he tells us that Swiss agriculture was the best in the world and makes the shrewd remark that the Swiss aristocracies (Berne, e.g., was very undemocratic in its form of government) resembled inverted pyramids, which the first vigorous push must upset.

The period of Swiss history between the Peace of Westphalia (1648) and the French Revolution is, perhaps, the least significant in the nation's career, and has even been styled the age of decadence. It was a time of external tranquillity and internal disquiet. On the whole, however, the country was materially prosperous; and the domestic seething may have been a necessary preliminary to the firm organisation of modern Switzerland. The relations with England were peaceful and devoid of interest. Hence there is little to say about the British representatives in this interval. It is interesting, however, to note, in passing, that in 1742-45 M. Jérôme de Salis was our "envoye extraordinaire auprès des Trois Liges Grisons." M. de Salis belonged to one of the two great Grisons families, those of Salis and Planta, the leading supporters of (respectively) the Protestant or French and the Roman Catholic or Austrian cause, the conflict between which forms one main thread of Grisons history. This may have been the beginning of English associations with the de Salis family. Some of them settled later in England; and the present head of the family, Count John Francis Charles de Salis, possesses estates in Ireland as well as in the Grisons and was for some years the British representative at the Vatican.

William Wickham, who was the British Minister Plenipoten-

tiary in "Switzerland" (as his credentials from Lord Grenville call it) from 1795 to 1798 and again in 1799, was a Yorkshireman of interesting character, as may be gathered from the assertion made at the close of his life, that he had in all his dealings with his species, "never met with an instance of ingratitude." Wickham found himself "up against" the French Revolution, and his real task was to use Switzerland as a base in securing support for the Royalist and anti-revolutionary movement in France. So zealous and effective was he in this cause that in 1797 the French Directory demanded his expulsion. To avoid awkwardness for the gallant little republic in its dealings with the French Colossus, he resigned of his own accord. Lord Grenville was no longer troubled by "the small and crowded handwriting" of his Swiss representative, which he recommends him to alter, as he wishes his reports to be read "in a certain quarter"—doubtless His Majesty King George III. When Wickham returned to Switzerland in 1799 he became the active agent of the British policy of restoring the old aristocratic forms of Cantonal government. This was by no means popular with many of the Swiss themselves. England's and Wickham's sympathy with the cause of Swiss independence was genuine, but their methods were unfortunate. The attempt to rouse the country against France and its vassal, the Helvetic Republic, was not successful. Switzerland was divided against itself. There were actually more Swiss soldiers in Masséna's army than in British pay. France was victorious, and the "Helvetic Republic, One and Indivisible," repugnant as it was to the spirit of Swiss history, remained for the time being firmly established, to be followed by Napoleon's Act of Mediation (1803) and almost complete loss of independence. For about fifteen years Switzerland was a mere appanage of France.

In 1814 there arrived at Zürich one of the most interesting individualities in the record of British diplomacy in the person of Stratford Canning (cousin of George Canning), appointed Minister Plenipotentiary to Switzerland by Lord Castlereagh. The career of the "Great Eltchi," as Kingslake admiringly called him, is, of course, predominantly associated with Turkey and the East; but the short time he spent in Switzerland is by no means devoid of interest. Young (only 28), handsome, talented, and full of energy and enthusiasm, he soon made himself respected in his new environment, and both at Zürich and Berne he was one of the most conspicuous and popular figures in diplomatic circles. The attachment was reciprocal. On his arrival at Zürich he writes from his hotel to his friend J. N. Fazakerley:

"Put on your spurs, mount your yacht, and come the shortest possible way to this delicious country. You are, and must be, an owl till you set foot in this land of liberty and cocked hats. The

finest mountains—the greenest plains—the neatest houses—the best inns—the most limpid streams—and for aught I know the most delightful fair ones, ever yet beheld in this transitory sphere. At this very instant of time I am enjoying one of the most beautiful scenes in the world from a window that looks out upon the lake and across it to the Lagerberg, the Albis, the crags of Schwytz, the snowy ridges of Glarus, and the glaciers of the Alps beyond! Ye gods! am I not to be envied?"

"Canning's poetic disposition" (as his biographer Mr. Poole tells us) "was strongly moved by the associations awakened by the famous scenes of Swiss history. His own intense patriotism found a sympathetic delight in retracing the course of the heroic struggle for liberty which is mapped out by such names as Sempach, Morgarten, Morat, and Grandson." Canning's diplomatic task was to promote unity among the Swiss Cantons; and the complete re-organisation of the Swiss Confederation in September, 1814, owed much to him and to his wise and witty associate Capo d'Istria, the representative of Russia. His stay in Switzerland was broken by his participation in the Congress of Vienna (1815), where (as he wrote to his mother) "the affairs of the little cantons of Switzerland cut no contemptible figure." He and Capo d'Istria were both members of the Swiss Committee of the Congress, which finally guaranteed the independence and neutrality of the Swiss Confederation. Then came the anxiety of the "Hundred Days," dispelled by the victory of Waterloo, which was received in Switzerland with unlimited demonstrations of joy. On Canning's return to Switzerland he found little more serious work to do, but his letters give amusing accounts of Bernese society, for, as Mr. Lane-Poole writes, even the glaciers were not chilling enough to repress the raptures of the Swiss ladies. In 1819 he was glad to exchange his somewhat monotonous duties in Switzerland for the more exacting post of Minister to the United States. In 1847 he was, however, sent on a special mission to Switzerland in connection with the problems of the Sonderbund or revolt of the Catholic Cantons—the "Swiss War of Secession." Of this mission Palmerston wrote to him: "you have been able to do much good and to prevent much mischief." Canning lived to be 93, and it is interesting to know that he retained to the end much of his youthful ebullience and enthusiasm. He was, perhaps, the last of the old school of ambassadors, taking themselves and expecting to be taken with almost regal seriousness.

If this sketch were extended to cover the last hundred years, we should find a similar record of Anglo-Swiss friendship. And of each of our diplomatic representatives it may be truly said that he contributed his quota to that service of free England to Switzerland of which the eminent Swiss historian, Wilhelm Oechsli, wrote: "it cannot and will not be forgotten."

J. F. MUIRHEAD.

PHILOSOPHY AND POETRY.

IN the tenth book of the *Republic* there is a famous passage in which Plato designs to expel poets from his ideal state on the ground that their works are "the third distant from real being," and in consequence must prove but idle, incorrect and harmful phantoms of the Truth. He endeavours to show that such fictions are mere copies of the concrete objects of daily existence or moral concepts of daily thought, which in their turn are only shadowy images of the eternal Idea. It is difficult to believe that Plato's objection was as drastic and widespread as has sometimes been supposed. He was himself as much as Homer dependent upon the use of words, and words, whether in poetry or prose, are only symbols. He did not himself disdain to write, and he could not therefore fairly cavil at any attempt to give symbolic form to whatever mode of being. His own description of conscience is no more and no less shadowy than Homer's description of a chariot. A man's conscience, it is true, is not tangible like a chariot, it is not perceived through any of the five senses, but its relation to the Idea of Conscience in the Eternal Mind is precisely the same as that of any single chariot to that of Ideal Chariotness. In either case, whether the mode of being is eternal or a mere temporal manifestation, mankind has to rely for his appreciation of it upon his brain. In the case of conscience he does so through his conceptual, in the case of the chariot through his perceptive, faculties. Homer may describe any one chariot or any individual conscience, Plato may discourse on Chariotness or Eternal Truth: but in both cases, with both men, the approach is by the same means and with the same minimum of exactitude. Almost certainly the strictures of Plato against poetry were aimed against, and confined to, the mythological and anthropomorphic tendencies of the Greek poets, which had already been censured in the second and third books of the *Republic*. His quarrel could not have been with the attempted representation of either universal or individual being, but that particular form which, by interpreting one in unworthy terms of the other, not only obscured and degraded the Prototype, but virtually denied its existence.

But the poet is prepared to face the two charges brought against him by Plato: the first, that he is too much preoccupied with the sensuous objects of nature which are unworthy of man's highest powers; the second, that, even when he deals with "the greatest and most noble things," his words are powerless to inspire mankind to the search or practice of them. For the poet contends that his art is just that power which gives form and permanence to what otherwise must remain an embryo or become a corpse. He

agrees with Plato in believing that the second mode of being, the ordinary things of the daily world around us, is a makeshift approximation to Reality, a makeshift so far removed that its relationship to the higher things passes for the most part unrecognised, and it is deemed, as a result, self-sufficient and self-inspired. But he maintains against the philosopher that his art does not merely imitate such things, but actually transforms them. Into this daily world, he would say, the artist infuses, by the God-given breath of his creative power, an integral vitality which lifts it to a plane whence its proper relationship with Eternity can be perceived, and which is itself a true and substantial mode of being. And indeed, Homer's chariots have long outlived those which fought beneath the walls of Troy, just as the characters of Plato have survived by many centuries the actual personages whom they record. Achilles and Socrates have attained to more permanent, more universal being in literature than they ever did in life: and to that extent both poet and philosopher would be justified in claiming that their creatures have approached more nearly to Reality than did the ephemeral existences which were their originals. "Fancy with fact is just one fact the more," says Browning in *The Ring and the Book*, which contains a fine and straightforward justification of the artist's standpoint.

No less, man, bounded, yearning to be free,
May so project his surplusage of soul
In search of body, so add self to self
By owning what lay ownerless before,—
So find, so fill full, so appropriate forms—
That, although nothing which had never life
Shall get life from him, be, not having been,
Yet, something dead may get to live again.

Plato's second charge is beside the point, and might well be directed against his own position. The artist lays claim not to didactic but to representative powers. He does not pretend to moralise as did the sophists: and yet the sophists, on Plato's own showing, were equally unable to affect their disciples for good. Granted the difference between a philosopher and a sophist, the former's greater influence can only lie in exposition of character, not of words. And Plato is dealing not with the poet's character, but his work, not with his being, but his doing. Furthermore, Socrates confesses in the *Meno* "that virtue is a thing impossible to be taught." It is, indeed, an open question whether Homer or Plato has the more benefited humanity: and what constitutes the benefit of humanity might be just as open a question. But insofar as the second is a charge at all, Browning has answered that also:

Why take the artistic way to prove so much?
Because it is the glory and good of Art

That Art remains the one way possible
Of speaking truth, to mouths like mine, at least.

But Art,—wherein man nowise speaks to men,
Only to mankind,—Art may tell a truth
Obliquely, do the thing shall breed the thought,
Nor wrong the thought, missing the mediate word.
So may you paint your picture, twice show truth,
Beyond mere imagery on the wall,—
So, note by note, bring music from your mind,
Deeper than ever the Andante dived,—
So write a book shall mean, beyond the facts,
Suffice the eye and save the soul beside.

Plato's real difficulty was as to the respective merits of Reason and Fancy in their efforts to portray the Idea: whether an abstract concept or a pictorial image were the juster and worthier enshrinement: whether Spinoza with his geometry or Bunyan with his romance could give a clearer notion of the unseen world. The problem is not yet solved. The conflict between the two stand-points is so old, the two camps are so well-defined, that it were wiser to conclude that there is no problem, but a permissible duality of temperament, either of which unpermissibly seeks to exclude the other. There are born partisans of each school, just as every little boy or girl, in Gilbert's phrase, "is either a little Liberal or else a little Conservative." When the two temperaments strive to fight the matter out in one soul—as unquestionably they did in Plato's—then the trouble begins. If compromise should result, the creative impulse generally ceases and sinks into apathy or despair. The only two other paths open are those of bigotry, which was ultimately Plato's fate; or of madness, which was that of Cowper and Coleridge and a thousand others who have failed to make their head and heart work in unison. Coleridge, however, was at least more generous than Plato. If his metaphysics and his cynicism could only stomach one another when pacified by laudanum, he would not deny to others the possibility of a saner synthesis. "What Mr. Wordsworth will produce," he wrote, "it is not for me to prophesy: but I could pronounce with the liveliest convictions what he is capable of producing. It is the *First Genuine Philosophic Poem*."

Coleridge, unfortunately, never proceeded to define what he meant by a philosophic poem, and it is not easy to conceive which of two alternatives he intended. If it was a poem so imaginative that it was more galvanic than any dry-as-dust system, then he had in prospect nothing beyond what is the aim and creed of every artist. He could have looked for a difference in degree only, not one of kind. If he meant a poem philosophic in subject rather than in treatment, then he surely underestimated at least one poem

in the English language. He was far too familiar with it to have overlooked *Paradise Lost*.

Milton's great epic is written round the central problem of Plato, the respective values of Reason and Fancy. It is the attempt of an old, blind, saddened man to say one word more, if possible one conclusive word, on a subject which had obviously entertained and perplexed him from boyhood. The age in which he lived did not make it less acute, or more amenable to treatment. The puritan attitude toward the theatres could not have been comfortable to the poet who composed *Comus* and *Samson Agonistes*. The hermit in him must have regarded with envious respect the celibacy of those eremites and friars which the husband of three wives felt bound to consign to the Paradise of Fools. The religious memory of Mrs. Catharine Thomson, his Christian friend, inspired him to verse, but so did old Hobson the Cambridge Carrier. The world was amazingly beautiful: the world was a vain shadow. What could be more delicious than Fancy, what more unlasting? What was so exquisite as Reason, what so unsatisfying? His senses nourished and irked him by turns: and all his work is the record of that antagonism.

In *L'Allegro* and *Il Penseroso* we have detailed the appeals and enjoyments of the rival factions. There is as yet no attempt to adjudicate between them, to apprise the merits of either Sense or Thought. He virtually concludes that any such estimate is impossible; for in the former he has to admit that the soul of harmony is "hidden," and in the latter that he can be dissolved in ecstasies only "through mine ear." In the first he votes with "sweetest Shakespeare, Fancy's child," in the second with "the spirit of Plato." He cherishes both "the busy hum of men" and the "dim religious light." The attraction of both is sensible: but is it possibly to different ideals? If so, why should the higher ideal be reached only through the lower medium? And if so, can that medium be rightly termed lower? The cause of war is plain, and the two contending armies are encamped. In *Comus*, they come to grips, or at least to closer quarters.

Lady: Fool, do not boast.
Thou canst not touch the freedom of my mind
With all thy charms, although this corporal rind
Thou hast immanacled while Heaven sees good.

Comus: Why are you vexed, Lady? Why do you frown?
Here dwell no frowns, nor anger; from these gates
Sorrow flies far. See, here be all the pleasures
That fancy can beget on youthful thoughts.

Once more Milton cannot see how to divorce the mind from the senses which it employs and upon which, at any rate in life, it is

dependent. After beginning with a bold appeal to those who

by due steps aspire
To lay their just hands on that golden key
That opes the palace of eternity,

he is compelled to end with the baffling conclusion that

if all the world
Should, in a pet of temperance, feed on pulse,
Drink the clear stream, and nothing wear but frieze,
The All-giver would be unthanked, would be unpraised.

But Milton does advance a step forward and make a definite attempt to distinguish between "divine Philosophy" and the "precepts from the Cynic tub." Asceticism as an end cannot be right, though discipline may, nay, must, be encouraged as a means to more delicate appreciation of natural beauties. It is the same wisdom which he inculcates in his Twentieth and Twenty-first sonnets. So much was certain, but it was not a very novel conclusion or a very memorable discovery. And though he has now caught a glimpse of his correct and only aim in life, he does not pretend to say how it is to be reached or why it should be so unapproachable.

Paradise Lost is Milton's completest presentation of the opposing forces as he viewed them, and in the same terms which have already been rendered familiar. Satan is found

Squat like a toad, close to the ear of Eve,
Assaying by his devilish art to reach
The organs of her fancy,

and in her first repulsion of him, the words employed by Eve are :
Our Reason is our Law.

She had already learned from Adam the relationship between the two :

in the soul
Are many lesser faculties, that serve
Reason as chief. Among these Fancy next
Her office holds; of all external things,
Which the five watchful senses represent,
She forms imaginations, aery shapes,
Which Reason, joining or disjoining, frames
All what we affirm or what deny, and call
Our knowledge or opinion.

Milton was by now more intrigued with the strange difficulties attending and imperilling the due maintenance of so vital and essential a balance, than in any cut-and-dried solution of them. Indeed, the doctrine of Original Sin banished once for all any hope of such an easy refinement. He saw that the quarrel was more fundamental than he had at first supposed. It was not a choice between two hard-and-fast categories of good and evil, but

the need of a much more sensitive equipoise, calling for the adjustment of one's every power to distinguish each in either. That is why he is fair to Satan. He had himself been faced with Satan's freedom of will and power of choice, and was not at all certain that he had employed them to better advantage than had the Arch Enemy of mankind. He could sympathise with the infernal Serpent, because his own powers of discrimination were certainly as weak and may well have been no better-intentioned. Milton chose such a theme for his greatest and most ambitious work because, though it cannot have satisfied his scheming, logical head—and his experience of politics and statesmanship may well have disillusioned him as to any rational capabilities in mankind—it allowed, if not peace, then at least scope to both those sides of his nature which had so long seemed perpetually at war. He could reconcile his children with his *Crito*, live in both worlds at once, be at the same time scholar and father; rather a fanciful scholar, rather an austere father perhaps, but then—Paradise was lost. Nowhere is his impatience between ideal existence and that life which his body forced him to live, more intimately revealed than in the querulous words of praise which Adam bestows upon Eve. He proclaims both his need and his scorn of women.

when I approach
Her loveliness, so absolute she seems
And in herself complete, so well to know
Her own, that what she wills to do or say
Seems wisest, virtuousest, discreetest, best.
All higher Knowledge in her presence falls
Degraded; Wisdom in discourse with her
Loses, discountenanced, and like Folly shows.

It is a strange and pathetic commentary on the Sonnet to his deceased wife. Poor, intellectual, uxorious, Milton! No doubt he loved the memory of his wife even more than her presence, because it filled him less with scruples. He was wholly convinced that there was a wise and delightful use for everything in the world, and he puts that truth into the mouth of Raphael :

flowers and their fruit,
Man's nourishment, by gradual scale sublimed,
To vital spirits aspire, to animal,
To intellectual; give both life and sense,
Fancy and understanding; whence the Soul
Reason receives, and Reason is her being.

The statement of it sounds so simple, so satisfactory, so convincing : but for Milton it was, in fact, a slow process of torture. Reason was becoming an obsession. No less bitterly than Plato he resented the intrusions of Matter, no less ardently desired the consolations of pure Mind. The philosopher tried to solace him-

self with the vision of a state that could not be found, the poet with the vision of a garden which was lost.

Reason may control Fancy, Fancy can inform Reason, but neither has a prior claim to the more accurate presentation of Reality, simply because, to be of service, they are inseparable one from the other. Either without its counterpart spells delirium. Exception might be pleaded on behalf of a handful of genuine mystics who claim to have had intuitive cognisance of real being. Even if such claim be admitted, it must be admitted also that such cognisance is incommunicable except in terms of Reason as by Plotinus (who, incidentally, confessed to failure in the mystical vision) or of Fancy as by Boehme: and are then virtually sterile, just because the writer, in his excusable passion for purity, insists on divorcing himself from the only comprehensible use of the medium he is bound to employ. He is right indeed in recognising that words are wretchedly approximate symbols, but since on symbols he must rely, then he may as well employ them in a serviceable sense. If he uses pure Reason, he paralyses the heart: if pure Fancy, he unhinges the brain.

Coleridge, we have seen, hoped, if he hardly dared to look, for a philosophic poem. Browning, we have seen also, believed that the poet provided that very truth which the philosopher sought elsewhere. The artist, in his eyes, had a very special mission, the very one in fact which the philosopher arrogated to himself, that of explaining the unseen in terms of the seen. He made no attempt by Reason to over-ride the bounds of sense, nor by Fancy to enclose himself within them, but by Imagination to reveal the essential secret of the creative act, the struggle of Time and Space to express Eternity. He was the link between God and man, illustrating at once divine intentions for man and human searchings after God. More than his fellows he had such a portion of the Spirit as enabled him to see one world in terms of the other, and disclose it as such, not by means of a commentary or logical treatise on Truth, but by a working model of it, namely, his Art. The symbol of Ultimate Being was not so much Idea as Act. "For what is an idea unrealised?" Browning insisted that his Count Guido Franceschini in *The Ring and the Book* was as alive as ever his original had been in Rome and Arezzo. The latter had spent fifty years in the flesh: the former might enjoy immortality in the imagination.

The life in me abolished the death of things,
Deep calling unto deep.

He was as aware as Milton of the visible world, as sure as Plato of the invisible, and faced like both with the difficulty of reconciling the two. He treasured "sense and sight indeed," yet could

say that they "take at best imperfect cognisance," and that their memory was as potent and perfect as their presence.

Yes, every body that leaves life sees all
Softened and bettered: so with other sights:
To me at least was never evening yet
But seemed far beautifuller than its day,
For past is past.

Nevertheless, he was forced to the conclusion that "we only show man's soul through man's flesh," and that

life, without absolute use
Of the actual sweet therein is death, not life.

He had experienced the sudden momentary glimpses of contact between both worlds and their resultant "surprise at the sudden hole through earth that lets in heaven." Thence it is that springs the problem of the One and the Many,

The variance now, the eventual unity,
Which make the miracle.

"Miracle" Browning calls it, where Plato would have condemned it as a fraud, and Milton abused it for a torment.

But Browning lived three centuries later than Milton and could afford to be a bolder man. Where Milton, like Plato, had undoubtedly sighed for that "real existence, colourless, formless and intangible, visible only to the intelligence which sits at the helm of the soul," Browning stoutly insisted that such an attitude was no less than a denial of divine beneficence as expressed in the creative act. He went further still. Milton had felt that, while God's creation had been in itself perfect, man had so bungled things that abstinence was the most judicious means to his enjoyment of it. Browning declared that man must bring grist to God's mill. Only so could the world have any goal, any purpose, any interest: otherwise it must stand as a waste and self-condemned.

Man,—as befits the made, the inferior thing—
Purposed, since made, to grow, not make in turn,
Yet forced to try and make, else fail to grow,—
Formed to rise, reach at, if not grasp and gain
The good beyond him,—which attempt is growth,—
Repeats God's process in man's due degree,
Attaining man's proportionate result,—
Creates, no, but resuscitates, perhaps.

Though he had a very keen sense of the privileges and responsibilities of the artist, he did not confine such a task to poet or philosopher, but allowed that it was open to every man; not only possible to, but actually demanded of, him. The solution of life lay not in schematic restriction but in productive expression. About the difficulties which beset the path of all who essayed such

a practice he could have no illusion, and the words of his Pope might have issued from the mouth of Milton's Archangel:

Never again elude the choice of tints!
White shall not neutralise the black, nor good
Compensate bad in man, absolve him so:
Life's business being just the terrible choice.

With each man the method of expression varied, according to his gifts and faculties, their scope and intensity; but all their varying facets combined to express One Truth. He could not see any difference of reality in the services of poet or philosopher, postman or pot-boy, except insofar as they were well or ill expressed. Differences of kind there were in the services exacted of each: yet judgment was passed not upon the servant's station (which lay outside his choice), but upon the degree of his reaction to it. Postman or pot-boy might well live philosophic or poetic lives without ever reading or writing a thesis or a stanza. Surely there is tragic irony in the fact that Browning, who believed he had a gospel which gave significance and "real being" to the work of the meanest individual, should at first have been pored and pondered over by a select coterie of anæmic highbrows. "Plato," we are told, means "broad-browed." If brows there must be, it is better that they be broad than high. But Browning's brow was never commented upon: he was described as a fussy little red-faced man. Yet it was he who dedicated his life's work to placing the soul in the entirety of a man's being.

The time has gone by when it is either honest or expedient to regard the soul as an aristocratic denizen of the upper air, with a town seat in the intellect which it occasionally visits for week-ends, simply because it is compelled to maintain an expensive and inefficient staff in residence. The soul is always on the premises; very much so. It may not always be accessible; in fact, it very rarely is: but chiefly because the method of access chosen is almost invariably wrong. Men still go in search of their souls, as they would to Siberia in quest of rare flowers. Against that outlook Browning resolutely fought. Plato said in so many words that the duty of man was to transcend the seen in search of the unseen; Milton hungered after the same ideal though not so single-heartedly, and accepted a dogmatic compromise enabling him to believe that the seen was a vitiated transcript of the unseen, capable of providing enjoyment in theory, but actually dissatisfying in practice. Browning held that the duty of the seen was to express the unseen, ever more closely, wholly, really, in an ever-ascending scale of progress: that creation was no afterthought ruined by an oversight, no second-best, no failure, no disgrace: that its only

fault was its incompleteness, a fault which was itself the spur to achievement and ultimate success.

The first genuine philosophic poem which Coleridge desired has surely been written, unless a poem which diagnoses the true relationship of the body to the soul be considered unworthy of that lofty title. It may not be the last and completest and exactest presentation of such truth as is vouchsafed to, or procurable by, mortality. Indeed, such a claim on its behalf would have seemed presumptuous to its author.

I thirst for truth,
But shall not drink it till I reach the Source.

Yet for men who must drink of the lower waters in the valley, his wholesome pages will ever preserve somewhat, and promise more, of the crystalline virtues of their far-off fount.

PENRRHYN CHAVE.

THE STORY OF A WORKHOUSE.

ON the outskirts of the small town of X. stands the deserted workhouse. It presents a melancholy sight: one, too, that provides food for reflection.

"To all to whom these Presents shall come, We the Poor Law Commissioners for England and Wales, send Greeting."

The above politely-worded Preamble prefaced the official communication in which the three Commissioners appointed to inaugurate and administer an "Act for the Amendment and better administration of the Laws relating to the Poor in England and Wales" (passed in the fourth and fifth years of the reign of His Majesty King William the Fourth) made known to those concerned and through them to the public generally, that certain duly specified "parishes and places" were forthwith to be grouped together and "thenceforth should remain united for the administration of the laws for the relief of the poor," and that the said parishes and places should respectively elect a guardian or guardians for the said Union. . . .

"Now know ye that in pursuance of the said provision of the said Act, We, the said Poor Law Commissioners do hereby order and direct and declare that 'Upon and from and after the 26th day of March the ordering and directing of all relief of the poor of the several parishes comprised in the Union . . . and the building, hiring and providing of any workhouse, poorhouse, or other premises for the reception and maintenance of paupers therein . . . shall appertain and belong exclusively to the Guardians of the said Union, &c., &c.'"

The duly elected Guardians of the twenty-five odd parishes that formed the Union of X. held their first meeting at the chief hostelry in the township on the seventh day of April, 1835, at ten o'clock in the forenoon, and they were required to meet weekly. As many would have long distances to ride or drive the demand on their time was considerable. Those who, as Poor Law Guardians to-day, continue the work begun by the first Guardians of the Poor in England and Wales wellnigh a century ago, may justly give them credit for having entered upon their new and arduous voluntary service with diligence and kindly feeling, coupled with such generosity in their dealings with, and on behalf of, the poor and indigent, as the Act allowed. Neither the difficulties of the situation which it was their business to endeavour to straighten out, nor the success or failure of these and successive generations of Guardians in the work then undertaken, fall within the purview of this article; but that the members of the Board of Guardians who so many years ago were responsible for the erection of the Workhouse of X. entered upon their task in no niggardly spirit, the

building as it stands to-day, bears sufficient testimony. The poor person who sought here an asylum for old age or a refuge in sickness was not shut in behind high fences. Open iron railings separated the enclosure from the public footway, and every passer-by had the pleasure of seeing the smooth, green lawns and gay flower-beds of the Workhouse garden, which formed a pleasing contrast to the mellowed hues of the old brick walls behind them; the main block of buildings being composed of red brick with grey stone facings.

Some years ago the writer had the honour to be elected the first woman Rural District Councillor in this Union, which, owing to the exigencies of the war, was obliged to close its workhouse, which has not since been re-opened. The aim and object of the Visiting Committee, as of the majority of the members who constituted the Board, was to make the place as happy and home-like as circumstances would permit. And that success to some extent attended their efforts I think most people who visited the inmates would agree, though it must be confessed that here we are speaking of that *bête noire* of modern social reformers—a Mixed Workhouse, mixed, that is to say, in so far that Granny A, aged 72, shared the same sitting-room with Sally B. (whose unwanted—but not unloved—baby lay in the wicker cradle by the fire); with gentle Mary C., the epileptic, and poor Jane, an imbecile girl. Did Granny in her armchair by the blazing fire resent the presence of her companions? I doubt it. For life after all is made up of contrasts and contacts, and in every walk of life something will be lost if these be eliminated altogether. Even in such a quiet backwater as this something valuable may be gained by the give and take of daily life, and by the bearing in ever so small a degree of the burdens of others. At least Granny seems to prove it so, as she croons over Sally's baby, or gives its young mother advice on its upbringing in her hard, cracked old voice; or laughs again and again at Jane's foolish remarks, which never seem to pall on her, however much they may dismay the mere visitor.

As an ex-member of the House Committee of this now defunct Institution, my thoughts often revert to the time when it was a duty as well as a privilege to visit the various departments and to exchange greetings with the officers and inmates. When possible, I would arrive early and pay a visit alone to the men's quarters, for if I were unaccompanied by the Master they naturally spoke more freely and were ready to tell of any grievances, real or imaginary. On a fine morning the old men (those who were able to work being already employed in the garden or elsewhere) some lame, some quite or partially blind and the majority "hard of hearing," would usually be found sunning themselves on benches

set against the wall in the courtyard, and here I would rest and chat with them. "I know'd your father, Miss, many years ago, see'd un ridin' to hounds many a time," or "I ain't heerd from my son since Christmas. I count uns gone to Egypt—I wish this 'ere owd war was over," and so on. Echoing his wish I entered the men's day-room, where old Harry Green preferred to remain. The room was cheerless and smelt "fuzzy"—for no matter how often the officer in charge might open the windows, no sooner was his back turned than one or another of the old fogies would shut it again. A daily illustrated paper lay on the table, but few of the occupants could read, and their outlook on life was naturally dreary, while many were discontented and inclined to grumble at the fare and accommodation provided for them—especially at the restrictions in food which rationing due to the war rendered imperative. That money, however plentiful, could not buy sugar was a mystery which some of them were never able to solve.

The spirit of dissatisfaction which was sometimes evident amongst the men was seldom met with in any other department of the establishment. The women who worked in the laundry always seemed cheerful and took pride and interest in their work. The old ladies in the cosy sewing-room on the upper floor were eager to show the piles of mending and proud at being able to help "Matron," who was responsible for all the cutting out and making of the innumerable garments and the houselinen required by the whole establishment, and who seemed able to turn to good account any capacity, however small or poor in quality, possessed by those under her charge—to the great benefit of the latter, who were thus made to feel that they were useful members of the community. Those who could not even use a needle were employed in shredding odd scraps of calico into a soft downy substance used for stuffing cushions. Always after dinner and not infrequently in the morning a brew of tea would be made, and sitting round the fire the old dames would enjoy a cup of tea seasoned, maybe, with a spice of gossip.

On leaving this apartment I would pass successively through the women's and children's dormitories. Each bed was covered with a scarlet blanket and on every pillow lay a neat case containing the night-apparel of its occupants. Another stairway led to the children's quarters, which were of course quite separate from those occupied by other classes of inmates. The Matron and other members of the House Committee might here be met with on their tour of inspection, and together we would visit the day nursery, now empty except for two little urchins asleep on a broad couch. Adjoining is the dining-room, already scrubbed, and the table is laid for dinner. At 12 o'clock, when the children who are at

present at the village school return, all who are old enough to feed themselves will sit down to a dinner consisting of meat and potato pie followed by rice pudding. It is summer-time, and in the paved playing yard outside a row of cots is ranged under the shade of overhanging trees. Here the babies are taking their morning siesta, but one, hearing Matron's voice, sits up and holds out his arms to be taken up. Half a dozen toddlers, who were playing at some little distance off, come running up to be noticed. Johnnie has a sore finger, Bettie a new pair of shoes, or Benny, catching hold of the Master's hand, tries to drag him off to look at the rabbits whose hutches are fixed on the further wall. During his walk in the lanes Benny has picked the green stuff his rabbit is now devouring.

But time is passing all too quickly, and the visit to the Infirmary has yet to be made. "We will go through the kitchen," says the Master, as he opens the door of that apartment. Here a busy scene presents itself. The cook is in the act of dishing up. To-day's ration for "able-bodied" consists of beef-steak pudding. Each person has his or her particular pudding, so the number, made in accordance with the recipe furnished by the Local Government Board, might be anything between 70 and 100 according to circumstances. Three women, two of whom are of feeble intellect, are busy washing up, while a third assists in serving the vegetables under the cook's direction. As we leave, the trolleys from the different sections arrive and the steaming hot food is despatched to the men's and women's dining-rooms.

Crossing the Women's Yard, gay with Sweet Williams and other homely flowers, we glance in at the shoemaker's shop. Here we find lame and feeble-minded Billy, lately returned from Star Cross Institution, where such splendid work is done in training children whose mental capacity is below normal, and enabling them to perform some useful purpose in the society in which their lot is cast. The salaried bootmaker employed by the Guardians had gone off to the war, and Billy, highly pleased with himself, is coping valiantly with all the mending. No payment can legally be made—but the shilling a week pocket-money allowed by the Guardians fills him with a delightful feeling of independence. Next door is the tailor's shop, where much making and more mending of clothes goes on. On the shelves are rolls of corduroy for everyday wear, and serges and homespuns for Sunday and holiday suits. All are of excellent quality and will be made up to the best advantage.

The Infirmary block stands in its own grounds quite apart from the Institution proper. One wing is devoted to sick or infirm men, the other to women in similar circumstances. As we enter the

latter the Superintendent, a fully qualified nurse, comes forward to meet us, and she is ready to answer any questions one or another of the Committee may wish to ask her about any particular patient. The wards on the ground floor are occupied by old or convalescent patients with (as stated before) sometimes an epileptic or feeble-minded person, and one or two mothers with young babies. Their dinner of boiled fish is now brought in, and the little party gather round the table to eat it. The long wards upstairs are light and airy, with a window between each bed; beneath these stand the lockers in which are the patients' personal belongings, and on which are their special vases of flowers, photographs, books, etc. Ferns and flowers ornament the centre tables, and gay chintz-covered screens stand in the four corners of the room. Some of the patients have arrived since the Committee's last visit, others have occupied the same bed for months, even years. In adjoining beds lie a mother and daughter; both are paralysed, while the mother has dragged out a life of almost continual suffering for eight years. The daughter is beloved by nurses and patients alike for her gentle and winning ways. Surely her life of patience and resignation will not have been lived in vain, though to the casual observer it may seem devoid of purpose and unutterably sad.

But one must not linger too long at one bedside however attractive the occupant, and at the further end of the ward, too, a pretty old lady in a frilled nightcap is causing quite a commotion by repeatedly asserting that she can hear the voice of "*her lady*." Granny R. is a friend of many years' standing, and there is much to say about neighbours and topics connected with the world outside—but the poor old dear is suffering from senile decay, and her remarks, if not very wise, are oftentimes extremely humorous. To-day, for instance, she is full of excitement, and on my approach remarks in an audible whisper: "Nurse B. is going to be married, and *I wished her many returns!*"

In a neighbouring bed lies a poor woman whose span of life is almost spent. Her case is representative of many who enter the Institution at the eleventh hour—those in whom the spirit of independence is ingrained as a part of their very being—and who as a class are fast disappearing. With such, an appeal to the Poor Law for assistance is put off as long as possible. Gradually the small amenities of life are dispensed with, one by one the treasured ornaments are sold to help defray the cost of living, these are followed by pieces of furniture and other necessities, and it is only when the wolf can no longer be kept from the door that they will consent to enter the Workhouse. But the step, once taken, and especially if through illness or debility a bed in the Infirmary

is allotted to them, the regret usually vanishes, and the patient soon begins to appreciate the warmth, brightness, and cleanliness of the new environment. This applies to numbers of Old Age Pensioners and others, the cause of whose entrance into the Infirmary ward is not actual poverty (and who contribute towards their own maintenance), but sheer inability "to do" for themselves any longer. I have known many old women, occupants of Alms-houses, who cling to their homes when their presence in them is a menace to the safety and comfort of their immediate neighbours. These at last complain that Mrs. So-and-so is quite unable to keep her person or her house decently clean, and is as likely as not to set the latter on fire. After a few days' sojourn in the Infirmary how different these people look and how appreciative are they of the cleanliness and order which physical inability has prevented them from maintaining in their own tenements. "I had a bath," said an old dame over 80, "and it *was* nice."

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Space forbids further recital of the morning's visiting. Passing through the men's block on our way out, we find them eager to enter into conversation, and interesting characters are found among them. Some have travelled far afield but without learning much "jography." One veteran of 86, on hearing someone speak of Devonshire, exclaimed, "Devonsheer, where's that? I ain't niver heerd of Devonsheer, but I've been to the Gold Coast where they dig the gold—took it away in our sailin' ship, us did."

The House Committee's tour of inspection and visiting is always made a few days previous to the Board Meeting, at which their Report is read. The various recommendations relative to the management of the Establishment and the care or comfort of the inmates then receive the assent or dissent of the Board. The latter, however, were seldom persisted in until the rumour became current that owing to the exigencies of war the Workhouse of X. might be required by the Government. This rumour was confirmed when one memorable day the Chairman read a letter from the War Office in which it was stated that accommodation for German prisoners was urgently required. The Union of X. being in a suitable locality, they wished to know if the Guardians were agreeable to part of it being taken over by the military? After due consideration, and being conscious of the menace of war behind the politely worded request, the Guardians decided to enter into negotiation with the War Office, provided that they be allowed to retain the Infirmary block, their Boardroom and Offices.

Staff-officers promptly inspected the premises. These were considered suitable for the purpose, and immediate steps had to be

taken by the Guardians to find suitable accommodation for the inhabitants. The adults were "boarded out" at a neighbouring Union Workhouse, the children at Cottage Homes a long distance off—only the sick and infirm remained, and these, though somewhat timid at the close proximity of the terrible Hun (albeit engaged behind wire entanglements), felt secure in the possession of their beds in the detached hospital building. Sentry boxes appeared at different points and the usually peaceful scene took on a military aspect. The green lawns and cultivated grounds descended to the level of an ordinary civilian garden in war-time. The Guardians, of course, had the right of entry, but they felt like intruders in their own domain. Even this state of affairs was of short duration. The O.C. soon cast envious glances in the direction of the Infirmary, and not many months elapsed before this too was commandeered.

Great was the distress and many the tears that were shed when the news was broken to the patients, for whom it was no easy matter to find suitable accommodation. Eventually the poor things had to be conveyed in ambulances to an infirmary in a neighbouring county—the long journey entailing much suffering to those who had long been bedridden. Two or three such preferred to return to their homes or to relations, but they soon found that they could not do without skilled nursing and conveniences to which they had become accustomed, and were then anxious to join the others in the Infirmary at Y. Soon after their evacuation a sale was held on the premises. Fixtures, furniture, bedding, clothing, hospital equipment—all were disposed of to the highest bidder—and the erstwhile "Home of the Homeless" was handed over entire to the Military Authorities. When, after an occupation of eighteen months or two years, it was vacated by its temporary residents, its condition was certainly not improved.

A certain section of the members of the Rural District Council of X. had long been concerned at the administrative expenses and cost of upkeep of a workhouse now too large for the requirements of the Union. Here was their opportunity to impress their views upon the rest of their colleagues. This was done so effectually that it was agreed not to re-open the Institution. It was decided that the present system of boarding-out should be continued until such time as the local Hospital and other accommodation required by the Ministry of Health could be arranged for. The doom of the Mixed Workhouse of X. was irrevocably sealed!

The Poor Law, the Guardians and the Workhouse are said to be under the ban of censure, and their disappearance in a not distant future is quite probable. It is not generally realised that the abuses complained of by the Royal Commission in 1909 have

very largely been done away with, and that reforms gradually introduced have made life within the Institution walls very different from what it was ten or twenty years ago. Segregation in specified institutions presents many advantages to the mind of the outside public, but one may be permitted to question whether the human beings for whose benefit such refuges exist, would share the opinion or agree with the decision of the social reformer and the policy of the Ministry of Health.

But Granny A. will not be asked whether she would prefer to spend the rest of her life in company of others whose age, like her own, has exceeded the allotted span, but who, less fortunate than herself, await in all stages of decrepitude its natural end. Nor to poor Mary C. will the choice be given either to remain with the nurses and companions to whom she has for long been accustomed, and who bear her sudden attacks of illness with the imperturbability born of experience; or to join a colony of female epileptics, in the adjacent county maybe, but too far distant to allow of the weekly visit of her relations and friends. To feeble-minded Jane the change to a new and strange environment might be expected to matter but little, yet the dejected and miserable appearance of women of this type was most noticeable, when visited by their own Guardians in the Infirmary where they were boarded out; for the mentally afflicted, like their normal brethren, are very susceptible to the influence of environment and less able than they are to appreciate the reason for any change of circumstance or cessation of anything they have become accustomed to. In fact, it is now stated as a psychological fact that the absence of home ties, due to the "family breakdown" which is in most instances the primary cause of these persons being in the charge of the Poor Law at all, is often a contributing factor to their abnormal mental condition.

If then it be true that the passing of the Guardians and the various Poor Law Institutions, Children's Homes, Schools, etc., may soon be witnessed, it is only fair to recognise that, whatever its failures in other directions may have been, to those who through old age, sickness or poverty have been obliged to spend long intervals of time within the precincts of one of these Institutions it has in no small degree supplied the atmosphere of a home; that in the majority of them this aim has been kept in view; and that the Guardians and the Officers as a rule work together sympathetically towards the attainment of that object. I am aware that this very fact has been one of the arguments in favour of the abolition of the Mixed Workhouse. Children brought up there were said to grow up insensitive to the stigma supposed to be attached to the Poor Law, and no child over three years is now

allowed to remain in one. But before the new Order was issued, children adopted by the Guardians were entrusted to the care of the Masters and Matrons, who, as a rule, were genuinely fond of and devoted to the interest of the little ones. When old enough to leave school suitable situations were found for the girls by the Matron, who prepared the outfit provided by the Guardians, conducted them to their new homes, and paid periodical visits to them. Happy holidays were spent by both girls and boys from His Majesty's training ship at Grimsby or Greenwich, in the Master's house, and neither in the smart appearance of the lads nor in the dress and demeanour of the girls was there any evidence of the "Workhouse taint."

"The old order changeth." The Poor Law, the Guardians, and the Workhouse, may ere long be relegated to the scrapheap; Pensions, Subsidies, and Unemployment doles be substituted for Poor Law Relief; but when all is said and done will any advance towards the building up and strengthening of that spirit of independence which once characterised the aristocracy of labour have been made? Is it not possible that the pendulum will be found to swing in the other direction, and though pauperism as previously understood may be done away with, yet the number of persons in receipt of Public Assistance may in the near future exceed that of any previous generation?

M. E. B.

THE SEA IN BRETON FOLKLORE.

ONCE upon a time, according to a Breton folktale, a fisherman fell in love with a siren who, leading him to a rock by the sea-shore, gave him in a magic cup a draught, nectar to the taste, which would make him follow her for ever. The fisherman put the draught to his lips and was about to drink it when, of a sudden, he remembered the sweetheart he had left behind in his own village. He dashed the cup, therefore, into the sea; and the love potion, spreading over the waves, turned them to the salt waters we know to-day.

It is a suggestive tale to those who are interested in human nature because it convicts out of their own mouth, as it were, that large proportion of Bretons who live by the sea and by the fruits thereof. It convicts them of being, unconsciously no doubt but none the less painfully, on the horns of a dilemma. They love the sea: they fear it. God, they say, created the earth: the Devil created the sea in order to drown the earth. When it is remembered that about half the fishers and sailors of France are Bretons, this dilemma might seem to suggest disquieting cowardice of spirit, were it not also borne in mind that racially the Bretons are not as the rest of France and that he only is brave who advances in the face of fear.

Among certain masters of the Iceland fishing craft it is the custom to pay part of the crew's wages in advance so that cider may stimulate courage to face yet another season on the cod-banks. But even an excess of cider will not quell for ever that age-long Celtic imagination which has given birth to the story—surely the best known of all Breton legends—of the destruction of Ker-Ys at the hand or by the instrumentality of Ahès, the king's daughter, who after her death became a siren luring strong men to their doom beneath the waves. Up to the middle of last century a yearly Mass was said over the traditional site of Ker-Ys in the Baie des Trépassés: and to-day even, at the Pardon of St.-Anne-de-la Palude, it is Ahès, as Goddess of the Sea, who receives the adoration of the pilgrims as well as that more recent importation, St. Anne herself. The Christian Saint is, indeed, trusted and beloved: her followers in the procession which forms the culmination of this as of all Pardons, sing canticles in her honour and hymns of thanksgiving and gratitude for her intervention in shipwreck and in peril. But Ahès is feared; for of the two is she not the more powerful? The ever-lengthening files of Widows of the Sea, as they are called who have lost their menfolk, testify eloquently to her widespread dominion, to her imperious cruelty, to her lust of destruction.

It is not suggested that Ahès is present in the minds of the pilgrims as a distinct personality like St. Anne; rather is she a

brooding presence. She broods over many of the popular religious ceremonies of Brittany : over that strange Tour de Paroisse, for instance, which takes place at Cancale shortly after the fishermen have returned from the banks. True, it is described locally as a procession of thanksgiving for deliverance from some now-forgotten disaster ; but might it not equally be a ceremony of propitiation ? The celebrants are fishermen who next year may be the victims of the sea : they make offerings to the Mater Dolorosa in a wind-swept chapel on the cliff top : they return to a Cancale solemn with specially erected street altars and decorated with models of ships. The ceremony has been Christianised, of course ; but to the student of human nature Christianity is not an epoch. It is an incident.

It is an incident, however, the full consequences of which are impossible to reckon. The assertion of Malouin fishermen that God made the sea with a bucket of water and three grains of salt may or may not be of Christian origin : but there can be only influence in the Dinantais belief that after the Deluge the earth became so dry that God commanded the birds to bring each in his beak a drop of dew from Paradise : or of the folk-story that is told at Binic in the Côtes-du-Nord. It relates to a certain Wednesday when God, St. Peter and St. John, on a visit to Brittany, were unable to obtain a drink of water for the reason that the ruler of the country had forbidden the inhabitants to draw water from the wells between Tuesday and Saturday. At last they came upon a good woman who not only gave them all the refreshments they required but refused so little as a *sou* in payment. As a reward, therefore, God gave her a barrel which St. Peter had been carrying under his arm, with the promise that, did she merely turn the tap and wish, her wish should be fulfilled. Soon after her visitors had left, the woman, finding that they had drunk all her water and remembering that there were still three days before she could draw more, turned the tap and formulated the wish one would expect in the circumstances. Water in abundance flowed from the barrel. At first she was delighted : she filled all the pails and buckets in the house and enjoyed a long draught of the cool, clear liquid. When she had collected and drunk sufficient for her needs she made to turn off the tap. But only then did it occur to her that she had forgotten to learn the method of checking the inexhaustible supply ; and so gradually the room became filled with water, and the house and the street and the village and the country, and in all the low-lying parts of the earth it formed the sea. The water from the barrel is flowing to this day and only when the sea dries up will it at last cease.

The sailors of St. Brieuc say that the salinity of the sea may be

accounted for by the fact that the sea covers numerous volcanoes for ever in eruption and for ever vomiting salt. At Tréguier, salinity is believed to be due to the accumulated cargoes of salt sunk since the beginning of the world ; and another tale tells of a sea-captain who robbed a sorcerer of a mill which would grind anything that was demanded of it. The captain ordered it to grind salt, but not knowing the words necessary to stop it, had to watch his boat fill with salt until it sank. That, of course, happened countless ages ago ; but the mill is grinding salt still. This sorcerer, say the Malouin folk, comes sometimes to look for his lost mill. He dives into the sea to find it and swims to and fro in anger, and thus are the waves formed. At Paimpol, in the Côtes-du-Nord, they are said to be due to the never-ending labour performed at the bottom of the sea by those who die unshriven, and at St. Jean-du-Doigt the sea is declared to lash itself into waves every time it sees a woman. It is a widespread belief, too, among fishermen that as soon as they put to sea after a fête they will encounter rough weather.

Breton sailors tell of a time when no waves existed, when the sea was as smooth as glass. Everything was so still in the world that a captain was sent in charge of a great vessel to fetch the winds from the Country of the Winds and to set the good ones a-blowing over the ocean. He arrived in the country and after much trouble managed to sew all the eight winds in sacks. He proposed to set free the good ones, as his orders told him, and to drown the others. There was a sailor on board, however, who fell prey to curiosity as to what could be in the sacks the captain had stowed so carefully in the hold. So he descended to where they lay and with his knife made a little slit in one of them. Now it happened to be the sack which contained the Surouâs—the Sou'-Wester—and the Surouâs jumped out of the sack and began to blow so violently that the ship was carried right into the air and broken into a thousand pieces. As they fell, the other sacks split, and thus the rest of the winds were able to make good their escape.

In the howling of the wind the Breton hears the wailing of lost souls. The inhabitants of the Ile de Sein, off the western extremity of Finistère, say that in storms the souls of Druid priests who formerly served at this great Druidical sanctuary knock at the doors and implore Christian burial. Elsewhere on the coast of Finistère it is believed that in the tumult of sea and wind may be heard the cries of those who have been drowned and who are being carried out to sea instead of toward the land, their natural element. Storms may be provoked by those on shore if the wife of a sailor combs her hair after nightfall or if she drowns a cat. Storms are provoked also by the death of a great man or of a criminal : in the latter case it is said that the Devil comes to carry off his own.

But it is, indeed, an ill wind which blows nobody any good, and the folk of Clohars-Carnoët, near Quimperlé, tell how St. Maudé, riding on a white horse, arrived on their shores from Ireland one morning in the midst of a northerly gale. He tied his horse to a stone, which still stands or is said to stand near the chapel of Loc-Maudé, blessed the pilgrims assembled there and then paid a visit to a saint who had settled in the neighbourhood. As soon as he had returned to his horse and mounted it, the gale veered suddenly from north to south and blew him back to Ireland before nightfall. He is said to visit his followers at Loc-Maudé each year on the 26th November, which is the day of his Pardon.

As in all other seafaring countries, the phenomenon of the tides has given rise to a crop of strange beliefs and superstitions. At Ploumanach, in the Côtes-du-Nord, it is said that on the day of his Pardon the tide recoils before the statue and chapel of St. Kirek, at Loavan, a neighbouring hamlet, and that it postpones for an hour its natural rise in order to allow pilgrims to visit the chapel of St. Liboubane. And if, it was once believed, the tide were high at Concarneau, it would fall to permit the Holy Sacrament to be carried round the town. In the Middle Ages it was held that St. Michael had power over the tides and would see to it that pilgrims to the Mont-St-Michel came to no harm. One day, according to an old writer, a pilgrim who was in danger of being overwhelmed called upon the Saint for aid, promising him in return a cow and her calf. But when by the mercy of St. Michael he was allowed to walk dry-foot to the Mount, he indignantly went back upon his promise—a circumstance, it is suggested, which may account for the custom of giving a cow and a calf to be sold at local fairs.

To cut one's hair on a rising tide is to catch cold : to make grimaces is to run the risk of permanent disfigurement. When the tide is rising pigs must be killed and salted : water drawn will boil quickly : eiderdowns and mattresses made of the feathers of sea-birds will swell : the eyes of cats will enlarge. In the district of Tréguier, clover must always be sown on a rising tide or the cows eating it would burst. On the other hand, baths should be taken and wounds dressed on a falling tide : butter should be made then and hens put to cover. It is believed that a child conceived on a rising tide will be a boy, on a falling tide a girl, and that all children are born on a rising tide. But at St. Malo—thus do folk-traditions contradict each other—children born on a falling tide are said to be doomed to epilepsy, at full tide to be sailors ; and at St. Brieuc it is declared that those born at full tide on Christmas night will be captains, but on a falling tide on Christmas night will perish in shipwreck. At Tréguier, invalids are believed to suffer on a rising tide, to find relief at high tide and to improve on a falling tide :

at St. Malo the order is reversed. In Lower Brittany it is believed that death takes place on a rising tide.

Sometimes when the tide is nearly at full and the sea is calm, long ribbons of pure blue flecked with myriad points of white—a Milky Way of the sea—appear upon its turquoise surface and may be traced almost to the horizon. These, declare the folk of St. Cast, in the Côtes-du-Nord, are the Pathways of St. Blanche. The Saint, a native of St. Cast, was, runs the legend, carried off by the English to London, but she escaped from their clutches and returned in a few hours to her native place, walking upon the surface of the waters which have ever since borne the marks of her miraculous passage. Later she married a sea captain, went with him to the wars and was killed in action. But perceiving what discouragement among her friends her death had produced, she stepped from the deck of the ship on to the sea and walked toward the English vessels—a prodigy which so filled them with dismay that they fled. Further it is said that her statue at St. Cast, carried off by the English, returned to its niche by walking on the sea.

The analogy between the miracle of St. Blanche and Christ walking upon the waters is too apparent to be missed by the most casual reader, and he may see, too, in the story that follows a generic resemblance to that most modern of all folktales—the Angels of Mons. At the battle of St. Cast, in 1758, when the English under Lord Howe were defeated, it is said that the Blessed Virgin stepped down from her niche in a wayside chapel and walked over the sea between the English fleet and the French land troops. The white muslin of her robes unfolding graciously upon the surface of the waters seemed to the English gunners to be the crest of the dunes upon which the French troops were stationed. They trained their guns, therefore, not upon the enemy but upon the sea, doing little execution in consequence, while the French, whose vision was clear, were able to fix their targets with exactitude.

The power of walking upon the sea sometimes becomes the power of riding upon it. Thus many Breton saints are declared to have crossed from the British Isles in stone troughs : usually these troughs sank when the saints disembarked, but the saints often retained throughout their lives a remarkable power over stone, which, for instance, would quarry itself at their command. St. Maudé and his white horse have already been mentioned. The story is told of a fairy who gave to a captain of St. Malo a pair of boots which enabled him to walk upon the sea, and other quite unsaintly folk have been said to perform the miracle by spreading their cloak or apron upon the waves. Among those able to walk upon the sea are souls in Purgatory. Over the Morbihan, sometimes, may be watched a shepherd driving a flock of sheep : it is a rector of Baden and his parishioners who, during their lifetime, neglected to make

the requisite number of pilgrimages to St.-Gildas-de-Rhuis. Similarly at Le Guildo, near St. Malo, a monk walks across the river Arguenon from the Abbey to the *pierres sonnantes* or ringing stones behind which he disappears, locking himself in the Devil's treasure house. In the Baie des Trépassés, it is said, all the drowned men of the year hold an annual gathering: they may be seen rising on the white crests of waves, passing ceaselessly to and fro in their search for a kindred spirit. When two such companion souls meet a soft murmur comes to the ear of the listener; and he rests happy in consequence of the meeting.

And so we come back to the site of Ker-Ys, the home of formidable sea-fairies called Morgans, headed by a Mary Morgan who may be none other than Ahès herself. The Morgans, according to tradition, spread their treasures on the beaches of Finistère: these treasures may be seen in the sunlight along the edge of the waves for just as long as the eye can refrain from blinking. But in less benevolent mood, the Morgans pursue fishers by the shore with sights of irresistible beauty, and when the frail mortals succumb to temptation they are drawn beneath the waves to their death. For all his simple reliance upon the Christian saints, the Breton knows in his inmost heart that the sea is inhabited by essentially anti-Christian beings—more beautiful, perhaps, because unhallowed, than the Christian can imagine, more terrible than the Christian ideal of gentleness can conceive. On his guard, the Breton is Catholic to the core: off his guard, he is pagan to the backbone—pagan not only by contact with other seafaring peoples but of his own racial will. The good that he derives from the sea, its abundance of fish, its beauties, fine weather, he attributes to his saints: its hardships and evils and above all the fascination which leads him to continue in spite of himself a life of danger and inadequate recompense he attributes to non-Christian causes. He reveres his saints: Ahès, siren and Druidical deity, still claims his furtive worship. And so we are presented finally with the same dilemma as that with which we started: the tradition—still active—of human sacrifices to the Druidical goddess on the one hand, and on the other the Benediction of the Sea in the name of the Blessed Virgin and Her Saints.

It is in the district of Vannes that human sacrifice is said to have been last carried out, and to have taken the form of a child, with taper and Holy Wafer, nailed in a barrel and delivered to the waves. The Benediction as it is solemnised at Concarneau, Camaret, Île de Groix, Tréboul and other spots on the Breton seaboard is familiar to visitors. Let them feel, hovering above the splendid vestments and the splendid ritual of Catholicism, the white flesh and the waiting arms, the fascination and the wantonness of Ahès.

W. BRANCH JOHNSON.

FOREIGN AFFAIRS.

THE RED BLUE BOOK.

WHAT Mr. Lloyd George in his vigorous language described as "an abortion of a Blue Book" (Communist Papers: Documents Selected from Those Obtained on the arrest of the Communist Leaders on the 14th and 21st October, 1925. Cmd. 2682. 1926) is of interest mainly because its publication stirred up some feeling in London, pleasure in Moscow, amusement elsewhere, and because it adds to the already curious collection of diplomatic literature about the post-war relations of Great Britain and Russia. The volume, some 135 pages strong, illustrated with photographic reproductions of propagandist atrocities emanating from Moscow, was issued on June 24th, but its merits as seamy literature were not worth the 3s. at which it was published. The odd thing is this. The present British Government consists of men who have had experience of affairs, and who in their general conduct of affairs, public or private, with the curious exception of Russian affairs, adopt the usual standard of commonsense and good behaviour which bids one ignore pestiferous people. The Communists who operate from Moscow and who have ensnared such simple folk as Mr. A. J. Cook and a small minority of the British Labour Party, are pestiferous people. Their object is to make mischief, and to prepare the way for revolution. Not a thought of constructive work ever passes from them, or springs in them. Anarchists, such as Miss Emma Goldman, constructive pacifists such as Mr. Norman Angell, evolutionary reformers such as Mr. Ramsay MacDonald, have alike denounced them as corrosive beings, engaged in the easy but purposeless work of destruction. What is it, however, they wish to destroy? Rats destroy material things. Bolshevist Communists want to destroy the intangible form of social and political civilisation. Rats therefore work in the dark. Communists must necessarily work in the light, and advertisement is the very essence of their means. What difference would it make to anything if Mr. Cook and Mr. Zinoviev blustered in private (without being able to pay for a typist's services)? They succeed in so far as their gospel of despair is broadcast, takes root in the minds of discontented people, becomes familiar by cumulative suggestion, and soaks into a maximum number of minds not intelligent enough to withstand it.

When Sir William Joynton-Hicks made his haul of Communist letters on October 14th and 21st, 1925, he ought to have put them into his waste-paper basket. Instead, he photographed them, published a big blue book, mobilised the whole machinery of the

Government's publishing office to circulate them and make them known, produced debates in the House, noisy scenes on the part of the least reputable members of the House of Commons—who were thereby given their congenial occasion and enabled to brow-beat the House of Commons into stopping its business—idiotic resolutions from the Diehard Back Benchers who wanted to hound Mr. Rosengolz from Chesham House, unbalanced speeches all over the country, swollen audiences for the empty-headed tub-thumpers in Hyde Park. Could perversity go further?

What happened after the publication of the Blue Book showed how embarrassing its results were for the Government. The House of Commons resounded with highly controversial questions and answers and with intermittent disorder. After lodging its dignified protest in Moscow against the attempted sending of money for the purpose of the General Strike, the Cabinet decided not to take further action about the money that was being sent to the miners. There was clear evidence of muddle in the Cabinet's transition from the Diehardism of 1924 to common sense. Lord Birkenhead forgot that he had first-class brains when in a public speech he stated that in his view an issue had arisen which called for the action of official diplomacy. Then the Blue Book ruffled the Cabinet's dawning aspiration for tranquillity. Commander Locker-Lampson assumed the lead of some of the Government's "supporters" and proceeded to embarrass the Government. Questions were asked about Chesham House, and Commander Locker-Lampson gave notice of a motion he would propose for the abrogation of the Anglo-Russian Trade Agreement. The Cabinet had decided not to do anything of the kind on the excellent ground that good diplomacy does not take steps from which nothing is to be gained. Commander Locker-Lampson's motion was put down for June 23rd. On June 17th Lord Balfour in the House of Lords described such a step as Commander Locker-Lampson was about to propose as the "height of rashness," and dwelt on the folly of causing gratuitous disturbance. On the same day Sir William Joynson-Hicks in the House of Commons informed Commander Locker-Lampson that the Government did not propose "to take the step indicated by my hon. and gallant friend." The debate of June 25th therefore placed the Government's front bench in the comic position of having to combat its own supporters and in the last resort of having to depend on Mr. Ramsay MacDonald to save them from their own friends. They were saved from their dilemma by the behaviour of the extremist Labour members whose uproar forced the Speaker to suspend the House. That incident was a fair epitaph on the Government's enterprise in publishing its ridiculous Blue Book. Why was it published?

THE FRANC AND THE DEBT.

The franc has again undone French Ministers, and by one of the ironies of international intercourse has led to a funding of the French debt. The tumbling franc has been more effective than six years of British diplomacy in inducing the French to pay their debt. Oddly enough, but the oddity is true to life, it is poverty that has made France agree to pay.

M. Briand resigned on June 15th, but formed another Ministry in which the pivot of hope was M. Caillaux as financial saviour. The last seven Finance Ministers of France—M. Clémentel, M. de Monzie, M. Caillaux, M. Painlevé, M. Loucheur, M. Doumer, and M. Pétet—who had followed each other in quick succession during a period of little more than a year, had each come to grief in the struggle between inflation and taxation. London financial quarters had taken a consistently gloomy view as each succeeding Finance Minister in France failed to raise the revenue necessary for balancing the budget by taxation and surreptitiously resorted to inflation. A still longer line than the seven Finance Ministers mentioned above had started operating with a healthy prejudice against inflation, but either, as in the case of M. Caillaux and M. Loucheur, went down fighting, or compromised and went down none the less. In finance external help is of little use, and a somewhat varied experience in Europe since the war proves that revenue by taxation is the only salvation. The people of Great Britain have something to be thankful for in the high taxes they have paid and are paying.

M. Caillaux made his anxiously-awaited statement in the Chamber on July 6th. M. Briand had before that made a statement of Government policy in which he clearly hinted that foreign credits would be sought, and both M. Briand and M. Caillaux agreed that French credit must first be restored by the payment of the debts. Some satisfaction was confessed in London over M. Briand's statement that "it is the duty of a great country to look clearly ahead when it subscribes to such solemn engagements (i.e., debt fundings) because it intends to be punctual in their execution." The point of view of London always was that it is never too late to be punctual. After M. Caillaux had outlined his proposals before the French Chamber and obtained a narrow majority, he at once undertook the journey to London. He crossed by aeroplane on Monday, July 12th, and signed a funding agreement with Mr. Churchill just before seven that same day. The quickness of the event was explained by the fact that the agreement had been reached by telephone during the week before M. Caillaux came. M. Caillaux returned to Paris by aeroplane on the following day.

The French debt is therefore funded. France has undertaken

to pay £4,000,000 during the current year (1926-27), £6,000,000, £8,000,000 and £10,000,000 in the three following years, increasing to the basic annuity of £12,500,000 (as agreed on by Mr. Churchill and M. Caillaux last August) in 1930-1931. The £12,500,000 annuities are to be continued each year to 1956-57, and thereafter the annuity is to be £14,000,000 up to the end of the sixty-two years' funding period (1987-88). France is to deposit bonds to that effect in the British Treasury on September 15th next. One of the pleasantries of the funding terms is that Great Britain undertakes not to commercialise the French bonds. Great Britain, for her part, had to agree in her own funding terms with America to concede America's right to put the British bonds on the market whenever she wanted to. America, of course, would never thus insult a good debtor, and Great Britain, as the history of our time proves, would not thus insult any debtor. But why did M. Caillaux insist? The only practical value (if any) of the clause to France would depend on the contingency of a French intention to default over the funding agreement—a contingency which no one entertains. The explanation must be that M. Caillaux was so perturbed about the franc that he wanted to allay even bogies. Naturally French credit would never stand either a British or an American commercialisation of her bonds, but M. Caillaux knows that her bonds would never be commercialised in London.

A study of the funding terms reveals the remarkable precision with which the Mellon-Bérenger Agreement has been followed in the interest of the *pari passu* principle. The transfer clause is substantially the same in both agreements. The epistolary substitute for a safeguarding clause is no safeguarding clause at all, but by different means it achieves the same object as the American substitute for a safeguarding clause. On paper the safeguarding clause is dead. In the live quarters of French opinion the letters of Mr. Churchill and M. Caillaux are clutched at as a straw by drowning men. The exchange of letters between Mr. Churchill and M. Caillaux just referred to merely recorded the fact that M. Caillaux asked for, and Mr. Churchill conceded, a promise that the British Government would reconsider the French obligation if ever French assets were reduced by a non-payment by Germany of the Dawes annuities. The British Government is not thereby committed to any course of action, and if the contingency foreseen ever arises it will be permissible for the Government to argue the merits of the case. A German default, for instance, would affect Great Britain as well as France.

Clause 5 of the Agreement stipulates that if at any time the British Treasury receives more from Europe than it has to pay to

the United States, the surplus will be thrown back for division among the European debtors of Great Britain. That is a somewhat grim application of the Balfour principle. Having effectively cancelled all debts owed to her by demanding only as much as the United States may exact from herself, Great Britain is now asked, and consents, to bind herself in advance not ever to receive any effective benefit from her "assets." Looked at differently, the British taxpayer undertakes that if ever he finds he has to pay less than 10d. in the pound income-tax on account of the unredeemed part of the French and Italian debts—France and Italy shouldering the equivalent of 1d. each—he is to disgorge, to redress the balance. The world has its comic moments, but whether the comicality would appeal to the British taxpayer if he ever took an intelligent interest in the underlying causes of his taxation burden is another question, and the question is never likely to be raised.

As for the sum of £53,500,000 of gold deposited by France as security for repayment of the debt, it is provided in Clause 7 of the Agreement that the gold is to be the subject of a future arrangement; in other words that nothing happens to it. Inasmuch as by the terms of the deposit the gold is not returnable to France except when France has paid the full debt, and as Great Britain has agreed to remit about five-sixths of the debt, the gold is not French gold. It ought by the logic of the matter to be British gold, but except for £3,000,000 of it which was sunk in the *Laurentic* by a submarine, and which has since been salvaged, it is in fact American gold, having been shipped to America during the war to pay for Allied necessities.

The crowning irony for plain people is that the first clause of the Agreement recalls that the British Treasury holds "French sterling Bills, to the value of £653,127,900." A Treasury Bill is a funding agreement stipulating date and amount of repayment. By a diplomatic convention which the plain people will never understand an agreement to fund what is in reality an existing funding agreement is regarded as an event. The fact that the convention is justified still more confounds the confusion.

The interesting question that was asked or might have been asked after the agreement of July 12th had been published (White Paper, "French War Debt," etc., Cmd. 2692, 1926) was whether the *pari passu* principle had been respected. By the Bérenger-Mellon Agreement France pays to America \$30,000,000 a year for the first two years, beginning on June 15th of this year, \$32,500,000 for the following two years, and thereafter a graduated scale of annuities rising to \$125,000,000 a year. The initial annuity therefore is of £6,000,000. Although the first year's annuity payable to Great Britain falls short of the amount that would be

produced by the operation of the *pari passu* principle, the subsequent annuities payable to Great Britain increase at a much quicker rate than the corresponding annuities to America, and not only catch up, but pass, the *pari passu* amount within the course of the first two or three years. In the case of the Anglo-Italian funding agreement, Mr. Churchill made the point that Great Britain would receive much more out of Italy in the first twenty-two years than would America, and although the payments due to America in the later part of the sixty-two-year period would bring up the American average higher than the British average, he claimed that satisfaction within the next two decades is a more practical thing than far distant benefits in the future. The defence of his settlement with M. Caillaux is easier because the *pari passu* principle is safeguarded within the first five years, and will not be subject to any modification over the full funding period. The London funding terms will start off with a figure about £1,000,000 behind the *pari passu* amount, but the discrepancy will be quickly corrected.

The French debt to Great Britain having been funded, the way was cleared for financial opinion in London to consider ways and means of helping the franc. What exactly would the Bank of England do if Mr. Caillaux's plan of, say, British credits for the stabilisation of the franc were agreed to and put into practice? The way in which such credits would operate would probably be something like this. An agreement would be reached between the Bank of England and the Banque de France whereby the Bank of England would earmark a certain sum of sterling to be used if and when the Banque de France wanted francs to be bought. A currency improves in proportion as the import of its own kind into the country exceeds the export. During the past few years, and more particularly during the past few months, francs have been leaving France in increasingly greater amounts than francs have gone into the country, the reason being that loss of confidence has induced holders of francs in France to exchange for sterling or dollars. If therefore the Bank of England advanced, say, £100,000,000 to the Banque de France, the latter could at any moment buy francs with it to the amount necessary to restore a favourable balance of imports over exports. The agreement between the two banks would have to stipulate the exact amount of sterling to be thus advanced, and the rate of interest to be paid, and would have to include a clause empowering London to call in the money at any time on giving an agreed period of notice. The books of the Bank of England would keep a record of the amount of sterling used by Paris, and would add the interest to the total. It might be that as a first measure Paris would use only a

small fraction of the sterling advanced, and if that measure restored equilibrium, would pay back the debt with the stabilised franc. If another emergency arose, a further amount of sterling could be used, and so on. It would be a matter of agreement between the two banks to decide on a sum which would be adequate, in their view, for the purpose, but such calculations would necessarily be speculative. France had such an arrangement with the Federal Reserve Bank and Morgan's Bank at the end of 1923, and the buying of francs with the dollars thus available succeeded early in 1924 in lifting the franc from over 100 to about 60. Yet the New York credits of 1923 have not permanently benefited the franc. A similar arrangement for dollar credits in New York was made by the British Government last year, when it was decided to restore the gold standard. The transition to gold did not, however, affect sterling adversely, and the credits were never used.

A EUROPEAN TRIANGLE IN ABYSSINIA.

The name of Abyssinia looms large in the European Press. The Governments of Great Britain, France and Italy are again consulting each other about their respective claims for economic spheres in Abyssinia, and their consultations have led to some curious twistings of European public opinion. There is a little irony in the present situation, and much confusion in the public mind about the issue. As the delicate negotiations now in progress between the Emperor of Abyssinia on the one side and the Governments of the three European Powers above-mentioned on the other, are likely to be continued for some months ahead, and as a not unimportant element in those negotiations will be the business of co-ordinating the claims of the three Powers, it may be of some interest to state the facts at issue.

The general position is that the three Powers, by an agreement reached in 1906, safeguarded for themselves certain spheres of economic interest in Abyssinia. Those interests were vaguely defined. During last year and this, the question of specifying and consolidating them has been raised by British, French and Italian diplomacy. The problem is in the first place for the three claimants to agree among themselves about what they each want and to agree on mutual support in their claims, and secondly to approach the Emperor of Abyssinia with proposals. It is largely a matter of business. The Emperor of Abyssinia will, of course, have to be paid, either by cash or otherwise, for the economic concessions asked for.

The 1906 Treaty.—It is necessary to be clear about the exact nature of the treaty of 1906. It was signed in London on December 13th of that year, the signatories being Sir Edward Grey for Great Britain, M. Paul Cambon for France, and the Marquis A.

de San Giuliano for Italy. It began with a Preamble, thus :

"It being the common interest of France, Great Britain, and Italy to maintain intact the integrity of Ethiopia, to provide for every kind of disturbance in the political conditions of the Ethiopian Empire, to come to a mutual understanding in regard to their attitude in the event of any change in the situation arising in Ethiopia, and to prevent the action of the three States in protecting their respective interests both in the British, French and Italian possessions bordering on Ethiopia and in Ethiopia itself, resulting in injury to the interests of any of them, the Government of the French Republic, the Government of His Britannic Majesty, and the Government of Italy have assented to the following Agreement. . . ."

By Article One the three signatory Powers undertook to "co-operate in maintaining the political and territorial *status quo* in Ethiopia as determined by the state of affairs at present existing." By Article Two the three Powers undertook not to damage each other's interests by their several "demands for agricultural, commercial and industrial concessions in Ethiopia." Article Three imposed neutrality on the signatories in case of "internal changes in Ethiopia," except in so far as "the protection of the Legations, of the lives and property of foreigners, and of the common interests of the Three Powers" might be concerned, and went on to stipulate that "in no case shall one of the three Governments interfere in any manner whatsoever, except in agreement with the other two."

The important Article was Article Four, which ran : "In the event of the *status quo* laid down in Article One being disturbed, France, Great Britain and Italy shall make every effort to preserve the integrity of Ethiopia. In any case, they shall concert together, on the basis of the Agreements enumerated in the above-mentioned Article, in order to safeguard :

"(a) The interests of Great Britain and Egypt in the Nile Basin, more especially as regards the regulation of the waters of that river and its tributaries (due consideration being paid to local interests), without prejudice to Italian interests mentioned in paragraph (b);

"(b) The interests of Italy in Ethiopia as regards Erythræa and Somaliland (including the Benadir), more especially with reference to the hinterland of her possessions and the territorial connection between them to the west of Adis Abeba;

"(c) The interests of France in Ethiopia as regards the French Protectorate on the Somali coast, the hinterland of this Protectorate and the zone necessary for the construction and working of the railway from Jibuti to Adis Abeba."

The next few articles established the French and Italian rights to, make railways in pursuance of their privileges under Article Four. In Article Nine appeared the following sentence : "The Government of His Britannic Majesty reserve to themselves the right, in case of need, to make use of the authorisation, granted by the Emperor Menelek on the 28th August, 1904, to construct a railway from British Somaliland through Ethiopia to the Sudanese frontier, on condition, however, that they previously came to an agreement with the French and Italian Governments, the three Governments undertaking not to construct without previous agreement any line entering Abyssinian territory or intended to join the Abyssinian lines, which would compete directly with those established under the auspices of any of them."

Annexed to the treaty was a delightful letter written by the Emperor of Abyssinia on August 8th, 1904, authorising the French Railway Company to undertake the construction of the line from Diré Daoua to Adis Abeba. It ran thus :

"The Lion, conqueror of the tribe of Judah, Menelek II, elect of the Lord, King of Kings of Ethiopia, to the French Minister Plenipotentiary at Adis Abeba.

"Greeting !

"In order that the Railway Company may lose no time unnecessarily, I inform you that it is my will that it forthwith commence work on the line from Diré Daoua to Adis Abeba.

"As regards the terms of the contract, however, we shall come to an arrangement later with the Railway Company.

"Written the 2nd Naassé, in the year of grace 1896 (Abyssinian style), in the city of Adis Abeba (the 8th August, 1904)."

The Anglo-Italian Conversations of 1919 and 1925.—The French Railway being already operative, the Italian and British Governments decided after the war to explore the possibility of furthering their own interests in Abyssinia. In November, 1919, a conference was held in London at which the Italian delegates offered Italian co-operation in the following terms :

"In view of the predominating interests of Great Britain in respect of the control of the waters of Lake Tsana, Italy offers Great Britain her support, in order that she may obtain from Ethiopia the concession to carry out works of barrage in the lake itself, within the Italian sphere of influence, pending the delimitation of the extent of the territorial zone to be recognised as pertaining to Great Britain in respect of the latter's predominant hydraulic interests, and pending a just consideration of the reservation on behalf of Italy by the Tripartite Agreement likewise in respect of her hydraulic interests. Italy further offers her support to Great Britain in order that the latter may obtain from Ethiopia

the right to construct and maintain a motor road between Lake Tsana and the Sudan.

"Italy requests the support of Great Britain in order that she may obtain from the Ethiopian Government the concession to construct and to run a railway from the frontier of Eritrea to the frontier of Italian Somaliland, which railway according to the Tripartite Agreement must pass to the west of Adis Abeba. It is understood that this railway, together with all the necessary works for its construction and for its running, must have an entirely free passage across the above-mentioned motor road.

"Italy requests from Great Britain, as she also reserves to herself, the right to request from France an exclusive economic influence in the west of Ethiopia and in the whole of the territory to be crossed by the above-mentioned railway, and the promise to support with the Ethiopian Government all requests for economic concessions regarding the Italian zone."

That offer was rejected by the British Government, which was unwilling to allow a foreign power to establish any sort of control over the headwaters of rivers so vital to the prosperity and even to the existence of Egypt and of the Sudan. In 1925, however, the British Government decided again to try and interest Italy in the negotiations which it had engaged in at Adis Abeba with the Emperor of Abyssinia. Great Britain conducted those negotiations as trustees of the Sudanese Government, paying due regard to Egyptian interests. What the British Government wanted was to obtain a concession from the Abyssinian Government for the construction of a barrage at Lake Tsana with a view to storing its waters for use in the Blue Nile. The waters of the Blue and White Niles are of vital importance to Egypt and the Sudan, especially for cotton-growing, and Great Britain wanted not only to maintain the supply of irrigation water, but to increase it.

It had been the natural tendency for the Emperor of Abyssinia to make as many innocent difficulties as possible, partly because the more difficulties, the greater presumably will be the price, partly no doubt because East is East in diplomacy as in other things. It was, therefore, thought to be tactically desirable that the claimant states should co-ordinate their policy before making proposals to the Emperor. By such an expedient it would be impossible for the Emperor to refuse the British claim on the ground of Italian disapproval or the Italian on the converse ground.

In 1925, France being already satisfied, the practical problem was the co-ordination of the British and Italian claims. On British initiative, the question was raised in Rome, it being understood that in the event of an Anglo-Italian agreement, France would have to be consulted and French concurrence obtained before the

matter was taken to Adis Abeba. After the ground had been cleared in the usual diplomatic manner, that is to say, after Sir Ronald Graham, the British Ambassador in Rome, had satisfied himself that a British proposal would be accepted if made, Sir Ronald proceeded formally to make it. In a letter dated Rome, December 14th, 1925, he wrote to Signor Mussolini to request "Your Excellency's support and assistance at Adis Abeba with the Abyssinian Government in order to obtain from them a concession for His Majesty's Government to construct a barrage at Lake Tsana, together with the right to construct and maintain a motor road for the passage of stores, personnel, etc., from the frontier of the Sudan to the barrage." His letter continued: "His Majesty's Government in return are prepared to support the Italian Government in obtaining from the Abyssinian Government a concession to construct and run a railway from the frontier of Eritrea to the frontier of Italian Somaliland. It would be understood that this railway, together with all the necessary works for its construction and for its running, would have entirely free passage across the motor road mentioned above.

"With this object in view, the necessary identic instructions should be sent to the British and Italian representatives in Ethiopia to concert for common action with the Abyssinian Government in order to obtain that the Concessions desired by the Governments of Great Britain and Italy regarding Lake Tsana and the construction of a railway to join up Eritrea with Italian Somaliland, should be granted contemporaneously. It remains understood that, in the event of one of the two Governments securing the concession sought for while the other Government failed to do so, the Government which had obtained satisfaction would not relax their whole-hearted efforts to secure a corresponding satisfaction for the other Government concerned.

"In the event of His Majesty's Government, with the valued assistance of the Italian Government, obtaining from the Abyssinian Government the desired concession on Lake Tsana, they are also prepared to recognise an exclusive Italian economic influence in the west of Abyssinia and in the whole of the territory to be crossed by the above-mentioned railway. They would further promise to support with the Abyssinian Government all Italian requests for economic concessions in the above zone. But such recognition and undertaking are subject to the proviso that the Italian Government on their side, recognising the prior hydraulic rights of Egypt and the Sudan, will engage not to construct on the headwaters of the Blue or White Niles or their tributaries or affluents any work which might sensibly modify their flow into the main river. It is understood that the above proviso would not

preclude a reasonable use of the waters in question by the inhabitants of the region, even to the extent of constructing dams for hydro-electric power or small reservoirs in minor affluents for domestic purposes, as well as for the cultivation of food crops necessary to their own subsistence.

"His Majesty's Government avail themselves of this opportunity to assure the Italian Government that the construction and operation of the dam will be effected so far as possible with locally recruited labour, and will not raise the level of the waters in the lake beyond the maximum hitherto attained during the rainy season. They are, therefore, confident that the existence of the dam will not only be of value to Egypt and the Sudan, but will increase the prosperity and promote the economic progress of the local inhabitants."

The British Government in fact no longer regarded the Italian claim as being incompatible with the provisions of the 1906 treaty. Signor Mussolini in a Note dated Rome, December 20th, 1925, stated that "The Royal Government agree to take up again the proposals," and "will support the British Government with the Ethiopian Government" for the purpose stated, and on the conditions laid down, in Sir Ronald Graham's letter. (For full text of Anglo-Italian diplomatic exchanges see White Paper, Treaty Series No. 16 (1926), Cmd. 2680, "Notes exchanged between the United Kingdom and Italy Respecting Lake Tsana, Rome, December 14th-20th, 1925.")

Agreement having been reached in 1925 between Rome and London, the field was widened in the spring of 1926 by consultations between Rome and Paris. London momentarily stood aside, because the British claim, confined as it was to the water rights of Lake Tsana, wore a comparatively innocent air which excited the jealousy neither of Rome nor of Paris. Sections of the French Press took the occasion to remind the world that Abyssinia was a free country and a member of the League of Nations—having entered the League as a result of French sponsoring—and that it was a matter of concern to high political and moral principle that there should be no trifling with that independence. Realistically, what is happening behind the idealistic scene just described is that France and Italy are adjusting their several economic interests and safeguarding themselves against each other. When that process is completed, London, Paris and Rome will make a joint *démarche* in Adis Abeba, presenting their claims and discussing the Emperor's *quid pro quo*. It will be a business arrangement, equally to the interest of Abyssinia and of the three Powers. Those who talk of imperialist designs on Abyssinia are wide of the mark, although it may be true that the Emperor of Abyssinia may again

be enabled to play the part of *tertius gaudens*, or to be arithmetically accurate, *quartus gaudens*, against the disunited forces of French, Italian, and British diplomacy.

The comments that have been made on the "old diplomacy" of the three European powers interested in Abyssinia certainly call for some slight modification so far as Great Britain is concerned. One of the provisions of the 1906 treaty gave to the British Government, as other provisions gave to the French and Italian Governments, the right to construct a railway. In the case of Great Britain the railway contemplated would have run from British Somaliland through Ethiopia to the Sudanese frontier. The French Government has its railway in Abyssinia already working, and by the Anglo-Italian Agreement Great Britain has promised to support the Italian claim for the construction of the Italian railway. The British claim for a railway has, however, been tacitly dropped, and no mention is made of it in the Anglo-Italian Agreement. The British claim is now confined to the water rights over Lake Tsana and to "a motor road for the passage of stores, personnel, etc., from the frontier of the Sudan to the barrage" (that is the barrage which Great Britain wants to construct at Lake Tsana). Even if the water rights of Lake Tsana could serve any specially useful purpose in Abyssinia itself the slope of the ground would prevent its being so used. And whereas French and Italian claims involve the use of Abyssinian territory for economic purposes, the water of Lake Tsana would merely be run into the Sudan. The settlement of the French, Italian and British claims in Abyssinia will be the last stage in the post-war demarcation of Allied economic spheres in Northern Africa.

The Emperor of Abyssinia has a sense of humour. Having received a communication from Signor Mussolini assuring him of Italy's determination strictly to respect Abyssinian independence, he answered with a letter of thanks in which he remarked that the suspicion that Italy ever had other intentions had not crossed his mind.

"THE UNITED KINGDOM."

It will no doubt be remarked with some curiosity that the White Paper on Abyssinia retains in its title the name "The United Kingdom." A fair question to set in a general knowledge paper would be—What is the name of the country in which the British people live? There is no doubt, for instance, that the country in which the French people live is France. What is the correct name for our own? Oddly enough, since the Anglo-Irish Treaty of 1923 which disjoined Southern Ireland and made it into the Irish Free State, there is no legalised, official name for the remainder of Ireland, Scotland, Wales and England. Before 1923 the King

signed treaties with the heads of other States as His Majesty the King of the United Kingdom and Ireland and of the Dominions beyond the Seas, Emperor of India, etc. That description was based on an Act of Parliament. It would require another Act of Parliament to amend it. When the British Government, as opposed to the British Empire, makes treaties with other Governments, the description it has adopted is that of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, which description has become regularised by custom, but by custom only. "The United Kingdom" has gone, except as an anomaly in the King's description. The most usual unofficial name for the country we live in is Great Britain. Some people speak of Britain, a simple name which has much to be said for it, but which does not exist officially.

THE MOSUL TREATY.

A treaty has at last been negotiated and signed between Great Britain, Turkey and Iraq whereby the controversy about the Mosul frontier is laid to rest. When Great Britain has ratified the treaty, the war between Great Britain and Turkey which began in 1915 as an integral part of the Great War will be formally at an end. It is truly symptomatic of the muddled state of affairs which followed 1918 that until now a technical state of war has existed between Great Britain and Turkey. For seven and a half years the diplomats have failed to reduce Anglo-Turkish relations to their normal condition. During that time we have witnessed a state of affairs which has done little credit to the common-sense of either side. First there was the ill-fated Treaty of Sèvres; then the Anatolian War, and the threatened resumption of hostilities between England and Turkey over the Chanak crisis; then came the Treaty of Lausanne and its complete failure to lead to a settlement of the Mosul problem; there followed many months of diplomatic quarrelling at Geneva, the Lausanne failure having made it necessary for the Mosul difficulty to be dumped on to the League for treatment. Now at last, when every other possibility has been exhausted, the Turkish Government has chosen to try the expedient of agreement.

The Treaty was signed at Angora at midnight on June 6th, and the text of it was published in London as a White Paper during the evening of June 21st, whence it was reproduced in the Press of the following morning. It was signed by Sir Ronald Lindsay, the British Ambassador, for Great Britain, by Colonel Nuri Said, Acting Minister of National Defence, for Iraq, and by Dr. Tewfik Rushdi Bey, Minister of Foreign Affairs, for Turkey. It has already been ratified by two of the signatory powers—by the Grand National Assembly of Turkey on June 7th, and by the Iraq Parliament on June 14th. It will come into force when it has been ratified by Great Britain.

The important points in the treaty and their diplomatic consequences may be summarised thus:

1. *The Frontiers and the Oil.*—As everyone knows, the real basis of the diplomatic quarrel through these latter years has been the economic value of the Mosul oil. It is true that Lord Curzon, as he himself used to say, was innocent of oil, and even of any thought of oil. Yet the forces of diplomacy on both sides were consciously or unconsciously dominated by the thought of oil. In the treaty that has just been signed Turkey receives a slight frontier modification in her favour, although she does not receive Mosul itself. In October, 1924, a provisional line of demarcation was drawn between the Turkish troops on the north and the Anglo-Iraq troops on the south (the so-called "Brussels Line"), and that line was adopted by the League of Nations in December, 1925. It left Mosul on the Iraq side. By the new Treaty that provisional line is made definitive, except that a strip of some three square miles of mountain is added to Turkish territory, a strip which will allow Turkey to retain the direct road between Alumun and Ashuta.

Turkey also receives a 10 per cent. share of such royalties as may be payable to the Iraq Government for the Turkish Petroleum Company's concession. That is the really important gain for Turkey. Article 14 of the new treaty stipulates that "with the object of enlarging the field of common interests between the two countries, the Iraq Government shall pay to the Turkish Government for a period of twenty-five years from the coming into force of the present treaty 10 per cent. on all royalties which it shall receive:

"(a) from the Turkish Petroleum Company under Article 10 of its concession of March 14th, 1925;

"(b) from such companies or persons as may exploit oil under the provisions of Article 6 of the above-mentioned concession.

"(c) from such subsidiary companies as may be constituted under the provisions of Article 33 of the above-mentioned concession."

There are subsidiary provisions (Article 3) for the treatment of any future frontier problems that may arise and for the future suppression of pillage and brigandage for the mutual benefit of Turkey and Iraq (Articles 6 to 11).

2. *Turkey is Reconciled with Iraq.*—In return for the benefits received under the treaty, Turkey on her side recognises Iraq. The beginning of friendly relations between those two countries will have important effects in more ways than one. Turkey will be rid of her besetting fear of aggression from the south, and the clause which prohibits propaganda on either side of the frontier will

relieve the Turks of their anxiety lest a separatist movement among the Kurds be encouraged from Bagdad. Article 12 of the treaty stipulates that "The Turkish and Iraq authorities shall refrain from all correspondence of an official or political nature with the chiefs, sheikhs, or other members of tribes which are nationals of the other state, and which are actually in the territory of that state. They shall not permit in the frontier zone any organisation for propaganda or meeting directed against either state."

3. *Effects on Turkish Trade with Europe.*—If the Turks were not already convinced that the European capitulations in Turkey have become a matter of historical interest only, and that there is no question of their ever being revived, then the treaty ought finally to dispose of that idea. The capitulations are gone, never to return. The treaty in general is likely to enhance Turkey's international status, and to inaugurate a period of closer trade relations between Turkey and the West. Turkish trade will benefit, and probably British trade also. It may be expected that the question of British credits for Turkey will now be raised in a practical form, those credits having for their object the development of Turkish trade for the mutual benefit of Turkey and Great Britain. There is no mention in the treaty of any such credits, but there already appears to be an unwritten understanding on the subject.

The only surprising and regrettable feature of the treaty is the omission of a clause committing Turkey to apply for membership of the League of Nations. It is known that such a provision would have been welcomed on the British side, but its omission need not be taken as implying that there will be any undue delay in Turkey's actual entry into the League. The signature and impending ratification of the Anglo-Iraq-Turkish Treaty marks another stage in the process of eliminating the war-time distinction between enemies and allies, and fills up one more of the trenches which divided the world into two armed camps. The world went mad between 1914 and 1918, and takes a long time to recover from its madness. Slow as the recovery is, it is a pleasure to record its stages.

GEORGE GLASGOW.

July 15th, 1926.

LITERARY SUPPLEMENT.

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SARAJEVO.*

NO British scholar has done so much as Professor Seton-Watson to explain the history and aspirations of the races which till recently formed part of the Hapsburg Empire. For twenty years he has been travelling in South-Eastern Europe, studying the conditions on the spot, learning the languages, conversing with high and low, and interpreting the present in the light of the past. His classical treatise on the Southern Slav Question, published in 1911, revealed to many of its readers a new world of thorny problems, which, if not quickly solved by constructive statesmanship, seemed likely to lead to a shattering explosion. That insight and courage were lacking in the Austria of Francis Joseph; that the tangle was further complicated by the Balkan wars; that Francis Ferdinand, who had prepared schemes of reconstruction, was murdered; that Austria lost patience and plunged madly into war; that her defeat led to her dissolution; that her vassal races have realised their dreams of union and independence—all this is common knowledge. But in the pages of this book we shall find much that helps us to understand why events turned out precisely as they did. The disappearance of the Hapsburg Empire is by far the most important of the immediate results of the world war, and "Sarajevo" will repay the careful study of those who

* *Sarajevo. A Study in the Origins of the Great War.* By Professor R. W. Seton-Watson. Hutchinson. 18s.

desire to discover the causes of its fall. The author is not only master of all the published material, but adds to our knowledge from the stores of his personal observation and oral inquiries before and after the Great Collapse.

The first three chapters describe the growth of the mortal feud between Austria and the Jugoslavs. Dr. Seton-Watson once thought that a policy of autonomy and conciliation might possibly have averted a collision, and until 1914 it was still possible to hope; but readers of these pages will probably conclude that compromise was as impossible as it had proved between Austria and Italian aspirations half a century before. Only the highest statesmanship could have adapted the institutions of the Empire to the demands of a nationalism which had developed into a burning passion. Whether the Archduke Francis Ferdinand, whose character and policy are described in a most interesting chapter, could have carried through federal reconstruction is very doubtful; for his passionate temperament, his inability to work with others, and the immense difficulty of overriding the Hungarian Magnates would probably have doomed his plans to failure, even if the remedy had not been applied too late to avert the ravages of the disease. It is idle to balance the argument, since the experiment was prevented by the longevity of Francis Joseph, who detested his nephew and whose fossilised brain was unable to conceive the necessity of change.

With the fifth chapter we reach the murder of the Archduke which, though carried out by Prinzip, was in effect, we are told, a collective act. The main argument of this volume is that the crime was less the work of one or two conspirators in Bosnia, encouraged by one or two other conspirators in Serbia, than the expression of the heart and mind of the younger generation in Bosnia. The murder of the Archduke was merely the latest of a series of attacks on highly-placed representatives of Austrian rule, and murder was in the air. We shall best understand the story if we keep the Italian *Risorgimento* in mind; for though on the one hand Dr. Seton-Watson emphasises the blind and blundering policy of Vienna and Budapest, and on the other Miss Durham in her recent book stresses the provocations of Belgrad, the instinct of racial self-realisation was the fundamental cause of the trouble.

The chapter on "The Responsibility for the Crime" reviews the evidence which has collected round the Sarajevo murders, and virtually acquits the Serbian Government. Though the Serbian Colonel Dimitrievich, as we now know, coached the murderers, Dr. Seton-Watson points out that the "Black Hand" organisation, of which he was the leading spirit, was in violent opposition to the Government. Nor does he admit that the famous article of Ljuba

Jovanovich, asserting that Pasitch informed some of his colleagues that an attempt to murder the Archduke would be made at Sarajevo, establishes the complicity of Belgrad. On this point it is difficult to accept his view without more evidence. It certainly seems much less likely that an ex-Minister of Education and Speaker should have invented the incident than that the slippery Pasitch, who (despite public and private appeals from Dr. Seton-Watson and other friends of Serbia) only denied the damaging story eighteen months later, should have told the truth. Which of the two men has lied will not greatly affect our view of the deeper causes of the war; but if the Serbian Government knew of the conspiracy, as Jovanovich categorically and circumstantially asserts, its omission to warn Vienna was an unpardonable crime.

The closing chapters narrate once again the familiar story of the steps and negotiations which preceded the outbreak of hostilities. Dr. Seton-Watson speaks severely, but not too severely, of Berchtold, who was more directly responsible for the catastrophe than any other statesman. That his policy was extremely likely to lead to a universal conflagration he was well aware. That he would not have dared to launch his ultimatum without the encouragement of Berlin is equally clear. Dr. Seton-Watson argues the case against the Central Powers with great power and wide knowledge. I agree with him in attributing the larger share of responsibility for the breach of the peace to the Central Powers; but I should deal less gently with Russia than he is disposed to do. For a different presentation both of the immediate and the deeper causes of the great tragedy English readers may turn with advantage to Mr. Lowes Dickinson's recent volume "The International Anarchy." Earnest truth-seekers, however they differ in detail, bring nearer the time when an agreed verdict on the main issues may become possible.

G. P. GOOCH.

* * *

BARON KEYSERLING IN ENGLISH.

THE translation of Baron Keyserling's famous Travel Diary by Mr. Holroyd Reece will extend the knowledge of it into much wider circles in this country and in the United States. His position in Germany, where he has been placed at the head of a School of Wisdom at Darmstadt, and enjoys a respectful following, makes his life and his views a factor of some international importance. Spengler never went round the world to make up his mind, nor has he become a prophet and a pontiff with a throne of his own: in fact the Spenglerian philosophy is already in decline, and will decline still further just in proportion as Western Civilisation refuses to go down.

But Count Hermann Keyserling has wider interests and a deeper soul. He finds something to admire everywhere except in Chicago, and his book, if rightly taken and corrected, is a valuable contribution to a better understanding of the East. It is in the East that he is most interested and with Indian sages that his mind is most akin. His itinerary was India and Ceylon, with a sojourn at Adyar near Madras the home of theosophy, then China and Japan, and a passage home through the United States where he strains his politeness and universality of mind to say something for Western civilisation at its quietest and loudest point.

One has, in reading him, to bear carefully in mind the personal equation. He is an Estonian nobleman with all the instincts of an aristocrat, repelled by the rush and vulgarity of modern industrialism and turning to the East for repose and inward light. The war came before he had finished his book and deepened the gloom in which it was completed. "Men are becoming more superficial and more evil from day to day," he says somewhere in the first volume, and yet the depression does not lead him to a general denunciation of civilisation nor to any prediction of the downfall of the West. He thinks we shall win through, and hence his doctrines have been of real service to his own country and are wholesome food for all the West. We, in England, can consume it with a better grace because he is specially appreciative of the English type. We are the best Europeans in Europe and are distinguished by a most concentrated power of imagination. Thanks to centuries of physical culture, the British organism has developed into a world of its own so much that external circumstances affect it slowly, if at all. Hence the Englishman lives his own life on his own lines, less influenced by surrounding conditions than any other race. This characteristic commends us in the eyes of the static and conservative philosopher, and puts us to some extent on the same level as the Chinese gentleman, who is the finest type of humanity yet achieved. It will be remembered that Mr. Lowes Dickinson, after his voyage round the world, described the Chinese as the English of the East.

In such analogies and perceptions as these the Count is always rich and always suggestive: he has a poetical rather than a scientific mind and is constantly seeing connections, often fanciful enough, between the vegetation of the countries he visits and the human beings who inhabit it. The luxuriant foliage of Ceylon suggests the mighty men of her early history, and the grandeur of the Grand Cañon is akin to the conquering spirit of the American people.

On all this side Keyserling is inspiring even when we do not feel him to be convincing. He longs for human greatness and laments the tendency of modern life to roll out mankind to a monotonous level of uniformity under the guise of unification.

This admiration of greatness gives him a strong anti-Christian turn. He finds Buddha a more dignified figure than Christ, and is in strong revolt against the "grovelling before God, the undignified subordination, the constant fear of doing things badly and tormenting oneself for the sake of eternal bliss," which he finds in Thomas à Kempis. He is largely, it will be seen, influenced by Nietzsche and condemns with vigour "the ubiquitous practice of loving and serving other men," under which the individual must wither ethically. Acting continually for others, he does not gain profundity himself. Such an ideal, he holds, has never satisfied any profound human being.

In spite of his admiration for the Chinese, he spent the greater part of his time and thought in India where the introspective philosophy, and especially the practice of Yoga, made a strong appeal to him. A sentence on the latter topic really sums up both the strength and the weakness of his position as well as anything could:

"Faith in the religious sense does not mean believing-to-be-true. It means striving after self-realisation by concentrating the power of the mind upon a given ideal."

The strength is the insistence on the value of the individual and the pursuit of strength and greatness. He is right to set high value on concentration of mind and a consciously proposed ideal. He falls into error in so far as he neglects the objective necessities both of the material world and of the society which scientific industrialism has created. He is dominated by the idea that we all contain enough within us to make a satisfactory, if not an ideal, man, if we would only shut out the external world and commune with our own souls or with the Himalayas. As a corrective the counsel is altogether admirable, as a complete philosophy it is ludicrously and fatally inadequate.

The perfection, or rather the perfecting, of society and the individual, which we all desire, can only be reached by carrying on the study and conquest of external nature which has given us the industrial system with its wonders and advantages as well as its horrors, and by advancing to this conquest with the whole social army behind us. If we go to the mountain top to make our souls alone we shall, in the end, wither far more completely than the man who spends himself in serving his fellows, and they will not have the satisfaction of being served. The ideal will come when men can add the truth that is contained in the doctrine of Yoga which Keyserling expounds, to the broad dominating facts of progress in an industrial age. We can not turn our back on these except to our own grievous loss, as well as that of the world in which we have to live.

A static conception of life is no longer tenable in a world which has accepted Progress and Becoming as its keynotes rather than Rest and Absolute Being. We are far from having solved the problem, and India, where the Count found most to satisfy him, is probably the arena where the task will be fought out.

It is not a hopeless but a highly difficult and complicated one, and those who are interested in its solution will find more definite material and practical suggestion in Lord Ronaldshay's books than in Keyserling. But the Count is intensely interesting, and his very bias is a strong provocative to thought. He listened to the Hindu sages and was sympathetic to them. He has an abounding sense of the beauty and magnificence of nature as well as of the teachings of the past works of man. Above all he has goodwill and a steady, though not triumphant, hope. He is a factor in real progress and a voice which cannot be neglected.

F. S. MARVIN.

REVIEWS.

CLAUDE LORRAINE AND MODERN ART.*

Mr. A. M. Hind in the Rede Lecture, 1926, gives a critical analysis of the work of Claude, which is most interesting to the art student and, indeed, to any one who studies the trend of art production to-day. Mr. Hind feels that there is nothing new under the sun; that which is thought new is often but a reproduction of that which has gone before, "newly emphasised old things," as the author puts it. When considered, it is astonishing how much modernness can be found in the elder work, and how few essential changes have really taken place in painting and drawing from the time of the Renaissance to the present day.

Every generation expresses itself after its kind; mannerisms must come, but woe to those who over emphasise them, and neglect the fundamentals. Correct drawing is truth, and it is hard to find. No style, or mannerism will cover its deficiency. The study of the great masters will prove how faithful they were to the truth as they conceived it; witness their search for it in their sketches, of which fortunately we have abundant examples. The notebook of a master painter is very akin to the plans and designs of a master builder. Both are evolutions of thought and craft. One has but to study Leonardo da Vinci to realise that the painting of a picture is no mean and simple art, but one which necessitates a life-long study of nature.

* *Claude Lorraine and Modern Art.* The Rede Lecture, 1926. By A. M. Hind. Cambridge University Press. 2s. 6d. net.

Mr. Hind believes Ruskin to be one of the greatest writers on art. And he quotes him fully and urges all to study him, despite his view of Claude Lorraine, whose great qualities Ruskin failed to appreciate or to understand. The English public guided by him followed his lead, though Ruskin's judgment was formed early in life, and was the scathing criticism of youth on a painter who has outlived his detractors—as this lecture goes to prove. Mr. Hind's comparison of Claude with other great landscape painters is full of interest; he sees the man, the artist, in his accomplishment, and feels that oftentimes he was "disciplining himself to a conventional mode that was not entirely in his own temper." His drawings and studies from nature prove him her lover, and are more truly himself than his pictures; "he was a naturalist at heart, driven by the classical conventions of his period, rather than by his own bent, into his more elaborate classical compositions."

The close affinity which Claude bears to modern art is dealt with in this lecture, and the author considers that Claude, by his treatment of diffused sunshine, was the great forerunner of the nineteenth century. Aelbert Cuyp and Jacob Ruysdael in the seventeenth century were worthy followers, and excelled in their treatment of sun, storm and cloud. Two illustrations are given in this book of sunlight in trees: one is reproduced from a drawing of a *Sunlit Wood* in the Teyler Museum at Haarlem, and the other from the same collection, *Tree Trunks and Foliage*, both executed in the simple medium of pen and bistre wash. Claude's remarkable freedom in his use of watercolour wash relates him to modern art "in what might loosely be called impressionism," but Mr. Hind is careful to dissociate the nineteenth century movement of impressionism from the "more literal interpretation as the expression either of passing aspects of nature, or of more permanent aspects, by summary and suggestive means."

In comparing Claude with Turner Mr. Hind feels that Turner bends watercolour to his will, and achieves his wonderful effects by a more complex method, rather as a painter than a draughtsman, while Claude gains his effects in a more direct and simple style, by keeping to the pure use of pen and wash. The author gives many examples of the two methods, and results, without belittling the one, or belauding the other, knowing as he does that every great artist is master of his medium according to his method. "Turner's latest water colours are enough to show that the material slightness of a medium bears no relation to the greatness of achievement." The author ends this interesting lecture by calling attention to Claude's superb strength and mastery of light and shade, and gives two examples (illustrating rocks and trees) in the Teyler Museum, Haarlem, and *The Tiber above Rome* in the

British Museum, both bistre drawings, very modern in execution, being direct studies from nature.

S. DE M.

* * *

BEFORE THE NORMAN CONQUEST.*

Students of early English history will be glad of this convenient Source-Book which supplies English versions of the salient Latin and Anglo-Saxon texts, with the adequate notes that Professor Chambers provides out of his vast knowledge of the authorities for the period. It was perhaps unwise to attempt to cover so wide a field. It would have been better to have reserved for a future volume the whole subject of the Roman occupation of Britain. It is a theme that at present offers no finality, and a very brief summary of accepted facts would have made a sufficient introduction to Professor Chambers' work. As it is, Dr. Cary, severely hampered by considerations of space, practically uses it all for the texts of Cæsar and Tacitus. An adequate Roman section should give all the passages supplied by the famous Rolls' edition of classical sources. It is to be hoped that Dr. Cary will some day supply a full volume to the series on Roman and pre-Roman Britain.

The references to Kent and London, given by Ptolemy the Geographer about A.D. 150, are not provided, though Ptolemy's map is the earliest map that includes Britain. The references to the prosperity of Britain given by Eumenius the Panegyrist might well have been included. Moreover, the pre-Roman history of Britain has now reached a stage of research that demands a source-book. We are no longer in complete, or, indeed, even semi-darkness on the subject, and our growing knowledge of customary law is throwing a great deal of light on successive Aryan settlements of Britain. For instance, Ptolemy's statement that London belonged to Kent, Cæsar's recognition of the fact that there were Kings of Kent, and the statement in the earliest Kentish laws that one of the Kings of Kent lived in London (which was always outside Kent), coupled with our knowledge of land custom of succession, link up pre-Roman and post-Roman times and make it clear that the Brythonic and Goidelic inhabitants of the area were not ejected by the Jutes. The period of transition is illuminated by the statement of St. Athanasius in 363 that Britain was one of the nations that had remained faithful to the Catholic Faith. It is a point of importance that Rome in the period of transition was keeping her eye

* *England Before the Norman Conquest.* By R. W. Chambers. With a Foreword on Roman Britain (University of London Intermediate Source-Books of History, No. VII). Longmans.

on Britain. It is clear that Pope Celestine deliberately sent St. German to Britain in 429. The fact has better evidence than the *Life* of St. Germanus, which is fifty years after the event. It has the contemporary authority of a writer who has been confused with Prosper Tiro. St. German's second visit in the company of Severus, Bishop of Trèves, can be almost definitely dated in 447, and "Prosper" is clearly wrong in his statement that by 441-2 the Saxons had reduced the Province of Britain.

So we come to Gildas and his *liber de excidio* (c. 540). Gildas is no guide to the fifth century. He is writing of a period a century before his time, and for dates we cannot go to him. But he does give an accurate picture of the disorders of the British Church. The life of St. Samson of Dol, which can be dated between 610-615, confirms that picture from the state of the British Church, which was predominantly monastic in the second half of the sixth century, as revealed by the life of St. Samson. St. Samson, who carried the British Church to Brittany, was born about the year 486 and was educated at Llantwit. The *Life* reveals no sign of trouble from the invaders in the area of the Severn and Cornwall. The negative evidence of the life is very important. We read of a synod on the banks of the Severn and the consecration of Samson as a Bishop. We are told that before this date "certain distinguished Irishmen, on their way from Rome, arrived at his dwelling, and when he had carefully and thoroughly examined them, and had found them to be learned men, he determined to accompany them to their own country." So Samson went to Ireland, and on his return and ordination as Bishop he passed on by sea to Cornwall, where he found at Trigg tribes attending a performance of a non-Christian play and worshipping an idol in much peace and contentment. There is not a whisper of any intruders in the land. Samson then passed over to Brittany and founded the Monastery of Dol, and there is in the *Life* a record of his visit to King Childibert. There are no signs or hints anywhere in the narrative of Saxon invaders of Britain or of fugitives from the East, but there are many signs of a drunken and careless monastic system such as Gildas describes. The *Vita Samsonis*, recently translated by that admirable Celtic scholar Canon Taylor, is a valuable supplement to Gildas, and shows the very definite limits of Saxon influence. The heathen tribes are enjoying their heathen plays and the Christian monks are enjoying their monkish beer. It is a matter of surprise that the author can say of this stout saint *nunquam aliquis vidit eum ebrium*.

In history it is necessary to look critically at the coming of a new order or way of life. Professor Chambers' task is "to illustrate the way in which the history of the earliest England has to be

constructed." How did the earliest chroniclers find their material, and what disjointed fragments have we to lay beside Cæsar, Tacitus, Bede? Some indications have been given above as to the fashion that we, apart from archæological remains, can supplement the great Latin historians. But what about Bede's Sources and the possibility of supplementing his *Ecclesiastical History*? Bede, writing about 731, had to rely partly on Gildas, and went wrong, to that extent, in dealing with the fifth century. But he had other sources, and those seem to be the lost chronicles or annals on which the compilers of the beginnings of the extant Anglo-Saxon Chronicles apparently relied. In fact, Bede's *History* and the Chronicle agree in placing the arrival of the Germanic tribes as settling swarms between 449 and 456. To what extent Bede drew on the "nucleus" of the Celtic *Historia Brittonum* is not clear. The *Historia* was compiled soon after 800, more than seventy years after Bede wrote. The material that went to make up this work attributed to Nennius may, and probably does, contain fifth century material. But how early, and did Bede and Nennius draw upon the same sources, or did Nennius, as Dr. Liebermann thinks, borrow to some extent from Bede? At present it is not clear when the official connection with Rome ceased (if it ever officially ceased) and when the Saxons became deliberate conquering invaders. But on the latter point the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle is almost certainly right, and it is to be noticed that, according to the same Chronicle, in 457 Londinium was still a Romano-British city.

Professor Chambers discusses learnedly and conclusively the original *habitat* of the races that fought the unequal contest for the control of mid and eastern and northern Britain from the middle of the fifth century. The Angles came from Southern Sleswick and brought their kings and their gods with them. Their kings can be traced back to Offa towards the end of the fourth century. The Mercian pedigree, which "may be regarded as the earliest extant English historical document," a document that Nennius used, enables us, "from a comparison of *Beowulf*, *Widsith*, Saxo Grammaticus, Sweyn Aageson and the St. Albans *Lives of the Offas*, to attach stories to the names of Wermund and Offa." The Angles came originally from Holstein, south of the Angle-country, whence they moved to what is modern Hanover before they commenced to raid "the Saxon shore" of Britain. The Jutes seem to have moved out of Jutland and North Sleswick as early as the second century, and after long settlement in the basin of the lower Rhine settled in Kent, Hants, and the Isle of Wight. Did the Jutes eject the Men of Kent and the Kentish Men, the Brythonic and Goidelic settlers of Kent and London? This problem is not dealt with here, but it is plain that they mingled with the earlier

racers in Kent, since the pre-Germanic customs of gavelkind and borough English—the customs respectively of the Brythonic and the Goidelic tribes—survived. Those customs do not occur in the Isle of Wight, and therefore they were not brought by the Jutic tribes. The question of this absorption of the native population is very important.

It is difficult to find any evidence for the flight to the west. It is true that the Men of Kent fled to London from Crayford, and that there was considerable fighting in Kent and Sussex. Gildas exaggerated the extent of the peril when he wrote that the fire of the Barbarians licked the western ocean. The *Vita Samsonis* is clear on that point. But the struggle was certainly severe and, on the side of the Britons, led successively by Ambrosianus Aurelianus and Arthur, it may have been in doubt until the death of Arthur, but by the middle of the sixth century the new order had taken possession of a great part of England, though according to the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle fighting was still going on in Wiltshire to within three years of the landing of Augustine in 596. It is only possible here to deal with these earlier problems, but Professor Chambers is not less interesting when he treats of the subsequent centuries before the conquest by the Normans, the great days of Northumbria, the Mercian supremacy, the century of the Danish onslaught, the campaigns of Alfred and his successors. The eleventh century was not ignoble and, indeed, was what may be called a seed plot in which the beginnings of a new era were to be seen ere William and his men crossed the narrow seas that never were to be crossed by conquerors again.

J. E. G. DE M.

THE STARS IN THEIR COURSES.*

Dr. Abbot, the Director of the Smithsonian Astrophysical Observatory, has done a good service in bringing within the intellectual compass of ordinary people modern knowledge of the almost intolerable mystery of what is called, for want of a better term, the physical universe. The revelations of the past half century, and still more those of the present century, are the answer to the frequent assertion that man with his tiny span of life and his bodily frailty is a negligible speck in the dust of whirling stars. The mystic and the materialist seem at one in this thought, and yet man with triumphant precision moves from field to field, a persistent and irresistible conqueror. Auguste Comte shortly before his death in 1857 declared that the science of astronomy had reached the possible limits of knowledge, but this positive conclusion of the founder of Positivism was shattered three

* *The Earth and the Stars*. By C. G. Abbot. Chapman and Hall. 15s. net.

years later by the invention of spectroscopic chemical analysis and its application to the sun. Almost at the hour when Comte made his announcement a new era opened, and a world that seemed permanently closed to the operations of the human mind has revealed itself in a fashion that has founded not only a new physics but a new metaphysics.

Dante wrote of the galaxy that maketh wise men doubt (*Galassia si che fa dubbiar ben saggi*). That Milky Way has yielded up part of its secrets. Dante in his *Convito* (ii. 15) wrote, "in the Galaxy this heaven has a close resemblance to metaphysics," and this is truer to-day than it was in the year 1300. It was asserted from the days of Avicenna that the Milky Way was a multitude of fixed stars so small that they are not separately visible. Dante suggested that the Heavens in that part were more dense and retained and reproduced the starlight. To-day the new physics has scanned and weighed, analysed and taken the temperature of the structure of stars; it has estimated that in our system there are "about twenty stars for every human being now alive," and that 500,000,000 of these are included in the stars recorded to the twentieth visual magnitude. But it has been a great achievement to have established beyond reasonable doubt that the number of the stars in our system is limited. The system does not extend to infinity. Hipparchus detected 1,080 stars, Ptolemy 1,022. That is the measure of the difference that man's genius has made in the conception of the heavens. The geometers of the fifth century A.D. made the distance of the stars 20,110 semi-diameters of the earth. We measure the distance in the speed of light. "A light year is the distance light travels in a year, about 6,000,000,000,000 miles," light travelling at 186,000 miles a second. The mind reels at the idea of a star which is 2,300 light years away from us. Yet this is the class of data from which modern astronomers work. The surface temperature of many stars is known. The absolute temperature of Sirius is 11,000 degrees centigrade, our sun is 6,000. Such temperatures indicate conditions in which the structure of matter becomes unfixed, and what are called the chemical elements, such as the metals and gases, may dissolve into their almost elemental state of electrons and protons.

The structure of this amazing universe is in a sense simple. All the "elements" are made up of atoms that have differing electronic combinations. Thus the hydrogen atom has one electron and one proton which exist as single particles of equal but opposite electric charges. The oxygen atom has sixteen electrons and sixteen protons. The electron is so small that 50,000,000,000 would be required to form the diameter of a printed full stop. The vast heat of the interior of the stars transforms mass into energy, that

is to say, into radiation. The emission and absorption of energy can only take place by whole units, which are called quanta. The universe would instantly dissolve if this were not the case. The quantum law prohibits emission of radiation except in cases, such as the sun and stars, when there are vast stores of energy. But the new physics and the new mathematics have not yet shown the internal working of the atom. Yet this we can say, that the unspeakable vastness of the universe is easier to comprehend than what Dr. Abbot calls "the infinitesimalness of the atomic structure." Yet there seem no limits to the discoveries that are opening for man in the essential nature of things and in his knowledge of the universe. There seems a tendency to a simplicity that peers forth after and as the result of amazing intellectual efforts. The thought that lies behind the infinitely great and the infinitely little is beginning to appear as something as simple as it is majestic and all-pervasive. The whole tendency of modern discoveries in physics and astrophysics is to emphasise a Creative and Protective Mind.

Are thinking minds limited to this little earth, a speck in the Milky Way, in the oyster-shell that holds the sun and other stars? Dr. Abbot says on this point that we may believe that "there is great probability that there are indeed many worlds like ours, and that there is no reason either to affirm or to doubt that they contain as intelligent beings as ourselves." This view was long ago controverted by a great thinker, but if it is true, if we may reasonably not be surprised by the existence of thinking beings in other parts of the universe, then we may also conceive that they have reached higher stages of intellectual and observational advance than we have. It would indeed not be absurd to say that some day workers observing the universe from regions far apart, may observe, or rather may become conscious of, the existence of each other. Great surprises may come in the thousand years of astronomical research which Dr. Abbot thinks may be required "to fill out the noble outlines of the structure, and reveal in its full beauty the grand system of the celestial hosts." At the rate at which men and women are now working an even less estimate may seem appropriate.

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THE BRITISH CONSTITUTION.*

Miss Bicknell in her book of Cases on the British Constitution has placed in her debt the public who desire to understand the organic principles of national and imperial life. No doubt the

* *Cases on the Law of the Constitution*. By Beroë A. Bicknell. Oxford University Press. 7s. 6d. net.

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instinct for public law is in the English blood. The immediate revolt in May last against the malevolent attempt of a temporary majority of the trades union leaders to displace Parliament shows this. But the attempt and its failure also proved the need of general instruction in the principles of public law so that the man in the street could support his instinctive view with legal precedents. There are many excellent and bulky books on the law of the Constitution, and Mr. Dicey's remarkable essays are still widely read. But Miss Bicknell's book in neat form brings the authorities for the various constitutional doctrines into popular though scientific form. It is to be hoped that they will be widely read and well digested. The compiler of the cases supplies lucid and learned introductory essays to the various sections of her book. The opening paragraph is not only specially relevant at the present time, but gives an impression of the clarity and simplicity of her expositions.

The principal characteristic of the British Constitution lies in the sovereignty of Parliament. The King and the two Houses of Parliament together are the supreme power in the State, able to make and unmake the laws and to impose taxes not only in Great Britain itself but throughout the whole Empire. There is no other body or person in the whole of the King's dominions who can overrule the laws it makes, and no Court will fail to give effect to its enactments. To-day its power throughout the length and breadth of this Empire is as unbounded as that of the most autocratic of the Cæsars in that of Rome. The only limitations are those internal and external checks which affect all sovereign bodies however composed. The internal limitation arises from the fact that Parliament consists of persons of the same race, inheriting the same traditions, with the same wishes, as the governed. It cannot act in the same way as the Witenagemót of a thousand years ago; it is the product of different social conditions and can only follow the spirit of the age in which it exists. The influence of the age in which a sovereign lives cannot fail largely to mould and limit the directions and manner in which power is exercised. The external limitation arises from the fact that all sovereignty must ultimately depend on the will of the governed. Behind the legal sovereignty of the State is the political sovereignty of the governed; when the gap between the acts of the one and the wishes of the other becomes too great, the legal sovereign must either bow to the wishes of its political master or give place to a successor.

A series of cases illustrate this supreme power of Parliament, and special attention may be drawn to the decision of the House of Lords in 1910 in the case of *Osborne v. Amalgamated Society of Railway Servants*, in which it was held that a Member of Parliament is free and cannot be the paid mandatary of any man or any organisation of men, or bind himself to subordinate his opinions on public questions to others for wages or at the peril of pecuniary

loss. The privileges and the limitations of the privileges of Parliament and of the Crown are set forth in a series of cases, while the rights and liabilities of the servants of the Crown are fully discussed. The recent case of *Heddon v. Evans* makes plain that naval and military tribunals are fully under the control of the civil courts in the sense that the civil courts will determine the jurisdiction of the special court.

The third section of the book dealing with the rights and duties of the subjects of the Crown is of special interest. The right to a writ of Habeas Corpus is illustrated by Wolfe Tone's case; the existence of slavery as a status was rejected in *Sommersett's case* in 1771—the same principle was asserted in France a year or two earlier; while the whole story of freedom of discussion and the right of public meeting is brought out by actual cases, which also show, in the existence of unlawful assemblies, the limitation of such rights. The difficult questions of aliens and nationality are discussed in the light of cases arising in the late War, and finally Miss Bicknell discusses in a lucid fashion the relation of the Crown and Parliament to the Empire as exhibited in the legislative tie of the Imperial Parliament and the executive and judicial tie of the Crown. The supremacy of Parliament is in practice for most purposes limited to Great Britain, though the great Dominions have their constitutional changes registered, so to speak, in Statutes of the Imperial Parliament. A recent instance is the British North America Act of 1915. If the Senate of the Dominion of Canada is reformed it will be by an amendment of the famous British North America Act of 1867. "In some degree the power of the Crown is more extensive in the Empire than in England, in that in certain circumstances the Crown has power to legislate for overseas possessions by Royal Proclamation." Moreover the Veto of the Crown is still operative overseas, and has been of great practical use in comparatively recent times, while the prerogative of the Crown to hear appeals from all tribunals in the Seven Seas is undoubted. But in fact the great Dominions are within their limits in replicas of the constitutional system of the Empire, and within those limits the Dominion legislature is supreme, has the same authority as the Imperial Parliament and is in no sense a delegate of that Parliament. All these matters Miss Bicknell's admirable book brings into due perspective.

SHORTER REVIEWS.

Dr. J. H. Jeans in his remarkable Rouse Ball lecture on "Atomicity and Quanta" * explains that "Relativity extends space into time and the same extension extends matter into energy. . . . If matter is atomic, can this atomicity be extended to energy in the same way that space is extended into time? . . . The ratio of a unit of length to a unit of time is measured by the velocity of light, which we denote by C In the same way there is a rate of exchange between . . . matter and energy, and this is known to be the square of the velocity of light, C^2 if matter is essentially atomic, the transformation of matter into energy must also be atomic, and we are brought face to face with the conception of atoms of energy of amount MC^2 , whose M is the atom of matter." It is astronomy alone that has revealed this atom; indeed, the crucibles of stars alone could reveal it with their vast temperatures and pressures; but in fact experimental physics "has discovered a humbler but far more complicated atomicity of which it seems likely that the simple astronomical atomicity may be a limiting case." Experimental physics supplies the law "that emission and absorption of energy of the frequency ν can only take place by whole units of amount $h\nu$. These energy units $h\nu$ are the 'quanta' from which the quantum-theory takes its name." One quantum cannot be replaced by a number of weaker quanta. Its energy is proportional to its frequency. "In this way we begin to see that what is atomic is not material energy at all . . . but radiant energy, or to be more precise the exchanges of energy between radiation and matter." The multiplying factor h is a universal constant of nature, but it is so small that it had been overlooked by the classical mechanics. "Small though the value of h is, we must recognise that it is responsible for keeping the universe alive. If h were strictly zero the whole material energy of the universe would disappear into radiation in a time which would be measured in thousand-millionth parts of a second." The fact that there can be no emission by radiation less than $h\nu$, prohibits any such emission except in the case of the few atoms that have an exceptionally large amount of energy to emit. Hence frequency of light cannot be any longer interpreted as meaning that "the ether was set into rhythmic vibrations by the occurrence of isochronous oscillations of the same frequency of matter. We know now that such oscillations do not exist. An electron suddenly stumbles in its orbit and falls to a lower energy level. Radiant energy is set free as a consequence, and it is merely the amount of this energy which determines its frequency; the radiation chooses a wave length such that its amount shall be equal precisely to one quantum." Is the emitted quantum indivisible? The answer seems to be that indivisibility is inconsistent with known phenomena, and that it appears necessary to retain the main features of the undulatory theory of light which applies only to radiation travelling freely in space without interchanging energy with matter. It is only in the case of such exchange that the quantum-principle applies. The two principles are not inconsistent if they are kept to their own territories. The principle of relativity prevails in both territories and is in agreement with the undulatory theory, but there are difficulties in its relationship to the new atomicity and "the true meaning of atomicity and quanta" is not yet understood.

* Cambridge: At the University Press. 2s. 6d. net.

Mr. Harold Nicolson's volume on Swinburne * is an admirable piece of critical work: just, not lacking in humour, fully appreciative of the relation of personality to poetic production, and quite unmoved in judicial decisions by what he calls "the present reaction against Swinburne." Mr. Nicolson indeed admits that "there are lengthy passages in his verse to which modern sensibilities can scarcely be expected to respond," but he thinks that the alleged distaste "is due to purely accidental causes." Perhaps too it would be fair to inquire what Swinburne would have thought of his critics and the verse, the appalling wishwash without either technique or thought, that various mutual admiration societies believe can be substituted for the work of the great Victorians. Mr. Nicolson rightly, moreover, repudiates the idea that Swinburne "derived his inspiration from literature and not from life. . . . The feelings provoked in Swinburne by a work of art were just as direct, as real, and I would add, as original as the feelings provoked in Wordsworth by the contemplation of nature." The main thesis of Mr. Nicolson's study is that the poet's "exquisitely sensitive adjustment" to the tensions of the "instinct of self-assertion," and "the instinct of self-abasement" constitutes "his most original contribution to human experience, and which is therefore the real essence of his genius." This volume fully develops this theme from the point of view of personality and of the poet's works. The greatness of Swinburne may be in eclipse at the moment. The sun is often eclipsed by the London fog. But through this dispassionate book the student will realise the essential greatness of the poet who wrote *Atalanta in Calydon*.

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Professor de Zulueta's paper on William of Drogheda (which is included in *Les Mélanges de Droit Roman*, recently dedicated to Dr. Georges Cornil †) will prove of interest to all students of the story of civil and canon law in England. Master William de Drogheda was a teacher in the law school at Oxford, during the first half of the thirteenth century, probably of both the civil and the canon law. That he was a lawyer in actual practice is also clear, and, indeed, Matthew Paris tells us that he died in sad circumstances while he was engaged in a suit of importance in 1245. In fact, he was murdered near his own house in High Street, Oxford, near St. Mary's, apparently by his own servant. It is a gruesome way of silencing an advocate. He was possibly rector of Pelham in Kent. In April, 1242, he was instituted to the rectory of Grafton Underwood in Northants. In the year of his death the Pope authorised him to hold an additional benefice. To the historian and the lawyer he is known as the author of a mediæval practice book, the *Summa aurea*, which, as the late Professor Maitland showed, makes it clear that the Roman canon law was binding on the ecclesiastical courts in England. Professor Zulueta in this paper draws attention to the complete edition of this work published by Professor Wahrmond, of Prague, in 1914. This lengthy and scholarly edition has hitherto received little consideration. The work was probably written in 1239, and was partly based on the treatise *de Libellis* of Roffredus of Beneventum of the year 1237, Azo's *Summæ* and Tancred's *Ordo Judicarius*. The ecclesiastical *libelli* are apparently original.

* Macmillan. 5s. net.

† Soc. An. Recueil Sirey, 22, Rue Soufflot, Paris.

These precedents are valuable. All books of precedents indeed are invaluable historical material. The ecclesiastical courts were fighting at this date for civil jurisdiction in England, without much success, but William suggests an ingenious device for evading the royal writs of prohibition: ask only for *Canonica justitia*: the family confessor will do the rest.

NOTICES OF BOOKS.

Mr. Joseph W. Krutch, in his volume "Edgar Allan Poe: A Study in Genius,"* has added a useful and judicious volume to the ever-growing library relating to that unhappy fitful genius Poe (1809-1849). Mr. Krutch rightly says that "there are few examples in the whole range of his writings of a single normal interest in the world in which he lived. His one effort to create realistic character (in *The Gold Bug*) was an abysmal failure, and never once did he succeed in describing anything remotely connected with the life about him." But of his genius there cannot be any doubt. His mind was wholly creative, and his work has an imperishable place in English literature.

Dr. William R. Manning has produced a source book of great value in his selection and arrangement of the "Diplomatic Correspondence of the United States concerning the Independence of the Latin-American Nations."† Few documents earlier than 1810 and none later than 1830 (with one exception) have been selected. Most of these documents, which have not previously appeared, have been copied from the original manuscripts in the archives of the Department of State of the United States. For this purpose about 430 bound volumes of manuscripts have been carefully examined. There are some gaps, possibly attributable to the brief occupation of Washington by British troops in the war of 1812. In footnotes Dr. Manning gives notices of the careers of the more important persons associated with this special period. The documents have been arranged in fourteen parts, each designated by the name of the country in which the papers therein included originated. The communications from Great Britain appear in Volume III. This work will make the way of the historian of Latin America clearer in a period of great difficulty.

In "The Shadow of Mount Carmel: A Pilgrimage," ‡ Mr. William Force Stead expounds his mysticism in a spiritual pilgrimage through the places of Christian life. We see it in its early stages in revolt against plausible materialism; we see it taking root and putting forth branches and fruit in Oxford, the home of lost causes and forgotten loyalties; we see it, to change the metaphor, tasted in the unrealities and the older realities of Paris, in the presence of M. Coué at Nancy, we see it at Lourdes where "Modernism, if there is any of it in me, removed its hat and bowed its head." We meet it again in Rome. "In the nineteenth century many looked confidently to see Rome destroyed by the advance of knowledge; trumpets were blown but the walls did

* Alfred Kropf, 38, Bedford Place, W.C. 10s. 6d.

† Oxford University Press, American Branch, New York. Three volumes. \$15.

‡ Richard Cobden-Sanderson, 17, Tavies Inn, London. 8s. 6d. net.

not fall." Mr. Stead pleads for sympathy with the Roman Church. It "stands erect and bows to no man." But where was the spirit that Mr. Stead set out to find? A wonderful description is given of Assisi and St. Francis, and there, and with him, the Platonic Christian or the Christian Platonist realises that there is love in man.

Friends and pupils of Dr. Karl Breul, the distinguished Professor of German in the University of Cambridge, will congratulate him on the new edition of "Land and Leute in England." The object of the series in which it appears (Langenscheidt's Handbücher für Auslandkunde) is to provide German and German-reading travellers with information about various countries which the ordinary guide-book fails to supply; and the success of these little volumes, tastefully bound, well printed and marvellously cheap, testifies to the need which they have met. The fourth edition of the volume on England has been virtually rewritten by Professor Breul, whose forty years' residence in our midst has enabled him to describe our institutions and social life with rare knowledge, insight and sympathy. The information is arranged under alphabetical headings, and in these 650 pages English as well as foreign readers will find much that is important to know and much that, though of less importance, is of interest as revealing our national habits and outlook.

Major Hervey de Montmorency in this thoughtful book, "From Kant to Einstein,"* grapples with the difficult task of reconciling the absolutism of Kant and the relativity of Dr. Einstein in respect to time and space. The latter is a mathematician and not a philosopher, and the author of this little book criticises the great German-Jewish mathematician from the point of view of metaphysics. He, of course, admits that the time-dimension in Minkowski's four-dimensional space has furnished Dr. Einstein "with a mathematical device which has enabled him to solve the great astronomical problems with more precision than the mighty Newton. . . . Einstein has not floundered in the metaphysical morass which overwhelmed the Cortesians." The real question is whether Kant, or any philosopher, has explained the ultimate relations of Space and Time. No doubt Kant would repudiate the idea of subordinating Time to Space. But in any dimensional continuum there is no question of the subordination of one dimension to another. The mathematical theory evades all these speculations as to the true relationship of Space and Time. It simply states that Time is a fourth dimension, and works from that basis.

Mr. W. P. Palmer has compiled an admirable guide to the Lake District of England in his volume "Things Seen on the English Lakes."† His volume is "a description of the entrancing scenery of the lake country, its fells, waterfalls and mountain peaks," a description in terse and excellent English illustrated by admirable and frank photographs. A photograph is often in itself not a beautiful thing, but as illustrating this text it answers the purpose of emphasising the memorable scenes. A little more folklore would have been attractive; a list of the Gaelic numerals used by the shepherds would have given an additional touch of local colour, and to this might have

* Heffers: Cambridge. 2s. 6d. net.

† Seeley Service. 3s. 6d. net.

been added a list of lakeland words. These are merely suggestions for a second edition. Wayfarers in the present holiday season will be wise to get, and will be content with, this pleasant book.

* * *

Students of University cricket necessarily number many thousands, and these will be grateful for the compilation by Mr. P. F. Warner and F. S. Ashley-Cooper of the volume entitled "Oxford v. Cambridge at the Wicket." * The volume contains the scores of all the University matches from 1827 to 1925. In all, eighty-seven games have been played, and of these ten have been drawn, and Cambridge has won forty-one and Oxford thirty-six. The highest score for Oxford was 171 by R. E. Foster, in 1900. For Cambridge J. F. Marsh scored 173, not out, in 1904. The smallest and largest totals were respectively Oxford's 32 in 1878 and 503 in 1900. The greatest bowling achievement goes back to 1870, when S. E. Butler got ten Cambridge wickets for 38 runs. The hat-trick has been performed for Cambridge four times (1870, 1879, 1880 and 1911), but Oxford has never achieved this distinction. The volume concludes with the lists of Cricket "Blues." Not everyone knows that the Oxford "dark Blue" colour was chosen in 1829 from the Christ Church colours, and the Cambridge "light Blue" from the colours of the "Town-Boys" of Westminster School.

* * *

Dr. Culham Miller's volume entitled "Trebizond: the last Greek Empire," † tells the story of the free Roman city which in the Hellenic reaction against the Latin conquest of Constantinople became, as the result of the efforts of Alexius Comnenus, an empire which was destined to survive the Eastern Roman Empire by nine years. The dynasty indeed lasted for 257 years, the longest in Greek history. It is a romantic story, and Dr. Miller tells it with spirit. It is a strange footnote to history, and one that students sometimes overlook. The story has touch with that of Venice and has affinities with the records of the free cities of Western Europe.

* * *

Miss Gladys Scott Thomson has edited for the Records Branch of the Kent Archaeological Society "The Twysden Lieutenancy Papers, 1583-1668." The main material is contained in the Lambeth Palace Library, but this is supplemented by papers now in the British Museum and by others now in the possession of Sir John Twysden of Bradbourne. The present publication throws light on the activities of the famous antiquary, Sir Roger Twysden, who was deputy lieutenant of Kent in the early years of the Restoration. But this Sir Roger collected also papers belonging to his grandfather of the same name which include the "Book of Musters in Kent" and papers dealing with Kentish military organisation between 1583 and 1597. The papers throw light on the Tudor period—as is the case with the many unpublished documents for many counties on the same subject—and show that in the early Stuart period legal and historical questions are becoming of great importance to the county gentry. Miss Thomson points out, in her careful and learned introduction, that the quarrel between the King and the Parliament over the appointment of lieutenants of counties was one of the factors which hastened the final crash. It is to be hoped that Miss Thomson will continue her valuable work in this fruitful field.

* George Allen and Unwin. 5s. net

† S.P.C.K. 6s. net.

THE "NEP" AND THE "NOP."

THESE two enigmatic words as well as their juxtaposition contain a complete explanation of what is going on at the present moment in Russia. The "nep" means the N-ew E-conomic P-olicy. The "Nop" means the N-ew O P-position. Combined they mean: the new opposition to certain consequences of the new economic policy with, as a result, the progressive dissolution of the Bolshevik power. I hope to make it clear to the reader that both the connection between the "Nep" and the "Nop" and the fatal result of this connection are equally inevitable.

The New Economic policy, the NEP, is not at all "new." It originated in the difficulties through which the Bolshevik power was passing in 1921, owing to the complete collapse of its attempt to introduce in Russia what was then called "the war communism." Lenin decided then temporarily to "recede" from communism to the methods of capitalism. However, as a matter of fact the Nep has never stopped since. On the contrary, it struck root and developed while communism had finally to retreat. Nevertheless the watchword of the "Socialist Republics" remained as before: "socialism." Every measure that was sanctioned by the authorities had to serve the cause of socialism and communism. And the only official justification of every economic or financial measure taken under the NEP was that it might contribute to bring the Communist State every day nearer to communism.

Now in the long run this argument became an open lie which it was impossible to defend. The contradiction between the official lie and every day's reality was increasingly manifest to everybody. Many official lies, of course, get along and prosper in spite of their being open lies. With this one the case proved different owing to two particular reasons. In the first place the current lie of the bolshevist state approaching socialism interfered too much with practical measures which quite obviously precluded all possibility of coming near to socialism, but which, nevertheless, it was quite necessary to carry out for the very existence of the state. We shall see directly what these vital necessities were which made the game with the official lie more and more difficult. In the second place, there grew up in the meantime a new generation—which had taken no part in the "communist" revolution of 1917. They did not care much about "communism" or "socialism." They learnt to know Marx only from the very unpersuasive class papers explained to them by their schoolmasters. Moreover these young people soon found that no explanation of the current doctrine was obligatory at all. Lenin died in January, 1924; who was there to explain Lenin's teaching? There were the "three" who called them-

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selves his "disciples." In addition to theoretical arguments they were in possession of that most convincing one: they retained the power. This "trinity" consisted of Mr. Zinoviev, the dictator of Petrograd, Mr. Kamenev and Mr. Stalin—the least scholarly of the three, and, as a consequence, the least doctrinaire, but one who was credited to possess the strongest will. There was also a fourth leader: Mr. Trotsky. But he was an outsider—a "menshevik" (the "minority" man), who joined the party only on the eve of their victory. He was known to return in all intricate cases to his menshevik fallacies and heretical solutions. Accordingly, he was kept aside from power. There was an additional reason for it: Trotsky was not a "disciple," but he was the true associate of Lenin—and the only one of the four whom Lenin really trusted. The fact was stated in Lenin's political testament, which, however, for this very reason remained secret and was only recently revealed to the world by Mr. Eastman.

The "opposition" (it was not yet called "new") made its first appearance at this weakest point, as early as November and December, 1923. Lenin then lay on his death-bed and (a little earlier) vainly tried to make his will known through Trotsky. Trotsky was not invited by the "three" to share in the power. But he suddenly appeared as a leader of opposition numbering some adherents in the army, at the high schools of learning, in some branches of workers' organisations and also in the Russian province. Their watchword was: more "democracy" within the party itself, in order that the young generation might discuss the current problems and make their views known to the "old guard" of the party. It was not easy to ascertain by that time just what these opinions were. In order to be able to speak out their mind freely the opposition was forced to look more radical than the ruling party themselves. Most of them were not; but the only way to say: be consistent in your attempts to retreat to capitalism, was: you are not consistently communists. At any rate the two extremes—the "right" and the "left" wings of the opposition—here tried to unite against the orthodoxy of the ruling "trinity" of the "disciples." The opposition was weak as yet, badly organised, unable clearly to state their views and, in addition, led by a man who was a stranger to the party. The "three" who were preparing to take up Lenin's inheritance easily stifled that kind of opposition. They were too strong for Trotsky. He soon felt it and voluntarily submitted to his doom. He was sent to the Caucasus to restore his health—physical as well as political. Zinoviev asked for more (namely, exclusion from the party), but Stalin objected. What will remain of the party, he said, if to-day we exclude Trotsky and to-morrow somebody else. The reminiscence of "Termidor"

was kept alive in their memories. Termidor was invoked by their political enemies. They would not step in the path of Termidor: that is where their leniency for Trotsky came from. They were satisfied to remove him from his office at the head of the army and to "cleanse" subsequently the army, the universities and the infected party cells of his followers.

Two years have passed. The power of the "three"—Zinoviev, Kamenev, Stalin—seemed undisputed. The NEP was in full swing. Its result seemed to justify it. The real economic regeneration (not reconstruction) of the country set in directly after that terrible year of famine (1921) when five millions of the population died of starvation, according to the official statement. All statistical figures and curves, after having reached their lowest point in 1921, speedily mounted from 1922 onward. Russia seemed likely soon to reach the "pre-war" level of wellbeing. . . . However, all this led back to "capitalism," while the official watchword still remained: nearing socialism with every step. Were it intended to cheat the man in the street, all right then. But what if the "three" were cheating themselves and inducing their followers into a foul game?

Here was the starting point ready for the "new" opposition. The schism now came from inside the party. It was Zinoviev who wanted to lift the veil and timely to forewarn the party. Where was the true communism, he asked? Let us go back to our former programme; or we will soon become victims of our own mistaken policy. Whatever we do, we must not forsake our "commanding heights": socialisation of production, monopoly of foreign trade and, last but not least—the third international of Moscow, the world revolution (led by Zinoviev). All that belongs to Lenin's indelible legacy. The ready answer was: but did not the very same Lenin give signal to introduce the NEP at the moment when the stage of "war socialism" was passing and everything that could be "grabbed" from the former stocks was already "distributed"? Was there any other means of starting on new production but to come back to the sane "commercial calculation," fostering private initiative, opening the door to free trade and industry, securing for the peasant the produce of his fields: in one word introducing the NEP? It remained to be proved that by some roundabout way all this could bring the country to socialism. Marx would prove it: but that would be "menshevism." Lenin could only let it be believed. But the number of true believers, such as had made the communist revolution of 1917, was not great and was speedily diminishing. Out of 600,000 members of the ruling communist party only about 50,000 belong to the "old guard" of extreme revolutionaries who, at the risk of their life, had fought for victory. In 1925 out of these

50,000 there remained only 5,000: all the rest having died out or otherwise forsaken the struggle. The newcomers belonged chiefly to the rank and file of working men of a new generation. They began by asking their leaders, where was the promised paradise of the proletariat? Was not the workman working hard at his factory and getting little when compared with the time of unrestricted capitalism? Why not come back to it, if the pretended "socialism" brought nothing with it but misery and starvation? The ranks of the opposition which had found that the watchword of "nearing socialism" was a hypocritical lie were thus filled up by people who also found that it was a lie, but instead of claiming for retreat to "war communism" would prefer to ask for a further and bolder advance towards capitalism. Be consistent, they said, and if the NEP can save Russia, go straight to capitalism, bag and baggage! Zinoviev was joined by the opposition from the opposite wing, people like Sokolnikov, the "narkomfin" or the commissar for finance; a branch of administration where realism is imperative.

The logical connection between the NEP and the NOP can now be traced to its origin. The New Opposition, as formed of the extremists and the opportunists, was powerfully supported and strengthened by the real necessities of life. Unless these necessities are considered by a new governmental policy the power of the Bolsheviks will be imperilled. What was beginning was a struggle for life. That is why this time a very serious conflict between the "disciples of Lenin" themselves—the very intimate circle of men who retained the power—could not be avoided. Zinoviev took up the lead against Stalin. Kamenev took the side of Zinoviev. Petrograd ("Leningrad") became the centre of Zinoviev's oppositionary activity as far as both theory and organisation are concerned. The open conflict between Petrograd and Moscow burst at the XIV conference of the party, in December, 1925. This time the conflict proved much more serious for the process of dissolution of the party. Once more the opposition was defeated, Zinoviev was dismissed from his Leningrad offices and obliged to stay in Moscow under the close observation of his enemies. The Leningrad centre of opposition was crushed, Zinoviev's followers were scattered and sent to exile, his daily paper was handed over to a new staff formed of his opponents, etc. But the other side also lost much in the clash. The inevitable result of the internal schism was—so far as doctrine was concerned—that the authority of all the three "disciples" of Lenin was equally diminished. "We are all Lenin's disciples" the young moscovite "professors" now proclaimed: "nobody has the monopoly of commenting on Lenin." The highest criterion of the party orthodoxy was thus irrevocably lost and

everybody is free to choose between Zinoviev and Stalin. The "opposition" of to-day might become the only pure and genuine exponent of "leninism" to-morrow. Did not Zinoviev teach that pure leninism was marred by the official concessions to the NEP which must be withdrawn in order to go back to Lenin?

However, the predominant feature of the opposition at the XIV conference was that the opportunist element in it prevailed over Zinoviev's irreconcilable radicalism. To be sure the official policy was also opportunist. But the opposition insisted on its being openly avowed and consistently carried out. For instance, the chief and the most important concession made by the government to the requirements of realistic politics, was made to the peasant class. But the government tried to excuse and to "embellish" their concession in the eyes of the communists under the pretext that they patronised the middle social layer and its union with the poor as against the rich peasants (the "kulaks" or "fists"). The official view was that the "middle" group in the village formed the majority (57 per cent.) while the poor were about 40 per cent. and only 3 per cent. belonged to the rich. Not at all, the opposition retorted: the real social process in the village is that of differentiation from the middle to two extreme ends of richness and poverty: the poor are about 60 per cent., the rich about 14 per cent., while only 26 per cent. remain for the "middle." The government thus protects the rich of the village. The problem had to remain without solution as there exist no reliable statistics to solve it. But the quarrel became so much the more envenomed. Do not patronise the rich as against the proletarians, Zinoviev insisted. It is all right from the economic point of view, the opportunists retorted, but do it openly. Stalin did it in secret. This may be taken as an instance of the relations between the government and the two sets of opposition.

Let us quote another instance. The opposition wanted the relations within the party to be based on "democratic" principle. As a consequence it claimed freedom of discussion and formation of dissentient groups or "fractions" within the party; freedom of elections; introduction of "revolutionary legality" as opposed to the arbitrary rule which was the habit since 1918. The official policy of Stalin was to apply these principles in order to "revive" the soviets which had become merely administrative institutions. But the result of that policy proved unexpectedly dangerous. The interest in the elections among the non-communist population grew enormously. During the last two electoral campaigns the composition of the soviets was really renewed—with the result that the influence of the communist in the towns and especially in the villages was very much weakened. The continuation of this policy would undoubtedly mean the speedy end of the domination of the

communist party over Russia. Facing that issue, what was the attitude of the opposition? The radical set of it said: stop doing that and come back to former methods of enforced communist administration. The opportunists, on the contrary, said: go on with the experiment. The government answered: we cannot return to former methods because it would be breaking with the majority of the population; and we cannot go farther because we want to preserve the monopoly of power. The objection would be: you are sure to lose it if you insist on your policy of concessions. And the final answer of the government is quite unsatisfactory: we cannot help making concessions but we hope to increase thus our influence and to strengthen our "ties" with the population. The "hope" is obviously unfounded and the whole situation—untenable. The opposition is quite right in its criticism, but contradictory in the issues proposed.

There are more of these delicate questions than I can touch upon here. Owing to its duplicity and inconsistency the government is entangled in similar difficulties and contradictions at every step of its programme. Has it to favour the peasant or the proletarian? Free trade or protection? Foreign capital or the "primary socialistic accumulation of wealth?" And so on. The opposition feels thus free to put its finger in every pie. To cope with their criticism is impossible for the government. Its only refuge is that it is attacked at once from two opposite sides and can keep staying where it is, so long as no unified programme is proposed. But this advantage is temporary and transient. Already at the second stage of the oppositionary attack (in 1925) the element of opportunism had grown up compared with 1923. At the same time the boldness and openness of criticism has strongly increased. The cause of it was that the NOP was growing stronger in proportion as the NEP developed.

At the conference of 1925 a very interesting private letter was divulged disclosing some views of the opposition on the situation in the party which could not be made voluntarily public. The author, a prominent member of the party, stated that the public opinion in it was formed under the decisive influence of the "bourgeoisie" which impressed its views and dictated its policy through the intermediary of the bureaucratic apparatus of the party. He also confirmed the fact of steady growth of "private capitalistic relations," unheeded and unchecked by the government, but directly following from its policy of "developing the productive forces." He submitted that the "bourgeois" writers see more clearly through the situation than the communist leaders when they state that the revolution has *already* trodden the "path of Termidor." Here is the real danger and the proletariat must be made aware of it.

In such conditions it is quite obvious that whatever the measures taken by the ruling group of the party, the opposition cannot be entirely extirpated. After the destruction of its Lenin-grad centre it kept silent for a while. But then, at a distance of only six months it reappeared again in June, 1926, and proved much stronger, more widespread, and far better organised than ever. It made use of its first opportunity at the meeting of the plenum of the upper soviet institutions, which lasted "unusually long" (14-23 July),—in order to let all fundamental questions be reconsidered which were decided against it at the XIV conference. But in the meantime it did not remain inactive. On the contrary, for the first time in the history of the party it resorted to means of conspiracy which could only be compared with those used by Russian revolutionaries under autocracy. A clandestine meeting of conspirators in the woods was discovered by the authorities. All former groups and organisations of the opposition which had existed ever since its first appearance seemed to revive and unite for common action. Proofs were found of attempts to introduce regular organisation and communication and to propagate the extension of the branches, thus building up from all groups a separate "fraction" of the opposition within the party. Secret documents were circulated through these channels and a special cypher was used for correspondence. When tried, the transgressors behaved as "foreigners" to the party and were not ashamed to conceal the truth. Rykov was right in stating that never before had the party been faced with such flagrant violations of discipline. The violence of discussion in the plenum was so great that it caused the death of Dzerjinsky at the end his speech against the opposition. The members of the opposition appeared at the meeting not as men charged with crime but rather as claimants.

For the third time—it did not succeed. The leaders of the opposition were again defeated and punished. Zinoviev was deprived of his membership at the supreme seat of the government, the "Political Bureau," although he was still left member of the Central Committee. At a later date Kamenev was dismissed from the Commissariat for Trade. Others were removed for two years from all responsible offices in the party. Compared with the gravity of the offence the leniency of punishment is one more proof that the opposition cannot be stifled. How could it when at the same Political Bureau at the side of Zinoviev a far greater heretic was sitting: Trotsky? Since his return from the Caucasus and his reconciliation with Stalin Trotsky has prudently kept silent and has bided his time. But the heresies for which the New Opposition of 1926 have been punished bear the name of "Trotskism"!

What are these heresies? The same that we know. But they

now take an exacerbated form. If we may judge by the statements of their enemies, the New opposition (this is what it is definitely called) is characterised by its complete "disbelief in the constructive power of the proletariat, and its loss of hope as to the prospect of socialistic reconstruction in our country, as long as it remains the only country of proletarian dictatorship" (the question was already discussed from that point of view at the XIV conference). The opposition has even passed now "from the negation of the socialistic character of our state enterprises to doubts as to the proletarian character of the soviet state." In the second place the opposition was panic-stricken at political activism disclosed by the peasant bourgeoisie (on the occasion of the latest elections of 1926). The opportunist side of the opposition claimed the "abolition of the third international, the surrender of the communist 'commanding heights' (see above), and the establishment of political democracy (i.e., regular parliamentary representation and political freedom)." The "second party" they were organising was to serve as a "preliminary step to the legalisation of differing political parties" (in the first place, of course, the social democratic "mensheviks"). I mentioned before that all these views are designated by the collective name of "Trotskyism." Now, in 1923 Trotsky figured as the head of the *extreme left* opposition. Less than three years have thus been needed for the opposition to shift, in its majority, from the extreme left to the extreme right.

At the moment of writing these lines, the daily press is rife with rumours of the wildest nature. Trotsky addresses the army; Trotsky at the head of the regiments goes to Moscow; there are uprisings in Odessa, in Cronstadt, in the Ukraine, etc. One need not believe all this in order to admit that the situation in Russia is extremely dangerous for the ruling party. As a matter of fact it was never so dangerous as it is now. If we compare the last conflict with the two previous ones (in 1923 and 1925) the distance covered appears enormous. At the same time the political distance between the first two stages of conflict is far less conspicuous than that which separates the third and the last stage from the second. Obviously, the political situation in Russia is developing.

Is this "Termidor"? The name of the present writer was quoted in connection with this statement in the document mentioned above as a proof of special clear-sightedness when compared with the views of the Bolshevik leaders. I am not particularly proud of that qualification. Russia is still at the mercy of these leaders: the "Termidor" may still be met with another wave of "Terror." But whatever be the "caprices of history" I do think that we are not mistaken so far as its general line is concerned.

PAUL MILIUKOV.

PARLIAMENT IN 1926.

THE Parliamentary Session which has just been brought to an end, although not comparable in importance with such historic sittings as those which saw the passing of the Budget of 1909, or the Parliament Act, or the declaration of war, or the proclamation of an armistice, had one feature, the calling of a general strike, which marked it out as of ultimate importance. We may group the work accomplished under five headings: the general strike; the coal dispute; the Budget; foreign affairs; and minor domestic measures.

A preliminary word should be said about the relative positions of the Government and the opposition; and the power of Parliament itself. The proper work of criticism and debate, which is the recognised function of His Majesty's Opposition, has not been very well discharged. Parliament is not intended to be merely a reflection of propaganda in the country. It has a special and critical duty of its own, and therefore to imagine, as some do, that a strong Opposition involves epithets of personal abuse, and that a constitutional Opposition means in the main a weak compliance with the plans of the Government, is to overlook entirely the true spirit of the House of Commons.

In the days when the Irish Party invented the art of obstruction, they created a form of opposition, useful for their purposes, but really intended not to improve and quicken the machinery of criticism, but to bring the whole thing to a standstill. In this task, the use of Divisions was greatly extended, and Members began to take a pride in their Division record, and to imagine that, in some sense, ambulation through the Lobbies was a test of effectiveness. But the Parnell-Biggar model is being slowly forgotten. It was smashed in the first place by the very drastic rules of Closure, the selection of Amendments, and the like: weapons far too heavy for a House in which for many years obstruction in the Irish sense has vanished. It would be well if, with the disappearance of speeches intended only to consume time, the habit of constantly dividing were also abandoned.

The function of Parliament is not only to criticise the great issues, but also to throw light on unheeded and remote contingencies and corollaries, and ceaselessly to assert its own authority over the Executive. Judged by this standard the modern performance is not good. For example, during the recent Session, the House permitted the Government to take up and push through a Bill (introduced, it is true, by a private member) doing away with the re-election of Ministers on appointment to office. No doubt, a full scheme of reform would get rid of anachronisms of this kind, but it would also provide alternative safeguards,

whereas the Measure which has recently become law merely deprives the constituencies of valuable opportunities of expressing their current judgment upon the behaviour of the Executive, and will doubtless be made use of freely in the near future, with a feeling of growing relief as the support of the country is steadily withdrawn from the Administration.

Another minor encroachment on the rights of Parliament was the scheme successfully carried out by the Treasury to remit a large debt, the amount of which had been decided in a Treaty with Iraq, without even the courtesy of an official notification, save in answer to a Member's question, to the House of Commons.

In one small financial matter, a success was achieved by the Opposition. The Bowles Act of 1913 permitted the temporary collection of old taxes on the strength of a Ways and Means Resolution, and the Government proposed to extend this power to new taxes, not indeed actually collecting the money, but requiring security for its payment. No time-limit whatever was fixed for this invasion of the tax-payer's rights; but the Government was forced to make the small concession of limiting the exercise of this new power to a single Session. The difference between a new and an old tax is obvious, as was recognised at the time that the Bowles Act was passed, for by permitting new taxes to be collected in this way, a whole new tariff might be imposed *ad interim* without the effective safeguard of an Act of Parliament.

Another instance of the weakness of the House of Commons in the matter of asserting its rights against the Executive is provided by the surrender of the old-time practice of moving a Humble Address in reply to a Message from the King. It is part of our procedure to bring into force certain exceptional powers, such as the calling out of the Militia and Reserves, or, in the present instance, the putting into operation of emergency powers, by means of a Proclamation communicated to the House of Commons by a Message under the Sign Manual. The Address which follows in reply gives to the House a full opportunity of discussing the emergency. By foregoing it, the House loses any such chance save that provided by the necessary corroborative Resolution, which may be taken after eleven o'clock at night.

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The Government has intimated its decision to substitute block grants for percentage grants in the dealings between the Treasury and Local Authorities. An attempt was made to start at once with education, but this has been postponed for the time being, without, however, any abandonment of its ultimate intention by the Ministry.

The Economy Bill, which gathered up here and there any

money that was thought to be available, created a feeling of great resentment, not only in relation to the Unemployment Fund, but especially among Approved Societies administering the National Health Insurance Act.

New subsidies are to be given for small holdings, and for the repair of rural dwellings; and the subsidies provided under the Housing Acts of 1923 and 1924 are to be continued at their present rate for all houses completed before the 1st October, 1927 in England and before the 1st October, 1928 in Scotland. There is also a remnant of the coal subsidy to be met in the financial year.

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The events, all too familiar to the whole nation, connected with the coal stoppage, did not come upon us without due warning. Since decontrol there have been three coal crises, and everything we have seen this year might have happened in August last if it had not been for the sudden grant of a subsidy and the appointment of the Samuel Commission. When the exhaustive, authoritative and unanimous Report of that Commission was made available last spring, the Government, after begging all parties to take time for its consideration, announced that they would accept its findings, much as they disliked some of them, provided the parties concerned would do the same. Neither party, however, appeared inclined to do so. Up to the present moment the mine owners, according to the statement issued by the representatives of the Churches, are unwilling to accept the Report. The miners, in the first instance, used words of doubtful meaning, and certainly showed no alacrity to adopt the findings. The general strike then intervened.

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It is far easier after the lapse of two or three months than it was in May, to see the general strike in perspective. At the time, one Party saw it as the culmination of an organised plan for overthrowing our system of representative government; while the other pleaded that it was a purely industrial movement. All Parties are now agreed in condemning it, and none have used more emphatic language in this sense than certain members of the Labour Party. It is probably true to say that, whereas an organisation of this kind was capable of being used as a revolutionary device—and the parallel which can be drawn between what happened here and what happened in Moscow at the time of the fall of the Kerenski Government is a striking one—certain essential features were lacking, namely, any intention on the part of the leaders to use it in such a way, and the genius and tradition of this country, which are entirely different from those of Russia. As an industrial weapon, the general strike proved a lamentable

tragedy, depriving the coal miners in the first instance of the financial support which they might have received from other Unions; and, after the failure of the strike, paralysing all the Transport Unions in particular in any effort they might desire to make to assist the coal miners by sympathetic protest.

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The parties to the coal dispute having drifted away from each other, the Government proceeded with a policy weak and partisan. Their Coal Mines Reorganisation Bill, while it adopted some recommendations of the Samuel Commission, did not deal with the purchase of Royalties, nor with the setting up of municipal and other selling agencies. Side by side with these proposals came the Eight Hours Act, repealing legislation for which the miners had fought for generations. In fact, it looked very much as if the Government were not merely standing aside, but actually providing the owners with the means to beat the men in a fight to a finish.

In the meantime, angered by the calling off of the general strike, the miners' leaders had broken off relations of confidence with the Parliamentary Labour Party, and turned to the Industrial Christian Fellowship as a mediator. This organisation produced six "points" which were based upon the Samuel Report, and were accepted by the miners' leaders as a basis of settlement. They included, however, a proposal for a subsidy for a maximum period of four months, or a loan; and the Government announced definitely that this element in the programme rendered it entirely unacceptable to them.

The general good temper of those engaged in the dispute is universally recognised, but, despite this, the Government continues from month to month a series of Regulations abolishing some of the most ancient rights of citizenship. They have the power to arrest without warrant, try without jury, and formulate undefined charges which have little meaning except as interpreted by the feeling of the Bench on the merits of the dispute. This point is brought out clearly by the refusal of the Home Secretary to inform Parliament of the precise terms of those charges on which convictions have been secured, his argument being that, except in the light of the surrounding circumstances, it is impossible to say whether the words used were culpable or not.

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The most noticeable feature of the Budget, and that by which it is most likely to be remembered in years to come, is the amount of the money demanded. The grand total of the estimates is £812,000,000, as compared with £799,000,000 for the estimates of last year. Next in importance to the amount of the aggregate

comes the novel proposal for a duty on betting. Mr. Churchill, since he became Chancellor of the Exchequer, has developed a taste for what he calls "optional" taxes. In this category he would place the silk duty, probably the lace duty, and certainly the betting duty. What is called the moral objection to the betting tax is the fact that it involves Government recognition for a kind of transaction which, in some of its forms, is already definitely illegal. This objection was scoffed at by a House largely consisting of well-to-do men for whom betting is, in fact, no more than a luxury excitement. Whether the thousands of working women, whose weekly budget is imperilled by the amount of money spent on betting, will take the same light view remains to be seen. The experience of countries which have adopted a betting duty is that, in consequence of it, the habit of betting has increased.

Other features of the Budget were the raid on the road fund, by which the Treasury claimed a share of the fund to which it denied in constitutional propriety any inherent autonomous rights; and the continuation of the scheme for habituating the country to the idea of a general tariff. As to Customs duties, the so-called McKenna tariff was extended to commercial motor vehicles and wrapping paper was made dutiable, as recommended by one of those strange functionaries, the Safeguarding Committees. The duties under Part I of the Safeguarding of Industries Act, which had been imposed for five years under solemn pledges that the whole arrangement was temporary, were continued into practical permanency.

A window-dressing clause in the Budget declared that Imperial preferences were to be stabilised for ten years at the present cash value instead of a ratio. There is, of course, no real element of permanency in this, and it is rather in the nature of a declaration of Conservative policy. The danger is that it fosters vested interests in the Dominions, which will doubtless raise the cry of bad faith should the House of Commons attempt within the period in question to re-assert its undoubted right to fiscal freedom.

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The laurels which had been granted by his friends somewhat liberally and prematurely to the Foreign Secretary after the Locarno meeting have faded. By agreement of all parties, Locarno was to be but the beginning. It certainly sweetened the bitterness which existed between France and Germany as a result of the ill-advised Ruhr adventure. But the test of the success of Locarno was to be disarmament, and so far disarmament is not in sight. Preparatory Commissions have been at work, and theories are being evolved as to the yard-stick to be applied universally to preparations for war. All this is very good so far

as it goes, and certainly, the co-operation of the United States in such a Conference is a most hopeful sign.

On the other hand, there is the Russian difficulty. Some year or two ago, a representative of the Soviet Government, M. Vorovsky, while attending a Conference in Switzerland, was killed by a political opponent. The matter did not end there, for the Swiss courts acquitted his assailant. The result was mutual reprisals between Russia and Switzerland, and the refusal of Russia to send any representative to a Conference held on Swiss soil. *Prima facie*, this refusal appears extremely reasonable. The question of substance is whether or not the Vorovsky incident is being made an excuse to cover a real unwillingness on the part of the Soviet to participate in European disarmament. There is no reason to suppose that this is the case. Any student of Russian diplomatic methods must be aware that, except for internal defence, the Russian policy as a whole does not depend upon armaments—although the case of Georgia may be cited as a flagrant instance in the other sense. If Russia does not participate in the European disarmament Conference, no good results can possibly come from it. Leaving out of account the Baltic States, there is Poland holding territory to which she is not justly entitled, and there is Rumania holding Bessarabia, where a state of war practically persists to this day. In short, the Cordon Sanitaire cannot disarm without agreement with Russia. Why the Powers concerned refuse to meet the Russian demand that the Conference should be held elsewhere than on Swiss soil is a puzzle. It is explained, of course, by Russia on the ground that the Powers are not in earnest in the disarmament programme; but whether such malicious intention exists or not, the fact remains that disarmament, which was to be the real test of the success of Locarno, has vanished as a practical possibility.

Another set-back to European appeasement was the failure of the League to admit Germany to its Council, in accordance with the Locarno plan. To the surprise of everyone, the suggested admission of Germany was made the occasion for demands for seats on the Council by Spain, Poland and Brazil. Sweden made a brave stand against these attempts to utilise a special occasion for pushing forward claims which were in a totally different category. The Spanish and Polish difficulties were overcome, but the persistency of Brazil jeopardised, or at least postponed, the fulfilment of the promise to Germany.

The German Colonial Conference at Hamburg has fixed public attention upon the Mandatory system, and the real principles underlying the division of ex-enemy colonies under the Treaty of Versailles. Under one of the Articles of the Treaty, Germany

surrendered her overseas possessions to the Allied and Associated Powers, including, of course, the United States. The Powers, through the Ambassadors' Conference, allotted these overseas possessions among the victors. But there, apparently, their function ceased, the terms on which the victors were to hold and administer the territories being laid down in the Covenant of the League of Nations. It was certainly supposed, and it is clearly in accordance with the great principles of trusteeship for backward races set out in the Covenant of the League, that the Mandatories, having accepted from the Allies defined territories, should regard themselves thereafter as trustees under the control of the League: in the case of "A" Mandates aiming at the institution at the earliest possible moment of self-government for the territories concerned; and in the case of the "B" Mandates, regarding the interests of the native occupants as the governing consideration. The "C" Mandates are not subject to these limitations. The speeches of Mr. Amery, however, in particular as regards Tanganyika, seem to suggest a totally different conception of the Mandatory system. He rejects the notion that we are not installed in permanency, and appears to prefer to look to the Allied Council rather than to Geneva as the fount and source of British authority. Furthermore, in minor matters of trade, the same policy is being pursued, although, of course, not in direct infringement of the terms of the Covenant. Under the Merchandise Marks Act, goods from these territories are to be marked "British Empire made," and in our own tariffs we give a preference to goods from Mandated territories. If, with the efflux of time, we are to forget all about the Wilsonian ideal of trusteeship, and merely to regard the Mandated territories as new bits of the Empire secured by the aid of a little humbug, then the world is indeed drifting back into the old policy of expansion and partition which has been the cause of endless conflicts, including the Great War itself.

An illustration of this sort of danger is afforded by the recent interchange of Notes between Great Britain and Italy relating to Abyssinia. The kingdom of Ethiopia is the only part of the Continent of Africa which has successfully resisted partition by European Powers. While we were engaged in Egypt and the Sudan, our friends the Italians tried their strength against the Lion of Judah, and in 1889 actually secured a Treaty—Ucciali—which was generally recognised as establishing an Italian Protectorate over Abyssinia. Eight years later, by the disastrous defeat at Adowa, all such ideas were destroyed, and since then the Negus has been effectively, by the strength of his own right arm, an independent monarch. In 1906, however, a tri-partite agreement was made between Great Britain, France and Italy, by

which it was arranged that their economic ambitions in Abyssinia should avoid a clash. Under this agreement, France built her railway from Djibouti to Addis Abeba. The British and Italian aims were not pursued for the moment. Our interest was to preserve the waters of Lake Tsana for the irrigation of Egypt and the Sudan, and the Italian ambition was to connect Eritrea by railway with Somaliland. Last year Notes were interchanged, and the details of the 1906 agreement were filled in. Great Britain and Italy were to approach the Negus jointly, and stand by each other's demands.

As soon as these documents became public, they were made the subject of protest to the League of Nations by the Abyssinian Government, which had been admitted to the Assembly in 1923. Explanations were also demanded in Parliament. Sir Austen Chamberlain, in reply to this demand, declared that the promise to support "exclusive" Italian demands in Western Abyssinia merely meant that we would not advance competing schemes, but left any other country free to do as it pleased. As regards the Lake, we were only asking for a practical implication of undertakings given as long ago as 1902. When the matter came before the League Council, Sir Austen Chamberlain explained, Abyssinia would be *ad hoc* admitted to the meeting, and there was no intention of attempting to assail her position as a member of the League. The idea of two great Powers (whose territories, except for French Somaliland, entirely surround Ethiopia) concerting in advance joint demands which may ultimately acquire great political significance is an unpleasant one, painfully reminiscent of what has happened in the past in Morocco.

Reverting for the moment to our relations with Russia, the debate on the Communist blue book must be mentioned. There appears to be some division of opinion among the Government supporters. Earlier in the year, when it was announced that export credits were not available for trade with Russia, considerable dissent was expressed by Conservatives, with the result that four Conservative Members made a short visit to the Soviet Union, to return with a report which, though frankly critical of Russian methods of government and economic theory, nevertheless recommended to the Government a policy of fostering good trade and political relations with that country. On the other hand, those who are anxious about the Communist influence in Great Britain, and really believe that a serious danger is being run owing to the international connections of the small Communist Party of this country, pressed their side of the case. The Government made no concessions in its policy on export credits; but, published a Blue Book purporting to show the ramifications of

Communism in Great Britain. This book was a very poor production. Documents were photographed and reproduced, but in many cases, the guilty inferences could only be drawn from the descriptive headings of the Blue Book supplied by the Editors. The one positive result of the publication was to show the complete hostility which exists between the Communists and the Labour Party.

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Among the most important external happenings of the Session has been the funding of the French debt. M. Caillaux, when first in office as Finance Minister, had proposed a ladder of payments, a reduction of the total amount, and a safeguard clause. He returned, when Finance Minister for the second time, to complete the work he had initiated, and which, in the interim, had received the approval of his successors at the French Treasury. The settlement is certainly a very generous one for the French. Of that, perhaps, no complaint need be made. What is its most unsatisfactory feature is the pair of letters exchanged between Mr. Churchill and M. Caillaux, and appended to the agreement, which go very near conceding the French demand for a safeguard clause. It is laid down that, should the Dawes annuities fail the French in a material degree, the whole question of French payments to Great Britain is to be re-opened. The one thing, therefore, which we were anxious to purchase with the remission of large sums—namely, finality—has not necessarily been achieved.

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Summing up, therefore, it may be said that the Government has not strengthened its position during the past Session, and that the failure of its authority is justly measured by the reduction in the number of votes it obtains in by-elections. Excepting Sir Ronald Lindsay's remarkable achievement in the Turkish Treaty, there are no foreign feathers in Mr. Baldwin's cap; nor, indeed, has he any home achievements of a positive kind to set against the impression of vacillation and weakness in dealing with the coal situation, which is the main charge against his Government.

WEDGWOOD BENN.

THE ECONOMIC UNION OF EUROPE.

IT is not necessary to be a devotee of the doctrine of "the economic determination of history" in order to recognise the prominent place that must be given to co-operation in industry, commerce and finance, in the work of the League of Nations and in the general movement towards a constructive internationalism. Peace and prosperity go hand in hand, so that it is unnecessary to ask whether this movement is primarily designed to secure the world against another war, or to strengthen and improve the public and private arrangements which make for the common wealth of nations. It is evident that for the successful performance of either task a campaign of intellectual and moral enlightenment is needed. For the Great War and the Bad Peace have so inflamed the passion of exclusive nationalism as to strengthen many of the false beliefs and injurious practices which aim at reducing to the smallest possible dimensions the economic interdependence of nations. A false identification of political and economic frontiers has fed the belief in a fundamental divergence of economic interests among nations, expressed in the protection of the home market for their nationals, the acquisition of preferential claims upon raw materials in foreign lands, the struggles for markets and for lucrative investments. This conviction rests partly upon an unsound view of the nature of trade, partly upon a shortsighted regard to national interests. Business men and their politicians generally hold that good markets alike for buying and for selling, being restricted in quantity, it is the duty of their government to help them to get as much of them as possible, and to put as many obstacles as possible in the way of foreign competitors and their governments.

The futility and dangers of this policy are, however, becoming increasingly apparent to the more enlightened minds among the European peoples, and an organised demand for a closer amicable co-operation is seeking expression in practical proposals for economic union. The vision of American prosperity, contrasted with the impoverishment of Europe, has aroused mingled sentiments of envy and of aspiration. Are there any immovable obstacles to prevent Europe from developing a productivity as great as that of America? The evident conditions of the economic prosperity of America are the following: the size, variety and richness of her natural resources, for the supply of foods, raw materials and power; the physical and mental vigour, enterprise, industry and mobility of the great majority of her population; community of language, political and social institutions, and freedom from tariff and other trade obstacles among the inhabitants of the several states; a distribution of income favourable to the

maintenance of a high and similar standard of consumption, with the reasonable expectation of further rises for the great majority of the hundred and twenty millions of her inhabitants.

Now it is evident that no single country in Europe possesses all these advantageous conditions in a degree comparable with America. But what of Europe as a whole? If Europe could co-operate as closely and as actively as the United States, is there any reason to suppose that any of the other conditions essential to an equal advance in economic prosperity does not exist, or could not be secured by intelligent co-operation? Even if we were to exclude Russia from any full immediate project of co-operation, the rest of Europe would furnish an area considerably larger than the United States, with a population more than twice its size, and a variety and capacity of food production, mines, forests, and other essential raw materials at least equal and probably greater. It is true that America has advanced further than most European countries in the actual development of certain natural resources, such as coal, iron, and oil, and in many uses of machinery and power. But there is no ground for supposing that in necessary foods, materials, and power, Europe as a whole stands on a lower potential level. Indeed, if Russia and the European colonies were included in the contemplated area of co-operation, the size and variety of resources would be immensely superior, while the population both for production and consumption would be immensely larger. It will be said that the physical and mental capacity of the average European is definitely lower than that of the white American, that in alertness, intelligence, adaptability, strength, enterprise, self-confidence, optimism and willingness to co-operate, the average American is superior. The last point deserves particular attention. For it is closely connected with that quality of sociability and sense of equality which most distinguishes American democracy. There exists far more mobility in America than elsewhere, not merely facility for moving from place to place (light rootedness), but mobility from trade to trade, and for rising from a lower to a higher economic and social status. These are familiar facts but they have an important bearing on our problem. For this mobility is of the very essence of co-operation. In fact it is hardly too much to say that the economic recovery and advance of Europe depends upon improved mobility. If workers and capital are free and quick to move from country to country, from trade to trade within each country and within Europe, and from lower to higher grades of income and society, there is no ground for supposing that any inherent or inborn defects of physique or character would keep the personal efficiency of Europeans lower than that of Americans. For with this improved mobility will come many of the other intellectual and moral

advantages, the initiative, enterprise, hope, self-respect, which enter into America's high productivity.

One serious difficulty must be reckoned with, the diversity of languages among European peoples. Though America has been fed with immigrants from all parts of Europe, some of whom retain for a couple of generations their language of origin within the home, the quick and easy acquisition of the common English language undoubtedly constitutes an important factor in mobility and the rapid adoption of American standards of living. But though linguistic barriers must impede mobility in Europe, we need not exaggerate the impediment. In every country the classes engaged in commerce easily surmount the barrier, and though workers move more reluctantly into areas of foreign-speaking population, this reluctance diminishes after the first ground is broken and newcomers find fellow-countrymen already established in the foreign land.

As regards the communication of economic inventions and improvements of technique and organisation and all the other fine arts of industry, rapid progress has already been made, and were the principle of economic union once firmly grasped, difference of language and race would not count heavily as obstacles. So far as the educated classes in most European countries are concerned, their scientific knowledge and training, their technical and business capacity, are on at least as high a level as in America. Indeed, in certain countries, notably in Germany, Switzerland and the Scandinavian countries, and probably in France and Britain, the highest grades of intellectual training in the applied sciences are superior. It is the vigour and alertness of the average man that give America most of her present advantage in the industrial world. If the barriers to mobility of men, goods and ideas, could be broken down in Europe, leaving human resources to mobilise and apply themselves with freedom and efficiency to the development of known or discoverable natural resources, the material wealth of Europe would advance rapidly towards the standard of America.

It may be said that, as compared with America, the larger part of Europe is over-populated, and that increase of material productivity would be checked by the rigours of the Law of Diminishing Returns. But though some European countries, England, Holland and Belgium, Germany, Italy and Austria, may be exceeding the optimum size of population under present restrictions of commerce and of productivity, there is no sufficient ground for holding that Europe, as a whole, is over-peopled for the best economic life. One of the most obvious results of our economic union would be a more rapid extension of birth restriction, partly by closer intercourse between the free-breeding and the restricting nations, partly by the migration from the former to the latter

countries, such a flow as is taking place now from Italy and Poland into France. Moreover, there would remain two further checks upon the pressure of the Law of Diminishing Returns, viz., the specialisation of larger sections of the European peoples upon manufactured exports to be exchanged for non-European foods and raw materials in foreign commerce, and emigration to countries outside Europe. For in speaking of an economic union of Europe, we do not contemplate an entirely self-sufficing community, cut off from trade and other intercourse with the wider world. The conviction, widespread in some circles, that Europe is too densely populated, finds its chief support in the larger amount of unemployment since the war. There is a tendency to regard this pool of unemployed as a surplus, or excess, of population not wanted for the normal working of the economic system. But there is no warrant for such a judgment. There is ample explanation of this large unemployment in the dislocation of finance, commerce, and industry, due to the war, the peace treaties, and the political and social disturbances accompanying this great upheaval. No doubt Europe does exhibit patches of over-population, but one of the most beneficial consequences of an economic union would be the removal of populations from places where they were not wanted to places where they were wanted. This process need not be envisaged as an arbitrary State-directed movement: it would be a gradual voluntary move along a line of best advantage.

Such is a rough sketch of the conditions of maximisation of productivity within a European economic union. The difficulties of effecting such a union are obvious, and may be insuperable. Whether they are insuperable, will depend chiefly upon whether sufficient understanding of the gains from such a union will evoke among the peoples the requisite will to achieve it. The greatest and most evident obstacles are summed up in the term Nationalism, with all the prides, fears, suspicions, jealousies, ambitions, greeds, animosities it harbours, and the false theories and policies evoked to support these passions. One need not dispute the moral and political utility of a community feeling among members of a nationality living in close physical and social contacts. This communion will always be represented in closer economic co-operation than can exist with members of other nations. But this use of Nationalism is unfortunately overgrown with so many and so grave abuses as to render it the greatest danger to the progress of humanity.

I have before me a Report of the Austrian National Committee to the Committee on Trade Barriers, making proposals to facilitate international commerce in Europe. In its sketch of the several steps towards economic union, which might be taken by Collective Treaties, it indicates the large number and variety of major and

minor barriers and inequalities that must be surmounted. Before any real advance can be made towards the free mobility of trade and populations, which our general survey contemplated, a number of petty vexatious differentiations, all inspired by foolish and false calculations of national interest, must be removed. Questions must be settled relating to the legal status of foreigners and foreign companies; double taxation of goods or incomes; equal treatment of foreign and home-made goods in regard to excise and internal duties and taxes; common regulations for passports and visas; regulations concerning freedom of navigation and legal equality of foreign ships, and equal access to internal transport facilities for foreign merchants.

It ought not to be difficult to obtain the consent of all the nations to the adjustment of these claims and the removal of these barriers, since most of them have a post-war origin. A collective treaty for their settlement would be in substance a restoration to the pre-war status. The next step proposed is a treaty "the signatories of which would consent to fix a maximum limit of duties for their mutual exchange of goods, and in connection therewith reciprocally grant most-favoured nations treatment." The real advance in such a Treaty as compared with the numerous pre-war and post-war trade treaties, would arise from its collective and its lasting nature. If security for the efficient working of industry and commerce is to be attained, one of the principal conditions is security of foreign markets. Easy admission into a foreign market is of little avail, if the terms of such admission are liable to be cancelled at short notice. Long-term collective treaties would put a solid basis under export industries and foreign commerce which has hitherto been lacking, and would be a useful step towards that specialisation of national economic opportunities which is the beginning of a genuine economic union of nations. But, of course, the retention even of relatively low customs duties, even on terms of fixity for long periods, would not go half-way towards the true international economy. The chief argument for such an early practical proposal is that some European countries, partly from psychological reasons, partly from considerations of State revenue, partly because long practice of protectionism has established large trade-structures which would not stand before a policy of free-exports, would not consent to any rapid establishment of European free-trade. The experience of Germany during the formation of its economic union last century well illustrates the difficulties to be surmounted before full unity can be attained. Moreover, if, as seems essential to such a union, a common customs tariff must be operated at all the frontiers, a special difficulty arises in the case of countries, like Britain and Holland, which by conviction and practice have opened their markets to the whole world

on virtually "free terms." It is, indeed, possible that the British Government and people, recognising that the free import policy which they had practised (with a few inconsiderable recent modifications) for three quarters of a century, was unlikely to be adopted by any other great industrial nation, might prefer membership of a Free Trade Europe to its present position as an isolated Free Trader in a Protectionist world. But the sentiments and commitments of our political parties render such a choice unlikely. The declining, though still numerically strong, Liberal Party, could not be induced to set up a tariff against non-European countries, and the advancing power of Labour would, though with less unanimity, adhere to the same policy. The Conservatives could only enter the European Union if it included our colonial empire and our dominions.

Now this is a difficult, though perhaps not a fatal, obstacle. Its difficulty is partly sentimental, partly practical. Closer economic relations within the British Empire are a subject of keen interest to our Chambers of Commerce and other business circles and to many politicians irrespective of party adhesions, and various practical steps have been taken to promote empire trade, emigration and other common interests. How far the European advocates of Economic Union contemplate the inclusion of colonies in their scheme, I do not know. I think it likely they must have this intention. For the close economic relations of France with her colonial empire must involve such inclusion, not to speak of the colonies of Holland, Italy, Portugal. There would, indeed, be obvious and large advantages in a free-trade area so extensive as to include large tropical and semi-tropical sources of supply, and the growing markets for European manufactured goods which such colonies might provide. But the magnitude and territorial distribution of the British Empire open up special problems to the advocates of a European Union. The first is this. A European economic union must involve, as a direct or indirect implication, a political community of interests and activities which would soon take shape in some definite forms of federal government. Even if it did not go so far, an economically unified Europe would act in the world more and more as a single political unit. This economic and political union would suggest and almost impel the growth of other unions in America and Asia. Many supporters of the League of Nations already favour the formation of some such continental groupings for the political handling of their several problems. But where would be the place of India, of Canada, of our Australasian Dominions, in such an arrangement? Immense difficulties would confront these virtually self-determining nations called upon to decide between two conflicting allegiances and economic interests.

Having regard to these difficulties, pan-Europeans would probably incline towards leaving out Britain and contenting themselves with a purely continental Union, which, if they can hope to include Russia at no distant time, might suffice for most economic purposes. But should they so decide, certain definite sacrifices of economic co-operation are involved. This is best seen in considering the development of international cartels in the great manufacturing and other export trades. The economy of cartels in coal, iron, and steel, to say nothing of chemicals, textiles, etc., would be greatly restricted in efficiency if Britain did not come in. If the continental tariff kept out British goods from Europe, it would force her exporters to use all their political and economic pressure to hold non-European markets against the continental cartels. It might drive Britain to seek compensations in a vigorous economic and political imperialism, or it might drive her into closer relations with the other great exporting nation excluded from the European combine, viz., the United States. For a common European tariff, adequate to exclude the growing volume of American imports (not to speak of monetary loans and investments), would be bound to affect profoundly the economic policy of America, and, having due regard to Canada, might drive her into some sort of English-speaking economic union. As an alternative, she would be disposed to bring every kind of political and financial pressure to bear upon her fellow occupants of the American continent, so as to bring them within her economic orbit of control, and to enlarge her commerce and perhaps her political interventions in the Pacific.

Such are a few of the reflections, admittedly speculative, roused by the proposal of a European economic union. On the merits of the scheme I frankly confess that my mind is divided. Could it be brought about within the next few years in a fairly complete manner, it would perform immense services not only in promoting economic prosperity, but in easing the political friction and healing the wounds left by the war and the Peace Treaties. If carried far enough, it would make political frontiers of almost negligible importance in their appeal to patriotic sensibilities. On the other hand, I find it hard to persuade myself that geographical proximity is destined to play as large a part in the future of economic relations as in the past. In some respects, the commercial, as the social, intercourse of neighbours will always be closer than with most distant peoples. But in other respects the complementary character of an economy based upon diversity of climatic and other natural conditions will make for closer interdependence and division of labour between distant countries. This means that mobility of men, goods and ideas over the whole world is a better goal and sounder basis for the prosperity, not merely of the

world as a whole, but for each constituent country, than any smaller economic union. It may be the case in economic as in political internationalism that group federalism must precede and prepare the ground for world-federalism. But we must not ignore the danger and waste that may ensue from the larger group oppositions and conflicts that attend this process. Will a European economic union favour and accelerate the formation of the wider world-union, or retard and obstruct it? The answer to this question depends upon whether the legitimate short-range utilities of the narrower but nearer goal blind the eyes of Europe to the wider but more distant goal of an organised world-economy.

A final word may be added to the opening considerations of my argument from the analogy of the United States. In dwelling upon the part played by rich and varied natural resources, an energetic enterprising population and unimpeded movement of men and goods over a great territorial area, in promoting large production, I left untouched one great essential to the maintenance and expansion of industry, viz., a constantly and quickly expanding demand for commodities, responsive to each improvement in the economy of production. There is in America none of the *verdamnte Bedürfnisslosigkeit* displayed by the more backward peoples of the European continent. There is, on the contrary, a general and keen desire for a new and more expensive standard of living, so that rising demand keeps fair pace with rising supply. It may be said that other peoples would willingly consume more, that they have plenty of unfulfilled desires, the trouble being that lack of income, or purchasing power, makes this demand non-effective. Here we touch the true economy of high wages, more important as a stimulus to consumption than as a stimulus to productivity. A prime condition of high productivity and prosperity in America is the more equal distribution of income which prevails. Notwithstanding the existence of a small class of millionaire exploiters, a much larger proportion of the income of America is widely distributed over a large middle, and far larger wage-earning, class than is the case in any European country. The distribution is not so equal as to prevent recurrent over-production and stoppages that express a surplus of producing power, but these general depressions, though violent when they occur, are of shorter duration and are less injurious to life and industry than elsewhere. An economic union could do much to raise the productivity of Europe, if it were accompanied by economic and political reforms favourable to a better distribution of income, and the creation of a rising standard of comfort among the masses of the co-operating countries that would give full employment to the enlarged capacities of wealth-production.

J. A. HOBSON.

THE LIBERAL SUMMER SCHOOL.

THE Liberal Party after the War suffered from a severe epidemic of "principles." Liberal leaders seemed to have entered into a conspiracy to confine their speeches to vague generalities about the "principles of Liberalism" and the "great traditions of the Liberal Party." When they did get down to anything more definite it was to try to raise a cheer by references to Gladstone and Bright, or at best by dealing with the old problems of free trade, proportional representation and land taxation. If by any strange chance the word industry was mentioned, it was only to urge goodwill and co-operation, and to talk about partnership, without any attempt to define the meaning of this word when applied, for instance, to the 20,000 workers and innumerable shareholders of Vickers. Some of the leaders went so far as to use their influence actively to discourage any attempts at constructive thinking. Liberals, they said, had often been in opposition in the past; they had always got back to power in the end, and always by the same method: by doing nothing, and waiting for the unpopular acts of the government to cause the pendulum of public favour to swing back from Toryism to Liberalism. Any attempt at constructive thinking, or any advocacy of a definite policy, would necessarily have the effect of causing a split in the party and so delaying the return to power.

These elder statesmen flatly refused to recognise that this state of affairs was utterly changed by the existence and strength of the Labour Party, that nowadays if the pendulum swings from Toryism it is almost sure to gather momentum on its swing, to pass Liberalism midway and to come to rest in the other extreme of the Labour camp.

After a year or two of such leadership, many of the rank and file became sick and tired of attending Liberal meetings to listen to the same old shibboleths. They felt, in view of the existence of two class parties—the Conservatives strongly entrenched behind the rights of property, the Labour Party backed by the full strength of the trade unions—that there was no chance whatever for the Liberal Party to return to power unless the people understood that it represented some clear and definite policy distinct from either of the others. Vague principles were not enough. They must be concretely applied to the problems of the day.

In particular, it was felt by many that while Liberalism had won the battle on behalf of civil and religious freedom, the fight for economic freedom under modern methods of large-scale production was only begun. They felt that the great question of industrial relations, the application of the Liberal principles of freedom and equality of opportunity to the life of the working man and the

slum-dweller to-day, and the whole problem of working-class discontent with the present economic system, required careful examination and hard thinking. There was no sort of agreement among the members of the party as to what was the Liberal policy in these matters, still less as to the steps by which it could be carried out.

These were the conditions which gave birth to the Liberal Summer School. Deeply dissatisfied with the complete lack of a constructive Liberal policy, a small group of Manchester business men met regularly during 1918 to discuss the problems of industry. Each of them felt that if he had been a working man he would have been discontented, and even in active revolt against the existing economic order. They were united, in the words of the introductory note to the "New Way" pamphlets, by "a conviction that these evils cannot be cured by the glib repetition of sweeping formulæ, or by violence or class-conflict, or by mere destruction, but only by hard thinking and goodwill."

Mr. Ramsay Muir was called in to help, and produced "Liberalism and Industry." The wide and eager welcome accorded to this first serious attempt at applying Liberal principles to the industrial problems of the day encouraged the group to go ahead, and they invited about one hundred younger Liberals to meet at Grasmere. The meeting was blessed by perfect weather, and serious discussion was mingled with walks on the hills and bathing in the tarns. A common aim and outlook emerged pretty clearly, and all those who were present felt that the group must be given some permanent form. The Executive Committee of the Liberal Summer Schools was elected, and has functioned (in a thoroughly un-democratic way) without any re-election from that day to this. The only change has been co-option, as other Liberals were found who, it was thought, could contribute to the work. Among the original members were Ramsay Muir, W. T. Layton, Philip Guedalla, and the present writer, with Colonel Tweed as organiser. Sir William Beveridge, Sir M. Bonham Carter, W. McG. Eagar, H. D. Henderson, Stuart Hodgson, and J. M. Keynes, are amongst those who have since been co-opted. The committee now consists of economists, historians, editors and business men; most of them politicians. But the important thing is that while they are all keenly interested in politics (two of them have been Members of Parliament and several others have been candidates), yet politics are in every case subordinate to some other professional or business career.

The work of the Liberal Summer School is known to the public in two principal ways. Firstly, by the annual meeting which is held at the end of July in alternate years at Oxford and Cam-

bridge. The meeting which has just concluded at Oxford was the fifth of the series. Like all the others it lasted a week with two papers each day in the morning, one in the evening, and discussions in the afternoon. The chair at each lecture was taken by one of the political leaders of the party; Lord Oxford from the first meeting has taken a keen interest in the work, and until this occasion, when he was prevented by ill-health, has always given either the opening or the closing address. This time the opening address was given by Sir John Simon, and the wind-up by Mr. Lloyd George. The lectures themselves are given by experts. The committee decides the subjects, selects the best available authorities in the country, and in nearly every case those who have been asked have been willing to speak. The committee has not confined itself to Liberals, and has, for instance, had addresses on subjects on which they had special knowledge from Lord Robert Cecil, Lord Astor, and Sir Theodore Chambers; but normally the lecturers are Liberals. At this year's meeting ten of the lectures were by members of the committee or other younger authorities, such as Professor Carr-Saunders, Philip Kerr, Muir, Layton, Henderson, and Guedalla. Included in the list, to keep the balance right, were, however, four very distinguished elder statesmen, Viscount Grey, Lord Meston, Mr. J. A. Spender, and Mr. Graham Wallas.

Not only have the attendances at these Summer Schools continually kept at a level of from 500 upwards, but the Grasmere tradition has been continued in that the students regularly attend and take part in active discussions on the whole of the lectures, and at the same time take full advantage of the opportunities of Oxford and Cambridge for enjoying life. A feature of the School which has become traditional is a play performed by some of the younger members on the last night, in which the labours of the school are light-heartedly parodied. A popular item of the play this year was a series of proverbs for Liberals, among which may be mentioned "A split in time saves nine," and another, composed by one of the irreverent younger members, "You may take a leader to the Summer School, but you cannot make him think!" As an indication of the spirit in which the Summer School is conducted by all who take part in it, it is interesting to note that the whole of the business has been managed for six years on a sum of £200 raised at Grasmere in 1920. Each School pays for itself, and everything that can be done voluntarily is done voluntarily. The School owes a special debt of gratitude to its lecturers, who, with very few exceptions, have received neither fees nor expenses for their attendance.

The only other public action of the Summer School has been the

publication of the "New Way" series of pamphlets. These have been selected from the papers read at the Summer School, such papers as seem likely to have most permanent value having been reprinted in this way. These pamphlets constitute already an important contribution to Liberal thought, and have been widely distributed, some of the pamphlets having reached a circulation of about ten thousand.

Probably the most valuable feature of the work has been the constant informal discussions on all kind of political subjects which have been organised by the committee. These have been held in many ways. Meetings of the whole committee or of sub-committees in London to discuss special problems, week-end meetings either of the committee or of the larger council which represents those who nominated the committee, fortnightly luncheons, weekly dinners in the House of Commons when some of the members were in the House, and so on. It is by means of these constant discussions that a group mind has been developed, and (it is hoped) that a common policy will gradually emerge.

What results has the Summer School achieved? There is nothing more difficult than to measure the results of constructive political thinking. Time alone can show how far the work that is now being done by the Liberal Summer School is going to influence political thought in the country. But something substantial has undoubtedly been achieved when it is possible for Mr. Stuart Hodgson of the *Daily News* to write as follows:

"The inspiration of Grasmere has never been lost, and the fruit of it is the harvest which Liberalism has reaped of late at the Universities. The abler sort of young man turned after Grasmere as naturally to the Summer School movement as in an earlier generation he turned to Fabianism."

In at least two cases proposals put forward in a paper at the Summer School have had important effects; it was at the Summer School that Mr. McNair first showed how the coal industry could be reorganised through the nationalisation of royalties. This proposal was developed in "Coal and Power" and was adopted by the Samuel Commission. It was in a "New Way" pamphlet that Sir William Beveridge set forth his proposals for dealing with widows' pensions, and for reducing the age at which old age pensions are received to sixty-five, by means of a new Insurance Act; proposals that were adopted almost as they stood by the Conservative Government and are now in force.

What of the future? The parallel of the Fabian Society naturally suggests itself. The Fabians began in 1883, doing constructive thinking on socialist lines and pouring out Fabian tracts. The result of their work was to provide a philosophy for a Labour

Party twenty-five years later; their success was undoubtedly largely due to the fact that throughout the whole forty-three years from 1883 until to-day they have had the advantage of the leadership of Mr. and Mrs. Sidney Webb, who for most of that time made it their life's first object to help and guide the work of the Society.

The Liberal Summer School has on its committee men of the highest possible quality, combining a great variety of experience and outlook. The need for thought and inquiry and constructive proposals is unlimited and the opportunity a magnificent one. The weakness of the committee is the lack of somebody to do what the Sidney Webbs have done so ably and devotedly for the Fabian Society. All the members of the committee are very busy men, all of them are interested in the work of the committee, but nobody makes it his first interest in life. There is no leader, or rather they are all leaders. If men of such individual brilliance can succeed in welding themselves into a real team, results of the first importance might emerge.

One difficulty is that the facts of economics are to-day so complicated that the highest experts, even when looking at the matter from the same Liberal point of view, may come to diametrically opposed conclusions. For instance, the campaign conducted by Mr. Keynes and Mr. Henderson for a managed currency is well known. It is probably less well known that Mr. Layton at last month's Summer School declared strongly *against* a managed currency, and said that any Chancellor of the Exchequer in the position of Mr. Churchill last year must have restored the gold standard! That is what I mean by saying that our members are only in a secondary degree politicians or party men. They try to reach agreement by discussion. When they are unable to convince one another there is no attempt to conceal differences.

A new phase in the development of the School is now beginning. For two years the committee has had a Research Department which has been investigating various matters of importance; helping the preparation of the papers for Oxford and Cambridge, circulating questionnaires on aspects of policy to five hundred Liberal Associations, and doing other work of a similar nature. The whole energy of the committee and the Research Department is now to be thrown into a new Industrial Inquiry which is to be undertaken on a large scale with the help of a secretariat generously provided by Mr. Lloyd George. The Inquiry is to last over a year, and will be conducted by an enlarged committee including representative employers and trade unionists, and a report will be published towards the end of 1927. This marks a new departure for another reason. Hitherto there has been no attempt to make declarations of policy on behalf of the committee. Papers have been read and published on the authority of the authors only, although they have often been

the fruit of much discussion among the committee. It is intended that the Industrial Report shall, so far as possible, be an agreed report of the whole committee. Such a report prepared by Liberals may be looked on with a certain amount of suspicion. Can there be such a thing as Liberal "research"? Should not research be guided purely by a search for truth, independent of any question of Liberalism? Is not Liberal research a contradiction in terms? I think not. What we are aiming at is to find out the truth and then to propose such action as will tend to the kind of society we want with economic freedom and equality of opportunity for all. A Conservative Committee might agree on the facts, but would, quite properly, propose different measures, having in view as one of their most important aims the preservation of many of the existing privileges of the rich, an aim to which Liberalism is indifferent or hostile. A Labour Committee reporting on the same facts would be limited in their proposals by the need for advocating the nationalisation of the means of production and distribution and exchange, and for having a tender regard to the privileges of the trade unions.

A Liberal Committee is free from the restrictions and limitations which under present conditions would necessarily hamper the freedom of a similar committee belonging to either of the other parties. In fact, the difficulty I foresee in preparing this Report is not that we shall have too little freedom, but perhaps too much, and that it will be difficult to get agreement on all the very complex problems and proposals with which we shall have to deal.

The Liberal Summer School is just six years old. It has earned for itself a definite place in the councils of the Liberal Party. It has varied experience and high intellectual authority. It has worked on the friendliest terms with the leaders of the party, but hitherto, while friendly, the leaders have largely ignored its proposals. There has, however, been a gradual improvement in this respect, most strikingly illustrated by the co-operation of the School with Mr. Lloyd George over the Industrial Inquiry. If the Liberal Summer School can reconcile its intellectual differences and produce agreed proposals, and if the leaders can be induced to abandon the policies of 1906 and whole-heartedly to throw themselves into the problems of to-day, basing their speeches and policy on the proposals of the Summer School, then the country will be bound to take the Liberal Party seriously. But whatever happens to the Liberal Party the work of the Summer School is worth doing. The intellectuals of the Labour Party are so hampered by their traditions of trade unionism and socialism, that the stream of original and useful thinking in the Labour Party has dried up. If the Liberal Summer School does nothing else, it will at least provide ideas for the Labour Party.

E. D. SIMON.

THE MECCA CONFERENCE.

CAN it be true that decayed and slumbrous Islam is awakened at last as if by one touch of the magical wand of Ibn Saud to menace the safety of the world? Does it really menace the world peace? These are pertinent questions in relation to the Grand Moslem Conference which I had the rare privilege of attending at Mecca on the seventh of June last, when the representatives of one-seventh of the human race were gathered together to deliberate over the future of Islam. I was weighing the pros and cons of this very large question as I sat in my cabin on the pilgrim boat, when I noticed that the ship had dropped anchor and that we were at last in Jiddeh. In a very few minutes a white-bearded old gentleman was ushered into my cabin as the Governor of Jiddeh, who had come to welcome me on behalf of his Wahabi King, and for the first time in my life I faced a real "son of the desert;" tall and stately, he stood there in front of me. Then I rose, he clasped me in his arms and kissed me on both cheeks. Thenceforth I was the honoured guest of the great hero King of Arabia.

After much feasting and handshaking, we started next morning in a special motor-car towards Mecca, the Holy of Holies of Islam: and we had not left the town many yards when we saw what once was the Tomb of Eve. A white wall now encircles the shrine, no devotees are permitted to approach it; for the advent of the Wahabi in the Hijaz has banned any inclination of the pilgrims to visit the graves or shrines. However, I insisted on inspecting the place where the Mother of the Human Race is reputed to have been buried. Being the guest of the King and a delegate to the Moslem Conference, I was permitted to visit it provided I took a "guide" who, as I quickly noticed, was deputed to supervise my "walk" round the quadrangle of the Tomb and manipulate matters in such a way that I should see only those parts which, from a Wahabi point of view, are to be seen. What I really desired to examine was the place where the Tomb was alleged to have been damaged by the followers of Ibn Saud. Candidly speaking, my first feelings about being shadowed by an "official guide" were those of resentment; the man, however, was not slow to follow my thoughts and told me that that procedure was as distasteful to him as it was to me, but precautions were to be taken to see that grave-worship, so rife during the reign of King Hussein, did not enthrone itself in the unsophisticated minds of the pilgrims. At this I lost my temper. "Do I look like an idiot?" I asked sharply; and when he replied with an emphatic negative, "then, I will not bow the knee before a grave and worship it," I explained. And I took a survey of what could be seen, and by way of making amends for offending his King's guest my

"guide" told me many things about the worship of the Tomb of Eve.

"There used to be a custodian of the shrine," he said, "and from morning to night he sat here robbing people." Upon my inquiry regarding that pleasant occupation he explained that originally the length of the grave was no more than eight or nine feet, but the custodian found that an addition to its length of a foot or two each year seemed to increase its value in the eyes of the "pious faithful" bound on holy pilgrimage for Mecca, and an increased degree in veneration necessarily increased the amount of offerings to the grave. It was, therefore, a point of good business. But the climax came when a confederate of the custodian hid in a crypt right in the middle of the Tomb and replied in a long, sonorous and mysterious tone in fulfilment of the wish of the pilgrim. Needless to say, the favourable or other reply of Mother Eve largely depended upon the amount paid to the custodian.

Although it was only 7 a.m. I found the heat in the courtyard too great and returned to my motor-car, which joltingly moved and thumped along a mere camel track towards the outer range of barren hills that skirt Jiddeh. The Holy City lay at a distance of about fifty miles.

We had not travelled many miles from the town when for the first time in my life I felt the real heat of the desert. The power of the sun was aggravated by the style of my dress. My head was shaved and uncovered and I was wearing the regulation pilgrim costume, the *Ahram*, consisting of only two white sheets, one for the upper part of the body and the other for the lower. They were fastened together by knots, for no pin, stitch or other form of attachment is permitted. With the exception of this garment and sandals I had no other covering. We crossed the desert, which consisted of sand dunes and rocky eminences of most wonderful colourings. Presently my water receptacle was upset in the car, leaving me with parched lips. Not a drop of water could we find on the route; sand and stunted, leafless shrubs were everywhere, till the halfway house of Bahra was reached. But fever was already on me, and as I ran to the water pool what did I see? There was indeed some "liquid" but whether it was water, and whether it was drinking water, was another question. There in a shallow pool lay a discoloured liquid; the carcase of a camel and dried bones of animals lay close by, and it was littered all around with cast-off tins. The sight was repugnant to me. But our driver approached it, dipped his receptacle into it, had a good drink and then poured the residue back into the pool, as if it were too valuable to waste. Thirsty, and already tired of the journey, we again took the road in our Ford, and could not have gone many

miles when one of the rear wheels sank deeply into the sand. No one could dig it out. Away in the distance we spied a Bedouin leading his camels merrily along. When he saw us and appreciated fully our difficulty, he burst into song—a song in praise of the camel. We hailed him to come to our rescue, but he yelled to us to continue the good work of coaxing the refractory wheel. “If you must have that creation of Satan,” he shouted, “then go to his kind for help in introducing this device of his into this fair and sacred land. Why not have camels?” he continued with spite, “like me, which stop when I want them to. Go to the devil with his vehicle!” he added, as he wound his way to the rocky hills beyond and disappeared. It took us another hour’s hard work to pull the car out and then we sped forth with zest, especially as my arrival in Mecca was expected early in the forenoon. My driver was a cautious man and he insisted on driving slowly. At last I took the wheel and put on top speed. Whatever the nature of the uncharitable things said about a Ford, it can be made to move, for I drove like the wind. But although we raced past camel caravans and over stone barriers that seemed more like jumping gates, our destination did not seem to be any nearer. It was already past the hour, when we had to cross a small village bazaar. The speed of the car was tremendous. The syrup seller, the bread man, the poor Bedouin, just managed providentially to get off our path. I saw the guard making frantic signs to us to stop, but we were beyond signs; we cared more for the time than the mere running over a few people. At the white-washed posts outside Mecca I slowed down. The Sacred Haram was in sight, and when I left the car at its station to ride only a donkey, my eyes swam in my head with fever and heat, and with prayers on my lips I reached my abode close to the walls of the Holy Kaaba, the Holy of Holies.

After a little rest, my first duty was to encircle the Kaaba seven times, then proceed to Safa-Marva. The Haram, in the centre of which stands the Sacred Stone, is a spacious courtyard, oblong in design, 257 paces long and 210 broad. Access to it is gained through nineteen gates. It is surrounded on all sides by graceful colonnades or cloisters surmounted by white domes, forming Mecca’s sacred and famous mosque. In the centre of the courtyard stands the Kaaba, towards which all Mohammedans in every part of the world turn their faces when they pray. It is to all Mussulmans the most sacred spot on earth, the place of answered prayer, above which in the heavens Allah himself sits and draws his pen through people’s sins. The Kaaba, which has made Mecca the centre of the world, the parent city, the mother of towns, is an almost square stone erection standing about thirty-

five feet high. The black covering not having arrived from Egypt, it was entirely draped with a heavy khaki-coloured cloth to which pilgrims clung weeping. According to tradition the Kaaba was built by Abraham as a place of worship on the occasion of the casting out of Ishmael, and is a reconstruction of the stone house erected by our first parents.

We encircled the Kaaba seven times, reciting certain prayers as we did so, this being the first ceremony every pilgrim performs on his arrival in the Holy City. After kissing the Black Stone—not an easy feat, as a mob of excited pilgrims from almost every quarter of the globe surged before it, shouting the name of the Prophet in a babel of tongues—we hastened to the sacred well of Zem Zem, said to be the spring shown by God to Hagar, and partook of a much needed drink. Pilgrims dip their white garments into the water of this well and spread them to dry on the holy soil of the courtyard. This renders them sacred, and the garments are taken home by the pilgrims and used as burial shrouds (the idea is that the burial shroud thus dipped in the waters of the Zem Zem acts as a protection against the intense heat of the sun’s rays on the Day of Judgment). The Black Stone is set in silver, in the south-east corner of the Kaaba, about five feet from the ground. The vast open courtyard is capable of holding 35,000 worshippers at a time, and I shall not readily forget those prayer-time scenes around the sacred Kaaba. The Haram is free of lurking mystery, dark images, oblique symbols, tortuous designs. Here, in broad, clean courts, in the bright sunlight, man appeals with the greatest sincerity to his God. The bending and swaying, the kneeling and prostration of the thousands of white-robed worshippers led by the Imam, all moving with one rhythmic impulse, perfectly attuned, body and soul, in the Prophet’s inspired discipline of supplication, is a sight never to be forgotten.

I was assisted in the performance of my religious duties by my “motawif.” He is a kind of authorised guide and landlord in one. There is a “motawif” appointed for each of the peoples, nations and languages that congregate at Mecca. As I was a guest of the King and a delegate to the Conference my “motawif” regarded me as an important personage, with the result that he was not always at my heels and I had more time to wander about the city independently. Like all guides, however, I found him grasping and unscrupulous.

From the time a pilgrim enters Mecca until he leaves, be it a matter of two or three days or several weeks, he is kept in a whirl of excitement and religious frenzy. The ceremonies are endless. Before I left the Holy City, I took part in the Sai ceremony. This ceremony consists of passing backwards and forwards seven

times between the hills of Sarfa and Marwa, marking the alleged graves of Hagar and Ishmael, a distance of perhaps three hundred yards, at the same time calling out the prescribed prayers. As the route for the most part is narrow and the road bad and pilgrims are continually passing both ways at the same time, collisions are of frequent occurrence, and what with the babel of prayers in many tongues and the shouts of the excited throngs, the ceremony is rather a trying one. With these many ceremonies and prayers five times a day, there is really very little time left for sight-seeing. Strictly speaking, Mecca has no attractions outside the Haram and a few spots associated with the Prophet. It does not even boast of a cinema, theatre, or entertainment hall of any kind. It has not even an hotel, nor a bank, nor could I find a shop where a picture postcard was to be had.

Yet one cannot stroll about its streets and wander through its bazaars, thronged with pilgrims from all parts of India, Persia, Russo-Turkestan, Arabia, Syria, Egypt, and other distant countries, a great cosmopolitan crowd, speaking many dialects, all imbued with an intense feeling of reverence for the city of their faith, without realising one is on holy ground. For an Oriental city its streets are wide. They are unpaved and inclined to be hot and dusty, though there is an attempt now to water them. The pilgrims are accommodated in the lodging-houses, great stone buildings coated with white plaster, with charming latticed windows and balconies, running up to five and six storeys in height. The accommodation for the most part is crude, consisting of large, almost bare, rooms where the pilgrims sleep on mattresses laid but a foot or so apart on the floor. As they perform their ablutions in these rooms, cook and consume all their food in them, the state of such apartments, holding any number from twenty to fifty men, may be imagined.

It is amusing to pass a café just as the Moazin's voice is heard calling the faithful to prayer. Instantly the customers jump to their feet and hurry away to the Haram, with the proprietor hanging to their heels calling upon Allah to witness the deception which is about to be played upon him. The donkey drivers, and there are many in Mecca, are a little smarter. They insist on their fare before you start. The donkeys of Mecca are closely cropped and painted in stripes of bright colours. Or one may travel in the little carts pulled by miserable looking ponies. You climb in from behind, the door is locked, and you find yourself in a kind of lattice-work cage. As the carts are devoid of springs, the jolting is anything but pleasant, and should the vehicle overturn, as it sometimes does, you find you cannot escape from your prison till the driver unlocks the door.

The most famous of Mecca's bazaars is the Soayqa, which runs along one side of the Haram. It is noted for its silks, beads, and perfumes. A large trade is done in the latter and scented woods are burnt in the lodging-houses and elsewhere; otherwise life would be unbearable, for sanitation in Mecca is conspicuous for its absence. But shopping in Mecca is trying. It demands a great deal of patience and tact. If you wish to buy an article the shop-keeper will ask you six or eight times its value. Naturally you object to pay such a price and offer less, and then commences the bargaining. If you have time and can "stick it out" you will eventually get it at your price. I bought a melon one day which turned out anything but satisfactory, and when I told the shop-keeper about it, he referred me to Allah, saying he had made the melon and God's house was close by.

While in the Holy City, I had the honour of an audience with Arabia's new ruler, Abdul Aziz Ibn Saud. He sent his motor-car to fetch me, a beautifully appointed French vehicle, and one of the few motor-cars in Mecca. This typical desert Sheikh is a vivacious, alert, soldierly-looking Arab of middle age, a veritable Cromwell among Arabs, whose recent actions have stirred the whole Moslem world. He told me how he had been forced to take up arms against Hussein and drive him out of Arabia, because he was not governing according to the precepts laid down in the Holy Book. He rules by the Koran and rigidly shuns the additions and reservations which ages of priest-craft have added to the faith. He has razed to the ground scores of important tombs and shrines because they had been responsible for the introduction of grave-worship. Wine-drinking and tobacco-smoking are strictly taboo in his kingdom. He will not even permit of the establishment of a bank at Mecca which would be most useful to the tens of thousands of pilgrims who gather here yearly from all quarters of the globe. But banks charge interest, and that is usury, which is contrary to the principles of Mohammedanism. Hence one has to go to the money changers. Though they give a fair rate of exchange, one has to watch carefully for spurious notes and coins.

Yet Ibn Saud deserves credit for having cleansed Mecca of its loose way of living. He has put down wine-drinking, tobacco-smoking, dishonest dealings and immorality. He has suppressed brigandage in the Hijaz and thus pilgrims of to-day can travel without fear of being molested. Though his outlook may appear narrow, he possesses sufficient vision to realise the need of creating a greater spirit of unity among the present scattered and warring factions of Islam. That is the main idea of the All-World Moslem Conference, which I attended as a delegate.

At this assembly, which was attended by representatives from

the leading Moslem countries, many important resolutions were passed, including the decision to connect Jiddeh and Mecca by rail and also to run a line from the latter city to join the Hijaz railway at Medina. Various improvements are also to be carried out in Mecca, such as a more efficient water supply, a sewage system, and the establishment of hospitals and base camps for pilgrims. There are to be improvements at certain Red Sea ports. The Conference will be held yearly and is destined to grow in importance. It is bound to exercise a tremendous influence upon the minds and thoughts of the two hundred and fifty million followers of the Prophet, a power which none can afford to ignore.

The real importance of this Conference lies in the fact that it is a World Organisation now, and having once taken root will ultimately demand its recognition from all advanced countries. Islam, as such, will not menace the world peace—for that would indeed be un-Islamic—but what it will assuredly endeavour to do is to cause an awakening in the rank and file of the Mohammedans, and make the followers of the Prophet realise once again that they are to stand on their own feet. Whether it will take a political character depends a great deal on the local conditions of each Moslem country. Such cannot be said to be the only reason for this grand Moslem Conference, which is full of potentialities both for good and for evil and is bound in the nature of things to bestir the world.

What are the lessons of the Conference? Closely reviewing it, we observe that it has not failed to have set a considerable number of students of Eastern politics thinking. That after the dismantling of the Turkish power in Arabia, the Shariefian dynasty appeared to be an all important factor from Palestine to Aden, few of us doubted. But the rise of the Wahabis in Nejd and their triumphant march to Mecca has created a new phase in the modern history of the Hijaz. Side by side with the surging tide of the Wahabi success, we noticed that the question of the future of the Khilafa receded further and further from the Moslem eye. We felt ourselves imperceptibly drawn to the controversy, not as to who was to be the new Khilafa, but whether or not the Wahabi occupation of the Holy Cities was a desirable thing. Till we awoke to the seriousness of the occasion, Malik Ali, Hussein's son, having left Jiddeh, the whole of Hijaz lies at the feet of Jalalatul Malik Sultan Ibn Saud. When an invitation to attend the All-World Moslem Conference reached our table, to respond or not to respond to it was the question. The victorious armies of Nejd on their march had committed atrocities towards the Moslem population at Taif and elsewhere, they had destroyed and otherwise made inaccessible certain shrines of sacred associations, they had

established a strict code of law in which pious sayings of Islamic theologians of antiquity were not admitted. In a word, the Wahabi was considered to be the only Moslem, for the rest there was no mercy. On the other hand, one realised that a band of desert heroes of Riyadh had arrived to proclaim justice at last in the much oppressed town of Mecca, where bribery and corruption, both moral and material, were tolerated by Hussein, respectable men were in his time dragged out of their beds and flung into jail, and money was thus extorted from them. The life of the Holy City was anything but sacred, the caravan routes were infested by brigands who shared their spoils with the King, poor pilgrims were fleeced and often killed if they refused to part with their money. There was no order, nor justice, chaotic conditions reigning both in the towns and in the country. Favouring, therefore, an established condition of affairs, no man could refuse to join the Grand Assembly of the "faithful" that met in Mecca on June 7th.

It was a historic gathering, for a meeting of this kind had not taken place for centuries long; yet from the very nature of the circumstances in which the Conference was convened, one was justified in supposing that international aspects of Islamic countries would form a part of the agenda. Here one was soon disillusioned, for the Sultan made it quite clear that no politics as such were to be discussed, especially those that related to the Hijaz. That was both a weak and a strong measure. For on the one hand it showed that Ibn Saud preferred not to answer the accusation of having assumed the sovereignty of the Hijaz in face of the fact that, at the beginning of the struggle, he had stated that he only fought to "purge the Holy Land of the ungodly family of the Sharief," and when he had done so, then "the Hijaz was for the people of the Hijaz." As events show, however, he did not keep to his pronouncements. That is of course a point against him, but I firmly believe from what I have seen and heard in Mecca, that the Hijazis are never fit to rule in the Holy Land, and Ibn Saud, in spite of what he has done, is the right man, at the right moment, in the right place. Whether he has "come to stay" will largely depend on how successful he is in persuading his over-zealous adherents to modify their attitude towards the religious susceptibilities of the various sects of Islam.

IKBAL ALI SHAH.

CAN DIALECT SURVIVE?

LET me say I am all for dialect. It greatly fascinates me. I suppose it calls up in the mind the homely story of the lives of labouring people, their hopes, their fears, their affections, their anxieties. And many a weary railway journey I've beguiled by worrying over the merest suggestion of provincialism which lies behind the perfectly correct English of some thoroughly cultured and well-read fellow-traveller. In the end I am not infrequently able to say: "Didn't your people originally hail from such a county?" And as a rule I'm not so very far out. If I can only think of a phrase that recalls the old homestead and the old scenes I invariably find that my companion's face beams with delight and that the dialect's there all right. But, of course, improved means of communication, easier access to centres of higher education, the wider circulation of the newspaper press, and now Broadcasting; all these things have played and are playing Old Harry with dialect so far as the younger generation is concerned.

Well, that's a pity. It is worse than a pity when people deliberately send their children away from home in order that they may learn to speak "Genteel" English! To me that is merely stupid snobbishness. I confess I hope the Cornishman who just catches his train by the skin of his teeth, as the saying goes, and jumps in as it is starting, still turns round to the passengers in the compartment with a smile and says "That wuz nibby-jibby, wad'n et?"

Do the little children in Devonshire still go up over Timberrheel to bed? Do they still throw their caps up as evening closes down on God's good hedgerows to try to catch the Airy-mouze? Do their mothers, as the little ones come from school perished with the cold, still cry out: "Spriddle† up the yemmers‡ an' dray 'fore the vire an' yet§ theeselves do'ee!" Is the moon still the Parish Lantern; and is the cowshed over which it shines still the linhay? Are there giffey-handed|| people down along any more? Is Ees fay! still alive? (I very much hope Tay-Kettel Broth isn't). Do people still live to Tiverton? And is everything still suent with the good folks of the west?

Does the Gloucestershire man still show his appreciation of a good joke by holding both his sides and spluttering out: "Thee dost make I laugh, sna!¶" Do Bristol young men and women still greet one another in Old Market Street with "'Ow bist?" and still give reply: "Jolly thanks! 'Ow's yerself?"

Are Norfolk lads still "Bor" to one another? Does the Geordie still insinuatingly press his suit with: "Ah! Hinney! ** Ye

* Bat. † Gather together. ‡ Embers. § Warm. || Left-handed.
¶ Dost thou know? ** Honey.

anna say No!" I know his liquid "r's" are still beyond the reach of the cleverest imitator.

Wales, of course, goes one better than talking dialect English. She talks Welsh. But when she talks English you cannot mistake the intonation. I think, however, that "Whatever!" and "Look you!" are largely apocryphal. But the emphatic "Yes! Yes!" and "Yes! Indeed!" are not. There is also a curious circumlocutory method of approach which may be due to the use of a Welsh idiom in talking English—I don't know. I mean the use of a sentence like this: "There is a fine singer she is!" to express the simple affirmation: "What a fine singer!"

The Lancashire dialect is, of course, famous the Seven Seas over; and I expect there is more than one volume of *Ben Brierley* to be found stowed away in the Emigrants' Boxes of the Back Blocks of Australia and the new farm lands of farthest Alberta. Because Lancashire folk are very proud of their native tongue. It is the precise medium of expressing their self-reliant, independent, entirely good-natured, and dryly-humorous outlook on life. It is an' all! Ay and Nay, Lad and Lass, Owt and Nowt, Nobbut and Noan—may these long remain amongst the small change of every-day conversation; and may Gradely and Jannock long hold their posts of honour among the Lancashire folk. Can you think of anything more splendidly appropriate in the whole language than: "Ay! She's a gradely lass! She is an' all!"?

Happen I shall get my head broken if I don't insist that the dialect of the land of Broad Acres is just as famous as that of the sister county. And so it is. If I were enough of a student I would try to indicate the differences between the two. To a southerner they are often not distinguishable. Indeed, I've often enquired "Yorkshire?" when I ought to have asked "Lancashire?" and *vice versa*. It has always struck me as strange that one of the best-known Yorkshire colloquialisms is precisely the one that puts Yorkshire in a most unjust and unfair light. "If tha' does owt for nowt, do it for thissen!" Could there be a more atrocious libel upon folk with whom hearty welcome and open-handed hospitality are outstanding characteristics? A far truer picture is presented by the workman who comes up to his mates with, "I am baht* bacca", 'ez onny on yo onny on yo?" instantly to find half a dozen pouches thrust into his hands.

Scotland! Is there any need to sing the praises of Braid Scots—its pawky wit, its blunt presentation of the truth even if disagreeable, its complete self-confidence, and its shrewd farseeing philosophy and wisdom? Robbie Burns, Dean Ramsay, and the Kail Yard School, have made the Scottish dialect a classic; the phrase

* Without.

Auld Lang Syne has beaten the Tower of Babel; and "a Wee Doch an 'Doris" is fast becoming the Esperanto for an extra final libation all the world over. People still cordially invite the visitor (it is a little paradoxical to the southerner) to "come awa'". There is still the But and the Ben; and people still "lippen to Providence." The turkey is still "Bubbly-Jock"; but is the crab still a "partan"? Anyhow, the girls are Sonsie* and snodly† clad; some day the precise values of "shall" and "will" will present no difficulty; and I hope "Wee Macgregor" is still asking "Whitway's his neb ‡ sae shoogly." §

And Ireland and the brogue—the irresistibly cheerful, seductive, kindly brogue! Hard luck cannot extinguish its cheerfulness, bad times cannot crush its humour, hope forlorn cannot quench its ardour. The English people got Paddy I think mainly from the Boucicault plays—"Conn the Shaughraun", "Shaun the Post" and all the rest of that divil-may-care company. And, of course, effects had to be broad, with plenty of "Bedads!" and "Bejabers!" and "Ochones!" But you've got to get much closer than that. You've got to note the true value which every Irishman gives to "wh"; so true that people who pronounce "what" as "wat," take it out of Paddy by making him say "fwhat!" You've got to notice the invincible cheerfulness under difficult and depressing circumstances. Years ago when I used to play more golf than I do now I often weighed in my mind critically the comments of caddies. They were pretty illuminating, I can tell you. Drive a ball off a tee of an Irish course with every indication that it will be found well planted in a bunker: say to the caddy: "I'm afraid I've found trouble"; the odds are he'll reply: "Ah! Not at all! Not at all! That'll be all right!" Do the same in England and the caddy will simply agree with you. Repeat the incident in Scotland, and you'll walk forward quite clear in your own mind that you've got yourself to blame for and thoroughly deserve the worst that can befall you!

I remember once asking the steward of an Irish golf club if he could lend me an old discarded pair of boots with nails in them. He came back with a first-class pair not far from being brand-new. "But," said I, "these boots are in use. Suppose the player wants them this afternoon. What then?" "Ah," said he, with a shrug of the shoulder, "Annybody 'ud be proud to lind yer honour his boots!" Can you beat that for hospitality? Hospitality in which I've little doubt the owner of the boots would himself concur with a laugh.

Let me just say two things more. Many men of my generation, when the hour has ushered in real intimacy around the social

* Well-favoured, buxom. † Neatly, tidily. ‡ Nose. § Shaky.

board, have a habit of recounting anecdotes in the dialects of their own native heath. And with what appreciation! But does the younger generation? And if not why not? I think I would make it a standing rule that at every annual County Association Dinner wherever held, every speech—save those of the Visitors, of course—should be in dialect.

Finally, a word to novelists. If it is necessary, in depicting a character of rude and humble extraction, to make him talk something other than formal English, don't do it unless you are master of a particular dialect yourself. It isn't enough for the reproduction of Somersetshire, for instance, merely to turn "s" into "z," "I" into "Oi," and make the nominative and objective interchangeable. There's any amount more than that in the native Doric, believe me. And, upon my life, I know nothing more irritating than to read a conversation, purporting to be in dialect, which is a mere hotchpotch of rather stupid variants upon the King's English. Don't do it.

T. J. MACNAMARA.

ISRAEL ZANGWILL, THE DREAMER AWAKE.

ON a day in 1878, shortly after Cleopatra's Needle had been set up on the Embankment, a Jew boy with dark curly hair descended from the ghetto of Whitechapel and gazed upon this wonder from the land of his ancestors' bondage. To the amazement of the admiring crowd, he began to read the hieroglyphics glibly. He walked away, doubtless smiling, and probably with a great resolve in his heart. He had recited a Chaldaic excerpt from the Sabbath morning service of the Hebrew Prayer Book:

May salvation from Heaven, with grace, loving kindness, mercy, long life, ample sustenance, Heavenly aid, health of body, a higher enlightenment, and a living and abiding offspring, that will not break with, nor neglect any of the words of the Law, be vouchsafed unto the teachers and rabbins of the holy community, who are in the land of Israel, and in the land of Babylon, and in all the lands of our dispersion.

That was Israel Zangwill's first exercise in expounding his people. The resource then displayed never failed him. And his years had just about doubled when he burst upon the world as the one undoubted literary genius produced by Anglo-Jewry. That pre-eminence was never wrested from him, never seriously menaced. In Jewish history his name is permanently engraved. He was the chronicler who inscribed, with realism tempered by a poetic and vivid imagination, the flowering of Jewish emancipation in England. The Jew had attained his apogee in the British Isles, politically, socially, intellectually, commercially. A coldly appraising historian was insufficient. From out the despised East End flashed the English-born son of an alien immigrant who had found there that which the Jew first preached to the world in the story of the Exodus, freedom. He offered a new reading of the threnody of the ages, picturesquely epitomised in a local setting, enriched by wit, enlivened by humour. This time he read the hieroglyphics on a living monument without any "spoof." The child of the ghetto presented his people as "The Children of the Ghetto." By that work will his fame be measured in the future.

The rest scarcely matters. It is far from negligible. It is sufficient to gain high rank in itself for its unfailing verve, its abundant variety, its inspiring humanity. Zangwill was a true Jew in giving the wealth of his mind to the whole world. He was no nepotist. A profound scholar—his translations of the Jewish liturgies have ensured his immortality in the Hebrew Prayer Book—he knew the beautiful Talmudic dictum, "The righteous of all peoples shall share in the Future Kingdom." Deducing from that, as did the

Rabbis, the full right to the joys of this world, he was a fiery advocate of all the downtrodden, irrespective of creed or colour. Never did he prostitute his pen. Never was his work slipshod. He was always in deadly earnest, even in his flippancy. He risked and sought unpopularity by his defiance of convention, his burning zeal to be in the van of progressive ideas. Stereotyped patriotism, petrified ethics, ossified political or social concepts found in him an uncompromising adversary. He was ever on the side of the angels and the suffragists. That amazing versatility and prodigious output has propounded an interesting problem for those who will attempt to allot his place in the Pantheon of English litterateurs. Contemporary critics have likened him to Dickens, Disraeli, Heine, Brieux, Shaw, Tolstoy, Erasmus, Meredith, Matthew Arnold, Pater, Dr. Martineau and Harnack. There are two Jews in the list, two of his own "Dreamers of the Ghetto," whose citation is inevitable—Disraeli and Heine.

Whatever the points of contact, the dissimilarities were greater, as fundamental almost as the racial bond. Disraeli was scarcely brought up as a Jew, was baptised before the age of thirteen, took the oath in Parliament "on the true faith of a Christian," and lived within the Church always. Heine cynically embraced Christianity, in the words of Zangwill's sketch, as "a necessary card of admission to European culture." On his own confession he was a Pagan, but Zangwill has quoted what reads like a recantation in his memoirs. The world has given Disraeli and Heine back to the Jews, Zangwill it never took away. He was the child of the ghetto always, with all the strength and the handicap the ghetto enforces. "I am a pure Cockney," he retorted to an interrupter at a meeting who taunted him with being an "alien Jew." He was not a successful cosmopolitan. He was neither fully English, nor completely Jewish. He offended the English people, the Americans, and the Jews. He seemed to go out of his way to do so. There was a period when he ceased entirely to represent the people whose soul he had revealed with wondrous fidelity, when he was, in very truth, a Wandering Jew, adrift from the anchorage of his past, unsure of himself in the present, in a whirl of doubt as to his destiny. That was Zangwill at his poorest in the domain of thought and action. Politically, religiously, and almost ethically he had gone astray, to the mystification of his friends and admirers. There was a fear that he might embark on a reconciliation between synagogue and church. He had given a foretaste in his cryptic sonnet, "Moses and Jesus," the prelude to "Dreamers of the Ghetto," and he wrote a strange article some months before he died, when—the pity of it! he had plunged into the wild enterprise to present and produce his plays himself in a desperate throw of the dice to win equal recognition as a dramatist to that which he held as a novelist.

One of his plays, "The Next Religion," involved him in conflict with the censor. Alongside the high encomiums it elicited—as did everything that emanated from his fertile pen—was resentment due to a feeling that he had unwarrantably attacked Christianity. He must have known the trenchantly significant story of the Jewish jester, Motke Chabad—I am not sure whether he is a legendary figure—who, found dashing wildly through a fearful storm, explained his terror with the remark, "Such awful thunder and lightning! I fear me the Almighty is about to give us a new Law!" A new Law! Zangwill had unfortunately reached the stage when he imagined he could force the world to take him at a valuation which, inexplicably, o'erleaped itself. There was no need. His reputation was high, firmly established, safe. I could help wondering in his last days whether some fantastic notion of success had come too easily did not oppress him, and that, in some vague way, he sought the martyr's crown of several of his Dreamers. With all his many friends and his world-wide circle of admirers he was a lonely man. He was isolated in his eminence, but not unhappy in his intellectual hermitage. He erected a pedestal that accentuated his aloofness and conditioned his character. Enveloped in the toga of his nimble wit, he capered and pirouetted on his perch, exciting wonderment as to his capacity to maintain his foothold. Once or twice he slipped, but his balance was never precarious. He maintained his poise with a skill and dexterity that betrayed an uncanny power of mind over matter. His brain overflowed with ideas, frequently bursting the bonds of discipline. His knowledge was wide, his technical equipment comprehensive, flexibly applied with an adroitness compelling admiration far beyond the confines of Jewry in two hemispheres.

Constitutionally a stormy petrel, he perfected himself assiduously for a rôle in which he revelled. He exploited his strength in dialectics relentlessly, preached peace but did not ensue it, and chose the battlefield for his recreation ground when he should have wooed content in his garden of laurels. But personal happiness was not his quest. He had too many gifts for repose. He essayed to be a superman. He did not sigh for new worlds to conquer. He went out and assaulted them. He called upon the universe to acknowledge his daring and to be subjugated. And when it refused, he lost his temper. In his indulgence in the verbal quip, he could not restrain a touch of cruelty by his accusation that the critics who, with all goodwill, could not accept him as a dramatist with a message, were "poor, but honest." He had the failing of his people who believe that language is the expression of freedom: he talked and wrote too much. His mind worked more revolutions to the minute than that of any man I ever met. Always he sought

the centre of the maelstrom. He was the doughtiest of controversialists, insistent on the last word. No writer gainsaid his critics more remorselessly. His sensitiveness lured him into the delusion that he was the victim of some sort of conspiracy. The feeling of unfair depreciation led to his final breakdown.

But, contrary to what might have been an excusable misapprehension, it did not overwhelm his kindliness, his joy in the encouragement of others. Of this I had personal proof a few months before he died. I was one of the many with whom he had entered into disputation. Yet I had the extreme satisfaction of being told by him that the chapter on him in my book, *The Jew in Drama*, was "perfectly legitimate criticism." In one of his last letters he expressed pleasure at the production of a play by Mrs. Landa and myself and offered to lend us scenery. He had said he should like to have written one of the characters, which appealed to him immensely. In his letter to me, dated April 30th last, he referred to his position as "desperate" and stated that his broken-down condition was aggravated by the mutilation of the German version of his play, "We Moderns," against which, of course, he protested.

That was Israel Zangwill—morbidly condemned by excess of mental resilience to an atavistic sense of persecution, to seize upon trivialities and to exaggerate the molehill of criticism into an Ebal of cursing. He saw himself as Azazel, the scapegoat, and he sank under the burden of self-inflicted woe. It was as if, having in his brilliant essay, "The Legend of the Conquering Jew," sought to dispel the hallucination, he had undertaken the Sisyphean task of proving that it could be so, and had been beaten by the stupid machine of fate. The world, however, was never unjust to him. His genius was acclaimed in many lands, in many languages. He was repeatedly forgiven by Jew and Gentile alike, although he tried their patience severely. That was gratitude for the stimulus of a mind never stagnant. There are many, I know, convinced that he should have been a leader of men. He fostered the belief by his unsparing energies. He threw down the gauge to posterity by quoting copiously from his speeches in his published essays. But he was handicapped by impatience of mind in dealing with affairs. He allowed himself to be carried away by the fulsome laudation to which many Jews are unfortunately addicted. At one period he had the ball—the world—at his feet with a goodly array of men and women in different countries ready to follow him. Some openly declared him the greatest living Jew. He had helped the birth of Zionism. He gave ear to Dr. Herzl, the founder of the movement, when he came to England and encountered disdain. It was years, however, before he could be induced to participate, and no sooner was

he corralled than he quarrelled. He broke away with his counter-movement that sought settlement for Jews in Uganda, Mesopotamia, Cyrenaica, and hearkened to an invitation to Mexico. The creation of the Jewish Territorial Organisation (Ito) was a blunder of colossal magnitude. He had no kinship with Disraeli or Heine then, no statesmanship, no vision. Rather was he like Lassalle, issuing the frenzied challenge that led to his death. He plunged into a sea of troubles and dared to breast the bulwarks of tradition. He harboured the heresy that he could change the current of Jewish hope—away from Zion and historic consciousness. The Ito was a fiasco from its cradle. But he was obdurate. Even after its death, it was to him a spiritist entity with messages from the beyond. It misled him into mordant introspection, swiftly translated into speech.

I doubt whether there was ever any bitter intent. He was floundering, away from Judaism, away from the ghetto, to which like Antæus—I am not the first Hebrew to draw parallels from Hellas—he should have returned for renewal of strength. The failure of the Ito and the steady triumph of Zionism showed that he had taken the wrong turning. His judgment became warped. He flung himself frantically into the mission of his plays, and crippled the value they possessed by foolishly refusing to cut a line. His bodily frame was unequal to the violent strain he put upon it. He collapsed and met an untimely end.

Israel Zangwill's life was none the less no tragedy. It was unbroken in manifold achievement. It led the child of the ghetto into the front rank of novelist-thinkers with the aid of his pen alone. For Zangwill had a message, and it was vouchsafed unto him to deliver it. Moreover, it was gratefully accepted. He presented the Jew to the world as a human being, as the perennial under-dog, and yet as one who paid his way, resolutely refusing to be cast into the slough and marching onward to a higher destiny. He compelled the whole world to hearken and observe. He did for the Jew what Dickens did for so many victims of the world's coarse thumb, with unflinching humour, with irresistible pathos. He was the dreamer awake, striving to implement his myriad thoughts as fast as they crowded one upon the other. And as we say of those whose aim was righteousness, "His memory for a blessing."

M. J. LANDA.

THE NEW IONIAN MIGRATION.

IMMEDIATELY below the ruins of the Temple of Neptune which the Emperor Augustus erected on the hills above the Bay of Actium as a thank-offering for his victory over Mark Antony and Cleopatra, there is perched a new village. Some sixty cottages with rough-cast walls and tiled roofs, built upon the same pattern, climb the hill; if you enter, you will find in each two rooms and a stable, and in the rooms some simple furniture and pictures of scenes in Asia Minor. All around are the ruins of the vast ancient city of victory—Nicomopolis—which was built by the Roman Emperor, and soon became one of the chief centres of the Empire. The remains of massive Byzantine walls and aqueducts are scattered over the hills for miles, and a theatre and a basilica of Justinian witness to a splendour that has passed away. The nearest town to-day is Prevesa, formerly part of the port of Nicopolis, which was, till 1912, a frontier fortress of the Turkish province of Epirus, but is now entirely Greek. The new village is called Nea Saphrampolis, because its inhabitants came from the town of Saphrampolis which lay near the Black Sea. Some few miles away, immediately overlooking the sea, there are two similar settlements. One is called New Sinope because its inhabitants came from the famous Greek town of that name on the shores of the Black Sea. The other is Pantocrator, named after a neighbouring fort, which is inhabited by settlers from Smyrna. The three villages are part of the greatest transfer of population which has taken place in modern times: and the settlements are an illustration of the remarkable effort which, though little noticed in the outside world, is working a peaceful revolution in the Near East.

By the terms of the Treaty of Lausanne it was agreed that the Greek population in the Turkish Empire and the Turkish population in Greece should be transferred to the country to which they belonged by race. With awful suddenness in the years 1922 and 1923 the Ionian migration burst upon Greece. One and a half million people had to leave their homes in Asia Minor, and streamed across to Athens and the Piræus and Salonika and the other chief towns in Greece. The number of Turks who were required to move was far smaller, because great numbers of Ottoman subjects had already changed their domicile after the Balkan war; but to Greece the myriads of refugees came in shiploads, and a large portion of them were destitute. They had snatched away a few of their household possessions; but they had to abandon their land, their houses, and their animals, which were, for most, their only wealth. The Greek Government made heroic efforts to supply their needs, and the Greek people rose to their obligations of helping their kith and kin. American and other philanthropic societies

administered relief for those who were helpless, and took charge of the thousands of orphans, partly Greek and partly Armenian, who were included in the mass. Yet, with all the good-will in the world it was impossible for the Greek Government and the Greek people alone, impoverished by more than a decade of continuous war, to grapple with the problem. And it was fitting that the wealthier nations which were in part responsible for the agreement for the transfer of the population should bear their part in the work of reconstruction. The matter was brought before the League of Nations; and a loan, which eventually reached the amount of £10,000,000, was raised under its auspices for the purpose of settling the refugees "in productive work." The Greek Government entered into an undertaking with the League to provide land for settlement and to pay the interest on the loan. An international Commission was formed for the purpose of administering the fund and directing the work; and the Greek Government passed the necessary legislation to facilitate its enterprise. The original chairman of the Commission was Mr. Morgenthau, who was the United States' ambassador to Turkey at the outbreak of the Great War, and at that time distinguished himself by his efforts on behalf of the Armenians and of the allied subjects in distress. He was followed by another American, Mr. Howland; but at the present time the chairmanship of the Commission is held by Sir Robert Graves, who was formerly British Consul-General in Macedonia. Other Englishmen who have played a large part in the work of the Commission are Colonel Cunliffe Owen and Mr. J. L. Campbell. The greater part of the loan was subscribed in England, and the balance was taken up in America.

The Commission has been at work now for two and a half years, and it has issued a quarterly report of its activities which is presented to the Council of the League of Nations. The reports form a record of achievement which makes other colonisation movements of our time seem puny in comparison. With its limited means the Commission has settled three-quarters of a million persons; 600,000 have been established on farms, and the remaining 150,000 as urban workers. The average cost of settling an agricultural family is a little over £200, for which there are provided a house and stable combined, one or two working animals, seed for the first year, and provision for part of the year to maintain the settler till he can produce for himself. It is an ill exchange—of currency—which brings no compensation; and the fall of the Greek drachma in relation to sterling has had the result of making every pound of the loan go further than it would otherwise have done. It has not been possible, indeed, for the Commission to provide the complete installation which they originally proposed: but the settlers are in

most cases hardy and expert agriculturists: and with the spur of necessity to encourage them they have made good. They receive a holding of between two and four hectares, according to the quality of the land. In virtue of the agreement made between the Commission and the Greek Government the latter were bound to provide 500,000 hectares for the settlement of the refugees; and they have more than fulfilled their obligation. The land was obtained from three sources; primarily from estates of the transferred Turks, who numbered some 200,000 souls, and comprised several large landowners; and secondarily from public land of the State, and from land acquired from larger Greek landowners by expropriation.

Side by side with the transfer of population a great agrarian reform has been carried out in Greece, as in the other countries of Eastern Europe. Large estates on which the cultivators were formerly little better than serfs have been broken up, and the land has been distributed between those cultivators and the Ionian settlers. All properties of more than twenty hectares in area have been brought under the law; and it is calculated that in Greece three-quarters of a million landless agricultural labourers and as many immigrants have now become peasant proprietors. The former owners receive compensation fixed at less than the market value of the land and payable in many instalments. The new proprietors, whether former cultivators or transferred Ionian settlers, pay the Government the price of the land in a similar number of instalments. The land of the new settlers has been made over by the Greek Government to the Relief Commission, and will remain in its legal ownership until the advances made to each farmer have been paid off. The villages are formed into co-operative societies which are solidarily responsible to the Commission for the repayment of the loan; and it is typical of the scientific methods of the Commission that they have established at Salonika a school for instruction in co-operative principles; and 120 young farmers are in regular attendance at the school.

The principal centre of colonisation is Macedonia. There nearly half a million peasants from Asia have been placed in hundreds of new villages. The lands of the Turks who have been moved away were available, and some of the monastic properties have been expropriated; though the holy mountain of Athos has not been touched. Macedonia, which was formerly the most desperate welter of nationalities and the traditional breeding ground of feuds and wars, has now obtained an almost homogeneous Greek population. The productivity of the land has already been doubled, and in some cases trebled, by the settlers. The cultivation of tobacco and the vine has been firmly established in the last two

years. The marshes around the Vardar and Struma, which the British Army knew all too well, have been drained and turned to fruitfulness. The mountain slopes are covered with vines, and the wastespaces have been brought under tillage. The new Greek province has been consolidated with incredible rapidity : and what was before the heel of Achilles is now the strong buttress of the State.

There has been settlement also on a smaller scale in old Greece, in Attica, the Peloponnese and Epirus. The Commission appoints in each district agricultural directors who supervise the work of the colonists and see to the repayment of the instalments. There is every reason to believe that the obligations of the settlers will be honoured : for the newcomers realise with simple gratitude that the opportunity for settling the tens of thousands of refugees who still wait at the gate depends largely on the punctual payment of the instalments which are due from themselves.

If the agricultural settlement takes the principal place in the work of reconstruction, the urban settlement is hardly less remarkable. The Relief Commission had to assume direct responsibility for a far smaller proportion of the refugees who have settled in the towns ; partly because the Greek Government have been able to tackle that problem in greater measure without external aid ; and partly because some hundreds of thousands have been able to establish themselves. It is notable also that the foundation of the agricultural colonies has immediately created the need for auxiliary trades and industries, so that by the side of each large area of agricultural settlements room has been found in the towns for a great increase of the industrial population. Yet, even so, the international body has assisted to independence about 150,000 persons who arrived destitute. It has built suburban quarters at Athens, the Piræus, Eleusis, Corinth and other historic towns ; it has organised a health scheme for these new communities ; it has fostered the installation of new industries, such as carpet-making, on a large scale ; it has financed a large development of the fishing industry by which the former fishermen of the Euxine now ply their nets in the Ægean ; and lastly, with the help of philanthropic bodies, it has been responsible for the maintenance of the thousands of orphans. The growth of the urban population of Greece may be measured by what has happened at Athens, which has more than doubled in size and numbers since the end of the War ; and where the quarters of Byron, Ionia and Coccinia are inhabited almost entirely by those who came as refugees.

One of the reports of the Commission presented to the League of Nations contains a vivid picture of the transformation which has been wrought by the Ionian migration. "A traveller in Macedonia to-day can measure the extent of the work accomplished by

comparison with the former state of the country. Amid the vast, once deserted plains, and in the wide uncultivated fields where nothing was to be seen but occasionally a herd led by nomad shepherds, villages have sprung up bustling with life, with large and well-designed streets and simple but sanitary cottages and busy shops, where the rural artisans, the locksmith, the blacksmith and the farrier have courageously resumed their work. Around these small centres are fields covered with wheat and barley, others sown with cotton or tobacco, and beyond them vineyards and the other newly-established forms of cultivation. Even the coast of Macedonia which was formerly deserted is beginning to be populated with sea-folk and fishermen, refugees from the Black Sea or the shores of Asia Minor. In many bays where no living soul had been seen within the memory of man, there are now little fleets of fishing smacks, sailing vessels with cargo, and even small shipyards—in fact, the beginnings of a maritime centre."

This enormous enterprise of settlement has been executed by a sustained national effort which is a lesson to the whole of Europe. Doubtless the combination of conditions in Greece has been unusually favourable. On the one side there has been stern necessity to found homes for a mass of homeless people, hardy, industrious, trained in agriculture, and prepared to endure hardship in order to establish again a basis of social life : on the other side a population kindly, sympathetic and helpful, a government which has been eager to turn adversity to the strengthening of its national unity, and lastly an international body which is devoted only to the success of the business in hand. Whatever weakness may have shown itself in certain political activities of the League of Nations, in its reconstruction work the League has proved that there is wisdom in the multiplicity of counsels and strength in the union of forces. In Austria and Hungary the League came to the help of peoples threatened with economic collapse, and re-established the basis of exchange and of economic life. In Greece the International Commission established by it has been concerned with a problem fraught with still greater human issues ; and the experience of the last two years indicates that its work will be accomplished with no less success. To quote the conclusion of one of the earlier reports of the Commission, "The League of Nations has successfully undertaken many diverse problems none of which equalled in human interest this administration ; for, with slight outside guiding and the grant of a fully justified financial credit to a member of the family of nations, a great calamity can be so treated that it will not only help to make Greece economically independent, but enable her to contribute her full share towards maintaining social stability and peace in the Balkans."

NORMAN BENTWICH.

JAPAN'S PREPARATIONS FOR WAR.

ALL countries are preparing for war, and Japan is in no way exceptional. In view, however, of the part that propaganda plays in deceiving the public, it may be of interest to set forth some of the facts which do not appear in the ordinary statements of the number of army divisions, air squadrons, warships, and so forth, which she provides for her defence. It is often announced that Japan is keeping faithfully to the Washington agreements, and even performing a work of supererogation in reducing her army by four divisions. That is all quite correct; but it must be remembered that for service men the Washington agreements merely drew certain lines, and that it is not only their natural instinct but their plain duty to devise the most formidable defences that they possibly can within the limits laid down at Washington and in their national budgets. How that duty is being fulfilled in Japan is much more to the point than fervent declarations about "Japan always keeping her word," and her whole-hearted exposition of the "Washington spirit."

For propaganda purposes it is often stated that the military party in Japan is now discredited and impotent. It would be more correct to say that it is strong enough to be moderate and wise enough to be cautious. Since the great earthquake, it is true, there has been a somewhat chastened feeling, but more in civilian than in military circles, and it is passing away. Constitutionally Japan remains a militarist country. It is necessary to be clear on this point and to define militarism. It is not the possession of an army and navy in whatever state of efficiency that makes militarism, but the constitutional position of the heads of the army and navy. In Japan the army is not the servant of the civil power, as in England. The Minister for War and the Minister for the Navy have to be respectively a general and an admiral, and if either resigns as a protest against being unable to get his way, the Cabinet breaks up because it is impossible to find a successor. This happened in 1912, when the Saionji Cabinet opposed the demand for two more army divisions for Korea. The divisions were not created during the brief and stormy Ministry of Prince Katsura that followed, but during the term of Marquis Okuma, who, before taking office, had to make a bargain with the army. When twitted about doing the very thing he had so strongly opposed, he cynically said that what one says in opposition and what one does in office are two different things. Not only does the Minister for War thus have the whip-hand, but the Chief of the General Staff also has a right of audience with the Emperor, whom he can advise. And it was announced some time ago that the

Commander-in-Chief of a newly created Tokyo Military Area would enjoy a similar privilege. The army, therefore, is in a particularly strong position, and the highest statesmen dare not question an Imperial ordinance even on the ground that, the Emperor being a constitutional monarch, such ordinance is merely a transcript of the ministerial advice offered.

One strong point in military affairs in Japan is their secrecy. Secrecy often runs mad and makes itself ridiculous, especially in the matter of the taking of photographs in fortified zones or in scares about the traitorous sale of military maps. But a large contribution to effective secrecy is found in the comprehensive prohibitions that may be issued to the Press, forbidding mention of all manner of things, and, as a corollary, forbidding mention of the fact that anything has been prohibited! At the time of the Washington Conference more than one Japanese paper (probably quite in good faith) declared that Japan was so peaceable that she had not fortified the Bonin Islands. At that very time elaborate fortifications were being completed with all possible dispatch, so that they would be one of the accomplished facts not to be questioned in any arrangement for limitation. We have only to compare this with the vast amount of publicity given to a still unfulfilled proposal to make a naval base at Singapore to appreciate the difference between the two methods. Even the autumn army manoeuvres are wrapped in a veil of complete secrecy, and the foreign officers who are privileged to attend are so hospitably entertained that they never see anything, and when the climax comes they are invariably being bored to death at what is known as a "geisha spree."

There are exceptions to this policy of secrecy. After the Washington Conference, at which it was agreed that two battleships then under construction should be cut out, not only were the hulls finished, but special trains were run in order that the populace might see them launched. After so much organised popular enthusiasm, it was impossible to scrap them, so they were turned into aeroplane carriers—the largest in the world, we are told. Whether these great hulls are still convertible for other purposes is a matter on which only a naval architect could express a useful opinion.

A curious thing happened at the last session of the Diet. The so-called "replacement scheme," involving an expenditure of at least 320,000,000 yen, was cut down almost to nothing so far as the present year's estimates were concerned. Reuter's agent in Japan telegraphed this news in such terms that even a naval man like Commander Kenworthy took the message to mean that it was the extent of Japan's shipbuilding for the year, and asked Parliament whether Britain could not follow so good an example.

The so-called replacement, of course, means the construction of more and more efficient units, and the official building scheme is the construction of additional units. Real additions are considerably camouflaged by "replacement," and even the replacement, after its set-back in the Diet, is reported to be revived in all its original force, the Navy Department insisting on its acceptance and commencement. In strict accordance with the "Washington spirit" the building of submarines and mosquito craft has been very active, and flying has, of course, received its due share of attention. In regard to flying one hears alternately how it is utterly neglected and how it is wonderfully efficient—discrepancies such as are not unknown in other lands, according as patriotic pride or patriotic anxiety sways the speaker.

But preparedness in these days is not merely a matter of the size of the standing army and the tonnage of the grand fleet. Japanese observers have been keenly interested in the French contention that in matters of disarmament "potentiality" is just as important as preparedness, and they are disposed to consider that Japan needs preparedness in order to compensate for lack of potentiality. Meanwhile, however, potentiality is not neglected. The reduction of the Japanese army by four divisions has been well advertised; but the War Office made no secret of the fact that it needed its full vote, because while it was reducing the number of men it had to bring equipment up to date. The officers of the disbanded divisions have found useful occupation in being posted as military instructors in the middle schools. This is a very significant step, because the middle school boys to a very large extent escaped conscription. Now they will receive military instruction, and, in time of need, will be the best possible material for conversion into officers. The scheme provoked a certain amount of opposition even in the schools themselves, but the Education Department has taken that trouble in hand and is suppressing "thought" in the schools. The inauguration of the new system lacked no solemnity. The pupils with their new rifles were marched to the approved Shinto shrines, where an impressive ritual blessed the new enterprise.

Closely related to this preparation of military material is the official encouragement of the Young Men's Societies and the Ex-Soldiers' Associations. Young Men's Societies existed in nearly every village, and were always in evidence when there was a fire or any other occasion for combined action. Stimulated by the fear that they might be taking up with "dangerous thoughts," the authorities unified and officialised them throughout the country. When the great Meiji Shrine was completed on the outskirts of Tokyo, a young men's hall was added to the other buildings at

the instance of Mr. Tokonami, once Home Minister, and a great exponent of the theory of turning all energies to patriotic uses. Occasionally he oversteps discretion, and on this occasion the demand for contributions from the Young Men's Societies for the building of the hall was not very well received; patriotism is apt to lose its romantic colour when it costs money. But Mr. Tokonami made it understood that it was the patriotic duty of every young man in the Empire to make a pilgrimage to the Shrine dedicated to the great Emperor under whom Japan had come out of seclusion and risen to the status of a first-class Power. Mr. Tokonami also planned a patriotic blend of Shinto, Buddhism and Christianity; he attempted to infuse into the popular story-tellers and their audiences a greater liking for tales of patriotism and loyalty; and he encouraged an unorganised body of rather "tough" persons carrying on a tradition as *kyokaku*, or dare-to-dies, to organise themselves into the Kokusuikai, or National Spirit Society, for the maintenance of law and order—an anticipation, as it were, of Fascism.

When, however, we talk of the potentialities for making war, we generally take the patriotism for granted, and consider more the extent to which industries can be adapted to warlike purposes. After the conclusion of the Great War—or perhaps while it was yet in full swing—somebody invented the term "industrial mobilisation." England and Germany gave wonderful demonstrations of the process between 1914 and 1918, and by the time the struggle ended Japan was impressed not so much with her military shortcomings as with the impossibility of making an effective mobilisation of industry. The official pronouncements that in future Japan will look to industrialisation rather than to emigration as a solution of the population problem have been, no doubt, in part inspired by the conception of the need of mobilising industry. There is, of course, a keen consciousness of the lack of many of the essentials of the making of war, and this leads inevitably to the conception of a strategic unity that embraces an extensive region on the mainland—a subject that we shall come to later. It was no very great time after the war came to an end that action was begun towards the mobilisation of industry. In each city the managers of every concern coming under the factory law were summoned to the police station in batches, and there lectured on the necessity of holding their plants in readiness for whatever service they might be called upon to render. It must be understood in this connection that the police in Japan do not merely hunt the evildoer—indeed, they often neglect this obvious duty. But they are the guides and mentors of the public, administer the building law, the factory law, and all public health regulations, exercise a ubiquitous censorship, and even inquire into the state of public opinion. Some years have elapsed since this lecture to

factory managers, and a powerful Committee on Mobilisation has only just been formed; but there is no reason to believe that the interval has been a period of neglect. Factory managers certainly have not had to complain that the police had forgotten them. For whereas a very few years ago there was no factory law at all, in these days monthly returns are demanded in a degree of detail that can have nothing to do with the mere welfare of the worker, and which one can only suppose is the basis of a sort of mobilisation register.

Natural resources and industry present many difficult problems in a modern mobilisation. When Mr. Thomas Lamont arranged the China Consortium in Tokyo about all that was really accomplished, since the Chinese have never dealt with it, was a demonstration that Japan considered Manchuria as something more than a contiguous country. Mr. Lamont himself stated that he had had to reckon, rightly or wrongly, with the ideas of Japan's strategists that they must have something more than a guarantee of unrestricted commerce in that region. Japan's extreme sensitiveness on the whole subject of Manchuria, of which innumerable instances could be cited, points to a conception of this region as an integral part of the strategic unit. It is a rich country, with resources in coal, iron, oil and foodstuffs still only partially developed. One enthusiastic official in the Department of Agriculture and Commerce used to expatiate on the impossibility of Japan making war successfully without the wool that could be obtained in Manchuria and Eastern Inner Mongolia—where the aged Baron Okura recently visited his enormous ranches. Nominally, of course, Manchuria is Chinese—a fact that the Government actually overlooked when it recently devised new duties on iron and steel which were not to apply to the supplies from South Manchuria—until it was pointed out diplomatically that this could not be, treaties standing as they do. So instead of duties, subsidies have been introduced, with the intention of so developing the industry, both in Japan proper and in Manchuria, that, in time of need, Japan will be able to do without imports.

Closely connected with iron and coal are, of course, dyestuffs, and the object-lesson which Germany provided of the facility with which dye-works could be utilised for the manufacture of explosives has made as great an impression in Japan as in England; and if Japan has not wasted so much money as England in the attempt to manufacture her own dyes, it is mainly because she has not got so much money to waste. There have lately been some bitter controversies concerning the Nippon Dyestuffs Co., with its heavy losses and its 8 per cent. guaranteed dividend. But nothing has happened; it is going on spending the public money. Similarly, Messrs. Lever Brothers had a soap factory in Japan,

which, though the best equipped concern of its kind, lost money from the start, for a variety of reasons which need not be gone into here. It has ended in being bought by subsidised Japanese interests, the subsidy being granted on the strength of the fact that it has an excellent equipment for the extraction of glycerine, which is also useful in war-time. For some years past there has been a continual endeavour, backed by the Navy, to create an Oil Monopoly. As Japan's supplies of oil, like her supplies of coal, are limited, the idea in both cases is to import until the day of need. But great oil refineries could not be created in a day, so the advocates of the Oil Monopoly want to import crude oil and refine it in Japan, so that they could fall back on the home resources without suffering any interruption in supplies. The Navy also favours a great scheme for producing oil from the enormous beds of shale in South Manchuria. Almost any industry which plays a large or an essential part in the making of modern war can agitate for a subsidy with a very fair chance of success—especially if it is in the hands of one of those great firms known as "Government merchants."

That Japan is definitely preparing for any particular war there is no reason to believe. That she is already treading the path of disarmament is a pretence that some of her venal panegyrists, but very few others, occasionally put forward. She is preparing, and in doing so is making an intelligent study and application of all the lessons of the Great War. One unfortunate outcome of this is that a great deal of money is being spent on projects that appear to be economic but are really military—but this is happening in every country where "key industries" unlock treasuries. Though Japan is not preparing for any particular war, however, some wars are more likely than others. The Washington Treaties have given her a hegemony of North-Eastern Asia that is threatened by neither Pearl Harbour nor Singapore. Remoteness gives her a security such as she has not enjoyed since Commodore Perry scared her. But Russia is not remote, and there have lately been some sharp disagreements with Russia. The new Japanese rail ways from Taonan to Tsitsihar and from Kirin to Tunhua are strategic as well as economic, and the Chinese Eastern Railway is a strategic as well as economic necessity to Russia. All these interests being in a region that is politically Chinese but where China is impotent, the dangers of a collision are as great to-day when the Powers are striving to maintain the integrity of China, as they were when they were engaged on the equally laudable task of preserving Korea's integrity.

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THE PLAYS OF THOMAS DEKKER

THOMAS DEKKER stands out as an original and striking figure from among the crowd of so-called lesser Elizabethan poets. His friends and contemporaries were Middleton, Webster, Ford, Massinger, Shirley, and many others. They were a brilliant throng, but even when Dekker collaborated with any one of them to write a play, his work can always be distinguished. For he had very peculiar and individual gifts: and he possessed qualities of the heart and mind which mark him out from his fellows. Indeed there is something especially lovable and interesting about much of his writing. His critics talk of "the sweet sentiment of Dekker." He is named "gentle-hearted Dekker." His praises are sung by Charles Lamb, Hazlitt, Leigh Hunt and Swinburne. Yet he is by no means faultless. Mr. Rhys, who is one of his warmest champions, at the same time points out the endless disappointments and shortcomings of his work; but the disappointments and sorrows of Dekker's life were bound to warp his genius, and to be reflected in his writings. He had little opportunity to do himself justice, for he lived and died haunted by poverty and dunned for debt. He was a most industrious and prolific writer, and yet he was never able to keep himself in any comfort, nor to banish the wolf of want from his door. It is wonderful that he did not become embittered. For, in spite of all this, his plays are as a rule full of cheerfulness and merriment, and sometimes of an abounding *joie de vivre* which is exceedingly rare.

The exact date and place of Dekker's birth are unknown, and likewise the date of his death. Indeed, there never was a great writer of whom so little of any value can be discovered. All we have to build upon are a few references in his own works, and some entries in the diaries of his friends and contemporaries. From these sources we gather he was born between 1576 and 1577, or perhaps earlier. For in 1631 he deplored that his voice was "decaying with age." The London he knew so well and from every point of view was probably his birthplace, but it was a hard mother to him. For him there was no cessation from carking care, and the care was not only for himself; for we know that he was married before 1594 and had a daughter. It has been conjectured from the pathetic picture of a father in "The Honest Whore" that Dekker's domestic life was unhappy, but he has drawn some very sweet portraits of womanhood, though much of his work reflects the sad side of the netherworld of Elizabethan London.

The titles of some of his plays are somewhat prohibitive at first sight; but he is far less coarse than many of his contemporaries.

much better indeed than Fletcher, Ford, or Massinger. There are no doubtful hints in his work and no innuendoes; and vice is never made interesting. What is bad is made to appear bad, and in this respect *Bellafront*, in "The Honest Whore," far exceeds in virtue the heroines of many a modern play. We must remember that in Dekker's time there was no censor of the theatre. As long as a writer did not blaspheme religion, nor libel the government, the rest was left to the good taste of the audience. To our judgment many of the Elizabethan plays seem "coarse in sentiment and gross in language," as a great critic has justly remarked.

The mere fact that Dekker's greatest play is called "The Honest Whore" has deterred many people from its study, but it is the most powerful and interesting piece of work, abounding in passages of rare beauty. Charles Lamb called it "a simple picture of honour and shame, contrasted without violence, and expressed without immodesty." It certainly contains two characters which can never be forgotten—*Bellafront* and *Orlando Friscobaldo*, her father. Hazlitt says: "We sometimes regret that we had not sooner met with characters like this, that seem to raise, revive, and give a new zest to our being." *Orlando Friscobaldo* is a subtle study of a most unusual character—presenting a cheerful and even merry heart to the world, with the deep wound of his daughter's shame at his heart.

"I have no wife, no child, no chick" he declared. When pressed he admits "This old tree had *one* branch; young, fair, straight . . . it grew crooked, it bore crabs. What's become of it I neither know nor care."

There is much for the father to do when at last he finds his daughter, but *Orlando* does not give way easily. In Hazlitt's words: "This tough senior, this impracticable old gentleman softens into a little child: this choke-pear melts in the mouth like marmalade." "I hate her" changes finally into "Is she poor?" Then to himself he soliloquises "'Las my girl, art thou poor? poverty dwells next door to despair. . . . I'll to her. . . . Yet she shall not know me." Disguised as a serving man, *Orlando* meets his daughter—after seventeen years. "The mother's own face," he exclaims—"I ha' not forgot that." Then the tears come. "I am an old man and troubled with a salt rheum," he falters in explanation. *Bellafront's* joy cannot be hidden. "My father? Any tongue that sounds his name speaks music to me; welcome good old man. How does my father? Lives he? Has he health? . . . I so much do shame him, so much do wound, that I scarce dare name him." Hazlitt rightly remarks: "The words and answers all along are so true and pertinent that we seem to see the gestures and to hear the tones."

Concealed affection, silent grief, sorrow patiently borne—all

these topics are favourite ones of Dekker's, and upon them he pours out the highest and sweetest eloquence :

"Patience, my Lord, why 'tis the soul of peace :
Of all the virtues, 'tis nearest kin to Heaven.
It makes men look like gods. The best of men
That e'er wore earth about him, was a sufferer.
A soft meek patient humble tranquil spirit
The first true gentleman that ever breathed."

Reading these words, we are almost reminded of Shakespeare's panegyric to Mercy. They are put into the mouth of Candido, the linen draper, the incredibly patient and good natured man of the play. "I think his patience is above our wit" sighs a Gallant who has tried to upset it. Candido's first wife Viola has not patience with long suffering meekness. In his quaint way Candido knows how to score. It is a delightful bit of fun and comedy when, his wife refusing to let him have his alderman's gown, he dresses up in a carpet to go to council. It is the "saddest coloured carpet," and the apprentices can hardly believe him when he commands : "Cut thou a hole i' the middle for my neck. Two for mine arms." To this strange attire is added a "night-cap on the head" instead of the lordly gown, chain, cap and ruff." "Sure he's angered now—he's vexed now" declares his wife, but Candido was lodged in Bridewell for this little joke, still patient and uncomplaining. However, upon his second marriage he behaves very differently, almost like Petruchio in "The Taming of the Shrew." His character indeed takes a most amusing and unexpected turn.

It is supposed that Middleton collaborated in this play with Dekker, and both Mr. Bullen and Mr. Addington Symonds make interesting guesses as to which scenes are Middleton's—but the most beautiful and powerful passages are undoubtedly Dekker's. He is the soul of the play. His is the pathos and much of the wit, for Dekker well understood that no audience could bear too much gloom.

It is a relief to turn from Bellafront to that sweetest and purest of all heroines, Susan, "the purest woman painted by our dramatists in their long gallery of female characters" says Bullen. Susan is the one redeeming character in "The Witch of Edmonton," whose argument is murder, blood, reproach, revenge : that sombre and terrible picture of the harrowing of a helpless old woman until she became a she-devil indeed. Susan, of the big dowry, is given in marriage by her father, a rich yeoman, to Frank Thorney, the son of a gentleman. She is quite willing, and gives Frank all the love and devotion of a sweet and unspoiled nature, and is ignorant that Frank is a bad man and already married to a certain Winnifred, a servant maid. Weak and vicious, Frank

becomes hopelessly involved in the web of deceit : "waded deeper into mischief than virtue can allow" and more and more irritated by Susan's artless love. Finally he stabs her in a murderous impulse to free himself, and he utters very brutal words as he watches her die :

"For I espoused your dowry, and I have it.
I did not purpose to have added murder;
. . . You might have safe returned; now you cannot.
You have dogged your own death."

Susan, "virtuous Mistress Susan," who declared that in Frank she had a lover who made her "passionate as an April-day," dies forgiving him.

"You have done lovingly, leaving yourself,
That you would thus bestow me on another.
Thou art my husband, Death, and I embrace thee
With all the love I have."

No Imogen, no Desdemona could have died more grandly.

Ford and Dekker worked together in "The Witch of Edmonton," and Mr. Swinburne in a very clever piece of critical work assigns the part of Susan mostly to Dekker, and that of Frank Thorney to Ford. What of the miserable old hag, Mother Sawyer? Mr. Swinburne thinks her creation was mostly due to Dekker "with his great and gentle spirit of compassion for the poor and suffering." She is a ghastly picture of horror painted in the most realistic manner. Beaten by brutal peasants, lashed by the crowds who followed her, outcast, forsaken, persecuted, starved, the helpless old woman at last cries out : "Evil they enforce upon me, and in part make me credit it." "Hang her. Beat her. Kill her." That is the awful refrain. Cursing and blaspheming she really becomes a prey of the evil one, and her familiar is a black dog, grotesquely ghastly. The climax comes when the dog changes from black to white to warn Mother Sawyer of her execution and approaching doom.

"Out witch! Thy trial is at hand.
Our prey being bad, the devil does laughing stand."

That dog is a gruesome feature of a grim play, never far off and gently rubbing against those who are to do terrible deeds, but from his mouth proceed sound pieces of wisdom :

"Thou art never so distant from an evil spirit, but that thy oaths, curses and blasphemies pull him to thy elbow. Thou never tell'st a lie, but that a devil i' within hearing it; thy evil purposes are ever haunted."

"The Witch of Edmonton" is a domestic play, a mirror of the country life of the time. Dekker has a very charming sense of humour. The countrymen talk among themselves in a manner

worthy of Dickens; and Cuddy Banks and his troupe of clowns are not unlike the strolling players in the "Midsummer Night's Dream," as they plan their Hobby Horse and the figures of their Morris Dances. Dekker never consciously tried to improve the world, for he thought it a very amusing place as he found it; but in spite of himself, he preached a very tender gospel of morality and made vice appear an ugly and a terrible thing. He knew all about the life of the playhouse and the tavern, and must have listened to the conversation of many a merry crowd of holiday-makers.

"The Shoemaker's Holiday" is full of healthy fun. The character of Simon Eyre, that jolly exuberant craftsman who holds the philosophy that "a pound of care pays not a dram of debt," is unique. "Hum let's be merry whiles we are young; old age, sack and sugar will steal upon us ere we be aware." Mr. Rhys says that this play is one to be remembered with the score or so of the best comedies of pure joy of life produced by the Elizabethan dramatists.

Jane, "gentle wife, lovely, loving Jane," is a charming picture of constancy to her Ralph, when he is carried overseas to fight, while Firk is a splendid type of the blunt rustic. This play was performed with great success by a company of village players in Kent quite lately. In their mouths the sentiments and songs seemed quite modern and true to type. Dekker is at his best in these songs of hearty joy:

"Trowl the bowl, the jolly nut-brown bowl,
And here kind mate to thee.
Let's sing a dirge for Saint Hugh's soul
And down it merrily."

contrasts well with the other ditty of pure spring-joy:

"O the month of May, the merry month of May
So frolick, so gay, and so green, so green, so green."

"It's well done" comments the Shoemaker Lord-Mayor, as he listens to the revelry, and scolds his wife Margery for gravity and care.

"Peace Maggy, a fig for gravity . . .
Away with flip-flap, these fooleries, these gulleries."

Margery Eyre was certainly a bit of a fool and absolutely eaten up with solemn conventionalities, the true citizen's wife.

It is wonderful that a man who was the veritable Dickens of his own times was capable of writing two such plays as "Old Fortunatus" and "The Sun's Darling." They are both charming, and steeped in romance. In them, as Charles Lamb remarks, poetry "simply oozes from Dekker's finger tips," and there is a quality of rare freshness about the dainty lyrics with which they are scattered. The Pleasant Comedy of "Old Fortunatus" is built

upon an old fable. Poor and very patient, Fortunatus is offered by Fortune his choice between wisdom, strength, health, beauty, long life and riches, and unfortunately he chooses riches, for

"This age thinks better of a gilded fool, than of a threadbare saint in wisdom's school . . . The rich are wise . . . Gold is the strength, the sinews of the world." So Fortune gives the old man riches. "Thou shall spend ever, and be never poor."

But the gift is the undoing of both Fortunatus and his sons, and the giver of the gift mocks continually at their disasters, calling them "servants of a bright devil." Meantime in a charming song we see the true inwardness of the play. For those who pursue gold, and gold alone.

"Virtue's branches wither, Virtue pines"

and more than that:

"Vice doth flourish, Vice in glory shines."

This play seems wrongly named a comedy. It is so grim, but of course there is a love-story also. Mr. Addington Symonds points out: "Among the poet's most perfect achievements are the scenes in which Orleans indulges a lover's lunacy in a passion of wild fancies." Orleans considers the whole world mad and he the only wise man left. He is enamoured to a perfect frenzy. This play which is really almost a masterpiece should be much more widely known. It is now within the reach of all as it is published with some others in the "Mermaid" Series.

"The Sun's Darling" is also a romance of pure imagination in which Ford took a part. The lyrics are to be found in some of the modern anthologies especially the little gem which begins:

"What bird so sings and yet so does wail?"

This play is called a *Moral Masque* and its teaching can be summed up in the lines

"All the old poets with fresh laurel crowned,
Singing in verse the praise of Chastity."

Raybright, the Sun's Darling, is wooed in vain by all beautiful and innocent things, by Spring, Health, Youth, and Delight; but they charm to deaf ears. He falls a victim to Humour and Folly, and repents too late and in vain. Humour and delicious fancy run through the whole masque which also reveals a great knowledge of nature. Dekker must have much rejoiced in the spring to write: "The cuckoo sang in verse but assure you the lines were not dainty," and to tell us that a lover may say in April to his lady:

"A young lark sat on thy hand and gazing on thy eyes . . .
Mounted and sung, thinking them moving skies."

Autumn is "a brave and bounteous housekeeper." "Folly's father
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is a French nightingale and his mother an English wagtail." Earth is "a shrewd and plodding-pated fellow and a great lover of news."

In "The Virgin Martyr" and in "The Roaring Girl" Dekker gives us two very opposite types of women, but they are both types after his own heart. Massinger helped him to create Dorothea, the Saint; and between them they have turned out a somewhat bloodless, ghostly woman, of whom the Pagans justly remark that "the Christian yoke is too heavy for such a dainty neck." The play is an odd blend of perfectly atrocious humour, banal and low, and of exquisite tenderness. It must have been Dekker who composed the beautiful scene between Dorothea and her angelic page, and surely Dekker's are the exquisite lines when the martyred virgin sent her heavenly token of fruit and flowers to her persecutor after death. In "The Roaring Girl" Dekker had the help of Middleton, and together they turned out a strange character in Madde Moll, although from the beginning it was made clear that Moll was no ordinary roaring girl, no loose character: Moll, Mad Moll, Merry Moll is "a bold spirit" who remarks with truth, "Must you have a black ill name because ill things you know." That sentiment of Moll's sounds very modern, and is really the key to the play, which has one vastly entertaining scene when Gallipot and Tiltyard go out with a spaniel to hunt ducks. The want of money and its curse come out again in this play, where in conversation it is remarked that the "Counter (or prison for debt) breaks the hearts of those who lie there long" and describes how the poor penniless prisoner tries "by subtil logic and quaint sophistry to make the keepers trust him."

In the preface to "Match me in London" Dekker refers to his voice "decaying with age," and yet it is very fresh and almost youthful in tone. It shows a rare knowledge of London—(though the scene is supposed to be in Seville)—of taverns, and shops and streets: and being entirely Dekker's own composition, it is interesting to note the passages in which he muses on women: such as "Women are Venice glasses—one knock spoils 'em."

Mr. J. A. Symonds much admires "The Wonder of a Kingdom," but another critic points out that it is a cold and heartless play with hardly a touch of the author's genial love and sympathy. Yet there is one redeeming character, the noble Gentili who lived to help others.

In "Patient Grizill" Dekker collaborated with Haughton and Chettle, and at the same time extols his favourite virtue and shows us his ideal woman—who declared she had "no skill to judge proportions but who preferred poverty and obscurity to high estate." In "Patient Grizill" we find two of the freshest and sweetest songs in our language (1)

Art thou poor:
Yet hast thou golden slumbers—
Oh sweet content.

and (2) the exquisite slumber song beginning "Golden slumber kiss your eyes."

The last play to consider is the curious burlesque "Satiromastix," written to pay out Ben Jonson. Jonson had been petty and cruel to Dekker, alluding to his "shaggy locks" and twitting *him* with his poverty. "A man may be a poet and not change his hair" remarks Dekker, who shows a genius for fighting in this play, though it is perfectly genial and straightforward fighting. The scene where the poet Horace is shown as a caricature of Ben Jonson is vastly entertaining. Horace is struggling for apt rhymes: "Oh me thy priest inspire" he groans. Then he gets entangled and tears his hair—"In—sacred raptures flowing, flowing—swimming, swimming: . . . Immortal name, game, dame, tame, came, lame, tame, lame." Which rhyme did he finally choose?

There is no more interesting figure among the wonderful group of Elizabethan dramatists—a man who could soar to the heights of sweet lyric poetry, and yet describe the life of the lowest taverns. "He turned calamities into commodities." So remarks Dr. Johnson with his keen eye for character. His life was "Toil, envy, want, the patron and the jail," and yet he survived them all with a sweetness and a cheerfulness which never failed him. He tells us the secret himself. He pursued "comfort, courage, health and life," and he held fast to the view: "It is for my sinnes that I am thus round beset with poverty, shame, and dishonour."

CONSTANCE SPENDER.

RENAN'S SISTER, HENRIETTE.

THE Renan family lived in the old Breton town of Tréguier, and here Henriette was born in 1811, twelve years before her brother Ernest. Tranquil as were their surroundings in the cathedral town, which gently slumbered in an atmosphere of religious peace, discord reigned in the Renan home. Henriette's father, imbued with the melancholy characteristics of his race, was hardly in sympathy with his gay-hearted Gascon wife. Moreover he shared Republican views, whilst she was a Royalist. Henriette was sensitive to the conflicting forces in their home and, with a natural instinct, championed her father, disappointed with those who misunderstood the nature so akin to her own. The domestic drama developed into a tragedy; failure succeeded failure; and when, as a desperate resource to support his family her father became skipper of a small fishing smack, Henriette could only find pity.

A fateful day dawned for this unhappy Breton family. The boat returned to port without her skipper. The small crew confessed they knew not how he had perished and Renan, writing years afterwards, asks, "did he forget himself in one of those long dreams of infinity, which with the Bretons amounts to an endless sleep? Did he feel he deserved rest?" To Henriette his death not only was a crushing sorrow, but a challenge to carry on the responsibilities left by the parent she loved and understood. Unhesitatingly she saddled herself with the heavy debts he had left behind. Henriette's eldest brother, then nineteen, went to Paris, where he found some poorly paid work; whilst she with her mother and Ernest moved to Lannion. She banished the idea of following her early dream of a religious vocation, fostered by the cathedral atmosphere of Tréguier. Teaching appealed to her, and it was this profession she chose, thinking in time to pay off the debts and help to keep her mother and small brother. She was offered a post in Paris, but dreaded leaving home and separating herself from Ernest. Strangers always terrified her, nevertheless she accepted the post.

In Paris her reserved nature repelled friendship, her strong, plain features found no admirers. Like Charlotte and Emily Brontë in Brussels, an acute home-sickness made her days a misery, and often Henriette thought she must return to Lannion, but always her courage prevailed. The work fortified and developed her mind, at the same time her religious views became modified. Ernest, meanwhile, had been winning honours in his Breton school. Through Henriette's influence, at the age of fifteen he was accepted as a student at the seminary of St. Nicholas du Chardonnet

in Paris. Here the young teacher came to visit him, dressed in the "simple green woollen shawl," as her brother afterwards describes it, "which in Brittany had sheltered her proud poverty." A satisfaction, indeed, it was to Henriette that her young brother was again under her wing, and in a position where his genius, which she had early divined, would be recognised. She respected his leanings towards a religious vocation, a phase through which she herself had passed.

Henriette still carried the burden of the family debts. After much deliberation she accepted a post in Poland as governess to the daughters of Comte André Zamboyski, which meant exile from her family and country for ten years. Her high salary, however, would in time wipe off the family debt. Facing exile was to a sensitive conscience like Henriette's less painful than facing continual creditors; last but not least it meant obtaining funds for Ernest's education. Henriette left Paris for Poland in January, 1841, and never re-visited France until her ten years' contract was fulfilled. She had opportunity of studying the Poles, says her brother, and conceived a certain admiration for the peasants, in whom she recognised gentle, naturally religious beings, reminding her of the Bretons, but lacking their energy. However, to judge from her later letters she felt herself surrounded by "barbarians"—an alien—and Renan alludes to them in one of his letters as "*ces cannibales*." The Zamoyski family made expeditions to Germany and Italy, and to Henriette these tours were possibly of more value than to any other member of the party, visiting Warsaw, Vienna, Dresden, Venice and Florence. But it was Rome that gave her the greatest satisfaction.

In her letters from Poland she laments the long, snow-bound winters, the monotony, the distance from her native land. The correspondence between her and Ernest lightened the dreary years. She lived in his life, guiding and consoling. Ernest wrote to her without restraint: "you are perhaps the only person to whom I tell my thoughts, beside one single friend, my faithful and understanding Bertholet. When I talk to other people I simply agree with them."

By the time Renan left the seminary of St. Sulpice, which he had entered on leaving St. Nicholas, he had to own that his religious views were "completely shaken." The knowledge tormented him, and in despair he confessed the truth to Henriette. He must, he said, renounce the vocation of priesthood. Renan waited in suspense for her answer. To his relief she gave him consolation and encouragement, telling him she had already preceded him in his views. Letter after letter followed, full of advice, which he gladly accepted, and with it practical help which she offered generously. She sent him twelve hundred francs—her savings. This gift, Renan

acknowledged, was the very corner-stone of his life. In Renan's *Ma Sœur Henriette*, written for an intimate circle, he proves that she had never, in any way, tried to influence him against his chosen career. Though Ernest had Henriette beside him, he nevertheless suffered moments of mental agony. For his mother's sake, who cherished the dream of seeing him a priest, he longed to be able to gratify her wishes. "I still believe. I still pray," he wrote to Henriette in one of his bitterest moments of torment. "I repeat the *Pater* with rapture. Pure, simple, artless religion touches me profoundly . . . I feel the perfume of God. Yes, I am pious, fervently pious, sometimes in spite of all my doubts." A relief indeed to write this to her who understood, but was there not something of the child remonstrating against a stronger power—a child who would like to break away but dare not?

His seminary days over, he again tasted the repose of home life at Tréguier, whither his mother had returned. "I sometimes think I could be quite happy in a simple, common life which I should enoble from within. Then I think of you, and I look higher" he wrote to Henriette, who realised the trial he was undergoing. After seven years of exile, Henriette had, by hard saving, found herself not only in a position to give to her brother "a corner stone," but paid off her father's debts. Why then, says Renan, should she still live the life of an exile? Henriette's answer was that she had made a contract of ten years, and this she would not break. Renan was living alone in Paris. In his little room, icily cold, he sat up half the night preparing an essay on the Semitic language. To Henriette only he confided his ambition to compete for the *Prix Volney*. His essay won the prize, and he was at once recognised in the world of philosophy and research. The ambitious sister—ambitious for her brother—rejoiced. Her exile had been worth while.

During her ten years in Poland Henriette contributed historical articles to a "Journal pour les Jeunes Personnes." Renan urged her to send her work to a more worthy paper, congratulating her on her writing, which, he said had a firm, masculine style.

In 1848 the young philosopher found himself in the midst of the second Revolution. Henriette in her far off exile was tormented with anxiety for his safety. In vain he tried to reassure her, telling her that when it was a case of brute force, prudence, almost amounting to timidity, prevailed in him. Would she not agree to return to France, and share a home with him in the country away from Paris? Henriette's reply was that her ten years had not expired. She refused to agree with him that out of the present welter of strife would arise a bright future for her country. Henriette, the Breton, saw the darkest side, whilst her brother, in whose nature Gascon and Breton were equally developed, was all enthu-

siasm and optimism. A misunderstanding arose between them, and she wrote a bitter letter, that hurt. *Mais tu as donc résolu de me percer le cœur!* he exclaims. Then followed his answer, reasonable and just. Henriette read it, and realised that neither could bear to be estranged. Again he implored her to come and live with him; a European war was at hand; she might be carried off by cholera. The stoic gave the same reply. She had still two more years to serve.

Behind Henriette's refusal lurked a dread that by living with him she might prove a burden, for although he complained of his lonely life, and looked forward to the time when she would be free, she realised he would one day marry, and even suggested the name of his bride. But Renan assured her that the idea of marriage did not enter his mind. To emphasise the fact, he recounted how Monsieur Cousin showed him his splendid library. "There," he said, "do you suppose if I had married I should ever have had a library like this!" Henriette may have been convinced, but she still clung to her duties in Poland.

Renan, on his return from Italy where he was sent to examine monastic manuscripts and libraries, continued to send long letters to his sister, telling her he awaited her return. When the great day of her release arrived, but she found herself physically incapable of undertaking the journey. Nine months of convalescence passed before she left Warsaw in the late summer of 1850. Ernest travelled to Berlin; and there brother and sister met on August 7th after ten years' separation. "The ten years of exile," says Renan, "had quite transformed her. Wrinkles of old age had prematurely printed themselves on her forehead; of that charm which she possessed when she bade me adieu in the parlour of the seminary at St. Sulpice, there remained but the delicious expression of her extraordinary goodness of character." Back in Paris, Ernest and Henriette rented a small apartment at the bottom of a garden near the Val-du-Grace, where they lived and worked in harmonious solitude. His work meant everything to her. Their minds moved in complete unison; words were often an unnecessary means of communication. Their theories on life and religion were identical. She frankly criticised his earlier writings, and Renan would sacrifice whole sentences to her critical ear. *Elle était une organe de ma vie intellectuelle*, he writes. For six years they lived together, Renan wondering at her great capacity for work, for always her mind was directed towards the subject in hand with the same unswerving force. Her judgment manifested itself in a taste for "the solid and the real." It was natural that all this work should tell on her. She aged before her time and her age was accentuated by her dress. Shunning the lighter enjoyments of life, she

donned the plainest and most unbecoming garments. She had no small talk, her manner, shy and awkward, deceived most people as to her character. It was only in letters, says Renan, that she showed her true self.

When Renan married Cornélie Scheffer, the niece of Ary Scheffer, the artist, it was Henriette's savings that made it possible for the newly-married couple to start their first home. Perhaps this was the greatest triumph of all in Henriette's strong character. The fight against her own feelings, when she saw her position as companion and helpmate usurped by another, had at one moment been almost too great to conquer. The bride brought into Henriette's serious and morose outlook on life a certain lightness and gaiety that Renan, much to his sorrow, acknowledged he had failed to give.

With the birth of her brother's son Ary, Henriette found satisfaction in a new affection. The maternal instinct, so strongly developed in her nature, now found its natural expression. Their mother joined them and the elder woman discovered in her cheerful daughter-in-law a delightful companion. She loved her quiet, often moody daughter, but the gay little woman had the natural joy in a pretty face in women, and the rugged features of her daughter were a disappointment. Madame Renan, who was so different from Henriette, enchanted her big son with stories of her own youth in Brittany. These twilight talks—for it was in the subtle hour between daylight and darkness that Renan would go to his mother's room and sit listening to the old Breton tales she told him—were impressed on his mind, and became the subject of those delicate, humorous *Souvenirs d'Enfance et de Jeunesse*.

In 1857 the Chair of Hebrew and Syro-Chaldaic languages at the Collège de France fell vacant. This was the position Henriette had always coveted for Ernest. It was common knowledge that Renan was the only one eligible to fill the post. However, years passed, and the Chair still remained vacant, whilst Henriette continued to find happiness in the family circle. But her mind, demanding wider spheres, often chafed against the monotony of domestic life. When Renan, in 1860, was offered by the Emperor the charge of a scientific and archæological mission to Phœnicia, she saw the opportunity for both his and her release. She urged him to accept. Political differences—for Renan's liberal views clashed with the acceptance of monarchical appointments—she pointed out, should be set aside before a great undertaking. They left in the following January, Madame Renan, his wife, accompanying them. Henriette took from her brother all financial responsibilities and worries. When they arrived in Palestine she accompanied him everywhere, climbing to the highest summits of the hills of Lebanon, traversing the Jordan deserts. Renan saw that if he had died she could

have described the journey almost as well as himself. She never hesitated before rough and wild tracks, and dire privations. This expedition had become a sacred quest. Was it not the culmination of her life's work? Her brother rejoiced too because this was her only year without tears, almost the only reward of her hard life.

After six months, Renan's wife left them and returned to France, leaving brother and sister to work alone. Henriette's active, impressionable mind received all the sensations aroused by the exquisite beauty of the Holy Land with an extraordinary joy. Often she rode eight or ten hours a day regardless of physical weakness. The charm of Syria in spring and autumn with its thousand flowers, its perfumed air, was to her a stimulus. When the two, returning from some fresh expedition, came in sight of the Bay of "Kesrouan," with its villages touching one another, the mountains guarding it, each summit crowned by an ancient convent, Henriette would break forth into song. In this undertaking she found outlet for her courage and energy. "When I pointed out to her," says Renan, "for the first time . . . all the region of Upper Jordan, and in the distance the basin of the Lake of Gennesareth, the cradle of Christianity, she thanked me, telling me that I had given her the prize of her life in showing her these places."

But the enchantment of Syria was surpassed by that of Palestine. She urged her brother to write the Life of Christ. Together they gave utterance to their inspirations in the great *Vie de Jésus*, the book that was to be described as "one of the events of the century." Henriette's body was wearing out. Too weak often to rise from her bed, she was carried out to the verandah, where she lay overlooking the plain. There, beside her brother, she helped him over the writing of the great book. In the midst of their literary work at Amschitt, they were stricken with fever. Renan who had watched over her in her increasing weakness was now too ill to nurse her. It was on Tuesday, September 25th, 1861, that Henriette died. "Let her await me there, beneath the palm trees of Amschitt, in the soil that breathes of ancient mysteries," writes Renan. But her work was to continue, through her brother. Though Renan said it was a very part of his being which had entered with her into the grave, her influence still guided him. The completion of the *Vie de Jésus* he now felt was a sacred duty to fulfil. Back again in France, he set to work with an exalted ideal. When the book was ready for publication he turned his thoughts to obtaining the candidature of the Chair of Hebrew. "I saw an imperative revelation in the counsel of a beloved person who appeared to me haloed in the sacred aureole of death," he reverently explained to the assembled Academy. The day so long anticipated by Henriette arrived. He was appointed Professor of Hebrew at the Collège de France.

THEODORA ROSCOE.

FRANCE'S GREATEST SEA-OFFICER.

"HE was a very great man," writes Admiral Mahan.* "Had he met in his lieutenants such ready instruments as Nelson found prepared for him, there can be but little doubt that Hughes' squadron would have been destroyed while inferior to De Suffren before reinforcements could have arrived, and with the English fleet it could scarcely have failed that the Coromandel coast would also have fallen. His own hope was that by acquiring the superiority in India a glorious peace might result." This passage is in reference to the sea-career of the celebrated Admiral the Bailli de Suffren, while the "Hughes' squadron" in question was the British fleet with which the Frenchman waged no fewer than five indecisive engagements. De Suffren's fame has always been commemorated in the navy of France, and a battleship *Suffren* participated in the Dardanelles bombardment by a Franco-British flotilla in 1916.

Almost unquestionably the greatest sea-officer and naval strategist that France has ever possessed was of noble lineage—Pierre André Suffren was, in fact, a younger son of Paul, Marquis de St. Torpez, and was born at the Provençal seat of that nobleman on July 17th, 1729. The tender age of fourteen found him already a midshipman in the navy of Louis XV—in 1743, the year of Dettingen, the last occasion on which a British monarch led his troops to battle. Then, in the successive years 1746-7, young Pierre was twice engaged in expeditions having for their object the reduction of English colonies oversea. Both enterprises failed. The first, in which he served in the *Trident*, ended in the death of its commander (the Duc d'Anville), the suicide of his successor, and a terrible storm, and epidemic on board. In the second, our hero himself was taken prisoner. He was in the *Monarque*, of De l'Étenduère's squadron convoying 250 merchant-ships to the West Indies, when Sir Edward Hawke won his fine victory off Belle Isle on October 14th, 1747, though the convoy managed to escape. Thanks to a timely warning by Hawke to the commander-in-chief in the West Indies, however, many of these merchantmen were subsequently captured. Hawke took six out of nine men-o'-war, but the French fought so well that no serious pursuit was attempted. De Suffren appears to have been speedily exchanged.

Now followed the treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle; but the fiery soul of De Suffren forbade him to remain quiescent in peace time. He accordingly sailed for Malta and offered his sword to the Knights of St. John of Jerusalem, then masters of the island. His services were gladly accepted by the Grand Master, who admitted him a Knight of the Order, and for some six years thereafter he shared

* *Influence of Sea-power on History.*

in the good work of fighting Algerine and other pirates, rescuing Christian slaves, etc. His title of "BAILLI" was a rank in the Order.

But by 1755 France and England were at grips again, and De Suffren at once repaired to Toulon. He served, as lieutenant in the *Orphée*, in the reduction of Minorca, for his failure to succour which post the unfortunate Admiral Byng was shot on his own quarter-deck. It is necessary to remind the reader that the decisive year of the Seven Years' War was 1759—so glorious to the British arms for the victories of Minden, Quebec, Quiberon, and Lagos. The latter is, of course, the "territorial" designation of Admiral Boscawen's ("Old Dreadnought") victory of August 18th, 1759. In this engagement Lieutenant De Suffren was aboard the French flagship *l'Océan*, and for the second time he became prisoner to the English.

Boscawen's action was really the result of a happy mischance. For that fighting sailor, having "in vain displayed the British flag in sight of Toulon," sent in three ships which were so badly knocked about that Boscawen retired to Gibraltar to refit. The French Admiral de la Clue immediately seized the opportunity to slip out of Toulon with his fleet, but "Old Dreadnought" was on his track. Seven sail of the enemy, including the flagship, entered the Portuguese bay of Lagos on the African shore of the Mediterranean, and Boscawen, whose flag was in the *Namur*, violated Portuguese neutrality in order to get at his foe. "The dispute, however, was not of long duration," said the historian Beatson, "for the French Admiral being wounded, and the next in command perceiving that Boscawen's vessel had lost her mizzen-mast and top-sail yards, went off with all the sail he could carry. Boscawen shifted his flag from the *Namur* to the *Newark* and joined some other ships in attacking the *Centaur*, which was obliged to strike. The pursuit continued all night." De la Clue died of his wounds. His ship *l'Océan* and two others were burned and two captured—and all at a cost to the British of only 250 killed and wounded, not a single officer being slain.

Although back in France in a couple of months, De Suffren appears to have been very much disgusted with his second term of captivity; but it is not clear whether this arose out of his own overbearing temper or whether he was harshly treated in England. Some peace-service followed, he was promoted *capitaine de vaisseau*, and for another four years (1767-71) he returned to the Knights of Malta.

The two hereditary enemies were soon at war again, however, and in 1778 De Suffren found himself, in command of the *Fantasque*, accompanying the Comte d'Estaing's fleet to America to co-operate with the revolted colonists in their struggle for independence. But it was off the island of Grenada in the West Indies, on July 6th, 1778, that his next opportunity for real distinction offered

itself. This was in the engagement with Admiral Byron's squadron, in which the English got the worst of it and the casualties in De Suffren's *Fantasque* amounted to seventy killed and wounded. The following year found him in European waters again, commanding the light vessels of a Franco-Spanish fleet led by Admiral de Cordova, which captured off Cape St. Vincent a flotilla of 200 British transports crowded with troops.

Although, by this time promoted Commodore and with his flag in the *Héros* (74), he went with De Grasse when that officer left Brest for West Indian waters in the spring of 1781, he was not destined to share in the Comte's disasters. For De Suffren with a squadron of five sail was detached from the main body for the Cape of Good Hope, and *en route* fell in with a force of about his own strength *plus* many transports with troops, under Commodore Johnstone, near the Cape Verde Islands. Disregarding neutral territory as Boscawen had done before him, he immediately attacked. In the ensuing action one French ship was dismantled and others were knocked about, but De Suffren managed to reach the Cape in advance of his opponent, and for the time being the Dutch retained it. It was not until six months after this (October, 1781), that he arrived at Mauritius and reported to Admiral the Comte d'Orves, commanding the French maritime forces in the Indian seas.

As luck would have it, d'Orves—a somewhat vacillating officer—died in February, 1782, when De Suffren succeeded him as commander-in-chief. This was the immediate prelude to the series of sanguinary engagements with the British East India fleet commanded by Admiral Sir Edward Hughes, upon which De Suffren's reputation as a naval tactician and strategist of the highest class principally rests.

Although the Englishman was unquestionably inferior to his enemy both as regards tactics and strategy, it should be borne in mind that the Frenchman had good cause to distrust his subordinate officers on account of their dissatisfaction and even cowardice. Moreover, the French had at first no harbour in this quarter for purposes of refitting, etc., whereas the English possessed those of Trincomalee in Ceylon and Negapatam, both recently captured from the Dutch. As for De Suffren himself, he had already imbibed that taste for headlong and desperate fighting which subsequently Nelson and his coadjutors were to bring to such a pitch of perfection.

The antagonists came to grips off Madras on March 17th, 1782, when in a fiercely-contested but indecisive combat the British *Superb* and *Exeter* were badly injured. The French then landed troops at Porto Novo on the Madras seaboard, while Sir E. Hughes, having refitted in Ceylon and been reinforced by two ships, returned to offer battle again on April 12th—and curiously enough at the very time when De Grasse was being overwhelmed by Rodney in

the West Indies. In the desperate fighting that ensued, Hughes had 537 killed and wounded but again no ship was lost by either side. Hughes returned to Trincomalee, while De Suffren, refitting with remarkable rapidity, fought a third drawn battle with him in July, this time off Negapatam. But for once something really tangible arose out of the event. The intrepid Frenchman, joining forces with some transports that had arrived in Singalese waters, landed at and occupied Trincomalee under the very nose of his enemy!

The latter, however, arrived on the scene immediately, and a two days' action of still closer fighting took place in September off the port. To Sir Edward's seventeen sail, De Suffren was now able to oppose four 74's, eight 64's, three 50's, and four frigates—yet, “assisted” by some extra bad behaviour on the part of his captains, he had the worst of the combat and retired to Trincomalee, where one of his ships went ashore and became a wreck. He refrained from publishing the French casualties on this occasion, and sent half-a-dozen of his officers to Mauritius to be court-martialled. Now came the customary season of bad weather, when Hughes bore away for Bombay and his formidable antagonist remained in possession of Trincomalee. In the spring of 1783 the latter emerged to harass English shipping and, incidentally, nearly captured Sir Eyre Coote, our veteran military commander in India, who managed to outsail his pursuers but died soon after arrival at Madras. In June, De Suffren, having landed troops at Cuddalore for the defence of that port, fought a final indecisive action with Hughes. But peace had by that time been signed between France and England, and the French admiral returned home in the autumn.

There is a volume, published in 1862, devoted exclusively to De Suffren's Indian exploits, *Le Baillé de Suffren dans l'Inde*, by J. S. Roux. A decided blot on the Admiral's escutcheon was his inhuman action in handing over a number of English prisoners to the tender mercies of Haider Ali, the famous but ruthless Maharajah of Mysore, by whom they were barbarously maltreated. It is said that the Frenchman pleaded delays by the Madras authorities in exchanging prisoners, and his biographer, M. Cunat, actually had the hardihood to defend his hero's conduct on the ground of the latter's dislike of all things British!

Nevertheless, it was from British sailors that De Suffren, *en route* for Europe, received a compliment which he described as the highest ever accorded him. Calling at the Cape of Good Hope, he found there a portion of Sir E. Hughes' squadron, whose captains, “personally conducted” by Commodore King of H.M.S. *Exeter*, spontaneously went on board his flagship to congratulate him on his prowess and fair fighting.

In Paris, his reception was literally overwhelming. The King in person hastened to do him honour and promoted him “Vice-

Admiral for Life," and he was made a Knight of the Order of St. Esprit. He had become a popular idol, and his native Provence struck a medal in his honour. As it happened, though, he had seen his last service afloat. De Suffren was designated for the command of the fleet based upon Brest, but he did not survive to take up the appointment. He had by that time become prodigiously stout of figure, but "his features were good, and his expression noble but for a mocking and disdainful smile which never left him. His intolerance of opposition made him less agreeable to those near him in rank than to his seamen, with whom he would talk familiarly. His captains appreciated and admired (?) but did not love him. A good disciplinarian, he was severe on the laxity resulting from long service in the East, or perhaps expected too much from some of his officers. Brave to rashness himself, he had no mercy for slackness or cowardice."

Napoleon, whose two finest fleets were destroyed by Nelson within a space of seven years, remarked of De Suffren to Las Cases at St. Helena, "*Pourquoi n'en ai-je-pas trouvé un de sa trempe? J'en aurais faite notre Nelson, et les affaires eussent pris une autre tournure!*" I have already mentioned that this Admiral is immortalised in the name of a French warship, and thereby hangs the following odd coincidence. In 1794 the Republican Government decreed that it was not seemly for a cruiser to be known by the name of a "ci-devant noble" and altered the *Suffren's* title to the *Redoubtable*. It was from the *Redoubtable*, commanded by the heroic Captain Lucas, that the shot was fired which struck Nelson down, on October 21st, 1805.

It is said that, when in action, De Suffren persistently wore a hat given to him by his elder brother the Bishop of Nevers, and that it was regarded by his sailors with an almost superstitious reverence as an "emblem of victory." As a practical seaman, he has had few superiors in the navy of any Power. Having noted that English warships sailed better than French owing to their being sheathed with copper, he strenuously impressed upon his Government the advisability of acquiring all available copper with that object in view.

This Gallic sea-hero passed away in Paris on December 8th, 1788, aged fifty-nine, and was interred in the church of Sainte Marie-de-Temple. To this day a mystery exists concerning the circumstances of his death. It was said to have been due to apoplexy or to gouty erysipelas, but "another account" claims that he was killed in a duel by the Prince de Mirepoix—that same De Mirepoix who met the celebrated but profligate Marshal Saxe in duel. Certain it is that the event of his death was very sudden. The duel-story was vouched for by a servant named Dehodencq, who deposed:

"In 1788, when he was about six-and-twenty, he had been a member of the Bailli's household in the modest capacity of *Officier*

de la bouche. In December, he remembered hearing from the Bailli's valet, Duckemin, that his master had been brought home from Versailles with a sword-thrust through his body. By order of the surgeon who was immediately summoned, Dehodencq was sent out to get some nettles to '*fouetter*' or '*débrider*' (stimulate) '*la plaie*,' an old-time expedient which had no success. It was winter, and Dehodencq was accustomed to say that he found the nettles under the snow in the allée des Veuves of the Champs-Élysées. This account, taken down almost entirely from Dehodencq's dictation, M. Jal published in a note to his *Scènes de la vie maritime* (1832) The story naturally found little favour with de Suffren's family, and, as might be expected, other versions were put forward. One, preserved by J. S. Roux, makes the duel the result of an altercation at a ball; according to another, dating from 1866, Suffren fell a victim to the mistaken treatment of a physician sent to him by order of Mesdames de France."

Jal was the official historiographer to the French navy, and his first question to the servant Dehodencq (who survived to the great age of eighty-seven) is stated to have been: "*D'abord, je vous prie, le Bailli est bien mort d'apoplexie, n'est-ce pas? Non, non, en duel! Et en disant ces mots, M. Dehodencq a vivement porté la main sur son cœur, comme pour affirmer sur l'honneur la vérité de ce qu'il disait.*"

However this may have been, the great sailor's life concerns us more than his death—and when the latter melancholy event took place it is to be feared that he was already more or less forgotten by a country then beginning to be distracted by the mutterings of a civil-political storm that was to end in Revolution and worse. He was, so to speak, one of the few bright spots on that country's chequered record of the Seven Years' War and, subsequently, far more so in his maturer age, when France, Holland, and the North American Colonies were combined against the power of Great Britain. It was, in fact, only opportunity that he lacked. If other things had been equal—and particularly the wayward and indifferent support frequently accorded him by his own officers—De Suffren must inevitably have made an end of Sir E. Hughes' fleet and thereby have reduced to subjection the whole of the sea-coast of Coromandel.

Professor Laughton, in his fascinating and well-reasoned *Studies in Naval History*, is still more emphatic than Mahan on the subject of this nautical hero's right place in history. He was, according to this authority, "one of the most dangerous enemies the English fleets have ever met, and without exception the most illustrious officer that has ever held command in the French navy." The verdict of history has remained unchallenged, and a giant of De Suffren's natural gifts, prescience, and genius for maritime conflict would be invaluable to any one of the Powers that rule the world to-day.

PERCY CROSS STANDING.

INDIAN AGRICULTURE AND THE CO-OPERATIVE MOVEMENT.

THE progressive and scientific development of Indian Agriculture is a vital necessity as, in the absence of a highly developed indigenous industry and commerce, it is the country's premier occupation. The effects of an intensive exploitation of the practically inexhaustible soil resources of a vast country will not, however, be exclusively for the benefit of India: they would be far-reaching and of a world-wide significance. Never was the interdependence of Nations more fully demonstrated or clearly recognised than to-day when the various producing countries would for the moment appear to have reached the limits of their productive capacity, and the possibilities of the shortage of wheat and other staple food grains, in the not very distant future, are being seriously debated by experts. There are unlimited possibilities for agrarian development in India, given labour and an adequate supply of water. Throughout the vast tracts, the soil is almost invariably fertile, whether it be the black cotton soil of the Deccan Trap, the sandy stretches of Sind, the rice lands of Madras and Bengal or the alluvial soil of the plains and water-sheds in the Punjab. The primary need is water and more water.

Nor have the Government been remiss in their efforts to extend irrigation, notably in the Punjab and Sind, since the commencement of the present century. It is no exaggeration to say that nearly 75,000 square miles of precarious country are now commanded by the perennial or quasi-perennial irrigation canals: the Sukkhar barrage alone will help in the redemption of three and a third million acres and their profitable cultivation. But much leeway has yet to be made up, as the energetic and praiseworthy efforts of the Government have in regard to the effective provision for the abundance of water supply so far touched only the outermost fringes of an urgent and vital need. Quite apart from the taking in hand of other irrigation projects, as opportunities and funds permit, it would appear that such supplementary expedients as well-boring and well-sinking are capable of indefinite extension. The Provincial Departments of Agriculture can do no better than vigorously pursue and encourage the construction of wells, water-tanks, and larger reservoirs in the drier regions.

At present the net area actually sown is 223,183,648 acres, though the total area according to village papers is 663,507,762 acres, and according to Government Survey 793 million acres. Allowing for the current fallows (50½ million acres) and enormous stretches of land shown in Government Reports as "Not available for cultivation" (153 millions), there yet remains an extensive

balance of 151 million acres of culturable waste which, given a definite colonisation policy and a guaranteed supply of water, can be brought under cultivation, relieving the extreme pressure on congested areas and finding a suitable employment for the ambitions of the landless proletariat, now drifting into towns in search of casual labour, likely, in course of time, to swell the volume of discontent. A further point is given to the above suggestion by the fact that emigration overseas is greatly limited in scope, some dominions have already prohibited the immigration of Indian labour, while South Africa is seeking for the statutory disqualification from citizen rights of even those already domiciled within her borders.

No treatment of Indian Agriculture would be satisfactory which fails to stress sufficiently the two urgent and closely inter-related necessities. And these are effective and enhanced production on the one hand, and the economic and social well-being of the agriculturists, forming nearly 80 per cent. of the population of India, on the other. No scheme or policy can be fruitful, if it disregards or under-estimates, however unintentionally, the insistent need for organising intelligently-conceived measures for the betterment of the workers' conditions or sacrifices their economic prosperity to the exigencies of production or export. The success of the Agricultural industry must, therefore, in future be submitted to the important criterion whether it raises or lowers the cultivators' standard of comfort, improves the character of their housing accommodation, their economic integrity, their power to resist the ravages of scarcity or famine.

If it were found, for instance, that large sections among the sturdy and hard-working yeomanry who not only form the backbone of the army, but also contribute more than £34,000,000 to the country's exchequer, lived from season to season in constant dread of impending famine or drought, in a low standard of comfort, with a high rate of infant mortality prevailing in their villages, smitten with malaria, rendered inefficient because of chronic semi-starvation from one decade to another, surely the moment has arrived when effective steps should be taken, without delay, to improve the existing condition of things. Among the factors which diminish efficiency and retard an effective production may be mentioned an incredibly widespread prevalence of malaria and hookworm (the latter known to the medical profession as ankylostomiasis) and the consumption of food extremely deficient in nutritious quality, as the dietary rich in albumen and vitamins would appear to lie beyond the means of very large numbers. Judged by European standards, it is nothing short of miraculous that the peasants should, in spite of the twin handicaps of disease

and unsatisfactory regimen, work as energetically and conscientiously as they do, amidst the somewhat enervating influences of a sub-tropical climate.

The Government of India have for long recognised, in principle, the need for establishing a network of hospitals or travelling dispensaries throughout the villages, but the attainment of the object has been frustrated for a variety of reasons. Even the more favoured Punjab canal colonies are suffering from the results of a masterly inactivity in this direction. Thus, in his report on the Punjab Colonies for 1917-18, Sir John Maynard pointed out that "no new veterinary hospitals had been established since the Lower Bari Doab Canal came into existence in 1913, that the lack of adequate medical facilities was apparent in the fever epidemic of 1913 and again in the influenza epidemic of 1918, though Government had made substantial grants for the construction of colony roads and communications." The absence of dispensaries and hospitals sufficient to meet local needs is a grave omission, but local authorities have not had the means to finance these indispensable necessities, owing mainly to the financial stringency caused by the war. In 1921, His Excellency the Governor, referring to the Lower Bari Doab Canal, said, "communications are still bad: schools, post offices and hospitals have still to be provided. Improvement depends on the provision of funds." The 1922 Report for the Jhelum Canal Colony tells us that there has been no addition to high schools and middle schools and that two out of five girls' schools have disappeared.

The economic condition of the small farmers, petty proprietors and agricultural labourers should be made the subject of a thorough investigation, as the belief has gained wide currency that, conducted as agriculture is at present in India, it is to increasing numbers of the above classes not a source of profit but of direct and recurring loss. It is also generally maintained that only the ingrained attachment of the cultivators to their plots of ancestral land stands between their unremunerative labour and the choice of an alternative means of livelihood. Whatever the merits of this view, we suggest that nothing will be lost and a great deal gained by its authoritative analysis and examination. The above observation does not, of course, apply to agriculture as a whole, but there is no doubt that large and growing numbers of the agricultural classes are heavily indebted and find the tilling of the soil beset with difficulties and responsibilities, with few of the compensations which a wide margin of profit brings to the traders, the middlemen or the speculators.

The effective organisation of a scheme of Famine Insurance is also the most clamant need of rural India. The Government have

done a great deal by ear-marking a sum of £1,000,000 for Famine Relief each year, by granting suspensions of land Revenue when famine conditions are acute, and by giving gratuitous relief in cases of extreme distress. But it is obvious that all these beneficent activities can only be palliatives, as they help when the entire agricultural economy of a district or of a province is upset, and do not carry with them the recuperative potency which a better organisation of the agricultural worker's finances may produce. It has been the writer's firm conviction for years that the Co-operative Credit Societies can under expert guidance and direction evolve a sound scheme of famine insurance on the basis of a two-anna contribution per annum for each cultivated acre. The two-anna contribution would bring in nearly £3,000,000 a year from the 223,000,000 cultivated acres, which would form the Sinking Fund for satisfying claims as they were presented. Even on a one-anna basis approximately £1,400,000 would represent the capital value of the paid-in premiums for crop insurance policies. This, of course, is assuming that everybody will join. Everyone will, of course, not join immediately, but the possibilities for the fruition and development of such a scheme are great. Until the full development and operation of the proposed system of crop insurance, Government could continue giving such supplementary aid as the needs of the people call for. As there is hardly a possibility that any particular famine would affect the whole of India, it is evident that large surpluses would remain in the control of crop insurance societies which, with effective safeguards, could be diverted to development purposes. If the proposed scheme is feasible—and we are confident that it can be worked out in detail—the famine-stricken peasantry will get as their right what is now generously doled out to them as charity. And it is an open secret that many self-respecting farmers would rather go under than accept charity. Besides, what the State now spends on the alleviation of distress, it could later spend on the development of agriculture. In any case, we commend the proposal to the serious consideration of the responsible authorities. The two-anna contribution is, of course, the lowest possible rate. The larger estates can pay considerably more.

It is an occasion for genuine regret that there has not yet been established in India a Department of Vital Statistics and, in the absence of authentic and accurate information, existing data collected by illiterate village watchmen must be taken with a great deal of caution. Thus, for instance, it is frequently discovered that persons still alive are, by mistake, registered as dead, and that deaths brought about by convulsions, dropsy, bronchitis and carbuncle are all written down as malaria, as the village watchmen

are not particularly interested in accurately classifying diseases, much less in studying the symptoms. In a recent report the Director of Public Health observed that "in Bengal the record of deaths is not complete, neither is the statement of cause accurate."

It will not be strictly relevant to the present discussion to make more than a passing reference to the widespread nature of malaria and hookworm both in the larger towns and the villages, and the appalling havoc they work. Lord Ronaldshay observes :

"A perusal of the vital statistics of British India in recent years shows that of a normal annual death-rate of from 7,000,000 to 7,500,000 from 4,000,000 to 4,500,000 are attributed to fever. Recent estimates of the extent of the ravages of the malarial parasite in Bengal discloses a state of affairs before which one stands appalled. Every year there occur in the Presidency from 350,000 to 400,000 deaths from this cause alone. But a mere enumeration of the deaths gives only a faint idea of the evil wrought by the disease. It is probable that at least a hundred attacks of malarial fever occur for every death for which it is responsible, and it is estimated that this disease alone is accountable for 200,000,000 days of sickness in the Presidency every year. Plague slays its thousands, fever its ten thousands. Not only does it diminish the population by death, but it reduces the vitality of the survivors and saps their vigour. . . . Bubonic plague, which made its appearance in Bombay in 1896, has been responsible for a prodigious mortality, over 10,500,000 deaths having actually been recorded from this cause in something less than a quarter of a century after it first made its appearance. The great influenza epidemic which swept across the continent in 1918 carried off at least 7,000,000 persons."*

These figures have been arrived at after making due allowance for the unreliability of the reporting agency. We are concerned with these figures primarily as affecting the villages where the cultivators live, but the towns share with the villages the afflictions and malignity of these diseases.

The Home Government beyond doubt displayed great wisdom in selecting for the high and responsible post of Viceroy a Minister of Agriculture, at a time when the present condition of Agriculture in India calls out for drastic and far-reaching reform. And in spite of theoretical indifference, high hopes are being entertained by small though influential sections in India that the appointment of the Royal Commission on Agriculture presages the inauguration of a bold, forward policy.

Scientific students of Indian Agriculture have for long deplored the absence of statistics and data which may help in ascertaining the reasons, apart from the fragmentation of holdings and the use of certain archaic methods, for the peasant farmers' low standard

* *India: A Bird's-eye View*. By Lord Ronaldshay; pp. 276-278.

of comfort and the extremely unstable equilibrium of their domestic budgets. Government Blue Books scrupulously avoid giving really useful information apart from the statistics of area under cultivation, the total amount of Land Revenue and yields per acre. From the point of view of social investigation, the most important issue is not whether land charges are excessive or otherwise, but what these charges precisely are. And this it is very difficult to ascertain accurately. For the modes of assessing Land Revenue charges vary in the different provinces. Then there are systems of periodic revision throughout India—except in Bengal, parts of Madras, etc., where permanent settlement obtains—whereby every seven, ten or twenty years the yield of Land Revenue is being constantly augmented. Thus during the decade 1911-12 to 1921-22 Land Revenue has risen from £20,000,327 to £34,721,727. This represents a very large increase, even making allowance for other factors. Nor was 1921-22 a year of abounding prosperity, for the Government of India spent during this year £883,202 on Famine Relief operations followed by much more than half-a-million pounds sterling the next year.

In countries like America, the Agricultural Bureaux have worked out such minute particulars as the cost of producing one bushel of wheat, but it is unfortunate that in India no serious attempts have yet been made to supply detailed information which may serve as the basis of a profit and loss or income and expenditure account of the average peasant proprietor. Land Revenue figures are further complicated by the bi-annual forecasts, quite problematic in their nature, of the size of crops before they come to maturity, and it is on these problematic forecasts that rates are assessed, subject to revision in case of flagrant discrepancies.

A second urgent consideration is what the peasant farmers get in return for the payment of Land Revenue. Security of life and property? Yes. Suspensions or remissions on a fairly liberal scale in cases of severe drought and devastating famine, gratuitous relief and wages for emergency work. This is a good deal, but from the standpoint of an enlightened and beneficent administration, a dynamic transformation of their conditions is imperative, the recognition of the cultivator's right to the alleviating and uplifting influences of medical relief, education and social organisation.

The movement which has a great promise and potentiality for the future of Agriculture is the Co-operative Credit Movement. This measure was initiated by the passing of the Co-operative Credit Societies Act in 1904, and has grown with such rapidity that in 1914, out of a total capital of 293 lakhs of rupees held by the Central Banks, over 145 lakhs were provided by the members of the Primary Agricultural Societies, and in 1924 there were

more than 56,000 co-operative societies in India, of which 9,978 with a membership of a quarter of a million belonged to the Punjab. It may be of considerable interest to realise that within the relatively short span of twenty years, the funds at the disposal of the co-operative credit societies throughout India have aggregated the enormous sum of £23,000,000. While the loans granted by the co-operative credit societies are primarily intended for productive purposes, a recognised purpose for which money may be borrowed is the repayment of old debts which have been incurred on burdensome conditions. The societies, therefore, both relieve the landholders of debts which threaten them with expropriation and give them the opportunity of borrowing money for productive purposes without incurring this danger. Exact statistics are not available at the time of writing, which may indicate that tendencies are in evidence pointing to the diminution in the number of landholders dispossessed since the operation of the Land Alienation Act, but it has been definitely ascertained that in the Punjab alone 500,000 acres have been redeemed, with the help given by the Co-operative Credit Movement. Mortgage debt, unhappily, has increased everywhere. The total mortgage debt of Agricultural India amounts to roughly £400,000,000, according to Mr. Malcolm Darling, I.C.S., author of *The Punjab Peasant in Prosperity and Debt*.

Under the inspiration of the co-operative movement not only is the desire for elementary education greatly strengthened because of the wish to keep accounts straight, to check entries, to calculate interest and enter repayments, but five compulsory School Societies have been formed in the Punjab alone, whose members bind themselves, under a penalty of Rs 50, to send their children to school until they have finished the full primary course. The parents not only send their children to school, they attend classes themselves.

The illiteracy of the cultivators being the chief obstacle to progress, it is obvious that a scheme of education organically related to the needs of the villages and to the problems which these raise might profitably be evolved and carried into effect. The evils of a purely literary education are already manifest in the larger towns, and should be eliminated or minimised by a policy which aims at giving instruction of a practical nature. Technical education and its widespread diffusion are the urgent needs of the agricultural communities. Without such training, a permanent liaison cannot possibly be established between the useful researches of the Agricultural Departments and of the demonstration farms, on the one hand, and the needs and methods of the cultivators on the other. Useful work has already been done in this direction by the establishment of such institutions as the Agricultural Colleges in

Lyallpur, in Poona, the Research Institute of Pusa, and Agricultural Schools in the smaller towns. It is in the further extension of such facilities and the establishment of schools right at the doors of the bonâ fide cultivators, in the centre of their villages, that the hopes for the future lie. The great defect of the existing schools has been that they have fostered discontent with the pursuit of agriculture, the knowledge acquired has not been applied to the needs of agriculture, and ambitious pupils from the towns have joined them to obtain diplomas which might serve as claims to Government service.

If the poverty and indebtedness of the rank and file of the cultivators constitutes their principal source of weakness, the spread of the co-operative movement promises to be their chief source of strength. It has already encouraged greater industry and habits of thrift and its moral influences have been quite patent and beyond expectation. The useful work of the consolidation of holdings could not be carried on unless the movement had gripped the imagination of the peasant proprietors and prepared public opinion in its support. As it is difficult to prevent the subdivision of holdings without the free consent of the cultivators, it is an encouraging sign of the times that the cultivators seem to be fully alive to the evils of excessive fragmentation and are lending their support to the efforts of the Co-operative Societies to consolidate holdings. A rapidly developing movement for the redistribution and consolidation of the economically unsound holdings has been started by the Co-operative Societies, mainly in the Punjab, where no fewer than 133 societies have been formed for the sole purpose of undertaking this work on co-operative lines. In the last three years nearly fifty villages have been dealt with. Thirty-five thousand scattered strips have been consolidated into 4,500 fields, and the average size of the holdings has been raised from $\frac{3}{4}$ acre to 4 acres. In Jullundhur the Redistribution Society, during 1924, reduced 7,907 fields, with an average size of less than half an acre, to 1,104 fields, with an increased average size of nearly three acres. It is hardly necessary to suggest that the principle of consolidation should be applied to holdings all over India, and when public opinion is quite mature, to introduce legislation forbidding sub-divisions.

In the meanwhile, co-operation might beneficially assume a form under which the limited, and very often slender, resources of the cultivators might be pooled. Occasions arise when the purchase of manure, tilling implements, seed and cattle becomes a problem to the poor cultivators individually, especially after a drought or famine. Production is often hampered by isolated work done by small cultivators on very petty holdings. It would appear that

co-operation for production, for sale, for purchase of material, for buying the right varieties of improved seed, would provide an effective remedy for existing disabilities of an economic nature if it grouped the cultivators together and combined their available resources.

Among village industries auxiliary to agriculture and important for providing employment, Mr. Keatinge mentions cattle-breeding and recommends its adoption and fostering as a valuable adjunct to agriculture which lasts from two to six months only in the course of the year. It is a notorious fact that cultivators must waste months in enforced idleness, which, given subsidiary work, they could utilise in enriching themselves and in saving for future contingencies. At present cattle-breeding is not conducted by the cultivators on economic or scientific lines; but at the Government experimental farms excellent work is being done in preserving pure strains of the best native breeds, such as the Karrachi for milk, the Mysore, the Hansi for draught, the Kaurejio for milk and draught combined, and also in experimental crossing with English breeds such as the Hereford for draught, the Ayrshire and Shorthorn for milk, for the purpose of ascertaining how far native breeds can be improved, while still maintaining their adaptability to local conditions. The illustrative value of these farms is great and in their districts the services of pedigree bulls are in good demand, and everywhere a distinct improvement in the type of cattle is plainly visible. In the rest of India, outside this educative influence, the whole science of stock-breeding is systematically neglected. The importance of the bull is completely ignored and the general practice is to leave the herds uncontrolled, to propagate as they will. Yet there are many tracts in India where the physical conditions are ideal for cattle-breeding and there is opportunity and need for a very great development on scientific lines.

Another important suggestion may be made and that is the rearing of silkworms, which as a village industry has greatly helped the Japanese cultivators to secure economic independence and which has undoubtedly great possibilities in India.

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AN EXPERIMENT WITH FOREIGN STUDENTS.

FOR some years past I have been utilising three spare rooms by receiving foreign students. It may be of interest to relate some of the facts of the experiment, and present some conclusions. My plan was intended to benefit all concerned, namely, the students by providing them with an opportunity of living in a home as members of the family and, consequently, of intercourse both with each other and with English people, of a kind, and to an extent, unobtainable under the conditions of a boarding-house or lodgings. My children also were to benefit, both indirectly, because the fees paid were to provide increased educational advantages for them; and directly, by their contact with the students as human beings; and further, by this contact constituting a method of teaching them geography. School geography means learning how our country and people differ from other countries and peoples: my plan implies learning what we and they have in common.

Difficulties encountered consisted principally of the fact that nineteen students out of twenty are obliged, or feel obliged, to come during July, August or September: secondly, foreign exchange, especially in so far as the better kind of homes are the hardest hit by it on the average, whereas the son of the "valutahog" is not likely to prove a desirable visitor; thirdly, the Roman Catholic Church, which powerfully influences mothers against risking their children's characters in a heretic country; and fourthly, my unwillingness to have two students together speaking the same language.

The chief asset of any such plan as mine is the position of the English language in having become the premier language of the world, a status which it gained before the war, and which has been immensely fortified by the war. For example, in most European countries English is now either the first foreign language taught in schools or bracketed first; whereas before the war it rarely took a higher place in European schools than bracketed second. The foregoing reason operates mainly in the minds of parents: other reasons operate in the minds of the students themselves. A real student, one who studies for the love of study, is a very rare kind of animal, and most of these stay in London. My house is in a country town. A desire to see something new is strong; and often prejudice in favour of England is also strong, stronger than prejudice against. The desire to get away from home and home control is also strong. So far as girls are concerned I should say that the chief cause of travel and study is stepmothers. The countries

from which I have had applications are France, Scandinavia, Holland, Belgium, Switzerland, Spain, Poland, Serbia, Italy, Czechoslovakia, Russia, South Africa, India, U.S.A., China, and Cuba. Seeing that applications from France have been twelve times as numerous as all others put together, it has never been practicable to consider admitting Germans. Anti-English feeling has been completely effective in cutting out Ireland and Mexico; and would have been so as regards India but for special reasons. I do not know why I have never attracted any Greeks. Only in the case of Danes and French have there been enough of a given nation to generalise upon. As for Danes, their training, education, character and tendencies enable and incline them to settle down more easily; to assimilate and utilise more quickly all that is available. Their knowledge of English is more thorough and more ready, their interests are wider, their minds are more open and more alert; they are less hampered by convention, whether social or academic: and they mean business, rich and poor alike.

Concerning the French one can be equally emphatic, but to an opposite effect. So far as surface advantages go, e.g., intelligence and precocity, they are the equals of or ahead of any. But they are proof against any un-Parisian tendency or effort, whether their own or others'. If one had no experience of any children but French and English, one might explain this away by the excessive work, neglect of school games, and absence of any life but home life, to which French children are subjected compared with English. But the first two factors are equally present with the Danes, not to mention others. The exhaustion, however, produced by these two does at any rate operate more fully on French minds; a sort of mental anæmia sets in which renders them unable and unwilling to study of their own accord. Some part of this must be attributed to method, judging by Latin; since the average standard reached on leaving school is the same for both French and English, i.e., they can read Latin but won't if they can help it. Yet our boys are taught badly enough, God knows! and do about one-sixth of the work on it that French boys do. Overwork, however excessive, is not enough by itself to stop a boy working: I have known a Chinese student on arriving in England buy a grammar and read it straight through. But then a Chinese boy spends ten years learning his own language and does not expect an easy time. Moreover public opinion assures him it is worth it. A French boy perceives a divided public opinion about letters; his physique and brain are impaired by his home life; above all his main concern is to consider at every moment what sort of impression he is making on others, a habit which baffles every upward movement.

For this reason French children are more averse to cricket than

other children. They think that they are being imposed on when fielding: that they are not taking part in the game—that only the batsman and bowler are doing the playing. A French boy "fielding" is usually seen either with his hands in his pockets, or sitting down. That is one extreme: the English boy is at the other. It must be remembered that it is not only foreign boys who are intermediate between French and English in respect of cricket, but likewise Scotch, Irish and Welsh, and all boys who live in English towns where houses are too closely packed together to admit of cricket being played. In short, there is no subject that stimulates thought so much as endeavouring to see cricket from the point of view of foreign students. One has to allow, to begin with, for two factors; on the one side, while many foreign students enjoy cricket, it is always a new game to them which they can enjoy the less through not being as proficient at it as their companions; on the other hand, with us it is not only a game, but a religion. In two generations cricket has been manipulated into expressing to perfection the best side of English character; a movement synchronising, not accidentally, with the decline in the hold of dogmatic religion. Cricket requires more patience, more suspension of egoism, than any other game. But however much value may be attached to cricket as the highest development of "team-spirit"—and I think that "team-spirit" can hold its own against any other virtue—let us allow foreign students to remind us that cricket can never appeal to a quick-witted race. Cricket as a game and a gospel could only have been developed by a race that has been reared for centuries on beer. It is open to us to say: "Thank God for Beer!"; it is equally open to the French to say: "Thank God for Wine!"; and for Scotch and Irish: "Thank God for Whiskey!"

As to other forms of religion I have never found any foreign students except Indians to take any interest in the subject. Europeans usually go so far as admitting an obligation to go to church. This is only effective in the case of Roman Catholics. Of course it must be borne in mind that students from predominantly religious homes would be passed on to semi-religious organisations here. I have never found any at all who had the slightest interest in gardening.

As to aids to familiarising students with English, it has to be remembered that all are liable to improve quickly and noticeably for some weeks, and subsequently to go ahead steadily but less quickly, at a pace at which they fail to notice any improvement. To guard against discouragement thus arising, churches, plays, and cinemas are most useful. By attending each at regular intervals improvement in acquaintance with English is noticed when otherwise it would pass unnoticed: the amount understood

and the quickness with which it is understood since the last visit forming the test; or at cinemas, the quickness with which the reading matter can be grasped. What is meant to be amusing is the best test of all, because the pace at which others are reading is indicated to a fraction of a second by the laughter. Police courts seem to me better still, since a variety of pronunciations is heard from a variety of angles. In fact to middle-class students, systematically blinkered as they are by home-training and education against all the main facts of life, some acquaintance with police courts is indispensable, and differences of procedure between their own country's and someone else's the most striking and least deceptive of evidence about national characteristics. A theatre is at its usefulest when playing plays that have been printed and can therefore be read beforehand. In any case plays form the most desirable class of reading. Practically every word is current conversational English; there are fewer words to the page than any other kind of prose literature; and they are brief. The two latter characteristics imply turning over the pages quickly and coming to an end of the book soon, both essentials in maintaining the interest of a book for someone imperfectly acquainted with the language in which it is written.

Among periodicals it seems to me that *Punch* is worth more than all others put together. It again is brief, topical, and has pictures to assist it; it is amusing; is not dominated by "stunts," advertisements, and other undue influences; is clearly differentiated from any foreign periodical that in any respect resembles it, and that in ways which faithfully reflect English ideas, habits, and speech. Further, for any student leaving England and too busy to read, it forms the easiest means of retaining and digesting what he has learnt of us and our country. Of course no foreign student must expect himself to follow very much of the letterpress of *Punch* at first, and, indeed, for long afterwards: only a small minority of Englishmen can do that; probably not more than one in forty. Foreign university students seem more conscious of difficulties in understanding *Punch* than younger ones. Concentrating on *Punch* alone may appear "short commons" as regards journalism: but this refers to a particular class of students. Such as have more appetite for newspapers are more likely to live in London. The others will read anything about the Prince of Wales; but not much else.

As to reading, the case is lamentable. Certain English men of business who have used writing as their business medium—Dickens, Wells, Bennett and Shaw, have successfully advertised themselves until they, and they alone, stand for English literature to foreigners and even to foreign teachers and professors. Certain

older writers are known, as to Englishmen, by name through textbooks and class-work; and some of the scores of thousands of books in English issued during the last hundred years and well worth attention occasionally get attention. But for the most part the whole mass is believed not to exist.

At present it may reasonably be claimed that ten per cent. of books published here each year are worth attention: that means three for every day in each year. Not only writers like L. Pearsall Smith and Alfred Zimmern, peculiarly suited to meet the needs of foreign students, but fiction writers such as Conrad and W. H. Hudson, are for all practical purposes unknown; and hundreds of others, e.g., the whole of the Irish writers, and also translators such as Mrs. Garnett, A. Teixeira de Mattos, Gilbert Murray, Scott Moncrieff, H. G. Dakyns, etc. In translators' work alone English is so rich both for quality and quantity that a foreign student who gave all his time spent on English to the study of such work, would be ahead of any other foreign student, and of all but a very few English people, in real knowledge of English and of literary values; because it is easier to come to perceive the values and variations of idioms and words by comparison of translations with originals, and of different translations of the same book with each other, than by any other means.

One is led to speak of such aids and methods as the foregoing almost insensibly, since they are so usual. But after all the only satisfactory way of getting to know a language is to get to know the people who speak it and the country in which it is spoken. Now, no boy or girl who means to take care of himself or herself runs any moral risk by going about England. But advisers are afraid of such a method. They often send the youngsters to Holiday Courses for Foreigners, which are getting, and deserve, a thoroughly bad name. Obviously, the more successful they are numerically, the worse the opportunity for learning English, because the more of one's compatriots one finds there. And I remember one case of a girl whose parents, wanting her to learn English, sent her to a boarding-school in Wales, which was as bad for her morals as for her English. On the other hand, most of the summer schools intended solely for English people provide excellent opportunities for foreigners.

Attention to the needs of foreign students suggests three other ideas. One is that, whereas they are accustomed to central (over)-heating of the houses they live in, we depend on the central heating inside ourselves. They require, therefore, warmer clothing for indoor use than that which they are accustomed to bring. Secondly the usefulness of Latin to a foreigner coming here cannot be over-rated. This is not only because all the words we have taken from

Latin become thereby in some degree familiar to him before arrival, but also, since such words are uniform in pronunciation, his difficulties with pronunciation are also halved, and he can concentrate on the unfamiliar half instead of bewildering himself with the whole. This goes so far that, even with those who know no Latin, if their language belongs to one of those which derive from Latin, it is much easier for them to grasp the meaning of sentences based on such words than of those based on words we have imported from other sources. For example, the transition from "intention" to "attention" and all other words with a similar ending is easy—easy for pronunciation and for meanings, while "cough," "enough," "though," "plough" and "thorough" and such like pitfalls, are hardships that certainly need isolating. Thirdly, it is urgent that those who are empowered to deal with foreigners' arrival here should be able to behave with reasonable courtesy, tact, and discretion. There has been too little care for such things of late years.

As for the economics of such a plan as mine, I cannot advise any one to imitate it for profit. If the interests of study are given their rightful place no arrangement is ever worth half what it seems to be worth on paper, considering the incessant work entailed; our domestic Labour difficulties; changes of plans by students which one feels bound to facilitate; and similar matters; and the remaining half does not constitute a profit. From all other points of view I can recommend the plan almost without reserve: the friends one makes, the evidence of something done worth doing, the meeting of a need, insight gained into other points of view and conditions and into our own national shortcomings, advantages and qualities. I remember one telling me that the strong point of English people lay in their paying less attention to what doesn't matter than other people do; and another that the best feature of London is its water-supply: while no one can go into detail in informing Orientals as to the extent of our acceptance of Christian mythology without realising much that he did not realise before. It is, it is true, very saddening to discover how profound, unbridgeable, and terrible are the incomprehensible mental divergences between race and race which ignorance and diplomacy habituate us to ignoring; but one needs them to recollect that they are no greater than those which exist between men and women; who, nevertheless, neither can, nor want to, part company. And since I have had to comment on difficulties arising from differences between English and French points of view, I must add that in no cases have the above-mentioned advantages been more marked than in the case of French students we have had.

In conclusion, a word about the present and future of the English

language. It has not and cannot have any rival as the world's second language. There are 60 millions of us speaking it; 100 millions in U.S.A. also speak it, or something very like it; it is the nearest approach to a common language among the 300 millions of India and to all natives within the British Commonwealth, and it will be so for the unnumbered millions of Africans when they become conscious of needing a common language, which is a certainty of the near future. It contains more words and meanings and has a better dictionary than any other language, and, according to Professor Jespersen, the first authority on such a subject, it contains all the desirable qualities of language in a higher degree than any, except Chinese. Does it not matter, not merely to us, but to the world, then, in what spirit, to what extent, and with what associations, foreigners become acquainted with it?

E. S. B.

BUTTERFLIES.

BUTTERFLIES epitomise the conflict between two vital needs of life. They endeavour, merely through the medium of microscopic flakes of colour, to secure safety from their enemies and to attract their sexual complements. In a world where they are but an unconsidered trifle in the vast sum of changeable things, is it any wonder that the solution of the problem has produced infinite variety of patterns and colour schemes?

Protective resemblance has received more attention than sexual selection, but both are equally important. If protective resemblance were carried to its furthest extent, the butterfly would be concealed so effectually that even its own kind would not discover it, and there would be a summary end to the race. Protection must stop short at a point which will enable the reproductive functions to act efficiently. It is, indeed, a nice problem, and all the resources of colour blending have been called up to solve it. In a few instances the matter has been complicated by the use of other weapons than colour. Certain butterflies have secured considerable immunity by evolving objectionable odours and flavours, but even these utilise colour, not to conceal but to advertise themselves, lest the untutored bird or reptile should discover their nauseous properties only after tasting them. Can we be sure that these "warning" colours could have been evolved unaided? To me it seems more probable that the bright colours were originally sexual attractions, which have been strengthened by the distasteful qualities.

The main lines upon which the butterfly has proceeded are plain. It aims to be conspicuous in flight and obscure at rest. There is a difference in the degree to which the two may be carried: during the resting period, the more obscurity the better, but visibility on the wing must not go beyond the point necessary for effectual mating. The danger from enemies is not so great when the insect is in motion, but it is sufficient to make excessive visibility a source of peril. Concealment at rest is secured in one general manner. First the spread of the wings is reduced to one-half, by lifting them above the body and appressing them so that the colours of the upper side are hidden. Save for a few significant exceptions, the attractive colours are always on the upper surface. If there is any bright colour beneath, it will be found on the forewing, but it never extends to the extreme tip. In repose, the forewings slide back between the hindwings, so that with the exception of the tip (always coloured in perfect harmony with the hindwings) they are completely hidden. In this way the butterfly reduces the visible surface to a very small area. From either side

only one wing can be seen, and from above there is nothing but a thin indeterminate line.

The perfection of the underside colouring for the purpose of concealment is a pretty well-worn subject. It is really difficult to find a butterfly which, in its suitable environment, is not protectively coloured so far as this portion is concerned, but when we study the upper side, we find the necessity for concealment conflicting with the primary object of wings in the group. Young men and maidens instinctively brighten up their appearance for courting. Birds at mating time assume plumage of unusual loveliness. Even the finny denizens of the deep are decked in rainbow tints when they go a-wooing. Nevertheless, so thoroughly has the phenomenon of protective resemblance absorbed the attention of entomologists, that it almost looks as though the term "sexual selection" were used merely to shuffle out of the way examples which cannot be explained by protectiveness, mimicry or warning coloration. I do not suggest that this is intended, but the fact remains that data affecting Epigamic colours have not been collected and examined to anything like the extent of those which concern Apatetic and Sematic colours. I have been struck by the absence of such information in the most minute life-histories of British butterflies. It seems to be taken for granted, for example, that the males seek the females, but actual evidence of this is wanting except in a few instances. It would seem logical to suppose that those males of the Pierid butterflies which possess a distinct scent are sought by the females, and the same may be true of those in which the male is bright and the female dull in colour.

Quite recently I had an opportunity of learning a little respecting the Large Cabbage White. I collected several hundred caterpillars, with a view to studying variation in the spring butterflies. In May I noticed that these butterflies were abundant in the open, though mine had not begun to hatch. I went out and caught about forty of the flying insects. With the exception of three, all were males, and the three females were actually *in coitu*. Acting on the hint, I recorded the numbers of each sex which left the chrysalis daily, and found that, on the average, the males were two days in advance. This fact must have a definite bearing on the sexual relations, and if it were ascertained for a large number of species would help to illuminate the subject of epigamic colours.

Blue, in particular, seems to be strongly associated with sexual attraction. It is predominant in the entire family *Lycanideæ*, and the giant *Morphos* owe their brilliance to the peculiar intensity of their blue colour. Apart from these groups, many butterflies have shining blue or purple spots and patches, always more intense in the males. In the light-coloured butterflies of the *Pierineæ*, blue

is rare, and I think this fact gives us a clue to the meaning of bright colour. *Pierids* are essentially creatures of open country. They flaunt themselves boldly in the desert, and instead of hovering round one limited area as the *Lycænids* and *Nymphalids* do, they roam far and wide, many being most notable migrants. They are all of white or yellow colours, which are less visible under intense light than dark ones. Blue would not add to the attractiveness of these light butterflies of the open. To render them more visible and attractive, they must be marked with colour from the other end of the spectrum, or even with black, and such markings are highly characteristic of them. On the upper surface many of them carry deep black spots or bands, and the rest are adorned with bright red or orange.

All creatures do not perceive the spectrum to the same degree, and it is possible that the *Pierid* butterflies are not sensitive to red rays, so that red marks would produce on them the same effect as black. The advantage of red over black would seem to be that whereas all creatures would be affected by black and white, many of the butterfly's enemies, being sensitive to red, would not be impressed by the contrast between red and white to the same extent as the butterfly itself. Blue on the woodland species represents the degree of brilliance to which it is safe to go for the purpose of attraction. In their case, white would be more conspicuous and would pass the safety point. In the open, black represents the danger point, and it is significant that, the more open the country the fewer black spotted and the more red marked species are present. Among the European *Pierids*, there are fifteen uncoloured black and white species, and only six with a red patch, while in those of the Sudan there are only nine black and white species, against fourteen bearing a red or orange patch. It is true that some of the latter are more or less spotted with black in addition, but the spots are smaller and less dense than those of the European *Pierids*. Unless there are other circumstances to account for it, it seems evident that the red patch rises in protective value, in proportion to the brilliance of the light. This view is strengthened by sexual dimorphism, which is very frequent in the butterflies and is specially marked in the blue and white groups. All the phenomena of this dimorphism show that bright colours are for sexual attraction. The most convincing fact is that sexual disparity is, with rare exceptions, confined to the upper surface and that part of the lower which is covered at rest. The difference between the sexes is only displayed on the wing, and the advantages of cryptic or mimetic colouring are shared by both during the resting periods. When there is marked sexual difference, brilliance is always greater in the male, for the needs of the sexes are very different

There is only one act of fertilisation, after which the male is of no use. The sooner it is accomplished the better, and it is reasonable to suppose that attractive appearance will hasten it.

The factor at the root of sexual selection is the necessity for cross-mating. If the butterflies of a family all came out together, there would be danger of interbreeding, which results in degeneracy. If the males leave earlier, they have time to stretch their wings and meet females of other families, before their sisters have left the chrysalis. Whether they seek or are sought by the females does not alter the fact that the more attractive they are the more likely they are to be accepted, and the laws of heredity will perpetuate the attractiveness. On the other hand, if they are too brilliant for their natural environment, they will be removed by enemies before they have fulfilled their purpose. Between the anxious moment when the male butterfly spreads his newly-found pinions, and the ecstatic time when he meets the object of his desire, the struggle between protective resemblance and sexual attractiveness is fought out with fierce intensity. Once fertilised, the female has no further use for a bright exterior, and during the time of laying, the less conspicuous she is the better. She keeps close to the ground or the plants upon which she is at work. In the *Pierids* there are several ways in which the female is made less conspicuous, though she may still be more visible than is ideally desirable. The very spotting which shows her up in the air dims her brightness against a dark background like the earth or patches of foliage, and the female is always more spotted than the male. In the red marked species, it is rare for the female to have any of this colour, which would be very noticeable in the egg-laying flights over the ground. A little consideration of the different effects produced by transmitted and reflected light will make this quite plain. Indeed, it has only recently been brought to notice that in most butterflies the upper surface dominates the lower, so that in flight the insect looks the same whether viewed from above or beneath. In the *Blues*, sexual disparity is very pronounced, being usually marked by partial or complete absence of blue in the females, its place being taken by dull brown. When the female is as blue as the male, black spotting usually breaks up the colour, and in the copper species the female is often suffused with a dark greenish shade, as well as being more heavily spotted.

There is a feature about the protected *Danaid* butterflies which emphasises in rather striking manner the respective values of the upper and lower surfaces, for it will be observed that these are alike in this group. If the warning colour helps them when they are a-wing, it must be of still more value at rest. The advantage which warning colours have over cryptic ones is that they serve as an attraction between mates, as well as a notice to enemies. The

well-known mimics of these butterflies are notable for the fact that it is generally females only, of a male which is quite unlike the model, which adopt the dress of the model. It does not appear to me at all reasonable to suppose that such immense divergence as that between the sexes of *Hypolimnas misippus* could come about unless there were some strong force urging the male to remain constant, in spite of his partner's vagaries. The advantage of divergence is that *misippus* female may not waste her time in flirtation with *chrysippus* male, as she might well do if he were as like her partner as she resembles his. It is a fact, vouched for by Trimen in Africa and Longstaff in India, that *misippus* males frequently pursue *chrysippus* females and *chrysippus* males chase *misippus* females. There is no time for this dangerous business in the life of a butterfly, and there are facts which, to my mind, indicate a determined attempt by Nature to stop it through sexual selection. Dr. Eltringham in *African Mimetic Butterflies* points out that while there is parallel variation in the extent of white on the hindwings between *chrysippus* and *misippus*, the correspondence is not territorial. In South Africa the all-red form of *chrysippus* is common and the all-red *misippus* rare. In West Africa the white *chrysippus* is predominant and the red *misippus* common.

I know of no explanation of this vagary on the part of two intimately associated insects which will fit the facts more than the operation of sexual selection, favouring departure from a resemblance so close that it hinders the main purpose of the winged form.

HERBERT MACE, F.E.S.

FOREIGN AFFAIRS.

RUM AND THE BAHAMAS.

During July an American Delegation, headed by General Lincoln Andrews, came to London to discuss the working of the Anglo-American "Rum-Running" Convention. The difficulties into which America has been landed as a result of her Prohibitionist legislation are well known. General Andrews came to London because America wanted to enlist British support for the carrying out of the Volstead Act. He spent a fortnight in London discussing certain technical aspects of the liquor smuggling trade with officials of the British Admiralty, Treasury, Foreign Office and Board of Trade.

The relationship that has arisen between the United States and Great Britain as a result of the attempt to impose teetotalism on an unwilling population is something of an historical curiosity. The domestic difficulties of the United States in enforcing legislation, wise or unwise, reasonable or comic, might naturally be thought to be America's affair. Great Britain, however, has a world-wide reputation for softness of heart and for consequent susceptibility to be exploited in other peoples' interests. The Great War was one example. American prohibition is another. As a result of American unhappiness arising from the difficulties in which she had involved herself by her Volstead legislation, the British Government entered into a convention, dated January 23rd, 1924, with the United States Government in which Great Britain made certain startling concessions to the United States. The astonishing article was Article 2, which ran as follows:

"§ 1. His Britannic Majesty agrees that he will raise no objection to the boarding of private vessels under the British flag outside the limits of territorial waters by the authorities of the United States, its territories or possessions, in order that enquiries may be addressed to those on board and an examination be made of the ship's papers for the purpose of ascertaining whether the vessel or those on board are endeavouring to import or have imported alcoholic beverages into the United States, its territories or possessions in violation of the laws there in force. When such enquiries and examination show a reasonable ground for suspicion, a search of the vessel may be instituted.

"§ 2. If there is reasonable cause for belief that the vessel has committed or is committing or attempting to commit an offence against the laws of the United States, its territories or possessions prohibiting the importation of alcoholic beverages, the vessel may be seized and taken into a port of the United States, its territories or possessions for adjudication in accordance with such laws.

" § 3. The rights conferred by this article shall not be exercised at a greater distance from the coast of the United States, its territories or possessions than can be traversed in one hour by the vessel suspected of endeavouring to commit the offence. In cases, however, in which the liquor is intended to be conveyed to the United States, its territories or possessions, by a vessel other than the one boarded and searched, it shall be the speed of such other vessel, and not the speed of the vessel boarded, which shall determine the distance from the coast at which the right under this article can be exercised."

Such a concession must have saddened the declining years of many a British Admiral. It is, however, one of the familiar results of kindness that the beneficiary becomes discontented. America became discontented, and asked for more. She pointed out that it was extremely difficult to keep out the smugglers. Great Britain, therefore, actuated by the same motive of kind indulgence as before, proceeded to give prolonged and most careful consideration to the question of adopting active administrative measures to help the United States Government in their unavailing efforts to prevent the smuggling of liquor into the United States from the sea. On December 2nd, 1925, a Conference was held in Washington between the British Ambassador and representatives of the United States Department of State, the United States Treasury and the Department of Justice, at which the American representatives made much play of their difficulties. The results of that conference were conveyed to London by the British Ambassador, and as a result Sir Esmé Howard was instructed by the British Government to convey to the United States a new British proposal. The proposal was embodied in an *aide-mémoire* handed to Mr. Kellogg by Sir Esmé Howard at Washington on March 27th/April 26th, 1926. Paragraph 3 of that *aide-mémoire* ran as follows:

" In the first place, in order to co-operate with the United States Government in the prevention of liquor smuggling from the Bahamas, His Majesty's Government are prepared, on account of the nature of the duties of the United States Coast-Guard and the difficulties in the way of giving notice, through the usual official channels, of the intended visits of revenue patrol vessels to Gun Cay and the adjacent islands, to permit specified United States cutters to enter British territorial waters at Gun Cay and the islands contiguous thereto without strict compliance with the Admiralty regulations governing visits of foreign armed vessels to British overseas ports. The only formality which His Majesty's Government desire to see observed in this connection is that the cutters in question should first call at Bimini to inform the Bahamas Commissioner of their intentions, and that it should be

understood that they will thereafter maintain a correct attitude and not use their lights to the danger of navigation. This concession is furthermore made on the condition that it be confined as to area to the Bahamas, and that it be limited in duration to a period of one year, at the end of which time His Majesty's Government will be prepared to entertain a request for the continuance of the arrangement, should the United States Government then deem it necessary."

That proposal was even more striking as an illustration of the length to which British generosity can override British interests. There was no question of a *quid pro quo*. By the 1924 Convention armed American vessels were to be allowed to visit, search, and even seize British vessels on the high seas. By the March proposal of 1926 American cutters were to be invited to run about even within British territorial waters. It is true that the right thereby offered to the American cutters was one of observation only, and that it is a normal practice for any foreign vessels to visit any territorial waters on obtaining permission to do so; but the particular circumstances of the present concession transformed it into an important departure from the accepted conventions of international rights at sea, and it will no doubt go down to history as a big event.

There were certain other administrative measures of minor importance suggested at the same time by the British Government. That Government called upon the Registrars of Shipping in the West Indies to take especial care to prevent transfers to the British flag of vessels intended for the smuggling trade, instructing them to make the most searching enquiries before permitting any vessel to be placed on the British register, and to refuse to register a vessel unless they were completely satisfied as to the *bona fides* of the application. The Overseas Governments were advised of these instructions, and asked to give to the Local Registrars " the fullest measure of support which the law allows in the event of the latter's action being challenged in any individual case."

There were two outstanding examples of the help given by the British Colonial Governments towards the prevention of smuggling. The two cases occurred in the Bahamas, wherein British registered owners of rum schooners seized by the United States preventive authorities refused to provide bail for the crews on the ground that they had previously sold their vessels to United States citizens. When requested by the Bahamian authorities to explain why they had failed to record the sale of their vessels, the owners in question pleaded ignorance of the law, and although both men were prominent Nassau merchants, the Governor of the Colony ordered legal proceedings to be instituted against them for an infraction of the Merchant Shipping Act.

In the Memorandum of March, 1926, the British Government offered to take "administrative action" thus:

"His Majesty's Government are also prepared to take administrative action to prosecute masters for infraction of the Customs Act when reasonable grounds of suspicion are available to believe them guilty of making false declarations in regard to their destinations. In this connection, His Majesty's Government rely upon the United States Government to co-operate by supplying them, in any individual case, with sufficient incriminating evidence to enable legal proceedings to be instituted with a reasonable prospect of conviction; so, too, His Majesty's Government are willing to take steps to remove liquor smugglers from the British register upon production by the United States authorities of reasonably good evidence that the vessel concerned is really owned or controlled in America."

The proposals made in March were specifically represented as a spontaneous and voluntary offer of assistance which would be subject to withdrawal if found not to work satisfactorily in practice, and the Memorandum ended by inviting the United States Government to send representatives to London to discuss the matter. On April 26th, Mr. Kellogg accepted that invitation, and the visit of General Andrews to London in July was the result. The discussions between General Andrews on the one side and officials of the British Administrative Departments on the other came to an end on July 27th. That evening, in the House of Commons, Mr. Locker-Lampson, Under-Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, vaguely described the discussions as having been concerned with the administrative details of the existing treaty and of American and British law, but did not indicate the precise nature of any new administrative measures that had been agreed on, one reason for his reticence no doubt being that the giving away of information to the smugglers would have defeated the object. The important result of the discussions was to ensure the bringing into operation of the British offer of March.

The United States cutters will therefore be allowed to enter British territorial waters at Gun Cay Islands and contiguous islands in the Bahamas on giving the advice specified in the British Memorandum of last March. The right conceded, it is important always to bear in mind, is that of entry, not of search, and is subject to withdrawal if not found satisfactory in practice. If, for instance, the captains of the American cutters make such use of their searchlights in spying on suspected ships after dark as to endanger or hamper shipping, the concession will presumably be withdrawn. It is true that the Bahamas constitute a grave difficulty for the United States Coast-Guard officers. The distance

between some of the Bahama Islands and the Florida coast is less than twice as much as the distance between Dover and Calais, and the islands are so numerous that it is easy for rum-runners to hide among them and dash for the coast after dark. What the American cutters will now presumably do will be to spy on suspected smugglers in the British waters, to send wireless warnings to the Coast-Guards of the presence therein of smugglers, with a description of the ships concerned, to watch those ships leave British waters, and thereupon to send further wireless messages of the exact time when the smugglers passed out.

For those who have a taste for detached reflection, there will be food for thought in the contemplation of American financial policy towards Great Britain on the one hand and Great Britain's spontaneous gifts to America on the other.

THE AMERICAN HARVEST.

The United States is beginning to reap the sentimental, as she has for some time been reaping the financial, harvest she has sown in Europe. An increasing amount of European opinion is losing its dignity as it feels the weight of the American burden. Even in Great Britain, the land of broad shoulders and silent suffering, there are those who are beginning to squeal, forgetful of their bull-dog progeny. One British newspaper in its unwisdom has been shooting a broad-side attack on America. It seems clear, however, that Europe has changed in its attitude to the United States since 1917.

Great Britain has to pay America £100,000 per day for 62 years; France pays America 10,000,000 francs a day for 62 years (assuming that the descent of the franc is finally arrested at the level of about 200 to the pound sterling); Italy pays about the same daily amount as France; Poland, Hungary, Finland, Belgium, being small powers and poor, were made to pay at a stiffer rate than France and Italy, and for the 62 years will pay a daily tribute to the Great Republic of an amount proportionately as great as Great Britain will pay. Those are facts which wear a necessarily different complexion to the eyes of, say, Senator Borah on the one side, and of Mr. Philip Snowden, say, on the other.

There are signs, however, that Senator Borah is losing ground, and the explanation appears to be that American opinion is curiously sensitive to the hatred that America has reaped and will continue to reap in Europe. The hatred is unjust as well as unwise, but many Americans, whilst adopting a thoroughly healthy Machiavellian attitude to Europe, seem paradoxically to hanker after friendship, goodwill, admiration, gratitude and other

such solaces that are the proper reward of benevolence. There are some Americans who by a still more surprising paradox deceive themselves into thinking that in international diplomacy America stands for idealism and even altruism. That is unfortunate, because America's real service to the world in our generation is to make the very name of war stink in men's nostrils, and thereby to shaken the hold of war on the habits of men. It is better that the world should recognise war and its aftermath as the low business America has shown it to be.

It is an indication of awakening disquiet in America that the United States Treasury has issued a statement about the British debt to America. *Qui s'excuse, s'accuse*. The statement gave a vast amount of statistics, but the kernel of it was to be found in the following sentences :

"It must be remembered that England borrowed a large proportion of the debt for purely commercial, as distinguished from war, purposes, to meet commercial obligations maturing in America, to furnish India with silver, to buy food to resell to the civilian population in order to maintain the exchange. American loans to England were not so much to provide war supplies as to furnish sterling for home and foreign needs, and to save England borrowing from her own people."

Mr. Churchill issued from the Treasury an answering statement in which were given facts to show that no case for discriminating against Great Britain could be made on the score of her borrowings from the United States. The essential passage in it was as follows :

"Great Britain provided the sterling and neutral currencies to meet all her own requirements throughout the war, and, in addition, bore the burden of covering the sterling requirements of her Continental Allies. Had it not been for the fact that the United States did not feel able, on entering the war, to relieve her from the resources she placed at the disposal of her Allies, her expenditure in America and in all human probability the British debt to the United States would never have been incurred.

"The British Treasury feel it necessary to set forth the foregoing facts because they show that no case for discriminating against Great Britain can be founded upon her use of the money borrowed from the United States for the prosecution of the war. No complaint has been made by Great Britain against the adverse discrimination with which she has been treated. It is recognised that the creditor is entitled to discriminate between debtors, and that the debtor is bound to comply with the demands of the creditor up to the full limit of the obligation. It is only when reasons are assigned for such discrimination which clearly arise from a mis-

conception of the facts that the necessary corrections of fact must be made."

The next step in that strange altercation was that Mr. Mellon publicly accused Mr. Churchill of carrying on a campaign of vilification against the United States, the prompt result of which was that Mr. Churchill issued a challenge to Mr. Mellon to quote any sentence ever spoken or written by Mr. Churchill which would substantiate the charge. Mr. Mellon was then on his way to Europe, and if the older traditions had prevailed, we should, no doubt, have experienced the piquant outcome in a duel between Mr. Churchill and Mr. Mellon in Kenwood at dawn. Mr. Mellon, however, was not crossing to Europe for any such picturesque purpose.

There is evidence that both Mr. Mellon and Senator Borah are becoming embarrassed by the consciences of some of their countrymen. One Mr. Frederick Peabody, of Boston, lately wrote a letter to President Coolidge, making a strong appeal for the cancellation of war debts. Mr. Peabody's points may be summarised as follows :

"(1) As a legal proposition, taking into account the message of President Wilson, the debates in Congress and the First Liberty Loan Act, authorising advances to the Allies, the United States made a gift and not a loan, and neither party expected repayment ;

"(2) As an equitable proposition, advances were made while the Allies were fighting America's battle for her, and before America could put an adequate military force in the field, and therefore the loans represent part of the cost to us of the war and should be cancelled ;

"(3) As a charitable proposition, America being wealthy and prosperous and European countries being poor and heavily taxed, America should in the interest of humanity cancel the debts."

Mr. Mellon's answer to points (1) and (2) were in the familiar vein. His answer to point No. (3) is worth quoting as showing the depth of official conviction which lies at the root of America's financial policy :

"When the cancellation of debts is viewed from the standpoint of the United States, you fail to recognise that the Debt Commission, the President, and the Congress act not in their individual capacities according to sentiment, but as trustees for those whom they represent, the American people. If foreign debts were cancelled, the United States would not be released from its obligation to pay the very bonds which were sold to citizens to make the advances to the foreign Governments. We must collect through taxation from the people, if our debtors do not pay us what they can. You call this specious reasoning ; nevertheless as a lawyer

you must know the duty of a trustee. Were these trustees as certain as you seem to be that the American people demand the cancellation of the debts, it is within the province of a popular Government to carry out the mandate, but neither generally from the people, nor in the Press, nor at all from the chosen representatives of the people in Congress has come this demand."

"England is most sound of heart," added Mr. Mellon, "as the recent solution of the general strike has shown to all other countries. The peoples are in monetary difficulties, but the very acuteness of the disease has brought a clear understanding of the causes and proper remedies. I don't despair of Europe." Mr. Mellon then gave an interesting assurance to Mr. Peabody: "I have, as have you and every other good citizen, profound sympathy for the countries suffering from the after-results of the Great War, which we in America have, to a large extent, escaped, but I feel that the recognition of their external obligations by the European nations and the undertaking bravely to meet them within their capacity, as each country has done, is a moral force of great service to the permanent prosperity of the world."

Senator Borah has his own particular argument which he often repeats. He summarised it neatly in a statement he made on April 1st when he said:

"I said some three years ago that if I could see in Europe a programme of disarmament and a recurrence to peace methods, some assurance as to the future, I should feel favourable to a cancellation of the entire international debt. I entertain that view still, and my hesitancy about approving any of these settlements [i.e., lenient debt fundings] arises out of the belief that whatever contributions we may make will be contributions to additional, or at least continued, military establishments in Europe."

To impartial students of affairs it seems unnecessary for American spokesmen to defend their policy. America had a perfect right to do what she did between 1914-1918, and the criticism for what results from it applies not to America, but to Europe, for having proved so pathetic a target for American realism.

AN AMERICAN TRIBUTE TO EUROPE.

Concurrently with the American "debt-drive," certain prominent American citizens and diplomats have expressed their contempt of Europe. It is a pleasure, therefore, to record a different, more cheerful opinion of Europe emanating from across the Atlantic.

Mr. T. N. Perkins, who was the first American member of the Reparation Commission as reconstituted by the Dawes Plan, has

related his experiences in an address lately given to the Harvard Alumni Association. His remarks are of some interest historically because his appointment to the Reparation Commission was the method agreed on by the London Conference of August, 1924, to modify the hitherto decisive power of the French Chairman on that Commission, and of still more interest because they afford a contrast to certain other American views of European affairs as recently expressed in high places. Mr. Perkins first gave it as his unhesitating verdict that the Dawes Plan "has worked" and "has succeeded." He characterised the Dawes Plan as "the first comprehensive effort to substitute co-operation for antagonism in the settlement of the reparations problem." He reserved his opinion on the question whether the amount of the Dawes annuities will ultimately be justified, but regarded the fundamental achievement of the Plan as having removed reparations as a bone of European contention. He went on to analyse the reasons why the Dawes Plan has succeeded, and declared that it could not have succeeded but for "the co-operation of the people who were closely interested."

"And that was no light change," he added. "When you think that the nations who were operating under the Dawes Plan were the people who had been most intimately and intensely in the war, who had all of the antagonisms which had been created by the war, all of the antagonisms which had been created by the period after the war, to combat, the fact that they took hold, and worked the thing out is a great tribute to them. It has not been a simple operation."

Mr. Perkins went on to explain how both sides in the Dawes arrangement harmoniously co-operated, even though neither side could be satisfied, and quoted the lightness of his own task as judge of any disputes that might arise out of the working of the plan, as evidence of its harmonious working.

After thus giving "the result of a fairly close contact for a year and a half," he proceeded to give his "individual guess" about a matter of still greater interest to Europe. Postulating that European rehabilitation is "the most important question in the world to-day," he stated that the burden shouldered by Europe was such as Americans had no conception of, and in his turn made a plea for a cancellation of the debts to America. "I believe," he said, "that any burden that we put upon Europe increases the chance of a rehabilitation not coming . . . I think the work which the Secretary of the Treasury has done in ameliorating the charge which many people would have made upon foreign nations on account of their debts to us, has been a great work. Personally, I should like to see it carried even further. I am quite aware of the political difficulty . . . but I believe the rehabilitation of

Europe is more important to the United States than the amount of the debts, many times over."

One of the peculiarities of contemporary America is that some of her prominent citizens have excellent thoughts, which seem to have precisely no effect on collective American action.

THE NEW ERA IN EUROPE.

It seems reasonable to expect that Germany will enter the League of Nations in September. Thereupon will begin a third great era in European history since 1914. The first era consisted of four and a half years of war; the second of eight years of diplomatic floundering in the wake of the war. With the entry of Germany into the League of Nations, one of the biggest marks of the Great War and of its aftermath will be swept away. Distinctions of eras are in some ways absurd, and it would be absurd to imagine that Europe will have buried the past when the German delegates first take their seats at Geneva. There is, however, a big psychological and diplomatic change about to take place in September which will obliterate the biggest of the trenches which have cut Europe into two. The diplomacy which has spanned the interval between Locarno and Geneva has been of a ragged and neurasthenic type. The disgraceful reaction consummated last March by the postponement of Germany's entry into the League, has been followed by apparently purposeless drifting on the part of the leading European diplomatists.

During June and July, the only point of sympathetic contact between those diplomatists was a common resolve not to do anything. The machinery that had been set going by the March Session of the League Council was stopped in June. The Brazilian secession from the League and the Spanish threat of secession seemed to put a full stop to the excellent work that was being done by the special committee of the Council which had been created to make recommendations about the constitution of the Council. The meeting of that committee which had been arranged for June 28th did not take place. The visit of President Doumergue to London which had been arranged for June did not take place because of the hectic conditions of French international affairs. The visit of King Fuad to London which had likewise been arranged for June did not take place because of corresponding conditions in Egypt. There opened out a long stretch of idle diplomacy during the months that remained before Germany's entering the League. France took the opportunity to plunge into her worst internal crisis since the war. The Briand-Caillaux combination was overthrown, and there emerged the most unpropitious of all the available saviours of France, Monsieur Poincaré.

It was an interesting sign of the times that the re-emergence of Monsieur Poincaré, one of the stormy petrels of post-war Europe, caused no international excitement. Even the German Press was unmoved. The reason probably was the same as that which accounted for the placid attitude of London diplomatic quarters towards him. The belief was now widespread that Poincaréism, or the anti-German policy identified with M. Poincaré up to the spring of 1924, had gone. In the meantime, two all-important things had taken place, the Dawes Conference and the Locarno Conference, to the results of which France is committed. It is one of the characteristics of French diplomacy that it will fight an uncongenial idea till that idea is fulfilled, but will then accept it wholeheartedly. Almost all sections of French opinion fought the Dawes Scheme to the eve of the Dawes Conference, and they similarly fought the Locarno idea. As it is not the French way to support lost causes, both the Dawes Scheme and the Locarno Treaty, when they became accomplished facts, were accepted by French opinion. M. Poincaré has the reputation of being thoroughly French in that respect, and he has the further quality that he respects the continuity of French diplomatic commitment.

While the idle diplomats continued their idleness, a little minor mischief was given its opportunity. About the middle of July some attempt was made by diplomatic journalists who were finding life a little dull to extract some excitement from the perennial subject of German disarmament. Revelations were made about a Memorandum of General Walsch regarding German armaments, and the comment was even heard that France was making another attempt to obstruct Germany's progress to Geneva. The fuss was unnecessary. None of the ex-allied Governments had any intention of raising the question either of the status of General von Seeckt or of Germany's fulfilment of the disarmament demands. Such questions had been robbed of their importance by Germany's impending entry into the League, and it was odd that German opinion should have taken serious notice of an irrelevant Memorandum which would have remained in its obscurity had not a German Nationalist newspaper dug it up and published it. The French Press from sheer habit took up the counter cry, but it made no impression in England, and the spurious excitement soon died out.

THE ANGLO-ITALIAN "EXCLUSIVE" BARGAIN.

There was one point in the Anglo-Italian agreement of December, 1925, which emerged into some prominence at the end of July. There is a freemasonry among the habitually nervous people which leads them to hit on the same danger, real or imaginary, at

the same time. As was explained in this section of *THE CONTEMPORARY REVIEW* for August, Italy and Great Britain had come to an agreement whereby they promised to support each other in the respective claims they proposed to present at Adis Abeba. It was not an agreement that either of the parties should thereby take possession of this, that or the other prerogative in Abyssinia. It was a business agreement to give diplomatic support to each other in propositions that were going to be made to the Government of Abyssinia as part of a bargain with that Government. It happens, however, that the Italian Government, when it first explained in November, 1919, its desires to the British Government, made use of the following sentences:

"Italy requests from Great Britain, as she also reserves to herself, the right to request from France an exclusive economic influence in the west of Ethiopia and in the whole of the territory to be crossed by the above-mentioned railway, and the promise to support with the Ethiopian Government all requests for economic concessions regarding the Italian zone."

In 1919, the British Government did not feel disposed to support the Italian claim. In 1925, however, when negotiations were renewed between Rome and London, the British Government offered to support it in return for Italian support of the British claim centring on Lake Tsana, and the letter written by Sir R. Graham to Signor Mussolini in that sense dated Rome, December 14th, 1925, repeated the 1919 phrase of the Italian claim by promising that the British Government would be prepared to recognise an "exclusive Italian economic influence in the west of Ethiopia and in the whole of the territory to be crossed by the above-mentioned railway." Signor Mussolini's answer to Sir R. Graham, in acknowledging that promise on the part of the British Government, made doubly sure of the Italian score by again confirming the word "exclusive." During July, some people began to be alarmed about the word "exclusive." Sir Austen Chamberlain made a statement in the House of Commons in which he explained that the word applied obviously to Great Britain only. The British official defence of the word was that clearly Great Britain could not make any commitment on anybody else's behalf, that there was no question in the Anglo-Italian agreement of partitioning Abyssinia, but merely of agreeing on mutual support in proposals about to be made to the Government of Abyssinia, and that all the British Government undertook to do was to exclude itself from any competing claims in the west of Abyssinia. On that showing, the word "exclusive" was a misuse of language, and although Sir Austen Chamberlain did not mean "exclusive" when he made the agreement, what he did mean

was unfortunate. At the time when the agreement was reached, Sir Austen Chamberlain was resting at Rapallo after his Locarno triumphs, and he no doubt took a rosy, easy-going and even benevolent view of the world. Even though the Anglo-Italian agreement did not prejudice anything, Sir Austen showed a remarkable lack of alertness when he promised support to an Italian claim which, if ever granted, would effectively shut the "open door" in Abyssinia. The French diplomats, who regard Abyssinia with a competitive eye, naturally did not like the Anglo-Italian agreement, and it was rumoured with some credibility that it was the French adviser at Adis Abeba who had advised Ras Tafari to take the matter up at Geneva. Whether as a result of that advice, or merely in conformity with it, Ras Tafari did write a Note of protest to the States Members of the League of Nations to make it known that Abyssinia could not accept the Anglo-Italian agreement. He sent the protest to Geneva with a request that the Secretariat should circularise it to the States Members. The preamble of the Note was to the effect that the Abyssinian Government had received from the British and Italian Governments the identic text of the agreement to support each other in the British and Italian claims. The Note protested that the agreement was arrived at without consulting the Abyssinian Government. It recalled that on entering the League Abyssinia was informed that "all nations were to be on a footing of equality within the League, and that their independence was to be universally respected, since the purpose of the League is to establish and maintain peace among men in accordance with the will of God," and proceeded to make this comment: "We were not told that certain members of the League might make a separate agreement to impose their views on another member, even if the latter considered those views incompatible with its national interests." The Note expressed the fear that the Anglo-Italian agreement was an effort to "exert pressure on us in order to induce us to comply with their demands prematurely," and reminded the States Members that discussions on the same subject between Abyssinia and the interested Powers were still in progress. There followed a passage which showed that Abyssinian emotions had been deeply roused:

"The people of Abyssinia are anxious to do right, and we have every intention of guiding them along the path of improvement and progress; but throughout their history they have seldom met with foreigners who did not desire to possess themselves of Abyssinian territory and destroy their independence. With God's help and the courage of our soldiers we have always, come what might, stood proud and free upon our native mountains. For this

reason prudence is needed when we have to convince our people that foreigners who wish to establish themselves for economic reasons in our country or on the frontiers between it and their possessions are genuinely innocent of concealed political aims, and we doubt whether agreements and joint representations such as those now in question are the best means of instilling that conviction."

The circular letter invited the opinion of the States Members of the League on the question whether it was right that pressure should thus be exerted on Abyssinia, and whether the agreement was "compatible with the independence of our country, inasmuch as it includes the stipulation that part of our Empire is to be allotted to the economic influence of a given Power." The Note ended by representing the agreement as being in conflict with "the essential principles of the League of Nations." Sir Eric Drummond, who had been merely asked by Ras Tafari to circulate that letter, promptly wrote to Adis Abeba asking that the Abyssinian Government should formulate its request, and should state what action it wanted the League of Nations to take, if any. Ras Tafari's letter clearly interpreted the Anglo-Italian agreement as being an agreement to partition Abyssinia.

It was no such thing, but an agreement of mutual support in the presentation of proposals to the Abyssinian Government. When last May the text of the agreement was communicated to the Abyssinian Government, the proposals were thereby made. It was and is entirely within the competence of the Abyssinian Government to refuse them in whole or in part. So far as Lake Tsana and the Nile waters are concerned, it is a matter of common sense, and is not inconsistent with the march of civilisation, that waters which have an international interest should be the subject of international arrangement. Egypt and the Sudan have rapidly growing populations; they depend on agriculture; agriculture depends on irrigation. It has been the British concern to increase the supply of Nile waters for that purpose, and other things being equal there seems no reason why the British cotton manufacturing industry should not benefit along with Egyptian and Sudanese interests. There is no reason why Abyssinia should suffer from allowing the waters of Lake Tsana to help those causes. Abyssinia would probably benefit anyhow; or if not, could state her price. But if finally she came to the conclusion that what is asked of her is intolerable, her obvious course is simply to reject the proposals. Neither Great Britain, nor Italy, nor France can force Abyssinia to make any concessions whatever; and Abyssinia would have reason for appealing to the League only if and when any foreign Power tried to extract anything from Abyssinia in face of an Abyssinian refusal. That contingency has not arisen.

POLAND AND VILNA: AN HISTORICAL FOOTNOTE.

Some curiosity was aroused by a remark made by Mr. Lloyd George in a House of Commons debate on a recent occasion. Recalling Poland's defiance of the League in 1920 and General Zeligowski's notorious annexation of Vilna, he declared that "the President of the Polish Republic shortly afterwards said that General Zeligowski invaded under his orders." That is an important but little-known fact. Speaking in Vilna on August 24th 1923, President Pilsudski said, according to the Vilna paper *Slowo*: "It is so. I tore down the Suwalki Treaty, and afterwards I proclaimed a false communiqué of the General Staff. Thus I prepared for General Zeligowski's campaign. It was done by myself. It was my order that led to the result." A kindred secret was revealed last year in a book on Poland *La Risurrezione della Polonia* (Milan: Fratelli Treves 1925) written by Francesco Tommasini, Italian Minister at Warsaw. On p.214 we read:

"On December 6th 1922, Pilsudski, when taking leave of the Diplomatic Corps, invited my colleagues, the Ministers for South America, France, England, and myself, to Belvedere, being desirous of seeing us again. We were invited from the lower floor, where the official ceremony was held, to go to the upper floor to his private apartments, where he speedily arrived. In the meanwhile he had exchanged his marshal's uniform for the dress of a Polish legionary, and said: 'I wished to receive you in the dress in which you found me when you visited me for the first time, and I desire to talk with you in a friendly manner.' At first the conversation turned on Lloyd George's anti-Polish attitude in the summer of 1920, and in this connexion Pilsudski in his picturesque words, a little vague but charming, tendered a patriotic apology for his children, i.e. his legionaries. Subsequently, on rising, he stated that he had to report a certain confidential matter, begging us to promise to keep the secret, and, strongly emphasising the strictly personal character of his report, asked us to pass into his bedroom. When we were seated round the table, he spoke standing in the middle of the room:

" 'Gentlemen, one day I had to tell you that General Zeligowski was disobedient to my orders and occupied Vilna. Now, when I have become a simple citizen, I feel it my duty to correct that statement and to relieve Zeligowski from all responsibility. He acted according to my orders, and also, being of a loyal soldier's conscience, could never have ventured on a formal act of rebellion. I had (he added ironically) a great deal of trouble before I could persuade him to dispense with my giving him instructions in writing to rebel.'

"While we showed great interest in this revelation, we did not

conceal from him that it had not astonished us. I do not think that I shall be guilty of indiscretion in reporting about that episode, because Pilsudski himself has already reported it in a public speech."

GEORGE GLASGOW.

August 15th, 1926.

LITERARY SUPPLEMENT.

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A QUAKER ADVENTURE.*

Miss Fry has described the Friends' relief work during and after the war with the same quiet efficiency which marked its performance. The book was reprinted a month after its appearance, and it fully deserves its success. It is not only a detailed record of a great adventure, but an inspiration to all who are working for a new international order. There is no preaching, no emotionalism, no invective in these pages, but an engaging simplicity which assumes as a matter of course that Christianity is the law of love, and that its precepts are not annulled by the outbreak of hostilities. To Quakers it is as natural to love and to help as it is to certain types and temperaments to fight and to hate. The Fatherhood of God, the brotherhood of man, and the inner light to steer our course, are the three convictions which inspire the Friends and render the story of their activities an object-lesson in practical Christianity. "Let us rejoice," declares Lord Cecil in his brief Introduction, "that humanity can still show such devotion and self-sacrifice, and in contemplating this wonderful story let us thank God and take courage."

As Honorary General Secretary of the Friends' War Victims Relief

* *A Quaker Adventure*. By Ruth Fry. Nisbet. 10s. 6d.

Committee from 1914 to 1923 Miss Ruth Fry is able to survey the whole range of work at home and abroad. The sub-title of the book is "The story of nine years' relief and reconstruction," and it is dedicated to the "band of adventurers" who shared in the difficulties and the happiness of service, and whose names are inscribed in the roll of honour at the end of the book. A few of them gave their lives in the cause and all were ready for the sacrifice; for their duties called for courage no less than love, brains, patience, and tact. The narrative deals successively with the nine countries in which the Friends were at work during or after the war, and the Preface presents the main statistics of the gigantic enterprise, in which American Quakers and American money played an increasingly important part. The story opens with France, where *Les Amis* had laboured after the Franco-Prussian War and where the memory of their timely aid was undimmed. The ebb of the German wave after the devastating advance to the Marne called aloud for help, which was rendered not only in the provision of food and clothing but in building and repairs, agriculture and medical work. Holland and Belgium are treated together, for the invasion of Holland by half a million refugees after the fall of Antwerp imposed a burden which even the hospitable Dutch were unable to sustain alone. To Serbia the Friends sent no units of their own, but co-operated with the Serbian Relief Fund.

To many readers the most interesting chapters in this moving story are those on Russia, where the cruel winters, the vast distances, the breakdown of transport, and the backwardness of the peasantry added to the usual difficulties of relief work. The area selected was in the South East near Samara on the Volga, and the centre of the district was the small town of Buzuluk. In their work of mercy, as all the world knows, the Quakers have no politics; and this aloofness from labels gives importance to the few political or quasi-political reflections which Miss Fry allows herself. "However much one may disapprove of certain principles of Soviet Government," she writes, "one has the exhilarating experience of witnessing a great experiment, a great adventure, and the hope which comes from daring greatly." On the various journeys through Russia she saw, like other travellers, only a small part of that vast country; but what she and her fellow-workers witnessed increased their desire to bring aid to the Russian people. "Our work is irrespective of the opinions of those helped, and arises from a sympathy for suffering people, and not for their Governments. We are, of course, particularly anxious to help where a need is an unpopular one, which does not for that reason obtain the help it otherwise would." The aversion for the Government increased the difficulties of relieving the sufferers. "In particular, the rumour that

the Soviet intercepted supplies, and used them for feeding the army, was very difficult to kill. So strong was the belief that in unfriendly newspapers it was most difficult to obtain publication for the simple fact that, from our own experience, we knew that our goods were being so well looked after by the Russian Government that the loss was less than that often experienced on an English railway; further, that for the one consignment, which was in error diverted elsewhere, we received a cheque for £1,300 in full payment in London before we even knew of the loss." Miss Fry adds that the Russians who guarded the food trains for hundreds of miles through a starving population were themselves often on the verge of collapse from starvation.

When the fighting was over the Friends extended instead of limiting their sphere of activity, for now it was possible to help enemies as well. No part of the European rubbish heap presented a more poignant spectacle in the first years of peace than Vienna. The gay and prosperous capital of a powerful Empire had become the starving centre of a little State smaller than Belgium, cut off from the corn and meat of Hungary and the coal of Bohemia, and forbidden to join the new German Republic. Here the most urgent problem was to keep alive the starving middle-classes, whose property and savings had melted away with the catastrophic fall of the krone, while the large amount of vacant land in and round the city was utilised for food production and the provision of cheap houses for the multitude of people who had flocked into the capital and found no shelter for their heads. The problem of aiding the new State of Poland was complicated by the typhus scourge, by the wholesale devastations carried out by the retreating Russians during 1915, and by the vast number of refugees returning to their homes.

The book ends with an account of the work in Germany, into which the Friends found their way soon after the armistice. The currency collapse came later; but they were at once faced with the food shortage resulting from a prolongation of the blockade, the devastating effects of which were deplored and reported by the British army of occupation on the Rhine. Our author is sparing in judgments and her censure is gently conveyed when it comes; but she leaves us in no doubt as to her views on this issue. "It is, indeed, hard to realise that kindhearted people, who are to be found in every English Government, should have deliberately allowed the starvation of German women and children by the blockade to continue for seven months after the signing of the armistice. There were doubtless political reasons for continuing it, but from a moral and religious point of view surely it was quite indefensible." The good work of relief and encouragement to self-help, begun during or immediately after the war in Germany and elsewhere, is now

being continued where necessary by the Council for International Service. We close this book with a strengthened faith in the capacity of mankind to follow the light which, as the Friends believe, burns within us all and assuredly burns brightly within members of that wonderful society.

G. P. G.

* * *

WALT WHITMAN.*

The inclusion of Walt Whitman in the famous series of "English Men of Letters" once edited by the late Lord Morley is very welcome. The time has arrived when later writers should be added to the original series of critical studies, and the publishers are to be congratulated on the new departure. Mr. J. C. Squire will make a good editor.

Mr. John Bailey brings extraordinary insight to his masterly criticism of the difficult work of Walt Whitman. At his best, Whitman carries his reader to great heights of thought and poetry and then flings him to earth by leaden prose. Mr. Bailey estimates the height, the serene atmosphere and the fall to murky earth without losing his faith in the poet. Walt Whitman felt that his path lay in freeing poetry of convention. He painted, as it were, from the nude, throwing away the garments of convention which hid—as he thought—the truth. Formal rhythm and lilt to him was convention and he would have none of it. The *subject* was all that mattered, to him nothing was common or unclean, but to his readers much that he wrote was prosaic, and often what might with justice be called gross, if the poet's aim is not grasped. He belonged, as he felt, to a new world, and strove to bring to America a new mode of expression.

Men like Emerson could see beneath the crudeness and appreciate the genius and method, though it was utterly alien to the accepted standard of poetry. When Whitman was quite unknown and had just brought out the first edition of *Leaves of Grass* (which its author confidently hoped would be hailed with popular success, but which, on the contrary, made no mark at all, for it was passed over with contempt by the very people that Whitman felt sure it would appeal to, and for whom in a sense it was written), curiously enough, the appreciation and understanding came from the cultured and literary class of Americans. Emerson wrote at once to the unknown poet.

"I am not blind," he began, "to the worth of the wonderful gift of the *Leaves of Grass*. I find it the most extraordinary piece of wit and wisdom that America has yet contributed. I am very

* *Walt Whitman*. By John Bailey. Macmillan. 5s. net.

happy in reading it, as great power makes one happy. . . . I give you joy of your free and brave thought, I have great joy in it. I find incomparable things said incomparably well . . . I greet you at the beginning of a great career." A little later came the message to Whitman at Brooklyn "Americans abroad may now come home: unto us a man is born." Such praise at the outset of a career from one who was held great, not only by Americans, but by the world at large, must have been dear to the poet, and as little expected as his rejection by those for whom he imagined he wrote, and in fact did write. The value of the culture which Walt Whitman despised, as Mr. Bailey points out, was the very culture which enabled the true humanists (a class whom he never understood) to perceive the essential poetry which lay concealed in his work under a cloak of absurdity, or even vulgarity, judged by the standard of a class to which Whitman did not belong. It was the *man* "who was born" in but rose above this narrow class, that brought to his feet the appreciation of culture, and the right hand of fellowship.

Mr. Bailey in his interesting "Introduction" and the chapter on "The Life of Whitman" makes us acquainted with the man and his early environment. Whitman was born on Long Island in 1819 (he died as long ago as 1882) and though he left West Hills in 1823 when his father removed to Brooklyn, yet he often spent long summer days at the old home imbibing the love of trees and flowers and birds, what time the sea cast her mysterious spell over his imagination. All who run may read this in his poems called *Sea Drift* and many others:

"O madly the sea pushes upon the land with love, with love.
O night! do I not see my love fluttering out among the breakers
What is that little black thing I see there in the white?"

Loud! Loud! Loud!
Loud I call to you my love!

O darkness! O in vain!
O I am very sick and sorrowful."

Here we have the touch of the song of songs. We probably owe it to his Quaker blood on his mother's side. She was the daughter of a Dutch father and an English or Welsh mother of Quaker traditions. Walter, the poet, was named after his father, who was more of a carpenter than a farmer, and followed that trade in Brooklyn, where by the waterside and amid the wharves was fostered that love of the sea which influenced the poet's nature, and brought out the mysticism which was his by inheritance. Mr. Bailey compares Walt Whitman with Milton. At the first glance it is impossible to think of them in conjunction, but on second

thoughts there is much in common between them. Both lived through the throes of civil war, though neither bore arms. Civil and religious freedom was the watchword of both viewed from a different angle. "Milton," to quote Mr. Bailey, "was an aristocratic republican, and Whitman an equalitarian democrat after the fashion of Rousseau. Two things wider apart are not easily found, yet the two poets are alike in this: that in their poetry, more than in any other in our language politics are a consciously-felt presence."

Walt Whitman aimed in his poetry to glorify the everyday things of life. He saw and felt the beauty and wonderment of all nature and strove to make others feel it with himself. It was a strange coincidence that, lover of music as he was, he did not make fuller use of it in his metre, and thereby lost, or rather failed to make the appeal through the senses equally with the intellect. He left out the call of nature to nature's God with which the Bible and all great literature abounds. When the morning stars sang together, the harmonies were unbroken. The lack of melody or rhythm in Whitman's poetry leaves the uncultured reader cold, and was doubtless the reason of its failure to attract the class for whom it was intended. Coventry Patmore found the angel in the homewife, and Rudyard Kipling the poetry in the engine, and what shall we of to-day say of the *heart* of the rose? Poetry personified in its beat. Rhythm is the order of the universe. Whitman had the rhythm of his personality. He thought it not always wise to inquire too deeply into the mystery of nature; he was afraid of blunting its edge; but surely he would have rejoiced in the relationship of animal and vegetable life which the scientist of our day seems to be discovering, making thereby the whole creation kin. This unity, this rhythmic beat, Whitman felt.

Whitman was formally but perhaps not essentially pantheistic. Personality in religion meant nothing to him. Death had to him no sting. He yearned to be one with nature; an immortality that he craved, and never doubted, as his poem "Come Lovely and Soothing Death" proves. Mr. Bailey says—"not a religion for the ordinary man, but Whitman was outside the ordinary man, and must not be judged by his standard, any more than his poetry can be judged by the standard of culture." Love of his fellow *man*—not men—was the output of his faith and nobly he exemplified it in his wonderful devotion in the hospitals during the War of Secession, working with miracles of healing for the sick and broken soldiers, and endearing himself to them in a way that was a miracle in itself. There is no doubt that the war was a stimulus to his genius, and he, himself, felt how much his power gained by it. His belief in the "Soul of Goodness" never deserted him.

A doctor with whom he had worked, writes of his irresistible magnetism which seemed "to exhale sanity, purity, and naturalness."

Mr. Bailey has written the fairest, most elucidating, and delightful analysis of Walt Whitman that it is possible to conceive. He makes us fully aware of the genius underlying the poet's strange presentation of things. Whitman gave to America a new poetry, founded a new democracy (or was it a new aristocracy?) of letters. At the least he was a great pioneer; at the greatest a Homer of the New World.

S. DE M.

* * *

AMERICAN SECONDARY EDUCATION.*

This very frank constructive criticism of American Secondary Education is the second annual lecture of a lectureship founded to honour the memory of Professor Alexander Inglis (1879-1924) who devoted his professional life to the study of problems of secondary education in the United States. The lecturer for 1926, Mr. Paul Hanus, whose experience of forty years enables him to trace the modern history of secondary education in the States and to indicate without fear or favour the line of progress. All English educationists should study carefully this crisp and practical study of the great educational problem that faces the United States. It is not exactly our problem but the suggestions for the solution of it will greatly help the workers at the parallel questions that have been in English hearts since the days of Dr. Arnold and his son Matthew.

In the beginnings of modern developments the two countries had, in fact, the same problem to solve. The secondary or grammar schools, which in America date from the seventeenth century but with us have, of course, a far earlier origin, going back indeed in some cases to the seventh century, were schools that in England very largely and in America wholly were devoted to the task of feeding institutions of university standard. They were essentially classical schools, and parents of whatever class who had ambitions for their sons sought to take advantage of a training which opened the doors not only to the great professions but to political distinction. The aim of the school from post-Reformation times was to meet university requirements and Dr. Hanus declares that in America "that aim was the chief cause of the decline of public interest in the publicly supported secondary schools during the eighteenth century and part of the nineteenth." Exactly the reverse

* The Inglis Lecture 1926. *Opportunity and Accomplishment in Secondary Education*. By Paul H. Hanus. Harvard University Press. Oxford University Press. 4s. 6d. net.

was the case in England. The secondary schools were kept alive in the eighteenth century by the university link. The decay of secondary education, and indeed of all education, was due to other and mainly political causes. But in America and England alike it was realised by acute educational thinkers, soon after the middle of the nineteenth century that :

College-preparatory work, if not followed by college education, was unsatisfactory for most pupils as preparation for a progressively significant career—such a career as that at which those pupils or parents aimed—or for fuller enjoyment of the serious pleasures of life, or as a stimulus to further education. In time, therefore, it was realised both within and without the teaching profession that the value of collegiate preparatory training was, and still is, greatly overestimated.

So far as English schools were and are concerned the university has always and (as we think) must always set the standard of the secondary school. The ends that Dr. Hanus finds in this practice can be met and has largely been met by changes in the university curriculum while retaining the high university standard of learning. It was early plain to us that if the universities catered only for advanced classical and mathematical students the school curriculum would not provide for the school child that does not aspire to university rank a satisfactory outfit for life. If the university took to itself the prolonged study of modern history, of modern languages, of literary English, of applied science, then it could still set the standard of the secondary school. So England has modified her university curricula to meet this need, on the principle that the university must dominate the intellectual life of the schools, and more especially for those who would not have the opportunity of partaking of university life and the social ideals that it comprehends. That is the English point of view and there is much to be said for it. It is rendered possible of achievement in modern times because in England and Wales and Scotland public education has a central authority that can watch over the maintenance of the standard, and local authorities that compete with one another and have much local patriotism.

The United States of America has no central authority of the nature of the Board of Education; she has difficult racial problems with which to deal; and she has universities and university colleges which range from the very highest standard to the very lowest. The difficulty of imposing a university standard on the secondary schools of a uniform height, a standard that exists in many curricula, a standard associated with a specialised humanism is vast if not insuperable under present conditions. The alternative selected by men of the type of Professor Inglis and Dr. Hanus was a noble

one: intense voluntary effort aiming at what may be called absolute standards of secondary education, standards that do not essentially depend on universities of varying standards of efficiency. It is not only a noble alternative but it is one that in the long run will create a definite and high standard of university life which will in the end become the dominating force in determining the curricula of the American secondary schools.

The United States of America when the famous voluntary Committee of Ten reported in 1893 on secondary school status was still in the stage of "scrappy courses in all except the traditional studies"; the elementary and the secondary schools were not linked up and the secondary school course was almost everywhere limited to four years. The Committee did splendid work in all these fields but it was not until about 1913 that the "junior high school" began to make effective the view that secondary education should begin at an earlier date. Both in England and America at the present time there is a vast effort being put forth to secure from the age of eleven a junior secondary course for everyone. There is substantial hope in England that in the elementary schools children in the upper standards from the age of eleven to the age of fourteen will have a strictly secondary course, and that the pick of those children will automatically go forward to the higher secondary schools—with varied curricula—and that those higher schools will feed the universities. The Committee of Ten have given something of the same ideal to the United States and the "public secondary school at its best" has set a great standard for all schools.

Dr. Hanus is, however, far from confident of the progress made in the mass of American schools, and declares, with sadness, that as the result of forty years' experience the output of the secondary schools "is a very uneven product as to scholarship, character and all the other qualities essential to superior citizenship." There is the opportunity for better things and it has apparently not been taken fully as yet. In fact there is no ground for discouragement in this. The achievements in American secondary education since 1893 have been marvellous. The creation of the opportunities for all fit to receive secondary education is in itself amazing considering the difficulties against which educationists have had to work and that lack of central authority which is perhaps the weakest point in American educational organisation at the present time. The apparent evil displayed by the American statistics which show that a very great number of young people attend the secondary schools for a very brief period—often only a year—in order to claim the benefits of a high school education is only a temporary evil. The masses of the people are learning the value of secondary education and when once that lesson is learnt all the rest that Dr. Hanus

and his fellow workers have striven for will follow. In education we dare not measure ultimate achievements by statistics. The broad rule is that we measure the system by the love of learning that is manifest in the people. The most cheering sign of the times in England at present is the awakening of the whole people to the value of higher education. Great honours at Oxford and Cambridge to-day are being won by students from obscure grammar schools, as they were in mediæval times. The great English public schools are finding competitors everywhere with the result that the standards of all forms of scholarship are being heightened in all secondary schools. Great things will follow from the new public recognition of the value of true learning both in America and England. In England the public school spirit is spreading to all the schools and that spirit which has a humanism of its own and has a high religious significance, links all classes of the schools to the universities. It is impossible to share Dr. Hanus' sense of disappointment but it is plain that this very sense makes new achievements inevitable.

J. E. G. DE M.

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DEATH-BED VISIONS.*

This interesting if weird compilation of cases where dying persons have had visions, or seeming visions of persons already dead, visions involving recognition of the dying by the dead, of the dead by the dying, may well be very important. The compilation is from the pen of that eminent thinker and scientist, the late Sir William Barrett. He did not live to finish the work (which is edited with care by Lady Barrett) but he had written an introduction and a discussion of cases that are very valuable. In the introduction Sir William Barrett dwells upon the fact that "there are instances where the dying person was *unaware* of the previous death of the spirit form he sees. . . . These cases form, perhaps, one of the most cogent arguments for survival after death." On the general question of evidence he writes, and his standard is, of course, that of a very highly trained scientist:

In considering the value of evidence for supernormal phenomena the importance of the cumulative character of the evidence must be taken into account. It is the undesigned coincidence of witnesses who have had no communication with each other that constitutes its value taken as a whole, while a single case may be doubtful or disproved, just as a single stick may be broken but a faggot may defy all our attempts at breaking a bundle of sticks.

The principle here asserted is one of singular value, and it is

* *Death-Bed Visions*. By Sir William Barrett, F.R.S. Methuen. 3s. 6d. net.

well illustrated by the cases in the volume, the class of cases where fraud on the part of the percipient is practically impossible.

In some ways the actual cases make distressing reading, as indeed is inevitable in the case of death-bed scenes. On the other hand they seem to lift in an amazing way the veil that hides from the world of flesh and blood the world of spirit. Many of the cases are deaths due to tuberculosis, and the fact is perhaps explained by the special nature of this disease, one that does not cloud the mind, and indeed seems to enlighten it until the end has almost come. In some cases the evidence is not perhaps as direct or effective as might be wished; the witnesses of the death-bed scene could, in some cases, be self deceivers. But this is not so in many of the instances.

One general note is that of a world that is in many respects a counterpart of this. There is growth there. The child that dies here grows up there to maturity. It is a reasonable thing, but one that few preachers have laid stress upon. Yet the sense of recognition does not fade with the growth, or opening up, of personality. It is the personality that ripens. The cases give no support to the traditional idea of another world. There is no "river to cross." As one dying child said:

"It is all a mistake; there is no river; there is no curtain; there is not even a line that separates this life from the other life. . . . It is here, it is there; I know it is so, for I can see you all, and I see them there at the same time. . . . I cannot describe it; it is so different, I could not make you understand."

There is growth there; there is forgiveness there; there is personal and conscious reunion there. The girl speaking of her dead brother said, as to clothing:

"Oh, no, not clothes such as we wear. There seems to be about him a white, beautiful something, so fine and thin and glistening, and oh, so white, and yet there is not a fold, or a sign of a thread in it, so it cannot be cloth. But it makes him look so lovely."

This world that seems to be demonstrated by Sir William Barrett's cases is very real, very wonderful, very beautiful. It is the same world that old Mr. William Dannatt saw and came back to daily life to describe in the *Faith of a Farmer*.* It is the world that Robert Browning describes in *Easter Day*:

So,
Has God abolished at a blow
The world, wherein his saints were pent,—

Thank God, no paradise stands barred
To entry, and I find it hard
To be a Christian, as I said!

* John Murray.

Still every now and then my head
 Raised glad, sinks mournful—all grows drear
 Spite of the sunshine, while I fear
 And think, "How dreadful to be grudged
 No ease, henceforth, as one that's judged,
 Condemned to earth forever, shut
 From Heaven!"

But Easter-Day breaks! But
 Christ rises! Mercy every way
 Is infinite,—and who can say?

We must break from the earth: but to those who have faith the passage is easy, and this book brings again before our minds the evidence, dim enough and hard to grasp, but the evidence that the apparently hard walls of the natural world are not walls at all; that they yield to the touch of what we call Death. Dying is physically hard very often as the physical frame is intended for hard work here, and the spirit has to do that work and cannot break forth at will to the outer world. The work could not be done unless it were so. But when that work is done there is evidence, and it grows clearer every day, that the trumpets will sound and the faces long lost will smile again on those so loved during the earthly sojourn. The fact of recognition after death is clearly indicated in these pages, and may be a reasonable comfort to those who mourn here. It is, indeed, wrong to mourn in view of the things that are to be.

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THE FORENSIC FABULIST.*

The Bar has grown dull in recent years. Sir Frank Lockwood died long ago, Lord Macnaghten and Lord Bowen have also passed to the region where penetrating and excellent irony are probably unnecessary, Mr. Birrell gave up law and literature for something duller than either, Irish politics, Lord Darling has retired to the House of Lords where there is no laughter in court, Lord Carson has done the same, and he has not even the outlet of occasional journalism. There seemed no one left who could raise or provoke a smile. A dull if high level of respectable mediocrity does not joke, and does not understand jokes. It would seem as if women had joined the Bar at the very time when all the bright spirits had crossed it. But such a state of things ought in itself to have called forth a forensic humorist, and such appears to be the case. "O," whoever she or he may be, has the pen of an excellent draughtsman and the etching needle of a wit. Rumour says that "O" is not a woman, is a common lawyer, and is a

* *Forensic Fables*. By "O." With twenty-four Illustrations, Table of Cases cited. Table of Statutes and Index. Butterworth. 2s. 6d.

quick-change artist in successive courts. But Rumour has the reputation of being a lying jade, and as Miss Rumour is the only external witness and is at the best most unreliable, the conscientious critic can only go to the best evidence available, the book itself.

These *Forensic Fables* clearly are the work of a lawyer and as clearly the work of a barrister, and not an attorney or solicitor. The Index and the Table of Statutes are the evidence of this. The text of the book covers seventy-six pages, and yet the index contains twenty-two pages. The extreme fullness of the index and meticulous care to avoid any error of reference indicates a barrister, a chancery barrister in large practice (who has written one great text-book), with a huge pupil-room filled with pupils who will always be incapable of holding a brief. But it may also indicate a lady pupil of such a barrister who has imitated her master's methods and neglected his dull and incomparable work. The attack on conveyancers, the tributes paid to "a promising Equity Junior, who had been a Senior Classic in the Sixties," and is practically stone-deaf, even with the use of an ear-trumpet (the pen and ink portrait of this junior recalls some of the most eminent of his tribe), the uncanny knowledge of the originating summons (invented by Sir Edward Fry) all point in this direction. The sketch of the common law junior fainting in the company of three experienced equity juniors shows moreover an ignorance of the hide-bound fatuity of common law juniors. This makes it quite plain that "O" is neither a common law junior, a common law leader, a chancery leader, nor an usher. The search is, therefore, reduced to a barrister's clerk, a woman equity junior, or a retired or promoted judge. The barrister's clerk must be ruled out since certain references to Quintilian, to "A Double-First, whose Epigrams were Quoted in Every Common-Room of the University," to the Vice-Chancellor's Court and to lady-pupils make this hopeful field barren. There is no retired or promoted judge— income tax and excess-profits tax being what they were—who could afford to publish a book that, until this review has had its due effect, has probably not been what is known in the trade as "a best-seller." The inquiry from the internal evidence of the book, therefore, results in the view that it was written by a woman-barrister who in the intervals of her work as a pupil in Lincoln's Inn earns a substantial income on circuit or in the Central Criminal Court.

But this internal evidence may after all be misleading. The accounts of the "Inexperienced Advocate" who devilled a Short Cause, of "The Youthful Barrister and the Exceedingly Painful Case," of the Childish Circuiteer, of "The Enthusiastic Beginner

Who Thought Better of It," of "Young Adolphus Brown," of the wretched Common Law Junior, of the "Ambitious Youth," and of the Advertising Junior, show a bitterness at lack of success or ill-deserved success that rather indicates a woman's mind. But this is balanced by an almost terrible knowledge of holders in due course, of judges on circuit, of the Balliol manner (long since dead), of jury actions, of railway accidents (from the legal point of view), of impossible common law leaders, and finally of Scottish money-lenders and privy council cases. A second review of the internal evidence therefore shakes the belief that "O" is a woman, and makes it probable that the author is a jealous, rich and crabbed Scots lawyer who has tried to malign the existing English Bar.* But whoever "O" is, he or she has an acute sense of humour, and has parodied the English Bar and the English practice and the English law book in a way that may immortalise these products of civilisation in an age when Law and Order are no more.

K.

SHORTER REVIEWS.

Dr. G. R. Owst's volume, *Preaching in Mediæval England: An Introduction to Sermon Manuscripts of the period c. 1350-1450*,† deals with such a fascinating theme that the reader might well be spared that part of the author's preface which attacks modern English historians and archivists in a very painful way. It is certainly very wrong to write: "emancipated from religion and an old-fashioned culture (yet always the willing slaves of public opinion) they are naturally busy to-day with the weightier material concerns of modern politics and industry. Hence, the whole round of mediæval existence is likewise compassed for them in the busy tale of buyings and sellings, the system of the courts, the endless reckoning of manor rolls and taxes, such is the latest fashion in 'History,' which has now replaced one of treatises, campaigns, and royal escapades." Those who have studied the historical output of the past quarter of a century can only smile at such diatribes, which, however, ought never to have been issued by the official Press of a University which has done so much to re-clothe the dry bones of mediæval England. Dr. Owst divides his book into three parts. First there are the Preachers, secular and monastic, and the peripatetic orators. The pardoner would mount the pulpit in the parish churches, while Dr. Owst tells the reader something of the preaching mystics and the Lollard fanatics who were destined to give new spiritual life to England and save the Universities alive. Dr. Owst next passes to what he calls the "Preaching Scene." In Lent there was supposed to be daily sermons in the churches, but otherwise the Sunday sermon is by no

* The suggestion in the *Adrianople Review* of Professor Julius von Wildegüß (the authority on Punic inscriptions) that "O" is a misreading for "A" between a silent B and C and that, therefore, the work is by a former Lord Chancellor, of Gray's Inn, is clearly fallacious.

† Cambridge University Press. 17s. 6d. net.

means universal. Indeed, "the Curate" was required to expound his themes but four times a year. Yet afternoon sermons were customary, and some brief address between the Creed and the offertory or after the offertory was common. Preaching often took place at the Preaching Cross in the open air while, of course, the Universities were great centres of preaching "ad clericos." The layman was expected to carry home such of the sermon as he could remember to his household and spend the Sabbath in peace. Dr. Owst attempts a description of the social scene round the Preaching Cross. The last section of the book describes "the sermon literature and its types," and allied writings, and indicates some vernacular treatises in verse and prose that "constitute the important link between literature for the pulpit and literature for the pew or the domestic hearth." The pew must have been rare before the middle of the fourteenth century. Dr. Owst says that "the extensive series of pews, sufficient for all, which filled the nave of many churches by the second half of the fifteenth century, reflecting much of the carven beauty of clerical stall, pulpit and screen, are testimony in themselves to the place which preaching has come to take in the religious life of the people." What is the evidence for these pews? Were they not movable forms and stools, and were not these reserved for the upper classes? The "Preaching Scene in the XIII Century" from the Egerton MS. would seem to indicate this. Pews do not appear to have existed in the cathedrals. The date named is the period when the fine enthusiasm of the mediæval church had failed and the Lollards were preaching in the open air. In the great preaching period the common people sat on rushes or straw. This seems to have been still the practice in the early fifteenth century. Dr. Owst should in another edition give his authority for his statement as to pews "sufficient for all," and delete the offending portion of the preface.

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Mr. Arthur Robert Green has placed antiquarian students and many others under a debt by the compilation of his book entitled *Sundials, Incised Dials or Mass-Clocks*,* being "a study of the time-markers of mediæval churches, containing descriptions, photographs, diagrams and analyses of dials, chiefly in Hampshire, but also in various other counties." Mr. A. Hamilton Thompson in his Foreword says that "the frequent occurrence of small dials cut in the outer walls of churches in all parts of England is a phenomenon well known to ecclesiologists; but it is only of recent years that its practical object has been taken seriously into consideration." Mr. Green pleads for the study and photographing of "Mass-Clocks." There is believed to be no example of these "unscientific" sundials that possesses a style for throwing the necessary time-shadow, but it would seem that in order that the time should be accurately marked in most cases the style would have to be bent downwards and also bent to one side, so that it should point directly to the south. Mr. Green discusses various theories advanced to explain the use of these dials, but he says that any further advance in knowledge must be made by experiment. We must know the exact position of the shadow of the gnomon in place of a vague statement that such and such a line marks the time of a church service or noon. Mr. Green hopes that the records of the position of the shadow

* S.P.C.K. 10s. 6d.

which he has collected at different hours and under various conditions may throw some light on this difficult subject. Is it certain that there are no cases of styles *in situ*? There are five dials which retain the broken-off stumps of the gnomon, and it would seem possible that some examples of complete styles exist in remote country districts, say, in Derbyshire, Yorkshire, or the Lakes. The sundial is, of course, very ancient. The Romans used the dial in England, while the Irish Celts and the Saxons did the same.

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Mr. F. C. G. Gurney-Champion in his volume entitled *Justice and the Poor in England* * provides "an account of the position of the poor in legal matters in England and Wales; and a study of the inequality in the administration of justice, where they are concerned, and of the remedies which have been attempted and suggested." The general position and difficulty of poor persons in the search for justice is indicated in a series of chapters. It is admitted that "the substantive law, with the exception of the Trades Disputes Act, 1906, would seem to be fair and equal to all classes and sections of the community"; it is the administration of the substantive law that causes the inequality. In the case of many persons it is alleged "there is a total denial of justice, either because they are unable to pay for legal advice, or because they cannot pay court, witness, or other fees, which must be paid in order to secure justice." The difficulty has, of course, long been felt, but in fact during the Middle Ages the poor suitor had no difficulty of access to the courts, as the early Chancery proceedings show, while since the Act of 1495, dealing with poor suitors, efforts have been made to meet, though until the present year not in a satisfactory fashion, the needs of those who have real grievances. Since Mr. Gurney-Champion passed his volume for the press the new Rules of Court for Poor Persons have become operative, and in the opinion of very experienced lawyers no person who chooses to take advantage of the new system will lack a fullest examination of his or her case. The chapters dealing with the present position of poor persons in England and Wales as to legal advice and in the Civil Courts are thus partially out of date. The constitutional right to redress is really recognised in the new system. It is not a question of charity, and so far as the legislation beginning with the Act of 1495 and the law cases that extend far behind that date, it never was a question of charity. But legal advice has been and is largely a matter of voluntary help, and the next step seems to be to provide a system of local bureaux where advice can be had by the poor as a matter of right. The new rules provide for a preliminary investigation in cases where litigation is contemplated and so far as this goes legal advice is already available. Probably the real difficulty is one that no legislation can meet, the difficulty that poor persons do not care to press or even present their cases, and that very often they do not know when they have rights that have been infringed. No legislation can overcome this reluctance or ignorance. It can only be overcome by the creation of the practice of coming to persons capable of giving advice in any difficulty. It must be remembered that exactly the same difficulty applies to persons who are not specially poor. The Government makes many thousands a year because the average person entitled to return of

* George Routledge and Sons. 7s. 6d. net.

income tax does not know the fact or know how to claim the money. People of all classes are robbed by profiteers when there is a legal remedy, but the sufferers do not know how to apply it. Only by education can the position be improved. Every one ought to know some law. The elements of the common law ought to be taught in schools. Another difficulty is that in many cases, the cases of poor and well-to-do alike, sufferers imagine that they have been legally wronged when it is not the case, and in many cases persons imagine injuries that do not exist. But at any rate the new rules meet these cases in so far as the person who fears injury contemplates litigation. Justice must be denied to no man, but the justice in question must be the justice prescribed by the law and not the justice which each individual would prescribe for himself. In a foreword the Bishop of Manchester, the Bishop of Pella, Dr. Scott Lidgett, and Miss Lucy Gardner declare that the poor in many cases, through not being able to pay for the ordinary facilities to secure justice, are denied justice in the civil and criminal courts and are unable to know or be advised about their legal rights and duties. This is not now wholly true so far as litigation is concerned. Mr. Gurney-Champion criticises with vigour in an addendum the suggested Poor Persons Rules. No doubt his own suggested scheme for the whole problem of legal aid would place the position on a more logical basis, but experienced lawyers are satisfied that the new rules will meet the demand for justice without stimulating litigation.

NOTICES OF BOOKS.

"The Future of the Bodleian" * is the title of a paper which discusses the five suggested ways of dealing with the Bodleian Library at Oxford in view of the pressure of new books. In ten years it will be overcrowded with the 200,000 or more books that in the normal statutory course will pour into it before 1936. Contraction of intake, underground chambers, a suburban annexe, enlargement of the present buildings and a new library in the Park are the main suggestions dealing with the problem of a library that had its beginnings as long ago as 1320, which was enlarged by the gifts of Humphrey, Duke of Gloucester, in the mid-fifteenth century and was given its modern form by Sir Thomas Bodley in 1598-1602. It now contains about 1,500,000 volumes and over 40,000 manuscripts besides many charters and rolls. This volume sketches a plan of enlargement that would meet the needs of the library for a century but there are, as there are to all the proposals, weighty objections. Even a new Bodleian would sacrifice a great meadow in the University Parks. Fortunately there is time for consideration.

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Attention must be drawn to a remarkable volume entitled "Essays Catholic and Critical" † by members of the Anglican Communion and edited by Mr. Edward Gordon Selwyn. The contributors "have been drawn together by a common desire to attempt a fresh exposition and defence of the Catholic faith." The task has come before most of them in the course of work as university teachers where they have been

* Oxford University Press. 1s. post free
† S.P.C.K. 10s. 6d. net.

compelled to think out the subject afresh. The essays deal with faith, with revelation and redemption ("which take in, and derive from, the Person of Christ, incarnate, crucified, risen"), with the history of Christianity and the Sacrament. The book should attract much attention and discussion.

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The publication of the revised and greatly enlarged second edition of Sir E. A. Wallis Budge's notable volume "The Mummy: A Handbook of Egyptian Funerary Archaeology,"* should have been noted in these pages earlier, as it is an indispensable volume for students. The book had its origin in the Catalogue made in 1892 of the Egyptian Antiquities in the Fitzwilliam Museum at Cambridge and when published in 1893 it included many examples from the British Museum. A reprint was called for in the following winter. This was followed by an Arabic version printed in Cairo. For the new edition the book has been rewritten and incorporates the many important discoveries made since 1893. The book is invaluable and gives a living picture of ancient Egypt drawn from the material provided by dead Egyptians: a form of immortality that they did not anticipate.

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The new volume of the Transactions of the Grotius Society† containing papers read before the Society in the year 1925 gives the text of Lord Blanesburgh's address at the celebration of the tercentenary of the *de Jure Belli ac Pacis* by Hugo Grotius on June 8th, 1925. This enthusiastic estimate of Grotius and his work will be welcomed at a time when there is a tendency on the part of imperfectly informed persons to belittle the great Dutch jurist, the author of what Lord Blanesburgh rightly called "this great spiritual classic." Among the papers of importance published in the present volume is one by Professor Brierly entitled "Some Considerations as to Obsolescence of Treaties," and the essay by Dr. Arnold D. McNair on "The Legal Meaning of War and the Relations of War to Reprisals." The volume records the deaths of two international jurists of repute, Mr. G. G. Phillimore and Mr. H. S. Q. Henriques, both Oxford men of great distinction.

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Lieutenant-Colonel C. E. Norton and Mr. F. C. Allworth in their volume "Borough Boundaries"‡ discuss a subject of renewed importance since the 1922 embargo has been removed and town councils can once more promote Bills and apply for Provisional Orders for the enlargement of their boroughs. Though enlargements are very often desirable, or even necessary, local circumstances differ, and the preparation of a scheme that would be accepted by the Ministry of Health is a matter of considerable difficulty. The Royal Commission on the subject, appointed in 1923, presented a first report of 500 pages a year ago, and suggested a new procedure by which proposals for the extension of county boroughs would be made by private Bill save where there is no local objection, when a provisional order might be applied for. This book deals fully with the many problems arising in connection with any proposed extension of a borough.

* Cambridge University Press. 45s. net.

† Sweet & Maxwell. 7s. 6d. net.

‡ Butterworth & Co. 15s. net.

The Bishop of Winchester contributes an introduction to the volume on "Reservation"* being a "Report of a Conference held at Farnham Castle on October 24th to 27th, 1925." The Bishop says that "the objective of the Conference was not a discussion on Reservation in general, but an attempt to clear our minds in regard to the theological implications of the use of the Reserved Sacrament as a focus of 'devotions' in the hope of stimulating students in the Church of England to unprejudiced inquiry." The Bishop of Winchester strongly deprecates the use of terms such as "magic" "fetish" or "idolatry" with respect to the Reservation of the Sacrament but he does not take a more definite line on the subject than to say that "the glory of Anglicanism . . . is that it never accepts a belief or a practice on the ground of its expediency, still less its popularity, but must always ask first and foremost, is it true? Can it command the approval of scripture, the support of tradition, the assent of reason, and the verdict of experience?" The following Bishops took part in the Conference and their contributions to the debate are included in the volume: the Bishops of Winchester, Chelmsford, Chichester, Gloucester, Oxford, Manchester and Truro; Bishop Gore and Bishop Talbot.

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Mr. W. R. V. Brade in his volume "from Plotinus to S. Thomas Aquinas: being studies in the later phases of the tradition of Greek Philosophy"† shows the student something of what he calls aptly "the origin and source of most of the mental furniture of the modern world." He perhaps wisely, however, protests against any attempt to tie the defence of Christianity to any particular system of metaphysics since any system is affected by what can be called the Time-Spirit. Thus he takes the point that the real greatness of S. Thomas Aquinas must not be tested by his applications of Aristotle to the New Testament. He "must be read strictly as a writer of his own age and *milieu*." This doctrine is not altogether conclusive. Is there no absolute in thought? But in any event Mr. Brade's book is both valuable and interesting.

* * *

It would be ungracious not to draw attention to a clever and gracious volume of poems "Knowledge and Dream: and other Poems"‡ by Mr. Colin Tolly. Mr. Tolly carries the reader from England to "the Back of the Moon" but he visits, and we with him Timgad, Tahiti, The Sioux of four centuries ago, Sikkim. From the moon we pass to stellar encounters and then come back to the earth as the Hittites and the Aryans knew it. It makes adventurous reading though perhaps Mr. Tolly is more fluent than he should be and would be if he would limit his range to, let us say, Ambleside and join the new Lake Poets.

* * *

Mr. Malcolm Letts' knowledge of the by-ways of literature and history is profound, and he deserves our gratitude for the masterly edition of the travels of Francis Mortoft through France and Italy in 1658 and 1659. Though the diarist is little more than a name, he was a con-

* S.P.C.K. 5s. net.

† Faith Press, Faith House, 22, Buckingham Street, W.C.2. 2s. 6d.

‡ Hodder and Stoughton. 3s. 6d. net.

scientious, intelligent, and art-loving sight-seer, and to readers who know many of the places and buildings described it is interesting to learn the exact condition in which he found them. Mr. Letts' introduction picks out some of the plums, but the whole diary repays study. More than half the volume is devoted to Rome, and these hundred pages are a contribution of permanent value to our knowledge of the life and treasures of the Eternal City.

* * *

In "Science and the Modern World" Professor A. N. Whitehead, the well-known mathematician, prints his Lowell Lectures delivered in February, 1925. These lectures are "guided by the conviction that the mentality of an epoch springs from the view of the world which is, in fact, dominant in the educated sections of the communities in question." During the last three centuries, in Professor Whitehead's view, "the cosmology derived from science has been asserting itself at the expense of older points of view with their origins elsewhere," and he asks "whether the scientific mentality of the modern world in the immediate past is not a successful example" of a provincial limitation in time. In these pages the students will consider the origins of modern science, the position of mathematics as an element in the history of thought, the scientific history of the past three centuries, modern mathematics, science and philosophy, abstraction, the conception of God and religion and finally the requisites for social progress. Professor Whitehead holds that "the worship of God is not a rule of safety—it is an adventure of the spirit, a flight after the unattainable. The death of religion comes with the repression of the high hope of adventure." It is right to add that Christianity shows that the flight of the alone to the Alone can be achieved.

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Among the multitude of books to which the new Property Statutes of 1925, that came into force in January of this year, have given rise, Mr. Hubert A. Rose's volume of "Conveyancing Precedents,"* with Explanatory Notes and Appendices, takes a notable place. The new conveyancing, when it becomes familiar to lawyers, is in many ways a great improvement, so far as simplicity and directness are concerned, on the old conveyancing. But the forms are unfamiliar, and often difficult, in the first instance, to construct. These precedents, dealing with transactions which are either of the most ordinary occurrence, or arise out of the transitional provisions of, or are specially affected by the Law of Property Act, 1925, will be found of the highest practical value. They meet the problems of daily practice in an effective way, while the Notes are excellent. One criticism: the appointment of New Trustees in the place of the Public Trustee does not appear to come under the Trustee Act, 1925, Section 36.

* Waterlow and Sons, Ltd., London Wall. 17s. 6d. net

THE DISPUTE* IN THE COAL TRADE.

THE dispute in the Coal Trade seems as far from ending in September as it did twenty weeks ago. Such hope as may have been entertained a month since has been seriously dimmed by the latest occurrences. It is, perhaps, too sanguine to hope that October will see the end of a disaster which began in May and which, after six months, leaves the parties to it still at hopeless variance. A survey of its course, some consideration of its significance and some estimate of its consequences may nevertheless be of interest at the present moment.

No one who has watched the industrial and economic development of recent years can have been surprised at what has taken place. For many years past, more and more burdens have been placed on this industry. There is no need to state in any detail in what these have consisted. Nor is it proposed to offer any criticism of what has been done, beyond stating that too little regard seems to have been paid by the legislature to the effect of the various Acts of Parliament which demanded, directly or indirectly, contribution from the useful product of industry to objects thought to be for the advancement of the great mass of the community.

It is enough to say that taxation, general and local, has increased to an inordinate extent. The War is responsible for much the greater part of the taxes directly imposed by Parliament, though it must be remembered that the growth of the Budget before 1914 was the subject of great concern in many quarters. But local taxation in the form of rates has also increased to an unparalleled degree. This has been caused partly by the direct result of legislation, partly by placing in inexperienced hands the power of levying contributions on one class of the contributors. It was exercised in the apparent belief that it would not recoil on those whose wages depended on the ability of the employer to provide the needful funds for all the demands made on his purse.

To this series of causes, tending to the direct detriment of the employer, must be added yet another, to which the Coal Trade was more exposed than perhaps any other industry. For many years past the legislature has interfered in a direct way with this trade. By restricting the field from which he derives his labour, by imposing limitation of hours of labour, by prescribing minimum wages and in various other ways, obligations were placed on the employer which must have the effect of enhancing costs.

It appears to be thought that a coal owner has a limitless fund

* The word "strike" has been avoided wherever possible. In any conflict, great or small, each side is apt to impute the blame to the other. Neutral expressions have been adopted to prevent this being done in the present article.

on which he can draw to find means for satisfying any desire of those in his service for additional wages or greater amenities of life. It was in vain that those who consistently brought sounder economic views before the public pointed out that the ton of coal must provide for all the costs in connection with working it, that labour absorbed something like 70 per cent. to 75 per cent. of the selling value of the ton, that out of the balance must come all the other costs, and also the replacement of the capital of a wasting asset like a coal seam and all the reward for the interest on that capital. On the last item we shall have something to say later.

These processes were going gaily forward when, in 1914, the catastrophe of the War befell the world. No sincere observer will under-rate the patriotism displayed by the colliers when war was declared. I am glad to have the opportunity of again expressing my admiration for what was done in the counties I know best. The miners appreciated as completely as possible what had occurred and rose to the occasion. It is with regret that it must be recorded that when, in successive crises during the next four years, they had the power, it was used to extort from the Government conditions which added very considerably to the cost of the War. They were, however, not alone in this. Many other classes and great numbers of individuals fall under the same condemnation. These circumstances, in this as in other branches of industry, forced up labour costs to an extravagant figure, causing those who understood what was happening and who appreciated the ultimate effects of it, to feel much concern for the future.

The War ended. During its continuance no effort could be made to remedy the state of affairs which it had brought about. On its termination there came a boom in trade which again well-informed observers had anticipated. Artificial means affected in a temporary way the prices of many commodities, and chief among them, coal. But, before many months were over, the reaction made itself felt.

The Government, which at a very early stage in the War began to interfere with our freedom, and which shortly after assumed complete control of the collieries, undertook fresh responsibilities with reference to them. These were shortly found too onerous to be borne and, somewhat abruptly, various undertakings that had been given were cancelled and the coal owners were left to their fate. A brief cessation of operations, lasting three weeks, ensued in October-November, 1920, when a patched-up peace brought about what proved but a temporary resumption of work. In April, 1921, this purely artificial settlement was brought to an end. Operations again ceased, and the pits continued idle for three months, till June, 1921. At the end of that time a settlement was made, and

from 1st July, 1921 till 31st July, 1925, subject to a slight modification in 1924, this governed the wages payable to the men engaged in coal mining.

It may be convenient to state as briefly as possible the nature of that settlement. It provided that :

National and District Boards were to be established. The wage for each district was to be determined by the proceeds of the coal sold in that district and expressed as percentages on the district basis. The so-called Standard Wage was to be the district base plus the percentage ruling in July, 1914.

This was to be further increased by 83 per cent. of surplus proceeds after deducting Standard Wages, Other Costs and Standard Profits, which were assumed to amount to 17 per cent. of the Standard Wages. These Standard Profits were guaranteed in the sense that any deficiency was to be carried forward as a first charge on any subsequent surplus.

A "Subsistence Wage" was to be agreed between the parties.

It will be observed that it is a very complicated formula. It will cause no surprise to learn that the office of independent chairman, provided by the agreement, proved no sinecure. Nevertheless, the settlement continued to operate till April, 1924. It was then ended by a notice from the miners. This account has not been burdened by referring to all the commissions and conferences and inquiries and committees which have afflicted the Coal Trade from time to time, but it must here be mentioned that another patched-up peace was effected by a tribunal of which Lord Buckmaster was chairman. This imposed further burdens on the owners and was binding till 30th June, 1925, when it could be ended by either party giving a month's notice. It was doomed to failure. The price of coal had been falling steadily. No one acquainted with the circumstances could have expected any other result. In the six months ending December, 1921, the price certified by accountants was 21/11.66. This fell to 16/11.76 for the six months ending 31st December, 1924. To meet the market the cost of production must be lowered. In the opinion of the owners, who were already exercising the strictest economy by every means in their power, the only remaining effective method was a reduction in the cost of labour.

Before we proceed with this short account of the troubles peculiar to the Coal Trade we must briefly consider what effect the circumstances of the period were having on other branches of industry.

In the Iron Trade, in which the Coal Trade is very deeply interested (for it is one of the largest consumers of coal), the slump had already set in. The exaggerated profits of the War

period had given place to much less favourable results. It is true that the greater part of these profits were taken by the Government under various guises to meet the War expenditure. The Iron Trade was thus deprived of the funds which, in ordinary circumstances, would have served to meet the unfavourable conditions of trade which those who were best acquainted with the prospects of the future regarded as certain to ensue. But, besides this, the compulsory withdrawal from the world's markets during the cessation of work in the coal mines from April till June, 1921, put the Iron Trade in a very bad position to compete when operations were resumed. It may be said with complete truth that the British Iron Trade has not yet recovered the effects of this withdrawal.

What has been said about coal and iron is also applicable in a greater or lesser degree to other industries. If the railways may be instanced, the changes in wages and conditions (brought about chiefly by the War, but begun before 1914) have raised the cost of operating till it has become extremely doubtful whether the transportation business can be carried on without a large increase in the cost of carriage. This increase, those using the railways declare, they cannot face.

In fact it may be said that, speaking generally, the War has caused the costs of production in this country to rise beyond the point at which the product can be sold to cover those costs. To remedy this state of things the first step was to reduce the cost of production. In an industry like coal, where wages form much the greater part of the cost, this item must be reduced. It does not follow that earnings will fall. Longer hours or greater efficiency may more than make up reductions in rates.

The conclusions which follow from what has been stated are sufficiently unpleasant for all concerned, whether they be employers or employed. Indeed, it may be said that the situation, as it was and as it still is, has a most disagreeable aspect for the country at large. We need not be surprised, therefore, that the persons who would be most directly affected were most reluctant to accept them.

Reverting to the progress of events in the Coal Trade, the owners felt themselves compelled to avail themselves of the power reserved to either party under the Buckmaster settlement. They gave a month's notice to terminate the arrangement. The notice expired on 31st July, 1925.

Full warning, as they contend, had been given to the Government of the imminence of a struggle, but when the time came, it was stated that no sufficient preparation had been made to deal with the menacing situation which would arise if, on 1st August, 1925, operations in the coal mines ceased entirely.

Again we had Government interfering in a matter which many think stands quite outside its competence. The Prime Minister, after some endeavour to effect a settlement, announced that work must be continued for nine months, that the wages current in June, 1925 would continue to be paid till 30th April, 1926, and that, till then and pending a permanent settlement, the Government would refund to the coal owners the amount of wages over and above the figure at which they stated they were willing to give employment. Very reluctantly, and under protest, the owners accepted the position and work continued without interruption. During this period no progress was made toward effecting a permanent settlement, and at midnight on Friday, 30th April this year, work ceased at every colliery in the country.

It was not likely that changes of so drastic and far-reaching a kind would be effected easily. Many persons had foreseen that a serious conflict between employers and employed was almost inevitable in this country before normal conditions returned after the War. Some had thought it would most probably occur in the coal mining industry. When this appeared inevitable the Trade Union Council intimated that if the coal mines ceased to work a General Strike would be called. This threat was translated into action at midnight on Monday, 3rd May, 1926.

The cessation of operations in the coal pits has been disastrous enough in all conscience. That it was not even more so, is due to the belated common sense which brought home to the minds of the Trade Union leaders the outrageous folly of the General Strike. That quality, which has so often stood this country in good stead, came again to our help. The extraordinary political instinct of our race caused its originators to call off the General Strike after an experience of eleven days, to the great annoyance of the more hot-headed and less politically-minded of the leaders of the miners. May we hope that calmer counsels will now obtain the upper hand and that a settlement on economic grounds will be reached?

At present there appears to be an irreconcilable difference between the employers and the employed. Some of the latter seem to seek an entire alteration of the conditions under which industry is carried on. It is rather difficult to see on what practical grounds it is sought to make the very drastic changes proposed. Here is an industry which has been developed in a very remarkable way. In the last sixty years the output has been increased three-fold. The conditions of the workmen have been greatly improved, the housing conditions, specially in Northumberland and Durham, have been entirely changed. No credit need be taken for this, for additional houses were needed to cope with the

ever increasing output. Those provided will compare favourably with any in the country. The safety of the workers has been steadily increased, till coal miners hold a remarkable place in the life tables. On none of these grounds does there seem to be a very strong case for radical changes.

In this, as in most other branches of industry, Great Britain suffers from having been a pioneer. The coal mines here were developed long before any great progress had been made in other countries. When the rest of the world began to follow us, they had the great advantage of our experience. Many profited by our example. They were warned by our mistakes. Now a host of singularly ill-informed critics rush in and tell us we ought to have done this and avoided that. They say that we should imitate the Germans in this particular, and the Americans in that, forgetting that it was because of what we had done that others had known both what to do and what to avoid. Where we have to deal with new problems, we in this country can claim to have laid out new winnings which will compare favourably with any in the world. But it is idle to ask us to remodel pits which are fifty or sixty years old and make them like those which were sunk within the last ten years. And this is all the more difficult when it has to be done under legislative restrictions that greatly hamper the freedom of the colliery owner. When to this is added the difficulties which are interposed by Trade Union interference, the wonder is that we have done as well as is in fact the case. On the technical side the coal owners of Great Britain need have no fear of comparison between their methods and those of any other country which is under similar conditions.

On the commercial side we may well feel amusement at those who rush in and undertake to teach us our business, having themselves only the foggiest notions of its nature. May we not claim that in having raised our output in fifty years from 86½ million tons in 1863 to 287½ million tons in 1913, and disposed of it all at a cost for marketing which in Durham we estimate at considerably less than 3d. a ton, we have not much to learn from these outsiders?

Both on the technical and the commercial side, therefore, we say there is no ground for interference with the present ownership of coal. If on some ground of pure theory it is suggested that a complete change of conditions should be brought about, it would seem well to consider what are those theoretical grounds. The question is too complicated to be dealt with here. It involves a complete re-arrangement of our social and economic life—for it must not be forgotten that those who advocate the sort of change suggested would carry it into much wider realms than the Coal Trade. They don't hesitate to picture a society in which all our

doings will be ordered by some indefinite superior authority. We may well pause before we enter a path which leads to this ultimate goal. May we not ask whether, when the experiment has been tried on even a relatively small scale, it has proved so undivided a success as to encourage hopes of its yielding a solution to the difficult social problems which face us? In other countries State railways are passing back into the hands of private enterprise.

But let us for a moment assume that coal should be owned and worked by the State for the benefit of the community—or if that formula does not meet the views of those who desire to see private ownership abolished, let us accept any other which would effect the object they desire. The change cannot be made to-day or to-morrow; even if the present owners were to be expropriated without compensation and left to their fate, some time, measured by months or even years, would elapse before the new managers (they must not be called owners) had set the pulley wheels running. What is to happen in the meantime? Shall we continue to feed, however inadequately, the wives and children of the miners who are idle? What shall we do about all those multitudes whose earning ability depends on coal and their well-being on cheap coal? At the present moment the country is becoming poorer at a formidable pace. It is hard to estimate the loss, but probably £3,000,000 a day would not be too much. But be it much or little, every day is adding to the burden of debt we already carry and making the return to prosperity more and more difficult.

If these views are sound (and it is hard to see where they are false) we must postpone for the moment these drastic changes which some regard as likely to produce that new heaven and new earth so confidently promised to us by the politicians, and get down to the vital problem of the moment—on what terms shall the pits start to-morrow, or at some very early date?

To that question, at all events, it is not difficult to see the kind of answer which must be given. It has two aspects:

(1) The terms must be such that the ton of coal wherever it may be worked—in Scotland or Wales—in Durham or Kent—must provide all the costs of getting and disposing of it. No attempt shall be made here to state what items are comprised in that cost, but whatever they are found to be they must come out of the proceeds of the ton of coal.

(2) They must be such as will of themselves attract the workers into the pits. No extraneous help beyond what the ton of coal sold will give to the two parties—owner and workman—is of any use in solving our problem. Any such help means that some other group is contributing part of the cost of getting coal, and will in the long run refuse to do so.

Let us consider what this implies. A coal mine calls for a continuance of expenditure on its development. Before long, as it approaches exhaustion, measures must be adopted to have another ready to take its place. "Capitalism" (whatever that may mean) may be wicked, but "Capital" is essential. The workman must be offered inducement to work. Unless he is offered an adequate wage that inducement will be absent. If he demands more than the article he produces can afford to pay, his employment will sooner or later cease. It may be that the wage which industry as a whole can afford to pay will necessitate a reduction in the standard of life desired by the worker. If this is the case he must fain submit. It would be deplorable if it should prove to be the case. We shall best avoid the risk by seeking means to satisfy all parties to the bargain. That is the problem now before the country, which the coal owners and the miners have to settle. Cost of living, standard of life, amount of profit, are irrelevant questions for the moment.

I can state it no more clearly than I did in a letter which appeared in *The Times* last May, and which contained the following paragraphs:

"Are the owners to be compelled to pay wages of the present amount and under conditions which will lead to speedy bankruptcy, or are they to be left free to bargain with their men for such wages and conditions as will enable them to carry on their business unfettered by the multitude of legislative enactments which at present hamper the industry, and have in their opinion largely contributed to the present situation?"

"If the first alternative is accepted, the quantity of coal worked in Great Britain will certainly diminish and many men will be left to find other employment. If the second, the men will be at liberty either to take the wages offered or, as before, to seek other employment, if it can be found."

It will be evident from this why the coal owners are opposed to national settlements, or to restricted hours of labour, or indeed to a minimum wage. They are ready to pay the full wage the article produced can afford, they are willing to discuss with their men what this should be. They are not willing to enter into a bargain which will land them in bankruptcy, and they assert that a solution of that nature would be worse for their men than for them and disastrous for the country at large.

HUGH BELL.

Sept. 13th, 1926.

GERMANY AT GENEVA.

EXPECTATION is sometimes gratified and hope fulfilled. On the morning of the second Wednesday in September, in the unimpressive concert-hall where the League of Nations Assembly is constrained to hold its annual session pending the erection of a more worthy home, Germany was by a unanimous vote of the forty-eight States represented elected a member of the League, and by a second vote ten minutes later was accorded with equal unanimity a permanent seat on its Council.

Thus, after an interlude of six anxious months, was the disaster of March retrieved. Certain nervous misgivings had weighed on the minds of delegates till the very day the vote was taken. A bolt had fallen from the blue in March. Why should it be assumed that Heaven had exhausted its artillery by September? It was true that Brazil, the wrecker of March, had withdrawn from the scene before September. It was true that Spain, despite all her threats of similar withdrawal if she failed to secure for herself the permanent seat she claimed, had pledged herself to take no action hostile to Germany's entry. But there were other contingencies that could be imagined, and the unimagined and unforeseen might, if the precedent of March were repeated, be more disturbing still.

As things turned out all such fears were falsified. Both at Geneva and at Berlin difficulties, if they appeared at all, were smoothed out by wise and conciliatory statesmanship, and Germany was actually admitted a member of the League earlier by a few days than had originally been contemplated. The enthusiasm that greeted the announcement of the vote of September 8th was a measure of the relief the result had brought from the anxiety that had weighed to the last on most members of the Assembly. The still greater enthusiasm that hailed the actual entry of the German delegates into the Assembly Hall two days later was a measure of the satisfaction universally felt that the gap which disfigured the very centre of any League map of Europe had been closed up at last.

Everyone assumed that Germany's entry would be effected in an atmosphere of perfect courtesy. Few could have supposed it would be effected in an atmosphere of such unreserved cordiality. The language of diplomacy is one thing, the language of humanity is another, and both Dr. Stresemann and M. Aristide Briand spoke the latter. Instead of polite cut and thrust with buttoned foils there was nothing but the frank hand-grasp of men who have cast their swords away. Both speeches were characteristic, the German's practical, sound, restrained, and with a note of sincerity that convinced even those who followed the German text only in

an English or French translation; the Frenchman's eloquent, picturesque, idealistic. Yet those who discounted M. Briand's professions by half as the mere adornments of rhetoric forgot that a Foreign Minister with critics like the *Écho de Paris* and the *Action Française* directing hostile scrutiny on his every sentence is likely to be the last man to cast about empty words for the sake of an Assembly *réclame*.

What, in effect, did the German Foreign Minister tell the Assembly of the League of Nations on the day he first mounted the steps to its tribune? That Germany, long critical of and antagonistic to the League, had so changed its temper that he could speak as representative of a clear majority of the German people when he pledged his country to loyal and continued co-operation at Geneva. That Germany's purpose there would be to enable her own national genius, like the national genius of her sister States, to make the fullest contribution to the interest of the whole. That among her aims in particular would be the promotion of economic co-operation, the support of the Permanent Court of International Justice, and the realisation of that measure of disarmament to which all signatories of the Treaty of Versailles had pledged themselves.

To that M. Briand made reply in a brilliant improvisation, delivered without a single note. It was the speech of a convinced believer in the League of Nations. It was a speech addressed as much in response and invitation to the German delegation as to the Assembly itself. It was a speech that pointed down new roads and away from old. It foreshadowed a continuing collaboration between France and Germany at Geneva. ("Gentlemen of the German delegation, our nations have no need to give further proof of their virility or their heroism. Both have known how to display their prowess on the field of battle. Both have reaped there a rich harvest of renown. Henceforth they may seek laurels in other fields.") It was a speech that realised the dangers of the future. ("If you, M. Stresemann, are here as a German and as that alone, if I am here as a Frenchman and nothing more, then agreements will be hard indeed to achieve. If we come here, not forgetting our respective countries, but as citizens sharing in the universal work of the League, all will work out for good; we shall attain communion of spirit with our colleagues in this unique atmosphere of Geneva.") It was a speech that ended with a necessary warning against thinking of Geneva as a field where national prestige could be displayed and magnified. "Henceforth our road is one of peace and progress. We shall win real greatness for our countries if we induce them to lay aside their pride, to sacrifice, it may be, certain of their desires in the service of world-

peace. That sacrifice will not depreciate our countries, it will make them greater."

As a dramatic spectacle, in short, the entry of Germany was all that could be hoped for, the more so that the dramatic element was at no point overdone. But the events of a day may have no significance beyond the day, and the question to be asked and answered regarding Germany's entry is what its enduring effect on the League of Nations promises to be. With the history of the past seven years behind her Germany may bring to Geneva peace or a sword. All the indications so far suggest that her desire is peace—which will serve her interests at least as much as those of all the world. There are no signs yet that contentious problems are to be flung recklessly into the arena, eager though the Nationalist Press at Berlin may be for the German delegation to adopt such provocative tactics. But sooner or later some of those questions will have to be faced. There is, for example, that of minorities. There is Danzig. There is the Saar. So far as Germany has genuine grievances in these fields she will have ample opportunities as a member of the Council for raising them constitutionally and making every reasonable contention heard. There is the question of mandates. There a much more difficult problem is raised. The feeling is undoubtedly growing in Great Britain, and it appears to be growing in France as well, in favour of the restoration to Germany of one of her former territories under League mandate as a not unreasonable solatium to her *amour propre*. Togoland or the Cameroons would lend themselves to such treatment particularly well, because the "sacrifice," if sacrifice it be, would be made jointly by Britain and France, which have divided the mandates for those former German colonies between them. But it is certain that Italy would have at once to be reckoned with in such a case. She has insisted that, as the only Great Power victorious in the War and still left without a mandate, she must be considered in that field before any other State. No one desires to precipitate a conflict between the League and Italy, and there will therefore be a general endeavour, in which even Germany may be expected to share, to let the question of mandate transfers rest where it is for the present.

There is equally the question of disarmament—regarding which any legitimate pressure that Germany may exert will be welcomed generally in Great Britain as much as in Germany itself—and the question of the evacuation of the occupied territories by Allied troops. That is not directly a League matter at all, and it is to be hoped Germany will make no attempt to raise it at Geneva, though problems of supervision to follow the ultimate evacuation, whenever that may take place, may very well involve League action.

But it is not in the main such questions as these that are most immediately raised by the appearance of German delegates in the Assembly Hall and at the Council table of the League of Nations. At both they are unreservedly welcomed, but the League has still to count the cost of their presence there. Against all it has gained by German co-operation must be set all it has lost as a result of the compromises and sacrifices needed to make that co-operation possible. Most obvious among these, of course, is the defection of Brazil and Spain. About that there is little to be said. Both countries claimed permanent seats on the League of Nations Council, and both gave notice of withdrawal from the League when it became clear that their desires would not be gratified. Both have thereby diminished their international status, for States thus pursuing what is in effect a policy of blackmail cannot expect to retain the respect of their fellows. If the League had yielded to such menace it would have made itself a League of which no nation mindful of its own position and dignity would care to be a member, and a League exposed at every juncture to similar pressure from any State with a policy to push and few scruples as to the method by which to push it. Spain and Brazil having struck the attitude they did the League's one course was clear, and happily there was no hesitation about adopting it. Spain and Brazil have gone till they see fit to return, and the League will pursue its path without them.

But that does not mean that the sacrifice cost nothing. Though it be true, as no doubt it is, that the presence of Germany far outweighs the absence of Spain, and that the apparently impending return of the Argentine Republic will strengthen the League more than the disappearance of Brazil will weaken it, that is not the just comparison to make. It is not a question between a League including Germany and the Argentine and a League including Spain and Brazil, but between a League including all four of those States and a League containing only two of them. Till the absentees return the League will have been substantially weakened, and though the Council and Assembly were right not to shrink from the sacrifice, it is deplorable that the sacrifice should have been necessary.

That, moreover, is far from being the only consequence of Germany's entry. Her appearance at Geneva carries the mind back inevitably to the conflicts and controversies of March, for they have left their mark indelibly, for better or worse, on the structure of the League. When the March Assembly dispersed with nothing of its task accomplished the claims of Spain, Brazil and Poland still remained unsatisfied, and the hope of retaining the allegiance of those States by granting them something less than they were

demanding had not been abandoned. Accordingly, the special commission created by the Council at the request of the Assembly to find a solution for the critical problems thus raised set itself in the months between March and September to explore every avenue of possible settlement. It fell to Lord Cecil to evolve a plan on which it was hoped for a time that agreement could be based. It obtained general approval in a provisional form in May, and it was not till June that Brazil made it clear she would not accept the compromise thus offered. Its final conclusions were reached in the first week of September, and it was not till ten days later that Spain announced that she too would go rather than abate one tittle of her original claim.

Meanwhile the plan had been approved in turn by the special commission itself, by the Council and by the Assembly, and the League is now committed to it for a period of years at least. If the plan is sound itself and stands foursquare on its own merits that is no great matter. If it is merely an expedient designed to avert an impending crisis, the fact that it has failed completely in that primary intention (since Spain and Brazil have left the League in spite of everything and Poland could have been satisfied without any change in the League's constitution at all) gives ground at first sight for some misgiving.

The question therefore is whether the Cecil plan is justified by its own inherent methods or not. Its essential feature is the increase in the non-permanent members of the Council from six to nine, and the division of those nine into two categories, three members being capable of immediate re-election at the conclusion of their term of office if the Assembly by a two-thirds majority so decides, while the other six must (in order to secure a reasonable rotation of representation on the Council) stand aside for three years after they have served one three-year term.

The immediate purpose of that arrangement is obvious. It had been Spain's great complaint that if the rules of the Assembly were so drawn as to exclude temporarily from candidature a State that had just served one term, she would be deprived of that privilege of perpetual re-election on which, thanks to the support of the seventeen Latin-American States represented in the Assembly, she could otherwise count. By the new arrangement the Assembly could dispense her from the necessity of temporary retirement, and she would therefore enjoy to all intents and purposes the position of a permanent member of the Council, except for the fact that the Assembly retained the power to refrain from electing her if there seemed any reason for such a course.

When the Council's special commission ended its May sitting there seemed good reason to hope that the three chief aspirants,

Spain, Brazil and Poland, would realise how far this compromise met their desires. Poland has frankly recognised it. Spain and Brazil have declined to move an inch to meet the League, and have withdrawn from all association with it. As a result the League is left with a Council of nine non-permanent members, making with the five permanent a total of fourteen in all. What is there to be said in favour of that enlargement? There is clearly a good deal to be said against it, and it is certain that it would never have been approved but for the belief that it would avert a grave League crisis.

The League Council consisted originally of eight members. It was enlarged in 1922 to ten, by the decision to increase the non-permanent members from four to six. The entry of Germany in 1926 would have brought the number to eleven. There are many reasons for believing that a Council of that size is fully large enough. There is, in the first place, the practical consideration that if the Council has to be convened in an emergency, the fewer the number of members to be summoned from different quarters the greater the prospect of a full attendance. There is, secondly, the undoubted fact that the solidarity, mutual confidence and *esprit de corps* which were manifestly valuable elements in the success of the old Council of ten cannot be present to the same degree in the enlarged Council of fourteen. There is, thirdly, the equally undoubted fact that it cannot be as easy to find nine suitable candidates for nine non-permanent seats—particularly with the rule of rotation which prevents six out of the nine from offering themselves for re-election—as it is to find six. As illustration of this it has only to be pointed out that three Council members have to be elected (by an agreement reached this year) from a Latin America in which two out of the three A.B.C. States, Brazil and the Argentine, are not included owing to their absence from Geneva.

One final consideration is more serious than these. The enlargement of the Council cannot fail to have a profound effect on the whole relationship between the Council and the Assembly. The Covenant leaves it intentionally vague which of the two shall be the predominant body, and among students of League affairs there are those on the one hand who insist, like Dr. Nansen, that the supremacy of the Assembly is the essential expression of that spirit of democracy on which the League depends (M. Briand himself declared on the day of Germany's entry that "everything must be done in public and in collaboration with all the nations—*la totalité des nations*—belonging to the League"), and those on the other who see in the Assembly nothing better than an ill-regulated public meeting. There may be room for both those

views, but it is certain that if the Assembly should ever become no more than a mere audience for the reports of the Council on the action it has taken in the name of the League, the interest of the lesser nations in the League would be lost for ever. That danger may not be serious, but all who witnessed the lack of leadership in the Assembly last March, when irritation at the methods of secrecy pursued by Council members was strong, are bound to feel certain misgivings regarding it.

You cannot take from an Assembly numbering something under fifty States (for the attendance has so far never exceeded, or indeed quite reached, that figure) fourteen of the most prominent without leaving the remnant weak and lacking in initiative. If it is true on the one hand that the increase of the non-permanent members of the Council will to some extent counteract the predominance of the Great Powers on that body, it is equally true that it must to some extent create a predominance of the Council over the Assembly—unless indeed the Assembly can realise itself and discover leaders outside the Council to a degree of which there is little evidence yet.

To all these arguments there are no doubt answers. It may be contended, in particular, with much justice, that though it may be hard to find States of sufficient international standing to fill nine non-permanent places on the Council, yet obscure States can often produce first-class men, and on the Council the individual may count for more than the State he represents. It may be pleaded equally that no antagonism between Council and Assembly is ever likely, and that in any case men who sit as members of the Council will never forget their duty as members of the Assembly too. That must be left to the proof of experience. This at least is incontestable, that as part and parcel of the admission of Germany, and arising directly out of the controversies to which her application early this year gave rise, the structure and balance of the League of Nations has been profoundly modified. That may turn out entirely for the best. Meanwhile one tendency must be constantly watched, a gradual concentration of the whole life of the League in a Council led by five Great Powers.

H. WILSON HARRIS.

THE PROMOTION OF INTERNATIONAL ILL-WILL.

THE British, whose governing classes enjoy in certain Continental countries a wholly unmerited reputation for far-sighted political acumen and for a Machiavellian astuteness in giving effect to their ambitions, are for the most part simple people, little concerned with external relations or, indeed, unless aroused by what they conceive to be some flagrant injustice, much interested in other people's affairs. They are generally not so much impervious to, as unaware of foreign criticism, being unconscious of having afforded any reasonable grounds for hostility. From time to time, however, they are to their surprise made aware by certain manifestations of an unpopularity which even their insular outlook cannot ignore, and then the average man begins seriously to resent that his country should be the object of aspersions and insinuations for which he is convinced there is no foundation. In the period preceding 1914 he had reluctantly made up his mind that the attitude of public men and of the Press in Germany towards his country had become intolerable. It would be deplorable if he should be driven to realise the growth of a similar spirit in another nation with which he has every desire to maintain intimate and cordial relations.

It should be, and happily it is generally, the aim of the leaders of enlightened public opinion to do all that is in their power to prevent occasions for international friction, to correct misunderstandings, and to refrain from inflaming prejudices. Politicians, pressmen, authors, and all who command publicity, have responsibilities in this respect.

Such a responsibility cannot be repudiated by a distinguished writer who has acquired an international as well as a well-merited national popularity in the field of romance, a branch of literature which appeals to by far the largest number of general readers, and which may therefore have, temporarily at any rate, a considerable influence on average opinion. Allegations bearing on contemporary issues put into the mouths of his characters by an author of acknowledged authority, not as hypotheses open to contestation, but as though they were matters of common knowledge, will be accepted without hesitation by the mass of readers in his own country. A fictitious importance may, moreover, be given to them by a habit, which appears to be growing in modern French fiction, of introducing well-known public men, without any disguise and under their own names, in contact with the imaginary characters of the story.

It is an ungrateful duty to take to task so delightful a writer

as M. Pierre Benoit, whose work has been hardly less appreciated in England than in France. But in one of his more recent volumes, *La Châtelaine du Liban*, he has vicariously advanced certain allegations and insinuations regarding the action of this country in Syria, which can hardly be passed over in silence. His good faith is, of course, not questioned; it is his judgment which is open to criticism. He has apparently, during a residence of nearly a year in regions in which France is confronted with an extremely difficult situation, assimilated appreciations which probably find ready currency among harassed officials and officers, who are predisposed to attribute to foreign intrigue the prolongation of conditions which experience in Algiers, Morocco and elsewhere might well have prepared them to anticipate in an area of chronic unrest. On such unverified appreciations he has founded the plot of a romance, the pages of which are filled with references which will be justly resented here, while they constitute a direct incitement to protest and hostility in France.

The present article is only concerned with the matter and not with the literary merit of a rather sordid story told in the first person as a self-revelation by Captain Domèvre of the Spahis who, after being severely wounded in action with his *méhari*, is transferred to the military intelligence section at Beyrout. He there renews relations and rapidly finds himself in acute conflict with a former English acquaintance, who is acting nominally as liaison officer between the High Commissioners of Palestine and Syria. Nominally, because in reality he is employed as a secret agent for communication with the enemies of France and is represented as being directly responsible for various sinister incidents. The officer in question, Major Hobson, is first introduced engaged in a violent altercation with a barman who refuses to disclose to him the composition of a cocktail which has, he explains, the virtue that as many as six may be safely consumed, when the way has been prepared for their assimilation with a little whisky. It might not be irrelevant to remind M. Benoit, to whose admirable craftsmanship a false note must be repugnant, that it is not from such types that liaison officers in important posts are selected, and that the constant prejudicial introduction of the whisky *cliché* is hardly worthy of his art. In any case Hobson, it is admitted by the Colonel in charge of Intelligence, has certain merits besides that of being *un redoutable buveur*.

The sentimental or sexual side of the romance is really subordinate to the duel between the hero and the thirsty but capable Hobson who, in spite of the unsympathetic part he is made to play, proves in the end the better gentleman of the two. The gradual undermining of the moral fibre and honourable character

of a young soldier with a distinguished record is the result of a consuming passion for a fascinating adventuress. Countess Orlof, a mysterious syren of complex antecedents, established in a restored fortress of the Templars, the Castle of Purity, is also English, in so far as she has been accepted as the daughter of a former British representative at Peking. Her real parentage must, however, we are told, be traced to the Russian diplomatist whom, as an elderly man of 57, she eventually married. It is difficult to assign any sufficient reason for the introduction of this particularly repugnant detail into her hectic career. She is credited with unlimited resources which prove however to be precariously invested, and she is under suspicion of being an agent of the British Government. Of such a charge, she maintains, the catholicity of her relations and the conflicting sentiments attributed to her by rival critics are a sufficient refutation. She confesses to having been intimate with Djemal Pasha, who was associated with her late husband in speculative adventures. In 1918 Djemal had asked her how she could account for her inexplicable attraction to France "when we hold that country under our boot." Lord Allenby, whom she had entertained with his staff at dinner, had wondered, after he had sampled her whisky, how she could possibly display any sympathy for the barbarous Turk. The *médaille de la reconnaissance française* had been conferred upon her for important services rendered, and she would indeed have received the Legion of Honour if the sources of her wealth had not been tainted. But General Gouraud had reproached her with being a Drusophil, and had inquired, "How can you, whose real sentiments I have reason to appreciate, play the game of England against us in this country?" Her infinite variety made the intangible Countess an enigma. On the other hand, she made no attempt to palliate a frank libertinage, serviceable also as a means to an end, and she was evidently sincere in her cult for the memory of Lady Hester Stanhope, whose conception of the possibilities of the marvellous East she contrasted, to the disadvantage of Napoleon, with his abandonment of a transient dream for immediate political and military successes in the West.

The French Intelligence Staff, however, took quite a different view of Lady Hester. While affecting to dislike her own country she had really helped to promote the cold calculations of British politicians, and indeed it was with funds provided by the British Government that she maintained a state which for a long time dazzled the Bedouin! When they discovered that she could be of no further use to them they cut off the supply and she died in destitution. The young Intelligence officer is urged to re-read Lady Anne Blunt's *Bedouin Tribes of the Euphrates*, bearing in

mind that it has always been the policy of Great Britain to utilise the Arabs in order to create embarrassments for the French. Those who were intimate with the Blunts will be amused at the suggestion that Lady Anne had lent her pen to support British political aims in the East. Finally he is instructed not to lose sight of the activities of Miss Gertrude Bell, who is indicated as emulating Colonel Lawrence in her efforts *pour nous faire tout le mal que vous savez*.

So far there is perhaps relatively little reason to complain. We are familiar with the presumption that every British traveller who is drawn to the East by archaeological or ethnical studies is an agent of the British Government. During the Great War the services of some of these were in fact enlisted. We have had our own troubles with the indiscretions of amateur politicians and even with the indiscipline of officials, and we can realise that unauthorised activities may sometimes lead to misunderstandings. The more serious insinuations begin when the hero of the story has taken over his new duties.

To the chief of his section, who suggests that in his skirmishes with the Bedouin he may have had occasion to suspect the hand of England, he replies by pointing to his wounded arm. The bullet was of English manufacture. It is, of course, obvious that a certain number of weapons which were issued to Arab auxiliaries during the Great War have been diverted to purposes which were never contemplated. But the implication of hostile assistance does not come with a good grace from those whose Government paid so little heed to our repeated protests against the traffic in arms carried on at Djibouti to our serious embarrassment in East Africa. His instructor then warns him that his new duties will demand no little tact, "especially in view of the cordiality of relations *which we pretend to observe* with our British allies." He adds, "Our adversaries are not particular. They have on their side an immense material superiority in the gold which they lavishly distribute." Hobson, who has a mission from his government to supply information of a kind which is described as superfluous to characterise, must be regarded by him as the piece on the chessboard which should engage his special attention. No sooner has Captain Domèvre examined the documents at his disposal than his eyes are opened. He realises that his country is faced "with the monstrous intrigues of our enemies, our allies." His heart goes out to his former comrades, riding at the head of their Spahis in ignorance of the pitfalls which have been dug for them and the price which has been set on their heads. He even learns from these archives how many *guineas* were paid to the Bedouin who fractured his arm.

It is not long before his own investigations enable him to discover that a *mudir*, one of their most trusted native information agents, is serving the efficient Hobson in the same capacity and is acting as an intermediary for the transmission of arms to the insurgents. No signed receipt for the thousands of pounds handed over to him has actually come to light, but the moral evidence is amply sufficient. When the treacherous agent had been arrested on the pretext of having outraged the wife of a customs official who had denounced him, the unabashed Hobson, who has read a note to that effect in the local Press, expresses between several glasses of whisky the presumption that the authorities will duly appreciate the merits of an official who has held his domestic honour high. The two antagonists have just returned from brief expeditions into the desert, and each has been kept accurately informed as to the other's movements. Their dialectical sparring over this incident implies a veiled challenge, and Hobson orders cocktails.

During a ball at the Residency the High Commissioner for Syria—it is General Gouraud, whose qualities as a soldier and as an administrator have been justly recognised in this country—sends for the intelligence officer and, taking him into his study, breaks to him the substance of an unwelcome telegram which has just come to hand. There has been a disaster to a mobile column and Captain Domèvre's old company has been practically annihilated. Two of his former comrades have been killed, and only one of the three officers has survived. It is not yet clear who the aggressors were, but the captain gives his reasons for believing them to be Kurds. It passes through his mind that Hobson after his recent ostensible picnic to Palmyra had returned in a British aeroplane coming from Bagdad. But for the moment he is too overcome with emotion to establish a definite synchronism of dates. After the ball he is conducted by Hobson to a supper party at Countess Orlof's, and the process of his enchantment begins, in spite of his realising that the perfume she exhales is identical with that of which he had recently detected a lingering trace in Hobson's apartment.

When a detailed report of the disaster to Domèvre's *mehari* has been received, General Gouraud acknowledges that he was correct in attributing the aggression to Kurds. All now becomes clear. Hobson, under the pretext of an expedition to Palmyra, had gone to Bagdad, whence a slight deflection of the aeroplane would take him to Mosul, the nearest point for contact with the Kurds. He must have been there just ten days before the attack took place. This discovery led to a surprise visit to his rooms. Hobson, taken unawares in his pyjamas, hastily endeavoured to conceal under

other papers a staff map which he had been studying, the nature of which left no doubt as to his complicity. Outwardly, however, he seemed in no way disconcerted, though the advantage of the next move lay with the French officer. "Let me," he said, "ask you a question, Hobson. Suppose—admitting for a moment that our two nations were still after the war employing secret agents, one as against the other—suppose that such an agent proposed to bring me that report of yours, how much ought I, in your opinion, to give him?" Hobson replied, "Oh, not very much. Twenty thousand pounds. He would be well paid." Asked why he specified that particular sum, he explained that in the impossible contingency suggested that was the amount he would be authorised to pay for such a document. England was a generous nation.

The further development of the plot may be very briefly summarised. The hero falls without a struggle under the dominion of the mysterious châtelaine of the Lebanon. He neglects and eventually ceases to show any further interest in the young lady, the daughter of a colonel in the garrison, to whom he had become engaged after she had nursed him in the military hospital. Finally, after many weeks of dalliance in the Castle of Purity, he discovers that imprudent investments have brought the adventuress to the brink of ruin and that, rather than renounce her luxurious existence, she contemplates selling herself to another elderly admirer, a Greek notable of Alexandria. His devotion or obsession impels him to make any sacrifice to save her from such a fate. His own private means are inadequate or, at any rate, not immediately realisable and, after the breakdown of some rather shady negotiations with a Levantine business man, anxious to wrest from a rival firm a contract for army supplies, he turns as a last expedient to the bibulous but efficient Hobson.

The latter is approached and reminded that he had once declared himself ready to pay a certain price for certain information. Hobson, assisted by a cocktail, conducts the negotiation on strictly business lines. He asks if at their former interview he had not specified a definite amount. In reply he is informed that he had mentioned twenty-five thousand pounds, and Hobson admits that the figure is correct. Strictly speaking it is not, as twenty thousand was the sum indicated on that occasion. (*Vide* p. 172.) On the other hand, Hobson points out that the relative value of the franc and the pound has changed since this matter was hypothetically discussed. He has since, moreover, procured from other sources a good deal of the information which he could then only have obtained from French intelligence reports. He trusts he will not be regarded as taking an unfair advantage of the captain's financial embarrassments if he suggests that twelve thousand pounds would be an adequate price, the more so as he

understands that that will provide the precise amount in francs which he is anxious to find. A cheque on a bank in Alexandria will be available the following evening as soon as the goods are delivered. Till when, *au revoir*. The captain had put out his hand, but Hobson playing with his stick ignored the movement. The last appeal of the unhappy man, "Hobson, listen to me!" is met with the rebuff, "Would you mind calling me Major?" The Englishman would seem to have won the game. But an attack of brain-fever for which the events and emotions of the last few days are responsible saves the French officer from the infamy of executing the contract. When he eventually recovers and rejoins his *méhari*, Madame Orlof has left for Alexandria; the abandoned fiancée, whose declining health had hardly preoccupied him, has died in hospital, and Hobson has been transferred to another post.

Now to what conclusion can we come after the perusal of a book in which officers represented as belonging to the staff of General Gouraud are continually referring to the action of Great Britain in terms which cannot but be offensive to the allied country? It has, of course, only been possible here to reproduce a certain number of examples. Charges and insinuations of such a nature from an author of secondary importance might well be left to the silence to which it would be preferable to relegate them. But the sanction given to them by so eminent a French writer as M. Pierre Benoit is a serious matter. From a note on the cover of this volume it appears that its circulation had already some time ago reached 130,000. It has, therefore, at a moderate calculation, been read by at least half a million Frenchmen. The position which Benoit has already conquered in the world of letters excludes the possibility of his having courted a cheap popularity by an appeal to chauvinism, and it is inconceivable that he can desire to promote ill-will between two countries whose real interests lie in frank and friendly co-operation. One can only conclude that he has allowed himself to be carried away by local rumours and gossip, which are no doubt readily endorsed by interested native agents, without any serious effort to verify their validity. He has himself evidently believed such stories to be worthy of credence, and a sense of indignation has produced in his case not verses but romance.

It seems to be past hope to convince the average Frenchman that the British Government does not and cannot devote vast sums of money to promoting its own political ends and to thwarting those of other countries. Such a popular belief has been long established, and some little colour may possibly have been given to it by the practice which prevailed in the days of the Georges of supplementing an exiguous army by mercenary troops from Germany. In the time of Napoleon, when nations knew little of the internal conditions of their neighbours, such slogans as *Perfide*

Albion were easily popularised, and they no doubt served a useful purpose. A humourist of an obviously more recent date has indicated *La Cavalerie de St. Georges* as the most potent instrument of British diplomacy. The man in the street will continue to believe that John Bull has bought the world, and will therefore be only the more convinced that as a creditor John Bull is entitled to little consideration.

But it should not be too much to expect that an eminent author, before advancing such accusations of disloyalty against an allied country, even vicariously through the characters of a novel, would have made some rudimentary study of British institutions. Had he done so it would have been clear to him that no public money can be spent on any object by British Governments or British Agents which is not included in the Budget and sanctioned by Parliament, and that no balances can be accumulated from provisions which remain unspent at the close of a financial year. In that Budget there is, of course, a certain estimate which cannot be exceeded for secret services. It is in normal times an absurdly small one to cover internal as well as external requirements in the vast field of the British Empire. The modest total is ascertainable by anyone who consults the estimates. In war-time, of course, special credits may be assigned for such purposes within the financial year. There is no other source from which such expenditure could be defrayed. It would no doubt be consonant with the reputed Machiavellianism of British politicians that they should have some secret hoard on which to draw for the promotion of their ambitious designs. But unfortunately for the popular legend that is constitutionally impossible. The postulate, therefore, that a liaison officer in Syria would be authorised to pay twenty or twenty-five thousand pounds for documents which would, moreover, probably be of little interest, is as preposterous as the allegation of substantial payments made to Bedouins or Kurds suborned to attack the military patrols of our neighbour.

It is regrettable that such charges should be lightly made. It is even more regrettable that they should be lightly believed. Societies and institutions for the promotion of a cordial understanding, and the entertainment of distinguished visitors invited to address academies and learned bodies with that end in view, are obviously futile if eminent writers whose popularity enables them to reach the masses use their power to instil resentment and ill-will. Those who presided over the destinies of France in the Great War know with what scrupulous loyalty we respected our engagements in the Near East. It would be interesting to learn what General Gouraud himself would have to say regarding the part he is made to play in *La Châtelaine du Liban*.

RENNELL RODD.

THE EFFECT OF LAND TENURE ON PRODUCTION.

THE factors of agricultural production may be classified under three headings, viz.: (1) Physical, (2) Economic, (3) Human.

Of these three factors that which has the predominant influence is the first. Soil, climate and situation determine what crops it is possible to grow, and, in a large measure also, the amount of produce which can be obtained from a given area of land. The particular tract of the earth's surface on which the agriculturist's efforts are concentrated will, to a large degree, respond to his efforts, and scientific research is steadily increasing his power of eliciting and augmenting the latent potentialities of various soils, although in all cases within definite limits. But the other physical factors—sunshine and rain, cold and heat, altitude and aspect—are all inexorable.

The economic factors of production are, on the other hand, wholly the result of human activity. They may be summarised in two words—cost and price. The cost of production is partly within and partly outside the farmer's control. The general level of prices at which his produce can be sold is determined by conditions usually world-wide in their re-action, but within the limits of available markets the price obtained may be appreciably affected by the quality of the product and therefore in a large degree by the effort of the producer.

The human factor of production is the individuality of the producer. It is a commonplace of observation that in identical physical and economic conditions one man will succeed and another fail. It is true that the utmost effort may be defeated by physical or economic catastrophe, but in normal circumstances, over a series of years, it may be said that the human factor determines the amount of produce from a particular area. Natural ability, acquired knowledge and personal skill form the mental equipment of the cultivator of the soil, but there is also a more subtle element in the human factor. A man may possess ability, knowledge and skill, and yet lack the energy to apply them. It is conceivable that the highest degree of human endeavour may be developed altruistically, but in the present stage of human development we must proceed on the assumption that effort needs incentive and that, as a general rule, the greater incentive the more strenuous the effort.

It is impossible to attempt a description of the various systems of land tenure in the world. So far as I am aware no complete description exists, although numerous studies have been made of

the systems prevailing in different countries, and in recent years the International Agricultural Institute has taken up the useful work of publishing monographs on the subject, which in due course may provide the material for a compendious comparison. One difficulty which confronts the student is that in very few countries is the system of land tenure static. In many countries the change has been slow, and the evolution of the existing system from its original form has extended over centuries. In other countries changes have been sudden and revolutionary, and the post-war period has been prolific in such episodes. Changes have been the result of political, economic, and sociological causes, but in every country they have been influenced by the historical and racial characteristics of the nation.

In the United States three-fifths of the farms are occupied by the owners, but there are five classes of tenant: (1) Share tenants, (2) Cropper share-tenants, (3) Share-cash tenants, (4) Cash-tenants, (5) Standing renters. In an article on "The relation of types of tenure to efficiency in farm operations," the U.S. Bureau of Agricultural Economics stated that "the question whether tenants or owner-farmers were the more efficient, as measured by crop production per acre, cannot be conclusively answered except with reference to the particular locality under consideration," and the conclusion reached was that "efficiency is less a matter of the class of tenure than it is of the personal qualities of the farmer, the character of the land, and the adequacy of farm equipment and operating capital." In Denmark about nine-tenths of the occupiers of farms are owners, and there is general agreement among the multitude of commentators on Danish farming that its high degree of productiveness is largely, if not mainly, attributable to the magic of ownership, although some ascribe a major influence to the fact that the holdings are small. Mr. R. J. Thompson, in a careful comparison of the relative productivity of British and Danish farming (*R.S.S. Journal*, March, 1926), after arriving at the conclusion that the net production from the land in Denmark is 50 per cent. greater than in Great Britain, discreetly suggested that "it is the size of the holdings combined with the psychological effect of ownership which is the real source of the difference between the two countries."

The day has passed when the inquirer can find such an instance of the direct influence of conditions of tenure as was apparent on the Holkham estate a century and a half ago, when a wise landlord broke with the old traditions of landlordism and let his farms on terms which stimulated the enterprise and rewarded the effort of his tenants and resulted in the conversion of a wilderness into a highly productive agricultural area. There would be no such

opportunity now for Coke of Holkham. The freedom and security which he then gave his tenants as a privilege—or as a business proposition, for he reaped the financial reward of his far-sightedness—are now ensured to all farm tenants by legal right. The old English landlord and tenant system about which countless volumes have been written both in adulation and condemnation is as obsolete as the ducking-chair and the stocks. The present system has little more than a superficial resemblance to that which existed up to the last quarter of the nineteenth century. The letting of farms for a cash rental, which includes payment for the land and its permanent equipment as an agricultural holding, is the common basis of both systems, but whereas under the old system the conditions of tenure were prescribed by the will of the landowner—or ostensibly by free bargaining between the owner of the farm and the applicant for it—they are under the new system embodied in legal enactments.

By a series of Agricultural Holdings Acts culminating in 1923 the State has given tenants the right to compensation for all improvements made by them, including any increased value of the holding due to the adoption of a special standard or system of farming, the right to compensation for disturbance, the right to appeal to arbitration against an increase of rent, and the right of free cultivation. This intervention by the State to prescribe the conditions of farm tenure began in 1883, but there are no means of estimating its effect on production. Most of those who pronounce authoritative judgment assert that agricultural output per acre is less since the State intervened to protect tenant farmers. On this point I have personal doubts and, at any rate, I believe that if production has diminished it is due to other causes than State intervention.

The trend of legislation in the direction of giving rights of quasi-ownership to tenants and of severely restricting the previously unfettered control by landlords of land let by them does not necessarily ensure increased production. The skilful, experienced and energetic tenant will put the land to the best economic use, and will maintain and increase its fertility. In his case liberal terms of tenure stimulate increased production. But the unskilled, inexperienced, or lethargic tenant will not only reduce the production but, what is worse, exhaust the fertility of the land. Under the old system the landlord had the power to insist on a standard of cultivation and to prohibit the dissipation of the natural resources of the land. Under the new State-regulated system the supervisory powers of the landlord are abolished, and he can only exercise control over the use of the land if he is prepared to cultivate it himself. The law purports to provide a remedy by giving

the owner the right to claim compensation for deterioration of the holding, but as the tenant who has wasted or misused the land will probably quit the farm in financial difficulties, this is somewhat illusory as a safeguard.

The shifting by the State of the responsibility for maintaining the productivity of the land from the owner to the tenant is a change in the system of tenure of which the implications have not yet been fully realised.

It is, of course, true that under the old system some landlords did not worthily or wisely use their responsibility. But worthiness and wisdom are not universal in any class, and the mere fact that tenants are more numerous than owners makes it statistically probable that the number of irresponsible persons is now greater. And if there are still any who rely on enlightened self-interest to ensure the maximum use of opportunity they may be reminded that interest in the continued productivity of the land is greater when it is permanent than when it is temporary.

A considerable extent of agricultural land is held by tenants under public or semi-public ownership. The area of estates which are not privately owned cannot be given completely, but amongst them are :

	Acres.
Crown Lands	332,000
Duchy Lands	150,000
Ecclesiastical Commission	240,000
Oxford University	176,000
Cambridge University	116,000

Not all of this is agricultural land, but it may safely be said that the greater proportion is let in farms of various sizes.

The acquisition of agricultural land by public authorities, in the strict sense of the word, has been proceeding steadily for nearly twenty years. According to the latest return the County Councils of England and Wales have purchased under the Small Holdings and Allotments Acts 350,000 acres which they still own, while Councils of County Boroughs own over 6,000 acres. The State, through the Ministry of Agriculture, owns nearly 5,000 acres, which are devoted to farm settlements.

In general it may be said that the conditions of tenure are the same whether the land is privately or publicly owned. The Agricultural Holdings Acts apply alike to both. It is sometimes suggested that tenants of publicly-owned farms miss the personal consideration and assistance which an individual landlord can, and in many cases does, give, and that a public authority, being disembodied and soulless, is unsympathetic in its business relationships. This suggestion is commonly made by those who do not farm under public authorities, but allowing it due weight there are

certain compensatory advantages. The tenant of a public authority is not liable to the risk of disturbance by the sale of the estate, the death of the owner, or the decision of the landlord to take the farm in hand. What he may lose in sympathy he gains in security.

The tenancy system although not peculiar to this country is typical of it. But since the war there has been a marked decrease of tenant-farmers and a corresponding increase of owner-occupiers. At the present time about 23 per cent. of the farms and about 25 per cent. of the land are occupied by the owners. The number of farms and the acreage have doubled within the past six or seven years, but the circumstances in which this increase took place were so abnormal that it would be rash to deduce from it a progressive movement from tenancy to ownership.

There are many who think that the solution of the land problem, the cure for agricultural ills and the maximum of agricultural production would be ensured by a general substitution of occupying ownership for tenancy.

The question whether freehold tenure by the occupier increases production is usually begged. Arthur Young's dictum that the magic of ownership turns sand into gold supplies the place of evidence and *à priori* reasoning clinches conviction. The impetus to effort given by the knowledge that no one shares the reward, the incentive of the right to leave all accumulations of labour and capital to one's descendants—these are assumed to guarantee the maximum output of which the individual is capable.

No generalisation about British agriculture is more than half true. Some of the difficulties confronting a general statement as to effect of conditions of land tenure on production have been indicated, but there is another which is less tangible but not less real. The use of agricultural land is, and in the nature of things must be, the monopoly of individuals. The conditions under which that monopoly is granted are laid down by the State in various legal enactments of which the Law of Property Acts, the Agricultural Holdings Acts, and the Small Holdings and Allotments Acts are salient examples. Obviously, the proper use of agricultural land is to produce agricultural products, and obviously also it is of importance to the nation—in view, especially, of the limited area of agricultural land and the practical impossibility of its enlargement—that those entrusted with it should make the fullest possible productive use of it. But the State, with all its land laws, has omitted to provide for this. The owner of agricultural land, whether it be ten acres or a thousand, is left "to do what he likes with his own." The State, if it regards at all the importance of the productive use of the land, relies on "enlightened self-interest" to secure it. The possessor of productive land, it is argued, may be

trusted to use it to the best advantage for his own profit, and thus his personal interests coincide with the interests of the community.

This argument may be sound as applied to possessors of the means of production generally. Individuals do not build and equip factories for amusement, and even the owner of a coal mine gets little satisfaction from the amenities of ownership. But agricultural land may afford great satisfaction to its owner without being used for agriculture, if he is not dependent for his livelihood on its productivity. Not the least of the many complications of the land problem in this country is that so large a proportion of the agricultural area is controlled by those who are not dependent on its most profitable use. The doctrine of enlightened self-interest may or may not apply to them, but it clearly cannot be applied in its ordinary meaning as connoting the production of the economic maximum. The generalisation which assumes that all owners and occupiers of agricultural land will put it to its best productive use under the incentive of satisfactory conditions of tenure and reasonable chances of profit is, therefore, an untrustworthy guide for legislators.

To sum up shortly a subject about which it is easy to be discursive and impossible to be dogmatic, we may conclude that a system of tenure tends to stimulate production if it gives the cultivator complete security that he will reap the full reward of his efforts and will be able at his death to leave to his heirs all that represents the capital, labour and skill he has invested in and upon the land. But as the effect on production of such a system is wholly dependent on the individual it must be fortified in the interests of the nation by safeguards against the disuse or misuse of the land.

It may be added that, in the absence of any conclusive evidence as to the reaction of various conditions of tenure on production, it would be desirable before making further changes in the system or stimulating either by law or subsidy the extension of any particular form of tenure, to obtain definite information on this essential point. It is not creditable to us that we have less detailed knowledge of the economic and sociological conditions under which our forty million acres of agricultural land are dealt with than the United States have of their four hundred million acres. We led the way in the collection of statistics of crops and livestock, but we lag behind in the knowledge of important facts which would elucidate the figures. The need for a comprehensive survey of the nation's rural estate is now generally admitted, and if it is undertaken it may become possible to estimate, with some measure of assurance, the effect on production of varying conditions of land tenure.

HENRY REW.

THE GOVERNMENT OF SPAIN: A CONSTITUTIONAL HIATUS.

MOST of us will agree with Signor Nitti's dictum that a dictatorship is a confession of political incapacity and sloth in the governed. There is an obvious temptation to point the moral in his own country, where Fascism has arisen not by any means as a complete political philosophy but as an organism brought to life and fostered by the needs of social existence and national self-respect. But it is perhaps most aptly illustrated by the development of affairs in Spain—a country singularly lacking in political tradition and hampered in its progress by its geographical situation as much as by its historical inheritance.

Hispania is equivalent to *terra remota*, if we are to believe the philologists, and certainly the remoteness of the peninsula comes home to the foreign visitor from the moment he crosses the Pyrenees. The longer he remains in the country the more conscious he is of this remoteness, and at the same time the more highly he prizes those qualities which distinguish the remote land and its people from the rest of the Continent.

The charm of Spain is one thing, however, the political efficiency of the Spaniard quite another matter. And ever since the centre of gravity of Europe's cultural interest shifted away from the sphere of religion, the nation, as a whole, has suffered the consequences of isolation and an arrested political development. The problems of political life in Spain are not merely those which beset the Governments of other European countries where the establishment of the Nation-State has been accompanied by the awakening of a corresponding political consciousness. They are complicated and dominated by the fact that the relations of Church and State have never yet been placed on a satisfactory basis, and vital energies are still to-day being wasted in the age-old struggle for the political supremacy of the Church.

In a contribution to the recent Spanish number of *The Times*, Señor Castillejo, who is acknowledged to be one of the clearest-sighted of modern educationists, emphasised this point in its bearing upon the national education. Efforts are being made to bring Spain into line with the other European States in matters of education, and considerable results have already been achieved. The fact remains, however, that, according to official figures, between 45 and 46 per cent. of the population above six years of age can neither read nor write, while the traditional system of teaching, both in Church and State schools and in universities, is condemned by all enlightened Spaniards.

If the Spanish people is ever going to get out of the rut of in-

difference to national backwardness in political and social life the paramount necessity is—and must be for some time to come—educational reform along the lines which are being followed by the disciples of Don Francisco Giner de los Rios, the founder of the Institución Libre de Enseñanza in Madrid (1876) and the pioneer of complete religious tolerance and of modern methods in Spanish teaching. With this premise—namely that a change of spirit and method in education must precede and inform any lasting political transformation—the right perspective is obtained for an appreciation of the merits of the present régime.

The Marquis de Estella has now held office with the encouragement and aid of the King for three years, and with all its evident blemishes his Government does seem to guarantee those fundamental conditions of order and tranquillity which Spain needs before all things. By a happy coincidence, the present Prime Minister's father, Primo de Rivera, Captain-General of Madrid, was one of those who were mainly instrumental in bringing about the *coup d'état* of 1874, by which the nation declared for constitutional monarchy under the father of the present King. That the restoration of normal constitutional conditions is only a question of time was made quite plain by General Primo de Rivera himself, who at the outset described his Government as an experimental dictatorship and as a brief parenthesis in Spain's constitutional march. This aspect of the situation is important in itself and it accounts for the good-will shown in unexpected quarters—for example among several of the younger statesmen of those very political parties which the Directory came to supplant—and above all for the loyal collaboration of King Alfonso XIII, who knows his country and senses her vital needs better than anyone.

It is generally admitted that the weakness of Spain in the past has been due to the constant lack of a national policy. Angel Ganivet, perhaps the greatest exponent of Spanish political thought, writes in his *Idearium Español*: "Spain cannot carry out a well-defined foreign policy for lack of an internal constitution sufficiently sound to warrant her proceeding along a steady path of her own, as her interests require."

The problem that presents itself, therefore, to the leaders of the country is how to build up that "more robust constitution" which is essential for growth and development. In Spain to-day the paradox is that the task may be, after all—as the present Government firmly believes—most effectually achieved by a process entailing the suspension of what we call in political terms "constitutional rights." Unlike Fascism, however, the movement in Spain has never laid claim to any revolutionary or Messianic character, nor does it depend upon popular enthusiasm or a rabid nationalism.

So far from being worked up into heroics or indignation the "man in the street" either talks of "Miguelito" and his Government with mild amusement—a freedom which he would have to forego in Italy—or ignores the subject altogether. For him it is just the Government and as good as any other—such is the political apathy of the average Spaniard who prefers to console himself for centuries of misrule and maladministration with his favourite proverb: *Dios nos guarde este señor, no sea que venga otro peor* (May God preserve our present ruler lest a worse one take his place).

The Conde de Romanones, leader of the Liberal Party, in his book, *The Responsibilities of the Old Régime*, has vindicated by the eloquence of facts and figures those politicians whom unthinking apologists of the "new" régime are so eager to blame for the deficiencies of Spanish political life. Speaking from experience, he quotes numerous instances of the paralysing effect on Spanish policy at home and abroad of this absence of political idealism in the electorate. On the whole, we may accept his plea of exculpation on behalf of the *Partidos*, for, as he says, to blame the political leaders for that which is due to a national failing is to take the effect for the cause.

During the period 1875-1923 the spread of Socialism and the rise of Syndicalism as a political force complicated the very real difficulties of adapting a Parliamentary system of Government to the Spanish temperament. So much wise and up-to-date legislation remained a dead letter owing to the ineptitude of administration and the general lack of initiative and political sense. Constitutional reform was a constant topic in the Press, but the earnest if somewhat academic discussion of political problems had no wide appeal and offered no means of checking the activities of the *caciques*, or political bosses, who exploited public ignorance. In April, 1923, yielding to pressure of the articulate body of public opinion represented by the "intellectuals," King Alfonso signed a decree dissolving the Cortes and ordering general elections to be held at the end of the month. It was actually proposed to make some such alteration in the unsatisfactory Constitution of 1876 as would effectively prevent the suspension of the constitutional guarantees for any prolonged period. Unfortunately a series of internal troubles, together with the disastrous turn of events in Morocco, precipitated a crisis which rendered these honest attempts at constitutional reform ineffective. Social unrest and Communist outrages, on the one hand, and the rottenness within army circles reflected in the conduct of operations in Morocco, were the occasion for an outbreak of all the undisciplined forces, which seemed to be establishing a definite ascendancy over the forces of law and order, just as had happened in Italy. On this showing one may readily understand

that in the autumn of 1923 the "man in the street" was disposed to welcome anything that made for strong government and would ensure the stability of the Crown.

This brief sketch is intended to define the atmosphere in which the Directory came into power. It accounts in a great measure for the system of military delegates and martial law which was instituted at once to restore public order and a sense of security—and which exists in a modified form to-day—and explains though it does not excuse the gagging of the Press by a military censorship, and a hundred and one dictatorial measures which naturally exasperate any one who appreciates ordered liberty.

It is, indeed, this question of the Press censorship and restriction of freedom of opinion and association, no less rigorous since the Government has taken on a civilian character, which proves the stumbling block to many who would fain judge the Government on its merits. Certainly the waste of energy in interminable dialectics is proverbial in southern countries, and in none more so than Spain. And no doubt the young Spaniard benefits by the ban placed on party politics in the sense that he is the more alive to modern ideas and improvements in industry or agriculture. But the evidence of unwarrantable persecution of ideas is damning, and a régime which sends Señor Unamuno into exile while pandering consistently to the religious Orders would seem to deserve the epithet of reactionary. Nevertheless, the present Government has earned the gratitude of those who foresee a better political future for Spain by its serious attempts to dispel the inveterate apathy and to awaken a sense of public service no less than by its ready encouragement of the slow but sure work of education.

At the earliest opportunity after seizing power the Marquis de Estella outlined the four pressing—and cognate—problems which his "interim" Government took upon itself to settle—Separatism, Communism, financial and economic strain, and above all, the Army problem which had led to such disasters in Morocco.

No one in Spain, outside Army circles, had any enthusiasm for the protracted campaign—which is now estimated to have cost the country some 40,000 lives and more than 500 million pesetas. (It is even reported that a considerable force of armed police had to be kept stationed on the East Pyrenean frontier to prevent young men from escaping into France to avoid conscription.) It was, therefore, the object of the Military Directory to strengthen and define the political action of its predecessors and to reduce to the utmost the sacrifice of men and money. From the first it was known that General Primo de Rivera himself was against all further adventure in Morocco, and his personal popularity with the Army was bound to count. There is no need to show how the

Directory has carried out this policy, first by withdrawing the Spanish troops to fortified lines—disarming the tribes in the rear of these lines and intensifying the Protectorate policy—then by agreement and military co-operation with France, culminating in the surrender of Abd-el Krim at Targuist last May. The Marquis de Estella has insisted on military discipline and a change of methods in the treatment of the natives, and all the latest reports go to show that the situation in Morocco has entirely changed, that the evil traditions of the past have been definitely abandoned and a new era has opened for Spain in Africa.

The restoration of military efficiency in Morocco, however, was only one aspect of the Army problem with which General Primo was—and still is—faced. It must not be forgotten that the Spanish military caste represents the strongest organisation in the State, with traditions of discipline and loyalty to the Throne which must be reckoned with in any scheme of internal reform. It has been known for some time that the Government contemplates a substantial reduction in the number of officers together with modifications in the system of promotion, as, indeed, both the efficiency of the Army and the state of the public finances urgently require. This purging of the Army was bound to arouse resentment if not active opposition.

The importance of the King's backing was well illustrated by the recent crisis due to the breach of discipline on the part of the artillery officers; the country looked on indifferent while a section of the army, which placed loyalty to their corps before loyalty to the State, attempted to use a professional grievance as a pretext for ousting General Primo de Rivera from his position. It was only the King's personal influence which saved the situation and ensured the complete collapse of the rebellion. Army troubles are bound to recur, and without the personal prestige of the Marquis de Estella it is doubtful whether the Civil and Economic Dictatorship which came into being last December could weather the storm.

Economic problems in Spain are no greater and no less than in other European countries, where the need for a greater production at a lower cost is accompanied by a definite refusal by the workers to lower their standard of living and to submit to conditions of labour such as those obtaining in Italy. It is, however, a mistake to magnify the social problem in Spain, for even in September, 1923, Communism only numbered a few thousand adherents—and anyone who has travelled among Spanish people or been a witness of mass demonstrations will support the assertion that social discontent in the form of class-hatred is *not* a feature of the national life.

It is not my intention to dwell upon the material improvements

which stand to the credit of the present régime, except in so far as they are an expression of the Government's purpose to effect a transformation of internal conditions not "by the book," but by interesting more and more persons in the conduct of the national life.

The Marquis de Estella was formerly Captain-General in Barcelona, and his knowledge of the people and conditions in Catalonia has enabled him to realise what the Catalan question really means, to what extent the agitation is artificially fomented, and how far remedies can be applied. The Catalan is distinguished from his fellow-Spaniards primarily because he is a political being, and the tragedy of modern Spain has been that so much of this rare and valuable political energy has gone to waste in Separatist aberrations. It was surely not surprising that the provinces which produce 60 or 70 per cent. of the total industrial output of Spain should have grown impatient of the ways of a central Government in Madrid out of touch with the needs of modern industry and consistently atrophied by political indifference. In 1914 those who realised the futility of any Separatist movement did, however, wrest from the unwilling Cortes a highly-prized provincial charter, the *Mancomunità*, uniting the four Catalan provinces of Barcelona, Tarragona, Gerona and Lerida for certain closely-circumscribed purposes. Thanks to this measure of independence the reform of local government and popular education was taken in hand to an extent scarcely realised and certainly not appreciated in other parts of Spain and abroad.

The present Government proposes to invest Catalonia with a measure of local self-government still greater than that accorded by Dato. What is more, the Prime Minister has taken for his model the methods and attainments of the Catalans for his wide plan of administrative decentralisation and municipal Home Rule, embodied in the Municipal Statute of March 8th, 1924, and the Provincial—or inter-municipal—Statute of March 20th, 1925. The effect of these reforms is to encourage and stimulate "regionalism" and to undo the harm done by centuries of fixed and uniform rule by a centralised Government. Whereas his predecessors have either ignored or repressed the living force of local patriotism, the Marquis de Estella contrives to turn it to account and to endow the municipalities with a constitution and a life of their own (e.g., the *fuero* of mediæval law), so that they may develop on similar lines to those which in Italy and elsewhere were the cradle of the political liberties of modern States. The Province is in future to be considered as the electoral unit, not the rural electoral divisions—for obvious reasons—and the reform of provincial elections consists in establishing corporate representa-

tion for the *ayuntamientos* in place of direct universal suffrage. The important point is that local problems are being tackled and solved with enthusiasm all over the country without any political complications, and that masses of the public who had hitherto held aloof are awakening to an interest in civic affairs. This school of practical politics will go a long way towards giving the country that "more robust constitution" which Ganivet defined as the greatest need.

Regional patriotism combined with local initiative is also the motive power for the Government's irrigation enterprise. The original experiment of river confederations was described fully in *The Times* by its Madrid correspondent on August 13th, and I do not intend to analyse it here. A similar force in agriculture is represented by the *sindicatos agrícolas* or rural co-operative societies. The credit for the organisation of these local bodies belongs mainly to the rural clergy, and there seems to be no indication that this movement conceals any political motives such as led to the formation of the Catholic People's Party in Italy.

A Royal Decree, recently published in the *Gazette*, also provides for extensive re-afforestation. New nurseries are to be planted by the State and owners of uncultivated land are to be encouraged by credits and other facilities to plant and exploit all waste ground or, failing that, to cede it to the State. Agriculture is thriving, especially in Catalonia, and the measures of land reform are helping to remove the long-standing grievance of the Catalans that real estate is not taxed in the same proportion or to the same extent as the profits of industrial firms which produce a balance sheet, these firms being mostly in Catalonia or the Basque provinces.

The harsh treatment of the Bar Association of Barcelona is evidence that the Government intends to proceed with the utmost rigour not only against the Separatist agitation, but also against the use of the Catalan language for any official purposes. It is a fact that malcontents have often invoked the Catalan language and liberties to cloak any and all kinds of sedition and, by presenting the Catalan question as identical with Great Britain's Irish problem, have won sympathy and support in a dishonest way for plots against the established order in Spain. Disaffected elements congregate in Paris and disseminate propagandist literature on a level with the productions of Señor Blasco Ibañez at the end of 1924, but the effect is usually the opposite of that intended.

Whether the conspiracy which was discovered and scotched last July will have had the same effect of discrediting the plotters and strengthening the hand of the Government, it is perhaps too early to say. The following extract from the manifesto alleged to have

been found in the hand-luggage of the aged General Valeriano Weyler is significant :

" . . . the re-establishment of constitutional legality implies a provisional though very short exercise of governmental powers by us until such time as a Cortes can be called to express the will of the nation. . . . "

In other words, the only difference between their conception of what is needed by way of Government in Spain and the avowed intention of the present Government is one of time—and everyone knows that time is no object in Spain !

In conclusion, let me refer to a passage in the book by the Conde de Romanones which I have already mentioned :

" . . . It is quite enough to mention any single one of the evils from which Spain suffers and to say, 'the old régime of "politics" is to blame'; incidentally this charge contrives to reflect credit on the 'new' régime as having achieved the triumph of banishing those evils not indeed once and for all out of the national life, but simply from public knowledge; for which task the industry and zeal of the toiling censor are more than adequate. . . . "

The experienced statesman is, indeed, entitled to take exception to the exaggerated tone of so much that is claimed by the Government of "regeneration," which professes to have rooted out *caciquismo* and to have purged the body politic of such diseases as inertia and corruption. It would be folly to expect that these evils, which are largely endemic, will disappear with this or any other political régime. The habits of centuries persist, and are only eradicated by the purifying influences of education. This much can be said, however : the present Government by its drastic remodelling of the internal structure of the country has instituted a valuable training in civic responsibility.

On the other hand, the prolonged muzzling of the Press is indefensible, and the Marquis de Estella cheapens himself in the eyes of all thinking men when he affects to sneer at Parliamentary institutions and public liberties. The sneers have multiplied recently, a fact which lends colour to the rumour that his admiration for his opposite number in Italy is leading him to lose all sense of proportion. The Pact of Madrid, together with Spain's determination to link up the Tangier question with her demand for a permanent seat on the Council of the League of Nations, are disquieting signs of a dangerous trend in Spanish diplomacy. Like Signor Mussolini, the Dictator seems to feel the necessity for producing more and more tangible results from his personal government.

The unknown factor in Spain is the strength and sense of public duty of the Patriotic Union, that heterogeneous body of opinion which has with varying degrees of devotion rallied to the Govern-

ment's cause. It is good news that General Primo de Rivera has accepted the suggestion put forward by the Patriotic Union to hold a plébiscite in order to give the country a chance of expressing its confidence in the Government, as also its desire to have some form of representative government and some modified Parliamentary existence. The need is for a mode of transition to a régime which, while retaining the services of General Primo de Rivera to deal with the chronic Army problems, can release the safety-valve of public discussion and afford the long looked-for opportunity to the genuine Liberals and idealists of modern Spain to build upon the firm foundations laid by the Directory.

W. HORSFALL CARTER.

CYRUS THE GREAT.

FROM boyhood I have ever been prone to hero-worship. I have studied my heroes and have endeavoured, by examining all the available evidence and by recreating as far as possible the atmosphere of the time in which they lived, to produce a clear idea of the parts they played and of the stages on which they played them. Among the heroes who have especially appealed to me is Cyrus the Great, the founder of the Persian Empire.

The civilisation we term Aryan which dominates Europe, America, and Asia, so far as Persia and Central Asia and the greater part of the Indian Empire are concerned, first played the leading part on the world's stage when the Persian Empire was founded. Indeed, the term Iran by which the Persian calls his country, is the word which we term Aryan. We have still much to learn as to the cradle-land of the Aryans and of their migrations into Persia and India, but recent discoveries constitute a definite advance in our knowledge. Perhaps the most important fact to be recorded is that the Kassites, who founded a dynasty which ruled Babylon for six centuries from about 1925 B.C., worshipped as their chief god Suryash, the Sun, a word which is the Indian Surya and the Greek Helios. In other words they formed the advance-guard of the invading Aryans. Another interesting discovery is that among the cuneiform inscriptions recently found at Boghaz Kyoi, the ancient capital of the Hittites, are some which contain treaties between the Hittites and the Mitannians, the latter of whom were Aryans. On one of these tablets, oaths taken by the Vedic deities Indra and Varuna prove that by 1350 B.C., the date of the document, the Iranian and Hindu Aryans had not yet separated; incidentally this discovery deals a death-blow to claims for extreme antiquity in the civilisation of India. So much for the early Aryans. In Persia the Medes occupied its north-western and western regions. The Persians, their neighbours, gained possession of the south-west, the province of Pars (now Fars) ultimately giving its name to the whole race through the classical Persis; other Aryan tribes conquered the other provinces.

The Medes first rose to power because they occupied districts close to the empire of Assyria, whose monarchs led expeditions, mainly to capture slaves for their public works, throughout the length and breadth of the land, and thereby taught them the civilisation of Mesopotamia. This education was undoubtedly painful and rough, but it welded the scattered tribes into a nation which in 606 B.C. captured Nineveh the capital of merciless Assyria. The Medes, who had conquered their kinsmen the Persians, shared with Babylon the provinces of fallen Assyria. With the instinct of northerners who feared enervating heat, they kept to the high

uplands and, conquering as they went, carved out an empire which reached to the River Halys. There they met another strong power, Lydia, and after campaigns which lasted six years the two states made peace in 585 B.C. Cyaxares, who had created this short-lived empire, died soon afterwards and was succeeded by his son Astyages, whose long reign ended in the downfall of Media and the rise of Persia.

The birth and education of founders of dynasties are frequently obscured by wonder-tales, and this rule especially applies to Cyrus. Until recently the well-known account as given in the pages of Herodotus held the field. Astyages dreamed that from his daughter Mandane "such a stream of water flowed forth as to flood the whole of Asia." This caused the monarch much anxiety and, fearing to marry her to a Median grandee, he selected as his son-in-law a noble Persian, whom he regarded as much beneath any Mede of good position. Again, however, Astyages dreamed a dream, in which he saw a vine growing from Mandane which overshadowed Asia. Seriously alarmed, he summoned his daughter from her home in Persia and, when a son was born to her, he handed it over to Harpagus, a Median grandee, with instructions to slay and bury the infant. Harpagus accordingly sent for one of the royal herdsmen and ordered him to expose the infant and, when it died, to bring in the corpse, in proof that the deed was done. The herdsman showed Cyrus to his wife, who had just given birth to a still-born infant, and she persuaded her husband to expose the corpse of her son instead of the living infant, whom she adopted. Cyrus was thus brought up by this woman, named Spako—signifying a bitch—and was ultimately recognised by his grandfather, owing to his appearance and princely bearing. This story is an interesting legend, for the reference to the woman Spako contains the Iranian belief that their monarch was suckled by a sacred bitch, just as Romulus and Remus were nursed by a she-wolf or *lupa*. Herodotus was not aware that dogs were held sacred in Persia as protectors of the householder and his flocks, and so the sacred bitch becomes a woman "Spako," just as in course of time Lupa becomes a woman in the parallel case of the founders of Rome.

Until a few years ago this account was generally accepted, but the discovery of the cylinders of Nabonidus and of Cyrus has shed a flood of light on the question. It appears that the founder of the dynasty of the Persians was Hakhmanish or Achæmenes, Prince of the tribe of Pasargadæ. No historical acts can be traced to Achæmenes, but there is reason to believe that he welded the loose congeries of tribes into a more or less homogeneous people. The view has been held that Achæmenes was a semi-legendary

figure, but the fact that he was only four generations removed from Cyrus surely makes this theory untenable. His successor was Teispes who, after the capture of Susa by Assurbanipal, invaded Elam and annexed the district of Anshan. Upon his death his elder son succeeded in Anshan and his younger son in Fars. This division started the double line, a reference to which by Darius in the Behistun inscription puzzled its decipherers for more than a generation.

We can now give the events as they really occurred. Astyages marched against Cyrus, who was Vassal-king of Anshan, but the troops of the Median monarch mutinied and Cyrus overthrew the empire of the Medes in three battles, finally capturing Ecbatana (the modern Hamadan) in 550 B.C. This date is of great importance, as it is that of the foundation of the Persian Empire. We thus see that Cyrus appears on the stage of history as a prince of the Achæmenian dynasty and King of Anshan. We do not know when or how he also became King of Persia, but in the tablets he is given that title in 546 B.C., and it is reasonable to infer that, shortly after the capture of Ecbatana, he was elected to the throne of Fars, which possibly became vacant at this juncture. In corroboration of this view we know that Hystaspes, father of Darius, never reigned.

Cyrus had conquered the kindred nation of the Medes, but he had to make good his claim to their widespread empire. He was very fortunate in having in Nabonidus of Babylon an enterprising antiquarian, born before his time. In Asia Minor the position was very different. Alyattes of Lydia who had ratified the treaty, strengthened by marriage with Cyaxares, had been succeeded by Cræsus, whose name is a household word. We learn from the delightful pages of Herodotus that the Lydian monarch, before deciding his line of policy, inquired of the Delphic Oracle as to the result of attacking the Persians. The reply was that "if Cræsus attacked the Persians, he would destroy a mighty empire." The somewhat gullible monarch was delighted with what he considered to be a favourable reply; and this feeling was strengthened by a second oracle which ran:

"Wait till the time shall come when a mule is monarch of Media,
Then, thou delicate Lydian, away to the pebbles of Hermus;
Haste, oh! haste thee away, nor blush to behave like a coward."

Cræsus laughed at the idea of a mule ruling Media, but it was subsequently explained by the oracle that Cyrus was referred to, as he had a Persian father and a Median mother.

Cyrus was aware of the designs of Cræsus. He was also aware that his safety lay in speedy action. Yet few generals would have dared in the circumstances to march one thousand miles from their

base and attack a powerful state. But the result justified his daring. Upon reaching the boundaries of Crœsus' dominions, he found that monarch unsupported by Greek mercenaries and finally defeated him. Crœsus retired towards Sardes, laying waste the country with a view to impeding the Persians. He also, with fatuous folly, disbanded part of his own forces and arranged for his Greek allies to defer their arrival until the spring. He reaped as he had sown. Cyrus, whose troops were almost all mounted, crossed, or avoided, the devastated areas and surprised Crœsus by appearing in force before Sardes. The Lydian monarch was no coward and he faced the enemy, relying on the famous Lydian cavalry. But Cyrus frightened their horses by covering the front of his army with camels, whose smell made them unmanageable. The gallant Lydians fought to the death on foot and only a shattered remnant escaped to Sardes. Here Crœsus felt himself safe, as the fort was held to be impregnable and winter was a potent ally. But Herodotus describes how one of the garrison was seen to descend a seemingly inaccessible cliff to pick up a helmet which had fallen down. This fact was noted by the watchful besiegers and Sardes was surprised and captured.

The fate of Crœsus, according to Herodotus, was that Cyrus ordered him to be burnt to death on a pyre. This was actually lighted, but Apollo, who had received many rich gifts, came to the rescue and saved him by means of a heavy fall of rain. What actually happened in all probability was that Crœsus, like the last monarch of Assyria, mounted the pyre of his own free will, but was taken from it by the Persians in time to save his life. This view is corroborated by a recently discovered poem of Bacchylides which tends to show that Crœsus elected death in preference to the degradation of capture.

The defeat of Lydia by Persia was one of the decisive campaigns in the history of the world. Hitherto none of the great empires of Asia had reached the Mediterranean Sea, and Hellas had been free to develop on her own lines. The conquests of Cyrus, for good or for evil, now brought Persia into close contact with her city-states. Those on the coast of Asia Minor fell under the sway of the new power, and Hellas proper must have viewed with dismay the overwhelming resources that might be marshalled against her.

Cyrus, to use a modern term, had "made good" in the West. He now disappeared from sight and engaged in unrecorded campaigns in the eastern provinces of the empire. It is clear that he would have to fight the Median party which had had ample time to strengthen itself by alliances and in other ways. There are no facts recorded but we read that Bactria, the eastern capital of the empire, was first attacked and that when it was known that

Cyrus had wedded the daughter of Astyages, the province submitted. We also learn that the nomads were subdued and that an army was lost in the deserts of Baluchistan. These campaigns, like that against Crœsus, were entirely successful, and the Great Conqueror with a large force of trained veterans returned to Western Persia, ready for the next task to be undertaken.

During the campaign against Lydia Cyrus was planning the ultimate conquest of Babylon, for in 546, the year that Sardes fell, an attack was launched on Southern Babylonia from Anshan, with the result that a Persian governor ruled in Erech. We have seen that Nabonidus was merely an antiquarian. Although he was a docile tool of the priests of Babylon, he had offended a large section of his people by bringing to the capital the gods of Ur, Uruk, and Eridu. The importance of this act of impolicy is clearly shown by the proclamation of Cyrus in his cylinder which runs:

"In wrath because he (Nabonidus) brought the gods to Babylon, Merodach . . . sought out an upright Prince whom he took by the hand, Cyrus: he named his name." The great interest of this cylinder is heightened by a quotation from Isaiah: "Thus saith the Lord to His anointed, to Cyprus, whose right hand I have holden. . . . I have even called thee by thy name." Few parallels are more striking in history than the language of the Jewish Prophet and that of the Babylonian cylinder.

Cyrus forced his way into the protected area of Babylonia, defeated the Army of Nabonidus with ease and entered Babylon "without skirmish or battle," to quote for the last time from the cylinder. Nabonidus surrendered and his fighting son Belshazzar was killed. Few events of such great historical importance have been so obscured by legends. Until the discovery of the tablets, the account given by Herodotus and supplemented by the book of Daniel naturally held the field. According to it, Cyrus diverted the waters of the Euphrates and marched along the dry river-bed in which the gates had been left open and unguarded. The monarch, surprised at a banquet, was slain, and the city was given over to fire and sword. Actually Cyrus forced his way into the protected area, draining off the waters of the Tigris and Diyala, and although Babylon surrendered, the fort held out for some months and was stormed in the presence of Cyrus. These legends, therefore, had some suitable soil in which to grow.

It is interesting to note the attitude of the Jewish Prophets towards Persia, the only Great Power which is praised and not doomed by them. Cyrus indeed well earned the eulogies bestowed upon him. It seems, at first sight, difficult to account for his generosity, in not only giving permission to the Jews to rebuild

Jerusalem, but in restoring the gold and silver vessels of the sanctuary, and in issuing decrees that must have been invaluable. He certainly did not act in this manner merely to gratify the Jews. It is probable that, with prescient foresight, he determined to prepare for the conquest of Egypt and, by adroitly binding the Jews to his interests, he was ensuring an advanced base for his army whenever that great campaign should be undertaken. It would seem that he was fully justified in his calculations, for the Jews relied entirely on the support of the Great King and were loyal alike from sentiment and self-interest.

The death of Cyrus is wrapped in mystery. The history of Persia from one point of view has been the defence of its eastern province from nomadic hordes threatening to overwhelm the cultivators. It appears probable that Cyrus fell while beating back one of these invasions. There are many traditions on the subject, that of Herodotus being the best known. According to this, Cyrus demanded the Queen of the Massagetæ in marriage, but was contemptuously refused. Thereupon he invaded her country, gained a victory and captured her eldest son who committed suicide. In a final great battle Cyrus was defeated and slain. The Queen dipped the hero's head in gore, exclaiming "I give thee thy fill of blood." Against the accuracy of this legend is the undoubted fact that Cyrus was buried at Pasargadæ. In any case, his stately figure passed off the stage.

And what was the character of Cyrus, the first great Aryan known to history? He is certainly a most attractive figure. As a general he excites our intense admiration, Lydia and Babylonia each falling in short campaigns. His manly beauty, his courage, his statesmanlike moderation and his generosity won him fame and he never lost his virility and activity, as so many successful conquerors have done. Xenophon's considered opinion is that "he was able to inspire all with so great a desire of pleasing him that they ever wished to be governed by his opinion." Even more flattering is the somewhat fantastic summing up of Count Gobineau: *Il n'eut jamais son égal ici-bas. . . . C'est un Christ en effet, un homme prédestiné par dessus tous les autres.*

I have visited Pasargadæ and have seen the bas-relief of Cyrus which is now, alas! growing very faint. I have also visited and even repaired his tomb. For me there is no monument which for us Aryans can surpass in interest that of "Cyrus, the King of the world, the Great King," who was buried in it some 2,400 years ago.

PERCY SYKES.

AN IMPRESSION OF GEORGIA.

I CONFESS to having felt pleasantly thrilled when the captain came early one morning before daybreak to tell me the coast of Georgia was in sight. For over a fortnight we had been steaming along the Anatolian shore, long lazy days, growing warmer and bluer as we proceeded eastward, looking in at Ineboli, Samsoun, Kerrasund and Trebizond, all ports of some importance before the war, but now sadly neglected and inactive. Hurriedly I went up on deck to have my first view of Batoum, our port of destination, and remember how we steamed towards the harbour in the dusk, half an hour before we were due, and then came to anchor just outside, awaiting the *visite sanitaire* without which it was impossible to proceed.

Against the green sky a line of high mountain zig-zagged; one star shone in the dawning sky, one reflection wavered in the placid sea. There was no sound except the splashing of the water against the boat. From the decks of the steamer we watched the strange crew, wild-looking men in dirty white Russian blouses and high boots, sitting stolidly in the steam-tug which had brought the port authorities and doctor to see if we had any contagious diseases aboard. I sought for the town amid the shadow but could find no trace of it; yet I knew it was there, smothered in the dusk under the green sky. For more than an hour we waited, and during that time the sky began to widen between masses of shrouding cloud and the town to emerge into sight, shadowless and grey until the first faint light appeared and the first rose clouds from over the hills.

By this time the very scrubby and disreputable-looking port official and the equally uninviting doctor who had spent the greater part of their stay on board in the captain's cabin inspecting certain intoxicating yet delectable drinks, in the hope of facilitating formalities, reappeared. Their faces were wreathed in smiles, and each man was puffing or chewing a large cigar whose expensive look gave him almost the appearance of a capitalist. Shouting a few words to the men on the tug, they descended the ladder, and after waving their hands to the captain, jumped into the boat and made for the shore. We were now free to proceed, and in a few minutes were entering the harbour and making for the particular quay that had been allotted to us.

Ahead was a low conglomeration of ugly wooden wharves and sheds with the railway station behind them, and to the right a sand beach which curved inland. Behind lay the town, a mass of shoddy-looking buildings, mostly of one storey, with here and there the yellow dome of an orthodox church glinting in the sun. On the left a line of mountains clothed in pine, hazel nut and fir

trees. Closer in I saw sitting on the ground near our particular wharf and landing stage two or three score of the most villainous looking dock labourers that I have ever seen, each and all wearing the most amazingly tattered and nondescript mixture of clothing imaginable, while a number of carts and vans, equally decrepit, to which horses were harnessed trotski fashion, were waiting near by. As we came nearer, other men rushed forward to seize the ropes that were thrown out, and these they made fast, while a couple of soldiers with long murderous rifles and bayonets, the picture of military efficiency, kept the crowd back, and two or three Soviet officials, one of these the local Commissar, came on board to inspect our passports and luggage.

Of all the Customs examinations which I have attended, that which the unfortunate visitor to Georgia is subjected to on his arrival is by far the most thorough and objectionable; in fact, I cannot imagine anything more calculated to prejudice you against the country that permits such treatment as that which even the most inoffensive traders passing through the country, or those who are engaged in the most legitimate pursuits of commerce, have to undergo. After the examination of passports, which are scrutinised with the greatest care, each traveller is searched with a thoroughness that ignores even the most elemental laws of decency. His pockets are gone through, and he is made to take off such garments as preclude the possibility of concealing anything of a contrabandist nature in even the most intimate regions of his clothing or anatomy. This inspection, moreover, is followed by a medical examination, which can best be compared to that which recruits are subjected to in armies which demand the highest physical efficiency, only that it is even more rigorous, and that the army which is thus tested is not confined to members of the stronger sex. I have never seen anything more iniquitous.

During this inspection, the steamer was invaded by gangs of dock labourers who had been entrusted with the unloading of the boat, a ragged, ruffianly crowd, whose degenerate appearance and scowling countenances hardly bore out the contention that Bolshevism is the régime the most calculated to satisfy the legitimate aspirations of the fourth estate. Before starting on their work, a task for which they appeared to be totally unfitted, they visited the captain's cabin and officer's mess and were offered beer, cigarettes, wine and liqueurs, this sop to their feelings being evidently deemed necessary to ensure their carrying out their duties, even more or less perfunctorily. It was clear that the crew of the steamer stood in mortal terror of the authorities, for they continued to display the greatest desire to stand in their good graces, this being evidently the only way in which the sailors'

stay in the town could be rendered even tolerable. Then the unloading of the ship's cargo began, there being a number of valuable tractors and other agricultural machinery which it was the dockers' job to have conveyed by crane to *terra firma*. This performance was bungled so badly that on at least three occasions the tractors slipped their cables and crashed down to the hold. On my inquiring for the reason of this inexpertness, I was informed that workers never do the same kind of work two days running, as it was intended that they should gradually acquire a working knowledge of every species of labour. The result of such a policy is that except in the case of manual labour of the most elementary kind all work entailing dexterity in any degree is very often bungled or done amiss. Add to this the fact that dockers never work more than six hours a day, and you will realise that the loading or unloading of a ship is always a lengthy proceeding.

Arrival in a new continent or in a new country is always rather thrilling. One's first instinct is to do nothing of importance, but to stroll about absorbing the new atmosphere, trying to guess what lies behind the novelty of it all, wondering what emotions, comedies and tragedies it will bring to one's personal experience. But if this thrill is even intensified when one stands on the threshold of a country about which almost no one in England has a background of knowledge or of comparable experience, it soon becomes transmuted into a feeling half compassion, half amaze, as one begins to see the workings of a régime which, heralded far and wide as the Age of the Proletariat, is in reality a far worse tyranny than any which has preceded it.

Before the war Georgia was part of Transcaucasia, which in consequence of the Russian Revolution was split up in 1918 into three small independent states, of which Georgia was one. Strongly opposed to Bolshevism, she succeeded for a time in preserving her independence, in spite of Mustapha Kemal's openly avowed intention to gain possession of her territory, in virtue of the Treaty of Brest-Litovsk, and the almost constant warfare which she was compelled to wage against her Armenian neighbour. This fighting left her in so crippled a state that she became next year an easy prey to the Russians who, to guard against the dangers threatening Azerbaidjan and Georgia at the hands of the Turks after their conquest of Armenia, immediately occupied both states and converted them into Sovietic republics. Bolshevism proved so distasteful that the Georgians, a people of higher culture than the ordinary Russians, rose up in revolt in 1923; but the insurrection was suppressed by a combination of force and savagery which no eastern potentate has ever surpassed, the persecution which the

Georgians have had to endure continuing almost unabated to the present day.

Leninism claims, of course, to be in the long run a far more efficacious instrument than capitalism for improving the material and economic welfare of humanity. It exalts the proletariat at the expense of the intellectual and bourgeois, and seeks to substitute for society as at present constituted one in which, any hope of excessive financial gain having been eliminated, it will only advantage a man if he works for the community, the measure of social and national approbation that he will receive being purely determined by the extent to which he is able to carry out this implied obligation. Attractive and high-sounding as these very subversive doctrines appear to be, they are in practice the very negation of their preaching, while the régime that first expounded them has only been able to continue its very ephemeral existence through its marvellous efficiency as an organisation and its equally stupendous machinery for overawing the opposition of the unorganised majority. Like every other religion, Bolshevism derives its power from a small minority of enthusiasts, whose faith and intolerance combine to make each one of them the equal of a thousand "indifferentists" and an equal number of political opportunists, mostly of the Jewish persuasion, who are sufficiently alive to the need of expediency to realise that many of the original slogans of the party will have to be sacrificed if the régime and their hold on power are to be preserved.

Soviet Russia, like the Russia that preceded it, has turned espionage into so fine an art that many Russians act as if every wall had ears and as if even a whisper found immediate echo in the dreaded G.P.U. chamber, that political organisation which has taken the place of the Tcheka. Of the terror that it inspires my stay in Georgia afforded me every evidence. Its main concern is to see that no counter-revolution takes place, and it accordingly arrests even the most innocent individuals, if their support of the régime shows any appreciable lack of enthusiasm. Fear and suspicion are so general that I had great difficulty in inducing any Russian to talk freely of the conditions prevailing in the country, and though I produced any amount of introductions to show that I could be depended upon, those who were prevailed upon to give me information only did so after making me promise that I would never divulge the name of my informant. "No one is safe in our country," one young student told me, "and many friends of mine have been betrayed by their friends and even more by their relations. As our tongues are tied, so are our souls, for no free aspirations can thrive in this atmosphere."

Some, of course, the favoured ones, live on the fat of the

land, that is to say, receive such benefits as are conferred by the Government on those who, having a good revolutionary record, have been enrolled as members of the Communist party. They almost invariably belong to the Jewish persuasion or to the proletariat, with here and there a sprinkling of intellectuals who have embraced Communism in the hope of obtaining material reward. This infinitesimal minority is found holding a few of the official posts as Commissars or inspectors or even managers or superintendents of factories. And if their emoluments rarely exceed £25 a month, this being the figure beyond which, owing to the considerable and progressive increase of taxation that then takes place, it is no advantage to earn more, they are relatively well off, certain official positions entitling the holders to sundry free services, the use of a motor car, a flat, a box for the ballet or at the Opera. The great majority of Georgians are not, however, so circumstanced, the reason being that the majority of the administrative plums are in the hands of representatives of the Central Soviet, and that the rest of humanity are either ordinary workers, or, if belonging to the professional or commercial classes, subjected to the most thorough persecution and economic hardships.

Taking the manual worker first, it is certain that his present status and standard of living have depreciated considerably from what they were in Czarist days. His pay is miserably low in view of the increase in the cost of living—a mere six pounds a week—nor is he permitted to supplement it in any recognised way, his hours of work being strictly limited. He is consequently compelled to break the law whenever possible and to supplement his earnings by indulging in contraband, while his womenfolk become prostitutes. As for the children who are not incorporated in the Communist schools, their lot is hardly an enviable one, for many of them appear to belong to no family or to anything but the street or the railroad. They are called Bezprizorni, the shelterless, and in the civil war and ensuing famine saw their parents or nearest relatives killed or starved to death. They wander from village to city and from city to village always looking for food or shelter. When hungry they usually steal, and very soon become addicted to the prevailing vices of the vagabond and thief, gambling, stealing, drug-taking, prostitution and sexual perversions. Like a foul scourge they move across Russia proclaiming the ruin and degradation of the Communistic creed, the efforts made by the Russian Government to find homes for them among the peasantry or in children's refuges having so far proved absolutely inadequate to cope with the problem.

As for the commercial and professional classes of Georgia their lot is almost as unenviable, their claim to exercise their calling

having only been recognised after experience had taught the authorities that specialists could not be improvised at will. They are now allowed to exercise their professions, and if their property has been confiscated they are at any rate permitted to earn enough to keep themselves and their families alive. Their path to success is, however, strewn with obstacles. Unless they belong to the Communist party, they can never hope to rise to the top of their profession, while the career of their sons at the universities and medical and engineering schools is always handicapped by their parents' antecedents. Several students complained bitterly in my hearing of the favouritism and injustice that characterised governmental schools, and of the fact that no non-Communist student could hope to pass his examinations if his papers were not considerably over the average.

The lot of commercial traders is equally hard. Concessions have been made to small private and capitalistic concerns owing to the failure that has attended most efforts to run business undertakings on purely co-operative lines, while capital even exceeding 10,000 to 50,000 roubles is now permitted; but whenever the authorities discover that any trader is becoming rich too quickly, a pretext is soon found for despoiling him of the greater part of his wealth. Thus the one good restaurant in Batoum is never run more than a few months by the same restaurateur, for as soon as one man has made good and established a connection, the police pounce on him and fine him so heavily that he is compelled to sell his goodwill and business and leave the city.

My dominating impressions of the Communist régime as found in Georgia are, first, that of all forms of tyranny and incompetence it is by far the worst; secondly, that 98 per cent. of the population abominate a régime which is opposed to all morality, religion and everything that they hold to be traditional and revered; and thirdly, that its days are numbered, since even its most zealous leaders are recognising that it must profoundly modify its attitude towards capital and run the state undertakings on sound business lines.

DUDLEY HEATHCOTE.

THE CONSTITUTIONAL SYSTEMS OF ENGLAND & THE UNITED STATES.

IN this brief and limited comparison of some of the methods of Government in the United States with those of this country, I have desired to give a general view of the most important differences with the object of ascertaining where our own system is superior to the American, and where we could, in the light of ascertained results, wisely follow the American example.

I think the time is appropriate for such an attempt. Few countries which took part in the war have been able to resist far-reaching changes in the machinery and principles of Government. Our own country has experienced fewer changes than some others, but even here we have profoundly modified our system. The Irish Free State has been granted a constitution which places her upon an equality with Canada and the other British Dominions. A subsidiary Parliament has been created for Ulster. In less important but not negligible matters, other changes have been made during or since the war. Immediately before the war we began to write a constitution by the limitation of the powers of the House of Lords. Greater changes are threatened in the future. Each of the three political parties now existing in England has announced its intention of altering the basis upon which the House of Lords is constituted. Any such alteration must vitally affect the House of Commons too, and may carry us a long way towards a completely written constitution.

It is therefore, I hope, not inappropriate to consider the working of a constitution framed and adopted in part upon the English model, but modified profoundly in order to guard against real or supposed dangers to liberty and justice. I hope that the greater part of my comparison between the systems of the two countries may be uncontroversial. I can hardly hope that this will be so when I enter upon the task of constructive suggestions. But one criticism I should escape. My suggestions are written from no party platform. They are based upon my personal experience as a member of the House of Commons, and an acquaintance with America and her methods which began many years ago.

THE SEPARATION OF CONGRESS AND THE EXECUTIVE.

The first outstanding feature in the Constitutional system of the United States which is in marked contrast to our own system is the division between Congress and the Executive. In Congress we look in vain for a Prime Minister, or any members of the Cabinet or Government. The President, who unites with his office many of the functions of our Prime Minister, appoints and presides over his Cabinet, but none of them has a seat in either House of Con-

gress. The great Government departments and their political heads are deliberately cut off from any organic connection with Congress. The members of the Cabinet, instead of being responsible to Parliament, are responsible only to the President, who can remove them at his pleasure. The system has some obvious advantages. Our own House of Commons is in practice almost wholly controlled by the Government of the day. Practically all legislation which is considered is put forward by the Government. The private member has little influence in connection with the initiation of legislation. The power of the Executive has steadily grown. In Congress no such power can be exercised by the President or his Cabinet. It is free and untrammelled, and need pay no attention to any suggestions made to it for legislation by Departments of the Government.

THE SYSTEM OF PARLIAMENTARY QUESTIONS.

The separation of the Executive has, however, one great disadvantage. Anyone who attends a sitting of the House of Commons must be struck by the inestimable value of the system of questions. For an hour at the beginning of every sitting, any member of the House may put any relevant question to members of the Government, and is bound to receive an answer. It is true that the answers sometimes appear to be intended to show that speech was given, not to convey information but to conceal it, but this tendency can be checked, and indeed the system of supplementary questions makes it dangerous. This right of members of Parliament to compel answers from the Government on matters for which they are responsible is one of the greatest popular safeguards which our country possesses. Grievances and abuses are brought to light and redress is obtained. Information concerning the work of the machinery of Government in every department is made daily available.

The American system is at a great disadvantage in this respect. There are no Ministers in Congress to cross-examine. There is no way by which Congress, and through them the nation, may obtain daily information analogous to that which is available for the Parliament and public of this country. Let me give an instance illustrative of the contrast between the two systems. If, in this country, an important strike appears to be threatened the matter can be, and is, raised by questions from the floor of the House. The public knows at once what is threatened, and what steps the Government is proposing to take. If the strike takes place, daily information can be obtained by the same method. In Congress, no matter how serious the social upheaval that is threatened, there is no way by which Congress could daily receive official information,

or exercise any powers of control, or even of suggestion. Consider, for further illustration, the position when a foreign crisis arises. Here, we can obtain daily information as to the course of events. In America, except for any voluntary statement which the Department concerned chooses to issue, Congress and the public remain in ignorance.

I have only quoted a couple of instances relating to important domestic and foreign affairs, but no less useful is the question system in the House of Commons in obtaining information on smaller points, and the redress of minor grievances. The question paper of the House of Commons contains every day inquiries concerned with far-reaching questions of world importance side by side with matters trifling in comparison, such as the reason for the late delivery of letters in a hillside parish of Wales. And although many of the questions on the order paper of the House of Commons are of little general interest and sometimes affect only one individual, they represent real grievances often of humble people, and are the means of securing justice for them. I believe that there would be general agreement between all who know the two systems that the English system is, in this respect, greatly superior to that of the United States. It provides an effective control over the Executive. It is probably the inability of Congress to get into daily public touch with the departments of State which has caused the system to develop under which the Government departments in America use the Press as the organ of their views and intentions to a degree unknown in this country. From the President downwards the leading members of the Government often hold daily receptions of the representatives of the Press. The information given to them is usually published as coming from a high authority, but the name of the Minister is not ordinarily given. This method is wholly unsatisfactory. News obtained is frequently exaggerated. Little belief is given by the public to these newspaper communications. No responsibility can be brought home to anyone. They can be denied or repudiated. The method makes for the degradation of public life.

DURATION OF PARLIAMENT.

Another fundamental difference between the methods of the two countries concerns the duration of Parliament. Both Houses of Congress, the House of Representatives and the Senate, are elected for a fixed period. The Congressman sits for two years, the Senator for six years. The elections take place on the appointed day with exact regularity. No action of the President, or the Executive Government, or Congress itself, can expedite or delay the election. This is a vital distinction from the method of

this country. I leave out of consideration the hereditary House which undergoes no General Election. In the case of the House of Commons, the Parliament Act has fixed the maximum limit of its life for five years from the date of its first meeting, but an election may take place practically at any time upon the advice of the Prime Minister of the day. There is no precision with regard to the date of a General Election. Its actual date is almost invariably determined by political considerations, or by a Government defeat. The result of this system on the whole makes for the degradation of the House of Commons. The members of the majority party in the House are never able to take a free decision on the measure submitted to it by the Government. Their action is always overshadowed by the knowledge that if they reject a Government Bill of any importance, or successfully challenge the Government on any matter of policy, Parliament itself will come to an end, and they will have to face their constituents at a General Election. The system gives an enormous power to the Government of the day; it destroys the independent judgment of the House, and its control in the public interest.

The method of the United States is an advance upon our own. It has stood the test of experience since the American Constitution was adopted, and no weakness has been revealed. The adoption of a fixed life for Parliament in this country would remove much of the instability associated with Parliamentary life. It would give greater responsibility to the unofficial member of Parliament, and enable him to discharge his constitutional duties free from a kind of intimidation. If the House sat for a statutory term, the country would be delivered from the liability to be plunged suddenly into the chaos of a General Election. Whenever the House seriously disagreed with the Government, it would choose another Executive. Another advantage of the change would be that the House of Commons would not only be free from the improper influence now frequently exerted by the Government of the day; it would also be protected from the mob prejudices which occasionally sweep over the country. The House would be free to do its work for its appointed life, and would be exempt from the intimidating clamour for its dissolution now sometimes engineered.

FOREIGN RELATIONS.

The next question I desire to discuss is the different methods by which the English Parliament and the American Congress deal with foreign policy. No one will deny that this is a matter of fundamental importance. In the middle of the chaos following the world war, we are not likely to minimise the importance either of the nature of foreign relations, or of the machinery

used for achieving those relationships. I should embark upon an almost shoreless sea of controversy if I attempted in this short work any detailed examination of the criticisms levelled against our own methods of conducting foreign policy in the past. It must be sufficient if I state certain acknowledged facts. The control of foreign policy in this country is in the hands of the Executive Government. In practice this may mean that the control of foreign policy is confined to the Foreign Secretary and the Prime Minister, with such other of their colleagues as they think well to take into their confidence. The voluminous publications which have been issued since the close of the war dealing with pre-war history make it clear that it has been the practice in this country for developments in foreign policy to take place which are sometimes communicated only to a portion even of the Cabinet. A further feature of our own system is that the Government of the day may enter into treaties, declare war, and make peace without consulting Parliament. When the war broke out in 1914 understandings existed of which Parliament had no knowledge. I am not condemning or approving but attempting to state facts.

Whether the English system is good or bad, it is one which is unknown in America, and which her Constitution has made impossible. The responsibility for the control of foreign affairs is, for the most part, divided between the President and the Senate. The President makes all Diplomatic appointments such as Ambassadors, but these are not valid until they have been ratified by the Senate, and not infrequently the Senate refuses to do so. The President and his Cabinet cannot enter into any public or secret treaty of any kind with any other country until such treaty has been ratified by the Senate. This means open diplomacy in a real sense, and that the people of America are fully aware of all that they are being committed to by their representatives. War itself can only be declared by Congress as a whole, but all peace treaties must be ratified by the Senate.

It is difficult to resist the conclusion that the American system offers many obvious and striking advantages. Its foreign policy becomes a matter of public knowledge and public concern. All know what is being done. The system of safeguards introduced into the constitution makes it improbable that any important action will ever be taken which does not substantially represent the opinion at least of the majority of the people. It must be remembered that what actually happens in practice is that when the President after consultation with his own Cabinet resolves upon some line of foreign policy involving understanding or agreement with other foreign countries he must then ascertain the opinion of the Senate. Before such opinion can be expressed by

the Senate the matter is the subject of exhaustive inquiry and criticism in the Foreign Affairs Committee of the Senate. The Committee may sit in secret, but ultimately the question goes to the Senate with full publicity.

THE RELATIONS BETWEEN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES AND THE SENATE.

I turn now to the consideration of the constitution of the two Houses composing the American Congress. The House of Representatives is elected for two years. One-third of the Senate is elected every two years, each member thus sitting for six years. It must be noted in the first place that the Senate is a much smaller body than the House of Representatives. The latter consists of upwards of 400 members and the Senate numbers less than one-quarter of this number. To some extent the Constitution places with each House certain duties not shared by the other House. Thus the House of Representatives alone originates money bills and institutes impeachments. The Senate alone confirms or rejects the President's appointments, and it alone has the power to approve or disapprove treaties made by the President, thus controlling foreign policy. The Senate, too, sits as a Court to try cases of impeachment.

There remains the important question of the relation between the two Houses with regard to ordinary legislation. It is interesting to see what arrangements have been made in America for settling disputes between them. This is of particular importance to us in this country in view of the disputes between the two branches of our own Parliament which culminated in the Parliament Act and which are by no means at an end. Each House of Congress (the Senate and the House of Representatives) must concur in all Bills before they can be sent to the President. Although only the House of Representatives can initiate financial bills, when they reach the Senate that Chamber has full power of rejection and amendment and frequently exercises it. In the case of disagreement, each House appoints an equal number of members to a conference committee. In the majority of cases, Congress accepts the recommendations of this Committee. Where it does not, the Bill in dispute is killed.

THE COMMITTEE SYSTEM IN CONGRESS.

The work of both Houses of Congress is largely done through committees. These committees are organised on different methods from those adopted in connection with the House of Commons. The House of Representatives and the Senate both elect a large number of committees. These

bear different names according to the duties they have to discharge, e.g., the Foreign Affairs Committee. All Bills introduced into either House are automatically referred to the appropriate committee. Each committee has great powers over its own procedure, and deals with the Bills referred to it in the order it thinks fit. A large number of Bills referred to a committee never again emerge. Those which do emerge are reported upon by the committee, favourably or otherwise. A committee can be prevented from killing a Bill which either House desires to see passed by being called upon by resolution to report upon the Bill. The committees have the power of summoning witnesses, and taking evidence in connection with the Bill under consideration. The functions of the committee are not limited to the consideration of Bills. They may pass resolutions and make recommendations.

It will be seen that this committee system is very different from that used in connection with the English Parliament. There are no regular organised committees in the House of Commons whose duties are to deal with definite subjects. There are certain Standing Committees to which every kind of Bill is referred after second reading if so ordered by the House. These committees have no power to call witnesses; they sit as a kind of miniature House of Commons, and their procedure is substantially the same. There are, of course, other committees in connection with our own parliamentary system such as Select Committees and the committees set up to consider what are technically known as private bills, and these can and do examine witnesses, but we have nothing approaching the American system either in its specialisation or in its invariable use.

The advantages of the American system appear to be these:

- (1) The freeing of the House of Representatives of much detailed work which can be efficiently done in committee.
- (2) The power to summon witnesses gives Congress some control over the Executive, for it regularly summons Ministers to give evidence.
- (3) It enables members to specialise upon some definite aspect of public work, as each committee deals with a special branch of legislation.

SUMMARY OF FEATURES IN THE AMERICAN SYSTEM WHICH MIGHT BE USEFULLY ADOPTED IN THIS COUNTRY.

I come now to what is the most difficult, and perhaps the most controversial aspect of my subject. What features in the American Constitution could, in the light of the experience of both countries, be adopted here?

- (1) It is, I think, demonstrable that a fixed term for the life of

our Parliament would be a great public reform. Every Parliament in the past, whether under the rule of a Conservative, Liberal, or Coalition Government, has protested against the great power of the Executive, and the tendency to make the general body of the House of Commons a mere instrument for recording the decisions of the Government. Party discipline is maintained through the knowledge that a General Election must follow any serious defeat of the Government. The feeling is more apparent now than at any other time in history. This is due to the greater complexity of the problems, national and international, with which Parliament has to deal. The new conditions under which we live are attended by a great increase in the power of the Press. Recent years have seen this development on lines not unattended with danger. A large portion of it is under the direction of a small number of men. A Press which numbers millions of readers under a single control is obviously going to exercise a great political influence. Under our present system, it may prove to have the power in certain contingencies of forcing a General Election. So long, therefore, as private members of the House of Commons are called upon to perform their duties without being in a position to do so free from the threat made both from within and without Parliament of a General Election, neither independence nor efficiency can be looked for. The remedy is a modification of the American system. Parliament should be elected for a fixed term. This term should be long enough to enable a coherent and definite policy to be carried out, but not so long as to cause any serious danger of the wishes of the country being over-ruled or ignored. The present term of five years is, perhaps, too long for a fixed Parliament. I would suggest four years, instead of the American system of six years for the Senate and two years for the House of Representatives. Four years is, of course, the term for which every American President holds office.

(2) The changes in public opinion due to the war and the new interest in international questions renders a change in our method of dealing with foreign affairs necessary. The issues of war and peace, the making of treaties, the establishment of understandings, should pass from the exclusive control of the executive, and become the business of Parliament itself. All treaties and other international engagements should be ratified by Parliament.

(3) The American system of Parliamentary committees, with modifications, should be adopted. One committee which would be of great value is a Foreign Affairs Committee, with power to summon witnesses, including members of the Government. The main objection to popular control of foreign policy has been based upon the impossibility of publicity. The establishment of a Foreign

Affairs Committee, which could sit in secret, would destroy this objection. Amongst other duties, it would advise Parliament both on legislation and policy affecting other countries. It would naturally attract to its membership experts on foreign affairs. It would be the instrument by which Parliament would largely exercise its proper powers.

(4) I come now to the most difficult of all the questions which arise in a brief comparison between the methods of the two countries, viz., the constitution and powers of the second Chamber. It is unlikely that a question which has excited so much controversy for several decades will now prove to be a subject upon which there is general agreement. I can only attempt to make a contribution to its settlement.

America shows us the example of a second Chamber wholly elective, with powers equal to those of the House of Representatives, and with certain functions reserved exclusively to itself. The course of American political history shows that the system has led to the following:

1. The Senate has become the more important of the two Houses. The reasons for this are, briefly, the fact that a Senator sits for six years as against the two years of the Congressman; and the control secured to it, under the Constitution, over foreign affairs.
2. Many of the best men in the country as a result have been attracted to the Senate. Its personnel is much more impressive than that of the House of Representatives.
3. In actual practice the equal powers of the two Houses in matters of legislation has not resulted in serious deadlock. Common sense and developed responsibility have made of the system an effective means of Government.

Notwithstanding the success of the Senate in the United States, I should not propose a similar arrangement in connection with our own Second Chamber. I would, however, put forward a modification of the system adapted to our own needs. The House of Commons in this country has attained to a supremacy which the House of Representatives has never had. The latter came into existence with its powers and position clearly defined under the Constitution. The House of Commons has won its position through centuries of conflict. It is not possible, therefore, to consider any re-adjustment which would impinge upon the existing authority of the House of Commons. My proposal would be this. An elected Senate should take the place of the House of Lords. It should, however, sit for the same period as the House of Commons. Its numbers, as in America, should be smaller than that of the House of Commons. Its powers should be those now possessed by the House of Lords.

Let me examine some points in favour of this scheme. By mak-

ing the life of the Senate the same as that of the House of Commons we should avoid the American plan which has made the Senate the more important of the two Houses. By leaving to the English Senate the present powers of the House of Lords we should give permanence to a plan which has proved workable, viz., that of giving the Commons uncontrolled discretion in the matter of financial Bills, and of giving the Lords a suspensory veto with regard to other legislation. To those critics who would urge that a second Chamber, if elected, must have the same powers as the popular Chamber, I would point out that history is full of examples which refute this argument. In the United States both Houses are elected, but that does not prevent separate functions being assigned to each of these Chambers. There is room in our Constitution for two elected Houses, with different powers and responsibilities. My proposal would place the second Chamber upon a permanent basis, and would bring to an end the mediæval system upon which the present Upper House is built. It would probably excite less controversy than any alternative method, such as that of a nominated, or partly nominated Chamber. Its duties would be sufficiently impressive to attract men of the first rank.

(5) The placing of the Second Chamber upon an elective basis would, of course, mean the re-organisation of our judicature. I see no reason which need deter us from separating, as in the United States, our highest courts from Parliament, and instituting something analogous to the Supreme Court in the United States. This Court would take over all the duties performed by the legal members of the House of Lords when sitting as the final Court of Appeal, or as the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council.

J. HOWARD WHITEHOUSE.

ST. FRANCIS.

"Bring my soul out of prison, that I may praise Thy Name: the righteous shall compass me about, for Thou shalt deal bountifully with me."

THESE words, so prophetically appropriate, were perhaps the last that fell on the ears of the dying Francis of Assisi, whose own voice had joined feebly in the earlier petitions of the Psalm. The picture of the sorrowing group around him, in the Umbrian autumnal twilight, is in the minds of all who this year commemorate the seven hundredth anniversary of his death, whether in his native place or elsewhere. Each year, at Assisi, on the evening of October 4th, the townspeople flock to the Porzioncola, where the passing (*transitus*) of the Saint is enacted. It is like a great family gathering. The huge church is crowded, to the steps of the High Altar, where a bevy of small children, in gay frocks, from a Franciscan orphanage, have established themselves. A fervid sermon is addressed to us as *concittadini di Francesco*. Then the brown-frocked *frati* go in procession into the little chapel, originally the infirmary cell in which Francis died, and chant this Psalm—a profoundly moving ceremony to all assisting at it.

And this year, the world joins with them. The erection in Italy of statues of the Saint, the issue of special stamps by the Government and the proclamation of October 4th as a public holiday, are only surface tokens of the deep devotion of his countrymen to one aptly styled *il più italiano fra i santi ed il più santo fra gli italiani*. While, outside Italy, Francis is loved as perhaps no other Saint by men of varying types, races, and creeds.

"Why unto thee? why unto thee?" Thus questioned simple Brother Masseo, in the *Fioretti*, marvelling at the way the world flocked to his master and did him homage, seeing that he had no pretensions to good birth or good looks—those passports to mediæval popularity. And we may echo the question to-day, as we seek to solve the secret of his attraction. So much has been written about Francis and the vast movement which he inaugurated that it would seem impossible to avoid repeating what has been better said already, or to hope to throw any fresh light on the subject. Franciscan literature is a wide field, on which much research has been expended, and much controversy. Discussion has raged, for example, round the relative value of the early biographies of the Saint; round the question of the Stigmata; round the attitude of the ecclesiastical authorities toward the growing Order, and the divisions in it after the Founder's death. A good deal of sickly sentiment has been poured over Francis (to which the caressing Italian diminutives *poverello*, *pecorella*, and the like, have lent

themselves), on the lines of Tennyson's "sweet Saint Francis"; he has been variously regarded as the amiable Nature-enthusiast, the pioneer of social reform, or, as in pictures of the Bolognese and Spanish Schools, the morbid ascetic. Too often, in the Middle Ages, from the desire to stress the "conformities" in his life with that of Christ, he was exalted to a comparison with his Master from which he would have shrunk in dismay. Too often, latterly, there has been a tendency to read back ideas of our own age into his, and to ignore or explain away traits that do not fit in with them.

The first aim of Francis, the consuming, dominating desire of his heart, was the imitation of Christ, in external conditions as well as in spirit, literally and at all costs. It is, naturally, one of the chief grounds of his appeal to Christian people. This aim involved a life of absolute poverty—the barest necessities in food and clothing, the meanest dwellings, and even those not held as property. It has been maintained that Francis did not love poverty for its own sake, but merely as a means to more exact imitation and more perfect detachment, but this seems hard to reconcile with some of his lyrical language, and his idealisation of Poverty as the Lady with whom he rejoiced on his deathbed to have "kept faith even unto the end." His romantic enthusiasm communicated itself to his followers. In after years, when absolute poverty, not only for the individual friar, but for the Order as a whole (this was the distinctive Franciscan feature) had been proved to be impracticable, many still clung to the early ideal, and, in the face of persuasion and persecution, refused to accept any modification of it.*

Some have doubted whether Francis intended to found a great Order at all, or whether he merely set out to live his own life thus, "after the manner of the Holy Gospels"—joined, perhaps, by a few who had heard the same call. If this were the case, he may have felt overwhelmed when numbers rapidly increased, and the need for more formal organisation was forced on his notice, and may have the more readily handed the administration over to others, especially as his health was failing, while he continued, as ever, to show by his example what he understood by their vocation.

* The gospel of poverty and the life of poverty had been preached and practised before Francis, for example, by Joachim of Flores, and by the sect of the "Poor Men of Lyons." The idea may be said to have been in the air. But by none was it made so attractive as by Francis. Dante says of his first followers that "they followed the spouse so did the bride delight them," and Eccleston ascribes the entrance of the noted scholar, Adam Marsh, into the Order to "the fervour of his love for poverty." Unhappily the Order and the Church became for many years after involved in what seems to us a barren and academic controversy as to the exact definition of evangelical poverty.

Francis made this life of renunciation a knightly adventure; into it he threw all that "positive and passionate quality" which Mr. Chesterton notes as pre-eminently his. The same eager delight that he had known in song and laughter and friendship, in gay clothing and dainty food, persisted in new guise. His rejoicings were as transparently sincere as his penitence. "We are not worthy of such vast treasure!" he cries exultantly one day, looking on the pieces of bread just bestowed in alms, set out on a flat stone by a fair spring, and explains to his companion, who demurs to the description, that the savour of it all is in its coming straight from the hand of God. The Saint's rich, many-coloured nature found expression in varied ways. His love of music comes out in several stories; his dramatic instinct in his parables, and in such incidents as the institution of the *Presepio* at Greccio, and his disguising himself as a pilgrim one Easter Day, to beg alms of his own Brethren. French, his mother's tongue, he loved to use, in song and in questing alms, although, we are told, "he spake it not aright."

On the subject of alms, it is hardly necessary to insist again on the fact that Francis meant his Brethren to work with their hands as he had done himself—to practise a trade if they knew one, or to help in any honest toil, as well as in service to the lepers. Many of them did so, receiving food or other wages in kind. Money alone might not be touched. When such work or wages failed, food was to be sought by begging, but never more than was immediately necessary. At the same time, Francis undoubtedly regarded begging as Portia did the "quality of mercy," and the alms given as angels' food, for which the prayers of the Brethren were offered in exchange. Begging, moreover, was valuable as being a severe test of a neophyte's sincerity and humility. Francis sent away a certain "Brother Fly," who neither worked nor prayed, and he would have been the first to disown the type of lazy, greedy mendicant satirised in later, degenerate days.

Undoubtedly one of the traits that most drew men to Francis, and that the dumb creatures, too, seem to have felt, was his sympathy. He had in striking measure that priceless gift, an intuition for reading men's hearts—so quick that it came to be regarded as miraculous. One recalls the personal blessing in writing given to Brother Leo, for which, in a time of temptation, he had craved but had not ventured to ask, and the incident of Brother Leonard. This Brother, an Assisan of high birth, was once leading an ass on which Francis rode. Himself hot and wearied, he recollected, with momentary bitterness, the difference in their worldly station. No word was said, but at that instant

Francis dismounted with: "True, my Brother, 'tis not fitting that I should ride and thou go afoot, who in the world wast of higher rank than I."

It was this divine gift of sympathy that made him one with the highest and the lowest, "among sinners as one of themselves," says Celano. By it he reconciled to society the outlawed brigands,* knowing instinctively how to appeal to them, and considering how, had society been better, Brother Robber perchance had been so too. By it he entered so vividly into the Gospel story that, we read, he would at times sit on the ground during meals, pondering with sighs on the poverty of Our Lord and His Mother. This it was that made him yearn to realise, nay, to share the very Passion of Christ, till finally the feet that trod the way of the Cross after Him were themselves printed with the sacred wounds.

Linked with this constant remembrance of the Passion was his remembrance of men's sins that had caused it—hence the examples of his profound contrition and penitence on which the early biographers dwell. The Brethren were at first known as "Penitents of Assisi," the Tertiaries, as "Brothers and Sisters of Penitence," and Francis describes his conversion as "when I began to do penance." Yet this contrition, he taught, was to be between each soul and God; towards others the Brethren were to show a cheerful face. This characteristic Franciscan gaiety was a new note in religion at his day, which had seen various societies of "penitents," more or less heretical, but none after this sort.

His courtesy and tact are revealed in many narratives, never, perhaps, better than in that of the Brother who was found one night to be near death through excessive fasting. Francis had food prepared, and made all share it that he might not feel shame in eating alone. Once, when his sensitive conscience accused him of having failed in consideration for a leper, whose disease rendered him peculiarly repulsive, he repaired the fault by eating out of the same dish with him—an instance of self-mastery only to be matched by that which he showed in undergoing the cautery at the eye-doctor's hands, when he appealed to Brother Fire to "show courtesy," in his turn, to Brother Francis, his constant lover.

Courtesy, indeed, he praised as "one of the qualities of God Himself . . . and own sister to Charity." This innate courtesy, moreover, restrained him from judging others, whether they were men in authority or high position, holders of property, or scholars.

* I for one decline to believe that the "fierce wolf of Gubbio" so circumstantially described in the *Fioretti*, so charmingly depicted by Sassetta laying his paw in the Saint's hand while the notary draws up the agreement between them, was but another brigand. Has not his skull, or at any rate a wolf's skull, been found buried under the church of San Francesco in Gubbio?

Only he would have them sit loose to office and possessions and learning, and feel themselves stewards of what they had, as he did of his scarcity. If the first half of Jacopone's verse describing poverty as "to have nought and to desire nought" fits the Friars Minor, the second half, describing it as "to possess all things in a spirit of liberty" may be applied to these others.

Francis loved to practise in his own life and to commend to his Brethren alternate periods of active and of contemplative life—"the way of Martha and the way of Mary." This, as has been pointed out, has been true of other great mystics. He taught the soul's retreat at all times: "Brother Body is our cell and the soul a hermit who dwells therein."

A deep reverence and humility, a sense of man's littleness before God, were keynotes of Francis' character, from the outset, when Bernard overheard him repeating all night in prayer "My God, my God," to the end—the rapt "Who art Thou? . . . what am I?" that Leo caught during the vigil on La Verna, ere he stole away, the leaves rustling under his tread. (This last is just one instance out of many of the vivid personal touches given by the "companions," who love to describe themselves as "we that were with him.") His were the blessings pronounced on the peacemaker and the pure in heart: we recall the reconciliation between the angry Bishop and Syndic wrought by his lowly minstrelsy, and the temptation that took the form, not of lust, but of family love.

Underlying this gracious, radiant and supremely lovable personality there was, it must not be forgotten, an austere and stern side, even as in his Master. The Temple must be cleansed with a scourge, the hypocrite rebuked, the cause of offence cut off. This explains some sayings of Francis that seem at first sight unlike him, for instance, the comparison of the perfectly obedient man to a corpse that is taken up or set down, without will of its own. All that distracted from the one great purpose of following Christ was to be relentlessly cast aside—the possession of books, to take one example, and the pursuit of learning. "Jesus," says à Kempis, "hath now many lovers of His heavenly Kingdom, but few bearers of His Cross." So there are many who delight in the troubadour, knight-errant side of Francis who are repelled by his penitence and extremes of self-abnegation; who will echo his thanksgiving for Sister Moon and Sister Water, but fall silent when he gives equal thanks for Sister Death; many who will follow him to the Christmas Crib at Greccio, but shrink, like the disciples of old, from entering with him into the cloud. Many, too, would fain stop short of the literalness that was ready to let Brother Fire consume both cell and clothing rather than

"grudge" them to him—of a conviction against ownership so determined that it turned all the Brethren—including the sick ones—out of a convent because it had been called "theirs," and because mud huts, not stone houses, were the only abodes for Minors.

Such, then, were some of the characteristics of the Umbrian Saint. His outward appearance is made known to us by several eye-witnesses; by Celano, in particular, who, among other details, describes his slight, spare figure, rather under medium height, his frank, black eyes and dark hair; his skin also, we know, was dark. One Thomas of Spalato, who heard him preach, confirms the *Fioretti* statement already alluded to, that "he was mean to look upon." The eager, persuasive speech and clear, musical voice are specially mentioned. Unfortunately, none of the existing so-called portraits can really be considered as such. The most attractive, that at Subiaco, is at variance in several particulars with the verbal descriptions.

What, we may ask in conclusion, has been the influence of Francis and his Order? How has the world been benefited by them? Firstly, of course, there has been the inspiration of his example, which has not failed through the centuries. The Church was quickened, the world uplifted, by this shining life of saintliness. In Italy this year, *objets de piété* are being sold stamped with the inscription

1226—1926: Pax et Bonum.

Peace and goodwill! Legend tells how an unknown visitant to Assisi went through its streets proclaiming the words not long before the birth of Francis, and surely they have been the fruits of his apostleship. The salutation he taught his Brethren was "The Lord give you peace." The new soldiery of Christ spread into all lands, bearing this message, acting as peacemakers, preaching homely, racy sermons, championing the poor, serving the outcast and the lepers, shaming worldliness and self-seeking by their lives, kindling new fervour for spiritual things. The Tertiaries, in especial, were a leaven in society, with their membership in all classes, their refusal to engage in litigation and in petty feudal fights, and the possibility which their Rule afforded of a pure, simple life for men and women who could not become professed Religious.* Two years ago, the seven hundredth anniversary of the first arrival of the Franciscans in England, much was written of their early life in this country, as told by Eccleston and other chroniclers, so that it is unnecessary to dwell on it here.

Certain other developments would not have been in Francis'

* In all this, the Friars Preachers (Dominicans) must, of course, be associated with the Minors.

own plan—notably, the absorption in study, especially theology, which won for the Friars a leading place in the universities, and which enriched the world by the works of Roger Bacon, Hales, Duns Scotus, Occam, Raymond Lull, and others.* Also the contribution to the improvement of towns all over Europe in which they settled, by their buildings, wells, aqueducts, and so forth. The inspiration given to art by the picturesque subjects of the Franciscan story, and the scope for portraying them offered by their vast churches, has been dwelt on by various writers.

To-day, in an age of materialism, and of despondency combined with a frantic pursuit of pleasure, an age of self-assertion, of impatience with lawful authority, it is well to remember how the spirit of Francis was in direct opposition to all these: in our intricate, complicated life, to recall his joy in simple things, his freedom won by relinquishments: in days of pressing, sometimes overwhelming cares, it is well to learn of him the detachment and inner withdrawal that is yet no withdrawal of sympathy from the world's needs. As we look back over seven centuries to the closing of that brief, ecstatic life, we see it all glowing in seraphic ardour, as set forth to Dante in the Heaven of the Sun, while among the Assisan olives its deeds

Smell sweet, and blossom in their dust.

EMMA GURNEY SALTER.

* This thirst for knowledge, combined with a missionary enthusiasm, took another direction also, and several Franciscans, like Odorico of Pordenone, became pioneers in geographical exploration.

RUSSIA AND INDIA.

A very appropriate sub-title to this article would be "A Comedy of Errors." Fortunately only a "Comedy," for had not wise statesmanship triumphed in the past over ignorance and prejudice, the Comedy might easily have been converted into a Tragedy. "Russia and India" is a subject which requires specification; but the thought underlying this title is the influence of the Indian Empire upon the relations between Great Britain and Russia for the last few decades before the Great War, and before the elimination from the map of Europe of Russia, whose place has now been temporarily taken by the so-called Union of the Socialist Soviet Republics. That Russia as a State had no independent relations with the Indian Empire is a fact that scarcely requires proof. On the other hand, there is ample evidence that the so-called "Russian scare" was a factor of international policy which from time to time loomed large in the eyes of responsible British statesmen. To trace the origin of this tragic-comic misconception, to prove its utter lack of foundation in fact, and to recount some of the amusing consequences of the hold it had over certain minds, will be my object.

Russian penetration into Central Asia in the direction of the Indian frontier—that was the danger that gave rise to apprehensions. In order to understand the purpose of "Russian penetration into Central Asia," it is necessary to make a short incursion into the history of Russia's foreign policy since the beginning of the nineteenth century and more especially during the last four or five decades which preceded the conquests of Generals Skobelev, Kaufmann and Chernaiev in Central Asia.

At the end of the eighteenth century, Russia had completed her national and territorial reunion, and her foreign policy after the Napoleonic wars had for its main object the solution of the so-called "Eastern question." As early as in the reign of Catherine II, Russia had fought two exhausting wars with Turkey for the purpose of freeing the Christian peoples of the Balkan peninsula from the Turkish yoke. Catherine's advisers dreamt of the restoration of a Greek Empire on the ruins of the Turkish Sultanate. These aims were not attained, but Russian commercial ships were granted a free passage from the Black Sea to the Mediterranean, the territorial unification of Russia was completed, and a naval base was started in Sebastopol, the Russian navy becoming a weapon in support of the protectorate over the Eastern Christians.

In the reign of Nicholas I the "Eastern question," as far as Russia was concerned, acquired a wider scope. Not content with the object of freeing the Balkan Slavs, Russia was striving to

establish new relations with the Asiatic peoples inhabiting the southern and south-eastern borders of Russia. Transcaucasia, Central and Far Eastern Asia became the arena of new activities. Russia thus came into direct contact—and in those days *contact* almost invariably meant *conflict*—with Turkey, Persia, the rulers of Turkestan, and even China.

I firmly believe that when and if the final verdict is given by the future historian upon the "Balkan policy" of Russia during the second half of the nineteenth century, the tragic consequences of the misunderstanding of that policy by the European Powers, and more especially by Great Britain, will be acknowledged and deplored. But the internal condition of Russia under Nicholas I was such as to provoke the legitimate antipathy and distrust of the British democracy. Hence the ease with which Russia's motives were distorted. I described these consequences as tragic; for was not the Crimean War a tragedy? For Russia its consequences were, however, a blessing in disguise. Just as fifty years later the defeat of Russia in the inglorious Japanese War was a formidable incentive to the development of political consciousness and led to the establishment of representative institutions, so the Crimean War was the lever that set into rapid motion the extensive reforms of the reign of Alexander II.

Russia having lost her paramount influence in Turkey, Russian statesmanship turned its attention to Central Asia, with conspicuous success. Many conquests were made, and the Russian dominions in Central Asia finally spread to the frontiers of Afghanistan, the dividing line between Russia and the Indian Empire. And it was precisely in these years, the 'eighties of the past century, that the "Russian scare" originated.

The penetration of Russian armies to the confines of the Indian Empire coincided with the advent to the throne of Alexander III. Recent events have proved how well those were justified who, at the end of his reign, described Russia as the colossus on feet of clay. His narrow-minded, stubborn resistance, under the evil inspiration of Pobedonostzev, to the rapidly growing claims of the Russian people to political freedom and emancipation from the yoke of an all-powerful bureaucracy—albeit excusable, perhaps, from the purely human motive (he was the son of the murdered emancipator!)—was indeed thinning the clay upon which the colossus stood. Yet at the same time the Russians were justified when they gave him the short-lived title of "Peacemaker." The honest firmness he displayed in his dealings with foreign Powers did contribute to the growth of the international prestige of the colossus, and the archives of European Foreign Offices show but scanty signs of any real danger of serious conflict between

Russia and the great Powers in the realm of the Middle East. During the reign of Alexander III, moreover, Russia was only feeling her way in these new regions. With the advent of his son Nicholas II of tragic memory, these conditions underwent an appreciable change.

Space prevents me from entering into a detailed survey of the haphazard, fitful and changeable policy of Russia in Persia—the ground upon which British and Russian diplomacy waged an intermittent struggle for supremacy. We have, from the pen of Lord Grey of Falloden, a summary of the situation which is as brilliant in form as it is absolutely true in substance. Writing of the events of 1907 and of the Russo-British agreement which was a great landmark in our relations, Lord Grey mentions Persia as the danger point:

“The inefficiency of Persian Governments, the state of their finances, the internal disorders, not only laid Persia open to foreign interference, but positively invited and attracted it. Teheran, the capital, and the seat of the Central Government, was in the north of Persia; it was within easy striking distance of Russia, it was quite out of British reach. Russia had therefore a great and perpetual advantage in the struggle that went on between British and Russian diplomacy at Teheran. . . .

It is not suggested that Russian influence at Teheran was pressed with a deliberate design to advance to the Indian frontier; the policy of Russia was decided probably by the momentum of her own weight and by the weakness of Persia; but each new concession or extension of influence increased British apprehension. We feared that we might at any time be confronted with some *fait accompli* which British interests would require us to resist—a situation very unpleasant to contemplate. British policy in Persia was therefore constantly in opposition to Russia; it was not a forward policy pushed for the purpose of extending British territory or influence. Its main object was to keep Persia as a buffer State and to maintain it as an independent country.

It will readily be inferred that the atmosphere at Teheran was one of dislike and distrust between Britain and Russia; and thus, to the inevitable friction caused by policies that had opposing aims, was added imputation of motive, where perhaps no sinister motive existed, so that even trivial or accidental things were exaggerated into matters of importance and design.”

At the time referred to in the above quoted passage, Sir Edward Grey held a highly responsible post in the British Government. I was only a second Secretary in the Russian Foreign Office, yet the personal comment which I might venture to make upon this exceptionally clear and penetrating summary of the situation may be of some value, because it so happened that during those years I was, if I may use a French expression, *dans les petits papiers* of the Russian Foreign Office, acting as it were as the private secretary to

the Russian Foreign Minister. There was no such office as there is at Whitehall. But the Foreign Minister chose among the staff of his “political Chancellery” one or two secretaries who dealt with the most confidential documents and diplomatic correspondence. In the passage I have just quoted Lord Grey, on two occasions, uses very cautious language. Speaking of the designs of Russia in Persia, he says that they were not deliberate, but were “probably” decided by the momentum of Russia’s own weight and by the weakness of Persia. And then again he says that “imputation of motive was added where ‘perhaps’ no sinister motive existed.” The only corrective which I feel justified in making from my own personal experience is that on both occasions Lord Grey would have been fully justified in omitting the words “probably” and “perhaps.”

I venture to think that as far as Persia was concerned, the only cause of this imputation of motive was provided by the inability of the Russian Foreign Office to select for the all-important post of Russian Minister in Teheran men of sufficient tact and breadth of vision to come to the true understanding of the real issue, which was only reached when M. Izvolsky learnt the fateful lesson of the Japanese War and devoted himself to the task of coming to an agreement with the British Foreign Office not only on Persia, but on Central Asia and Tibet.

Even after the agreement in 1907 there was intermittent friction, noted in Lord Grey’s book. And there again it was due almost exclusively to personal blunders of narrow-minded diplomatic agents.

That Russia’s policy in Persia was not dictated by any secret or remote scheme of “reaching the India border” *via* Teheran is a truth that appears to me, in the light of the diplomatic correspondence to which I have had access, absolutely undeniable.

The same applies to another region also bordering on India, where Russian activities “caused apprehension” at Whitehall. And I can here claim to have been justified in describing the Russo-British diplomatic battles in the first decade of the present century as a “Comedy of Errors.” Those who will have the patience to wade through the various publications relating to Russo-British negotiations regarding Tibet will undoubtedly endorse my description. Let me, however, pick out at random one small incident illustrating my point.

When Colonel Francis Younghusband—one of those many British soldiers whose names are written in golden letters in the annals of the British Empire—started, under the sagacious and energetic guidance of the greatest of the Indian Viceroys, Lord Curzon, upon his expedition to Lhasa, the Russian Foreign Office showed signs of “apprehension.” Count Benckendorff, the Russian Ambassador in London, was instructed to vouch these apprehen-

sions. Sir Francis Younghusband, in his admirable account of the expedition, *India and Tibet*, relates in the chapter "Russian Protests" how Lord Lansdowne "with a map of Central Asia before him, pointed out to the Ambassador that Lhasa was within a comparatively short distance of the Indian frontier while, on the other hand, it was considerably over 1,000 miles from the Asiatic possessions of Russia." I know that Count Benckendorff had a very keen sense of humour, and I feel certain that he did not resent this polite lesson in geography. But the very fact that the lesson was administered reveals the futility of these Russian protests. I know the other side of the story also from personal experience. The same authority, Colonel Younghusband, mentions the visit to Russia of the Lama Dorjief, whose interviews with Count Lamsdorff, the Russian Foreign Minister, and with the Emperor himself greatly perturbed the Government of India. Count Lamsdorff gave repeated assurances to the British Foreign Office that Dorjief's mission was limited to money collections for his monastery in Tibet from his co-religionists in Russia (Dorjief was himself a Russian Buriat) and had no political significance. These assurances were apparently treated with some diffidence. Yet, having been present at the interviews between the Russian Foreign Minister and this Buriat, I can endorse most emphatically Count Lamsdorff's assurances. The conversation—a painful ordeal for the Russian Minister who was, I must reluctantly admit, utterly ignorant of the history and geography of Tibet (in fact, had Lord Lansdowne shown *him* the map of Asia, I doubt whether he would have found Lhasa on that map!)—never went beyond the flattest of banalities. Not a single reference to political matters was made. The truth of the matter is that apprehensions and jealousies were based not upon *facts*, but upon *fancies*; motives were mutually attributed which in reality were absent from the minds of Russian or British statesmen, as the case might be.

As we know from Lord Grey, all this unwarranted and at times futile friction and these misgivings of the British Foreign Office were founded upon the fear of Russia's approach to the Indian frontier. It is quite obvious that in the minds of the British statesmen a march of Russian troops either through Afghanistan or Baluchistan *via* Persia was regarded as a possible enterprise endangering the safety of the British Empire. Such a scheme, had it ever existed in Russia during the period with which we are concerned, would have formed a subject of study and discussion between the Russian Foreign Office and the Ministry of War.

It is well known that Platon Zoubov, the youthful lover of Catherine II's old age, wrote a kind of "memorandum." The Russian Empire, according to Zoubov, was to have six capitals: St. Peters-

burg, Moscow, Astrakhan, Vienna, Berlin, and Constantinople, with separate Courts, one of them, presumably in St. Petersburg, to be the permanent seat of the Ruler of the thus extended Russian State. Would it be wise to quote this document as embodying the true aims of Russia? The famous testament of Peter the Great, Paul I's crazy design to send cossacks to conquer India—belong to the same category of phantasmagoria.

That no such idea as the conquest of India was ever contemplated by the Russian Foreign Office in the reign of Alexander III, the Peacemaker, is beyond doubt. My personal experience as a Government servant in that department from 1897 till the end of the Great War convinces me that in all those years it was also absent from the minds of the successive heads of the Foreign Office. I shall presently say a few words of the attitude of my chiefs towards India during the years immediately preceding the Great War when I was the official representative of Russia in India. Let us first turn to the Russian War Ministry and General Staff in search of any "schemes" for the invasion of India by Russian troops *via* Afghanistan or Persia. Space prevents me from going into that subject as deeply as I would have wished. Let me quote, however, the words of one of the most authoritative Russian military statesmen—perhaps the most authoritative. Shortly after the Russo-Japanese War in which he was the unsuccessful Commander-in-Chief, General Kuropatkin—not a leader of men, but admittedly the greatest Russian strategist and tactician of the latter part of the nineteenth century—wrote with reference to the growing might of Japan, which he regarded as a menace mainly to Great Britain and Russia in the East:

"In India the native population of 300,000,000 is held in submission by a handful of Europeans—the British. Not only would it be dangerous and disadvantageous to Russia to subdue any portion of the British dominions in Asia, but it would be detrimental to our interests if the position of the British in India underwent a change, if they were driven out of Asia, and the Indian peoples obtained independence. Such a contingency would immediately weaken the position of Russia in Central Asia. For this reason it is in the interest of Russia to support the domination of the British in India. And Russia is in a position to offer such support. Two railway lines connect Russia with her dominions in Central Asia, and they can bring to the borders of Afghanistan sufficient forces to assist the British.

It is only necessary that the pernicious chimera of the possibility of a Russian march into India should vanish and should be replaced by the consciousness of the community of British and Russian interests in Asia."

This appears to me sufficiently convincing. It is well known that on another occasion, discussing the possibility of this "Russian invasion of India," the same authority conclusively

proved that even were the Russians in a position to move an army to the Indian border, and keep it well supplied from the remote base in Russia, this army would soon come to a dead standstill on the line of the river Indus which the British army would have no difficulty in defending. Now it is quite possible that in the days of General Kuropatkin, i.e., in the 'nineties of the nineteenth century and in the first decade of the present, the invasion of India by Russian troops may have formed the subject for essays given as examination tasks to students of the Russian Staff College, just as the British officers in the same position may have drafted schemes for the conquest of Persia or Turkestan with Peshawar or Quetta as a base. But there is a far cry from these examination papers to "sinister designs" apt to give sleepless nights to members of the British Cabinet.

I have recently obtained from contemporary Russian authorities on military subjects the confirmation of my thesis, that tallies with the description quoted above of the Russian invasion of India as a *pernicious chimera*. Two of the most prominent officers of the late Russian General Staff have expressed complete agreement. Like many other officers who had successfully led the Russian armies in the Great War until the Russian army collapsed under the weight of criminal mismanagement from headquarters, these men are living in exile and have no access to the archives of the Russian Ministry of War, which are in the hands of the makers of the Treaty of Brest-Litovsk. They cannot, therefore, give exhaustive documentary evidence to support my contention. But one of them wrote to me as follows:

"I regret to say that I have no written proofs to produce, but I may entirely endorse your thesis, especially in respect of the years 1908 till the end of the Great War, during which time I had intimate knowledge of the work of the Russian General Staff. The Russian War Ministry and General Staff never contemplated such an idea as the invasion of India and did not concentrate troops for the purpose. On the immense territory of Turkestan, the Semiretchje (Seven Rivers), and the Transcaspian region, we had only six rifle brigades (36 battalions). The artillery attached to the Siberian Cossack division and the Transcaspian Cossack brigades was very weak, and there were no heavy guns at all. These troops were divided into two army corps; one was quartered in Turkestan and the other in the Transcaspian region. The network of railways was quite inadequate. In the Transcaspian it reached Kushka. In Turkestan there was a long distance to be traversed by the troops from the terminus to the frontier. We had no means of carrying out a campaign of invasion, and we could never have reached India. But our troops were comparatively strong numerically. Our object was to be in readiness to resist any possible hostile acts on the part of the Afghans or the Chinese, and our aims never went beyond that."

The "Russian scare" in India gave rise to another legend—quite logically—that of the "Russian spy." With this legend I was confronted when I went to India as the Russian Consul-General. So "apprehensive" was Whitehall of the activities of this Russian agent, that although Germany, France, and Japan had Consulates-General in Calcutta, then the seat of the Government of India until the transfer of the capital to Delhi—a stroke of genius that so many people nowadays ascribe to their initiative that it is extremely difficult to ascertain to whom that initiative actually belonged—Russia was only allowed a Consulate in Bombay. A few months before the transfer of the capital, Russia obtained at last the same privilege as Germany, France, and Japan had enjoyed for several decades. The Russian Duma actually sanctioned the establishment of a Russian Consulate in Calcutta a few months *after* the capital of Bengal had ceased to be the capital of India. And so one of the features of the "Comedy of Errors" was a kind of game of hide and seek. The Russian Consul-General came to Calcutta to be in direct contact with the Government of India—and lo! the Government of India had removed itself to Delhi. Then the Russian Consul-General shared the fate of his colleagues, and was permitted to remain in direct contact with the Government of India only during the hot weather season.

When I went to India not much time was needed for me to realise the truth of Kuropatkin's remarks I have quoted. And I set myself to the double task of enlightening the Russian Foreign Office on the one hand, on the subject of British rule in India and of the fundamental notion that co-operation between Russia and Great Britain in Asia devoid of any shadow of mutual suspicion or rivalry was the only sane and possible policy, and on the other hand of destroying in the minds of the Government of India the legend of the Russian spy. Many amusing incidents occurred illustrating the attitude of suspicion which prevailed at first towards the Russian diplomat, but they cannot be here recounted. The war contributed greatly to simplify my task. Lord Hardinge was anxious to co-operate closely with the Russian Government in watching the subversive activities of the enemy in Asia, and he, therefore, authorised me—contrary to the stern orders from Whitehall—to spend the cold weather in Delhi. The Russian Consul-General was then described as "The Consul-General for Russia in Calcutta at Delhi and Simla!"

In a farewell speech with which the Viceroy honoured me upon my departure from India, Lord Hardinge said: "Mr. Nabokoff has completely destroyed the old legend of the Russian spy."

All I had done was to knock down a house of cards.

THE MIND OF YESTERDAY AND THE MIND OF TO-DAY.

"The successful curiosity of the present age, in all arts and experiments and new systems, is to exalt men, and make them overlook the ancients. But . . . the ancients too were not ignorant of many things, as well in physics as metaphysics, which perhaps are more generally, though not first known in these modern times."

Berkeley. *Siris*. Sect. 265.

THE five score years of each succeeding century come and go, and this Orb of Time, gently and smoothly, and with no perceptible jar to its parasites, starts to roll down the incline of another hundred years. But along with the Time *continuum* goes a Mind *continuum*. The mind of the race is one, though distributed among a succession of perishable carriers. The mind of to-day is but a link with the mind of yesterday and both are but units of an endless chain, no part of the circuit of which can justly claim precedence over another. Like the circles made in water by a stone's impact, which ever enlarge with the moments, so the thought circles caused by the impact of the eager mind of man upon nature's reservoir enlarge in amplitude with the centuries. And he who shall observe with care the stately circumference of the thought ripples of to-day will find little difficulty in tracing the narrower concentrics till he comes to the point of impingement made by the cast of the mind of yesterday. It is scarcely more of an exaggeration to say that all the plots of all the stories that have ever been told are but variants of an original seven, than it is to state that all the thoughts hived in the busy skull of man claim descent from no more numerous an ancestry. So rich is the One in the Many!

The advantages of Ignorance are not to be despised, for some have real value, but so long as the poet and the man of imagination follow in the tracks of the philosopher and the scientist to restore the wonder they have apparently slain, so long shall we take no real spiritual harm from knowledge. Knowledge would be too dearly purchased by the extinction of wonder. First then, let us pause a moment to try to re-create for ourselves the wonder which the material basis of mind ought to inspire. A small point in the universe (perhaps more than one—Giordano Bruno may be right) contains beings endowed with a special substance so fragile and delicate that it has to be protected by an armoured helmet of bone—one of the most durable of nature's structures—yet so potent that it is capable of storing millions of pictures and impressions within its hidden galleries: can exhibit them when required,

combine, shape and reform them in a billion ways: is subject to the mysterious process known as intuition whereby in an instant it is put *en rapport* with some external truth: and which is even capable in some degree of knowing itself. The grey matter of the mind of man, switched on to the universe by means of his five (or more) senses, like a battery manipulated by a keyboard, has done work which has already profoundly modified that little corner of space wherein he dwells, and it would be bold to deny that the thinking substance of man may yet prove to be a matter of moment to Mars or Neptune or even remoter spheres than these. Man's brain is, indeed, nature's super "sport." So prodigious a leap is it that it is still unconsummated, and neither the method nor manner of its termination is yet advertised.

The mind which runs parallel with the processes of this substance, or is consequent upon them—which you will—has, and always has had, four distinguishing marks which separate it from and raise it far above mind as manifested in the lesser brethren of *homo sapiens*. Man has been variously defined as a "featherless biped," a "tool-using animal," a "fire-kindling being," and in many other ways, but it is not difficult to coin two definitions more convenient than them all, each of which brings out an essential characteristic. First, Man is a mistake-making animal. Of prime importance is that peculiar faculty of a man's brain which enables him to miss take. He is the only animal which really profits by a process of trial and error. All the intellects of all the generations of other animals have left no real mark upon the sum of things. The faultless geometry of the bee, the industry of the ant, the instinct of the bird, have evolved nothing new so far as we can tell, or, if so, it is negligible. Their art, or, speaking with Emerson, their path to their work, is straight and unerring, but it is just because man can and does wander as no other animal can wander, that he is able to trace out new paths. We ought to import the Greek meaning into the word "err"—to aim at a mark and come short of it. Hence it is in no spirit of irony that man is described as *homo sapiens*, for he knows that it is good to aim at impossible marks.

Our second definition will embody another great characteristic of man's mind. Man is a naming animal. In the old story of his origin, his first recorded action is to name. "And out of the ground the Lord God formed every beast of the field, and every fowl of the air; and brought them unto Adam to see what he would call them. . . . And Adam gave names." "What's in a name?" There is everything in a name, as the sensitive Greeks well knew. It was the name "isonomia" that so commended a democracy, it was the name "slave" that made Polyxena resigned

to die. Even the practical Romans admitted the magic of a name: *Et nomen pacis dulce est, et ipsa res salutaris*, and we, the modern Romans, have not always been unaware of the power in the word, as is evidenced by the splendid apostrophe to Rest in Baxter's *The Saint's Everlasting Rest*. The history of science is full of the significance of a name. On the one hand, a misapplied name has enchained a scientific conception for ages. When that has been the case it is fortunate if that conception has been released from prison before the payment of the uttermost farthing. Man must agree with nature, his great "antidikos," while he is in the way with her. His "names" must not blaspheme her. On the other hand, the mere invention of a right and true name has marked a new epoch in science or thought. These names appear to possess a creative impulse because, perhaps, they have a certain true though unexplainable relation with reality.

The third characteristic of the mind of man, common as are the others to the mind of to-day and the mind of yesterday is, in the words of the Polish philosopher Korzybski, "time binding."* Man's mind can bind time. One may not agree with all Korzybski's conclusions, but his striking phrase describes a function of the mind of man in a way more forcible and picturesque than it has ever been described before. No other animal can bind time, and by using time as a mortar man has been enabled to construct his civilisations. "The Past survives in the living achievements of the dead," and each generation begins where its predecessor ended.

The fourth characteristic can in no wise be better described than by Coleridge's neologism. Man's mind is "esemplastic"† (*εἰς ἓν πλάττειν*), and by virtue of this quality he is able, provided he has the materials, to mould and to unify: he can make four, given a couple of twos. The first Aryans chanced to inhabit a mountainous country, and in their case the invention of the plough was long delayed. The Semites, on the other hand, dwelt in an opulent and level land, and they were husbandmen from the first and invented the tools of their craft. The ancient dwellers in Mesopotamia found neither stone nor wood ready to hand, but there was clay and a hot sun. The esemplastic faculty was able to operate and the result was the invention of bricks. Wm. Lee looks at the motion of the knitting needles in his wife's hands, his mind is moulding and unifying all the while and, in due course, the stocking-loom is conceived. All the inventions and dis-

* See *Hibbert Journal*, Vol. XX, No. 2, pp. 324, *et. seq.*

† See *Biographia Literaria*. Ch. X. De Quincey, however, points out that Coleridge's claim to have originated the word could not possibly be substantiated. See the note at end of his essay on Coleridge in the *Reminiscences of the English Lake Poets*.

coveries of the human species have their origin in this unique quality of the mind of *homo*.

By virtue of these peculiar characteristics of his mind man was ensured of gradual advancement, but that advancement would have been painful and slow but for the emergence in all ages of the great mind: "those exceptional variants on whom the progress and guidance of the world so much depend." To this higher type of mind, and to this only, belongs a fifth quality which may be described as the faculty of convergence. These exceptional minds have a lens-like action. As a lens brings to a focus in a yard, an inch, or a fraction of an inch, rays whose focus is otherwise at or near infinity, so the mind of the sage may bring to a focus in early time thought which would otherwise have wandered its long journey through the ages to find its focus in late time. The great mind is a time saver just as a lens is a space saver. It is not that the thought which comes to birth through the exceptional mind would have been lost had that mind—that particular mind—never existed. There is every evidence that there is a conservation of thought as well as of matter and energy, and nature has given us many proofs, which cannot be detailed here, that she is careful for thought though careless of the individual thinker. But the rare mind performs the high service of securing the thought with all its teeming possibilities earlier than would have been the case otherwise.

Probably, no country ever has for its size and population produced more of these exceptional variants than old Greece. Old Greece? It is instinctively felt that the adjective is singularly out of place in speaking of these marvellously youthful minds with their fresh, untired outlook. ὦ Σόλων, Σόλων, Ἕλληνες ἀεὶ παῖδες ἔστε, γέρον δὲ Ἕλληνα οὐκ ἔστιν. "Solon, Solon, you Greeks are ever youths, and a Greek ancient is not to be found," said the Egyptian priest, and the same thing was said, scarcely less splendidly, by Hegel ages afterwards, whom Jowett quotes in his Introduction to the *Timæus*. "Greek history began with the youth Achilles and left off with the youth Alexander." Nature seemed, as it were, to relax her rigid sentinel, and of set purpose to turn aside for a space while these favoured children of hers peeped through the door ajar of her treasure house. Their enunciations seem so miraculously inevitable. Their theses are set forth with such ease and dignity that there is no hint of the terrible, almost sordid toil with which we moderns have to pay for our knowledge. We have even had warnings that in gaining our stores we may have to pay the price with our own souls. But the ancient speculators were always in possession of their own souls. They were beloved of the nature they served who would

not make them her bondservants. They had, indeed, advantages that we have not. Their time was not so much the time for experiment with its cark and care, as the time for the larger and freer work of conception. A great optimism marked their endeavour. To their young minds the veil which shrouded nature's face appeared as gossamer and very lightly thrown, so that they did not doubt their power to draw it aside. Even their magnificent errors were of service, and seemed but to render more effective the great awakening of the renaissance. Goethe has a most suggestive and true maxim which applies not only to a man but to men; to the relation of the splendid errors of the men of yesterday to the men of to-day: "Error is related to truth as sleep to waking. I have observed that on awaking from error a man turns again to truth as with a new vigour."*

To the well-ordered, harmonical mind of Greece simplicity and concord made irresistible appeal. Hence their conception of the essential unity of all matter which restated, though yet in crude form, by Prout culminated in the subtle refinements of the theories of our own day. The key to their thought is contained in that fine phrase of Socrates in the *Phædo* that Philosophy is the highest possible music. The Universe appeared to them as an orderly arrangement, a species of decent order, and therefore a harmony or cosmos. What wonder then that they had so just a view, on the whole, of the Nature of Things? What wonder that "nothing moves in the world that is not Greek in origin"? The notion of the world as a harmony was the magnet which drew Plato's thought towards geometric conceptions, and thus it was that his bucket did not descend a dry well. Their instinct, which led them to detect concord where was apparent dissonance, served them again and again in their speculations. The musician in changing from one key to another prepares (or used to prepare!) the ear for the new order by introducing at first chords common to both keys before striking one peculiar to the second, and so produces what Mendelssohn once termed a "gentlemanly modulation." These men of yesterday, with their keen harmonic sense, felt sure that nature made no crude jumps but changed her keys by gradations. And thus arose the doctrine of the *πάντα ῥεῖ*, the eternal, steady flow of things. The evolutionary theory, what is it but the "old Heracliteanism awake once more in a new world, and grown to full proportions?"† What matter though now we are aware that Nature does indeed proceed by leaps? We are sure that she tolerates no gaps, and our restatements are but larger concentrics of the old thought of Heraclitus, Anaximander, and Empedocles.

* *Prose Maxims*. Translated by T. B. Saunders.

† Walter Pater. *Plato and Platonism*, p. 19.

We moderns have also had our reminders that the men of yesterday were in the wide sense right when they said that Philosophy is "the highest possible music." The Periodic Law of the elements, one of the most wonderful and fruitful of generalisations, might well have been the conception of a musician, and is in a direct line with ancient thought.* How eagerly these old masters of thought would have received the doctrine that rhythmical rules govern the execution of the great symphony of the elements! *Les propriétés des corps sont les propriétés des nombres*,† and most of the chemical and physical properties of the elements own a rhythmic sway. If the ancients had had the facts that we have, there is no theory which would have come more easily and naturally to them; indeed, we may well believe that with half our facts they would have enunciated it.

It may be questioned whether the mind of to-day, fine instrument though it is, polished and sharpened upon the whetstone of Time, is not in danger of losing certain valuable attributes which were possessed by the mind of yesterday. It seems to be more tortuous, less simple in the best sense of the word than the mind of old.‡ It may be doubted, too, whether we moderns have quite the same capacity for using the primal instrument of mind as distinct from the secondary instruments of its own creation. A modern laboratory is a fearsome machine and the psyche is tortured by mechanics. The burdened, fact-bound mind, careful and troubled over many things, which is characteristic of not a few of the best intellects of to-day, has been well portrayed by Mr. Sinclair Lewis in his clever novel, *Martin Arrowsmith*. No doubt, it really is the intention of the Arrowsmith and Gottlieb type of mind to sail "strange seas of thought," but so much time is spent in taking in stores and provisioning the ship that it would appear no leisure can be found for the voyage itself. With the Greek, the voyage was everything, and though it was often undertaken with inadequate preparation, the charts of their journeys have proved of inestimable value to future explorers, and this whether success or failure attended the effort. Thus, Arrhenius has drawn renewed attention to the fact that Copernicus

* Newlands, the original discoverer, called it "The Law of Octaves." The rhythm, however, is more complex than was originally surmised.

† Chancourtois, quoted by Dr. Mellor in his *Modern Inorganic Chemistry*.

‡ A remarkable instance which seems to illustrate this tortuous tendency of certain modern minds may be cited here. A Dutch savant had noticed certain important facts relating to those accessory food factors now known as "vitamines." He found that when rice was polished something was removed therefrom the absence of which caused disease. He concluded that the removed matter neutralised some factor in the rice which was harmful. As Professor F. G. Hopkins remarks: "The simple suggestion that something really necessary in itself was removed did not occur to him." He thus missed the entire significance of his discovery. The Greek mind, presented with the facts, would inevitably have "saved the appearances" correctly.

freely acknowledged that he was much encouraged to go forward with his demonstration of the heliocentric hypothesis by the study of the old philosophers who had favoured the idea. The legend of Atlantis gave a powerful stimulus to later adventure, and a magnificent mistake of Aristotle sent Columbus on his voyage. The genius of the Greek mind was to conceive, that of the mind of to-day is to observe, and this is a necessary sequence. As Jowett very rightly says: "Before men can observe the world they must be able to conceive it."

Once more, the mind of yesterday was of a more passive and receptive type than the mind of to-day. The "heureka" of Archimedes did not really represent the belief of the typical Greek. He would have preferred to have said, "I have *been* found." The Greek mind was like a sensitive photographic plate, and these ancients had such an instinctive appreciation of the conditions necessary for successful exposure that the resulting pictures were often marvellously clear. They acted as though they believed with Thoreau: "Knowledge does not come to us by details, but in flashes of light from heaven," and Coleridge's splendid phrase, used of Wordsworth, is peculiarly applicable to them: their souls "seemed to inhabit the universe like a palace, and to discover truth by intuition rather than by deduction." They had some open secrets, these men of yesterday, as to the conditions in which mind best functions, which we of to-day may re-discover and apply if we choose. Their thinking was largely done in the open air. Epicurus found his stimulus in his garden, Aristotle and the Peripatetics in their walks. Socrates philosophised in his walks, though he used his halts too. Walking was one of the few forms of exercise which Seneca did not despise for use by the philosopher.* These wise men found that the best study was one which was lit by the sun, with a roof as high as the sky and with the walls stretching to the horizon East, West, South and North. They also found that the brightest sparks of thought were struck out by the fresh impact of mind on mind. The conversational method of Socrates ought still to be the method of choice for philosophy. Buttonholing with a serious purpose is an art which is now extinct. If buttons had been invented in the fourth century B.C., Socrates would have been the greatest buttonholer of antiquity, though doubtless he found that the fold of a peplos served just as well! We are more foolish, and hold that great thinking is best done alone in a close chamber lit by a blast of hot gas or by a tortured and twisted filament. What greater things our thinkers might effect if they reverted more often to the fruitful methods employed by philosophy in its glorious youth!

* *Epistolæ Morales*. XV.

Berkeley, with great good sense, laments this lost art of open-air thinking and points to the unhealthy humours which assail the thinker close-confined in his chamber, though we no longer hold tar-water to be a sovereign substitute as did the ingenious Bishop of Cloyne.* And doubtless it was not tar-water which enabled Philonous so handsomely to dispose of Hylas, but rather the spray-laden winds which blew around the "hanging rocks" on Rhode Island.

Finally, the men of yesterday rendered thought an inestimable service by keeping inviolate the marriage of science with philosophy, and they would have been totally unable to understand the deplorable divorce which has dated from the renascence of modern science. We are now indeed finding it advisable to attempt to bring the parties together again, and it is encouraging to know that there is a closer relation between them already than has been the case for centuries, a relation which it is to be hoped will become yet more intimate as the result of the labours of organisations of the type of the recently inaugurated British Institute of Philosophical Studies.

E. W. ADAMS.

* See *Siris*, Sect. 118. "It were to be wished that modern scholars would, like the ancients, meditate and converse more in walks and gardens and open air."

SCIENCE AND LIFE.

"Discussions of evolution came to an end primarily because it was obvious that no progress had been made."—PROFESSOR W. BATESON.

"Darwin's mechanistic explanation of adaptation, if adequate, destroyed completely the very keystone of the arch of any theistic philosophy."—PROFESSOR RAYMOND PEARL.

ACCORDING to Huxley, science is trained and organised common sense. Modern science, however, is far, very far from fulfilling this condition. Nay, it is often the very opposite of common sense, as is here to some extent to be shown.

With regard to Darwinism more particularly, Samuel Butler wrought better than he knew when he declared, some sixty years ago, that as soon as the world began to busy itself with evolution it said good-bye to common sense; that natural selection, discharged into the waters of the evolutionary controversy, acted like the secretions of the cuttle-fish; that Darwin was heir to a discredited truth, and left behind him an accredited fallacy; and that it will take years to get the evolution theory out of the mess in which Darwin had left it. All that has happened since goes to justify Samuel Butler, whose genius gave him remarkable insight into evolutionary problems, as is now tardily recognised. At long last a return to common sense is under way. The world no longer believes in the infallibility of Darwin and Huxley; and, in the scientific camp itself, agnosticism is taking the place of the former dogmatism. The very foundations on which Darwin and Huxley built have been challenged, and the change that resulted is in the direction of more modesty, which is all to the good. Biologists no longer talk grandiloquently about "smashing the evolutionary machinery," about opposing the natural process, although they still adhere to the more objectionable parts of the Darwinian cult.

If the reader will consult that useful collective work, recently published, by thirteen eminent men (*Evolution in the Light of Modern Knowledge*, Blackie), he will find that, although adhesion to "descent with modification" is pretty general, yet modern opinion is veering away from natural selection, which is to-day considered a barely creditable hypothesis. According to Professor Soddy, the distinguished physicist, who is a contributor to that work, we know more about the devolution of matter than about the evolution of species ("since there is no direct evidence of the change of one species into another"); and the idea of progressive development in time is wholly foreign to the facts of his side of science, for he sees no valid reason to connect the simple with the past and the complex with the future.

Hence, if anyone thought that natural selection entailed a universal truth, applying in the first place to the inorganic world, and, secondly, by way of continuity, to the organic, he is mistaken. The "principle" has no such roots, nor significance; and it is plain that a true development principle of evolution can be posited only with the inauguration of "organic" or "biological" relations, i.e., strictly speaking, with the inception of some sort of communal life, or "society," with all that this involves in morality, or, at least, quasi-morality. A principle of progressive evolution, therefore, in order to be adequate, must be—contrary to Darwin's mechanical "natural selection"—a distinctly "sociological" one—one in which ample recognition is made for the eternal difference between good and evil.

Because Darwin and Huxley had to wage warfare against theological obscurantism this is no reason why we should burke ethico-religious interpretations altogether. If sociological factors are, after all, the chief determinants of organic evolution, if this approximates biological philosophy to religion, if science generally has philosophic and religious implications, then the issues must be frankly faced.

The lesson from geology is not dissimilar to that from physics. According to Professor Watts, another contributor to the symposium, the geological record, despite many "imperfections," has confirmed Darwin's thesis that existing animals and plants have come to be what they are by descent with modification. Yet geology is unable to give any certain clue as to the causal factor of evolution. Moreover, recent discoveries have added to the list of creatures that have survived without apparent modification—a matter which always remained a great stumbling block to Darwin, who, when faced by that difficulty, most unfortunately inverted the very idea of progress. "What would it profit an intestinal worm to be highly organised?" he used to retort when tackled on that point. But if considerations of "profit" are to come before considerations of "selection," then surely this is a bad outlook for a mechanical theory, and we should in fairness be furnished with an antecedent economic or "sociological" theory, showing how profits in evolution legitimately accrue. Such a procedure, moreover, would invest the study of evolution with that practical interest which, alas, at present it lacks; and it would assuredly also lead to more satisfactory philosophic implications than those current hitherto.

In a brief allusion to "correlated evolution," Professor Watts hints at the importance of the interdependence between plant and animal—so momentous, in my opinion, as to constitute the "natural process" virtually one of "co-evolution" between the

two. Such interdependence has gone a long way, even in Professor Watts's view, towards determining the course of evolution.

Interdependence, of course, was by no means overlooked by the sagacious Darwin. There can be little doubt that he would have given a different turn to his theory had he been as informed with regard to it as we are to-day. Interaction, joint action, symbiosis, division of labour, have been so fundamental, so universal and primordial that they would, indeed, have failed of their (cumulative) effect, if they had not engendered from earliest times sufficient integrated morality to constitute the organic world, despite appearances to the contrary, a veritable "organic civilisation." The study of symbiosis* shows abundantly that in nature, quite as much as in human life, things refuse to be mismanaged long, that things, indeed, on the whole make for righteousness—*vis divina istuc descendit*.

Unfortunately, our grasp of the *modus vivendi* amongst natural species is even more imperfect than is our knowledge of the geological record regarding their descent—how else could we be content to base a hypothetical "selection" on a metaphorical "struggle," which is mythological rather than scientific, pagan rather than Christian, shielding ignorance.

I strongly insist that we have hitherto mistaken the abnormal phase of nature, the seamy side of biology, for the norm hidden underneath the notorious chaos; and it is chiefly in view of that defect that I find Darwinism unsatisfactory and consider a person, well grounded in the Scriptures, to be generally better oriented towards life than a person grounded more particularly on Darwinism. The Scriptures, despite their defects, stand solid for righteousness; whereas Darwinism condones iniquity—merely expedient adaptation being its *summum bonum* of life. Small blame to those who, knowing better, be it from instinct or from reason, abhor such teaching.

From other contributors, likewise, the adherents to mechanical views can derive but little comfort. According to Dr. Jeans, in his essay on cosmogony, we may speak of a "descent" of stars from spiral nebulae. All the stars seem to fit into a single evolutionary chain, beginning with "giants." Yet there is no evidence of a survival of the fittest, but merely of a mechanical sequence, in which the "evolution" is the direct result of the loss of matter by radiation. So in the evolution of the earth, on Dr. Jeffrey's showing, evidence of an "evolution" is of only the vaguest kind.

The biological contributors protest, without exception, that "evolution" in the generalised sense has taken place, although,

* See the present writer's article on "Evolution by Symbiosis" in the March, 1924, No. of this Review.

speaking for botany, Professor Bower shows that the genealogical tree of plants is not the simple thing that it was at first believed to be. He is, moreover, inclined to endow life with something like the will to develop—a factor alien to mechanical law. He considers the problem of evolution to be in its essence physiological—socio-physiological, I should say.

A very useful reminder comes from Professor Taylor, speaking for philosophy. Evolution, he says, cannot be the last word of philosophy; for it pre-supposes "environment" and "envi-roned," and their interaction; and he also, and rightly, insists on the "moral" difficulty provided by Darwinism. "Even when we leave all specifically *moral* distinctions out of account, there is a real difference between a 'higher' and a 'lower' type of organism, which is not identical with the mere difference between that which can persist and that which cannot. We cannot decide what is 'higher' by merely deciding what will maintain itself most successfully." That is well said, and it required saying, too. Canon Wilson, speaking for religion, prophesies that in the end the idea of evolution will justify and promote a spiritual view of the world.

The new volume may be said to mark an advance, inasmuch as it exhibits a considerable departure from the crudely materialistic view of evolution hitherto entertained by the biologist. *Quantum mutatus ab illo!* Yet, in my opinion, even this important book provides only a first instalment towards that still more satisfying higher naturalism, which is to come.

There are other recent modifications of thought which go a long way to make Darwinism appear out of date and almost mediaeval. First of all, it is beginning to be realised that science is not, as Darwinism supposed, something ruthlessly imposed on our minds from without ("objective reality," as it was thought), but that science is rather a constructed work of art. It is seen that, indeed, science is pervaded by the "personal equation," just as are other provinces of thought. The development of scientific concepts, it is now found, has been capricious rather than logical, and sound criteria for the admissibility or otherwise of scientific concepts are still sadly wanting. "It does not seem possible to find a consistent line of development in the history of scientific ideas," states a leader writer in *The Times Literary Supplement* (April 23rd, 1925). In some cases it is quite easy, according to him, to connect scientific principles or concepts with their historical origins, irrelevant as these should have been for science. The same writer is driven to the conclusion that science is a system of interpretation and "like all such systems, it involves arbitrary elements." He quotes a great mathematician as saying that there is nothing

in the history of science to show that Einstein's peculiar way of interpreting phenomena was inevitable. Einstein's theory was the production of a mind very different from the minds of most scientific men.

It is doubtful, therefore, whether we have hitherto made sufficient allowance for the arbitrariness of scientific concepts. We have fondly imagined that science is nothing but objective reality—so austere that the personal equation could not enter here. The attitude of science has been erect, her aspect serene, her determination unflinching. Was she not the one thing worth grasping hold of when all else was doubtful? It was Huxley who long ago suspected, however, that what we call rational grounds for our beliefs are often extremely irrational attempts to justify our instincts; and it is to-day quite evident that the personal equation enters into science just as it does into other departments of thought. That our philosophy of nature, for instance, has been greatly warped through our feeling it incumbent upon us to defend perverted feeding instincts, has long been clear to me. Slovenly habits of life and slovenly thinking would seem to go together. Nothing short of some scientific puritanism would seem capable of raising our generation from the slough of low conditions and of low thinking into which their enslavement to traditional dietic habits has brought them.

The general position of scientific interpretation, then, is curious. On the one hand, it seems evident that we cannot get away from anthropomorphism and from the teleology that it implies, seeing that we are bound to interpret nature in terms of human thought, and cannot do otherwise. On the other hand, time-honoured teleological explanations have often proved disappointing. There is no reason, however, why we should not deepen our teleology and broaden our anthropomorphism. And such expansion is now happily proceeding in many ways. The laws ruling organic phenomena may often be identical with the laws of the inorganic. But, we now argue, this may be consistent with the fact that the inorganic is simply undeveloped mind, and it may yet be seen that all reality consists in mental processes, which recalls Emerson's "all things are moral; thus is the universe alive"—for morality is never very far from mind. The more all this will be seen to be true—and how else can we rationally interpret chemical "affinity," for instance?—the easier it will be to reconcile teleological and mechanistic interpretations.

The aforementioned writer in *The Times* tells us that the materialistic tendency of modern thought seems to depend, historically, upon two factors. "The first factor is the immense success and consequent prestige of the material sciences. A successful enter-

prise always provokes imitation. This is true not only of the world of business, but also of the world of thought. A second factor consisted in the scientific man's shyness of anthropomorphism. He has been warned again and again, in the history of science, that anthropomorphism is misleading. . . . Nowadays a scientific man only feels safe when he is being as 'objective' as possible. That is why, even with human psychology, the behaviourists deny the validity of introspection and ignore what seem to other people obvious facts. Unless they do this they do not feel thoroughly scientific." But if to be scientific is habitually to ignore what to other people is obvious fact, this is coming dangerously near to preferring nonsense to common sense, and it scarcely squares with the above definition of science as organised common sense.

An attitude strictly detached from all moral and æsthetic considerations is bound by its very limitations to abstract from the value of things, and to give only a very partial clue to life. That science has not hitherto been able to take cognisance of values, because of the shortcomings of the teleology applied, is no reason why the quest for a philosophy of value should be discontinued. As Canon Quick stated in the *Hibbert Journal* some time ago, although the ultimate goodness of the universe can only be appreciated by minds who have exercised rigorous self-denial of inquiry into the world as though it were neither good nor evil, yet the expurgation of all considerations of value from our knowledge can only succeed when the modern scientific attitude has made knowledge itself strictly valueless or even positively harmful.

Our leader-writer says that even if it were possible to give a complete materialistic description of all the regions of experience, its value would be insignificant or trivial. A materialistic description of psychological phenomena, supposing it to be possible, would suffer from the defect of being quite uninteresting. "It could do nothing but establish, say, correlations between configurations of the particles of the brain and what we call 'states of mind.' Such information might be useful for some purposes, it might even lead to increased control of mental processes; but it would throw no light on their nature."

The assumptions of the materialist philosopher, according to the writer in *The Times*,* were enormous—almost incredibly so. It was assumed that matter is a fundamental reality, and that certain configurations of material particles were states of consciousness. And it was also assumed that such configurations were "accidental"—that is to say, were brought about by the random action of the laws of physics.

* *Literary Supplement*, April 23rd, 1925.

"Of these assumptions the first receives no support from modern physics, the second is unintelligible, and the third is incredible. But these assumptions are by no means necessary to the doctrine that mental processes always have their physical correlatives, any more than it is necessary to suppose that a collection of vibrating strings is a musical composition, or that the sequence of vibrations obeys the laws of chance. And the kind of interest men take in psychical phenomena is not met by establishing physical correlations any more than our interest in a musical composition is met by being told that every note is produced by a vibrating string."

Our leader writer informs us that one of the most interesting concomitants of the great revolution in physical science, effected by Einstein, is that a criterion or, at least, a partial criterion for the admissibility of scientific concepts has been enunciated. This criterion is that, in science, none but observable factors shall be considered as in causal dependence. By "observable" is here meant "distinguishable by physical processes." An electron, in this sense, is observable, "Newton's absolute space, on the other hand, is not. So that Newton's explanation of centrifugal force as a relation between the rotating body and absolute space is regarded by Einstein as illegitimate. The Will of God, Beauty, the Principle of Evil, would all be equally illegitimate entities if used as terms in a scientific description. They may exist; they may be real; but they are not to be used in science until the physical operations by which they could be detected can be given."

But have we at all exhausted the search for causality in the interrelations of things biological? I aver we have only begun the quest. Above all we have neglected the study of the mutual relations of organisms, upon which, nevertheless, as Darwin emphasised over and over again, the whole understanding of evolution depends. Once we understand organic interdependence, it will be easier to grasp the bio-chemical counterpart, and this will lead up, quite naturally, to the discovery of the physical connections of beauty and of good and evil, so as to accommodate biology to reality from which it is at present divorced, and to throw new light on the question of the meaning and purpose of the universe. Mind and morality enter so largely into the very constitution of organisms that this alone should warn us that they cannot be dispensed with in biology. I submit that beauty and good and evil are susceptible of demonstration in biology even by their physical operations, agreeably to Einstein's criterion, and that, this being so, we need no longer delay making wise use of these all-essential concepts. It would amply repay us to do so, though some pitfalls still remain.

Our vision, to be sure, is at best very limited, and it will be a

long time before we shall be able to see things whole and so as to enable us to formulate a valid theory with regard to the meaning and purpose of the universe. But we need not, for all that, remain wilfully or unnecessarily blind to some vital recognitions that may help us towards a universal science. Thus it is demonstrably true that in evolution certain lines of behaviour so react upon the chemistry and physiology of the organism as to produce serious modifications of constitution, this showing that the "historical" factor is of prime importance in evolution. Organic forms are either beautiful and good or, in the alternative, ugly and evil, according to the value which the activities of the organism have had to life generally. There is no getting away from the fact of the immanence of the problem of good and evil in the whole realm of science.

On the whole it has been true throughout that "as you sow, so shall ye also reap." Such, on my reading of the symptoms, is one great generalisation that now emerges from the study of evolution. Its correctness can be shown in a multiplicity of ways, so that everybody can verify it for himself. Handsome is that handsome does. That beauty is but skin deep, is but a skin-deep saying, as Herbert Spencer pointed out long ago. If beauty does not draw its nourishment from the right sources, it wilts and vanishes, never mind what species may be concerned. Beauty draws its strength from a life of service. Invariably it has a moral element in it. He who admits that evolution implies service *ipso facto* admits that it implies morality. That there exist so many "bad" species which have lapsed from duty by the substitution of short cuts for honest methods, in no way invalidates, as is foolishly thought, the fact that the norm of life shows the concomitance of serviceability with moral and æsthetical perfection. Frailty being the common lot of life, this accounts for the many lapses from grace that we encounter. Nature is long-suffering. Declining species may reconstruct their forces on a lower level of life and thus survive for long periods of time, though with an inferior adaptation, a lower status. Others may, more degeneratively, purchase present survival at the price of future ruin.

All this is possible without it in the least contradicting the common sense expressed in the adage that you cannot do wrong without suffering wrong. The injurious reaction of predatory behaviour makes itself felt in the end, although the symptoms escape for a long time our limited vision. Wisdom is for ever vindicated in the productions of nature. *Nunquam aliud natura, aliud sapientia dicit.* "The natural process" is a historic, economic, social, and chemical process, a process in which those that proved the best functionaries, the best workers, the best producers,

the best partners, the best chemists, attained to the highest prominence. On broad lines, therefore, a plan is discernible.

Because of the prevailing terrestrial, and cosmic necessities, protoplasm could not develop satisfactorily except by separation into two main lines, the vegetable and the animal, which are yet mutually dependent, mutually complementary, mutually helpful, i.e., in a relation of division of labour and of reciprocity to one another. Only by such symbiosis was it possible for life to make the most ideal use of the chemical, physical and other opportunities afforded on our globe. The plan of evolution consisted in the main in the ordered co-evolution and partnership between plants and animals, the plant becoming the indispensable intermediary between the animal and the inorganic world. Quite recently Professor Bower has published a book on *Plants and Man*, in which it is abundantly shown that man is indebted to the plant for all that he is and can hope to become. It is evident that this grand scheme of nature is pre-eminently a "social" scheme, and that, hence, some degree of morality was essential from the first. Those that conformed most to that scheme were the "good" organisms, and, in the sequel, the most exalted; those that opposed it most, which, in Huxley's words, tried to "smash" the scheme, were the "bad" organisms, the least advanced or the degenerates. The physical connections can be shown to exist. I have often shown them. The sequences are there, and there is nothing in Einstein's theory, nor anywhere else, to set them at naught.

The plant has specialised in the task of elaborating solar energy for the purpose of animal sustenance, and also for the disengaging of oxygen, of equal importance with the food it furnishes. The animal, as the partner of the plant, has specialised *per contra* in the task of setting free carbon dioxide, which is required by the specialisation of the plant, and it is moreover rendering innumerable other counter-services to its vegetable partner. It is no wonder that growth is a concomitant of evolution. It is even more, it is a concomitant of co-evolution. All developments are primarily governed by the central and cardinal fact of co-evolution between plant and animal. It can be fully shown that health and metabolism are so governed. The plant alone knows how to manufacture vitamins, and it manufactures them for animal partners, much in the same way as, conversely, it manufactures deadly alkaloids as a deterrent against animal predacity. If, for some reason or other, the plant-derived carbohydrates which the animal consumes are not completely metabolised, the $\text{CO}_2\text{H}_2\text{O}$ terminus fails to be reached, which means disease, showing the concomitance of biological and physiological requirements, i.e., the way in which growth is ruled by co-evolution—by the past, joint,

social, chemical, and other history of life. Apart from its use by plants, carbon dioxide is constantly wanted, not only for hormonal stimulation of respiratory centres, but also for the removal of much excess nitrogenous material in the animal body. It is clear, therefore, that when the aforesaid terminus is not reached, both the physiological and the biological purpose of the nutritional process remain unfulfilled—and many injurious reactions, i.e., evil must result. We are determined down to the very details by symbiosis, and a normal metabolism is one which is determined by a double adequacy of the food: biological and physiological. The parts of the individual body help and control each other. But, biologically speaking too, we are controlled and helped—principally by vegetable partners, from whom we receive not only for physiological purposes, but also for more ultimate, evolutionary purposes.

There is no doubt whatever that in the past political ideas have greatly influenced science. As a leading biologist admitted: "Have we not been too readily content with projecting upon nature the social theory of a competitive, mechanical and military age?" Happily, political theories are now on the wane, and, one may presume, this will not be without corresponding repercussions upon natural philosophy, which will accommodate itself to the newer spirit of the age. In political life the recognition is gaining ground that it is a fallacious theory which declares that one nation can prosper only at the expense of another. Much sounder, and in closer accord with the spirit of modern progress, is the belief that prosperous nations make the best customers, and that the prosperity of nations depends largely upon reciprocal relations. This has its parallel in biology in the recognition that symbiosis, i.e., systematic co-operation between organisms of different species, is of fundamental importance; that, indeed, species as well as individual organisms co-operate just as classes and nations co-operate in international trade as well as individuals in a town or factory, and always with immense mutual advantage. So we begin to realise that all true government must rest on spiritual sanctions. Different races do not maintain harmony amongst themselves merely under the impulse of a common policy secured by a hope of gain. True fellowship between various peoples depends on the recognition of the eternal verities of righteousness such as are taught by the great established religions.

And in nature, too, as now emerges, there obtains some such *contrat social*. It is probably in some small measure due to my insistence on this fact that a few biologists are now inclined to veer round by declaring that there is no reason why a sound evolutionist should not have a religious philosophy.

H. REINHEIMER.

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BIRDS OF THE HIGH TOPS.

THE term High Tops is sometimes applied to the Alpine country of Scotland. This country lies between 3,000 feet and 4,400 feet above sea level. In the Hebrides and along the western seaboard of Scotland the area of Alpine country is small, for the high tops there are narrow, and often needle-like. Consider the Cuillin hills of Skye. The summit of Sgurr Alasdair, the chief of the range, and well over 3,000 feet in height, is so narrow that my collie dog, Dileas, could scarcely find room to lie down! But as one penetrates east to the central highlands the configuration of the hills is different. The great Cairngorm range, for instance, is a gathering of high hills, almost all of them flat-topped, and on the Cairngorms are miles of upland plateaux lying between the three thousand and four thousand feet levels. Here the conditions are so arctic that they resemble Norway and even Spitsbergen rather than Scotland. The snowy covering does not melt until June, and the ground is often covered deep in snow by the first week in September.

Here plants and animals live under true Alpine conditions, and only the most hardy can survive. The plants are of zerophytic structure—that is, they are adapted to resist great cold and the drying effects of fierce winds. They creep prostrate over the ground, or grow in dense rosettes, as *Silene acaulis*. Their blooms are usually brilliantly coloured, for they grow in intense light, and light keeps the flower stems short, and adds brilliance of colouring to the blossoms. And the breeding plumage of the birds nesting between 3,500 feet and 4,000 feet is more richly coloured than the plumage of the same species nesting five hundred or a thousand feet beneath them. The brilliance of plumage of the birds nesting in the high north has often been remarked upon, and so it is interesting that the birds of the high Scottish hills, nesting under truly Arctic conditions, show the same peculiarity.

The wild life of the High Tops is a little world to itself. Here are spiders, beetles, midges even, but they are all distinct species from their cousins of the glens, as is the delightful black burnet moth that sucks the honey from the rosy flowers of *Silene acaulis*. Even the little field vole—or more correctly its mountain cousin—makes its home on the High Tops, and I have seen it on the very summit of Bruach na Frithe, one of the highest peaks of the Cuillin of Skye. On the High Tops bird life, even in summer, is scarce.

Three birds alone make their home at, or approaching, the four thousand feet level. These three birds are the ptarmigan, the snow bunting, and the dotterel. The ptarmigan is a hardy resident; the snow bunting is so rare as a nesting species that it is difficult to tell whether it migrates south in winter or spends the

whole year on the High Tops; the dotterel is a true summer visitor. Then there are the bird visitors to the High Tops. These birds spend much, or indeed most, of their time on the high hills, but do not nest on the highest ground. The two most important of these bird visitors are the golden eagle and the raven.

The eagle and the raven are both early nesters. They lay their eggs in March or in early April, at which season the cliffs of the high hills are usually covered with a deeper coating of snow than at any time during the winter. This explains why so many apparently ideal nesting sites are never occupied by the eagle or raven. The golden eagle is a constant visitor to the High Tops in summer and autumn. Even in winter he may be seen to soar grimly high above the summit cairn of Ben Mac Dhuì (where it is said the spectre known as Fear Liath Mor or the Big Grey Man has his home). Here the wind-swept ground is considerably more than 4,000 feet above the sea, and in winter even the ptarmigan is rarely seen here. But the wing-power of the eagle is such that in a few minutes he can leave these snowy wastes behind him and plane with incredible speed to the corries and glens below.

The flight of the eagle has inspired many poets. Keats, who saw the eagle on Beinn Cruachan, writes in 1818, "Eagles may seem to sleep wing-wide upon the air." Scott, too, in *The Lady of the Lake*, describes how the eagle, from her rocky perch on Ben Venue, "spread her dark sails to the wind." In the 30th chapter of the Book of Proverbs the four things too wonderful to understand are set down. They are:

The way of an eagle in the air,
The way of a serpent upon a rock,
The way of a ship in the midst of the sea,
The way of a man with a maid.

Wherever the golden eagle is seen he is magnificent, but I have never watched him under more impressive conditions than one September day on Bruach na Frithe, one of the Black Cuillin. Three companions and I were sheltering behind a rock on the summit ridge of the hill. The mist was very close, the north wind chill. Suddenly the sky lightened, and we could see the opal-tinted waters of the Atlantic lying quietly far below us. As we were gazing, bespelled at the fair scene, a golden eagle passed us, not many yards distant. He was half in shelter from the breeze, and as the eddying wind currents struck him he rocked and swayed like a vessel in a heavy sea. Rising quickly, he soon entered the clouds and continued his aerial course invisible to us. A few minutes later his mate passed, also flying in the same direction, and we pictured them sailing through a misty uncharted world far above the High Tops of the Cuillin.

In Scotland the golden eagle rarely nests as high as 3,000 feet. There is but one eyrie that I know of above that height. It is, or was, built in an inaccessible cliff in the heart of the Cairngorms at an elevation of about 3,500 feet above the sea, and was originally located by a mountaineer noticing one of the birds carrying a large stick into the face of the rock. A pair of eagles usually possess two, or sometimes even three, eyries, and it is seldom that they use the same nest two seasons running. They have excellent reasons for their choice of an alternate nest. The eaglets remain almost twelve weeks in the eyrie, and towards the end of that time the nest becomes very foul, so that it takes the snows and frosts of two winters to cleanse it thoroughly. Eagles are almost the first birds to commence to build or rebuild their nests. As early as January 27th I have seen a golden eagle carrying a large pine branch to its eyrie. Should the eyrie be in a sheltered situation the nest is completed by the end of the first week of March, and the two eggs are laid by the seventeenth of the month. For six weeks the eagle broods her eggs. She is most particular in her choice of nesting materials. If it is possible, the eyrie is built almost entirely of pine branches, and towards the centre of the nest the pine branches are always smaller, and always green. The eagles are very particular that they should be fresh, and with their powerful bills tear the branches off the parent trees. In the lining of their eyrie the birds are equally fastidious, and almost always use for this purpose the sharp-edged leaves of the great wood-rush (*juncus*).

The young are fed largely on mountain hares, and grouse and ptarmigan are also brought to the eyrie. A pair of eagles which my wife and I carefully observed in the summer of 1925 brought squirrels to the eyrie from time to time, and the eaglets had no little difficulty in removing the thick fur. I have seen a stoat in an eyrie. A stoat is a dangerous customer, even for an eagle to tackle. A short time ago a stalker observed an eagle behaving in a curious manner in the air. It seemed as though the great bird were trying to rid itself of something. Suddenly it fell to the ground, and on the keeper running to the spot a stoat ran off. A hole was eaten in the eagle's throat, and it is probable the king of birds had been about to snatch up the stoat, intending to make a meal off it, when the little animal had fastened its teeth in the throat of its would-be captor, and had successfully resisted every effort to dislodge it.

In the western highlands the ptarmigan is scarce, but on the Cairngorm hills this hardy member of the grouse tribe is plentiful. The ptarmigan is a true alpine bird. Its haunts lie between the two thousand and the four thousand three hundred feet levels.

In winter it is unusual to see the ptarmigan above 3,500 feet, and exceptionally, during severe snowfalls, it descends to the glens. During the month of February, 1925, snow fell almost continuously on the Cairngorms. There was an absence of wind, so that the ridges were not drifted bare, and soon the hill range was covered with an average depth of fully seven feet of snow. This snowy covering remained on the hills until May, and the food supply of the ptarmigan was entirely cut off. For almost the first time within living memory the birds flew down to the glens, where the snow did not lie so deeply, and fed upon the exposed tips of the heather shoots. A very interesting effect of this storm was noticed when the nesting season came round. The vitality of the birds had apparently been so greatly impaired by the privations they had suffered that many of them did not lay that year. The nesting season was unusually favourable, yet the number of nests was fewer than ever before, and what broods were hatched were unusually small. It is known that in the Arctic the birds do not nest unless the food supply is sufficient for their needs, and the conditions under which ptarmigan live resemble the Arctic rather than Scotland.

The ptarmigan is the only British bird that assumes a plumage of spotless white on the approach of winter. When the snows cover the hills it is invisible to its enemies the eagle and the hill fox, but a snowless winter renders it unenviably conspicuous. The birds themselves realise this, and if there be any unmelted snow drifts on the hillside they feed in a body near them, and should an eagle appear in sight all the birds hurriedly run to the snow. The cock ptarmigan in his winter dress has a narrow strip of black feathers extending from the bill to the eye. This gives him a be-spectacled appearance, and distinguishes him from the hen. Early in May, should the season be a favourable one, each pair of ptarmigan chooses its nesting "territory." The cock bird guards this ground keenly. Any intruding ptarmigan is at once driven off, and a May snowfall (a frequent occurrence on the high ground) sets the birds in confusion. The "territories" are wiped out by a mantle of snow, and fights between the cocks are of common occurrence. Ptarmigan nest on the short Alpine vegetation. They nest usually above the heather line, and so, unlike the grouse, they have little or no protection for their eggs. Sometimes the nesting hollow is scraped out at the edge of a stone, and I have occasionally seen a nest in the shelter of a small overhanging rock. The eggs number from six to nine. They resemble those of the red grouse, but are slightly smaller and more richly marked. A ptarmigan when brooding sits so close and harmonises so wonderfully with her surroundings that she is very difficult to

see. Once I picked a ptarmigan off her eggs, held her in my hand a moment, then set her again on her nest. I did this twice, yet the bird made no attempt to fly away, and in due course hatched off her eggs successfully.

The plumage of those ptarmigan nesting near, or at, the 4,000 feet level is usually more brightly coloured than the summer dress of the same species at lower levels. To the highest plateaux ptarmigan are chiefly summer visitors. In May they migrate from the corries to the high tops, but even in the nesting season they are not numerous here. For example, on the plateau of Brae Riach, which is between 4,000 and 4,250 feet above the sea, very few nests are to be found. The ptarmigan has one very interesting peculiarity which I do not remember having seen mentioned in any work on the species—the behaviour of the cocks when the chicks hatch out. During the three weeks that the hens are brooding their eggs the cocks are model husbands, and indeed are much more attentive than cock grouse. But the very day on which the young ptarmigan hatch out the cock leaves his mate, and joins up with the other fathers into bachelor parties which usually spend the next month on the highest plateaux in large flocks. Until the summer of 1925 I thought this peculiarity was an invariable rule, but that summer I twice saw a cock ptarmigan with his wife and family. Ptarmigan chicks must needs be unusually hardy. A snowstorm may visit the High Tops during any month of the summer, and I have seen little ptarmigan running over the snow, across which an icy wind was blowing. Sometimes a snowstorm visits the hills in the early days of June, and then every ptarmigan is forced from her nest. Provided incubation be not too far advanced the birds may lay again, and one sometimes sees newly hatched ptarmigan in the last days of July.

During the early days of the young the mother ptarmigan watches over them with great care. Should a dog, or a person, approach them she runs around them, displaying her white wing-coverts in order to distract their attention and, if possible, lead them away from her brood. Sometimes she may call with a curious nasal cry, very unlike the robust croaking of the cock bird. I remember once coming upon a "nest" of mother ptarmigan with their young chicks. The old birds ran round me in circles, and then rose into the air and hovered, calling, in the breeze above my head. Their behaviour in thus flying, plover-like, was very unusual. I have never, either before or since, seen ptarmigan behave thus. I doubt whether the golden eagle kills so many ptarmigan as the fox, but his approach spreads consternation in the ptarmigan world. One eagle, by the mere fact of his passing over, will clear a hillside of every ptarmigan on a winter's

day. When there is no snow on the hill it is a charming sight to see the birds drift past like a shower of snow, and alight like snowflakes on the rocky floor of some distant corrie.

Although the dotterel and the ptarmigan nest together on the High Tops their lives in winter are very different. In January the ptarmigan is within a mile or two of her nesting site; the dotterel at that time is basking on the sunny plains of Palestine, whither he sped on swift wing at the coming of autumn. At her nesting grounds on the roof of Scotland the dotterel arrives in May. At that time the highest hills are still under snow, so the birds linger in small parties on the short heathery slopes below 3,000 feet. The dotterel in size is rather less than a golden plover, which bird it somewhat resembles. The hen is larger and more brightly coloured than the cock, and after she has laid her third and last egg she takes no further interest in nesting affairs, and her husband has the (to him) boring occupation of sitting on his wife's eggs for three weeks. Even on the auspicious morning when the young dotterels chip, and emerge from, their shells the mother bird does not put in an appearance though she may, perhaps, be feeding a few hundred yards away. But after the chicks have left the nest (which they do within a few hours of hatching, and before they are able to see) both parents accompany them on their early wanderings. The dotterel at its summer haunts feeds almost entirely upon insects. When one remembers that its nesting haunts are sometimes as high as 4,000 feet above sea-level and that the ground may be frozen hard and covered with snow at midsummer, it seems remarkable that the dotterel should be able to find sufficient food at its upland home. Beetles and spiders constitute its chief food, and it is an adept at sighting its prey at a considerable distance. It runs swiftly over the bare wind-swept ground, and feeds, without apparent concern, beside the nest even if the human intruder is sitting a few yards away from it.

The snow bunting is the one and only songster of the high hills, if we except the wheatear, which sometimes nests above 3,000 feet and occasionally may be seen even at, and above, the 4,000 feet level. The snow bunting in Scotland is a very rare nesting species, and there seems to be little doubt that it is now scarcer than ten or fifteen years ago. The nest is difficult to locate, for it is hidden away in some cranny of the "scree" (acre upon acre of boulders piled up in bewildering confusion) of the High Tops. I remember that a cock snow bunting of my acquaintance used to choose one particular small boulder of the size of a milestone for his vocal efforts. He was an unusually fine singer, and I heard him commence his morning song just one hour and five minutes after midnight. With intervals for feeding he sang throughout the day,

and until between nine and ten o'clock in the evening. The snow bunting is a ventriloquist, and it is sometimes impossible to tell from what part of the hillside his song comes.

The raven does not nest on the High Tops, and he is a less frequent visitor to them than the eagle. From the west large companies of ravens fly across to the central highlands towards the end of the stalking season. They are doubtless attracted by the "gralloch" from the stags, and their deep far-carrying croak is pleasant to hear. Last spring I took a couple of young ravens from the nest. They had been condemned to death by the keeper, and were almost ready to fly. Peter and Wendy, as we christened them, soon became tame, and after a time were given their liberty. The first night they roosted on posts in the garden, but thereafter decided that the shelter of a wood a quarter of a mile away was more attractive. But every morning they flew to the house to be fed. After a time they commenced bad habits, attempting to kill the chickens. This was not encouraged, and the birds became wilder as the weeks went on and, at the close of summer, ceased altogether to visit the house. But they are still (February) heard on the hill near us, and it is possible that they will nest on a rock which in olden times was a nesting haunt of the species.

It may be of interest, in conclusion, to say a few words on the unexpected visitors to the High Tops. On Ben Mac Dhui, over 4,000 feet above the sea, I have at different times found the remains of a lapwing and a thrush. These travellers had evidently been overwhelmed by a blizzard during their migration and had perished in the snow. Only last April, at the Pools of Dee, 2,800 feet above sea-level, I saw a small black speck upon the deep snow that still lay here. To my astonishment I found that this black speck was a robin that, I imagine, must have been migrating north during the fierce blizzards of late February, and had met its fate on a snowy waste far from the lowland home that it was seeking.

SETON GORDON.

FOREIGN AFFAIRS.

ON THE YANGTSE RIVER.

BRITISH naval men have been killed and wounded in the heart of China. The event took place during the evening of September 5th, and on the face of it appeared to be nothing more than an incidental result of the civil war. The disconnected record of what actually took place is a story, however, that starts and breaks off without point or moral. Those who think about the nature of what is happening in the world, and who do not localise their observation, recognise that the Yangtse affair, incidental as it was, nevertheless has some wider interest in it.

The story of what happened loses little by compression. During August the main movement in the various Chinese wars was the conflict between the northern armies of General Wu Pei Fu and the southern or Cantonese "Red" forces, which were then making a determined attempt to capture the important town of Hankow on the Yangtse. The two contending armies were therefore concentrated along the opposing banks of the river. It happens that the Great War of 1914-1918, for all its duration and intensity, did not by a long measure exhaust the accumulated stocks of ammunition, and the Chinese armies had far more bullets and shells than they needed for their immediate purpose. As British merchantmen were plying as usual on the river Yangtse, and as British gunboats were patrolling the river in accordance with what is regarded as their prescriptive right in so uncivilised a country, it was not to be wondered at that trouble soon arose. One does not imply that it was the fault of the British ships, although it would clearly have been advisable for British ships in the prevailing circumstances to avoid the Upper Yangtse and to seek more pleasant waters. It appears, however, that civil war is so normal a state of affairs in China that trade was carried on as usual and the British merchantmen stolidly carried their cargoes between the lines of fire.

Now General Yang-sen, who sees things from the exclusive point of view of his operations against the "Reds," developed the habit of making use of the British ships in the Yangtse. Whenever he had troops to transport from one point to another along the river he adopted the simple expedient of commandeering whatever British merchant steamers happened to be passing in the right direction. From his point of view the arrangement had the further advantage that he did not regard it as necessary to pay for the transport. On August 29th a British merchantman, the *Wanliu*, was passing near General Yang-sen's headquarters at Wanhhsien, a city of some 1,000,000 inhabitants, situated some

600 miles up river from Hankow, and it was taken for granted by General Yang-sen's officers that she was available for transport purposes. She was therefore hailed, and several Chinese sampans, laden with troops, went alongside in readiness to transfer the troops to the *Wanliu*. The captain of the ship, however, although he slowed down, refused to stop and refused to take the troops on board. The *Wanliu* proceeded slowly on her voyage, and one of the Chinese sampans which happened to be in the way and was taken by surprise at the originality of the *Wanliu's* behaviour, found herself in danger of being run down, and in her hurry to get clear rammed and sank another sampan.

The sunken sampan went down not only with her cargo of Chinese troops—of whom some fifty were drowned—but also with an important supply of silver dollars, destined for the pay of General Yang-sen's troops. The amount of dollars was variously given in corrupt telegrams to London as the equivalent of £8,500 and of £85,000, the latter figure being clearly the wrong one. The loss of the dollars was a serious thing for General Yang-sen. The Chinese troops who fight on this or that side in the muddled civil war know little and care less about the politics for which they fight, but do understand the importance of pay day. Any doubt about their pay is an immediate occasion for desertion to another general who pays more regularly. General Yang-sen therefore was angry with substantial cause. He came to the immediate conclusion that the Chinese ships had been sunk of deliberate purpose by the *Wanliu*, and proceeded to seize two other steamers, the *Wanhsien* and the *Wantung*, which belonged to the same company, Messrs. Butterfield and Swire, as did the *Wanliu*, and put them in charge of Chinese troops as hostages.

Sir Ronald Macleay, British Minister in Peking, communicated with General Wu Pei Fu—for Wanhhsien was under the control of General Yang-sen's Szechwan troops which owed allegiance to General Wu Pei Fu—asking for the release of the two British ships and offering to submit the sinking of the Chinese ships to arbitral investigation. General Wu Pei Fu agreed to Sir Ronald's proposal, and sent instructions by wireless to General Yang-sen to come to an amicable settlement. General Yang-sen, whose anxiety about the loyalty of his own troops was of more moment to him than his sense of loyalty to his own superior officer, summarily imprisoned the interpreter who delivered the order, thereby incidentally dotting the i's of the complicated muddle that is China. Not only is China torn between contending armies; those several armies themselves are torn between dissentient generals. As it was now clear to Sir E. Alexander-Sinclair, the naval commander-in-chief of the China station, that General

Yang-sen was in no mood for amicable business, and as the two defenceless British merchantmen remained in the hands of his troops, it was decided to take naval action. The gunboat *Cockchafer*, which was near the spot, was helpless, because General Yang-sen threatened to open fire on her if she moved or attempted to deliver an ultimatum, and he posted forces for that purpose. It was therefore decided to send the gunboat *Widgeon* and a steamer, the *Kia Wo*, manned by naval men, to effect the rescue. The *Kia Wo* on approaching the town on September 5th was met with heavy rifle, machine-gun, and artillery fire from the banks. She and the *Widgeon* returned the fire, and fired also on certain points in Wanhhsien town itself, after giving the usual notice that such a step would be taken. The operation was regarded professionally by naval men as a "good show," and was currently described as a sort of miniature Zeebrugge. The operation was described after the event in the following official Admiralty statement issued from Whitehall:

"The object of the operation which was carried out by H.M. gunboats *Cockchafer* and *Widgeon* and the steamer *Kia Wo*, the latter manned by officers and men from H.M. ships *Despatch*, *Mantis* and *Scarab*, was to effect the rescue of six British officers of the mercantile marine held captive on board the two British steamers by 300 Chinese soldiery, and to recover the steamers themselves if possible. The Chinese authorities had previously refused to negotiate or in any way meet the conciliatory attitude of the British. The most difficult operation in the face of field-gun fire from the shore and of rifle fire effected the rescue of five of the six British mercantile officers. It is believed that the sixth officer was shot whilst swimming for safety. The *Cockchafer*, previous to the arrival of the *Widgeon* and *Kia Wo*, was in a dangerous position owing to the action of the Chinese. The operation was successful in extricating her."

The British casualties were three officers killed and two wounded, four "other ranks" killed and four wounded. The Chinese casualties were estimated by an eye-witness at 2,000, an estimate which may or may not have any historical value.

The relieving forces, with the *Cockchafer*, returned to Ichang. The captive British ships remained in captivity at Wanhhsien. A day or two later Sir E. Alexander-Sinclair set out on his flagship, the *Hawkins*, with Prince George on board, and arrived at Hankow on Friday evening, September 10th. The flagship's voyage was undertaken in fulfilment of the routine practice for the commander-in-chief to go to whatever storm-centre may develop, and find out what the trouble is. In this case the actual scene of the storm, Wanhhsien, was some 600 miles further up the

river from the storm-centre. The *Hawkins* neither intended nor was able to attempt any action of its own, such as the rescue of the ships, for it was impossible for her to penetrate as far up the river as Wanh sien, owing to the shallows and to other obstructions in the Upper Yangtse. During the following few days further "incidents" were reported from the Upper Yangtse, one of them involving a British ship carrying the wounded of September 5th, another involving an American ship. Such incidents could not surprise anyone who reflected for a moment that bullets were flying indiscriminately across the river, after the contemporary Chinese fashion, and the plain men asked why the foreign shipping had not taken the simple and obvious course of leaving the Upper Yangtse when the battle for Hankow began. The plain men, however, do not understand these things.

In the second week of September the Cantonese forces captured Hankow, but Wuchang successfully held out. General Wu Pei Fu thereupon remade his fugitive armies and turned southwards again. General Sun Chuan Fang, the Military Governor of Shanghai, and the self-appointed Dictator of the five provinces of Kiangsi, Kiangsu, Hunan, Hupeh and Anhwei, made it known one day that he contemplated joining the Cantonese forces against General Wu Pei Fu. In theory he was sympathetic to General Wu Pei Fu's cause, but disapproved of General Wu Pei Fu on personal grounds. He decided therefore to break off communication with General Wu Pei Fu and to slip over to the other side. When, however, Hankow fell before the Cantonese "Reds," and General Wu Pei Fu's adherents were retreating northwards, he made another *volte face* within the twenty-four hours. General Wu Pei Fu appeared to be regarded as personally more agreeable by General Sun Chuan Fang in proportion as his fortunes fell, and there was always the chance that the much-needed reform in the northern armies might be effected by the substitution of General Sun Chuan Fang for General Wu Pei Fu in supreme command. Moreover, General Sun Chuan Fang was at heart an anti-Red, and when Hankow fell he became alarmed about the Red danger. Instead of joining the Cantonese forces, therefore, he sent an ultimatum to them demanding the immediate evacuation of all Red troops from his five provinces and vigorously threatening—against Canton, of course—a "fight to the finish." As General Wu Pei Fu in his turn remade his armies, General Sun Chuan Fang's military enthusiasm in its turn cooled again, and his ultimatum was neither answered by Canton nor remembered by himself.

Nor do these vagaries on the part of China's leaders mean much in practice. Changes of policy on either side are about equally likely to be maintained or to be changed again, and in

either contingency make no difference to anything, because the leaders cannot rely on their subordinates any more than the subordinates can rely on their leaders. The Chinese "Cabinet" that lives in Peking decided on about September 10th-11th at midnight to resign. Having decided to resign, they next decided that they could not resign, because there was no one to resign to. One remembers the English anarchist, Mr. Bertrand Russell, claiming China as the best available place to live in, because there is no income-tax, and because occasional highway robbery is far less expensive to the victim than is lawful income-tax to the English victim. Certainly the anarchist condition of China, that is, its lack of any government or authority to represent it, has made it easy for the British representatives in China to claim that they are severely impartial as between the various warring factions. When the *Cockchafer* was shelling General Wu's anti-Red stronghold, Wanh sien, British troops were threatening Red pickets in Canton. No diplomatic action, moreover, was possible in either case, because there was no authority in China with whom the British Government could deal as representing China. There is in these days no such thing as China in a diplomatic sense.

It did not matter, so far as China was concerned, that Mr. Baldwin was having a holiday on the Continent, that Sir Austen Chamberlain was at Geneva, that Mr. Amery was climbing Swiss mountains for exercise, that Mr. Churchill was occupied with his new car and with Mr. Cook, and that other members of the Cabinet were scattered. No detailed directions were sent, or could be sent, from London to Sir Ronald Macleay, who was left alone with his discretion to deal with the situation. All he could do was to appeal to General Wu Pei Fu and to offer arbitration, and when General Wu's order was flouted by General Yang-sen, to let the *Kia Wo* take the place of diplomacy. The note he would have written on the subject to the Chinese Government, if there had been a Chinese Government, was issued in the form of information to English journalists in Peking, some of whom on the evening of September 10th succeeded in getting it telegraphed to Fleet Street. When on September 14th it was found that General Yang-sen was at last prepared to release the captured ships and to submit to an arbitral investigation of the sinking of the Chinese sampans—a suggestion that had been made by Sir Ronald nine days before—a conference was arranged to take place at Ichang. The Admiral and two consuls who acted, under instructions from Sir Ronald Macleay, as the British delegates, were primarily concerned about the release of the two ships. General Yang-sen had promised to release them, and as an earnest of his

sincerity now moved them some distance down river from Wanh-sien. The prospects of the conference were therefore bright.

Such are the main facts of the Yangtse affair, as gleaned from information which fitfully reached official quarters in London. Those events were not of merely episodic interest. They were symptomatic of something deep in the modern development of China. English people who are satisfied with the idea that General Yang-sen is merely one of many brigands in China, and that the British action of September 5th was one of simple defence against brigands, enjoy a crude and inadequate satisfaction. General Yang-sen is a soldier by profession, and to that extent may be put in a category with other soldiers the world over, the moral level of that category being dependent on one's point of view. He is engaged, it is true, in the grotesque process of civil war into which the Chinese revolution of 1911 has degenerated: but there is something else besides brigandage to explain the Chinese collision with British gunboats on the Yangtse. General Yang-sen's past history hardly suggests a man who allows himself to be caught up unthinkingly in the anti-foreign nationalism which is working in China. After the Shanghai affair last year it was General Yang-sen who tried to protect the foreigners from Chinese hostility, and in other ways he has shown himself to be more independent in his judgment and less intolerantly nationalist in his motive than most of his military prototypes in China. The important point is, however, that for a generation past China as a nation has been growing up. An appetite for education has been developed, largely, it is true, as a result of foreign encouragement, and has been fed by a remarkable provision of schools, colleges and universities.

The beneficiaries of the Boxer Indemnity have mostly relinquished their quota of the indemnity for educational purposes. The Ching Hua College, set up by the Chinese Government, resulted from America's surrender of her quota. Japan lately gave up her quota for educational purposes in China, and Great Britain is engaged in the act of a similar surrender for a similar purpose. The British Cabinet has reached that decision in principle, the Buxton Committee being set up last year to advise the Foreign Secretary on the best use to be made of the money. That Committee sent Lord Willingdon to China in the early months of this year to make investigations, and the position now is that Lord Buxton's committee is considering the Willingdon report. Russia—Bolshevik Russia—surrendered her quota for educational purposes, but with the proviso that the resultant education should be for the benefit of "the Chinese people," the word "people" in Bolshevik language meaning one class of the people. France,

whose realism in charity is well known, gave up the indemnity for the liquidation of the debts of the Banque Industrielle de Chine, ironically allotting whatever remainder there might be for educational purposes. There was not, could not be, and was not expected to be, any remainder.

The upshot is that China is changing from an illiterate to an educated people. Chinamen in our generation are beginning to think for themselves. Owing to the convention which regards Europe as the home of civilised people, and China as the home of uncivilised people, Chinese thinkers usually start from Western hypotheses in their thinking, but, as often happens among the incipiently sophisticated, they do not accept all the conventions at their face value. The Great War of 1914-1918 did not improve European prestige in Chinese eyes, and there is some crudity of self-delusion among those Europeans who talk about Chinese brigandage merely because Chinamen have a habit of shooting each other. The distinction between civil war and war between nations is not an intelligent distinction. And who knows whether the Chinese propensity for military exploit has not been encouraged by the example of Great Britain, France, Germany and the other "civilised" countries; whether awakening intellect in China has not been encouraged on to nationalist lines by contemplation of the European example? Apart however from whatever bad influence Europe may have had on China in a nationalist or militarist sense, it is easy to understand that China, developing into nationhood as she is developing in our time, finds it increasingly difficult to submit to Western interference. The history of foreign concessions, spheres of interest and the like in China makes unpleasant reading, but that history could not have been written had not Chinese backwardness lent itself to exploitation. The times are changing, not only in China, but in India, Turkey, Egypt. The Powers interested in China have had to modify their attitude to China, just as India has had to be given some measure of self-government, as Turkey has had to be relieved of capitulations, as Egypt has had to have her formal independence restored to her. It is in some ways unfortunate that the foreign Powers lag behind the times, and that more often than not they recognise new facts only when they have been driven home by some unpleasantness. In Egypt, India, Turkey, such unpleasantness preceded the new attitude in the West. In China the nationalist wave produced "incidents" before any Western Power was prepared to regard China as anything but a fit subject for exploitation: and even now the word "brigandage" is used, as by an out-of-date habit, to explain what cannot fully be explained thereby. On the other hand the cynics will derive some satisfaction from the consider-

ation that China's progress towards civilisation must be measured by her capacity for military resistance, and her progress towards freedom by the use she makes of it.

FROM LOCARNO TO GENEVA.

The main item in the Geneva programme for September, 1926, was fulfilled without serious hitch. Germany was duly admitted to membership of the League by the Assembly and took her permanent seat on the Council.

The first week in that historic session passed in a subdued atmosphere, the importance of impending things casting its weight before. That week's business was concerned with various matters which in other circumstances might have been exciting, but which in the actual circumstances were not exciting. The place of Brazil was vacant, as we all expected it would be. The Spanish delegates also left their seats vacant, although Spain had not resigned from the League, and although some hope had fluttered in the *coulisses* that Spain would after all refrain from following Brazil's example. Lord Cecil addressed an eleventh-hour appeal to Spain; but it was destined to be of no avail. The Assembly met on September 6th, elected Germany to membership two days later, and Dr. Stresemann took his place two days after that. On the morning of September 14th the signatories of the Locarno Treaties deposited the ratifications on behalf of their governments, and the treaties thereby became operative. At the end of the second week (September 10th) the doubt about Spain's intentions was removed by the receipt of a Spanish Note addressed from San Sebastian (the Spanish summer capital) which gave the formal two years' notice of secession.

"The Government of his most Catholic Majesty," ran the note, "regrets to inform you of the withdrawal of Spain from the League of Nations, giving two years' notice dating from the presentation of this Note. The Spanish Government has refrained from making this communication until the Assembly had approved the reform of the Council as regards the permanent members. It has acted thus in order to show its respect for the League of Nations and in order to observe the correct procedure towards all members of the League. It also desired to wait until the Assembly has pronounced upon the admission of Germany, which Spain ardently hopes will be of great advantage to the League. Spain is convinced that her decision will not compromise the vital interests or any principle of the League, whose prosperity is earnestly desired by Spain, her King, and her Government. The Spanish Government expresses the deepest gratitude towards all the friendly States which have voiced appreciation of Spain's

work in the League and the esteem and affection in which they hold our country, expressions which will always be a cherished memory. In leaving the League in obedience to her imperative duty Spain desires to express the parting wish that the ideals of the League for universal peace, for which the League was founded, and which our country has hitherto so ardently and so effectively served, will be crowned with success."

A depressing letter. A member of the League that secedes and in the process of doing so expresses good wishes to the League does something deplorable in the one respect and something unconvincing in the other. Spain, however, remains a member of the League, even though she has stated that she will take no part in its work, for the next two years. There are those who hope that before that period expires Spain may change her mind. She will at any rate have time to reflect that she has more to lose than Geneva will lose if she persists in thus cutting short her honourable association with the League of Nations.

In the meantime an unexpected climax has been added to the work of the special committee of the Council which drew up the reforms (see CONTEMPORARY REVIEW, July, 1926, pp. 102-106). The increase in the number of temporary seats by the addition of a maximum of three "re-eligible" seats was devised for the peculiar benefit of Poland, Brazil and Spain, whereby to reconcile them to the loss of their case for permanent seats. The secession from the League of two of these States had the paradoxical effect of making Poland the sole beneficiary of a scheme originally designed to counter a movement in which Poland was the protagonist. None the less, the special committee effectively bridged the difficult period between March and September, even though the nature of the bridge proved in the event to be of psychological rather than of practical value. The irony went full circle, and Poland was the only State to be designated in advance as re-eligible for the Council after her first term, no other candidate putting forward a claim. The incidence of voting may now give rise to the danger which was made much of in the polemics of last March, namely, that Germany will find herself at a disadvantage on Central European questions. By League procedure the interested party does not vote. In the contingency of a Franco-German dispute therefore, Poland will vote; in that of a German-Polish dispute France will vote. A Franco-Polish understanding could therefore swamp Germany on such questions as the Saar, the military control of Germany, Danzig, Upper Silesia and the like. It is interesting however to notice that such hypothetical dangers have lost much of their sting at Geneva, for it is recognised that where there is a will for mischief there is always a way,

and the prevailing temper happily is one of goodwill between Germany and her neighbours. It is also reasonable to anticipate that the collaboration of Germans, Frenchmen and Poles in the routine work at Geneva and in the attempt to compose the quarrels of other parties will tend to create the right atmosphere for composing their own, if any should arise.

By the deposit of ratifications in Geneva the Locarno guarantees came into operation. By the same process the shelved problem of what was to be the attitude of the British Dominions to the pact was brought down from the shelf. It will form one of the most interesting subjects that will come up for discussion at the Imperial Conference which is to meet in London on October 19th. Before the Locarno treaties were initialed nearly a year ago Dominion opinion was solidly unsympathetic to the principle of war commitments in Europe. After they were initialed at Locarno and signed in London and after full information of their content has been sent to the Dominions, the old antipathy was accentuated rather than diminished. The March fiasco at Geneva had the effect of postponing the issue within the British Empire. The issue has now to be faced. The alternatives are that Great Britain shoulders a liability which is not shared by the Dominions, to take part in given contingencies in a European war; or that the Pact is to be regarded as open for voluntary adherence by the Dominions on the model of the Anglo-German Commercial Treaty of December, 1924. In practice the issue is illusory, for the Dominions have all signed the Treaty of Versailles. They signed separately from Great Britain, but they signed. They are, therefore, committed by Article 44 of that Treaty, of which commitment in effect the Locarno Treaty is merely a reaffirmation. A similarly unsubstantial issue arose at the time of the abortive Geneva Protocol of 1924, to which the Dominions were equally opposed.

THE TANGIER MELTING-POT.

The melting-pot which, in spite of the late Lord Curzon's hope to the contrary, is always ready at hand for the Tangier problem, was used as a pawn in the diplomacy which preceded Spain's secession from the League. There was a little irony in the fact that it was Spain who was instrumental in re-opening that question. During the past ten years or more Spanish influence has been consistently thrown on the side of procrastination so far as the Tangier settlement is concerned. Everybody knew, however, why Spanish tactics suddenly changed. When Brazil's secession from the League of Nations was taken so calmly in Geneva the Spanish threat of secession lost so much of its force that there seemed to be no practical object in Spain's carrying her threat into effect. Span-

ish diplomacy having recognised that truth, naturally decided that if Spain were to give way at Geneva it would look better in the eyes of the Spanish people if some compensating advantage were gained elsewhere. It was, therefore, decided to explore the possibility of Spain's being given a predominant influence in Tangier as the price of Spain's remaining in the League. San Sebastian in fact made the formal claim either for a permanent seat on the League of Nations Council or for the administrative control of Tangier. The Spanish memorandum, which was sent to Italy, Great Britain, France, and the United States, suggested that if the second of the two alternatives were agreed to effect might be given to it either by the incorporation of the Tangier zone in the Spanish zone in Morocco or by the granting to Spain of a mandate to administer the Tangier zone.

As the word "mandate" is commonly associated with the League of Nations, and as Spain was at that time hesitating in her allegiance to the League of Nations, there were those who found difficulty in the proposal. The Spanish Foreign Minister, however, issued an official statement from San Sebastian to explain that it was not a League of Nations mandate that was wanted. He further took the opportunity to explain—unconvincing as was the explanation—that there was no connection between the Spanish demand at Geneva and the Spanish demand in Tangier. What Spain presumably wanted was a mandate from the signatories of the Tangier Convention of 1923.

Just before leaving London for Geneva, at the end of August, Sir Austen Chamberlain stated that the British Government could not agree in any circumstances to the incorporation of the Tangier zone in the Spanish zone, but would be willing to discuss with France and Spain the possibility of giving Spain increased influence at Tangier. He added that Geneva, in his view, would not be a convenient place for such discussions, thereby implying that the discussions could not take place until the impending session of the League of Nations was over. As Italian diplomacy, still restive about the 1923 arrangement, was eager to re-open the question of Tangier, and had made proposals whereby she should be given a share in the administration of a revised statute, it seemed likely that the diplomacy of the European Powers concerned would again be concerned in the not distant future with Tangier.

The British Government is more inclined than the French Government to amend the statute that was signed in Paris on December 18th, 1923. One reason for this difference between Paris and London is that the Tangier statute of 1923 has never been regarded in London as an ideal settlement of the problem. It is true that the British Note that was sent to San Sebastian in September stipulated

that if the question of Tangier were reopened it must be "with due regard to existing treaties and agreements," but such a stipulation would not in practice materially restrict the scope of any such discussions on the subject. It has been a traditional principle of British diplomacy to insist, as a matter vital to British interests, that Tangier should not fall into the hands of any first-class Power. Tangier being the chief gateway to North Africa and the East, British diplomacy has always aimed at keeping it open and at internationalising it. Every Moorish treaty signed or recognised by the British Government since 1904 prescribes a special régime for Tangier in that sense. The 1923 statute which now rules in Tangier was the result of intermittent negotiations carried on since the Franco-Moorish Protectorate Treaty and the Franco-Spanish Agreement were made in 1912, and it embodies to some extent but with important modifications the principle of nationalisation.

France, however, having exercised predominant influence in Tangier during the war, succeeded in obtaining Lord Curzon's consent to an arrangement which, while based on internationalism, gave to France the whip hand for an initial period of six years and a likelihood of more permanent predominance as a result of the powers vested in the "Mendoub," who in effect is a French officer. Those facts partly explain why the British Government is not averse from discussing any arrangement which might widen and make more effective the international principle in Tangier, whereas France tends to be content with the existing arrangement. By the same argument Great Britain has no objection in principle to Italy's taking part both in the proposed conference and in the revised administration of Tangier.

SOUTH TYROL AS STORM CENTRE.

The European dictators who at present perform in their respective countries are mainly a phenomenon of domestic concern. Their internal decrees are primarily of concern to the subjects who endure them, suffer from them, or benefit from them. The popularity, happiness or personal safety of the dictators are primarily of concern to themselves. The sphere of interest in what they do, however, extends as the effect of what they do extends. In the case of Signor Mussolini, who seems to enjoy increased popularity in Italy every time he is ineffectively shot at, an element of narrow anti-foreign nationalism has entered into his policy which he can hardly expect to increase his popularity abroad, and which in one of its manifestations is sowing trouble. The state of affairs in South Tyrol is not of exclusively Italian concern. Many progressive Italians honoured in their country when other times and other manners prevailed, sympathise with the German resentment against the

Fascist attempt to denationalise the Germans of South Tyrol. Now that Germany is an equal among equals at Geneva, the question of South Tyrol becomes more potentially disturbing than before.

South Tyrol, with its 200,000 Germans, was handed over to Italy by the Treaty of S. Germain. Wise statesmanship errs on the side of leniency towards subject nationalities. Senator Tittoni, Italian delegate at the Peace Conference, showed himself to be well alive to that maxim when on December 27th, 1919, he made a speech in the Italian Parliament and said :

"Italy will also include 180,000 Germans within its territory. It is impossible as yet to tell with any certainty what will be the attitude of this minority and whether it will be possible to prevent Irredentist movements and revolutionary meetings. Very much will depend on the treatment which is meted out to them. Poland, Czecho-Slovakia, Rumania and Serbia are bound by various provisions inserted in the peace-treaties to honour and respect the language, religion, culture, schools and every free activity of the national minority. And it is absolutely essential that these provisions should be honourably and legally maintained. Italy, like the other great powers, is under no legal obligation in this matter, but in my opinion she has a great moral obligation on account of the liberal traditions which are her fame and privilege. The people of other nationalities who are now united with us, shall know that the thought of suppression and denationalisation is altogether alien to our minds, and that their language and educational arrangements shall be respected, and their administrative officials enjoy all the privileges of our liberal and democratic legislature. We can assure the population of German South Tyrol that a police-government with persecutions and despotism will never be introduced, such as the Istrians and Tridentines were subjected to for so many years under the Austrian Government. It must be a duty of honour for our Government and Parliament to concede to the Germans their autonomous arrangements. Apart from necessary measures for military security, they must feel themselves free and undisturbed in the exercise of their cultural and religious needs both in their administrative and economic life. Only thus can Italy be true to the traditions of the old Romans."

In his speech from the Throne on December 1st, 1919, King Victor Emanuel added his promise thus : "The territories recently reunited to Italy involve the solution of fresh problems. Our liberal tradition must point the way to their solution through the utmost consideration of the local autonomous organisations and customs. No trouble and no sacrifice must be spared to prevent the unavoidable uncertainties incident to the preliminary administrative measures standing in the way of a return of those territories to their

natural unity, or causing a diminution of their welfare. We are aware that in all the new citizens of our state both in the mountains and by the sea we possess valuable subjects which signify an improvement for our whole nation."

The policy of autonomous administration for South Tyrol was scrupulously respected by the Italian Government in the years immediately following the war. After the March elections of 1921 the Prime Minister, Signor Giolitti, publicly stated that "the decentralisation of administration existent in the new provinces must not be disturbed," and his successor in the Prime Ministership, Signor Bonomi, made a declaration of policy in the same sense on July 10th, 1921. In 1922, however, the continuity of that policy became uncertain and in 1923 the outbreak of the Fascist régime in Italy completely broke it. The difference has been strikingly summarised by Signor Mussolini himself. On February 26th of this year he gave an interview to a correspondent of the *Petit Parisien*, published in that paper on the following day, in which he declared :

"When I visited South Tyrol I noticed that everything there was German : church, school, public functionaries, railway and post office officials. Everywhere nothing but the German language was to be heard and people sang songs such as in Rome would have caused their immediate arrest. . . . Now in all schools of this province the teaching of the Italian language is obligatory, all post and railway officials are Italians, and we are just now about to settle there a large number of Italian families. One thousand families of ex-combatants will be sent to South Tyrol with a view of promoting the work of improving the soil. At Meran, where there are nitrogen industries, we have settled 400 Italian families, and several hundreds more are being employed in the zinc mines near that town. In this way we shall succeed in Italianising the country, just as we have Italianised the 'Sette Comuni' near by. . . ."

A short time before (February 6th, 1926) he had declared that : "We shall methodically and tenaciously apply our existing laws and all such as will yet be promulgated to make those regions Italian, because geographically and historically they are so in reality." Signor Mussolini, who must know his history, had forgotten it. He need only refresh his memory by consulting the monastic archives, the birth registers of the parish churches, the tombstone inscriptions, if he wants to know the race and language of the people who have inhabited South Tyrol for the past thousand years. From claiming geography and history as the allies of Italian Fascismo, he went on to place his Deity in the same category. "The frontiers of Italy" he proclaimed "are marked out by the finger of God."

It seems odd that the peoples of Europe should not one and all be heartily sick of such tiresome vendettas as the attempt to stamp

out the inborn habits and the language of foreign peoples who have come under their political control. The cause of nationality is not a sacred cause on either side, but the attempt to stamp out nationality is so preposterously stupid a proceeding, so provocative of ill will, and so commonplace a cause of war in Europe, that those who still pursue it must be almost totally lacking in that sense of responsibility which should be one of the first qualifications for power. It is clear that even before Signor Mussolini marched on Rome, a process of denationalisation had been started in South Tyrol, and overwhelmingly clear that Signor Mussolini has exultingly pushed it to extremes. He himself not only does not deny, but boasts of it, and there is no need to prove the case. One or two facts need only be taken at random as illustrating what has taken place.

The use of the original German place-names in South Tyrol is prohibited, and the Press is forbidden under penalty to print them. By a decree of January 10th of this year families with German names who have ever in their past history had either an Italian or even a Latin name are compelled to resume that former name. By an order dated October 15th, 1925 (No. 1796) Italian is prescribed as the sole legal language in every court of justice, interpreters being admissible, with reservations, only in criminal cases; and only those who speak Italian perfectly may sit on juries. Educational measures of the familiar kind have been taken to suppress the use of German. By Royal decrees dated October 1st, 1923 (No. 2185) and January 22nd, 1925 (No. 432) Italian is made the exclusive medium of elementary school teaching. "Secret" schools for the private teaching of German are prohibited. Propaganda by victimised Germans is made difficult by a decree of January 10th, 1926, which makes Italian citizenship assumed by option liable to cancellation, and by a supplementary decree of January 31st, 1926 (No. 108) which specifies as a ground for such cancellation any action carried on abroad which may injure Italy's interests.

The measures that have been taken for the suppression of everything German are worked out in fantastic detail. The decree No. 1796, which is mentioned above, goes to the length of forbidding counsel for the defendant to address his client in German even if his client knows no other language but German. What counsel has to do in such cases is to ask the judge to put his questions for him to his client, the judge using an interpreter if need be. In many villages which are, or have till now been, wholly German-speaking, the use of German is forbidden in all correspondence with the local authorities, and the local administrative posts have been filled by Italians who do not even understand German. Ignorance of German is thus made into a special qualification for administrative posts in German-speaking districts. Doctors,

lawyers, hotel-keepers, inn-keepers, grocers, and all those whose business brings them into contact with the inhabitants are compelled to use Italian in describing their business. Inscriptions on business houses even in the German lowlands have to be in Italian. The invention of Italianised names for the German place-names in South Tyrol leads to confusion both among the inhabitants and among travellers, especially as the local Fascist officers have devoted themselves to the confiscation of all railway time-tables and maps which record the German names. The crowning enormity is one which shows that Fascismo and humour cannot mix. The German newspapers of South Tyrol have been suppressed by one method or another. A Fascist daily paper has been founded. One might logically expect that it would be printed in Italian: but inasmuch as its main object is to turn the local Germans into good little Fascists, and as those Germans cannot read Italian, the Fascist organ is printed in German. One has to record, therefore, one exception to the suppression of the German language.

Signor Mussolini has in the past come into conflict with Geneva and did not improve his general reputation thereby: he may again come into conflict with the League over his treatment of the German minority in South Tyrol. Much propaganda emanates in private documents from Germany about Italian policy in South Tyrol, and the German professors who are always ready for a fight, dialectical or physical, find themselves in their element. Why should Europe suffer such men as Signor Mussolini, unless it be that Europe reaps what she sows?

GEORGE GLASGOW.

September 15th, 1926.

LITERARY SUPPLEMENT.

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THE FRIARS MINOR.*

St. Francis of Assisi is much in the minds of men to-day when the seventh century from the date of his death is just completed and his influence, in the world, and perhaps not least in the Protestant world, as a force making for righteousness, increases year by year. He died on October 3rd, 1226 ("Welcome, Sister Death," he said, and added, "She is to me the Gate of Life.") and was canonised on July 16th, 1228, Pope Gregory IX coming to Assisi for the official act of canonisation. It is well that his influence in England, which began with the landing of a handful of his followers—four clerks and five laymen—at Dover on Tuesday, September 10th, 1224, should be commemorated by Dr. Gurney Salter's scholarly edition of the two famous chronicles which record in detail the early days of the Franciscan Order in

* *The Coming of the Friars Minor to England and Germany. Being the Chronicles of Brother Thomas of Eccleston and Brother Jordan of Giano.* Translated from the Critical Editions of A. G. Little, M.A., F.B.A., and H. Boehmer, by E. Gurney Salter, Litt.D. J. M. Dent. 5s. net.

Life of St. Francis of Assisi. By William H. Leathem. James Clarke and Co. [700th Anniversary Edition.] 3s. 6d. net.

The Grey Friars of Canterbury, 1224 to 1538: a Contribution to the 700th Anniversary of their arrival in England. By Charles Cotton, O.B.E. Together with a chapter on the Remains of the Friary and its Restoration by R. H. Goodsall. Second edition, illustrated by maps, plans, views, etc. Longmans. 3s. 6d. net.

England and Germany respectively. This friendly invasion of England was later by four years than the Dominican landing. The two orders were alike missionaries for the salvation of men, but the followers of St. Dominic of Castile were an order of preachers while the Franciscans were an order that relied on the example of their lives. "The Black Friars," writes Mr. F. S. Stevenson, "appealed rather to the feeling of fear, the Grey Friars to that of love." The Dominicans, however, adopted the vow of poverty set forth by the Franciscans, and the two orders of poor men rapidly found their way to the hearts of the people in a fashion that the rich Benedictines had not been able to achieve, though it must never be forgotten that the Benedictines did great work for education, and through their influence many a villein or serf found freedom in the service of the Church of Christ.

The Dominicans reached Oxford on August 15th, 1221, and immediately established a friary, being welcomed by Robert Grosseteste and his friends. The Grey Friars or *Fratres Minores* were welcomed at Oxford by the Dominicans in November, 1224, and also established a settlement, the school in which Thomas of Eccleston, the Chronicler, studied. The welcome from Grosseteste was warm, and that famous scholar Adam Marsh joined the Order in 1226 or thereabouts, while Grosseteste became their first lecturer. It was a bold act on the part of the leading scholar of the University, but he was a strong enough man to do it. He desired that learning and religion should revive hand in hand. It was not, in fact, the ideal of St. Francis, but this aim of the famous Englishman had great results, especially for England. Mr. Stevenson writes:

Nowhere has the Franciscan Order done so much as in England for the advancement and dissemination of knowledge, nowhere has it furnished so long a list of distinguished names, and nowhere has it presented so clear and so clean a record of useful work. With few exceptions every really great man of learning belonging to the Order came from these islands. . . . It enjoyed a reputation throughout the world for adhering the most conscientiously and strictly to the poverty and severity of the Order; and for the first time since its existence as a University, Oxford rose to a position second not even to Paris itself. The three schoolmen of the most original and profound genius, Roger Bacon, Duns Scotus and Occam, were trained within its walls. Among the Dominicans Germany produced Albertus Magnus, and Italy St. Thomas Aquinas; among the Franciscans Italy had its St. Bonaventura, and Spain its Raymond Lully; but "No nation can show three schoolmen like the English, each unrivalled in his way, each working with equal ability in opposite directions. The influence of the English school was consequently more profound, more brilliant the reputation of its leaders." To Grosseteste, more than any other man, must the credit be accorded.

Grosseteste made the means of study possible, and he rather feared the principle of mendicancy. He told William of Nottingham privately that on the heavenly ladder to live by one's own labour was higher than poverty and mendicancy. But the corruptions of the mendicant friars, lashed by Wiclif and Chaucer, was not yet in being, though Matthew Paris saw something of the beginnings of these evils. Mr. Leathem, Miss Salter and Mr. Cotton in their books show us in detail the first fine careless fervour of a movement that enriched the Middle Ages, that was in fact the first great Reformation from within of a Church which, at any rate on the monastic and administrative sides, was peculiarly liable to the forces of corruption, a movement that was destined by its example to stir the motive forces of Christianity in many fields in many centuries. It would, for instance, be difficult to dissociate the labours of the body called "the Salvation Army" from the ideals of the Saint who died seven centuries ago.

Mr. Cotton in his account of the Grey Friars of Canterbury points out that the little party who wended their way to Canterbury from Dover exactly seven centuries ago were "members of a recently established confraternity of religious persons whose aim was to convert the masses whom the Catholic Church at that time had failed to reach." It was a dramatic arrival. At Dover the little party of nine were received with great doubt as possible spies and robbers, but they disarmed suspicion, and tramping on to Canterbury along Watling Street they were received with kindness by the monks of the Priory of the Holy Trinity. Two days later, presumably September 13th, 1224, four of the party set out for London, Richard of Ingworth, a priest, Richard of Devon, an acolyte, Henry of Treviso, and a friar named Melioratus. These later were followed by Brother Agnellus of Pisa, who had been appointed Provincial Minister of the new province of England. Thus there were only four left in Canterbury, William of Ashby, a novice; Laurence of Beauvais, a manual labourer; William of Florence; and James, a novice. These were lodged in Canterbury in a place called Wyht, and Mr. Cotton identifies this with the island of Binnewith in the city, an island divided by one arm of the little river from the later site given to the new Friars by John Digge in 1267.

Mr. Cotton's book laboriously identifies the Franciscan holdings in Canterbury, where after 1267 other lands were acquired, making in all about eighteen acres with orchards and gardens. He shows us the domestic buildings adjoining foundations recently uncovered by Major James. At the time of the Tudor suppression the property consisted of the church, bell tower, cemetery, the house and two messuages, two orchards, two gardens, three acres

of land, ten acres of meadow and four acres of pasture in the parishes of St. Peter, St. Mildred and St. Margaret, an estate almost in a ring fence all held in chief of the Crown. The entrance to the Friary was in St. Peter's Street. Mr. Cotton is to be congratulated on a piece of detailed identification which gives quite a modern feeling to the settlement seven hundred years ago. Mr. Cotton describes the work carried on by the Friars in Canterbury. The House was never an important one, and does not seem to have trained any famous Brothers.

The greater work lay farther afield. The four Brothers who went to London settled in Cornhill, but before November 2nd, 1224, and before Agnellus had come on from Canterbury, Richard of Ingworth and Richard of Devon were on the road again and, as we have seen, formed the Oxford Settlement, settling in the parish of St. Giles after they had visited Northampton. Miss Salter thinks that the Friary by the prison in Cambridge was founded before 1230. This is doubtful, but in fact there were settlements in Trumpington Street of various bodies of friars, in what was known as the Friars' Quarter or area outside the gates. But if the Franciscan settlement was here, and it could hardly have been anywhere else, it is doubtful if the settlement was made for some years after the suggested date. The question of the settlement of the various bodies of friars without the gates of Cambridge is a complex one. The Friars of the Sack held the present site of Peter-house from 1258. It is almost certain that the Franciscans were settled at Lincoln before they found a site in Cambridge. The unsettled conditions at Cambridge made a settlement as early as 1230 improbable. The visit of the two Richards to Northampton in 1225 or 1226 may have decided the Friars to delay a Cambridge campaign.

These seem small matters, but in fact origins of great movements are not small matters, and Miss Salter's admirable, almost Elizabethan, translations of the contemporary chronicles of Eccleston and Jordan bring before the student in vivid fashion the beginnings of a great missionary movement. Brother Thomas of Eccleston (as Bale calls him) was one of the Oxford students, and was later in the London House during William of Nottingham's time as Minister, that is to say, between 1240 and 1254. He apparently entered the Order about 1233, and his Chronicle carries us to about 1258. It is a chatty, cheerful book with little sense of proportion, but it notes fully the English aspect of the first great Franciscan trouble, the struggle with Brother Elias, who with Cardinal Ugolino controlled the new Order even before the death of Francis. If the Order was to be successful a more practical Rule was needed, and this was sanctioned by Pope

Honorius III on November 29th, 1223. Ugolino and Elias were responsible. The latter was also responsible for the building of the great church at Assisi, but his good points, and they were many, were spoilt by his tyrannical system of government. At the General Chapter in 1227 he was not re-elected to the place as Minister General that Francis had given him in 1221, and Brother John Parenti was elected in his stead. Elias merely ignored the new head, and after his secret translation of the body of Francis in 1230 secured, in 1232, election again and ruled from that year till 1239 with success so far as his management of both the Pope and the Emperor Frederick was concerned, but with a tyranny that both Eccleston in England and Jordan in Germany record. But the Minister General could not be deposed except by a Chapter General and such Chapters he declined to call. He was summoned to Rome in 1239 and reluctantly deposed by Honorius. He was succeeded by Albert of Pisa and the powers of a Minister General were limited, but the strict followers of St. Francis gained no ground. Alexander Hales, the famous Englishman, in his exposition of the Rules, gave the zealots no support, while the Papacy retained much control. Elias fled to the excommunicated Emperor, having himself been excommunicated for not obeying the new Minister General, and became a counsellor and confidential envoy of Frederick.

The whole story is a strange one, but the salient point is plain. The new Order had been an immediate success, running like wildfire over Europe, as the religious revolt from Rome was later to run, and the Papacy was determined to use this new instrument, this wonderful supplement of the parochial, episcopal, and monastic systems, with complete control. Elias made the instrument efficient, but he tended to become a Grey Pope—the Black Popes were not yet—and so was displaced, and more obedient instruments were used to centralise the remarkable local system of Provinces and Custodies. In the history of institutions and their growth there is no more interesting and important example than the swift spread of the Grey Friars.

Yet the very perfection of the organisation to a great extent in the Middle Ages broke with the ideals of St. Francis. It was not possible to combine those ideals with a perfect mechanical organisation. The great Grosseteste, from another point of view than Honorius, broke with those ideals. The combination of religion and learning was to his far-seeing mind the thing that mattered. To the Papacy a new instrument controlling the ideals of the illiterate and ignorant masses was the thing that mattered. The Lollards and the Hussites showed how the aim of the Papacy failed. It would not have failed if the ideals of St. Francis had

been realised. The Renaissance showed how the aim of Grosse-teste failed. Yet in both cases the failure followed on a large measure of success, and the principles in both cases were sound—a message to the people and the participation of the people in the significance of the Message. But whether for Honorius or Grosse-teste, the instruments that were to carry out these aims failed. The Order, all the Orders, became in some measure corrupt, while even the monasteries gradually failed as seats and promoters of learning. So the Renaissance and the Reformation came with power, but not with success so far as the ideals of St. Francis were concerned. In these later days the ideals of the Saint of Assisi have come to sweeten all life, to bring a new breath of Christianity into all denominations. The seven hundredth anniversary of his death shows that there are higher unities wherein the tragedies of renaissances, of reformations and counter reformations and industrial and other revolutions will find solution.

J. E. G. DE M.

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THE SUPERANNUATION OF TEACHERS.*

Sometimes subjects of abysmal dullness, melancholy and difficulty have an importance that conquers all repulsion. One of these is the superannuation of teachers, to which Mr. W. R. Barker, formerly legal adviser to the Board of Education, has devoted a volume that abounds with loyalty to principles and with grim humour. He has, moreover, brought to the interpretation of monstrously-drafted Acts of Parliament a prose style that reminds the student that there still survive some lawyers who can write the English language. In his introduction he tilts against the limitations of the conveyancer's English, and half seriously suggests the introduction of mathematical symbols as aids to clarity. It may be admitted that there is much intrinsic difficulty in translating into legal language thoughts that are essentially mathematical. Lawyers must indeed sometimes use such symbols, and in dealing with subjects such as the calculation of grants a fairly thorough knowledge of calculus is needed.

But the question of draftsmanship is really quite other than this. There was no reason in nature why Section 13 of The Teachers (Superannuation) Act, 1925, should have been so drafted that an attempt to explain it "is apt to result in a cerebral contortion, so grave as to lead to the premature award of a death gratuity." Mr. Barker explains and excuses this fact by "the historical fact that the section in question was drafted at midnight

* *The Superannuation of Teachers in England and Wales: To which is appended the Burnham Salary Scales.* By W. R. Barker. Longmans. 5s. net.

after fifteen consecutive hours of work on the Bill." The excuse is no excuse. It is the business of the official draftsmen to put the intentions of the House into fair form, and of the Minister in charge of the Bill to see that it passes in that form. The decay of draftsmanship coupled with the principle of legislation by references, has played havoc during the past half-century with legislation. Incidentally, the fact has enabled intelligent and deserving barristers to make both ends meet. But the inherent difficulty of creating a sensible pensions system for teachers is increased by the vitality of teachers and the infinite variety of their careers. Teachers who were teaching before the year 1862 still survive, and with them the Code Pension system created in 1846. Then there have to be considered the Act of 1898, giving contributory pensions to certain certificated teachers based on a Deferred Annuity Fund which in fourteen years revealed a grave deficit even before the securities tumbled on the outbreak of the War of 1914; the supplementary local Acts which were more generous than the Act of 1898; and the Act of 1912 that gave non-retrospective additional benefits to those conferred by the Act of 1898. These two Acts provided a maximum pension after forty years' service of £75 9s. for men and £52 12s. 8d. for women. These benefits were not calculated to attract golden youth into a great profession. The War added its quota to the legislation as to pensions by enabling service in the War by a certificated teacher to be counted as recorded service for the purposes of the Act of 1898. Thus if a man survived the War and took up teaching again he could complete his forty years in such peace as a teacher has, and secure his £75 9s. annually in a currency that was worth half in food values the sum he had originally contracted for.

The position was obviously intolerable not only for the teacher but the nation. A nation that had to reconstruct itself after a war without parallel, a war in which the victors were hit almost as hardly as the defeated nations by the cessation of productivity, could only afford to have teachers of the highest teaching capacity. How could they be attracted? Two things were certain: that they must have a living wage and a certainty for old age. The Acts of 1918 tried to meet the need. Adequate salaries were ordained, and have gradually come into force with the almost universal operation of the Burnham scales. But before this ideal state was reached the School Teachers Superannuation Act, 1918, had become law in the November of that year. "It added 70,000 teachers to the 100,000 who were pensionable under the Act of 1898 . . . its general effect was to pension certificated and uncertificated teachers in elementary schools and teachers in grant-aided places of higher education on terms which closely resembled those which had

hitherto been applied to civil servants." Yet, as a matter of fact, as Mr. Barker points out, the conditions of teaching service are very different from those affecting civil servants.

The Civil Servant must serve throughout his working life till his retirement at sixty or sixty-five or his earlier disablement. He works for one employer, who settles his salary, arranges his promotion and provides for his pension. The service is pensionable as a whole, and the Civil Servant has no opportunity of wandering into an unpensionable post involving work of the same character as that which he has been performing as a Civil Servant. The Civil Service consists predominantly of men and, so far as it does not consist of men, it consists almost entirely of unmarried women. All these conditions are radically altered in the case of teachers. A teacher need not render continuous pensionable service; he may work throughout his working life or only for a short period of it. He does not necessarily serve one employer. He has thousands of employers from whom to choose, and during his service he may serve many employers and many types of employers. The teacher is not necessarily employed by the person who fixes his salary and, at any rate until 1925, the man who settled his salary had nothing to do with paying his pension. The teaching profession consists predominantly of women of whom a large proportion leave the service on marriage.

This passage puts the fundamental distinctions between the civil servant and the teacher. Moreover, the salaries are in one case fixed and in the other are liable to violent fluctuations. Mr. Lowe knew what he was doing when he insisted that teachers should not become Civil Servants. The fundamental distinctions and the sudden changes in salaries made the Act of 1918 an absurdity. When the Act was passed the average salary of the elementary school teacher was £106. By 1923 the same average salary had become £261. Was the Government bound to pay pensions at this ever-increasing rate? The matter was tested in the House of Commons by a Select Committee, and the finding was that the Bill of 1922 which required teachers to contribute 5 per cent. of their salaries for the time being towards the cost of providing benefits under the Act of 1918 involved no breach of any governmental undertaking.

This Act was operative for two years. It was renewed for two more years, and on April 1st, 1926, The Teachers Superannuation Act, 1925, became law. The new Act carries out many of the recommendations of the Departmental Committee under the chairmanship of Lord Emmott, which was appointed on August 22nd, 1922, and reported on July 30th, 1923. The Committee proposed that teachers should pay one-half of the cost of their pensions, the local authorities and other employers one-quarter, and the State the remaining quarter, the pensions to be secured by a State fund.

The State Fund system of 1898 had been a failure, and despite Lord Emmott's protest the Government would have nothing to do with it. In fact, such a fund could be raided by an unscrupulous or necessitous Government, and the teachers could safely rely on the Government credit so long as that credit lasted. If the credit did not last, securities would fall and the State Fund, even if it were not raided, would be largely valueless. The people who could rightly grumble were the unborn generations of taxpayers who were to bear the burden. They are voiceless.

But the teachers are placed in a self-respecting position. They are paying a fair share of their pension and they have contractual rights. With settled scales and good pensions it may be anticipated that the best class of teachers will be secured. Moreover, the new Act provides for the widest extension of the pension system, not only to the teachers in private schools, but to teachers overseas. The Act is the first sign of an Imperial system of education.

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THE MAN CHRIST JESUS.*

To anyone who has studied the life of the Son of Man as revealed in the Gospels, the title of this book, *The Man Nobody Knows*, must seem at first sight a misnomer. But the title aptly describes the gap that separates the perfect and the sinful man. Mr. Adderley writes a Preface to this book and recommends it as an effort to portray the human life of Jesus, but does not necessarily give his consent to all its deductions, or his approval to all its expressions. He feels strongly the sincerity of the attempt to show forth the perfect man, who lived the ordinary life of a man with men, sharing their joys as much as sympathising with their sorrows; going about doing good, and attracting men and women of all classes to himself, not promulgating creeds, but living the life that all men should strive to follow. He recognises the necessity, if men and women are to be attracted to God through Him who was the perfect man, of making men feel that the life of Jesus who walked this earth two thousand years ago was the life of a really human being.

The author of this book, Mr. Bruce Barton, endeavours to elucidate the personality of Jesus, and to make the unknown known, by taking the gospel narratives and expressing them in a more modern and colloquial manner, and by so doing to arrest the attention of the business man, who will be struck by the successful method of the Master, for the author says, "It will tell the story

* *The Man Nobody Knows*. By Bruce Barton. With a Preface by the Hon. and Rev. J. G. Adderley. Second Impression. Constable. 3s. 6d. net.

of the founder of modern business." The phrase emphasises the now accepted view of John Ruskin that sound economics are essentially Christian. To describe Christ as the "Founder of Modern Business" has a grating sound, but that is because the doctrine of Ruskin is still not fully accepted and modern business is still too often un-Christlike. From this point of view there is so much that is good and illuminating in this book that we fear to carp at expressions which hurt at every turn. The Bible narrative never does this, it acclaims or denounces with a force and power and brevity that no other story-teller ever achieved. A few words describe a scene so vividly that there is no need to elaborate them, for by so doing they lose instead of gain. Over-embroidery in words or ritual hides the perfect beauty of the figure or symbol. But Elizabethan prose can do what American prose fails to do.

Mr. Barton's aim is to free "the Man Christ Jesus" from the conventions that he considers have accrued century after century around a mystical figure, until the humanity of Jesus is lost sight of. He is writing for the ordinary man and woman to whom religion means very little, and he hopes by presenting Him as a man, and a friend—as the Gospels undoubtedly do present Him—to awaken a truer relationship than, he feels, exists at the present time. The intense sincerity of this book, its unlikeness to other books dealing with the life of Jesus; whether it be the *Ecce Homo* of Sir John Seely, or the *Jesus of History* of Dr. T. R. Glover, or the latest Italian biography, at once sets the reader thinking. If it sends him to the original account as recorded in the Gospels, so much the better. As Dr. Moulton says in his preface to *The Modern Readers' Bible*, "The literature of the Bible is unique, and the best treatment for this literature is to read it But let us not forget the subtle and besetting danger in all literary study—that the process of studying tends to eclipse the literature itself." It is a curious fact that people are more inclined to read books about the Gospel story, than the Gospels themselves.

The idea of advertisement and propaganda in connection with Christ shocks the sense of reverence. Truly He came to proclaim "Good News" which His disciples were to carry to the ends of the earth. But, "to be about My Father's business," when applied to, or compared with, *pushing* the business of this world, is a crude way of expressing the attitude of Jesus to His Father. Yet if business is sound, honest, and Christ-like, if it involves honest production, sale, and distribution, and thus adds to the real riches of the world, it is God's business as well as man's. The author has grasped the truth underlying the apparent crudity, when he says:

It was not to preach that he came into the world; nor to teach;

nor to heal. These are all departments of his Father's business, but the business itself is far larger, more inclusive. For if human life has any significance, it is this—that God has set going here an experiment to which all His resources are committed. He seeks to develop perfect human beings, superior to circumstance, victorious over Fate. No single kind of human talent or effort can be spared if the experiment is to succeed. The race must be fed and clothed and housed and transported, as well as preached to, and taught and healed. Thus *all* business is his Father's business. All work is worship; all useful service prayer. And whoever works whole-heartedly at any worthy calling is a co-worker with the Almighty in the great enterprise which He has initiated but which He can never finish without the help of men.

It may be added that it is only by "the knowledge of the Son of God" that this end can be achieved. No *perfection* is possible or complete until humanity has risen to the heights of the God-head. "Be ye therefore perfect, even as your Father which is in heaven is perfect." Jesus came as a man among men to show how such an ideal might be reached through the ordinary ways of life. Thomas à Kempis of old discovered the secret when he wrote, "Without the way, there is no going; without the truth there is no knowing; without the life there is no living." The author of this helpful book has found through his study of this perfect example "Jesus divinest when thou most art Man."

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SMALL TALK AT WREYLAND.*

It is small talk such as Mr. Cecil Torr's that envisages a period, not only at the present moment, but for the generations yet to come. The reader is carried on from page to page, incidents and anecdotes follow in easy sequence, and the reader rapidly gets acquainted with the writer and his grandfather, from whose letters to the Author's father most of the information is derived. The Small Talk never degenerates into chaff, there is always grain to be found. To change the metaphor, it is like a stream bubbling over the pebbles. "Books in the running brooks, sermons in stones, and good in everything." Open this Small Talk where you will, there is always something of interest to be captured. A keen sense of humour, moreover, gives life to the narrative.

The Author wrote the first series for private circulation amongst personal friends, but, he was persuaded to write the second and third series with a view to publication, and now these three editions abridged, and selected, are fitted in, and combined in the present volume. The scene of this Small Talk is set in Devonshire, in the small hamlet of Wreyland, Lustleigh being the town, situated between Bovey and North Bovey on the River Bovey, a tributary

* *Small Talk at Wreyland*. By Cecil Torr. University Press, Cambridge. 7s. 6d. net.

of the Teign. The Author's father kept a diary from 1833 to 1878 and also all letters, which he deemed of interest, sorted, and dated, especially those of his father, from which Mr. Cecil Torr has drawn on for this publication. He remembers his grandfather well, and used to stay with him. The old gentleman lived to over eighty; and died in 1870.

In reading and looking back over sixty years the rapid modern changes stand out. Devonshire must have remained very primitive till quite recent times. Superstition dies hard, and the belief in witchcraft is still fighting for life in outlying districts such as Exmoor; legend and superstition go hand in hand, and the devil still plays his part, with a change of costume, now and then. "He and King Arthur played a game of quoits with Haytor Rocks half way from here to Widdicombe—the Devil missed King Arthur with one rock, and then King Arthur got the Devil with the other, and sent him down below." The varied subject matter of this book is delightful; it begins with the weather and ends with earthquake, the remains of a volcano having been found at Wreyland. We look backward into the abysm of time, we look forward into ages ahead "When only the granite will survive, the rest all vanishing like the land between our Land's End and the Scilly Isles, and then Dartmoor will be a group of islands, and Wreyland one of the outlying reefs." Yet, amid all the changes and chances of this panorama of time, humanity will slowly and surely evolve into the measure of the stature of the Perfect Man.

A little of many things may make a book of Small Talk, but from it the reader may draw a big matter, and Mr. Torr has the wit, the knowledge, and the skill to make the dead bones live again in the third decade of the twentieth century. It is impossible to convey adequately in a brief notice the charm of this Small Talk, and not only its charm, but the insight it gives of past events. There is barely an incident recorded during the latter half of the nineteenth century that the present writer cannot recall, and is in consequence able to attest to its accuracy: Take for instance the description of Paris in 1867, the time of the great Exhibition when Napoleon III was in the height of his popularity:

I saw Paris in September, 1867. It was then in all its glory, with the wide streets and stately buildings constructed in the previous sixteen years. The place was thronged with people of all nations, who had come to see the Exhibition, and there was huge prosperity all round. The soldiers looked magnificent, especially the Zouaves and the Imperial Guard—long-service men with medals; and few people imagined that the Prussians could stand up to them. Yet there were some signs of insecurity. The official tune was *Partant pour la Syrie*; and, if anyone even whistled the *Marseillaise*, the police were after him at once.

Now note the changed condition of Paris and the havoc wrought by the *débâcle* of 1870, and the Commune which followed it:

I saw Paris next in August and September, 1871, and these are some of the things I noted in my diary then. In the Rue de Rivoli some blocks of houses had been blown up, others burnt, and all more or less damaged. Of the garden-front of the Tuileries only the outer walls were left: the new Louvre had been a little damaged, and was being re-roofed: the fire had not reached the Louvre itself. At the Palais Royal, the palace itself had been burnt, but not the shops underneath. Neither the Bourse nor the Opera House was hurt. There was nothing left of the Hôtel de Ville except the outer walls and the chimneys with the statues on them, and these stood out well against the sky. Most of the neighbouring houses had been burnt. . . . Paris has never recovered from that blow, and its slovenliness under the Republic contrasts badly with its smartness in the Second Empire. . . . During the siege of Paris there was Aurora Borealis on the nights of 24 and 25 October, 1870. I have never seen anything so brilliant in the sky. The Krakatoa sunsets were nothing to it. The colour was blood mixed with water. People in London—myself among them—fancied Paris was in flames, and that this was the reflection in the sky."

The diary adds: "Passing through Boulogne on 8 September, 1873, I noted . . . great rejoicings going on there on account of the payment of the indemnity." The final instalment had been paid on September 5th, and the army of occupation had begun its final move that morning, September 8th.

The passages on each subject are brief but every page is brimful of interest, and so varied that all may find the note that arouses personal interest. Small Talk is as valuable to Wreyland as Evelyn's Diary was to Deptford, and both carry vaster ebbs and flows of the greater world.

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OUTSTANDING LAW TRIALS.*

In this attractive volume Lord Birkenhead gives a lucid account of twenty-three law cases: some, such as the trial of Mary Queen of Scots, of great historical interest; some of great social interest, such as the striking account of the Fleet and Marshalsea debtors' prisons in the first quarter of the eighteenth century; some of great legal interest, as illustrating criminal practice from the seventeenth century onwards; some of current interest, such as the trial of Sir Roger Casement for high treason, and of Dr. Crippen for murder. A good many old stories are vividly retold, such, for

* *Famous Trials of History*. By the Right Honourable the Earl of Birkenhead. Hutchison and Co., Paternoster Row.

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instance, as the amazing record of the Edinburgh burglar, Deacon Brodie, who was hanged in 1788, and the terrible and almost unbelievable story of the murders on the sailing ship *Veronica* off the South American coast in 1902. The stories vividly illustrate many phases of human nature, and so far as ten of the cases are concerned Lord Birkenhead writes with special knowledge, as he was retained in the cases in one capacity or another. The volume is not a text-book of cases. It is purely non-technical, but the student of law has much to learn from it, and not least from the ease of narrative and command of the technicalities of law which are translated into ordinary English.

Another valuable aspect of the book is the way in which it shows that the actual practice in the Criminal Courts has been humanised despite the fact that technicalities still abound. The criminal trials in the last quarter of the seventeenth and the first quarter of the eighteenth centuries were a disgrace to humanity. Suborned evidence and professional witnesses were common. The terrible story of the trial of Green and others for the murder of Sir Edmondbury Godfrey in 1678 was an instance of the abominations of the time. It is certain, almost as certain as anything could be, that the men charged were wholly innocent. But the cry of a Papist Plot went up, and the men were doomed at the "trial *in banc*, before the Lord Chief Justice, Scroggs, whose reputation for vileness is second only to that of Jeffreys, and two puisne judges, Wild and Dolben." The murdered man's body was found on Primrose Hill, but the theory was formed that he was murdered in Somerset House (a hot-bed of Papists) and conveyed to the place where it was found. Titus Oates and William Bedloe made their bow to the British public in this case: the prisoners were condemned and hanged, protesting to the last. "An impartial observer is left with the uncomfortable feeling that Oates and his colleagues, or unscrupulous men behind them, may perhaps have committed the murder in order to rouse popular feeling against the Catholics. Whether that be so or not, can never be settled." It is true that scoundrels escaped under the law. Colonel Blood and Lord Mohun died in their beds, while successive juries acquitted in 1729—that is the extraordinary fact—the monstrous scoundrels who tortured and murdered unhappy prisoners in the Fleet and Marshalsea debtor prisons. If these prisoners did not bear all that was allotted to them and pour money out they might find themselves condemned felons "upon a false accusation, supported by the evidence of professional perjurers. Prisoners had only one redress—death." The juries in these cases must have been tampered with, because they found the "Wardens of the Fleet" innocent in the teeth of overwhelming evidence and after "a Com-

mittee of the House of Commons had, after careful investigation, reported that grave crimes had been committed under the cloak of the law, and had ordered the offenders to be prosecuted. All of them were acquitted." Gay's "Beggar's Opera" really understates the case. It is inconceivable that such things were happening in London less than two hundred years ago. The procedure of the criminal courts was bad, the system of evidence made possible an elaborate system of professional perjurers, the juries were corrupt or corruptible, the whole *morale* was low, and often enough—but not always—the judges were callous, brutal, and corrupt. If Spencer Cowper, a young barrister charged with murder in 1699, had come before Scroggs or Jeffreys he would probably have had short shrift. He was, in fact, wholly innocent, and survived to become a Judge of the Court of Common Pleas in 1728. Yet thanks to the singular incompetence of the presiding judge the prisoners—four lawyers in all—ran great risk. It is some satisfaction to know that in 1702 Baron Hatzell was superseded. The later cases in this book show clearly enough—and indeed the Press day by day shows it—that the iniquities that disgraced the administration of justice have wholly disappeared to-day, with the one exception that still a certain percentage of children and young people are committed to prison for trifling offences and are set on the road of permanent crime. But this evil is slowly disappearing, and is mainly associated with the action of ignorant and unwise country magistrates.

The other side of Lord Birkenhead's book is the one from which the title is taken. He deals with the famous trials of Queen Mary of Scots, of Lord Strafford, of Warren Hastings, and other interesting but less important causes. He apparently thinks that Queen Mary's defence was based on the fallacious belief that what she implied but did not personally do was no proof against her. But other observers of the evidence still believe in her innocence. Strafford, Lord Birkenhead thinks, was not technically guilty of high treason, but he also thinks that this great Minister menaced the British Constitution "and in that untechnical sense . . . was a traitor." As to Warren Hastings, Lord Birkenhead says:

"That he was guilty of corruption cannot be truly alleged. That he strained his powers cannot be fairly denied. His acquittal was just and justified. This is true: hampered in every way, thwarted and disobeyed, he saved the Empire in India by sheer force of character and he holds an honoured place among those who have deserved well of their country."

This is a fair judgment. Burke and Sheridan were honest critics, but they had lost the perspective of things in their sympathy for the natives of the troubled peninsula.

J. E. G. DE M.

JOHN KEATS.*

The Professor of Poetry in the University of Oxford has somewhat marred the general effect of his painstaking essays on John Keats by unnecessary and pain-giving attacks on the late Miss Lowell in respect of her volume on the same poet. Miss Lowell, at any rate, held a position in the literary world of America that was not at all negligible. She was a member of a great literary family, and in fact had given vast labour to the aggregation of new material as to Keats and his work. Professor Garrod has used some of her conclusions and views. He, of course, has a perfect right to criticise her conclusions and her methods, and one of his great predecessors in the Oxford Chair would have done this critical duty in a fashion that would have done all that was necessary without making his fellow countrymen rather ashamed for English manners. Professor Garrod declares that anyone may have imposed upon Miss Lowell; "I suppose I must not ask whether Miss Lowell had a grandfather"; she suffers from "proximity of the imagination"; she loads every rift "with the dross of psycho-analysis"; "in her leisure (which must be infinite)." Professor Garrod declares that Sir Sidney Colvin "could not divine, among the hidden purposes of Providence, Miss Lowell." This critic asserts of one phrase by Miss Lowell, "I do know that this is not the way to write about our fellow creatures—or even about poets." The sentence might well apply to the way that Professor Garrod writes about the late Miss Lowell. The contemporaries of Keats confused criticism with rudeness. We are supposed to have grown out of this childish habit.

Professor Garrod attempts to analyse the personality of John Keats. "For thinking of the earth Keats had in fact small aptitude; or it was an earth peopled only by flowers and the scent of flowers, or men and women whose nature was that of flowers and scents." Some students think that Keats was more virile than this. He was certainly "more the child of the Revolutionary Idea than we commonly suppose," and he had ambitions to write of "the agonies, the strife of human hearts." We are told that this was not "his proper world. . . . Not in political thinking, nor in tears given to human suffering, but in something which, though it seems easier, is, in fact, far harder, lies Keats' real effectiveness; in the exercise, I mean, of the five senses." By the five senses Professor Garrod means "the life of sensations." "Only as he sustains the earnest sensuousity to which nature dedicated him does his genius thrive." Matthew Arnold did not agree with this view, as Professor Garrod points out, and insisted that Keats was a poet who first and foremost perceives "the necessary relation of

* *Keats*. By H. W. Garrod. Oxford: at the Clarendon Press. 5s. net.

beauty with truth." This is the view that most critics hold and long have held. Professor Garrod's view makes Keats a decadent despite the assertion of the author of this book that decadence has no poetry. The "exquisite sense of the luxurious," which young Keats balanced against "love of philosophy," is a craving of youth. Nothing can be argued from it except possibly, as Miss Lowell suggests, his state of health. Professor Garrod regards *Isabella* and *The Eve of St. Agnes* as fruits of this "exquisite sense of the luxurious." It is more reasonable to suppose that these great poems were fruits of the fact, the unexplainable fact, that Keats was a poet. The processes of psycho-analysis, which both Professor Garrod and Miss Lowell use, cannot explain the fact of poethood. Keats believed, and his early death prevents us from saying that the belief was ill-founded, that he had a future in the world of drama and that he was "more at home among men and women." Professor Garrod scoffs at Keats' belief.

The truth is that, say what he may, make what poetry he will, the mere shadow of a man or woman, the least breath of character or action, suffices at any moment to dissolve the fabric of his imaginings. This is true, not merely when he essays drama or narrative, or the philosophic epic, it is equally true when he attempts that species of poetry for which we might have thought him most genuinely qualified—the lyric of personal passion.

This argument carries the student a very little way. Who could prophecy at the age when Keats died what would have been the poetic future of Chaucer, Shakespeare, Spenser, Milton? Keats' belief as to his own potential powers is a great deal more valuable than Professor Garrod's forecast of his future based on the analysis of what he had already written. Human progress is an incalculable thing, as every teacher knows, and this is specially true when the young man is a poet.

Professor Garrod's limitation of the possibilities of the young poet is, however, very definite. It would not have suited Matthew Arnold at all. "I think him the great poet he is only when the senses capture him, when he finds truth in beauty, that is to say, when he does not trouble to find truth at all." But to most students of Keats the limitation is in the critic, not in the poet. Yet certainly the critic is on common ground with Matthew Arnold and everyone in giving measureless admiration to that "perfection of loveliness" which pervades famous poems such as *The Eve of St. Agnes*.

"The whole of Keats' work, be it remembered, was done in a space of less than four years, the best of it within the limits of a single year—at all points the rapidity of his development is amazing. He ends, save for the Odes, still a conscious imitator of the manner of other poets. That he could never have rested there, the

Odes make certain. Inevitably, in some other species, he must have found, before long, a manner as individual as that which he has attained in the Odes. That he could have carried this individual manner to success in composition of a large compass, in the narrative or heroic species, I do not feel certain."

Professor Garrod's minute analysis of the Odes is work for students, and fruitful work. It does not involve disputable matter in the same degree as some other parts of the book, and it is interesting. The suggestion that the image of Ruth amid the corn owes something to the *Solitary Reaper* is worthy of consideration as, indeed, is the question of the full influence of Wordsworth on Keats. The poets of the period form a school, but the full inter-relations are perhaps still the subject of discussion. Wordsworth did not seem to think very seriously of Keats, but the general influence of Wordsworth on all who came within the range of his thinking was great. The future development of Keats might well have turned on the philosophy of Wordsworth.

SHORTER REVIEWS.

Dr. K. B. Murdock, Instructor of English at Harvard, deserves cordial congratulations on his full-length biography of *Increase Mather*.* The foremost American Puritan, as the sub-title describes him, repays the detailed and sympathetic study which he has at last received. As the first great American theologian, the first American-born President of Harvard, and the leading figure of his time not only in Boston and Massachusetts but throughout the American colonies, Increase Mather stands out as a strong and arresting personality among the Puritans of the old and the new world. Nor was he merely a preacher, a scholar, and a writer. When the Massachusetts Charter was revoked he journeyed to London to obtain its restoration or, if that proved impossible, to secure as much autonomy as he could. The story of his four years in England, which began on the eve of the Revolution of 1688, includes his interviews with James II, William III and Queen Mary, and his friendships with Boyle, Baxter and other celebrities. On his return home he found the colony distracted by the tragic problem of the Salem Witches, in regard to which he took a much more reasonable position than his famous son. In addition to collecting and analysing all the available biographical material, Dr. Murdock has succeeded in reconstructing the far-off atmosphere of the leading Puritan State and thus rendering intelligible the thought and actions of men of powerful and sincere though limited minds. He frankly confesses that his own opinions would not have commended themselves to Increase Mather, and that he has no desire to have lived amid the scenes which he so vividly describes; but despite the gulf between democracy and theocracy, between the secular and the theological outlook, he has achieved a triumph in the art of historical interpretation. With this book should be read the life of Increase Mather's no less distinguished son, Cotton

* Harvard University Press. 28s.

Mather, author of the *Magnalia*, by the late Professor Barrett Wendell, first published in 1891 and now reissued by the Harvard University Press. Though less ambitious in scope, the biography ranks high among the efforts of modern scholarship towards a reconstruction, at once critical and understanding, of the life and thought, the struggles, errors and achievements of the grim but stalwart Puritans of New England.

* * *

Among American students of the causes of the War of 1914 Professor Barnes, Professor Fay, and Professor Bernadotte Schmitt are the best known; and no American scholar has done so much as Professor Barnes to familiarise his countrymen with the new evidence which has been rapidly accumulating during the last few years, or to compel them to revise their war-time judgments in the light of this new material. His latest and most important contribution to the great debate is a volume of 700 pages entitled *The Genesis of the World War*.* Lest readers be frightened away by the bulk of the treatise, it may be added that the print is large, and that the author commands an easy, flowing style. The book indeed in some ways reminds one rather of an advocate's speech, full of invective and repetitions, than the grave treatise of an academic historian. All the experts, as he reminds us, are now "revisionists," but the revisionists themselves are divided into the conservative and the radical camps. Professor Barnes belongs to the latter, and brings a formidable array of facts, quotations, and arguments to the support of his views. The responsibility for the European situation which produced the war, he declares, was divided among all the Great and some of the smaller Powers; but the guilt of the actual outbreak of hostilities he places on the shoulders of Russia and France. Not only, he argues, did they needlessly transform the Austro-Serb dispute into a European issue, though neither of them was bound by treaty to fight for Serbia, but Izvolsky and Poincaré had been for some time deliberately working for a world-war at the first suitable opportunity, the former to obtain Constantinople and the Straits, the latter to recover the Rhine provinces. Sazonoff, he declares, was converted by the arch-conspirators, and Sir Edward Grey was their unconscious tool. These grave charges are in large measure based on Izvolsky's despatches and telegrams, which certainly leave a very disagreeable impression. Poincaré's reply, set forth in his voluminous *Memoirs*, which appeared too late for Professor Barnes to use, is that Izvolsky systematically misreported his utterances. Critical readers of this well-documented and pugnacious book will probably feel that the revisionist pendulum has swung rather too far, and that the author is sometimes too cocksure; but his views are widely shared, and nowhere has the literary attack on Poincaré's pre-war policy been more vigorous than in his own country.

NOTICES OF BOOKS.

In "The Political Ideas of the English Romanticists"† Mr. Clare Brinton deals with an attractive subject on which Dowden wrote his "French Revolution in English Literature" a generation ago. A

* Alfred Knopf, New York, 1926.

† Oxford University Press. 15s.

full study of the influence of the ideas and events of the great upheaval on the English mind remains to be written. To that future survey the present volume forms a welcome contribution. Beginning with the third-rate Jacobin poets, novelists and dramatists of the type of Bage and Holcroft, we pass with relief to the Lake poets. The discovery of Wordsworth's French daughter has quickened our interest in the romantic democracy of his youth, and the author is in fashion in treating Coleridge's political writings with respect. The most novel and valuable chapter is devoted to Scott and Hazlitt; the former is described as "the eternal Conservative," the latter as a *frondeur*. "For him the presumption was always against what was established." He was, however, much too thoughtful to be a mere rebel, and Mr. Brinton fills some interesting pages with proofs that he shed a good many of the revolutionary crudities of his youth. The chapter on Byron and Shelley covers familiar ground, but that on the Press gives a useful account of *The Edinburgh*, *The Quarterly*, *The Examiner*, and other organs. The final chapter of this well-written volume reveals the author as a thinker no less than a scholar.

* * *

Mr. F. W. Stokoe's "German Influence in the English Romantic Period, 1788-1818" is a careful and scholarly essay in the fascinating field of literary contacts. The danger incidental to this sort of research, that of exaggerating possibilities into certainties and thereby producing an untrue impression of the extent of the individual obligation, is victoriously resisted in this sound and sensible volume. Most people date the study of German literature from William Taylor and Crabb Robinson, but Mr. Stokoe begins his survey with a lecture in 1788 by Henry Mackenzie, author of the once celebrated "Man of Feeling." The larger part of the work is devoted to Scott, Coleridge, Shelley and Byron, and it is extremely useful to have this aspect of their literary activities so clearly and thoroughly analysed. Scott's connection with German literature, we are told, was rather incidental. Coleridge, who naturally is the object of the longest investigation, was much more attracted to German philosophy than to *belles lettres*. Shelley was growing ever more interested in the later years of his short life. Byron knew little if anything of the language, but realised the importance of the newly-discovered literature. A full bibliography concludes an excellent piece of work.

* * *

A little school book on "The Tudor Period"† that deserves to be commended is that by Mr. Tom Bevan in the series known as "The Tabard Histories." The series is designed to arouse interest in successive periods by a vivid and yet simple narrative bringing to a focus the main issues in each great national crisis or period. Of course, Mr. Bevan considers that "the Tudors (as a family) were the ablest sovereigns that ever sat upon the throne of this land." It is probably true, but the Anjevin sovereigns were amazing men and had to deal with difficulties different, but not less appalling, than those solved by Henry VIII. The tribute to Henry VIII is well deserved.

* Cambridge University Press. 12s. 6d.

† Sampson Low, Marston and Co. 1s. 10d.

THE MEANING OF LIBERALISM.

THE Liberal Party in England has at this moment a wonderful chance of recovery, in spite of all its past misfortunes.

The Government is deeply discredited, even in the eyes of its own followers, by its nerveless and vacillating handling of the coal problem, which has been allowed to drift to an issue very menacing for the future. During the last year it has once again been made plain that Conservatism is by its very nature unfit to guide a nation in times that demand courage and constructive imagination; because Conservatism spells timidity, and a Conservative Party must always be crippled for effective action by the pull of the vested interests. The short-lived prestige which Mr. Baldwin won for his party by his manifest good intentions has almost evaporated, for a sharp test has shown that good intentions avail nothing unless they are reinforced by clear thinking and a firm will; and the Young Conservatives who had hoped that Baldwinism was going to transform their party are disillusioned and disheartened. On the other hand, the Labour Party is equally discredited. It also has failed to show courage or vision or leadership in a testing time. The confidence of its followers has been sapped. Its intellectual leaders are losing faith in the sweeping formulæ which once inspired them, and are beginning to realise the dangers that attend their inevitable subservience to the heads of the Trade Unions, whose every action they are bound to sustain. The party itself is torn asunder by internal feuds; and although these may not yet have seriously affected the rank and file, their influence is bound to spread. In these circumstances there is a wonderful opportunity for a third party, in a generation in which the ties of party allegiance are looser than they have been for a very long time. But the party which wishes to use this opportunity must know what it means, must have a policy that is inspired by clearly-grasped ideas, and must be vigorously led.

The Liberal Party ought to be able to seize this heaven-sent chance, and in doing so to render a great service to the country. But at the moment it appears to be paralysed, by two causes. The first, which is evanescent and temporary, but has unhappily come at a critical moment, is the misunderstanding among the leaders, which has turned on personal issues rather than on questions of principle. The second, which is far more fundamental, and in itself more healthy, is the emergence or recrudescence of a sharp difference of opinion as to the meaning and aims of Liberalism. Since the future prospects of the party entirely depend upon whether it can show that it does genuinely stand for a healing policy of constructive reform, and that such a policy is genuinely Liberal, and

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not a mere compromise with Socialism, it is indispensable that this conflict of opinion should not be slurred over, but should be very frankly faced.

I.

In a *Times* correspondence, which was opened by Sir Ernest Benn, one extreme point of view has been vigorously expounded. It identifies Liberalism with what is called *laissez-faire*, or distrust of all State action in the economic and social spheres. Its advocates go far beyond the Toriest of Tories, and Sir Ernest Benn has even asserted that the existence of a housing problem and of slums is mainly if not wholly due to the housing legislation of the last fifty years: that is to say, a glaring social evil is attributed to the attempts that have been made to remedy it! The advocates of this remarkable creed (which they call True Liberalism) urge that the Liberal Party can only save itself by confining its propaganda to peace, economy, and Free Trade, and abandoning the "Socialist nostrums" with which left-wing Liberals of the Summer School type are supposed to have defiled the purity of the Liberal gospel. The old Liberal battle-cry is to be revised: "Peace and Retrenchment, but no Reform."

Now if it were true that this barren and negative creed was "true Liberalism," a Liberal Party might indeed attract the loyalty of wealthy industrialists who believed in Free Trade, but it could never appeal to a generation which is deeply dissatisfied with many aspects of the existing order, and eager to use the power of the community to amend them. The truth is, indeed, that Liberalism, as Gladstone once said, has never been identified with *laissez-faire*. On the contrary, there is scarcely an important Liberal Act that has not been a denial of the doctrine of *laissez-faire*, which is, indeed, if logically construed, an utterly impracticable doctrine. The only period in modern English history during which the State definitely tried to repudiate all direct responsibility for the social well-being of its citizens was the half-century from about 1780 to about 1830. Even in that period the State was driven by circumstances to permit the upgrowth of the disastrous Speenhamland system of Poor Law relief, and it made that monumental blunder precisely because its leaders had failed to think clearly about the social obligations of the State and the right means of fulfilling them.

As soon as the first Liberal Ministry came into power, it began, more or less unconsciously, to reverse the *laissez-faire* policy. In 1833 a Parliament with an overwhelming Liberal majority took over Shaftesbury's Factory Bill, and made it operative by inventing factory inspectors to see that it was carried out. John Bright opposed some of the later Factory Acts, but he did not in this

represent his party, for a majority of the Factory Acts were carried by Liberal Governments through Liberal Parliaments. Sir Ernest Benn is horrified that we should, by Unemployment Insurance, have sheltered workpeople to some extent from the bracing risks of insecurity. What must he think of the Liberal Governments which (in the Companies Acts from 1837 to 1862) established the system of limited liability, and thus sheltered capitalists from the bracing risks of unlimited liability? What does he think of Gladstone's Railways Act, which enforced upon the railways publicity of accounts, and secured (for the State) control over their rates and fares? What does he think of the long process whereby, from 1839 through 1870 to 1918, a State system of education was established? He has told us what he thinks of the long series of Public Health Acts from 1848 onwards, and of the innumerable Housing Acts, some national in their range, but many others, private Acts, promoted by municipal bodies: most of them were adopted by Liberal Parliaments. But what does he think of the nationalisation of the roads by the abolition of turnpikes, or of the taking over of the telegraphs and the telephones, or of the countless Acts in which municipalities were authorised to set up municipal gas-works and tramways? The Liberal Party had the lion's share in all these things, and they were all defiances of the doctrine of *laissez-faire*. I do not speak of the system of social insurance set up in the years before the war, without which we could not have escaped revolution during the troublous post-war years, or of the Trade Boards with their wage-fixing powers, or of the other enactments of the Asquith Ministry; because these forms of State action are still so recent that the advocates of *laissez-faire* have not got into the habit of taking them for granted, as they take for granted such trenchant State interferences as the Companies' Acts or the Bank Acts, or the institution of a State system of banking in the post-offices; and Sir Ernest Benn and his like therefore feel free to denounce them as departures from True Liberalism.

The plain fact is, of course, that the whole achievement of Liberalism during its century of work has been a denial and repudiation of *laissez-faire*. However unconsciously, it has been in fact an assertion, in one field or another, of the obligation of the community to see that its citizens are ensured the positive conditions of freedom, the means to mastery of their own powers, and the opportunity to exercise them.

But (cry the fanatics of *laissez-faire*) all this is pure Socialism! You are advocating an extension of the powers of the State, and what is that but Socialism? And (they add) all this involves a progressive invasion of the Rights of Individual Liberty, and is

therefore a betrayal of Liberalism. The answer is threefold. In the first place, I have not been advocating anything: I have only described what has actually been done by men who, whatever they may have been, were not Socialists. I have only catalogued some of the greatest achievements of Liberalism in the past, and shown that, just because they involved political action, they necessarily increased the functions of the State. In the second place, it is mere nonsense to say that all laws are a restriction of individual liberty. The very opposite is true: liberty is dependent upon law, and created by law. Until there is effective provision against murder, no man is fully free, because he is not master of his own life. Until there is effective provision against ignorance, no man is fully free, because he is not master of his own powers. Until there is effective provision against unavoidable unemployment, no man is fully free, because he is not master of his own livelihood. And in a complex and interdependent state of society such as ours has become, these provisions can only be made, for most of us, by the action of the community. They may be wisely or unwisely made. If they are unwisely made, liberty may be impaired and responsibility undermined. But if they are not made at all, liberty is an unreal word, and responsibility cannot be enforced.

But, in the third place, if you call this sort of action Socialism, you deprive the word of any definite meaning. If Socialism means no more than the use of the power of the State for the welfare of its members, then all politicians, and certainly all Liberals, have always been Socialists. Two kinds of people encourage this confusion of thought. Those who want to keep things as they are, and fear the effects of reform, encourage it as a means of frightening the timid into acquiescence; while the real Socialists encourage it because, if people can be persuaded to believe that every measure of social reform has been a step towards their goal, it will be easy to lead them to believe that the remaining steps ought to be taken. But the word Socialism does *not* mean merely an interest in the well-being of others and a desire to use the power of the community to forward it. It has a perfectly clear meaning, in all its variant forms. It means, first, a disbelief in private initiative as the motive power of progress, and a belief that organised State action can replace it; and it means, secondly, a disbelief in the moral or social justice of private ownership of property (at any rate in "the means of production") and a belief that State ownership would remove many social evils.

Now the reforms I have been cataloguing were in no case inspired by these beliefs, which are the essence of Socialism. On the contrary, they were inspired by the very opposite beliefs, which

are the essence of Liberalism. For the Liberal believes so firmly that private initiative is the source of all human progress, that he wants to use the power of the community to emancipate it, and to create the conditions in which not merely a few master-men, but the mass of men and women, will be stimulated to put forth their utmost efforts. And the Liberal believes so firmly in private ownership of property as a bulwark of freedom and self-respect that he wants to use every possible means, not merely of protecting the property of those who already possess it, but of helping and stimulating every man to obtain a share of ownership. Liberalism and Socialism agree in desiring to use the power of the community for the betterment of the individual, for every reformer since the beginning of the world has believed in that, and politics is nothing else but that. But Liberalism and Socialism differ *toto cœlo* in the ways in which, and the ends for which, they desire to use the power of the community.

II.

The average man, and especially the average Englishman, is distrustful of general ideas. Nevertheless he is governed very largely by general ideas: but, being loth to analyse them, he has a very insecure hold of them, and drifts easily from one false idea to another. In the economic sphere, which dominates modern politics, there are two clear-cut doctrines with a sort of philosophy behind them that have in some degree got into the public mind just because they are falsely simplified. The one is the doctrine of *laissez-faire*, the doctrine that the State should have nothing to do with economic affairs: this doctrine has never at any time remotely corresponded with the facts. The other is the doctrine of Socialism, the doctrine that the State should have everything to do with economic affairs: this doctrine never will or can correspond with the facts. But the true doctrine, by which all sound statesmanship has at all times been unconsciously inspired, is never clearly stated; and those who act on it are, for that reason, liable to be regarded as wavering between the two extremes: the Socialists charge them with being upholders of *laissez-faire* and capitalism; the *laissez-faire* men denounce them as Socialists.

Surely the essential functions of the State are the same in the economic sphere as in other spheres. The primary end for which the State exists is to secure for its citizens three fundamental conditions of civilised life, peace, justice and liberty—meaning by liberty a real opportunity to develop and use their own powers in their own way. All the powers that may be necessary for these ends are powers which the State ought to wield. So long as, in any sphere of social life, peace does not exist, the State has *pro*

tanto failed of its end; and as peace does not exist in the economic sphere to-day, it must be the function of the State to attain it. The *laissez-faire* notion, so pitifully expressed during the coal controversy, that when rival industrial armies are ruining one another and trampling upon and lacerating the whole body politic, the State can do nothing but look on idly, is a mere negation of civilised life. Again, so long as the methods of force rather than of law are used to determine differences between bodies of citizens, and so long as any large body of men are convinced that there is a denial of justice in the distribution of the rewards of effort, the State has *pro tanto* failed to achieve the ends of justice, and it is the business of politics (in the widest sense of the term) to devise the means whereby these ends may be achieved. Finally, so long as great bodies of men lack the opportunity to use their own powers to advantage, or are so influenced by the conditions of their work as to think that it is not worth their while to put forth this effort, the State has *pro tanto* failed to achieve the end of liberty. The means by which these ends can best be attained are a fair subject of discussion; but to deny the ends themselves is to deny the purpose for which human societies have come into being.

The kind of functions which the State ought to assume in order to attain these ends, and the kind of machinery it should use for the purpose, must vary according to the stage of development which society has reached. The more complex and interdependent a society becomes, the larger must become the functions of the State. Accordingly we have seen a steady increase in the range and multiplicity of State functions ever since the coming of industrialism transformed the very foundations of our social life. These changes have often been carried out, under the mere pressure of events, by men who, if they had interrogated themselves, would have asserted their disbelief in State action. Just because they had not clearly thought out the philosophy of their task, the devices they adopted were often misconceived.

To-day we are visibly passing through another great transformation. New modes of communication are welding the nation and the world more closely. New forms of power are transforming the methods of production and the geographical distribution of industrial activity. Industry is being reorganised on a vastly enlarged scale, in huge units of mass production. New methods of finance are divorcing ownership not only from manual work, but even from management. Vast industrial forces, whose co-operation is necessary for our well-being, are organised against one another in hostile array. Vast economic combinations are being built up, which are largely irresponsible, and which wield a power that may dominate and dictate to the community. Is the community,

through its organ, the State, to make no attempt to guide or regulate these formidable forces? The advocate of *laissez-faire* answers: "No: these forces must be left to work themselves out blindly, without interference." The Socialist answers: "Yes: we must take command of this change, by transferring its whole conduct and the ownership of its instruments to the State, putting an end to private initiative and to private property in all this sphere." Both of these philosophies threaten us with destruction: the first by letting the tremendous engine of industrialism run away with us, without brake or regulator; the second by trying to shut off the head of steam—private initiative—which drives the engine, and endeavouring to make the brakes and regulators do the work of the boiler. The true answer, which I take to be the Liberal answer, is that we must not again commit the blunder of a hundred years ago, when we allowed the first Industrial Revolution to lead us into a quagmire of social misery against which we have been struggling ever since. We must try to guide and regulate the great change, not endeavouring to shut off its driving-force, but striving to secure that it shall give us an increase of peace, justice and liberty; that it shall be used to emancipate individual vigour and effort not only among a few master-men, but in all classes; and that it shall be used to bring about not a concentration but a wholesome diffusion of the ownership of the immense new wealth which it will create.

III.

If this view of our enormous task in the coming generation is upheld, it would seem that any political party which has the courage to address itself to this task must have clear and thought-out views as to the kind of political action that is possible and desirable, or, in other words, as to the functions which the State ought to assume in the new industrial era, and the machinery through which these functions can best be performed. What, then, ought to be, in the modern world, the functions of the State in the economic sphere? That is a vast subject which cannot be adequately discussed at the tail-end of a short article. I shall content myself with enumerating a number of functions, most of which have already been partially and imperfectly assumed, and which are especially implied by the schemes of constructive reform put forward by progressive Liberalism during the post-war period.

A. The State ought to be responsible for the proper utilisation of those resources of the country which are limited in amount and irreplaceable—land, minerals, inland waters, fisheries: it ought to see, first, that these resources are used to the best advantage, and, secondly, that those who control them do not use them as a means of holding the community to ransom. This does not mean

that the State should itself undertake the utilisation of these resources: that ought, in the Liberal view, to be left to private initiative. But the State should regulate their use, and should see that they are so used as to offer the maximum of opportunity to every good citizen who is capable of using them well. These are the inspiring principles of the Liberal proposals in regard to coal, and in regard to land. The Liberal proposals on coal, which have been endorsed by the Royal Commission, contemplated the acquisition of mineral rights by the State in order that (through an independent statutory commission) the power of granting leases should be used (a) to ensure the organisation of coal-getting in sound economic units, and (b) to ensure good conditions of work for the coal-getter. They would not restrict, they would emancipate, private enterprise. The Liberal proposals on land aim at using the power of the State to bring about a transfer of land, on fair terms, to those who are best able to use it, and especially to a self-respecting peasantry, while at the same time guarding against the exploitation of the community which the ownership of land renders peculiarly easy. The same principles might be, and ought to be, applied in the regulation of our water-supplies.

B. The State has a special responsibility in regard to those activities which provide the essential conditions of all industrial enterprise, private or public: especially the provision of good communications and of an abundant supply of power. So far as communications are concerned, this special responsibility has long been recognised. In regard to power, it is only recently that its vital importance has been recognised. Here, again, it does not follow that the State should itself organise or conduct these activities: this possibility need not be, and is not, excluded, but each case must be decided on its merits. The one thing is to ensure that, whether through public or through private enterprise, communications are adequate, and that an abundant supply of cheap power is available. This function is going to be of peculiar importance in the next generation.

C. The State has always assumed responsibility for another indispensable condition of enterprise—the organisation of the means of exchange, currency, credit and banking. Whether conducted by the State itself or by the banks, the whole of this machinery works under the terms of State law; and currency and credit policy profoundly affect the nation's well-being.

D. Recently, by Trade Facilities Acts and in other ways, the State has attempted, not very successfully, to regulate the flow of capital. It is possible that in the near future it may be needful to encourage the flow of capital into development enterprises which do not promise a high enough return to tempt the specula-

tive investor; and the State might meet this need by guaranteeing a reasonable return to investors who want security at a fixed rate, and whose money now largely goes into corresponding securities abroad. In this way the State might help to finance valuable public utility services without loss.

E. It is wholly under the licence of the State, and by the use of the privilege of limited liability conferred by the State, that the trading companies, trusts, mergers, and combines which now largely dominate industry have come into being. What the State ordained, the State can modify; and it is plain that there is room for substantial reforms in this field, especially in the direction of demanding, for the shareholder, the employee and the consumer, security against various forms of abuse, and notably the security that would come from an enforced system of public audit and publicity of accounts.

F. Under the protection of the State, and by its licence, powerful organisations of employers and employees have come into being which, without being held responsible to anybody outside themselves, regulate by negotiation the conditions of work, and often wage war to the detriment of the whole community. These powerful bodies are outside the recognised social organism, yet they largely dominate its life, and claim, like the feudal barons of the Middle Ages, an unqualified right of private war. It is the duty of the State to weave these powerful and necessary organs into the social system, and to add responsibility to their power. How this is to be done is no easy problem; but it must be done if society is to thrive, and the doing of it is probably the only path to industrial peace. Modern Liberalism has done a good deal of constructive thinking along these lines.

G. For three hundred years or more the State has assumed the responsibility for securing to all its citizens a certain minimum security of livelihood. At first it did this by the eleemosynary methods of the Poor Law. Latterly it has increasingly substituted the more wholesome and self-respecting methods of social insurance. These are functions of the highest importance, capable of useful extension, but demanding constant watchfulness. They profoundly affect the conditions of industrial work; and the way in which they are performed needs careful reconsideration.

Space does not permit me to prolong the catalogue, or to analyse the functions which the State has assumed or might assume in regard to wage-regulation, hours of labour, health, housing, town-planning, education and many other subjects. In face of such a catalogue, how preposterously out of relation with the facts does the doctrine of *laissez-faire* appear! But even a cursory analysis of these State activities will also make it plain

that they are not in any degree inspired by the Socialist idea. They do not aim at the suppression of individual initiative in production, but at the creation of conditions favourable to it. Still less do they destroy private ownership, though they strive to restrain abuses of the power which it wields. These forms of political action in the economic sphere must and will increase. Our future very largely depends upon whether they are developed with courage, foresight and wisdom, or whether they are either left to chance, or assume forms dictated by fantastic and unreal notions of the ends to be aimed at. It ought to be the function of Liberalism to guide the great transition so that its own aims may be realised—so that private initiative may be encouraged and emancipated, and so that the rights of ownership may be widely diffused instead of being concentrated either in the hands of a small rich class or of the State.

Along these lines a vast field of work awaits us; a series of labours of Hercules, each one of which is capable of arousing a genuine enthusiasm, and all of which, taken together, represent a coherent and practicable scheme of social reconstruction. If we know what we mean, if we are not afraid of our own beliefs, and if we can brush aside those petty-minded folk whose whole thought is concentrated upon personal issues, the future is ours.

RAMSAY MUIR.

NATIONHOOD IN THE BRITISH COMMONWEALTH.

THE constitutional issue which arose in Canada when Lord Byng refused a dissolution of Parliament can now be reviewed in some objective manner and apart from the heat of party controversy. In the latter connection we need only say that on the whole there was no violent invective, and that public men of all parties refrained from dragging Lord Byng through the mire of political passion. There was thus evident a distinct growth of national dignity in comparison with Lord Aberdeen's experience both during and after the general election of 1896. Here too we may point out that in the serious crisis Lord Byng sought no advice from the Secretary of State for the Dominions, and this in itself shows the distance which Canada has advanced.

Much time and energy have been expended in tracing precedents, in working out analogies; and, if no other good has resulted, Canadians have at least been provided with a voluminous literature on constitutional custom. Emphasis was specially laid on procedure in Great Britain, and the claim was advanced that, as the King acted uniformly on Ministerial advice, the Governor-General ought to do the same; otherwise Canada was reduced to "colonial status," a perilous state in view of the oft declared assurance of "equality of status," "equal nationhood" within the British Commonwealth. It is, of course, unnecessary to labour the latter point. Statesmen of all parties both in Great Britain and in Canada have made the categorical profession of faith in "equality," and it has been raised to the dignity of law when the Anglo-Irish arrangements were covered with Imperial Acts. We believe, however, that the entire history of the past few weeks in Canada has been disfigured by an extraordinary misinterpretation of the content of "equality."

In strict law the Governor-General is not a "viceroy." He is not sent to Canada to do what the King may do, but what his instructions—and in Canada, in addition, what the British North America Act—require him to do. He has not been granted powers to exercise the whole royal prerogative on Ministerial advice, and that power in relation to "dissolution" is reserved for his discretion. No one can deny on the one hand that he is as liable to suit as any official of the Crown, and on the other that he is politically "a man under authority." So much for the legal forms. They remain as they were before the clear-cut statement of equality proposed by Sir Robert Borden and accepted by the Imperial War Conference in 1917, before the Anglo-Irish Treaty, indeed, before Sir J. A. Macdonald's official statement of April 14th, 1879: "All

that the people of Canada can require is that the Governor-General for the time being should always act upon the advice of Ministers responsible to him." These survivals are typical examples of the British method of allowing legal and constitutional forms to persist which may have been robbed of their force and reality by newer constitutional conventions whose implications have not at the moment been entirely understood. Personally, we believe that the instructions to the Governor-General are merely of antiquarian interest, and that the doctrine of "equality," whatever else it may mean, at least implies that constitutionally the Governor-General is, in the words of Sir Robert Borden, "in fact a nominated president," whose "functions as an Imperial officer are formal rather than real."

During the recent election there was a disposition to interpret "equality of status" in a way which we submit is entirely unjustifiable. Under this reading of the phrase it was maintained that the Governor-General should always do what the King does, and that, as the general rule in England appeared to be that a dissolution was granted as a matter of course, so it ought to be in Canada. We should not like to dogmatise on British procedure, and it may be that the royal prerogative in the United Kingdom is more in flux and further from being fixed than many Canadians believe. We have a vague idea that, had August, 1914 not overshadowed domestic issues, we should have had some cause for surprise over the relationship of Crown and Parliament and people, and that, had the two other parties been willing to combine in carrying on the Government, Mr. Ramsay Macdonald might not automatically have been granted a dissolution in October, 1924. All this is, however, quite immaterial for Canadians. We wish merely to point out that as far as Canada is concerned it is none of our business how or why or when the prerogative of dissolution is exercised in the United Kingdom. "Equality of status"—acknowledged on all sides and of legal validity—cannot mean that Canada has been given power limited to imitation. In other words, all the noise and tumult over "the exercise of powers in a manner which the King of England does not follow" were so much inexcusable misinterpretation. In inter-State comity the British Empire and Cuba are equal, enjoy "equality of status," but no one would demand identity of institutional content. So, weak though the analogy may be, in the comity of the British Commonwealth the nations composing it are equal, but that equality cannot mean that their institutional life must *ex necessitate* toe the identical line of uniformity.

Before attempting to define "equality of status" it is well to notice briefly and without comment an aspect of Canadian public

opinion. There are many Canadians who have never given constitutional and legal issues any serious consideration. To them the refusal of dissolution appeared in another form, perhaps cruder, but none the less influential. They saw an official appointed by the British Government refuse to act on the advice of his Canadian Ministers. They did not seek to balance the issues, to weigh the pros and cons, rather they declined to be worried over them. They approached a problem, complex and complicated, as though it were quite simple and easy of solution, and they never for one moment thought that their own general indifference to forms and conventions had played its part in the situation. For them it appeared a grave but clear-cut issue: their Canadian autonomy had been limited in a sphere which they thought had long since passed into Canadian hands. The complication which arose came as something of a shock to them, and they argued that there was something wrong about Canadian responsible Cabinet Government when its formal executive head could refuse to accept advice. It did not make much difference to them how strong or weak was the Cabinet's Parliamentary position, what were the circumstances and occasion of the crises, what was the prerogative—many of them heard the word perhaps for the first time. To them all the discussion about precedents and conventions, about what the King did or did not do, had little meaning and less influence. They simply maintained that in their eyes Cabinet Government had been reduced to a farce and they voted to rectify the situation. On the other hand, the ostensible struggle was over "equality," and we can at this point turn to examine its meaning.

Perhaps our best illustration lies at hand in the Anglo-Irish Treaty and in the Free State Constitution which depends, as between the United Kingdom and the Free State, on it. The Free State in the former was declared to have "the same constitutional status in the Community of Nations known as the British Empire as the Dominion of Canada," etc. In the latter this "status" was interpreted to mean "co-equality" of membership with the other Britannic "nations." Now we must remember that this interpretation is of importance not merely for Great Britain and the Free State but for Canada as well. The constitution of the Free State is, of course, an Irish creation; but within the limitations of the Treaty. In order that the Treaty might take form in political action, the constitution was passed not merely by the Free State legislature, but by the legislature of the United Kingdom. The imperial legislation did not create the constitution it is true, but it implemented it, it confirmed it as being, for Great Britain's part, agreeable to the Treaty after the law officers of the Crown and the Lord Chief Justice had advised that such was the case. So

far, then, the "Dominion status" of the Treaty was interpreted by the Imperial Parliament to mean "equality of nationhood."

Fortunately for Canada we have further assistance. Had "equality of nationhood" meant "identity of content" we should not have expected either the law officers and Chief Justice or the British Parliament to have permitted any articles to appear in the constitution of the Free State inconsistent with an "equality" which meant "identity." But this is exactly what took place. The law officers, the Chief Justice, the Imperial Parliament, declared that the Free State constitution fulfilled the conditions of "Dominion status" of "equality of nationhood" at the same time as it contained terms covering vital differences not only from the United Kingdom but from every other Dominion. These vital differences include, *inter alia*, two most important points: (i) the Free State executive is the servant of the Dail in that the latter elects it—an emphatic departure from British precedents, and (ii) the Governor-General cannot dissolve the Dail on the advice of a Cabinet which has lost the confidence of the Dail—an equally emphatic departure from British precedents. Thus the "equality of nationhood" of Treaty and constitution allows, in the view of both high contracting parties, not identity merely, but distinct and remarkable divergencies. The second already noted is of outstanding importance from the fact that the imperial law officers and Parliament accepted it as a reasonable and valid article based on the clause of the Treaty which laid it down that "the law practice and constitutional usage governing the relationship of the Crown or the representative of the Crown . . . to the Dominion of Canada shall govern their relationship to the Irish Free State." Superficially this might be claimed in support of Lord Byng: but we have unimpeachable reasons for knowing that when this emphatic divergence from British custom was placed in the Free State constitution it was deliberately done under the impression not only that "equality of status" implied complete freedom, but also that Canada possessed a like freedom to control the prerogative of dissolution in any manner it liked. This "impression" in those who drafted the constitution and in the Irish legislature which passed it was confirmed and transformed into Imperial law by the subsequent action of the Imperial Parliament.

It is perhaps unnecessary to go further afield. Important illustrations of divergencies under "equality" could be drawn from the organisation of the members of the House of Representatives and of the Cabinet by the Labour Party in Australia. If "equality of status" meant "identity" of institutional procedure, we should never have had a Ministry resigning to a Labour *caucus* as hap-

pened in 1916 in the case of a Ministry in Australia, nor should we have a *caucus* telling the Governor-General that it chose and discarded Ministers.* Had "equality" meant "identity" the reply could have been severe, and the words of Lord Shaw in the Osborne case could easily have been called in aid: that a member of Parliament is free and cannot be coerced by any outside body.† Indeed, even when Mr. Holman, Labour Premier in New South Wales, protested in 1914 against these divergencies, he was met with contempt for his ignorance in believing that British Cabinet custom obtained in Australia.

Doubtless other important illustrations could easily be brought forward. The main question, however, is what does "equality of status" mean? We submit the following. It cannot mean that Canada has power (i) to legislate in regard to "succession to the Crown," for that obviously belongs to the Parliament legally sovereign for the whole Empire, or (ii) to declare war, or neutrality, for this would obviously amount to a declaration of independence as inter-State comity now stands. It does mean that, if Canada wants, it can (i) bar appeals to the Privy Council, (ii) acquire constituent powers, (iii) regulate the exercise of the royal prerogative by the Governor-General—all three, of course, by regular procedure. As for the first two, the regular method would be a clear-cut expression of national opinion declared at a referendum, or by provincial agreement, or by a resolution of the Canadian Parliament, and subsequent approval by the British Parliament. As for the third, a formal request for a change in the instructions to the Governor-General is all that is necessary.

We write, in this last connection, without conviction and under a sense of restraint. We do not look forward to a situation when the conventions of the constitution are reduced to forms, as we might thus lose much elasticity. On the other hand, we ought to be able to make our own conventions free from any formal limitations. I have long ago and publicly anticipated difficulties over the Governor-General's office, and I have long ago suggested changes in order that they might be avoided. I have desired to see the office brought formally into relationship with developments by the abandonment of the status of Governor-General entirely, by the discontinuance of instructions, and by the erection of a vice-royalty in Canada. To-day the Governor-General is not a viceroy; had he been we should have had less opportunities for the friction of recent days. However all this may be, it is idle to throw blame on a Governor, or on the imperial authorities. We must ask for, if we want, changes, and they will come

* *The Argus*, Melbourne, November 14th, 1916.

† *The Amalgamated Society of Railway Servants v. Osborne*. (1910). A.C. 87.

formally when we do. Indeed, perhaps none are necessary. Everyone knows the legal and constitutional powers of the King, and everyone knows how they are almost totally transformed by binding custom. So it can be with us. The protest, however, is against the superficial conclusion that "equality of status" means of necessity that the prerogatives be exercised in Canada in identically the same manner as in Great Britain. To accept such a strained interpretation would not be equality at all; it would be in essence, and might in fact develop into, the servitude of imitation.

"Equality" is rather a guarantee of freedom, of institutional emancipation. Canada can, I believe, create under its "equality" constitutional conventions in relation to the prerogatives in so far as they are not incompatible with Imperial unity. Those conventions may follow British precedents, but they need not necessarily do so. We have, I believe, freedom in "equality" to bring our domestic institutional life into a working machinery of our own choice. The fear that we are going back into "colonial status" has to-day no content either in theory or in fact, and those who glibly made the assertion have only given evidence of their own "colonial complex." One thing, however, is certain, if we do go back, we shall do it ourselves. It is for Canada, as for every other nation, to control and create its status. Whether, then, Lord Byng acted as he should have done is beside the question. Under our interpretation of "equality of status" there was no obligation on him to follow British precedents. Has Canada provided any for a Governor to follow? That Canada can do so is, we believe, beyond question, and fears of "colonial" inferiority or of British domination are unworthy of a great people, and certainly are not our sober judgments. The honest truth, however, is that we are becoming far too enamoured of theoretical additions to autonomy, of undigested phrases, of political shibboleths, and that we are not sufficiently interested to examine the seriousness and importance of their implications.

Of course, it is quite easy to distribute general blame, and in reality political advance has always come when the ideas of the few become the ambitions of the many. There is, however, wisdom in creating such conditions as will tend to allay friction in the day of general conversion. In conclusion then, some constructive suggestions may be permitted. First, in connection with appeals to the Privy Council, it ought to be possible for the British Parliament to pass a permissive Act giving any Dominion power to bar them. The matter is not at all a serious issue at present in Canada, but there are just signs that it is possible to work up a certain amount of sentiment against the existence of appeals as a

limitation on Canadian autonomy. There was, for example, appreciable adverse comment in responsible Canadian journals over the recent statement by the Privy Council that the section of the Canadian criminal code barring appeals was *ultra vires*. There is no doubt that the Judicial Committee was right in law, and that in so far as the adverse comment failed to recognise this fact it was wrong. However, the comment received a growing support. Were the British Parliament to pass an Act such as has been suggested, comment of this nature would be robbed of its dangerous political content, and the onus would be thrown on Canada. Personally, I do not think Canada is in the least prepared for action.

Secondly, in relation to the office of Governor. I do not think any tinkering with the present instructions will be of much use. It has already been suggested that the words "as we ourselves do in the United Kingdom" be added to them in connection with the prerogative of dissolution. Such an addition would merely be the perpetuation of the idea that "equality" meant "identity." The creation of a viceroyalty would be much simpler. The Governor-General—for the title could easily be maintained—would thus have such legal immunity for his official actions as was granted to the old Lord Lieutenant in Ireland. In the conduct of his domestic government he would be left free to follow such rules, laws, customs or conventions as the Canadian people should lay down or establish—this would apply to the dissolution of Parliament, to the resignation of Ministries, and to the prerogatives of honours and of mercy. In this connection all formal claims to disallow or reserve Dominion legislation should be abandoned. This, of course, would not mean that the plenary authority of the Imperial Parliament should be formally destroyed, as it may prove in the future, as it has proved in the past, a useful method of bringing into effect for the empire as a whole policies on which there is general agreement; but it would mean among other things that the formal authority of the Imperial Parliament to legislate for the Dominions would disappear.

Thirdly, the time is coming when constituent powers must be granted to Canada. At present I am opposed to the idea, as I fear the throwing into the political arena of the problem of control over education and of many subject matters in the distribution of legislative power. We might indeed destroy lightly much that has been with difficulty built up. On the other hand, it ought to be possible to devise some method of arriving at reserved matters, and these could be incorporated in the Imperial Act granting constituent powers to the Dominion. They would form as it were a mutually accepted "bill of rights," and might be included in

earlier clauses of an Imperial Act whose last sections would give Canada full constituent powers outside them. In other words, the analogy of the Australian Commonwealth Act might be followed. The first and second suggestions are practicable and in many respects they would be a recognition of procedure at present virtually followed. The third suggestion is full of difficulties. It is, however, made with the idea of giving publicity to a problem to which each year brings its quota of urgency, and it is well that it should be discussed.

Lastly, there is growing need for more vital knowledge among the "equal nations." Equality of nationhood may in the long run prove a very fissiparous development unless it is accompanied with a frank recognition that we can only think of unity in terms of imperial knowledge. It is in this connection that there is grave danger in seeking Canadian representation at Washington or other foreign capitals to the neglect of London. I am convinced that the sooner each Dominion has a diplomatic representative in London the better, with the status, immunities and privileges enjoyed by any ambassador. Here there is serious need for a "lead" being given from Great Britain. The younger nations are too liable to take unity for granted, and Great Britain is not too well informed on overseas affairs. The time is ripe for a frank welcome from Great Britain to such a plan. It is not the proposal long since made of a Canadian Cabinet Minister resident in London. That idea never had much chance of maturing. What is needed is a simple, straightforward statement by the British Cabinet that the King is prepared to welcome a Canadian diplomatic representative at the court of St. James, with powers, etc., *ceteris paribus*, similar to those of any other diplomatic representative. He need not be called an ambassador, indeed, the title were better avoided; but he ought to have ambassadorial status. This suggestion may indeed be in advance of Canadian public opinion, perhaps even of British sentiment. However, this very fact is in itself evidence of the seriousness of allowing indifference or ignorance to develop, and is all the more deplorable in the light of the proposals relating to foreign capitals already referred to. The future of the Empire emphatically depends on mutual knowledge among the component nations. It would be the unforgivable political sin if we ever allowed our national and community groupings so to advance that the forces of disintegration should flourish for lack of intimate and understanding contacts.

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SOME IMPRESSIONS OF POLAND.

POLAND is an important factor in Europe, both politically and economically, and its importance is likely to increase in the future. It is a country, moreover, about which British opinion is not very well-informed, and with which British personal contact is relatively small. It may, therefore, be of interest to record some observations made and some provisional opinions formed during a six weeks' visit this summer.

Mutual understanding would be much helped by an increase in the number of British visitors to Poland, and I can assure such visitors that they will find travelling easy and Poles of all classes exceedingly friendly, accessible, and hospitable. British schools and universities, on the other hand, are drawing to this country an increasing number of young Poles, and it is interesting to note that Mr. Zaleski, the present Polish Foreign Minister, is a graduate of London University, having taken his degree from the London School of Economics in 1912. Foreign travel by Poles is, however, hampered at present by a charge of 500 *zloty* per passport, a stupid and ill-advised tax, which is imposed by the Polish Government with the object of helping to support the exchange.

A journalist friend of mine, whom I had accused of lack of objectiveness in his comments on Poland, wrote to me that "the Poles are such romantic and impulsive people that it is difficult to be very objective in discussing their affairs." This is a common opinion, but it contains only a small element of truth. I met a large number of Poles of all classes and occupations and found them, in the mass, no more romantic, in regard to present-day problems, than their English counterparts. In regard to the Russian problem, indeed, I found them much less romantic and much more realistic than our visionaries who see Moscow either as Hell Let Loose or as Paradise Regained.

Poland's romance is in the past. She lived on it, as every other oppressed nationality has done, when she had nothing else to live on. After the partitions of the eighteenth century, while her national body lay buried underground for a hundred and fifty years, her ghost walked the earth, haunting her conquerors and beckoning to her sons through their dreams. There grew up the legend of "the sleeping army under the hill," which would one day rise at the sound of the trumpet and liberate Poland. The trumpet was sounded by those who bear the bloody responsibility for the Great War, and amid the carnage the national body of Poland rose again from its grave. Pilsudski and his Legions took shape as the fulfilment of the legend, and in 1920 the Polish-Russian war, a needless folly in retrospect but instigated from

without, ended in Polish victory and the Treaty of Riga, leaving behind it new trails of devastation and death and disputable frontiers. Poland at that time, as Mr. Lloyd George characteristically expressed it, was "staggering in the blinding sunlight of her resurrection morning," staggering out of romance into reality. It was an intelligent Polish Jew in Warsaw who told me that "the romantic age has ended now in Poland and the age of reality has just begun," and I think that this is nearly, if not quite, true.

I saw many signs of efficiency and drive in Poland, of which I can only mention a few. The railways are admirable; the trains invariably punctual, the carriages clean and comfortable, and along the eastern lines through the devastated districts a string of well-designed new stations. The town police, whose first contingents were trained by a British police mission, combine efficiency with restraint and courtesy. Educational progress, alike in the elementary, secondary and university spheres, has been very remarkable, especially in Russian Poland, where the new *régime* had to start with a blank slate. Many Poles, indeed, told me that the progress had been too rapid and the programme too ambitious for the financial resources of the country. Trade revival and the fall in unemployment since last May are very marked. This is partly, but not wholly, due to the British coal stoppage, and to greatly increased exports of Polish coal.

Polish Labour leaders have done wonders in building up since the war a united Trade Union organisation out of the small and scattered fragments of their inheritance. Under Russia Trade Unions were prohibited by law; under Germany they were permitted, but the use of the Polish language was prohibited both at meetings and in publications; only under Austria was there reasonable freedom. In some respects Polish social legislation is more advanced than our own, and includes a statutory forty-six hour week and a statutory annual holiday of a fortnight, with pay, for all industrial workers. I was informed both by Trade Union leaders who approve of it, and by business men who object to it, that this legislation is, on the whole, well enforced. An interesting development in adult education is the so-called Workers' University, founded by a few Polish Labour leaders in 1923, and counting already more than 6,000 members and more than a hundred local branches, whose object is to provide classes in economics, history and other subjects, and to organise holiday visits by groups of students to different parts of Poland. It is financed by voluntary subscriptions and grants from local authorities. The army also has its educational side, and illiterate peasant soldiers, who form a large proportion of the recruits from the old Russian Poland, learn to read and write during their military service.

Thus there are many signs of hope and progress but, on the other hand, many signs of continuing difficulty and of problems still unsolved. The country as a whole is still poor. Taxation is not only heavy, but in many respects ill-conceived and badly distributed. The Polish tariff is one of the highest in Europe, and bears with crushing weight upon the import, and hence also upon the export, trade. Some Poles defended it to me on the ground that it supported the exchange, but it is obvious that there are better and surer means of achieving this desirable end. The balancing of the budget, which was secured by the vigorous fiscal policy of Mr. Grabski, is again being endangered by the recent increase in military expenditure. Expenditure on the army, the only subject in which Marshal Pilsudski is said to take a really detailed interest, absorbs a third of the total revenue of the Treasury. But it is a healthy sign that this latest increase has raised a political storm and widespread discontent in many different sections of opinion. I was told more than once that Marshal Pilsudski was surrounded at the Ministry of War by a group of ambitious and dangerous militarists. Such a group has, of course, its counterpart in other countries. In so far as it is a real danger to Poland's peace, and it was perhaps exaggerated by some of my informants, the British Government which refused to honour the Geneva Protocol cannot escape from its share of responsibility. For few impressions were more striking than the practically complete unanimity of all sections of Polish opinion in supporting the Protocol, with all its implications, including a general scheme of disarmament as a condition of security. It is also only fair to say that I heard from many different quarters much praise of the new Ministers who have come into office since the *coup d'état* of last May. Most of them were previously outside politics. Several are University professors. They are widely said to be a sincere, youthful, capable and energetic Cabinet, a great improvement on their predecessors.

The present volume of production is insufficient to allow much margin for new savings, and rates of interest are intolerably high. Over 20 per cent. per annum is charged for mortgages on real estate, and 25 to 30 per cent. is not uncommon on loans for a few months in anticipation of the sale of crops. The Polish banking system is gradually developing, but small Jewish moneylenders still play an important part, and seek to cover their risks by exorbitant charges. The high rate of interest is an insuperable obstacle to new housing schemes which, especially in Warsaw, are urgently needed on grounds of public health. It may be worth while recording that the Jews appear to trust Pilsudski and the present *régime*. This is largely because his *coup* was directed

against a reactionary government of the Right, which was dominated by the Chauvinist and anti-Semitic National Democratic Party. I learned that there is a desire, and even the beginnings of a movement, for the formation of a more genuine and respectable Conservative Party, which should take as its model the British Conservative Party of several generations ago, based largely on the country landowners. Among other hindrances to the economic progress of Poland are the prolonged tariff war with Germany and the dispute with Lithuania, which results in the closing of the Polish-Lithuanian frontier to trade and travel and, in particular, to the blocking of the river Niemen, down which timber exports from Eastern Poland would normally flow through the port of Memel.

It is widely believed in Poland that a large foreign loan is essential to the rapid economic development of the country. There are certainly large latent resources which without such foreign aid can only be developed slowly. Many of those with whom I spoke desired to see agricultural rather than industrial development, though the means of agricultural development would include improved communications by rail, road and canal, and big drainage schemes, more especially in the Pripet marshes. An acute Canadian observer, who has spent the last seven years in Poland, thought that the most profitable expenditure at the moment would be "five million pounds on new roads and another five millions on Ford cars." Improved communications are specially required in the eastern half of Poland, which was neglected under Russian rule, but contains the most fertile land and is, on the whole, comparatively thinly populated. On economic grounds there is a clear case for a large migration from west to east, but this could only be effected gradually, and political considerations complicate the question. For the migrants would be Polish, whereas the present inhabitants of the eastern provinces consist largely of Ruthenes and White Russians.

A large foreign loan means, in practice, either British or American money, and this raises questions of control and security. A few clear-headed Poles favour a League of Nations scheme, but Polish public opinion would at present be hostile to any visible machinery of external financial control. Some cynics believe that the real object of inviting to Poland the recent American mission headed by Professor Kemmerer was not so much to seek advice on technical problems of finance, as to pave the way for a loan in New York. Cynics, however, sometimes err. But if the loan is to be worth while, and if the foreign creditors are to feel themselves secured, it is essential that the Polish exchange should be stabilised, not precariously over a period of months, but no

less firmly than the other stabilised currencies of Europe. It is essential also that the Polish Budget should be balanced beyond any shadow of doubt and that the proceeds of the loan should be used for genuine economic development. It would be fatal if part of the proceeds were used directly for military expenditure or even if it were used indirectly to release for military purposes other funds now being spent productively. How far these conditions can be realised without some form of control, whether through the League of Nations or otherwise, is an interesting mixed problem in finance and politics. But it is obvious that, on the purely economic side, an early settlement of the disputes with Germany and Lithuania, which would permit of the resumption of trade across these two important frontiers, would be very helpful. So far as military expenditure is concerned, every country's armaments are a matter of concern to its neighbours, and all-round disarmament in Europe can only be based on all-round acceptance of international control and international obligations to repress peace-breakers. Partial and one-sided controls, as against Germany at present, can only be temporary and insecure. The Geneva Protocol was the best solution hitherto proposed but, in default of this, we are thrown back on second-rate expedients such as the hope of a reduction of armaments in Poland and in neighbouring countries on the basis of regional pacts of non-aggression.

It has been said by some that one condition of a foreign loan to Poland should be a revision of Polish frontiers, and especially of the frontier with Germany. More generally, it has been said that such a revision is a necessary condition of future peace in Europe. I believe that this is a false and futile line of approach to post-war problems.

We have to face the fact that Polish opinion, whether rightly or wrongly, will not at present contemplate any revision of frontiers to Poland's disadvantage. This sentiment is not peculiar to Poland, but is found throughout Europe. From the national point of view, the map of pre-war Europe was clotted with national minorities. Thus some twenty million Poles, apart from Polish-speaking Jews, lived, not in an independent Polish State, but under Russian, German and Austrian rule. The map of post-war Europe is clotted too, though less thickly. Thus within the Polish State there are formidable national minorities. But most of these the Ruthenians in Eastern Galicia for example, were equally national minorities before the war. In Europe as a whole from a national point of view, the new frontiers are less imperfect than the old. Perfection is, of course, unattainable, even approximately without wholesale transfers of population in regions of mixed nationality. From an economic point of view, the new frontiers are

an expensive luxury, the expense of which is enormously increased by high tariffs and similar obstructions to a revival of prosperity. None the less, in Poland and elsewhere, Europe is gradually settling down within the new framework, and lines of communication and trade routes and the geographical distribution of industries are gradually being adjusted to the new conditions. It is folly to dream, at this stage, of important changes in frontiers otherwise than by war, and it is worse than folly to prefer war, with all its horrors and the hazards of its issue, to the itch of present discontents. The only practical and wise starting point of immediate policy is to take existing frontiers for granted and to aim not towards their revision but towards their obliteration. Let justice be done within the present frontiers, let communications and trade and personal intercourse be facilitated across them, and the itch may be soothed. Then, in a happier and less inflamed future, frontier revision may come to seem both less important and less impossible.

One of the tests of this policy will be the future relations of Poland and Germany. From this point of view it is unquestionably a good thing that both these States should sit together as colleagues on the Council of the League in the years that lie immediately ahead. There has been some ground in the past for the accusation that Poland has been a vassal of France. My observations this summer led me to the conclusion that French influence, though still strong in Warsaw, is distinctly weaker than it was. Countries with depreciating currencies suffer, perhaps unduly, in prestige abroad. Pilsudski himself is reputed to be by no means pro-French, and the future influence of France in Poland will in part depend upon the degree of cordiality and healthy co-operation with the Poles which other States, including our own, can achieve. Psychologically, German-Polish relations in the present have a likeness to Anglo-Irish relations in the past. For lasting agreement it is essential that the German should cease to despise the Pole, and that the Pole should cease to mistrust the German. In the atmosphere of the Council both these changes may take place. The present Polish Foreign Minister, Mr. Zaleski, is a realist, and will, I think, work, like his predecessor Count Skrzynski, for peace and reconciliation. The ending of the tariff war with Germany and the conclusion of a Commercial Treaty between the two countries would be an important first step forward.

There is a much stronger case to be made for the present German-Polish frontier than progressive British opinion commonly recognises. That part of Upper Silesia which was allotted to Poland by the League contains a majority of Polish workers, who voted in the plebiscite to be included in Poland. It is true that

most of the capital sunk in the coalfields was German-owned and that most of the higher-paid officials were German. But to justify German sovereignty over the area on these grounds is to justify what, in other contexts, is condemned by progressive opinion as "economic imperialism." It is obvious that the cutting of a new frontier through the midst of an industrial district must have had immediate effects on the efficiency of its economic organisation. But, on the other hand, these effects will gradually pass away as the new frontier becomes an accepted and familiar factor in economic calculations and, if both Germany and Poland pursue a sensible economic policy, the effects need never be serious at all.

The Polish corridor and Danzig constitute two tiresome but distinct problems. The so-called corridor, which is thirty miles broad at its narrowest point, and not less than sixty miles broad for the greater part of its length, is inhabited by an indisputable, though not dense, Polish population. It is worth remarking that the deputies elected to the German Reichstag before the war from this district were always Polish Nationalists. Present developments are tending to increase the density of the population in the corridor, and not to diminish its Polish character. The building of the new port of Gdynia is being pushed forward, and new sections of railway are being constructed to link it by the shortest possible route with the Upper Silesian coalfields. Many Poles contend that Danzig alone will be insufficient to handle their Baltic trade in a few years' time, and attach importance to the creation of a subsidiary port, particularly to deal with coal exports, and to the introduction of a competitive element to hold Danzig charges in check. Gdynia is also designed to be a Polish naval base, though we may hope that comprehensive plans for all-round disarmament will fructify soon enough to prevent the growth of any considerable Polish navy. In addition to Gdynia, the Hel peninsula is being rapidly developed as a seaside resort on Polish soil, and the fishing industry is being encouraged. On grounds of nationality the case for Poland retaining the corridor is very strong already, and will grow stronger with every year that passes. On the other hand, the physical separation of East Prussia from the rest of Germany is undoubtedly and intelligibly galling to German sentiment, though historians remind us that a similar state of things existed before the first Partition of Poland, an act which to-day has few defenders. The perverse geographical distribution of Poles and Germans in this corner of Europe forbids a solution which shall be wholly satisfactory to both parties, but the immediate line of Polish policy is clear, namely, to remove all practical, as distinct from merely sentimental, German grievances and in every way possible to facilitate communications across the corridor.

Danzig presents a special problem. I spent some days there and had interviews with several leading Germans of different political parties, as well as with the League of Nations High Commissioner, and with an official on the staff of the Polish Commissioner-General. Danzig is an amazingly beautiful old German city, perhaps as beautiful a city as any in Europe outside Italy. If peace and goodwill prevail, it should on its merits attract a great tourist traffic in the future. The population of the city itself is overwhelmingly German, though the rural area of the Free City contains a fair proportion of Polish peasants. But economically Danzig is almost wholly dependent on Polish trade and on the prosperity of its Polish hinterland. It has complete local autonomy, under what seemed to me an unduly complicated constitution and an unduly expensive bureaucracy. It lies within the Polish customs area, but its inhabitants are happily free both from conscription and from any liability for reparations. An intermediate *régime*, such as the present, seems to me to offer much greater possibilities of success than straightforward incorporation either in Germany or in Poland. It also follows historical precedents, for what they are worth. Successive High Commissioners and the continual intervention of the Council of the League have cleared up a large number of initial difficulties, and the present *régime* shows many signs of working well and smoothly. Its enemies are the extreme Nationalists, both German and Polish. The present Danzig Government is a Socialist-Centre-Liberal coalition which is genuinely anxious to promote Danzig interests through friendship with Poland. Its outstanding figure is Herr Julius Gehl, the Socialist leader, a fine and attractive personality. The twin dangers to the peace of Danzig are the imported German official and the imported Polish workman. "Danzig for the Danzigers!" would be a healthy slogan. It is inappropriate that the President of the Danzig Free City should be Dr. Sahm, an able and upright man, but a Prussian official, having no previous connection with the city, who was Chief of the German Police in Warsaw during the war-time occupation and who naturally looks at Danzig problems through the eyes of pre-war Berlin, and dislikes and disbelieves in the present *régime*. Many other German officials in Danzig are of like origin and mentality. On the other hand, I was impressed with the desire of genuine natives of Danzig for a good working understanding with the Poles. But any attempt at the Polonisation of the city would wreck all budding hopes, and it is also essential that Warsaw should be generous in its financial dealings with Danzig, which depends to a large extent upon a grant-in-aid from the Polish Treasury. Wages in Danzig are higher and other

conditions of labour superior to those prevailing in Poland, and it is amusing, but not surprising, to find that some of the German Nationalist employers in Danzig have been attempting to import cheap and unorganised Polish labour to undercut their own German workmen. Warsaw should give no encouragement to these attempts. If the propagandists of nationalism on both sides can be suppressed, and if Polish prosperity grows, the Free City of Danzig will have peace and wealth. Already, indeed, there is more trade passing through the port than before the war.

Poland's eastern borderlands are thick with problems. With Lithuania there is still, legally, a state of war, and I have good evidence that both Poles in Lithuania and Lithuanians in Poland are still harried and oppressed. The League of Nations and the Ambassadors' Conference, of unhappy memory, cut undignified and dilatory figures in these parts during the years following the armistice. In the end the Poles occupied Vilna and the Lithuanians occupied Memel, both equally without international authority. Meanwhile the block on the Niemen is gradually killing Memel, and Polish-Lithuanian negotiations, which have several times reached a promising stage, have so far always broken down. I visited Vilna, a sad-looking city full of fine baroque churches, and spoke with Poles and Lithuanians. In the city itself the Jews form nearly 40 per cent. of the population, but the Poles are far more numerous than the Lithuanians. The surrounding country is predominantly White Russian, with small Lithuanian and Polish elements. The solution which commonsense suggests, and for which again history affords some kind of precedent, is a Federal and Customs Union between Poland and Lithuania with full cultural freedom for all racial elements in this mixed community. If third parties would encourage and not hinder a Polish-Lithuanian agreement, I am inclined to believe that this could soon be reached.

The detailed problems of national minorities in Eastern Europe are very baffling to outside inquirers. No doubt majorities are apt to be tyrannical and minorities to be neurotic, but there is the further complication that many of the spokesmen of both are apt to be untruthful and, in the worst sense of the word, propagandist. A remarkably able and wise man, from whom I learned much, is Dr. Leowenherz, a Jewish lawyer from Lwów, who has been a member of all the Minority Commissions in Poland since the war, and who seems to retain, to a surprising extent, the confidence of rival factions. He emphasised the inextricable mixture of races and languages in Eastern Poland—Poles, Jews, White Russians, Ruthenians and, in a few frontier districts, Lithuanians—and the absence of compact homogeneous racial masses. I derived from

him the impression that the official laws and general regulations emanating from Warsaw give full freedom and cultural opportunity to all sections. But, though here I pass beyond his measured and official survey to the general impression left upon my mind by a number of conversations with others, there seem to be three chief obstacles to contentment and a sense of justice. First, the deficiencies of many of the local Polish officials who, for various reasons, fail to administer laws and regulations fairly; second, the distrust and sometimes the cantankerousness of certain leaders of the minorities, who make mountains out of molehills and prefer a grievance to its remedy; and third, the poverty of Poland which prevents as rapid a provision of schools and other facilities as a full application of the principles laid down in Warsaw would require. Of the Eastern minority problems that of the Ruthenians is much the most serious. I was informed, even by Ruthenian leaders, that Berlin and Moscow provide money to fan the flames of bitterness and hatred in this troubled region, while even Prague is said to be not wholly disinterested. But I believe that, from the Polish point of view, the path of statesmanship is the path of generosity, the removal of all tangible grievances, the speeding up of agrarian reform, the largest practicable measure of local autonomy and drastic handling of perverse officials.

In contrast with the Ruthenians, the White Russian peasants are relatively unconscious of a nationality of their own. When confronted with elaborate census papers and asked their race and nationality, they reply perplexedly, "I am a man from hereabouts." When asked, in accordance with the regulations made in Warsaw, whether they wish the language of instruction in the new village school to be White Russian, they reply that, if their children *must* go to school, they had better learn a language which will be of use to them in after life, either Polish or Great Russian. But why White Russian? "They speak that at home!" Perhaps gradually these simple people too will acquire a sense of separate nationality, and a Minority consciousness. It will be a doubtful gift carrying seeds of hatred and risks of war. Not here only, but elsewhere in Europe and in other continents as well, unlearned men and women are being taught by busy manufacturers of nationalist sentiment to see themselves in a new light and to draw apart from their neighbours in rival and suspicious herds. Whether these new nationalist movements are, indeed, inevitable, and how their effects will work out in terms of human welfare, is a dark speculation.

HUGH DALTON.

FROM PANGALOS TOWARDS PARLIAMENTARIANISM.

HAPPY are the countries of South-Eastern Europe which for long periods have no political history. *Bene vixit, qui bene latuit*, might be chosen as the motto of the fortunate State which has kept itself out of the headlines of sensational newspapers, intent on the "picturesque" chronicles of revolutions rather than the record of peaceful progress. Greece, unfortunately, has of late years remained outside this category. One change has succeeded another with kaleidoscopic rapidity, and an absence of even a few weeks from Athens renders it difficult for an observer to form an opinion on the new situation which has arisen. The young Republic, proclaimed in the spring of 1924, has already had six Prime Ministers, has witnessed the rise and fall of one military dictatorship and a sanguinary conflict in the streets of the capital, such as had not been seen in Athens since "the June days" of 1863, so graphically described by Bikelas in his autobiography. The eve and the early years of the Second Monarchy were similarly disturbed, so that neither form of government can well throw the blame upon the other.

The dramatic fall of General Pangalos on August 22nd recalls the Italian saying that the Tarpeian Rock adjoins the Capitol. Apparently omnipotent one day, the Greek dictator was a prisoner the next. But the omnipotence of General Pangalos was always merely apparent: in reality, he was the prisoner of a group of army officers from the first. The people had as little to do with his usurpation as with his overthrow: both were the work of the military, the chief artificers of Greek revolutions, whether in 1843, 1909, 1922, 1925 or 1926. Not a hand was raised to save General Pangalos, just as not a hand was raised to keep Constantine on the throne in 1922 or his son in 1923. The Greek people is weary of political strife; it wants to be left in peace to work after these seventeen feverish years which have followed the march of the Military League from Goudi into Athens. Above all, it wishes the army to mind its own business. That, too, is the wish of the foreign friends of Greece, including those capitalists who are likely to furnish the Supplementary Refugees' Loan, necessary for the completion of the work so successfully begun by the Refugees' Settlement Commission. For, in spite of Sir Eric Drummond's facile testimonial to General Pangalos, his host on his joy-ride to Delphi, the foreign investor will prefer normality, i.e., parliamentary government, to a military dictatorship, which lacked even that "benevolence" supposed to characterise successful autocracies.

Moreover, General Pangalos, despite his considerable abilities and natural astuteness, was without one essential quality of the man of affairs—decision of character. All who negotiated with him complained that he changed his mind almost as frequently as the Euripos, and was apt to be influenced by the arguments of his latest visitor, especially if that visitor wore a uniform. Of this his successive changes of policy on the first day of the presidential election, under the pressure of rival groups of officers, were an example. Besides, he could not, like the ancient Greek "tyrants" and the contemporary Italian dictator, rely upon the loyalty of his bodyguard. On August 22nd his own Republican Guard raised no opposition to his deposition; it was not till September 9th that the order for its disbandment led to the resistance of its commanders, Colonels Zeroas and Dertiles, since sentenced by the Military Court to hard labour for life. Unlike the Italian dictatorship, the Greek imitation was not based upon a large organised force, while it had no moral support from public opinion. Everyone knew that it would collapse whenever some other officer was strong enough to overthrow it. General Pangalos is said to have consoled himself with the remark that "the Athenians had treated Sokrates similarly." But, except that the modern Greek dictator and the ancient Greek philosopher had powerful consorts, there seems to be no parallel between General Pangalos in the Cretan prison of Izzeddin and Sokrates drinking the hemlock.

General Kondyles, "Cromwell" as he is sometimes called, managed the deposition of the dictator with marked skill, for General Pangalos, absent at the "Poseidonion" hotel at Spetsai, had no inkling of the conspiracy against himself, despite the superstitious strain in his character, which made him believe in dreams. The Greek "Cromwell" is a man of rapid decisions, as he showed when he seized the command of a regiment and led it to put down the counter-revolution of 1923. He has read much history, and is a good speaker for a soldier. Of course, he is ambitious, but has had little political experience, although he was, for the usually brief terms of office, a minister in the Papanastasiou and Michalakopoulos Cabinets of 1924-5. His first act—the recall of Admiral Koundouriotes to the Presidency of the Republic—was excellent. For Admiral Koundouriotes, who has been twice Regent and is now for the second time President of the Republic, inspires general confidence, alike at home and abroad. Grandson of the President of 1824, he belongs to a family of Hydriote shipowners, famous for its patriotism and sacrifices during the War of Independence, and he has himself made a considerable sacrifice in resuming at this crisis the burden

of the Presidency, instead of resting in his native island of Hydra. The brief proclamation of August 24th, in which he announced his resumption of his "former Presidential duties, conferred upon" him "by the vote of the Fourth National Assembly of the Greeks," was a satisfaction to his countrymen of all parties and a guarantee to foreign Governments. As a consistent friend of Great Britain, who believes that the traditional friendship with us should be the cardinal point of Greek foreign policy, Admiral Koundouriotes deserves the special recognition of the British Government and the good wishes of all Britons at this critical moment.

The new Minister of Foreign Affairs, M. Arghyropoulos, moreover, is a diplomatist of experience, who has been Minister at Angora and previously General Secretary of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. He has also held the post of Governor-General of Macedonia, and was one of the Greek members of the Refugees' Settlement Commission, where he was the invaluable collaborator of Mr. Morgenthau and Sir John Campbell. A scion of an old Phanariote family, he speaks French admirably, and knows "the questions" after the fashion of a professional Foreign Minister.

Upon the fall of the dictatorship the public desired the formation of what the Greeks call an "œcumenical government," such as was constructed in 1877 at the crisis of the Russo-Turkish War under the national hero, Admiral Kanares, with the collaboration of four ex-Premiers. Such a coalition Cabinet of "All the Talents" might have lasted till the return to normality had been achieved. But team-work is not the national strong point of the Greeks; otherwise their country would be one of the most successful in Europe. As Beaconsfield said of England, Greece "does not love Coalitions," and in Greece there has always been some public man who said in Thucydidean phrase "that he, and not the other man, should be general." General Kondyles was determined that the style of the new firm should be Kondyles and Co., and he remained Premier, promising, however, to retire from politics after the result of the elections, fixed for November 7th. The new Constitution—as drawn up by the Special Commission of the National Assembly last year, not as amended by General Pangalos—was promulgated, and thus, for the first time for eleven months, Greece had a charter of her rights which the new Chamber may revise or ratify within fifteen days.

The new Constitution provides for the first time since 1862 for the existence of a Senate (of 150 members) which, together with the Chamber, will, as in France, elect the President of the Republic; but for five years General Pangalos was never constitutionally elected. He first seized power by a *pronunciamiento*,

and then offered himself as a candidate for the Presidency by a system of direct popular voting, such as led to the election of Louis Napoleon in 1848. Only General Pangalos laid down the rules for the contest, in which he was a competitor, and long remained his own Prime Minister till at last he conferred the Premiership on M. Eutaxias.

Thus far, on paper, the situation seems fairly normal. But the street-fighting of September 9th has got upon people's nerves. There is a feeling of uncertainty, increased by the elaborate "precautionary measures" taken by the Government, such as the posting of machine-guns on Lykabettos and in other strategic positions, and the importation of soldiers from outlying garrisons. In all great cities—and Athens is now a very great city—there are always hooligans ready to profit by periods of civil disturbances, and there still exists in Greece the awkward question: will the majority of the electorate be in favour of the Republic, and, if not, what will be the result? Nowhere is logic the guiding star of the voter. Learned German professors, severely impartial judges of their own subjects, have shown that their judgments may be warped by passion when they discuss politics; the average elector is prone to commit the logical fallacy, *post hoc, ergo propter hoc*. May not an electorate, composed to a considerable extent of refugees—a class of men naturally disposed to think that not enough has been done for them—blame the Republic for faults and failures which might have occurred under any form of Government? May the discontented not ask what, in practice, the Republic has done for them? These are riddles which the electoral Sphinx propounds. Apart from that, there are parts of Greece, notably of "old" Greece, such as the Peloponnese, where the Royalist, or rather the Constantinian, tradition is still strong, for Constantine was popular with large numbers of the common folk, as was quite natural. George II never had his father's hold upon the popular imagination: he is not "the son of the eagle" of the famous ballad; he has no child, and that was one cause of the fall of the first monarchy. But still there are numerous Royalists in Greece, and the decision of their leaders is important. One of them, M. Demertzês, who was last April the candidate of all parties, Republican and Royalist alike, for the Presidency, and would probably have been elected if the voting had been free, has put forward the statesmanlike opinion that a king must not be the king of this or that Royalist Party leader or of even a section of the Greek people, but the king of the whole nation. George II is said to hold a similar view. Nothing would be more unfortunate than a small Royalist majority, which would settle nothing and might still further unsettle the already uncertain situation.

It is now, however, clear that the example of General Metaxâs, who publicly declared the intention of his Royalist group to take part in the elections, will be generally followed by the other Royalist leaders, such as M. Tsaldares. The policy of abstention, which was practised at the last elections of December, 1923, excluded from the Assembly a large and influential section of the Greek people, and deprived that body of the counsels and experience of several distinguished politicians. It is far better that all forms of opinion should have the means of public expression in Parliament rather than that the excluded party should be able to say—and say truly—that even a unanimous Assembly does not mean a unanimous people.

The only legitimate reason which would justify abstention, as at the presidential election of April, is the conviction that the voting would not be free. General Kondyles has promised that, although remaining in power as Premier, he will reconstitute his Cabinet with non-political Ministers, including persons known to hold Royalist, or, as it is still called, "Anti-Venizelist," opinions. M. Venizelos has advised the Premier to hold free elections, and has wisely refused to re-enter the political arena, in which his presence would only revive bygone controversies. Whether the new system of proportional representation will work remains to be seen. In Italy the writer witnessed its failure, owing to the fact that most electors and some returning officers were unable to understand its complicated machinery. In Greece, where it was opposed by the Royalists and some Republicans, it has been the favourite child of M. Papanastasiou, the first Premier of the Republic, who is also the author of Article 84 of the Constitution, prohibiting anyone from "holding the office of Prime Minister for more than one year, except in case of war or general mobilisation." This provision seems in Greece to be a work of supererogation; for of the seven Premiers since January, 1924, one alone, and he only barely, remained in office for that brief period. There are at present no less than twelve living holders of the first Ministerial place, all entitled to be addressed as *Kyrie Prædre*. Consequently, the rotatory system existed already in practice. What is really wanted is greater stability, longer terms of office, and the opportunity of gaining experience of administration. In the case of the Minister of Foreign Affairs continuity is specially desirable, and all the more so in Athens, because the occupant of the "permanent" Secretaryship of that department is frequently changed—five times in the last three years. There are examples of capable diplomatists who have refused the Foreign Office, because of the uncertainty of tenure, preferring the stability of a Legation far removed from the party conflicts of Athens.

This brings us to the consideration of Greece's foreign policy. General Pangalos, and still more his Foreign Minister and Minister of Communications, MM. Roupfos and Tavoulares, were strongly pro-Italian. British critics saw with satisfaction the improvement of Italo-Greek relations, which were cordial before the occupation of the Dodekanese in 1912, but there is no reason why Great Britain should pay the expenses of the Italo-Greek honeymoon. Our Foreign Office has recently aroused itself to the importance of Greece as a factor in the Mediterranean, of which Mr. Harvey's mission in the spring, the Doiran celebration, and the visit of the British fleet to Greek waters in September were signs. We cannot wonder if, in the absence of official British interest in her affairs, Greece turned to Italy, which has the power to create difficulties for her in the Levant. The dismissal of the British Naval Mission, which was welcomed in the Italian and Rumanian Press—a rare instance of solidarity between "the Latin sisters"—certainly did not redound to British prestige. But in the British Police Mission we have a national asset, which is almost universally esteemed by the Greek public. The regulation of the enormous traffic in Athens by the Greek pupils of our instructors is the best piece of British work that has been done in Greece for some time. Even General Pangalos, although helped to power by the gendarmerie, did not dare to run the risk of the unpopularity which he would have incurred had he abolished the Town's Police.

The as yet unratified treaty with Yugoslavia, which was one of M. Roupfos' last official acts, has by no means escaped Greek criticism. Greeks fear that the facilities thereby given to the Yugoslavs to export goods, not only from Yugoslavia but from other countries across Yugoslavia through the "Serbian free zone" at Salonika, will severely handicap the trade of the Greek port. They further think that the right of exporting these goods in Yugoslav bottoms will injure the Greek mercantile marine, and they ask whether a three years' treaty of friendship be worth a fifty years' concession of the "free zone." I recently visited the "Serbian free zone," at present consisting of 94,000 square *mètres* (inclusive of the sea), and was surprised to find how spacious and commodious it was. The new treaty adds 15,000 square *mètres* to it.

On the other hand, it must be remembered that Yugoslav friendship is very valuable to Greece, which would suffer from a Yugoslav-Bulgar alliance, improbable historically as this latter combination may seem. Owing to the high railway rates in Yugoslavia, it is cheaper to send produce from Kumanovo in North Macedonia to Split on the Adriatic through Salonika and all the

way round Greece by sea than direct by rail via Zagreb by the new railway opened in August, 1925. For the Croats and Slovenes, however, the outlet on the Adriatic is far more important than that on the Ægean; Split, not Salonika, is their issue. What strikes a traveller alike in Belgrade and Athens is the lack of knowledge which either country possesses of the other. Yet it is incumbent on each to know its neighbour. Professor Amantos by his lectures and book on *Greece's Northern Neighbours*, and a young Greek scholar, M. Laskaris, who has studied at the Belgrade University and published in Serb an historical treatise on Greco-Serbian matrimonial alliances in the Middle Ages, have contributed towards a better acquaintance with Yugoslavia in Greece. But Serbians have expressed to the writer the opinion that, if they are to have a solid alliance with their southern neighbour, it must rest not only upon paper guarantees but also upon the feeling that normal conditions and stable government have been restored in Greece, and that the era of revolutions and *pronunciamientos* is over.

That is the question facing Greece to-day. A leading Athenian journal has recently published a study of Mexican politics by Ibañez. The hint was obvious, but Greece is not Mexico. The real progress of her people is ignored abroad, because of the spasmodic character of modern journalism, more interested in sensational "stunts" than in chronicling the events of every day. Immense harm is caused abroad by violence in Athens, for the average reader shrugs his shoulders, and without seeking the reason, exclaims "another revolution in Greece," and goes on to read the sporting intelligence. All her friends will hope that the elections will be held freely and fairly, that the beaten parties will recognise their defeat in a sportsmanlike manner without appeal to violence, and that the newly-elected Parliament will waste as little time as possible over the ratification of the Constitution, and get to business. The dictatorship has failed in Greece; but parliamentary government there, as elsewhere, suffers from the multiplicity of parties, which proportional representation may tend to augment. At the present, no one acquainted with the complexity of Greek politics would venture to forecast the near future. We can only hope that the lesson of the rise and fall of General Pangalos has not been lost upon his countrymen. General Kondyles has wisely refrained from establishing a second dictatorship on the ruins of the first; he will have deserved well of his country if posterity can write of him, as it wrote of the Roman General, Rufus:

pulso qui Vindice quondam,
Imperium asseruit non sibi sed patriæ.

WILLIAM MILLER.

PRESIDENT COOLIDGE.

THE year 1926 in America has been one of no little political interest. Prohibition, the World Court, farmers' grievances with the present economic system, and swollen expenditures incurred in securing Senatorial nominations at the primary elections, have been the leading questions debated in the Press, in Congress, and at party meetings. Curiously enough, the Republican and Democratic Parties have not aligned themselves on opposite sides in these matters, but the strife has been proceeding inside each party between "Wet" factions and "Dry" factions, "Isolationists" and "World Courters," Corn Farmers' bloc and Urban bloc. The year has been a favourable one for moderate and reasonable debate. The fierce excitement and the overwhelming personal and party prejudices called out in a "Presidential" year have been very largely absent, even among professional politicians, though a third of the Senate and the whole of the House of Representatives have to be elected in November, and primary campaigns have been in progress since the early spring.

The question which has mainly interested the insiders has been whether the Coolidge administration could be so effectively attacked on the grounds of adhesion to the World Court, lack of regard for the farmers' grievances, and partiality to Big Business, as to end the present control of the Senate by the orthodox pro-Coolidge Republicans. Further, could the "straight" or orthodox Republicans be placed in a permanent minority in the 1927 Senate and a sufficiently stable working agreement be arranged between the remaining Senators, Democratic and Radical Republican, to make it possible to block unwelcome Administration programmes? Such questions to the political mind immediately call up visions of grave legislative deadlock late in 1927 and early in 1928, and such loss of prestige to President Coolidge as to make unlikely his re-adoption as Republican candidate for the Presidency. Though it is already certain that the Senate in the next Congress will be much harder to organise for Administration policies than the old, there seems little evidence of real discontent with the President. Indeed, to judge from the remarkable receptions he received on his way back to Washington from his holiday camp in the Adirondacks, Mr. Coolidge still retains a huge fund of popular esteem and affection, and it is still necessary to consider him as the most obvious Republican candidate for the Presidency in 1928. Should circumstances change and the tide of public affection ebb, "cautious Cal." is not likely to seek to impose himself upon his party and his country when the chances of a rebuff are very great. He will retire without too many pangs to a Senatorial dignity or the like, and will share

the "elder statesmanship" of the Republican Party with Mr. Hughes.

If Mr. Coolidge has to leave the White House in 1929, the least of his regrets will be for the loss of the journalistic and public attention to the small details of his daily round. No person in the modern world has to face so fierce a publicity as a President of the United States likely to be elected for another term. He is the central object of interest in the national government of a people of 120 millions, whose agencies for gathering knowledge are constantly at work supplying its almost diseased curiosity with White House intelligence. For more than three years information on Calvin Coolidge has been accumulating, and a tentative estimate of the significance of the life history and the political policies of the man is perhaps possible.

President Coolidge was born on July 4th, 1872, in the hamlet of Plymouth, situated fourteen miles from the railway in a remote Vermont valley. Vermont is a mountainous State lying just behind the North-East Atlantic seaboard, and containing a population still very largely composed of farmers, far removed from all urban influence and working their own land. The President's father tilled the family farm, but was also proprietor of the village store. The store and a small money inheritance gave the elder Coolidge some of the "town" offices, and doubtless made possible the President's education. The home influences in the Coolidge family were those to be expected among a laborious and Protestant peasantry. Emphasis was laid on the Bible, hard work and economy.

The young boy was, apparently, not a difficult subject to mould. There are no records of revolts, secretly cherished desires to know the wider world, nor even of cravings for a wider literary pabulum than that provided in the text books of the different stages of his school career. When not at school he served in the store and worked in the fields under his father's direction. During his college vacations the same *régime* continued. The Christmas recess would find him driving a team with logs to the saw-mill, Easter helping to get the syrup sap from the maple trees, and the summer haymaking or harvesting. Rainy days were devoted to carpentry, in which, according to the assertion of one biographer, the boy acquired some skill. This narrow and toilsome youth, and the later career as local lawyer-politician, induced some of the more enthusiastic party journalists in the period of the Coolidge boom to hail him as the second Lincoln. Those acquainted with the life of Lincoln will recognise that the analogy was very strained.

Calvin Coolidge attended during his early years the village school. Having attained the sum of knowledge dispensed there, he was sent to an academy at Ludlow, fourteen miles away, from which

he returned twice a week. When it was decided that he was to have a college education at Amherst he was sent to a new academy to complete his preparatory work. In 1891 he was entered at Amherst College, situated near the town of Northampton, Massachusetts, where he was eventually to settle. Amherst is one of the best of the smaller American colleges, and there Calvin Coolidge went through the conventional course of classics, public speaking, history and philosophy without attracting very much attention. The favourable biographer can claim nothing more for him than a prize essay written at the very end of his college career. In the social life of the college Coolidge was peculiarly ill-fitted for prominence. He was shy, silent, rustic and unathletic.

Near the end of the college course Coolidge's father agreed that the boy should attempt to find an opening in a law office. Coolidge wrote to two law partners, Messrs. Hammond and Field, graduates of Amherst, was taken into their office, and after twenty months of private study passed the bar examination. Mr. Field, however, was to be responsible for more than his introduction to the law. A local politician himself, he suggested to the young lawyer that he should enter the politics of Northampton, a country town with some 20,000 inhabitants. Coolidge acted on the suggestion. He was elected city councillor and city solicitor, nominated clerk of the courts, and chosen by his party as chairman of the City Republican Committee. In 1905 he decided to withdraw from the clerkship of the courts in order to increase his private practice. At the age of thirty-three he had decided to marry a bright Vermont girl, the present Mrs. Coolidge, who was teaching at a school for the deaf and dumb in Northampton. Together they founded a simple, economical home in a way which has since aroused real friendship for Coolidge as a son of the people. They rented half a house where Mrs. Coolidge did the cleaning, cooking and even the laundry.

In 1908 Calvin Coolidge presented himself as Republican candidate for the representation of Northampton in the State Legislature of Massachusetts. He was successful by a small majority which he increased the next year. At State House, Boston, he showed a liberal spirit in regard to legislation affecting public health, labour and commercial monopoly, reflecting somewhat the Rooseveltian policies of the wider national field. In 1910 he was urged to stand for election as Mayor of Northampton against a candidate who had aroused the ire of the "wets." Coolidge accepted the invitation without committing himself, won the election, and served for two years as mayor. He worked hard and methodically, reducing taxation and the city debt, and tightening his hold on the Republican organisation.

By the year 1912 Calvin Coolidge was in a position to receive

the Republican nomination for the Massachusetts State Senate. He carried his own district, that containing Northampton as principal unit, with ease in the elections of 1912 and 1913. In the Senate Coolidge did very sound work on a number of committees, and on the floor of the House attracted attention as one who, though a loyal party man, had moderate liberal inclinations. Such a man could be of use, and the great Republican boss in the State, U.S. Senator Murray Crane, made a note of him. In the election of 1914 Coolidge was re-elected and the President of the Senate defeated. Coolidge by prompt bargaining with Crane and some fellow-members secured the succession to the Presidency of the Senate. His hold on the Republican Party of Northampton had sufficed to carry him to the third position in Massachusetts. Something more than Northampton's support was needed if he were to advance further.

At this point Coolidge was blessed with the usual good fortune which has marked all his career. A group of Amherst *alumni*, jealous of the control exerted in State politics by Harvard men, were looking for an Amherst man to push into greatness in Massachusetts, and even in the national government at Washington. Stearns, a wealthy Boston business man, with a good knowledge of publicity processes was the leader of the group. Stearns was induced to adopt Coolidge as the Amherst hope in 1915, and the Coolidge career entered on a new phase.

Coolidge, though not an inspiring speaker, made a good candidate. He was a sound party man, whose loyalty could be trusted implicitly. He had a good legislative record for he had voiced the sentiment of the agricultural interests and yet had shown that in regard to strikes, the length of the industrial working day, minimum wages for women and minors and aid to dependent mothers, he must be reckoned as a moderate Liberal. His administrative record as Mayor of Northampton was good. He was a poor man living on his share of a small law partnership, yet it was impossible to suspect him of the slightest dishonesty. Stearns used all his influence to secure for Coolidge the Republican nomination for the Lieutenant-Governorship. The merits of the Coolidge character and political record were impressed upon every Republican politician and journalist and Coolidge, mainly as a result of this strong support, was adopted at the Republican primary as candidate. He was later elected Lieutenant-Governor. Once in office, Coolidge was re-elected with a majority of 84,000 in his second year and 101,000 in his third.

As Lieutenant-Governor Coolidge served on a number of executive boards of the State Government of Massachusetts, undertook a great deal of the extra work imposed on the State Executive as

a result of the war (declared during his second term), made visits to public institutions throughout the State, and delivered carefully phrased if uninspiring speeches. His salary was 2,000 dollars per annum, a very small sum for the position, but was supplemented from the Northampton law practice. Mrs. Coolidge lived in Northampton with the children, and the Lieutenant-Governor endeavoured to spend the week-ends with them.

The next and, as events proved, the decisive step in Coolidge's promotion was the Republican nomination for the Governorship of Massachusetts. All the Stearns machinery and propaganda were necessary to secure this result. To the Boston Republicans of old traditions the idea of Coolidge as Governor was distasteful. An ungraceful, small-town lawyer turned professional politician did not seem in their eyes a sufficiently imposing figure to deserve the gubernatorial chair. Stearns was, however, successful, and Coolidge faced the Democratic candidate as the Republican nominee. A very hot campaign resulted in Coolidge's election by the small majority of 17,035. The Stearns machinery had very nearly undertaken too much.

In January, 1919, though seated in the gubernatorial chair of Massachusetts, Coolidge was hardly known elsewhere. He had achieved his position first by methodical attention to local politics, and then by securing the support of a wealthy political amateur, Mr. Stearns, and through him that of the Massachusetts Republican boss, U.S. Senator Murray Crane. In September, 1919, by pure accident, Governor Coolidge found himself in a situation which attracted national attention. A union, affiliated with the American Federation of Labour, had been organised for the Boston police force, nineteen policemen had been suspended by the Police Commissioner on the charge of agitating for this union against orders, and on September 9th, 1919, a police strike had been called, to which over 1,000 policemen adhered. Some rioting took place during the night, and on the morning of the 10th the Mayor of Boston called out the Boston sections of the militia. Talk of a general "sympathetic" strike on the part of Labour throughout Eastern Massachusetts completely unnerved Boston business men and property owners, already disturbed by the restless attitude of operatives and the lack of police protection. The Mayor asked for regiments of militia from outside Boston, and Governor Coolidge supplied them. The next day, after the Republican Press had been predicting disaster and a Labour delegation of food and transport workers had formally threatened the general strike, Coolidge determined to call out the whole of the Militia. That night the police strike was definitely broken. Coolidge crystallised the issue in a telegram which was exactly in accord with the dominant public

sentiment throughout the United States. It ran: "The right of the police of Boston to affiliate (with the American Federation of Labour) has always been questioned, never granted, is now prohibited—There is no right to strike against the public safety by any body, anywhere, any time." Coolidge declined to consider the question of the reinstatement of the strikers and supported the Boston Police Commissioner in his organisation of a new force. For his handling of the police strike Coolidge was re-elected Governor to serve in 1920.

The Stearns machinery was now in a position to aim at the biggest game. With a lofty confidence in the Coolidge star, Stearns had in mind no less an achievement than securing the Presidential nomination for his protégé. He opened offices in Washington in January, 1920, from which he intended to carry on a campaign to interest Republican leaders and organisations in his candidate. These offices were soon closed at the imperative request of Calvin Coolidge, who felt that they made him look a little ridiculous and defeated their own ends. Activity in other fields was continued. A volume of undistinguished Coolidge speeches was collected by Stearns and his Amherst friends, endowed with the title of "Have Faith in Massachusetts," printed in 70,000 copies and placed with the aid of campaign organisers in the best hands. Further, a Coolidge gubernatorial veto on a "wet" 2½ per cent. beer bill was printed in 50,000 copies and carefully distributed. Despite the obvious dislike of some delegates, it was arranged that the Massachusetts delegation to the National Republican Convention should formally present Coolidge as its candidate for the Presidency.

At the Convention the Massachusetts delegation was only perfunctory in its presentation of Coolidge. Most of the delegates straightway abandoned him and interested themselves in the more romantic figure of General Leonard Wood. After two whole days of doubtful balloting Senator Harding, of Ohio, was nominated as a result of the efforts of a powerful band of Senatorial brothers. The Convention passed on to consider the Vice-Presidency, for which another Senator was the favourite candidate. The Senator was duly nominated, the Massachusetts delegation was silent, and all seemed over as far as Coolidge was concerned. Suddenly amid the din a delegate from Oregon, who had read "Have Faith in Massachusetts," and who believed that its author, Coolidge, was the strong, silent man, succeeded in bawling the name of Coolidge though the rest of his nominating speech was inaudible. Coolidge was carried in the ballot, and became Republican candidate for the Vice-Presidency of the United States.

An American Presidential campaign is a very highly organised

affair. Its management is in the hands of campaign and publicity experts, to whose opinions on strategy the candidates are expected to defer. As Republican success was almost certain provided that Coolidge and Harding, who were both indifferent orators, made no bad mistakes, a suitable plan was arranged. Harding was kept by the managers mainly on his front porch, where he allowed himself to be photographed and interviewed liberally, while Coolidge was sent into Democratic Georgia and Tennessee, where at least he could do no harm. Before this campaign Coolidge had never been out of New England or slept in a Pullman car.

The Republican candidates were elected by large majorities. President Harding assumed office in 1921, and invited his Vice-President to attend Cabinet meetings in addition to performing his constitutional duty of presiding over the Senate. Politically, however, Coolidge remained a nonentity and socially he cut a very poor figure. He was no man of the world, no polished talker, no easy good fellow. He lived with his wife in an unprominent hotel, attended official functions and dinners without giving or receiving much pleasure, and delivered another series of formal speeches which were later collected by the indefatigable Stearns under the title of "The Price of Freedom," and issued as campaign material for the Presidential election of 1924. "The Price of Freedom" makes heavy reading, and Coolidge's critics condemn it as full of platitudes from beginning to end. The index gives 24 references to progress, 24 to religion, 23 to education, 23 to freedom, 20 to the American Constitution, 18 to the American Revolution, 16 to civilisation and 15 to ideals. Another production of the Vice-Presidential epoch was an article attacking as unpatriotic attempts made in women's colleges to place the teaching of history and political science on a basis of reality instead of edification.

The Republican managers and President Harding were so unimpressed with Coolidge's personality and so sceptical of his ability that in the summer of 1923 they were considering ways and means of ousting him from the Vice-Presidential nomination for the election of 1924. Harding, however, died in July, 1923, and the despised Coolidge became President. He had been spending the holidays at his father's farm while Harding was away in Alaska. When the news of Harding's death arrived at Plymouth, Vermont, Coolidge recited the Presidential oath to his father and left to take up his new duties in Washington. Congress was not to meet until December.

At Washington Coolidge meekly assumed the leadership of the Harding Cabinet and began the bi-weekly conferences with the Press which had become a part of the Presidential routine. He

was unable at first to impress the Washington correspondents, perhaps because he could not give those decisive, rapid and humorous answers to their written questions which would make such valuable copy in the newspapers. When Congress met in December, 1923, it proceeded to flout or ignore the policies of the unwelcome Chief Executive, despite the presence of a Republican majority in both Houses. Though the Senatorial grandees might annoy Coolidge, they were unable to prevent his nomination as the Republican candidate for the Presidency. They felt instinctively that to oppose the nomination of the actual holder of the office would arouse the public sense of propriety and fair play against them.

The Presidential campaign decided on for Coolidge was bold but effective. It was felt that the farmhouse scene when the President, roused from his slumbers during the night, had been informed of the Harding tragedy and his own elevation had made a great impression on public sentiment. The effect of Coolidge as the plain, unspoiled citizen of mediocre rural origins and unpretentious tastes was too good to be lost. He was sent into Vermont to his father's farm, put into a smock and made to pitch hay, spending his holidays very much as he would have done had he remained a small Northampton lawyer. The ordinary voter, reading the Press accounts and seeing the Press photographs, was more sympathetic than he would have been had Coolidge attempted a great speech-making tour. Coolidge's direct contact with the voter was established through the radio, a medium peculiarly fitted to his dry, concise and impersonal style. Aided by the growing dislike of most sections of the country for Radicalism, which was deemed likely to imperil existing prosperity, Coolidge gathered a huge popular vote and was elected President. As the definite mandator of the people and as the possessor of a steadily growing public popularity he has been emboldened to assert himself more and more in the formulation of public policies. Certainly, before the results of several of the Republican Senatorial Primaries somewhat shook his position, his hold on the "straight" Republican Party was increasing, and his personal attitude towards public and social policies was becoming more important. He was aided by the fact that his economic, and social philosophy, independently arrived at, is of a character which meets with the warmest approval of the great private business interests of the country. It would be well to make a survey of the Presidential attitude on the leading questions before the public.

It is the President's firm belief that a high tariff is necessary. It protects the American labourer's standard of living against cheap imported goods manufactured by Europeans working at

miserable rates during long hours. In an unprotected market such goods would kill the demand for American products. This argumentation is hardly regarded as needing proof, and the opposing considerations of high prices, high rates of profit and parasitic industries, sheltered behind tariff walls, are impatiently dismissed by the public. Business interests undoubtedly fear tariff reduction as spelling the end of the home monopoly, keener competition, lower profits, and deflation of industrial values, inflated through the capitalisation of tariff assistance.

Rigid limitation of immigration has the Presidential approval. Business interests and the American Federation of Labour agree with him, though perhaps for different reasons, and President Coolidge can say with national approval: "Under the helpful influence of restrictive immigration and a protective tariff employment is plentiful, the rate of pay is high, and wage-earners are in a state of contentment seldom before seen." Leaders of industry have found that though their supply of cheap unskilled labour from abroad has ended prices remain high and the danger of anarchism is reduced.

Grain-growing farmers are complaining that the whole fabric of industrial, financial and commercial prosperity has been reared on their exploitation and distress. The present system does little for them comparable with that which the tariff does for the industrialists and immigration restrictions for the urban workers. Between them and the consumer there is the long chain of transportation agencies, milling agencies, and flour speculators, who reduce the farmer to bare subsistence level and below. Coolidge cannot accept this view. Urban prosperity, he reasons, helps the farmer because it means good markets. The farmer may have his living costs increased by the higher scale of prices resulting from the tariff, but, in return, he is protected by an agricultural tariff. The Federal Government has already become responsible for a great Farm Loan system by which the farmer can obtain cheap credit. It will further help by studying schemes of co-operative marketing which will enable the farmer to sell his goods at a price having some relation to the eventual price paid by the consumer.

Coolidge believes that prosperity is the result of allowing riches to grow freely in private hands. Those who begin poor will by thrift acquire moderate property and by ability increase it. Wealth re-invested productively gives work and produces commodities. Wealth, therefore, should not be discriminated against in taxation. The use of taxation in an attempt partially to redistribute on a mixed basis of merit and need the social income going into private hands, or to undertake social experimentation is not attractive to Coolidge. "The collection of any taxes which are not required,

which do not beyond doubt contribute to the public welfare, is only a species of legalised larceny," he said. "I am opposed to extremely high rates because they produce little or no revenue, because they are bad for the country, and finally, because they are wrong. We cannot finance the country, we cannot improve social conditions through any system of injustice even if we attempt to inflict it on the rich." In any case, Coolidge would further contend, most types of social legislation are properly the work of the 48 States, and do not fall within the province of the Federal Government. He cannot but know that most State legislation attempting to deal with social issues in a radical fashion is declared unconstitutional by the Federal Courts as "unduly depriving the people of their liberty."

The Presidential policy for the Inter-State Commerce Commission which controls railway rates and amalgamations is to permit "mergers." By allowing railway systems to grow larger and stronger better service can be obtained and wasteful competition eliminated. Policy for the Emergency Fleet Corporation is the disposal of government ships now operated at a loss to private firms. Policy for the Federal Trade Commission which examines into and checks "unfair trading" is a co-operative rather than a suspicious and hampering attitude towards honest business. Indeed, before the Corn Belt farmers began their late violent complaints against the commercial and industrial interests, Mr. Coolidge was capable of surprisingly fervent eulogies of Big Business. "Business," he has said, "is the work of the world. . . . It . . . rests on a higher law . . . It rests squarely on the law of service. . . . It has for its main reliance truth and faith and justice. . . . Government (is its) vigilant supporter and friend."

Coolidge's social views and attitudes are very representative of those of the controlling elements of American society. They are supported by a powerful and interested Press and the whole enormous weight of business interests. The faction-riven Democratic Party has seemed of late to approve rather than to fight the maxim that "what is good for business is good for the working-man." A challenge has come from the Corn Belt because of depressed incomes in that section. If the present wave of prosperity in other sections should recede, other challenges will follow.

S. MACCOBY.

THE PASSING OF PEKING.

WHAT has not been true since Tao Kuang is true to-day—that the most important factor in the Far Eastern situation is China. In spite of her continued weakness as a military power, of her disunity and her lack of political morale, China to-day is exhibiting a foreign policy of her own, and her policy is receiving attention on its merits. That does not mean necessarily that her policy will succeed in part or entire, any more than it would mean such a result for any other country which exhibited a policy. But it is an important step for China that her policies should be receiving equal consideration with those of other countries.

The question of what influences have been effective in bringing about this changed status is one of the highest interest. Perhaps it is merely a commonplace to give the most prominent position to the spread of education and the consequent growth of national consciousness and national feeling. This development has had two results: it has provided trained diplomats, and it has stimulated a public opinion to support their moves. Not that China did not have trained diplomats in earlier days; but she required men who knew foreign countries and foreign languages. Such men she obtained, and to them she owes a heavy debt for their suave presentation of facts, near-facts and plausibilities. With disorder verging upon anarchy at home, these men have so conducted themselves as to win the goodwill of foreign peoples, and have so presented the issues affecting their country as to magnify China's efforts at reform and minimise the work of her agents of destruction. Wherein they have simply followed precedent, for it has ever been a poor diplomat who would expose his country to the laughter of other peoples.

Some would say that there is no such thing as public opinion in China. But what is public opinion in any country? It is not like a system of water-mains or electricity, out of which water or light may be obtained by turning a spigot or a button. Public opinion is not always sentient on current issues, because it is never fully informed and because it is never sufficiently interested. It is more like an old-fashioned automobile that has to be cranked, possibly primed, to be got to work. The leaders of opinion must do the cranking in America and in Europe as well as in China. And it may be doubted whether the Western populace is better prepared to react sanely to propaganda than the Chinese. But granted that its superior education is a better basis for judgment than Chinese traditions, the fact remains that popular judgments are worked up in the West quite as obviously as they are in the East.

The other of the principal influences working in China's favour has been the development of economic imperialism. The open door and the integrity of China policies embody this development, and they have been effective just so far as they have expressed the interests of their exponents. Where they have not functioned properly it has been because other policies have overcome them in the presence of interests amounting to necessities both in their opponents and their supporters. Time has worked in China's favour in the application of these policies, since with the passage of time the accumulation of capital and the growth of industrialism have become more and more remarkable and more and more widespread. A century ago one country could dominate the attitude of foreign States toward China; that is no longer true, and in the competition of great States for her favours lies China's new diplomatic strength.

China's present difficulties date from the republican revolution of 1911, when that familiar anomaly of a fundamental change in the established order of things being brought about by a comparatively few leaders was repeated. Some of the leaders were opponents of the old *régime* on grounds of provincial jealousy, others were converts and missionaries in the cause of democracy. Since that date the struggle has continued, on the one hand between those who, for various reasons, desire the rule of a parliament and those who are seeking to restore a strong executive to Peking; and on the other between rival groups in both the civilian and military camps, which are likely to form alliances with enemy factions in order to defeat the purposes of their own proper allies. China is passing through a confused period in which the power of government has become dispersed. The problem is one of gathering the elements of authority together once more. In such a period it is doubly remarkable that China not only has not broken apart into fragments, but has risen considerably in the scale of international values.

To say that the republican revolution was due to the introduction of Western ideas and Western capital into China is not to impute blame to the West for the revolution or its early unfortunate result. China was entitled to fair treatment, but not to insurance against the inroads of ideas. On the other hand, it is apparent that Western interests are called upon to accept *all* the results of their enterprise in China. The lean years come as well as the fat. It is just as ridiculous for the foreigner to storm against the corruption and militarism now rampant in Chinese political life as it is for the Chinese to curse the day that Andrade dropped anchor at Shangchuen.

With the success of the republican revolution in 1912 Yuan

Shih-k'ai, a former viceroy and the creator of China's modern army, was elected President. Yuan was in no sense a liberal in politics, and his election by the newly-assembled parliament was not in accordance with their desires. Yuan, however, had the effective northern army at his back, he had a faction of northern senators and representatives in the national assembly, and he was favoured by the great Powers and their bankers. Sun Yat-sen, the chosen leader of the liberals, had no personal military following, and no unified provincial sentiment to rely upon. It was hoped that constitutionalism would develop gradually.

In a sense that hope has been fulfilled. Two attempts to restore the monarchy have been thwarted, and the movement for a well-conceived national constitution has been paralleled by movements in a number of provinces with the object of supplying themselves with constitutions of the Western type. A very considerable body of legislation has been drafted in the form of codes and laws, which have been applied where possible by the courts, though not actually passed as yet by a national legislature. The opposition of the military leaders to a formal constitution embodying liberal principles has been dropped.

These developments, however, are little more than appearances. The actual governing has been done by executives in no sense representative of the people. President Yuan Shih-k'ai quarrelled with the Assembly over the nature of the constitution to be drafted, expelled the members of the party that opposed him, and finally dissolved both the national and the provincial Assemblies. He failed, however, to make himself emperor. His successor, Li Yuan-hung, made an effort to respect the re-assembled parliament, but was thrown out by one militarist effort to restore the Manchus, and kept out by another clique of generals, while a large part of the re-dissolved Assembly migrated to a more cordial environment in south China. In Canton this remnant elected a new President, Sun Yat-sen, while at Peking a new Assembly, pitch-forked into existence, chose Hsü Shih-chang, a well-intentioned tool of its paymasters, to the Presidency. Thus China had two parliaments and two Presidents—but no genuine government. Hsü was displaced upon the rise of a hostile faction to power, and Li Yuan-hung was allowed to stop the gap until the political wheel had turned far enough to permit of ousting him in favour of a full-fledged militarist, T'sao K'un. T'sao was caught in turn and compelled to spend many months in a palace prison, while Tuan Ch'i-jui, the puppet of another military faction, assumed the pretence of office. Tuan left his post to seek safety upon the return of T'sao's friends to power. At present the presidential chair is unfilled, but the "Old Parliament" once more is gathering, and it

may be anticipated that its members, out of the ripeness—not to use a stronger simile—of their many years of experience, will be able to name another figurehead.

In the provinces also, civil headship has quite disappeared with the destruction of the marvellous influence of monarchy and the clash of factions for power which could be obtained only with the help of armed forces. The governing system of the provinces, however, remains unchanged. Two features of the provincial situation are responsible for the evil effects of rule by militarists—the prevalence of factions and consequent revolts, and the waste of the whole country's funds. If each *tuchun*, as the Chinese entitle the governors, were safe in his own province from attack either from the outside or from within, no doubt his unified authority would be a desirable influence in maintaining order. He might also, in that case, be more inclined to remit taxes due and other revenues to the central government. But the tendency has been to form cliques, and cliques within cliques, in an apparently unending series.

It is important to remember how short a time, hardly a decade, has elapsed since the death of Yuan Shih-k'ai. Ten years is a very brief period in the life of a nation, however significantly it may affect the fortunes of individuals. It is so brief that one hardly dares venture to suggest whether the tendencies in provincial politics are toward unification or toward still greater separation. It would seem, however, that the number of factions is increasing, and that with this increase the number of combinations of factions also is greater, with a correspondingly increased list of military leaders who possess strength outside their own provinces. Any single leader ambitious to control all China is, therefore, likely to find it increasingly more difficult to satisfy the ambitions of those whose support he will have to win. On the other hand, he may find it easier to compel acquiescence by many minor adventurers than by a few very powerful rivals.

In the face of the omnipresence of civil strife it is perhaps futile to speak of the evolution of political ideas and institutions. It is important, however, to keep constantly in mind the fact that the item of internecine warfare is not characteristic of China, that it is hated most bitterly by the respectable classes—the scholar, the farmer, the merchant, and even by the despairing coolie, who never knows when he may be caught by a conscription squad and hustled into a uniform. That these classes do not revolt is due to their non-acquaintance with political responsibility. China under the empire was governed not by men but by the spirit of loyalty to an idea. The emperors did not rule, but reigned—grandly, universally, mystically. Officials were the tangible evidences of

that unimagined power. But the life of the people was family life, the precepts of their action were social precepts. There was no responsibility for the individual beyond the locality. There is to-day no confusion in the localities; the villages and the districts move in the ancient grooves. What is lacking is the understanding of representative government which would transfer the effectiveness of local administration to the provincial and the national capitals.

Where so much must be learned before China may expect to have a genuine Republic, it seems logical to begin learning by experimentation in provincial rather than national forms of government. There is some evidence that this idea has made headway in China. There appears to be a tendency in certain provinces for the civilian lamb and the militarist lion to lie down together. The movement for federalism is growing stronger each year. Unfortunately it is felt to involve a great sacrifice for a *tuchun* to drop out of national politics, while a man like Governor Yen of Shansi, who is anxious to do so, is subject to constant interference by those who desire his support or resent his indifference. Peking is a fatal lure to take a provincial governor away from his own proper business. Were it not for the impossibility of foreign States conducting relations with China deprived of a national capital, it might be better to dispense with Peking. The national government is impotent, and the provinces would be less subject to civil factionalism if the incentive to obtain control of Peking were absent.

Would such a development result in the break-up of China? No doubt it would contribute to that misfortune if foreign Powers took advantage of the situation. If the Chinese were left to themselves it is probable that no such effects would be felt. In place of a national political organisation China has a universal system of social and moral ideas which provides a cultural nationalism of great unifying power. In spite of intellectual imports from the West the respect for Confucian traditions is intact, and it appears to be undergoing a revival of influence among the so-called "Western returned students." The Chinese comprehend nationalism in this sense, and would be opposed to any movement to foster the prosperity of a single section or province at the expense of the whole nation. Declarations of independence have been made from time to time by certain provinces or groups of provinces, but have aimed rather at temporary administrative autonomy than at actual and final severance of national bonds.

Although there is little reason to anticipate the withdrawal of recognition of the passing Peking juntas by the Powers, the facts of the situation appear to indicate the desirability of emphasising

and encouraging the development of orderly and prosperous governments in the provinces rather than of insisting upon something that is apparently impossible to obtain at present—a *strong central government*. It is probable that what may appear to be the longer way round will prove the shorter way home. As for the national government, it is not essential that it exercise all the powers that it might desirably possess. The development of orderly civil government in the provinces will gradually conduce to the strengthening of the national government.

The future of China's government appears to be the gradual development of a federal republic along the lines of the American system. Monarchy has been unable to reassert itself, thwarted in the attempt by the conditions that appear to demand it. It is to be hoped that the need of a strong executive will be realised as the fear of a return to monarchy becomes less persistent. Chinese liberals must cease to write constitutions of the parliamentary type if they expect to see one in actual operation. It would be a most favourable omen if the people who really believe in representative government could find a military leader for whom they would be willing to provide a working constitution giving him powers adequate to a President, and restraining their own eagerness to play politics for a day when conditions are less disturbed and their own knowledge of democratic government more considerable. Such a coalition of force with moral support would be new to the Republic, and while its task would be heavy, there would be greater prospect of progress than under the present *régime* of cleavage between paper ideals and practical necessities.

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AMONG FASCISMO'S FRIENDS AND FOES.

LATE one evening, some months ago, an Englishwoman, having lost her bearings while wandering about in an old Italian town, inquired of a lad whom she met the way to the hotel where she was staying. Before he had time to reply, however, another lad sprang forward, and stood for a moment at attention, in true military fashion. Then with an air no Guardsman could have bettered, he saluted her and cried, pointing to his heart proudly the while: "Boy Scout! *L'accompagnerò io.*"

She looked at him in amazement; for he was manifestly Italian, yet he was dressed precisely as a smart English Boy Scout is dressed—not a button was lacking, not a bit of green ribbon, not a tag. As he walked along by her side, however, he talked in a very different strain from that in which an English Boy Scout would ever think of talking to a stranger. And there was a passionate ring in his voice as he spoke, that was decidedly un-English, an enthusiasm, too, in his eyes. There were some forty Boy Scouts in his district, he informed her, and there would soon be many more. Every lad who was worth his salt would, before long, he was sure, be a Boy Scout, sworn to make it his aim in life to serve his country, to raise its flag high, and right what is wrong. Then the Golden Age would not be far off, he seemed to think; and, as was evident from certain casual remarks he made, his head was already aglow with wild dreams as to the rôle Italy is destined to play in that age.

At the time those dreams struck the Englishwoman as contrary to all common sense, as smacking of the absurd, in fact; and she was not a little surprised to find, as she did before long, that the Boy Scout was by no means the only young Italian who indulged in them. Night after night, in one small town where she was staying, young men paraded the streets singing hymns and songs in praise of Italy, the Young Italy that is rising, as they have never a doubt, with the vigour of youth from the ashes of the old, extolling her, proclaiming aloud the honour and glory that await her. The words of some of the songs were undoubtedly bombast, high falutin', more or less false; still the voices of those who sang them rang true, rang with fervent patriotism, boundless devotion to their country; or so at least it seemed to the Wanderer. As she listened to them, and later to others of their kind, she began to realise how markedly even the average young Italian of to-day differs from the young Italian of twenty or thirty years ago; to realise that, whereas then young Italians were eminently practical men, now there is in them more than a touch of the stuff of which wild dreams, Chauvinist dreams, are made. And as time passed and she went

from village to village, town to town, from one end of Northern Italy to the other, she could not help wondering, now and again, whether after all those dreams were quite so wild as they seemed. For almost everywhere she went she found well-built, well equipped schools, and troops of fine, sturdy boys and girls, with bright intelligent faces, betaking themselves to those schools gladly. Most of those whom she met with were well dressed, quite as well dressed as the average English working-class child; well shod, too; while they almost all seemed bubbling over with *la joie de vivre*, as only the well-fed can bubble. She never once saw a hungry-looking child, excepting in Venice, never but once a child that was begging. They were children, in fact, of whom any nation might well be proud, and there were so many of them! Go where one may in Northern Italy, there they are, not in ones or twos, but in hundreds; the whole land is, as it were, teeming with them. For eleven babies are born in Italy for every baby born in the land of her most formidable neighbour, a fact in itself enough to make any nation aim high, dream dreams, too, Chauvinist dreams.

While most of the boys and young men seem never weary of burning incense before Italy, extolling her beauty, singing her praise, a fair number of them, together with the great majority of their elder brothers and fathers, are more prone to burn incense before the Leader whose handiwork Young Italy is, they declare. There is neither bound nor limit to their devotion to Signor Mussolini, whom they hail as the saviour of their country. And, what is much more curious, for Italian women, as a rule, care no more for politics than they care for Timbuctoo, their wives, mothers, sisters, and daughters vie with them in their devotion, and are even more lavish than their menfolk with their praise. Of that the English Wanderer had proof again and again.

A few days after her arrival in Italy, she was sitting on the deck of a little steamer, which was making its way in a leisurely fashion round Lake Maggiore, calling at the towns and villages it passed. "Oh! I am a great admirer of Signor Mussolini," she remarked casually, in reply to a friend's whispered warning that it behoved her to be careful in speaking of the *Duce*. No sooner had the words passed her lips than an Italian lady, who was standing near her, sprang forward; and, with a beaming smile, presented to her the bouquet of beautiful flowers she was carrying. The Englishwoman was infinitely surprised; for, as the giver was a stranger to her, she was quite at a loss to understand the whys and wherefores of the gift. And before she had time to tender her thanks, much less to ask a question, the Italian was already beyond hail—on the gangway leaving the boat.

A few days later, the same Englishwoman paid a visit to a small manufacturing town, a flourishing town, evidently; it was all aglow, indeed, with prosperity. Its municipal buildings and its schools were alike imposing, models in all ways of what such places should be; while as for its Church, it was not only imposing but beautiful. Even its private houses seemed well built, and were spick and span, clean as new-made pins; and its inhabitants seemed quite on a par with its buildings. The men and women whom she met were all well dressed, well fed, too, judging by their faces. In fact, it was easy to see that they were of the sort who can count securely on square meals every day; and are, therefore, on good terms with themselves and their fellows. They had a cheery word for passers-by, a kindly greeting even for the stranger within their gate. As for the children, it was a real pleasure to see them romping in their playground and to hear their merry laughter. And only a few years before, as the stranger chanced to know, that flourishing town was a poverty-stricken village; many of its men ne'er do wells, of its women, slatterns. There was not a school in the place; and all that the children were taught was how to beg.

As she wandered about in the town, she noticed that on most of the houses, especially the larger houses, certain hieroglyphics were either painted or chalked, and she appealed to a passer-by to tell her what they meant. The woman looked at her in surprise for a moment, and seemed a little hurt at the question. Then, laughing good-humouredly, she exclaimed: "Ah! you are English, I see, so you cannot be expected to understand. We put those signs on our houses just to show how thankful we are that we have Mussolini. That is his portrait," she continued, pointing at what seemed to be a few black strokes. "It is not very like him, I admit. Still it is he! for us that is enough. That V.V.M. means *Viva Mussolini*; that V.V.D., *Viva, Viva, Il Duce*." There was something quite pathetic in her voice as she spoke. Had Signor Mussolini been the veriest miracle-working Madonna, she could not have pronounced his name with more fervent reverence. "You do not know all that he has done for us," she kept saying. "You do not know all that he has done for us," she kept saying. "Those were terrible days, the days before he was sent to us."

The Wanderer was sorely puzzled; for, although she had proclaimed herself an admirer of Signor Mussolini, she had done so heedlessly, for she knew very little about him; and in the little she did know, there was nothing to explain that well-to-do, middle-class Italian's whole-hearted devotion to him. She was more puzzled still before long; for she came across a shrewd old Frenchwoman, an Italian by marriage, who had lived some forty years in that town; and she too was quite lavish with her praise of him,

and of the great change he had brought about. There was, however, a touch of mockery in her voice, just now and then, as she spoke in her half-forgotten French, and an odd little twinkle in her eyes. "Fascist! of course I am a Fascist," she exclaimed in reply to a question. "We are all *Fascisti* here, adorers of Mussolini; and little wonder. Think of what he has saved us from. Were it not for him, Italy might to-day be as Russia is, and what would then become of one's bits of savings? The Bolsheviks would soon have devoured the lot, had he not put them to flight. And think of what he has done for us. The men here, my own sons among them, all work hard now; and it is thanks to him that they do. He has made them understand that work they must, whether they like it or not; and that is a great thing. How he has done it, I cannot imagine; but he has done it, and there is no one else here who could have done it. Of that I am sure; for the men here do not like work. In my country it is different."

She paused for a moment meditatively, then added: "Yes, and it is thanks to him that they all have work to do, good work, well paid work. Were there no Mussolini, there would be no factories here; for capitalists are wary now; and it is the factories that have brought us prosperity. Before they were started, our men went about in rags and lived on bread and onions. But you should see them now, when they are out for a stroll with their wives and children, on a Sunday afternoon. Yes, a Mussolini is a great asset to a country. I only wish there was one in France. No, no, I don't," she cried hastily, "that would never do. Under a Mussolini France would soon cease to be France." With a furtive glance at the open window, she promptly changed the subject.

A descendant of one of the Doges, whom the Wanderer chanced to come across, was more whole-hearted than the old Frenchwoman in her admiration of the *Duce*. She spoke of him, indeed, with bated breath, as the Saviour of society; and especially of the class to which she belongs. Had he not marched on Rome when he did, the peasants would have seized the whole of the land, she was firmly convinced; not a square inch would have been left in the hands of its rightful owner. They were already up in arms, she declared, swearing that their *poderi* were their own, had been given to them during the war, and refusing to pay any rent. She drew a most appalling picture of the state of things before the famous March began. According to her, Bolshevism was rampant throughout the country; no one was sure from day to day of a roof over his head; no one's life was safe. "And you can see for yourself how different things are now," she informed her visitor. "The country is organised now as it never was before; our railways are quite models, our postal service is perfect, we all go our

way in peace. The change is marvellous, and we owe it to Mussolini."

She was much too delighted at the new state of things even to grumble at the rates and taxes it entails: judging by what she said, indeed, she paid them quite gladly, terribly high as they are. She had only one complaint: the working classes were not being kept in their proper places, she maintained, they were becoming quite exorbitant in their demands; and—they were no longer content to dine on bread and onions, it seemed. Still, that was only a passing phase, she was sure: the *Duce* would soon put a stop to that sort of thing.

By this time the Wanderer was a little weary of listening to the extolling of Signor Mussolini; she was beginning to find it somewhat stifling. It was as if he held the whole nation within his grasp and that it was useless to try to escape. It was a real pleasure to her, therefore, to meet with an old village priest who was much more eager to talk, in his odd broken French, of Garibaldi than of the *Duce*. In his young days he had fought side by side with Garibaldi, had marched with him for the week together, barefoot sometimes, with no rations but what the peasants gave them. Those were the happiest days he had ever known, he declared, the most glorious for Italy. His voice had quite a martial ring as he spoke of them; while as he spoke of Garibaldi, he was as one transformed. Never was there another man so noble as his old leader, he said, never another so gallant a soldier, so faithful a friend. The old priest had known Mazzini, and spoke of him with enthusiasm; of Cavour, too; and he had much that was kindly to say of the Englishmen who had fought so bravely by his side for Italy. Still he always went back to Garibaldi. If Italy had a Garibaldi to-day, all would be well, he was sure. "But she has a Mussolini," his visitor ventured to remind him. "Yes, and it is perhaps well that she has," he replied hesitatingly, after a pause. "He has given us back our crucifixes and that is a great thing for our schools. The anarchists were working sore havoc with their anti-Christian propaganda even among our children, you see, and he has put a stop to that. Yes, he has certainly done much good, and we must be grateful to him for that. He has done much harm, too," he cried, almost fiercely, a moment later. "There is no more liberty here now than there was a hundred years ago, less indeed than there was under the Bourbons. But it is no good talking about that. Let us talk about England. Garibaldi loved England."

All the women with whom the Wanderer had so far had the chance of a talk were declared *Fascisti*; had they had votes they would undoubtedly have given them to the Fascist candidates, at all elections alike. With some few of them it was—or so it seemed to her—a case of "the lady doth protest too much"; still,

with the overwhelming majority it was otherwise. Evidently they were quite sincere in their devotion to the Fascist Chief: they honestly believed that the Fascist *régime* is the best of all *régimes* for their country, that under which it is most secure of peace and prosperity, of honour and glory too. Yet at that very time lurid stories of Fascist tyranny were being bandied about, and accusations of crime were being hurled freely at Mussolini's lieutenants, if not at himself. It was only after a diligent search that she found a woman who was dead against the *Duce* together with his works, and was not afraid to say so, even to a stranger. And even she saw to it that there were no open windows about before she began. Then she cursed him within—metaphorically, of course, and in the gentlest of voices—cursed him without; had he been the veriest Jackdaw of Rheims, or the devil himself, she could not have cursed him more heartily.

The harm he was doing was incalculable, she declared. He was paving the way for the destruction of Italy, turning her peace-loving people into Chauvinists, stirring them up to covet other people's possessions, teaching that military glory is the only glory worth having. "Chauvinism is spreading like wild-fire throughout the land," she cried. "It is demoralising the whole nation. Mussolini never makes a speech but he fills empty heads with dreams of triumphant marches into foreign lands, great battles, warriors returning laurel-crowned and laden with the spoils, of course. And what will be the end of it all?" She spoke as the veriest Cassandra. Turn where she would, she could see nothing but disaster, disaster for Italy, nay, for all Europe, she said. And what she said she believed; of that there could be no doubt. None the less, had she been less blinded by passion, by the very intensity of her patriotism, she might perhaps have seen something more cheering. So at least her visitor was inclined to think; although, as she was only a wayfaring foreigner, she felt strongly that it was not for her to judge.

Fortunately the next anti-Fascist whose acquaintance she made was a very different woman; for, although she disapproved root and branch of the Fascist Leader and his ways, she tried hard to hold the balance even between him and his opponents. That Signor Mussolini deserved well of his fellows for putting down anarchy with a firm hand, and restoring something in the way of order, if not of law, she admitted frankly; admitted, too, that, on the whole, he had done the putting down promptly and well. She went further. She did not deny that some of the Fascists' worst crimes might possibly have been committed without his knowledge, and even in defiance of his orders.

According to her, when Mussolini marched on Rome the whole country was seething with discontent. All classes had counted on

great things from the war; all classes alike were disappointed and felt themselves aggrieved. The result was, the higher classes railed against the taxes, while going about in fear for their possessions; and the lower classes railed against the price of food. As for the peasants, they shook the very skies with their complaints of the cruel fashion in which they had been deceived; and they had good reason for the clamour they raised. For whenever things went badly in the war, their officers, their priests too, had gone about among them promising that, if only they would fight well and win the war, their bits of land should be given to them; that never again should they be asked to pay their old landlords one *lira*, not even a measure of wheat. And they had believed what they were told. Thus, when the war was over, they had a rude awakening, and got out of hand. It was much the same with the factory workers. They too had been deceived, or had perhaps deceived themselves. They had counted on having higher wages when they returned home from the war; shorter hours; on living in peace and comfort for the rest of their days, in a rich and prosperous Italy. And instead of that, they were called upon to work harder than ever before, on scantier rations, and many of them had less strength wherewith to work. Meanwhile Bolshevik agents were scattering gold among them, spreading tales as to the enormous profits their employers were making, telling them that those profits would all be theirs had they but courage to seize the factories.

"Little wonder the landowners and factory owners are grateful to Mussolini," the anti-Fascist lady remarked bitterly. "Had he not put himself at the head of the discontented when he did, I doubt whether a factory or a field would have been left for long in its owner's possession. And that would have spelt ruin for Italy. Yes, he has certainly done good: that no one can deny. Then, all our public services are well organised and worked now; and that we owe to him in a very great measure. He has undoubtedly wakened up our officials both high and low; has made them understand that they must work hard or retire. Thus he has made us, as a nation, more efficient, and therefore more prosperous. He has wakened up our Local Authorities, too; though, now that they are giving his satellites trouble, he may wish that he had left them asleep. They all seem bent, I am glad to say, on having good schools, in defiance, if needs be, of the Central Government. Still, he has undoubtedly done good. He has, however, done much more harm than good, done the harm, too, quite unnecessarily, through sheer perversity, it seems sometimes. For all the good he has done, he could have done without strangling the freedom which our fathers gave their lives to secure."

She is an ardent patriot; and to see her country again under despotic rule, after all it suffered in its fight for a constitution, is

almost more than she can bear. Mussolini has undone the work Cavour did, she holds, uprooted the seed Mazzini sowed; and that she cannot forgive. Nor can she forgive, for she is very loyal to her sovereign, the outrageous fashion in which he, Italy's lawful King, is thrust aside, deprived of his rights, while some of his most distinguished subjects are driven forth from their own land. Nor is that all. "Mussolini is a demoralising force," she insisted. "Wherever he goes he spreads demoralisation around. We are a common-sense people; yet see all the tomfoolery that is going on in our midst. These Fascist demonstrations with their fantastic ceremonies! Why, even our babies are taught now to stretch out their little arms when the Fascist flag is raised. What does it all mean? Sooner or later reaction will set in, of course; but think of the harm that is being done meanwhile. Never was there a more peace-loving race than we were, never a saner, until Mussolini took us in hand. And now! You should hear the way our young Fascists talk now. The Prussians in their most bellicose days were nothing to them. One might think, to hear them, that they had only to pick and choose among the lands they covet. And they covet half Europe, beginning with Nice, a good share of Africa too. Such talk is rank folly, of course, stupid as stupid can be, but it may become dangerous. To taunt one's neighbours with their falling birth-rate, to rail against them because they choose their own times for paying their taxes, is a perilous pastime. But you really must go to some of the Fascist demonstrations. To you, as a foreigner, they will be interesting—instructive, too, perhaps."

The said foreigner at once began frequenting Fascist shows. And very pretty shows they were, some of them, especially one at which prizes were distributed to school-children. Most of the boys wore black shirts; many of the girls, black blouses, while the little ones were all in white. Every child, whether boy or girl, wore the Fascist colours in one form or another; and attached to every class there was a girl or boy carrying a Fascist flag. Even the teachers wore Fascist emblems, all except two priests, who seemed to stand aloof from the rest. Many of the children were beautiful; and they had evidently all been carefully trained in gymnastics, as well as in Fascist lore. They went through their exercises quite faultlessly, and marched past the presiding Minister like the veriest little soldiers, saluting him as they went with outstretched arms, in Fascist fashion. And whether they did or did not understand the drift of his stirring address, they certainly cheered him to the echo every time he mentioned Mussolini's name.

Another show, one held in a beautiful old city, she found much less attractive. There were only men there, young men for the most part; still there were also many men in the prime of life and

some who were quite aged. Although the great majority of the demonstrators were evidently respectable folk, dotted about among them there were a fair number of folk who seemed to belong to the class which Scotland Yard dubs "suspicious"; and some few, to the rowdy ruffian class. Most of the men were in some sort of uniform, for it was a military demonstration. Soldiers in full military array mounted guard in the square where it was held, surrounded the platform on which a huge portrait of the *Duce* was placed, and patrolled the streets around. They were, however, Fascist soldiers, not soldiers of the King, the Wayfarer was told to her surprise. Even the police on duty were Fascist police; and it was to the Fascist Leader's portrait that soldiers and police alike rendered homage. There were, it is true, a few real soldiers in the square, a few real policemen, a fact that set her a-wondering as to what would happen were the rival forces to take to quarrelling. But no signs of quarrelling were seen that day; on the contrary, the demonstrators seemed all on good terms with one another and quite united in their devotion to their Chief. In every speech that was made—some of them were aggressively warlike in tone—he was extolled as the saviour of Italy, the creator of Young Italy, the Italy that is so soon to be crowned with laurels. The very mention of his name never failed to evoke outbursts of wild enthusiasm.

Had Signor Mussolini appeared in the square that day, he could have led these men as sheep where he would; and they would have done just what he told them to do, would have done it blindly, without asking a question. On that point the Englishwoman had never a doubt, as she stood there watching them: the point on which she had many doubts was as to whether they would have followed any one of his lieutenants, had they been called upon to do so. For in spite of the much-vaunted Fascist discipline, some of the officers found it by no means easy to keep even their own men up to the mark. For instance, she saw three Fascist soldiers smoking cigarettes while on duty in the square; and when an officer ordered them to desist, two of the three stoutly refused. Thereupon he plucked the cigarettes out of their mouths, threw them on the ground, stamped on them, and walked away without saying a word in reply to their insolent ejaculations.

At the very next demonstration she witnessed, the state of things was different: there strict discipline prevailed. But then that was a civilian show, one at which there were neither soldiers nor police. Moreover it was held in a large and flourishing town, one that owed much of its prosperity, she was told, to the Fascist régime. The great feature of that demonstration was a huge procession: many thousands of men and a few hundreds of women marched solemnly through the town in Corporations. Every

Corporation had at its head its flag, a Fascist flag too; and most of them had also a band of music playing the Fascist March or hymns. There were Corporations of the most diverse sort; for every calling, trade, craft or profession had its own Corporation. There were hand-workers and head-workers, tinkers, tailors and candlestick-makers, together with teachers, professors, doctors, lawyers and officials, State and Municipal alike. And the great mass of the demonstrators were evidently glad to be there, proud of being there; in the bearing of some of them, indeed, there was more than a touch of triumph. There were, of course, manifest malcontents among them, although, so far as a rank outsider could judge, their number was not considerable. Still, a whole contingent of what seemed to be casual labourers was evidently more or less inclined to jeer at the whole proceeding. They were a rough and somewhat surly-looking set; Ishmaelites, many of them, unless their faces belied them, a fact that explains perhaps why, as they marched through the streets, Fascist officials walked on either side of them, much as jailors might, if conducting criminals from court house to prison.

Nor was it only among those casuals that there were signs of dissension and even of scoffing. As the Wanderer stood watching, she could not help wondering why a fair number of the men in the procession were there, so sure was she that they would much rather have been elsewhere. That was especially the case with some who, as it was easy to see, belonged to the educated classes. Many of them seemed ill at ease and depressed; it was as if they felt they had more to bear than they had the strength to bear, and had, therefore, given up trying to bear it worthily. On some of their faces dull, sullen hopelessness was written; on others, something akin to fear. They hung their heads as they walked.

The Wanderer, who knew nothing of politics, parties or factions, was sorely puzzled by what she saw that day. She therefore appealed for an explanation to a level-headed Italian friend, who is just as prone to look askance on anti-Fascists as on Fascists. "Some of the men in that procession hated the whole business, I am sure. Why then were they there?" she asked him. "Because they must be there," he replied somewhat grimly. "Had an official absented himself, he would soon have ceased to be an official; had a professional man stayed away, he would have lost most of his clients; and the chances are his life would have been made a burden to him."

The Englishwoman went on her way sorrowful, for she has a very tender corner in her heart for Young Italy; and she could not help fearing lest what she had seen and heard, while there, should point to danger ahead.

EDITH SELLERS.

THE FRENCH SALON AND ANATOLE FRANCE.

THERE are those who would have us believe that the French Salon has long been an institution belonging entirely to the past. And it is true that one can now no longer, as in the eighteenth century, spend one's time going from one *bureau d'esprit* to another without a single hour to spare. In those halcyon days, if one were of the literary *élite*—and no matter of what nationality—one might dine at Baron d'Holbach's on Sundays and Thursdays, at Mme. Geoffrin's on Mondays and Wednesdays, at the house of Mme. Helvétius on Tuesdays, and at Mme. Necker's on Fridays, dropping in to supper at Mme. du Deffand's on Friday night, and putting in a call on Mlle. de Lespinasse any afternoon at five o'clock.

Such a literary debauch is not now possible. Nevertheless Parisians have not entirely lost the art of conversation; neither have intellectual and artistic Frenchwomen relinquished the ambition of creating a Salon, or famous Frenchmen the habit of playing Sir Oracle in the drawing-room of some attractive and eminent lady.

For no Salon can exist without a lion. Thus—to recall five of the Salons which stand out pre-eminently during the last half century—in the Salon of Mme. Adam, the lion was Gambetta, in the Salon of Mme. Aubernon, Dumas *Fils*, in the Salon of la Comtesse d'Agoult, Renan, in the Salon of la Comtesse de Loynes Jules Lemaître; and in the Salon of Mme. Arman de Caillavet, Anatole France.

The story of the last of these, told by one of its *habituées*, Mme. Pouquet,* has recently been published in Paris. Extending from 1876 to 1910, it linked together those three widely divergent chapters in French literary history which are respectively associated with the names of Dumas *Fils*, Anatole France and Marcel Proust. Each of these famous novelists was, at one time or another, a frequent guest in the beautiful drawing-room in the Avenue Hoche, where, on Sunday afternoons and Wednesday evenings, Mme. de Caillavet presided over a brilliant company of writers, artists, musicians and politicians: Pierre Loti, Marcel Prévost, Pierre de Nolhac, la Comtesse de Noailles, Marcelle Tinayre, M. and Mme. Henri de Régnier, Mme. Duclaux, Lucien Guitry, Mme. Réjane, Reynaldo Hahn, and occasionally, when his health permitted, Marcel Proust. Only a few politicians at first contrived to creep in with these artistic and literary lions—the wolf at that time,

* *Le Salon de Mme. Arman de Caillavet.* By Jeanne Maurice Pouquet—en vente chez l'Auteur et à la Librairie Hachette.

as now, seeming strangely content to lie down with the lamb, Poincaré with Briand,* Clemenceau with Jaurès.

But it is the name of Anatole France that sheds the greatest lustre over this Salon, which Mme. Pouquet calls "the forcing house of his genius." Unending it would seem is the stream of books and articles on Anatole France which the French Press has been pouring forth since his death. None lack interest. But here is one which has a special significance in that it demonstrates what everyone acquainted with France knows, but which no book has yet adequately shown, the enormous debt he owed to Mme. de Caillavet.

The story of France and Mme. de Caillavet recalls that of Gambetta and Mme. Adam. For in both cases a beautiful and clever hostess transformed an awkward and retiring Bohemian into a polished man of the world. In both cases, too, the hostess had been initiated into the art of keeping a Salon by another Salon lady with whom she ultimately quarrelled: Mme. de Caillavet by Mme. Aubernon (of whom more later), Mme. Adam by la Comtesse d'Agoult. And again, the quarrels of these ladies recall those of Mlle. de Lespinasse and Mme. du Deffand a hundred years earlier.

It was in the early eighties and introduced by Jules Lemaître that Anatole France made his first appearance in the drawing-room of the Avenue Hoche. France was then only beginning to be famous, having just published his first great novel, *Le Crime de Sylvestre Bonnard*. In Mme. de Caillavet's Salon he created much the same impression as Dechartre of *Le Lys Rouge* created in the Salon of Mme. Martin; he was retiring and absent-minded, à l'âme vague, diverse, éparse, brilliant in tête-à-tête, but taking little part in general conversation, in which he was eclipsed by his imperious and beautiful first wife. We can hear Mme. Arman saying to her Anatole what Mme. Martin said to Dechartre when alone with her in the drawing-room he made some brilliant remark: "Why didn't you say that at dinner? But I see you refuse to display your wit except in tête-à-tête."

"I like his style and his mind, but neither his character nor his manner," was Mme. de Caillavet's opinion of her new acquaintance. Nevertheless, *Les Anatole* were frequently to be found in her Salon. And after his divorce Anatole in the singular came to regard Mme. Arman as his Egeria and the organiser of his life. Not in Paris only—at the Avenue Hoche and at Anatole's house in the Villa Saïd, but at Capian, the Caillavets' country house near Bordeaux, on M. de Caillavet's yacht, and during their frequent journeyings up and down Europe, Mme. Arman stood between her man of genius and all those dull daily matters of

* August, 1926.

routine and business which are so abhorrent to the artistic and literary temperament, especially if it be French.

But Mme. de Caillavet was more than a shrewd woman of affairs: this book shows her devoting to her friend's service brilliant intellectual gifts. By her knowledge of languages she brought France, who rather prided himself on knowing no modern languages save his own, into touch with current European literature. In their wanderings through foreign cities it was she who worked for him in libraries, gleaning here and there anything likely to pique his curiosity or supplement his own extensive researches. Her keen intellect and her knowledge of life inspired many a passage in his work. Sometimes Anatole would actually reproduce her own words, as in his Introduction to *la Princesse de Clèves*, where, as he himself admitted, he quoted word for word Mme. de Caillavet's opinion of Mme. de la Fayette's heroine.

Before knowing Mme. de Caillavet, France had written some charming verses, a few newspaper articles, a few short stories and, as we have said, one novel of mark. But it is to her that we are indebted for the France of his greatest years. She it was who revealed him to himself. She transformed a lazy man into a hard worker. . . . He himself recognised his debt, and often said, "Had it not been for Mme. de Caillavet, I should have done nothing." On her copy of the first edition of *Crainquebille*, he wrote, "To Mme. Arman de Caillavet this little book, which without her I should not have written, for without her I should not write books." Sometimes she was actually at his side while he wrote. "I was born to be a taskmaster," she would say, referring not only to France, but to her son, the gifted dramatist, Gaston de Caillavet, part-author of *Le Roi* and of *L'Habit Vert*, who needed even more prodding than Anatole. France would discuss with her the plots and characters of his novels. From Alexandria he wrote to her of the hero of *Thaïs*, "I am much occupied with the Abbé Paphnutius. He distracts me from life and things. He was born of our conversations. He is our secret. How I must have bored you with his adventures!"

Many a conversation in the novels may have been suggested by talk in the drawing-room and round the dinner table at the Avenue Hoche. For France had now evolved into someone much more like the witty Paul Vence of *Le Lys Rouge* than the silent Dechartre of that novel. Most of the books about him that have appeared since his death are largely records of his conversations. And here we see France like his own M. Bergeret or Dr. Trublet, or l'Abbé Jérôme Coignard, putting his ideas to the test of enlightened discussion. That one of these talks suggested to him the title of a novel we learn from an interesting letter written to him by Marcel Proust and reproduced in this book.

"Mon cher Maître," wrote Proust,

"Re-reading *l'Anneau d'Améthyste*, I recall a time I like to remember when *le Lys Rouge*, as yet without a title, was referred to as 'the novel.' 'The novel is getting on,' Mme. Arman used to say. Then there came something, the development of which was so uncertain that it was called 'the Echo article.' Soon it was spoken of as '*les Bergeret*,' 'the last Bergeret,' 'the next Bergeret.' For a year this title persisted until one day at lunch Mme. Arman, who had arrived late and been scolded, retained enough presence of mind to invent the title '*Sous les Ormes du Mail*.' And the title of Bergeret once more became that of the story. I know not whether it is still so called at the Avenue Hoche, but I am inclined to think so, and I surmise that it is only the already completed phases that are sealed with the titles *Le Mannequin d'Osier* and *l'Anneau d'Améthyste*. Certain it is that your genius develops without a check. And something which was, in that savagely guarded chamber, the study of M. Arman, where one dared not utter a word, a mere pastime has already begun to grow into something which will be the amusement and the edification of centuries. The articles in 'the Echo,' '*les Bergeret*,' have grown into *l'Anneau d'Améthyste*, the most clear-sighted human comedy, the most complete encyclopædia of present-day manners, the memoirs of a just and well-balanced St. Simon. Could one ever have foretold that the rarest gift for poetry would one day become popular? That glory is yours."

Let Proustians who are inclined to despise Anatole France as a back number note their Master's opinion of the elder writer, whom he did not hesitate in his turn to address as *mon Maître*.

When Proust wrote thus, France was at the height of his fame, and Mme. de Caillavet's Salon at the zenith of its brilliance. But since the day when the faltering Anatole had first entered it under the auspices of Jules Lemaitre, the Salon in the Avenue Hoche had suffered a serious change. From being entirely artistic and literary, it had become also political.

Old Mme. Geoffrin, in the eighteenth century, had always dreaded lest politics should insinuate themselves into the conversation of her drawing-room. And whenever she espied the danger approaching even from afar, she would skilfully change the subject with the words, "that will do." (*Voilà qui est bien.*) But then Mme. Geoffrin was nothing if not superficial. As she used to say, "her mind, like her legs, loved to move over level ground."

Mme. de Caillavet was a very different type of woman: though not in the least highbrow and careful to wear a long petticoat over her blue stockings, she was nevertheless a woman of strong sympathies and deep convictions. Consequently, when the *Affaire Dreyfus* cleft French society into two hostile camps, she became a partisan, a thing that Mme. Geoffrin had never been in the slightest danger of becoming. Mme. Arman and Anatole declared

for the persecuted Jew; but most of their literary friends—Bourget, Barrès, Lemaître, and the young Charles Maurras,* whom France had recently introduced into the Avenue Hoche, were against Alfred Dreyfus. Shaking the dust of pro-semitism from their feet, they withdrew to the rival Salon of la Comtesse de Loynes, in the Rue de l'Arcade and later in the Avenue des Champs Elysées, there to found La Ligue des Patriotes and the newspaper, *La Patrie Française*. In this Salon Anatole himself had once been a frequent guest. There also he had been introduced by Jules Lemaître. But now Mme. de Loynes and her friends had started on a path which was to lead in the opposite direction to that pursued by France and Mme. de Caillavet. While the latter espoused the principles of the French Revolution and the Declaration of the Rights of Man, the former held to the doctrines of Bossuet and Louis XIV. For them the State was supreme. *La Patrie* could do no wrong. And *la Patrie* consisted, of course, of that part of the nation represented by those people who arrogated to themselves alone the title of "patriot."

From another Salon of the day which he had once frequented, France had also withdrawn, though for a different reason. This was the Salon of Mme. de Caillavet's quondam friend, Mme. Aubernon. France had revolted against the iron discipline of her parties. And who can wonder; for there his favourite tête-à-têtes were tabooed. And whenever any of her guests indulged in them, Madame would ring a bell furiously in order to recall them to the main stream of conversation. After repeatedly refusing her invitations, France one day found himself confronted by the lady, who demanded an explanation. "Is it true," she asked, "that you have announced your intention of never dining with me again?" "I may perhaps have said so, Madame, but it was not to be repeated."

To return to Mme. Arman: the split in the ranks of her friends left Anatole supreme in the drawing-room of the Avenue Hoche. Here, in the chosen moments known as *l'heure de causerie de M. France*, he would flash his most piercing irony, his most startling paradoxes, his most entertaining anecdotes. Here, he might even be persuaded, like Chateaubriand in the Salon of Mme. Récamier, to read pages from some forthcoming work.

A few of Mme. Arman's friends deplored Anatole's growing interest in politics. He who had once rigorously remained *au dessus de la mêlée* now descended from his ivory tower to fight for truth and justice in the market-place. "The kind of political Protestantism to which M. France now appears to be addicted fills me with alarm," wrote one of these non-political friends to

* Now, with Léon Daudet, editor of *l'Action Française*.

Mme. de Caillavet. And he evidently held her to be partly responsible for the Master's acceptance of "the Socialist faith," a faith which he described as "more devastating than Christianity." The Bergeret novels, the Crainquebille story, as well as numerous political speeches and pamphlets, expressed this new attitude. And there is no doubt that with it Mme. de Caillavet completely sympathised.

To represent the Caillavet Salon as entirely occupied with politics, or even with literature, would be to give a very false impression: Loie Fuller often brought her children to dance, Reynaldo Hahn sang, and Marcelle Tinayre discoursed of women and love, though from a literary standpoint. While herself no longer young, the hostess had lost none of her youthful *entrain*. She liked to attract budding authors and pretty young women. "She seemed," wrote one of her friends, "to renew her own youth when she saw the younger generation flirting around her." "I do not care for the arrived," she would say, "for I generally find they arrive tired." Her own energy and liveliness seemed unending. Yet a time came when it flagged. And then, to hide the waning of her powers from her friends in Paris, she remained in the country.

Her last days were clouded with sadness. In 1909 her friend accepted an invitation to lecture in South America. And though for many a long year he and Mme. de Caillavet had travelled together, there now seemed no question of her accompanying him. During his absence the usual correspondence between them lapsed, and her only news of him came to her through her valet-de-chambre whom she had lent to him for the journey. Rumours, perhaps not entirely unfounded, reached her of his approaching marriage with an actress of la Comédie Française. Nevertheless, on his return, the old friends met and renewed their travels. But it was not the same as before. Relations were strained. They journeyed from Niort to Toulouse, from Carcassonne to Narbonne; they visited Pierre Loti in his house on the Bidassoa; and all the while Mme. de Caillavet was suffering more than physical pain, though that was smart enough. Her letters were sorrowful, but courageous. "Everything is lamentable," she writes, "but I try not to be troubled." At Capian, on January 12th, 1910, her sorrows ended. "It was impossible for her to be cured here," wrote her son, Gaston; "and she refused to return (to Paris) ill. Thus her pride aggravated the disease and rendered it fatal."

With his friend's death, the Salon life of Anatole France closed. In other Salons he was only to be met occasionally. In one of these I saw him for the last time. It was at a luncheon party in January, 1922, soon after he had received the Nobel Prize. I had the

honour of sitting next to him. Opposite was M. Painlevé. France maintained with his customary brilliance that peace ought to have been made in 1917. M. Painlevé disagreed; and in the end France came round to M. Painlevé's view that peace at that time would have been a terrible misfortune for Europe. This striking proof of the open-mindedness of France is also another example of his favourite method of skilfully stating and supporting an idea, and submitting it for examination to a competent authority.

The famous Salon in which I had my latest glimpse of Anatole is, I believe, one of the last of the Salons. For it is doubtful whether this great social institution, which has persisted for three centuries, can survive the growing restlessness of the present day. What hostess of our time can one be sure of finding always at home as one could Mme. de Loynes every evening from five till seven! But without such regular stay-at-home habits, anything like a successful Salon is impossible.

WINIFRED STEPHENS WHALE.

THE FUTURE OF EDUCATION IN INDIA.

A FEW weeks ago the writer of this article, in common with many other educationalists in the Central Provinces, received a circular letter from the inmost sanctuary of the Department of Public Instruction announcing the publication of a book by Mr. Arthur Mayhew on *The Education of India*, and by implication urging that it should be purchased and read.

What was one's surprise, when the book arrived, to find that it constituted a detailed and annihilating condemnation of the Government educational system, and a condemnation couched in terms of biting sarcasm. Nor is it a condemnation uttered in a spirit of ignorant criticism by one who knows only the surface of the gigantic problems about which he writes. Mr. Mayhew was for many years an Inspector of Schools in Madras, then for a long time Director of Public Instruction in the Central Provinces, and afterwards Acting Commissioner of Education with the Government of India. He therefore knows what he is writing about when he tears to pieces the system which he administered so long, and (as we in the Central Provinces know) so conscientiously and so efficiently. He also knows what he writes about when he laments, as he does in his Introduction, the fact that "in an official atmosphere I had grown so very un-English."

The fact that a book of this description can be authoritatively recommended by a Department of Public Instruction shows to how considerable a degree the men who are themselves engaged in administering the Government system of education in India are dissatisfied with that system, and are seeking for new light on the question of its reform. It is rare indeed to find anyone, from the most sun-dried of bureaucrats to the most declamatory of extremists, who is willing to say a good word for the existing state of things. It is universally condemned, and the condemnation sounds loudest from those who have themselves been through the mill, either as teachers, administrators, or pupils. The best that can be said for this present system (though, incidentally, Mr. Mayhew is far from saying it) is that it has succeeded in creating a discontent—perhaps somewhat dubiously divine, but certainly vocal—both with itself and with Western institutions generally.

Criticism of the existing educational system may be summarised briefly as follows. In the first place (and this is the constant complaint both of the students themselves and of Indian leaders of all types), it is too exclusively vocational, in a narrowly restricted sphere. It prepares students with a certain amount of efficiency for Government service, both in higher and subordinate branches, for the Law, for the teaching profession, and (to a lesser extent) for medicine. But beyond this it does not look. The

student who has been through the mill of High School and College is fitted for these methods of earning a livelihood, but is thereby rendered automatically unsuitable for other and more "practical" methods. During the past few years these staple professions have been becoming steadily more overstocked, and consequently dissatisfaction has been growing apace with the system which prepares for them and for them alone.

In the second place, the Indian educational system is far too centralised. The Government Inspector, with the shadowy gods behind him, is an all-controlling tyrant, who can make or mar the individual teacher's career. Originality and initiative are stamped out. The sleek "window-dresser" is the man who succeeds. The centrally-controlled examination rules with an iron rod all school activities (by the way, we in the Central Provinces remember Mr. Mayhew's *régime* as Director with qualified delight, because he introduced yet another centrally-controlled examination!). Inevitably the functions of teacher and taught degenerate into text-book cramming, for so only can centrally-controlled examinations be passed. The school becomes that unholy thing, a cram-shop.

In the third place, the Indian educational system was conceived in sin and brought forth in folly. The fatuous arrogance towards Oriental culture of Macaulay and the "Anglicists" was matched by the equally fatuous ignoring of the most elementary facts concerning Indian mentality which marked the men who carried out Macaulay's ideas. They devised a system utterly at variance with all indigenous ideals of education, and a system which in effect led to the neglect and despising of Indian culture. The result—after the production of a generation or two of de-naturalised and de-nationalised hermaphrodites—was an inevitable reaction against everything Western, a reaction which has swung India much too far in the direction of a reactionary and obscurantist nationalism.

In the fourth place, the Indian educational system is divorced from religion. This in itself is enough to prove that it is utterly at variance with the ancient Indian ideals of what education should be. In India every detail of a man's life, from months before his birth till years after his death, is controlled by religion—by a religion which from time immemorial has made its stronghold in the home and in the relations between the *guru* and his pupils. The modern educational system has destroyed the second relationship, but has thereby strengthened rather than weakened the former. Therefore Indian educationalists are continually baffled by unseen forces of conservatism and reaction, whose power-house is that unassailable and unapproachable fortress, the Hindu home. Therefore also their pupils live a consciously double life: they have double standards of truth and of conduct. Hence conflicts

and complexes innumerable. There is no hope for Indian education until religion is somehow brought once more into vital relationship with the student's life within the walls of his school or college.

In the fifth place, the existing voluntary system of primary education is inexcusably wasteful and inefficient. According to Mr. Mayhew's reckoning it costs proportionately four times as much as a compulsory system would cost, and in return gives one-eighth of the output of literacy. The standing disgrace to the British Empire which is constituted by the Indian illiteracy figures can only be wiped out by a system of compulsion, financially backed by Government and vigorously enforced.

These are the five main heads of the indictment against the Indian educational system. What of practical measures for the reform of that which so grievously needs reforming?

Mr. Mayhew's suggestions may be summed up as more freedom for higher education; effective compulsion, with generous supplies of Government money, for primary education; and more religion all round. In connection with the last point, he clearly has great sympathy with, and even admiration for, the work of Christian missions, and he urges, especially in view of the closing of the Indian Educational Service to European recruitment (a policy which he approves), that at no previous stage has India needed more sorely the sympathy, support and guidance of non-official Westerners.

These suggestions are admirable so far as they go; but it is hard to see how they may be carried out in such a manner as to realise on any extensive scale in India to-day the ancient Indian ideal of education. Those who have seen that ideal in actual operation, for instance, at the Arya Samaj Gurukula at Hardwar, or in Dr. Tagore's school at Bolpur, will be forced to doubt whether the freeing at this late date of the machine-made High School and College from the incubus of Government control will achieve much. It is to be feared indeed that the removal of the guiding hand would merely result in a wholesale lowering of standards and in a scrambling for crammed "results" even more shameful than at present. The mould has been made so firmly, and has been used for so long, that it is to be doubted whether the mere removal of the master-hand would have any effect upon the quality of the product turned out, except a degenerative effect. On the other hand, will not the creation by the hundred thousand of machine-made, Government-paid-for, and Government-controlled primary schools, which every Indian boy is forced to attend, mean in the long run that we are faced by a problem of mechanical and standardised education even tenfold more baffling than that which faces us now?

With regard also to religion, this cannot be introduced by a happy thought from outside into the existing system by the introduction, for instance, of one more text-book. In a genuinely Indian school, of the Hardwar or Bolpur type, religion is part and parcel of the whole life of the institution. The day begins and ends with the joint sacrifice: every meal is a sacrament, and a sacrament shared in by teachers and pupils on a basis of equality: at a score of different points during the day religious sanctions are invoked and religious teaching given. More than all perhaps, teachers and pupils are conscious of living a communal life of immemorial antiquity—a life which has been lived for ages by the great men of the national past. They feel themselves to be inspired by the same spirit, sanctified by the same ceremonies, striving for the same ideals, living together under much the same conditions, as the thinkers and saints of the past, whose names are renowned throughout the world, and who won for India her fame as the Motherland both of philosophy and of religion. The atmosphere of such an institution—the truly Indian type of school—is very hard to define and describe; but none the less, it is an exceedingly real and an exceedingly valuable thing. It is a thing, however, which cannot be standardised, cannot be turned out by the hundred thousand. Perhaps there are only a dozen such schools in the whole of India to-day. Yet their importance is immeasurably beyond their numbers.

In considering the significance of these genuinely Indian schools from the point of view of practical reform in the Indian educational system, there are two or three main principles to be recognised. In the first place, no school can partake of this ancient *ashram* ideal which is not a boarding-school; for the pupils must live a communal life from morning to night, in close company with their instructors. In the second place, the school must be of compassable size, so that intimate personal relationships may exist between teachers and taught—between all the teachers and all the taught—who must form a single group. In the third place, dignified buildings matter very little; the traditional *ashram* is built of wattle-and-mud, and its roofs are of leaves. In the fourth place, some expression of religion is needful which permeates the whole group-life, and which demands time and concentration of mind for its fulfilment, by the group acting together as one. In the fifth place, complete freedom must be given to the directors of the school to frame their own courses, devise their own methods of instruction, and generally to develop their own system. In the sixth place, it will be found in such institutions, if the example of those already existing may be taken as a guide, that whilst adequate emphasis will be laid upon distinctively Indian studies, a wide-

spirited course in general culture will in time be developed, probably under stimulus of the idea that India has much to learn from as well as to give to the rest of the world. In the seventh place, the course will be markedly less vocational than the present Government course, i.e., it will aim at producing good men rather than good clerks and good lawyers; it will include a considerable amount of hand-work, and probably a good deal of practical agriculture, with much that goes to the training of an all-round Boy Scout.

The development of this type of institution is possible in India; for, as has been said, such institutions are in existence, and they have been created by Indians. The question thus next arises, how can Government encourage on a wide scale the growth of some such indigenous system of education? Here also Mr. Mayhew has valuable hints to offer us, in a section of his book which is devoted to a consideration of the course which should originally have been pursued, during the 1830's, in devising an educational system for India. The principle he lays down is that Government should have acted as patrons or benefactors, not as a controlling or restraining authority. It should have confined itself merely to giving assistance where assistance was required. "In the spirit of ancient benefactors and royal patrons of learning, the Government (should have been) content with selecting the right kind of men, and (should have) then guaranteed continuance of support, so long as the torch of learning was kept well alight, freeing them from all control and leaving in their hands all organisation and, as time went on and the work expanded, such functions as the choice of assistant and successors."

Is it too late to plan for some such development to-day? Surely it is not. In the field of higher education the past decade has seen a great step taken in this very direction, through the creation up and down India of a number of autonomous Universities, and through the handing over of upper secondary education in several provinces to the control of Boards of High School Education, on which Government officials are in a minority. The success of these experiments (and Mr. Mayhew, for instance, looks upon them as the most hopeful element in the educational situation as a whole) seems to indicate that the time has come for a more courageous policy with regard to the encouragement of genuinely Indian educational institutions. Could not Government, for example, set free a few of the most capable and energetic Indian educationalists in its employment for definite experimental work in this direction, guaranteeing them their salaries, giving them a certain moderate amount of equipment, and then launching them out, freed from all codes and systems and from all but informal and sympathetic inspection, on the task of building up schools on the plan of the

ancient Indian *ashram*? There are any number of capable men in Government service who have not yet been long enough ground in the administrative mill to lose their "divine discontent," and to become the average standardised product of the system. Their initiative and enthusiasm for a more genuinely Indian education should be given scope to express itself in some such way as has just been suggested.

Again, outside of the existing Government educational service there is any amount of energy and thought that should be harnessed to the same task. There are hundreds of men in other professions who are not only keen theorists with regard to education, but have a definite measure of practical ability which would enable them to put their ideas into practice if they were given a certain amount of encouragement and help. It is men of this type who have built up the various *ashrams* and *gurukulas* which already exist up and down the country. Many of them found a chance for such educational service at the time of non-co-operation, and it was no fault of theirs if at that time the pressure of the existing system proved too strong for their experiments. If such men were guaranteed a living, and given help with sites and rough buildings, there is every reason to believe that a great increase of the *ashram* type of education would be the result.

It may, however, be objected that such institutions would fail to obtain a regular supply of pupils, because the schools of the existing system, being of so strictly vocational a type, and catering mainly for the classes who desire to take up the vocations for which the schools offer training, would use up all the available supply of students. At present, however, in many parts of the country the existing Middle and High Schools cannot by a very wide margin take in all the pupils who desire to study in them. Especially at the bottom of the Middle School course far more boys apply for admission than can be accommodated. There is thus a definite surplus, for whom room might be found in the suggested *ashrams*. Again, an essential part of the reform of the existing system is a loosening of the hold of the existing matriculation examination (or High School Certificate examination, as it is called in some provinces). The place of this should be taken by service examinations, in order to supply the need for Government clerks and officials, and by entrance examinations in the case of the Universities and institutions of higher professional training. Such a reform—and its urgency cannot be too strongly insisted upon—would go far towards making it possible both for the proposed *ashrams* and for existing institutions to experiment in a healthy and constructive manner with new courses of study, and thus to develop a type of education which shall be at once more in line with Indian culture and tradition and more all-round and

"practical." Moreover, there are plenty of intelligent Indians who would eagerly support the effort to Indianise education, and would support it by sending their own sons to the Indianised institutions, even though it may not from the beginning be apparent that these schools will be equally efficient with the schools of the existing system, from the point of view of preparation for Government clerkships and for the Law. For the extent of the disgust which modern India feels with things as they are in the educational sphere can hardly be exaggerated.

What is here suggested is that Government—which, as may be seen from the fact that it has recommended Mr. Mayhew's book, is itself sufficiently dissatisfied with things as they are—should set free a certain number of younger men chosen both from the educational service in each province and from outside that service. They must be men of originality and initiative, men also of a genuinely religious spirit, and men whose patriotism is well approved. These men must have their salaries guaranteed to them, together with the usual increments and pension—indeed, it would be well if they were treated a little more generously in these respects than those who remain in the ordinary educational service. They must also be provided with sites, rough buildings and a certain amount of equipment. This done, they must be left at complete liberty to build up their own *ashrams*, to devise their own system of instruction, their own syllabus of subjects to be taught, their own tests of progress, their own methods of discipline, and so forth. All the inspection that will take place of such *ashrams* will be a periodical attempt on the part of the educational authorities to learn what is being done, and to collate methods and results.

If some such scheme is brought into operation there is hope that in time some of the glaring errors of the past—errors with whose results we are at present unable to cope, and which condemn educational effort in India to a very large degree of futility—will gradually be corrected.

The gigantic experiment of the introduction into India of Western democratic institutions demands as a clamant necessity the speedy establishment of universal and compulsory elementary education. On this matter, the general truth of what Mr. Mayhew says is confirmed by Indian opinion of every hue and gradation. However large the financial sacrifices which the reform demands, they must be faced and resolutely made. But above the elementary stage the need for freedom and Indianisation, from the cultural point of view, is no less clamant.

These are the two outstanding needs of modern India; for the nation is what its schools make it.

JOHN S. HOYLAND.

THE CHURCH ASSEMBLY AND THE PAROCHIAL CLERGY.

THE Church Assembly—which by the Enabling Act, 1919, became the originating centre for legislation affecting the Church of England—cannot expect to avoid criticism, but a tendency is manifested in some of its recent movements which is of serious concern to the best friends of the Church. A certain well-understood degree of independence, accompanied by a proportionate sense of responsibility, has been one of the chief characteristics of the position of the parochial clergy, and the freedom arising therefrom has been the ground of no little of the best contribution they have made to the national and religious life. This independence, never more than relative, has been consolidated by legal enactments and financial arrangements which have for many years gone towards making the parish the unit of the Church's life. A realisation of new obligations has revealed the inadequacy of a conception of the life of the Church which does not provide for action on a larger scale; there are obvious duties that can only be undertaken by the Church acting as a whole. How such united activity can be achieved without entrenching upon the independence and freedom which is the growth of centuries is a problem demanding the best resources of statesmanship.

Since the establishment of the Assembly, influences from two sides seem to have met in it; and, possibly without intention, but none the less definitely in effect, bid fair to settle the question quickly by gradually derogating from the status and prestige of the parochial clergy and bringing them under the control of a central bureaucratic authority. Much loose talk has been heard of the reassertion of authority and tightening up the discipline of the Church, and it is easy to bring forward dreadful examples of the undue assertion of independence by individual clergy; but the restoration of discipline will not be satisfactorily accomplished unless it is undertaken specifically and deliberately. The clergy have rights as Churchmen and as Englishmen, and in both directions there are rights of control over their actions and work which derive partly from Law and partly from long-established custom. The adjustment of these where they conflict, especially because there are intertwined in them spiritual considerations and sanctions as well as civil obligations and protections, is a highly complicated proceeding. It may be that a large degree of authority over the parochial clergy should be exercised by or through a central organisation: that and the method by which it could be used are matter for argument: it certainly ought not to be attempted by gradual, almost surreptitious, steps in legislation on other subjects; and once more round and

sentimental talk must not be allowed to perpetuate itself in loose legislation. That there is in the Assembly a tendency towards the development of a central authority at the expense of the parochial clergy it is hardly possible to doubt, and a recognition of the fact seems definitely to be called for.

In one of the first measures to which the Assembly addressed itself—the Parochial Church Councils (Powers) Measure, 1921—a section dealing with the appointment of an incumbent to a parish was, at the last moment, withdrawn because of the impossibility of devising a method by which such powers could be exercised without serious prejudice to the clergy themselves. A later attempt to deal with the same matter—the Further Powers Measure—was rejected by the Ecclesiastical Committee of Parliament presumably on the same grounds. The Dilapidations Measure, 1923, valuable as it is realised to be, has in the few years of its working raised a certain amount of feeling for the same reason. The meeting of the annual payments under the measure is a responsibility, recognised and calculated by incumbents in parishes when it has come into operation, but the method adopted in collecting the payments has come to some of them as a severe shock. Instead of the incumbent paying the amount and security being taken, as would be quite reasonable, for recovery in the event of default, he is informed—when the amount of the annual charge is determined—that it will be deducted from payments due to him on account of the income of the benefice from Queen Anne's Bounty. The authority for this is an apparently innocuous clause in section 25 of the Measure, a case of legislation by reference which was undoubtedly little appreciated when the Measure was under discussion. The result is that *amour propre* is wounded, and a feeling generated that new authority is being exercised in an unaccustomed manner.

The Pensions Measure which recently became law gives rise to the same feeling in an aggravated form. Premium contributions are to be deducted by the Ecclesiastical Commissioners or Queen Anne's Bounty from the income of the benefice before it is paid to the incumbent. The Ecclesiastical Committee in reporting this measure to Parliament for approval said:

"Some objection has been brought to the notice of the Committee to the provisions of the Measure which propose to place a compulsory charge on the incomes of the clergy. We are of opinion that these proposals are in no sense contrary to constitutional practice. They cannot be compared to a tax imposed by Parliament for public purposes, but are more analogous to deductions made by corporations and other bodies for pensions purposes."

The distinction between these compulsory charges for the clergy themselves and a tax for public purposes is nation is

obvious, but the suggested analogy fails at the crucial point that it is drawn between persons whose status in relation to the authority is essentially different. The officials of a corporation are employees, and deductions from their salaries are made by the employers on the basis of an agreement which is accepted by the official as a condition of appointment. The clergy by their induction are the holders of an office to which certain emoluments belong. The deductions are in each case devoted to the provision of a pension on retirement, but it is not a good analogy which takes account of a superficial and misses the essential point of the comparison. *Obiter dicta* let fall by advocates of the Pensions Measure indicate that this mischievous and erroneous notion of the clergy as employees was the pre-supposition of some of the arguments in its favour, and it appears also to have been the unacknowledged background of more than one of its provisions. It must be remembered that the only employees of the Church Assembly are its own officials. Central authority has asserted the right, at the expense of the holder of a benefice, to control his management of a part of the income attached to it, but only by overriding Acts by which in this matter he was protected. The interest in the financial clauses of the measure seems, in the Assembly discussions, to have allowed hardly any attention to be given to this point, but it is an uncalculated indication of a tendency in its outlook which cannot be neglected.

In the matter of Patronage reform, which is still under discussion, the most considerable changes in the traditional position of the parochial clergy are proposed to be made. The promise to give "an effective voice" to the parishioners in the choice of their incumbent is proving most difficult to redeem. Two attempts have failed, but unless it can be redeemed without compromising the influence of the person to be appointed, there is grave danger in innovation. The suggestion to place two representatives of the parish on the Diocesan Patronage Board with access to confidential information—which no clergyman objects to his bishop knowing—would mean too frequently the eager canvassing of such things in the parish. It is no use burking the fact that weaknesses exist in human nature, even in Parochial Church Councillors. A remedy with such possibilities of mischief would be worse than the disease. The modern fetish of open negotiation cannot be applied to the appointment of the clergy without seriously affecting—to their detriment—the starting point of their work. There are very many among the clergy themselves—the writer is one—who desire that the parishioners should have their "effective voice"; but there is another side to this question, their own personal side, which is in danger of being completely overlooked.

Again, the formation of Patronage Boards in each Diocese, with a power of review over every appointment, will be an innovation irrevocable in its influence. It inevitably means, soon or late, a degree of standardisation in the ministry of the Church which spells the destruction of the vigorous individuality which has been the strength of the parochial clergy and of the Church of England in the past. Such a development of centralised authority, again, is matter for argument. The setting-up of Patronage Boards with their elaborate machinery for "keeping the wrong man out" will be its establishment. The pitiful mistakes of the Church in the days of the Wesley movement are unthinkable in the present, but it is to be remembered that the most vital movements in the Church to-day are without exception to be traced to enthusiasts whose protection, in the days of opposition, was the independence of their individual position. If the value of this independence is a thing of the past, by all means let it go. If in addition to the already existing spiritual means of influence which may be brought to bear on the clergy in their parishes, and the restoration of a disciplinary system foreshadowed in the report on the Church Courts, it is desirable that they should be made parts of a closely articulated machinery, let us not be afraid of it; but let not the whole atmosphere of our life and service be changed without recognising what is being done.

Another measure recently given final approval by the Assembly demands a note. The Benefices (Ecclesiastical Duties) Measure is an attempt to deal with an extremely difficult problem. No one would set up the claim that a parish priest who neglects his duties should be allowed to continue with impunity, but this Measure gives one so charged with neglect less obvious and unchallengeable security of fair trial than is common practice in the Civil Law. It is not enough that justice should be done—it ought to be undeniably patent that every facility for the disproof of a charge has been open to such a one before a report is given against him. That this Measure has the appearance of failing to recognise some of the fundamental principles of the Common Law gives too readily the semblance of discrimination against individual clergy.

The Church Assembly has a great work to do, and already has achieved reforms that have been long desired. It may be the impelling consciousness of so much to be done that leads, with the best possible intention, to the doing of some things in less than the best way. The vigour of its vitality seems at times to be betraying it into decisions the implications of which are not fully appreciated. The steady invasion of the rights of the parochial clergy may not be intended, might even be emphatically disavowed by the Assembly and its members, but it does appear to be a slowly accumulating result of its work. Even abuses which have grown

up through centuries cannot be successfully remedied without care that "the wheat is not rooted up with them"; and the destruction of ancient liberties is not the best security for the permanence of newly recognised rights. It is a movement of almost greater concern to the laity than the clergy, for it is impossible to separate between their interests. So much more depends on the spirit of the corporate life of such a body as the Assembly than on safeguards that can be reduced to writing. If under a democratic form it works towards the reality of an oligarchic power, it cannot be conceived that the liberties of the clergy will be the end of its movements in that direction. Ultimately it is the force of public opinion which determines the direction and the limits of the decisions of all legislative bodies. Is this movement due in part to a perhaps unconscious imitation of features which most markedly differentiate certain other religious organisations from the Church of England? In any case, the independence and freedom which so particularly characterise the position of the clergy of that Church should not be replaced by a central bureaucratic authority unless it is done deliberately and with intention. To overlook such a movement until an irrevocable change is complete would bespeak, on the part of the Church, a want of acumen deserving of whatever ill results should accrue.

E. H. SMITH.

EXCAVATION WORK IN PALESTINE.

THE cause of archæology in Palestine has received a permanent stimulus as a result of the International Archæological Congress recently held in Jerusalem. It was attended by delegates from thirteen of the leading nations, including an envoy from the Vatican. The cordial character, that pervaded the meetings, at which technical points were discussed, the visits of inspection paid to Jerusalem's new institutions, the Palestine Museum and the British and American Schools of Archæology, coupled with excursions to various sites where excavations are now in progress, demonstrated that it is possible for men of different countries to come together upon an equal footing and upon a common basis, and by their constructive criticism, helpful suggestion and advice, promote the cause of antiquarian research. This is how it should be, for Palestine is sacred soil in the eyes of all Christendom.

There is certainly no country where the archæologist is so busy to-day as in Palestine. There are no less than eleven distinct expeditions in the field, representing seven different nations—Great Britain, America, France, Italy, Denmark, Germany and Austria. From Dan in the north to Beersheba in the south and across the Jordan in Transjordan the pick of the excavator is to be heard, unearthing the relics of a bygone civilisation, and throwing valuable light not only upon the past history of the land, but upon the sacred narrative as well.

To the south of Hebron, Dr. W. F. Albright, Director of the American School of Archæology in Jerusalem, has located the site of the library city of Kirjath Sepher. Since the discoveries in Babylon and the Hittite country of libraries of thousands of baked clay tablets, hopes have been entertained that in Palestine similar finds may come to light. The site that especially attracted attention was Kirjath Sepher, for the name implies the "town of books," or library, but no positive identification of the site has been made. In Joshua xv, 15, we are told that Caleb, one of the two spies who brought a good report about the land, and to whom a special inheritance was promised, being now given the site of Hebron, drove out the sons of Anak and went up against Debir which was called Kirjath Sepher, and promised the hand of his daughter to whoever should smite the place. Then Othniel the son of Kenaz, Caleb's brother, smote the town and obtained his niece's hand in marriage. On going thither she manœuvred with her father to be given the "upper and nether springs," for it was south land. Those springs still exist and were made use of by the British during the war.

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For a long time Dhahiriyeh, lying about fifteen miles south-west of Hebron, was taken to be the site. Latterly a conspicuous Tell, or artificially formed mound, 1,650 feet above sea level, to the north-west of Dhahiriyeh, called Tell Beit Mursim, has attracted the attention of archæologists, and here Dr. Albright has been toiling with most interesting results. He has laid bare a portion of the old city wall and two well-preserved gates, practically the first of the early Israelite period yet found in Palestine. The sloping revetments of the walls, which vary from ten to twelve feet in thickness and probably towered thirty feet in height, not only date back to the Canaanite period, but resemble those found on the site of ancient Jericho. They were apparently covered with clay over which water was poured to make scaling impossible.

A shaft sunk in the site, reaching down to the level of the base of the wall where it was laid bare, seems to indicate that at four different periods the city suffered destruction by fire, as witnessed the layers of ashes in the stratification—corresponding roughly to an Egyptian invasion about 1200 B.C.; then two destructions not far apart, being probably the reduction by Othniel and his delivery of Israel from the tyranny of Cushanrishathaim; then the destruction under Nebuchadnezzar. Since that time the site has lain bare, except for some slight Byzantine remains.

Evidently weaving was quite an industry in the place judging by the number of clay weavers' weights found. As a corollary to weaving distinct traces of and vessels for dyeing were found. Very large, white, compact, sundried bricks were used, eighteen by ten by eight inches in size, such as have not been met before. A couple of hundred pottery vessels of various shapes and sizes were unearthed, some of them being designs not seen before. Some broken Ashtarottes were found, but no inscribed tablets have responded to the search thus far. A curious little pottery juglet with a perforated bottom, the use of which none have been able to divine, was picked up in perfect condition. Various pestles and mortars, and many sling stones or *ballistæ* have been encountered. The pottery found carries the history back to two milleniums before our era.

Of particular interest are the discoveries which have been made at Mizpeh, where Samuel judged Israel for twenty years, and which we know from the sacred narrative was a strongly fortified position. The site of the excavations is a hill some seven miles north of Jerusalem, not far from Ramallah. It was the scene of some stiff fighting between the Turks and the British before the capitulation of Jerusalem. It lies close to the village of El-Bireh, identified with ancient Beeroth. According to tradition it was here that the parents of Jesus missed Him on their return from Jerusalem. The excavations are being carried out under the direction of Dr. William F.

Bade, Dean of the Pacific School of Religion, which is associated with the University of California. Dr. Bade is a noted archæologist and a distinguished author. One of his earlier works, *The Old Testament in the Light of To-day*, created a stir some eight or nine years ago. The late President Roosevelt declared it to be one of three leading books of the year. It was hailed as "the best work on the religion of the Hebrews" which had appeared up to that time.

Quite early in the work the diggers struck a city wall, so massive and strong that it altered all preconceived notions of the strength of ancient fortified cities in Palestine. The wall averaged sixteen feet in thickness, and this width is considerably increased at points where towers and citadels formed part of the wall. This great defensive edifice is of the Bronze Age, and was erected long before the Hebrew occupation of Palestine. On the outside it was constructed of well-dressed Cyclopean, and, in the opinion of Professor Garstang, Head of the Antiquities Department of the Palestine Government, it is the finest example of a Bronze Age wall yet unearthed in Palestine. It rests upon bedrock foundations and in places the outer face of it has been laid bare to a depth of about twelve feet.

Immediately within the wall there have been uncovered seven silos, or grain bins, circular in shape, about three feet in diameter and from four to six feet deep. They appear to have been of a later construction than the wall. Underneath one of them was discovered an ancient cave-tomb, and later a second one from which have been taken nearly a hundred jars, cups and other pieces of pottery of very great age, exhibiting shapes and decorations which seem in part at least to be entirely new in the field of Palestinian archæology. The pattern is very ancient, of a date prior to 2000 B.C.

There was also found a large cistern excavated out of the solid limestone rock. It is located near the south-east citadel site, and may well be the cistern into which Ishmael threw the body of Gedaliah after he had slain him. An interesting discovery was a tunnel which led from a neighbouring house to the underground side of the cistern. Evidently during a siege or water famine when water from the main supply was rationed some one found a way of stealing the precious liquid unobserved. There were also unearthed a number of smaller bottle-shaped cisterns, also excavated out of the living rock. In three of them were found Israelite pottery dating from the early monarchy down to the exile. Near the bottom of one of these cisterns, on the side of the wall, was found a remarkable and somewhat elaborate symbol the like of which has so far never been found before. Because of its curious appearance it has

been called the octopus symbol. Another interesting find among the ruins was that of the head of the goddess Astarte, with a coiffure that strikingly resembles the modern "bobbed" hair style. She was the "Queen of Heaven" against whose worship Jeremiah warned Israel.

In a protected corner in one of the tombs was found a well-preserved skeleton of one of the early Bronze Age inhabitants of Mizpeh. This has been carefully encased in paraffin and has been sent to America for expert anthropological study to determine the physical characteristics of the race to which this individual belonged. It is the belief of Dr. Bade that the earliest inhabitants of Palestine between 3000 and 2000 B.C., were not of Semitic stock. So far no careful anthropological determination of the question has been made. The skull and bones of the skeleton will later be turned to the Palestine Museum in Jerusalem. The series of potsherds and pottery so far unearthed would show that Mizpeh was continuously inhabited from the end of the Stone Age, about 3000 B.C., to Maccabean times.

At Shechem, near Nablous, where, prior to the war, the ruins of the palace of Ahab were unearthed—the only one so far found of a Hebrew King—Professor Sellin, of Berlin, is at work with promising results. An ancient Canaanite temple has been uncovered, the kind probably favoured by the Children of Israel after the death of Gideon, when they made Baal-berith their god. It is built on a broad and high terrace overlooking the lower part of the city, twenty-six metres in length. The actual sanctuary of the god lies beyond an entrance hall flanked by two massive tower-like projections. The temple possesses three aisles, and sufficient remains of the pillars to guess their number as six, with capitals showing strong Egyptian influence. Behind the temple, and connected with it by a long colonnade, there lies a group of buildings which may be accepted as the residence of the royal priests.

There are other ruins obviously connected with the temple rites not very far away. In another section of the excavations three figures of the goddess Astarte have been recovered. Two domestic altars in stone have been dug from another quarter; on one of them the remains of a burnt offering, probably a sheep, are still visible. Among the most interesting discoveries of all is a gold necklet. This was unearthed from the bottom of a large heap of rubbish, bones of oxen and camels. An ornament of this kind, in gold, is unique in Palestine excavations up to date. Its strange resting-place gives colour to the theory that it was hidden for safety's sake when enemies attacked the city.

Shechem was ancient long before Jerusalem, a fruitful valley where Abraham and Jacob rested, first as a fruitful valley where Abraham and Jacob rested, and then as a

prosperous city. An Egyptian tomb inscription mentions it as among the conquests of the Pharaoh Sesostris the Third. The period of history now coming to light appears to be that of its prime, when Abimelech the adventurer, whose death pleases so much more than his life, had himself hastily anointed king "by the plain of the pillar that was in Shechem," and later was killed by his armour-bearer after the revolt in the city, when his skull had been cracked by a woman: "Draw thy sword and slay me, that men say not a woman slew him."

Excavations are also to be resumed at Bethshan, or Beisan, in Galilee. In 1925 an American expedition from the University of Philadelphia dug over the site, when the two temples of the Philistines mentioned in the First Book of Chronicles, in one of which the armour of Saul was placed and in the other his head, were found. The finds then made have now been examined and the report makes interesting reading. Beisan and the surrounding districts are replete with Biblical Associations. On one side of the fertile and picturesque valley in which the city reposed, rise the Mountains of Gilboa, on which Saul took his life, and on the other side the lower hill slopes of Little Hermon. Near by is Jezreel where Jezebel lived, and also Endor, where Saul consulted the witch. Along the roadway through the valley here the Philistines brought the headless body of Saul and his two sons, and here came the bloody chariot of Ahab bearing his lifeless body to Samaria. Here drove the fiery Jehu to execute divine vengeance on kings and false prophets and to seize a throne. All that remains of Beisan to-day is a large mound two hundred feet in height, which covers the ruins of several cities, for the site is one of the oldest city sites in the world.

As a result of the 1925 excavations four Canaanite temples were discovered, two of which had been built during the time of Rameses II, one in the reign of his predecessor, Seti I, and one in the Tell el-Amarna era. The evidence would go to show that the southern temple of Rameses II was dedicated to the warrior-god Resheph, and the northern one to the warrior-goddess Antit-Ash-toreth, whose monument was discovered in the building. Until lately it was thought that in the time of Rameses III the latter temple was in disuse, but the new details show that such was not the case. As a matter of fact, from the time of the erection of the buildings up to when King David drove out the Philistines, worship was carried on in both the temples, first by the Egyptians and then by the Philistines. The Bible references to these temples have been a little confusing. In Chronicles it states that when Saul died the Philistines "put his armour in the house of their gods, and fastened his head in the temple of Dagon," while the parallel

passage in Samuel informs us that "they put his armour in the house of Ashtaroth and they fastened his body to the wall of Beisan." The evidence, both literary and archæological, shows that the building called in the Old Testament "Temple of Dagon" was the southern temple, and that the building called "House of Ashtaroth" in the one place, and "House of their Gods" in the other, was the old northern temple. There is really no inconsistency in the fact that the same temple is termed "House of Ashtaroth" and "House of their Gods," for it must be remembered that Ashtaroth is merely the plural of Ashtoreth. But in any case the passage in Chronicles clearly indicates that there were two temples at Beisan during the Philistine régime. The excavations have proved beyond doubt that there were.

The roofs of the temples were undoubtedly made of wood and were supported by stone columns adorned with palm tree capitals, generally found associated with *mazzebahs*, or "high places" of worship, which are referred to in Kings, when it says: "The children of Israel did secretly things that were not right. . . . and built themselves high places in their cities." The actual details of the worship carried out in the Beisan temples must, of course, always remain unknown, but the wealth of new material which the excavations have brought forth enables us to get a very good idea of the sacred cult of Ashtoreth, the great "lady of heaven," as it was practised in Palestine from the fourteenth century to the eleventh century before Christ.

Austrian excavators are at work digging out the records of Taanach, the Canaanitish town allotted to Manasseh, and mentioned in the song of Deborah, while at Megiddo American archæologists have found signs of the worship of Ashtoreth. Around Tabgha, on the northern shores of the Sea of Galilee, attention is being given to a more minute examination of the huge limestone caves found here. It will be recalled that it was in one of these caverns that Mr. Turville-Petre found the Neanderthal skull of a man who lived twenty thousand years before the time of Abraham.

At Chorasin, a short distance from Capernaum, Mr. J. Ory, of the Antiquities Department of the Palestine Government, is conducting some interesting excavations. Among the ruins he has found a synagogue dating from the second or third century. It was two stories high, the upper one being a women's gallery. The stone used was black basalt which is found in the Galilean hills. The friezes of the capitals are adorned with pomegranates, dates, citrus fruits and other Jewish religious symbols. It is proposed to build a roadway from Tabgha to the ruins.

At Capernaum a column is to be erected commemorating the

late Dr. Orfali's recent discoveries there. He was Rector of the Franciscan School of Archæological Research and President of the Palestine Oriental Society. It was Dr. Orfali who proved that Tell Hum, on the northern shores of the Sea of Galilee, was the site of Capernaum. Here he found the extensive ruins of a first-century building in the Roman-Corinthian style, which is now accepted by many scholars as the synagogue built by the Centurion of the gospels and the one in which Christ preached.

It was largely composed of white limestone resembling marble. It is about seventy-five feet long and fifty-four feet wide, the outer walls being built of very large blocks of stone. The bases of the columns are still intact, though the pillars themselves have fallen. The latter were adorned with beautiful capitals and the lintels were profusely ornamented. None of the stones of which this building was constructed appear to have been removed, and it is the belief of some that the whole edifice can be reconstructed as it stood in the days of Christ. Among the ruins was discovered a large block of stone, with a pot of manna carved on its face. It was, perhaps, this very picture that led our Saviour to utter the memorable words, "Your fathers did eat manna in the wilderness." On another stone there is a quaint design in relief of what is believed to be a representation of the Ark of the Covenant, while other distinctly Jewish emblems include the seven-branch candlestick, grapes, pomegranates, etc.

The decision of the Antiquities Department of the Palestine Government to take steps to preserve the ruins in Transjordan, that vast tract lying on the eastern side of the Jordan, is a commendable one. Scattered over this immense area there are many magnificent ruins—palaces, temples, towers, theatres, and tombs—dating back to quite early times. There is Amman, the present capital, the Rabbath-Amman of Old Testament history and the Philadelphia of late Egyptian and Roman days, with its citadel; Jerash, with its Temple of the Sun; Kerak, with its mighty fortress; and Muschetta with its delicate carvings.

It was while superintending certain repair work among the ruins of Jerash that Mr. Horsfield of the British School of Archæology in Jerusalem stumbled across a sculptured head dating from the latter part of the second century and believed by many scholars to be a portrait of Christ. We know from ancient records that Christianity superseded Paganism in this beautiful city. The temple was converted into a Christian Church and Jerash, in due course, became the seat of a bishopric. The city continued wealthy and prosperous till the second or third century of our era when it is believed to have been overthrown by an earthquake.

HAROLD J. SHEPSTONE.

THE CHINESE IN THE CARIBBEAN.

CHINESE immigrants thrive everywhere; they can withstand the hardships of field-labour and also the germs that plague the dwellers in a city slum. Their natural field of race expansion, however, seems to lie within the tropics. Here they find fertile countries, such as the archipelagos of the Pacific, held by dark races who are natural agriculturists, unfitted for life in the town. Such a country lacks an upper class; this want is first supplied by the whites, who develop the lands and control them; while, between the governors and governed, slips in the yellow race, pressing on both strata of society.

The Islands of the Caribbean are so well fitted for Chinese immigrants that it is strange to find that their settlements have been small. In some islands they number a few hundreds; in Trinidad a few thousands. Nowhere do they form more than 2 per cent. of the people, and throughout the greater part of these countries the yellow element is a fraction of 1 per cent.

In other islands, for example in Mauritius, the increase of the Chinese has been phenomenal. On the west coast of America, in California, Chile, Peru, they flourished and multiplied until checked by drastic Exclusion Acts. Every great seaport from San Francisco to Singapore, from Cape Town to London, has its Chinese inhabitants; and the white dominions believe their lands to be menaced by millions of would-be settlers from Eastern Asia. These crowding myriads have not yet, however, taken the easier path into the West Indies.

The Caribbean Islands are a black man's world. The white man owns the land, the blacks inhabit it; Englishmen and Americans form the greater part of the professional class, control the great trading companies, and hold the chief offices in Church and State. Not many Europeans are found in the lower middle-class, few work as mechanics or small tradesmen; for these countries cannot afford to use many of these highly-paid men, and they, in their turn, cannot resist inter-marriage with the half-breeds. Thus society forbids the formation of a white middle-class. In no case do the whites come into conflict with the Chinese, of whose presence they are scarcely aware.

The negro is a born agriculturist, and thrives best as a small-holder. He is best off in Jamaica, where an acre of land may be easily obtained, on which he may build a house and grow his food. He is contented even in Barbados, where land is too valuable to be sold piecemeal, and where he must work on a sugar estate for wages and buy his food at the shop. In the towns he is less prosperous; for he works very badly as a mechanic, and, in the

West Indies, rarely succeeds in working his way up in the world. He has a genius for making slums; all West Indian cities close behind their broad main streets hide a drab quarter where, tucked away in crazy yards and hovels, lives a rabble with no visible means of subsistence. These are blacks who have drifted to the towns, and have sunk in the social scale—how low, no white man can estimate.

With these people the Asiatic does not compete. No doubt China could furnish a class equally poverty-stricken, who could outlive these slum-dwellers on their own terms; but these people have not funds for the journey. It remains for the Chinese peasant to seek importation as an indentured labourer, bound to work for five years in return for his passage, and this experiment was tried in Trinidad and Guiana, but proved a troublesome matter. Sometimes the planter would receive a consignment of peasants, sometimes of criminals, and the natives were uneasy, and resentful of the newcomers. In each colony about five thousand of these coolies remained to settle, but, in such half-occupied places, there was land enough for all.

When the importation of coolies from India was prohibited, in some islands a few capitalists pleaded for Chinese indentured labour in their place; but the suggestion was frowned down by the government and by public opinion. The incoming Chinese are, therefore, those who can afford to make the journey without government assistance. Here, as elsewhere, the yellow man arrives first as a trader—that is, as an immigrant of a slightly better class, who does not care to try field-labour in competition with the blacks. Not all of these traders are rich, for, with a strong sense of national solidarity, a wealthy Chinese will import three or four of his countrymen, lending them money enough to satisfy immigration laws of a too stringent government. Once arrived they turn, one and all, to trade as a means of livelihood. Not many of them own large shops. A big business implies a knowledge of European markets, which they do not possess. A few have shops in the best streets, where they sell Chinese goods only, but most of them are humble dealers in provisions.

Now between the whites and the peasants stand the half-breeds, the quadroons and mulattoes, with men of darker skin, who form a natural middle-class. They work in the towns as artisans of all descriptions, and are generally much more successful than the negroes; they are mechanics, motor-men, clerks, supervisors, skilled employees of all kinds. Their great objective is to rise into the position held by the whites, and, in fact, the best of them often, by dint of money or brains, succeed in entering learned professions. In the country districts they own a good deal of

land, and live in a manner very much above the peasantry. The mulatto farmer, though poor, is generally an employer of labour. In some islands many of the larger estates have passed into the hands of "coloured" or quadroon owners, who then live, as far as possible, like their neighbours, the white landlords. Their easiest and most usual method of rising in the world is, however, by trade, and it is here that they come into conflict with the Chinese.

In every West Indian village stands a small shop, generally one only, and it seems incredibly small to deal with the trade of such a fertile district. The shop is shaped like a large box, its front open to the road, with a counter running across, a few shelves, and a small store-room at the back. Above these are the tiny rooms that serve as dwelling for the owner; and at the back is a "yard" of trodden earth, such as surrounds the peasant's house, edged with palm-thatched hovels. From this emporium are sold the bread, salt-fish, and other foodstuffs needed by the district, and here are purchased the surplus crops grown by the small settlers in their grounds. Trade is generally brisk. Such a store does not require any large amount of capital in the beginning. The prosperous negro, if he knows something of figures, may turn a small bungalow into a store; the coloured man (the half-breed) finds trade pay him better than working as another man's agent.

In the village are found two kinds of cottage—mud-and-wattle huts, thatched with palm, and tiny weather-board houses with iron or shingled roofs, which often boast a garden of gay shrubs and represent a distinct social grade. Of the stouter material is the shop, and to that better class belongs its owner.

The most prosperous of storekeepers are the Chinese. They have a general reputation for honesty and for stocking sound goods. White people will deal with a Chinaman when they would not think of buying provisions from a shop of that size if it were kept by a negro or a mulatto. The yellow man is a good buyer when he knows his market, and the petty, daily commerce of the countryside suits him exactly. It gives ample scope for his chief virtue—thrift—and for the scraping up of pennies, haggled for over handfuls of corn or berry-coffee. He has just what the negro lacks—exactitude, and a patience that will carry him through work that would sicken a creole. Once, during the Great War, a certain island ran short of maize-meal (a staple food-stuff). The maize-plant will grow in the West Indies, and its corn is used to feed poultry, but the meal is ground in the States. The island shop-keepers, as their stocks gave out, sent their customers away, or tried to make them buy the more expensive wheat-flour. A

Chinaman, however, produced a hand-mill and bought up sacks of local chicken-food; then he and his family sat at the mill to grind, day and night, without stopping, until the little township was supplied with maize-flour. What he made by this was known only to himself, but it was no excessive fee.

The mulatto, when he makes money, improves his style of living. He deserts his humble yard behind the shop and rents a wooden bungalow with a garden of palms and hybiscus. There he lives in the squalor and luxury of the middle-class West Indian, with chickens strolling in at his broken front-door, and ragged servants to wait on him hand and foot. His wife must wear fine dresses, and cut a figure in brown society; his children are sent to school. In short, he lives up to his income.

The Chinaman, when he grows rich, alters his mode of living not a whit. It is one of the chief traits which make the blacks wary regarding him, that they can never be sure whether a Chinese is wealthy or not. It does not follow, however, that the Chinese puts his profits back into the business—on the contrary, the greater part of it is generally remitted to China. The capital amassed from some of these small shops must be very considerable. It is no uncommon thing for a man who came over with nothing to go home to a fortune of several thousand pounds, remitted year by year; but on the island his savings are concealed. The merchant brings over with him his wife and children, and they behave with the same restraint. Many a family that lives huddled in the diminutive rooms under the shop-roof can produce at need silks, ivory and robes worth a king's ransom.

Usually a man will consider that it adds to his business prestige to wear European costume; so he wears a tussore suit and straw hat that give him the air of a well-to-do coloured chauffeur; the women are more conservative.

The first sign of rising fortune is not a large house, but a motor car. A car-load of Chinese may be seen, the men wearing American suits, while the women, whose presence is a concession to English custom, look much out of place in their coats of heavy silk. An old yellow grandmother in blue trousers will hold a moon-faced child clad in white frills and pink sash—a costume designed to set off the bloom of a Nordic infant.

The women are often secluded, a guard doubly necessary in view of the contaminating influence of the blacks. The negro has no moral code and no sense of etiquette, but he has the virtue of jolly good-fellowship. The Chinese, austere and dignified, is disgusted, as much as the European, at the looseness of the negro domestic ties; but he cannot disregard the world he lives in. His social position is thus highly unpleasant. His wife, at any rate,

must therefore be shut away in their tiny apartment, never to be seen except as a face at the window. There is, apparently, less restriction on daughters. European manners affect the second generation, and the poor man's child sits on the front step to stare at the road, while the rich man's daughter goes shopping in her car; yet they are, and remain, aliens, despising the negroes around.

There are two or three families in the West Indies who claim to be people of rank in China. They are wealthy merchants, trading on a larger scale than most of their compatriots, from whom they hold aloof, as from inferiors. They are the most progressive part of the yellow community, they study English ways, and frequently send their children to Europe to school. Yet they form no slight part of the social problem of their race. The sons and daughters come home educated, fastidious, with traditions half of China, half of England, and they find no place prepared for them. They may not inter-marry with the low-class Chinese; the Europeans patronise the girls and mistrust the men; while the quadroons or "near-whites" will not compromise their doubtful position in society by friendship with yellow people. The poorer coloured folk are, of course, beneath their notice. They cannot even, with any satisfaction, return to China, for their income and half their interests are found in a British Colony.

A peculiar result of this invasion is the Chinese mulatto. The mongolian-negroid is a hideous object, with the slant eyes and flat cheeks of his fathers, plus the skin, hair and look of coarseness that come from the negro stock. This type was never foreseen by Nature; it has neither the poise of the yellow man, nor the physical completeness that makes the pure-blooded negro such a sleek and handsome animal. These half-breeds are found even in colonies where the Chinese came in singly, bringing their families with them, but they are most numerous in Guiana, where, since 1850, batches of yellow men have been imported as coolies. These labourers, sprung from the lowest class, having with them no women of their own race, readily formed connections with negresses.

If no great influx of Asiatics takes place, these half-castes will soon be absorbed in the dark population of Demerara. If a large Chinese colony should be formed, the presence of half-breeds would be a source of weakness rather than strength. It is not likely that the Chinese would be more successful than the Europeans in preserving their purity of blood; and the history of South America demonstrates the difficulty, when once a class of half-breeds has been formed, of preventing a complete fusion of race. Probably the Chinese, if they settled in the West Indies, would

absorb so much "colour" that their racial type would be profoundly modified.

The Chinaman is, then, a useful person who does not compete with the ordinary black citizen, so it is strange that he should be so persistently disliked. The West Indian world has room for men of all colours; it can welcome Englishmen, Spaniards, Jews, negroes, Frenchmen, Syrians and Hindoos; the Chinese alone are regarded as interlopers, and their worst enemies are the blacks. Sir Harry Johnston notes: "The negroes are afraid of the Chinese, and do not behave to them in the bullying manner they sometimes adopt towards the East Indians." But, collectively, the negroes can terrorise individual Chinamen by riot and violence.

Baiting the Chinaman is an easy game. After the War, when Jamaica passed through a time of minor disorders, there were two anti-Chinese riots to one anti-white demonstration, and Chinamen's shops were looted when white men's went untouched. To the Celestial, isolated in his wooden store, the island must have appeared a world of black barbarians. These outbursts, however, were sporadic; the natives cannot rise to a boycott. To parade through the village and rush the shop is an easy vengeance; it requires more self-control to decline to buy salt-fish in the cheapest market. If the Chinese question grew acute, this might follow; but, meanwhile, everyone trades with Ah Sin.

If this dislike is based partly on an uneasy instinct that these strangers would make the world too strenuous for Quashie, it is also largely a simple jealousy of wealth. The peasantry tolerate a wealthy white man, but it irks them to see a man living as poorly as themselves, yet possessed of a large sum of capital. The profits sent to China are large, but they are exaggerated by popular report to a fantastic sum. The local papers complain that these aliens are draining the country of its wealth. They might reflect, however, that the great American companies carried off an enormously greater amount, and that the entire tropical belt pays tribute to the North. Small, compared with these, is its tribute to China.

Loyalty to their homeland persists among the Celestials, even among those born on the Islands. Most of them intend to return home, and all have sympathies there. During the recent famine large sums were raised by them for the relief of their starving compatriots at home. When China was declared a Republic, her leading citizens in Jamaica assembled and were photographed, in European costume, against the background of their new Republican flag.

On the surface, they conform to the laws and even the customs

enjoined by white rulers. Actually, they spread round them the influence of their own morals and ideas; and these seem to be especially unsuited to the negro. Bars of doubtful repute, cellars that hide a gambling-den, debts and disorders among the labourers—these are some of the results that follow the entry of the worst type of yellow trader.

If his hold on the country were stronger, this side of the Celestial's nature might be more fully displayed. But he fully realises his precarious position, and he thinks the white man has a grudge against him, so he makes pathetic attempts to wind himself into favour. He cannot use the methods of his rival, the brown man, who writes to papers, and can make his complaint known to his superiors and even to Downing Street. Once, when the local papers were loudly demanding their expulsion, the Chinese community sought in vain for reply—no one would listen, if they managed to state their case, nor could they find anyone or anything to bribe. Just then somebody opened a fund for the Y.M.C.A. Instantly the Chinese subscribed to it, heavily, enthusiastically. This broad-minded philanthropy won its reward, and the agitation stopped; for educated opinion began to praise the Chinese, and never suspected for a moment that it had been simply bought and paid for.

Not always, however, do they have such luck; for on the whole the educated brown man is hostile, not openly, but persistently. This attitude prevents the employment of Chinese mechanics, for the brown men would object to working alongside them.

The true obstacle to the Chinese penetration of the Caribbean is the fact that the immigrants spring from too high a class. They are a little above the blacks in their ideas, and do not care to compete with them in field-labour. Thus they learn, as the white man also learnt, how hard it is to live down the negro.

W. M. COUSINS.

DOGS AND PORTRAITS.

THE portraiture of dogs is a branch of art of considerable antiquity. There are many examples in sculpture dating from remote ages, but probably the earliest recorded instance in painting is that of Protogenes, who lived in the fourth century B.C. For seven years this artist toiled at a portrait of Ialysus, a renowned huntsman and son of Apollo, accompanied by a dog. So difficult did the painter find his task that even a diet of lupins and water, by which he hoped to gain inspiration, failed to bring about success. The panting dog, slobbering foam from his jaws, was beyond the powers of Protogenes until, in a fit of exasperation, he threw a sponge at the picture. The long desired effect was immediately produced—the picture met with general admiration, and Protogenes was acclaimed a true artist. Only Apelles, his friend and patron, found occasion to remonstrate with him on his excessive realism—which proves that the quarrel between realism and idealism is no new thing.

In modern art, with those few exceptions where the artist is exclusively an animal painter, the dog, for the most part, figures rather as a pictorial accessory—like a muff or a fan—than as the devoted follower of the sitter. One is conscious that the painter has felt, for example, that the coat of the Pekinese made a fitting complement to the dress of the lady, or that his bright eyes enhanced the deadness of the surrounding texture, or it may be—as in the portrait of Asher Wertheimer by Sargent—that the red hanging tongue of the poodle gave relief to the dark background. Such dogs as these have little individuality; they are merely decorative objects. But in past centuries the representation of the dog has often served a definite purpose, varying with the thought of the day and the disposition of the painter.

Apart from those legends and fables in which it plays an important part, and from those hunting scenes of which the Dutch are frequent exponents, it has been used to provoke an analogy between men and animals. Sometimes in satire, sometimes as a foil. Occasionally the intention was to convey a sense of homeliness—as in many pictures of religious subjects of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. The Italian and Spanish painters present many instances of this, and the impression is often made on the spectator that their purpose was to heighten the spiritual significance of the human figures, though in some paintings of sacred scenes the presence of dogs appears to us somewhat out of place. Paul Veronese was, indeed, arraigned by the Inquisition at Venice to answer charges of unseemliness in introducing dogs and other incon-

gruities into his picture, *The Feast in the House of Levi*, one of his great *Cena* pieces. Veronese replied in effect that he only availed himself of such license as is permitted to poets and fools, and further maintained that in a scene like a feast at a rich man's house all sorts of subsidiary figures and incidents were certain to be found. However, in spite of protesting his innocent intentions, he had to sacrifice some of the offending figures.

Ruskin believed that the Venetians introduced dogs as a contrast to the higher aspects of humanity, "not because they consider him the basest of animals, but the highest—the connecting link between men and animals; in whom the lower forms of really human feeling may be best exemplified, such as conceit, gluttony, indolence, petulance, . . ." Certainly the dogs that figure in Paul Veronese's picture of *The Marriage in Cana* in the Prado typify gluttony. Ruskin also detects a satire on the married state in the fighting pair that are in Veronese's picture of the same subject in the Louvre. He sees a much more subtle parable in the *Magdalen* at Turin. On the one hand Christ's feet are being washed by Magdalen, on the other a Pharisee is filled with indignation because his robe has been defiled by coming in contact with a dog that is seeking crumbs under the table.

Though the Dutch painters were not given to moralising, Breughel, for one, does emphatically use dogs to point the moral of his series of the Senses. The Dutch School in general is reproached by Ruskin with its unworthy treatment of the dog in painting, and Rubens and Snyder are especially blamed for misuse of their powers in representing it chiefly "in savage chase or butchered agony." That Rubens could impart dignity to animals when he wished is evident in his well-known picture of Diana and her hounds.

Veronese is the artist that Ruskin places above all others for his painting of the dog. To his mind neither Titian nor Velasquez can equal him. Ruskin does indeed acquit those two of the feebly romantic taint that he justly traces in most of Landseer's work, and admits they "never jest," but says that to them "the dogs were less interesting (than to Veronese), they paint them simply as noble brown beasts, but without any special character." Although he is obliged to confess that "some of Velasquez's dogs are nearly as grand as his surly kings," yet that comparison between Veronese and Velasquez makes it clear that Ruskin never went to Madrid, never saw the Prado with its magnificent masterpieces. A modern French critic has said that no one can properly appreciate Velasquez without having been to Spain, and unfortunately, when Ruskin had the chance of accompanying his friends there, he said he was "too old to go to Spain." He was fifty-seven.

The examples of dogs by Veronese in the National Gallery may not equal those in his works in the Brera or the Louvre which Ruskin praises so highly, still it is unthinkable that Velasquez could ever have drawn an animal like the one in the *Happy Union* with its long neck and ill set-on head. In the other large picture by Veronese in the National Gallery, the drawing of the two spaniels and big red hound is less disturbing, but can bear no comparison with the masterpieces of the Spanish artist. The portraits of Philip the Fourth, of his brother Fernando, and of his son, Balthasar Carlos, in their shooting costumes, accompanied by their hounds, completely refute the dictum of Ruskin that Velasquez had endowed his animals "with no special character." Character they have in plenty, but animal, not human.

Take, for instance, the big yellow pointer that sits, ears half-erect, in front of Don Fernando in the picture already mentioned that hangs in the great central saloon of the Madrid gallery. The structure is perfect, as also the feeling of loose skin; the expression of the animal absolutely natural. See also the two dogs that accompany the little six-year old Balthasar Carlos. The large, blunt-nosed tan and white hound, wearing a wide, white collar, described by some as a setter, of the breed seen in hunting pictures of the Spanish royal family, crouches with nose on his paws; not asleep, but ready for any word of command from his master. On the boy's left sits an Italian greyhound; head thrown back, his shining eyes fixed on his master's wide, rosetted breeches with that admiring look one often sees in a dog that is the constant companion of its master. This may have been one of the toy greyhounds sent to Balthasar Carlos by the Infante Fernando as a present from Lombardy, but it is possible that those were of an even smaller breed. Some years later, when Lady Fanshawe, the wife of the English ambassador to the court of Madrid, visited the Marquesa de Liche at her country house, she was presented with "a perfect pair of greyhounds" of which she says "I could put each of them in my pocket." A less awkward gift than the young lion offered to her the year before by the Conde de Moliña, and which she excused herself from accepting on the score of cowardice.

Majestic also is the great hound that lies in the corner of *Las Meniñas*. He is generally described as a mastiff, but he more nearly resembles, especially about the head, the Alsatian wolf-hound so much in fashion at the present time. A dwarf is teasing him by putting his foot on the dog's back, and the animal has that self-conscious air of forbearance characteristic of dogs that have children for their playmates.

These sporting pictures were painted for the royal hunting-lodge, the Torre de la Parada, and later, when this was partly destroyed,

were transferred to Buen Retiro—that sumptuous palace created under the auspices of Olivares to divert the attention of a pleasure-loving king from interference in State affairs. The dogs are said to be the first Velasquez painted, and it is doubtful if he ever surpassed them.

Another magnificent dog is the one shown in the portrait of the dwarf, Antonio el Inglés. The dwarf holds by a short strap a mastiff with white chest and markings, nearly as tall as himself. This may have been one of those Cuban mastiffs described by Bewick. They were a cross between a mastiff and a greyhound; usually tan, tawny or liver. “The head of prodigious size, ears semi-erect, eyes far apart, muzzle and tips of ears dark. . . .” He says Columbus had 200 of them in his army “when he invaded America,” and that the Spaniards used them for hunting the American Indians. In 1795 a hundred were sent to Jamaica to be employed in the Maroon war. “The Cuban mastiff was also used in the sports of the Spanish amphitheatre, and hence came to be called the Spanish bulldog.” To us it is known as the bloodhound.

The device of putting animals into a picture of a religious nature with the idea of accentuating the homeliness of the scene, to which we have already alluded, was formerly a favourite one. Barocci's picture in the National Gallery of the *Holy Family* is an instance of this, and another may be seen in the same subject by Murillo in the Prado. In the latter the Child Christ is represented as gazing at a bird in St. Joseph's hand, while a small white dog seeks to attract His attention by putting up one paw. There is in the same collection a picture of Van Orley called *Señoras en Oración*, where a little white lap-dog waits in the background till the three ladies in black and white shall have finished their prayers. One is uncertain whether this records a habit of the devout ladies to bring their dog to chapel, or whether the painter added it of his own accord to give relief to the solemnity of the three kneeling figures.

Another Spanish painter who gave much attention to the representation of dogs was Goya. In some of his works the dogs divide the interest with the man, as in *El Cazador*, where the sportsman is followed by two blunt-nosed, flap-eared dogs coupled together; but in his fine, animated portrait of Charles III, the dog takes second place. There the king (who bears a curious likeness to Voltaire) is wearing a three-cornered hat, and carrying a gun. He is accompanied by a big, white dog with a broad leather collar; an animal very similar in build to the one in the picture of Don Baltasar Carlos. Another of the same kind may be seen in the picture by Titian of Charles V, though this one had a more pointed nose. The Spanish pointer, usually white with tan or red patches, was “a large, big-boned hound, standing high on its legs, with very

heavy ears and a deep jowl.” Its keenness of scent was supposed to be unrivalled, but it was a slow, ill-tempered beast, akin to the famous breed of St. Hubert which were pure white and also very slow.

The spaniel on the lap of the lady in the charming picture by Goya called *El Quitasol*, leaves one in some doubt of its being a genuine King Charles, but it is anyhow a genteel sort of dog. Goya, however, by no means always painted dogs of noble pedigree; he evidently enjoyed doing mongrels. The picture called *La Nevada*, which is so realistic in its presentation of extreme cold that it almost makes one shiver, shows three hooded men in a snow-storm, followed by a wretched spotted dog, its tail between its legs, howling with cold and misery. In *La Rima*, another spotted cur looks on anxiously at the struggling man on the ground, and seems rather to be listening to the quarrelling voices than to be paying attention to the barking mongrel in the opposite corner.

That penetration of animal character, manifest in Goya and paramount in Velasquez, but not necessarily allied to technical skill, may be seen in the delightful *Death of Procris* by Piero di Cosimo in the National Gallery. The red dog that sits on his haunches, looking gravely concerned at the body on the ground, was given to Procris by Diana, and named Laelaps. He was endowed with special qualities, and was said to be never at fault in securing his prey, but, confronted with the dead body of his mistress, is evidently non-plussed.

In works such as those painted by Velasquez for the Torre de la Parada, the sporting dogs are, of course, portraits of specific animals. No doubt also in pictures like *The Boar-Hunt in the Hoyo*—where Philip the Fourth is seen engaged in his favourite sport—the *Stag-Hunt* by Wouvermans, or the *Hunt at Moritzburg* by Cranach, the hounds shown in them are true to type. In Cranach's picture the stags that are splashing about in the water are pursued by all kinds of dogs; the origin of some it would be hard to determine. Distinctly recognisable, however, are white greyhounds, both short and long-haired, in red or black collars. But where a painter has employed dogs symbolically, or in a minor capacity, he has been able to indulge his fancy in the way of breed. For example, Bassano in the *Good Samaritan* has two dogs, one sable, the other black and white, that are like collies, but he selects two brown and white spaniels to illustrate the parable of Lazarus at the gate of Dives. The same sort of dog, with long, hanging, tan ears, accompanies his master in the *Shepherds in Adoration* by Palma Vecchio. Gentile Bellini introduces that aristocrat among dogs—the greyhound—into his *Adoration of the Magi*, and Paul Veronese is partial to a big, nondescript animal with a white stripe down

the back of the head and neck. Many of the Italian painters of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries favour the small white Maltese dog—the kind that Ruskin calls a “curly fringy-pawed thing.” Such is the animal in Palma Vecchio's *Warrior adoring the Infant Christ*, and in Morando's *St. Roch and the Angel*. In the *Vision of St. Eustace* by Pisano there is a great variety of dogs, of which the most remarkable are a tan-coloured couple with long, low bodies and pendulous ears, very like dachshunds except for their bushy tails.

Where the artist's intention has been satiric, the dog is often of the most repulsive appearance, as in many works of Breughel, Rubens, and Snyders.

Pet dogs have, of course, accompanied their masters and mistresses to the artist's studio in all ages, and therefore are of many varieties. The most usual type is the lap-dog, reminiscent of those one sees engraved on monumental brasses. These are generally white or white and tan, with a jewelled collar, like the one in Antonio Mor's portrait of his wife. More distinct in species is the long-haired lemon and white animal, rather like a small sheep-dog, that is shown in Titian's portrait of Federigo, Duke of Mantua. It sits on a cushion, pawing at its master, and seems singularly appropriate in expression to the mild-looking man. An uncommon specimen is the white dog with long tan ears, shaven like a poodle, that is being caressed by the children of Philip the Fifth, in the large group by Van Loo.

Though it may not rank as a work of art, yet surely the picture that hangs at Fontainebleau on a landing, is unique in its assemblage of pet-dogs, for there sits a lady surrounded by nineteen of them. They are all of different and remarkable breeds, though, of course, they may have belonged to varieties orthodox in their day, but no longer familiar to us, such as the bandog and the barbet.

It is only at long intervals that a noteworthy artist arises who devotes himself to the portrayal of animals instead of human beings—like De Vos in the seventeenth century, and Landseer in the nineteenth. At the present moment in England, as far as the painting of animals is concerned, it seems that the horse is in the ascendant, and that the dog has had its day.

VIOLET BIDDULPH.

FOREIGN AFFAIRS.

RUSSIA AND EUROPE.

RUSSIA, her problems, her form of Government, her relations with other Powers, have again been thrust into the forefront of European diplomatic interest. The internal dissensions of the Soviet leaders have had little effect on Russian diplomatic activity abroad. The treaty concluded between Russia and Lithuania is an event which has an important bearing on several fields of European diplomacy, including the diplomacy of the League of Nations, and Mr. Krassin's arrival in London as successor to Mr. Rakovsky has had the effect of bringing down from the shelf the old Anglo-Russian fundamentals.

THE RUSSO-LITHUANIAN TREATY.

On September 28th a Treaty of Guarantee was signed in Moscow between Lithuania and Russia. The signatories were Mr. G. Chicherin, People's Commissary for Foreign Affairs, and Mr. Alexandrovski, U.S.S.R. Minister in Kaunas, for Russia; and Mr. Slezhevichius, Prime Minister, and Mr. J. Baltrushaitis, Lithuanian Minister in Moscow, for Lithuania. After the signing ceremony was performed Mr. Slezhevichius had an amicable conversation, lasting more than an hour, with Mr. A. Rykov, President of the Council of the People's Commissaries, and a dinner was given that evening in honour of the Lithuanian delegation. In the speech which he made at that dinner Mr. Chicherin observed: “We have concluded a guarantee treaty which strengthens the existing friendship between the two peoples, and which at the same time in no way infringes the lawful interests of third states”—a claim on which comment will be made below—and added: “This treaty also has as its object the consolidation of peace in Europe which has constituted and still constitutes the aim of the Soviet Government's foreign policy.” He further observed that the Guarantee Treaty would form the basis of a commercial treaty which was about to be concluded between the two countries. Mr. Slezhevichius in his answer was diplomatic enough to speak formulæ which are dear to Moscow audiences. “This most cordial reception,” he said, “is an eloquent indication of the friendship which the peoples of the U.S.S.R. entertain for the Lithuanian people. Seeing that the toiling masses of the peoples of the U.S.S.R. and the Lithuanian nation are striving for the development of a general economic and cultural rapprochement of peoples based on peace, I do not doubt that the conclusion of a commercial treaty will follow the signing of the treaty.” Mr. Slezhevichius had already laid the foundations of popularity by addressing in Russian the imposing guard of honour that had greeted him on his arrival at the station.

The treaty itself has to be considered in its context if its implications are to be understood. In form it is merely one of the big crop of post-Locarno regional arrangements ostensibly designed to guarantee the peace, but it differs in more than one respect from its fellows. The anti-League and anti-Polish bias which in spite of what Mr. Chicherin said on September 28th undoubtedly characterise both its motive and its probable effect are hardly consistent with the Locarno idea, but they embody the nemesis that is overtaking European diplomacy for the historic injustice done to Lithuania by the endorsement of Poland's annexation of Vilna in 1920. That is one reason why the Russo-Lithuanian treaty of September 28th, 1926, has more unpeaceful and more muddled connotations than any of its post-Locarno prototypes, and why it thereby, and to that extent, becomes a travesty of Locarno. There is on the one hand the treaty proper, which pledges the parties to mutual peace, and to neutrality in case of aggression from third parties. On the other hand there are covering letters, exchanged between Mr. Slezhovichius and Mr. Chicherin, in which Russia, somewhat evasively it is true, but in a way that bears only one construction to Lithuanian opinion, recognises Lithuania's right to Vilna.

The history of Poland's annexation of Vilna and of its diplomatic consequences, has been fully told in this section of the CONTEMPORARY REVIEW during the past few years. The word annexation was used regularly to describe the Polish occupation up to the time when (March 15th, 1923) the Ambassadors' Conference condoned it and embodied it in international law. The same word continued deliberately to be used here even after that decision of the Ambassadors' Conference, and will continue so to be used as long as Poland remains in possession of Vilna. If a man were to steal another's property, and a court of justice, by methods which belied its name, were subsequently to adjudge that the property should henceforth be regarded as the rightful property of the thief (the thief having influential friends at court) one would not the less regard the thief as a thief and the theft as a theft. There is no doubt that Vilna was wrongfully taken from Lithuania by Poland; but that premise does not diminish the disturbing effect of Mr. Chicherin's commitment to Mr. Slezhovichius. The annexation was formally condoned by the Powers which have decided European questions since the war; the League of Nations acquiesced, and has steadily refused the most elementary satisfaction to Lithuania. The Russo-Lithuanian treaty therefore violates one of the main principles of the Locarno idea, which is the stabilisation of the *status quo*, right or wrong. Germany's contribution to Locarno was to accept the stabilisation of her

western frontier, whether she liked it or not. Wholeheartedly as one agrees with Lithuania's sense of grievance, it must be regarded as unfortunate that the Chicherin-Slezhovichius understanding is such as inevitably to constitute a challenge both to Geneva and to Warsaw. A treaty designed to guarantee the peace is unfortunate if its immediate result is to arouse the hostility of quarters where good will is ultimately necessary for peace. When moreover the treaty aroused some bitter comment even among Lithuania's neighbours, Esthonia, Latvia and Finland, on the ground that Lithuania had departed from the principle of the united Baltic front in dealing with Russia, the misfortune seems greater. The unpeaceful aspects of this treaty of peace have to be faced.

The Russian prejudice against the League of Nations is well known. When Mr. Krestinsky negotiated the German-Russian Treaty of Neutrality in Berlin last March, he had to accept Herr Stresemann's condition that the anti-League and anti-Locarno implications be eliminated. Herr Stresemann was loyal to the Locarno idea, even at the moment when the other Locarno Powers were engaged in shelving it. In the case of the Russo-Lithuanian treaty the Russian anti-League bias was given its sway, for Lithuania, having experienced what she has experienced at the hands of the League, found little difficulty in accommodating herself to Mr. Chicherin's prejudices in that respect, even though Lithuanian diplomacy in its original manifestations has been remarkably loyal to Geneva and has regularly turned the other cheek.

Article 1 of the Treaty stipulates that "The Peace Treaty between Russia and Lithuania, concluded at Moscow on July 12th, 1920, all the decisions of which preserve all their force and inviolability, remains the basis of the relations between the Union of the Soviet Socialist Republics and the Lithuanian Republic." The point is that the Lithuanian frontier delimited in that treaty ran well to the east of Vilna. The wording of Article 1 appears to be a little academic, until one remembers that Russia's attitude to the Vilna question has had its vagaries. By the treaty of July 12th, 1920, with Lithuania, Russia recognised Vilna as within Lithuanian territory. In the following year, however (March 18th, 1921), Russia signed the Riga treaty with Poland in which the settlement of the Vilna dispute was left to be decided by mutual agreement between Poland and Lithuania. Vilna had been annexed by General Zeligowski in the interval between the conclusion of Russia's treaties with the disputant states, and Russia's commitments had the effect of blowing hot and blowing cold, both on the one side and on the other, impartially. It was now regarded as important in Lithuanian quarters that the ambiguity should

the will of the Lithuanian people, has not shaken the attitude to the territorial sovereignty defined by Article 2 and the note thereto of the Peace Treaty of July 12th, 1920, between Russia and Lithuania."

(2) From Mr. Slezhevichius to Mr. Chicherin :

"In connection with the signing on this date of the Treaty between Lithuania and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, I have the honour on behalf of the Lithuanian Government to state the following :

"1. Both Governments have considered the principal questions connected with the adherence of Lithuania to the League of Nations. In this regard, the Lithuanian Government in the negotiations on the conclusion of the Treaty and in its signature, has proceeded from the conviction that the principle laid down by them in Art. 4 of the Treaty, of non-participation in the political agreements of third Powers, directed against one of the contracting parties, cannot prejudice the observance of the obligations for Lithuania emanating from the Covenant of the League of Nations.

"2. The Lithuanian Government is convinced that the adherence of Lithuania to the League of Nations cannot hinder the friendly development of the relations between Lithuania and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics.

"3. At the same time, the Lithuanian Government adheres to the opinion that, having in view the geographical position of Lithuania, the obligations for Lithuania emanating from the fact of her belonging to the League of Nations, which, in conformity with its fundamental idea, is called upon to regulate international contradictions in a peaceful and an equitable manner, cannot prejudice the striving of the Lithuanian people for neutrality, which most of all corresponds to its vital interests."

Thus the Lithuanian apologia—the defence of a country, betrayed by the League of Nations, driven by circumstances to seek the help of an enemy of the League, and yet heroically trying to convince herself that her loyalty to the League is thereby unimpaired.

The Lithuanian official organ, *Lietuva*, in the course of a comment on the treaty published in its issue of September 30th, remarked that "The Riga Treaty, permitting to be brought into question the lands previously recognised as Lithuanian, somewhat weakened the provisions of our Peace Treaty with Russia, in so far as the Vilna region was concerned." The Article ended with the following passage, which abundantly illuminates the pent-up feeling which had driven Kovno to Moscow: "But most of all, the non-aggression treaty signed between Lithuania and the U.S.S.R. will react upon Poland's relations with Lithuania.

We may presume that in Warsaw, after September 28th, they will begin more seriously to regard the 'mess' which Pilsudski and Zeligowski stirred up in 1920. While Lithuania was isolated from the entire world, it was possible to apply all sorts of partition plans to her. Now all combinations on account of Lithuania's future are rendered difficult. In regard to such combinations it will be necessary to reckon more with the voice of the Lithuanian people and their resolve to defend their independence. It may be assumed that the amateurs of all kinds of adventures in Warsaw will understand this. Lithuania's non-aggression treaty with the U.S.S.R., we may therefore expect, will acquire great importance for the common cause of peace, which has latterly been placed in great peril by Pilsudski's aggressive plans."

The Moscow *Izvestiya* gave the official Soviet comment on the treaty in its issue of the same date, September 30th. One of the interesting passages was this: "The signed treaty does not touch Lithuania's relations with the League of Nations, of which Lithuania is a member, or the Vilna question. Those questions are dealt with in special notes which were exchanged by both Governments on the signing of the Treaty. In the note on the Vilna question, which was the result of the initiative of Lithuania, the Soviet Government once more confirmed its former attitude towards this question. According to the Moscow Treaty of 1920, the Soviet Government recognised the Vilna region as belonging to Lithuania. According to the Riga Treaty, the Soviet Government declared its readiness to recognise any agreement between Poland and Lithuania regarding the fate of the territory to the west of the new Polish frontiers, i.e., including the Vilna region. In conformity with this treaty, the Soviet Government tendered its protest against the action of the Conference of Ambassadors in deciding the fate of Vilna without the participation of Lithuania. As we know, the Soviet Government, in its Note of April 5th, 1923, announced its negative attitude to this Act of the great Powers. The Soviet Government is ready in the future also to recognise any decision on the Vilna question which shall be reached through voluntary agreement between Poland and Lithuania. So long as there is no such agreement, the Moscow Treaty of 1920 in regard to the Vilna question continues to preserve its validity."

While thus underlining one aspect of the arrangement, *Izvestiya* was strikingly reticent about that part of the arrangement which particularly interested Russian diplomacy. After stating complacently that "Article 3 . . . will undoubtedly promote not only the creation of conditions of peace in Eastern Europe but the establishment of general peace," it went on, "The

same ends are served by Article 4, which imposes obligations in political, economic and financial questions." That was all. Could any reticence be more essentially untruthful in its effect? Russian diplomacy is often frank, disconcertingly frank. The present instance must clearly be regarded as an exception.

The contention first made by Mr. Chicherin and echoed in the Russian Press, that the treaty does not conflict with the "lawful" interests of third parties, depends largely for its soundness on the interpretation given by its authors to the word "lawful." Russian diplomacy would presumably feel no difficulty if its own interpretation conflicted with an interpretation given by the World Court. Lithuania's position is somewhat different. Lithuania is a member of the League, and since the signing of the Treaty Mr. Sidzikauskas, Lithuanian Minister in Berlin, has told the German Press that the Lithuanian Government intends to send a Note to the League in which it will reaffirm its intention of fulfilling its obligations to the League. In the delicate circumstances created on the Russian border by the League's Vilna blunder—the greatest blunder in the League's record—it would be manifestly unwise to anticipate trouble: but it is obvious from the Lithuanian point of view there that is a tactical disadvantage in entering upon a treaty commitment which engages the League of Nations in support of whatever grievance the Polish Government may be disposed to cultivate on that score.

MR. KRASSIN IN LONDON.

Mr. Leonid Borisovich Krassin, the bourgeois Bolshevik, arrived in London in the last week of September, and assumed his duties of Russian Chargé d'Affaires at Chesham House. There had been no regular representative of the Soviet Government in London since Mr. Rakovsky was transferred to Paris at the end of 1925, Mr. Rosengolz acting in the meantime on Mr. Krassin's behalf. The gap was to be explained partly by Mr. Krassin's prolonged illness, partly by the increased brittleness which has characterised Anglo-Russian relations during the present year. Protests had gone from London to Moscow about Russian interference in British affairs both in China and in Great Britain; the disastrous coal strike which all sensible Englishmen deplored, and which most Russians took a delight in helping to prolong, was still in progress. The embarrassments awaiting Mr. Krassin in those respects were, however, countered by certain events in European diplomacy which he could fairly rely on as assets. The Russo-German Treaty of neutrality had been followed by Germany's admission to the League of Nations, by the Thoiry *rapprochement* between France and Germany, and by a renewed attempt by Mr. Rakovsky in Paris to reach an agreement with

M. Briand. The circular movement between Berlin, Moscow, and Paris was something which British diplomacy could be reasonably expected not to ignore.

Mr. Krassin's status in London continues to illustrate the anomaly of Anglo-Russian relations. He is addressed by the Foreign Office as Chargé d'Affaires. Although Russia was recognised *de jure* as long ago as February, 1924, the resumption of normal relations, including the appointment of ambassadors, has not taken place. Such resumption was made dependent on the settlement of the outstanding political issues, and the attempt to reach a settlement in the summer of 1924 was cut short by the general election; the negotiated treaty was repudiated by the new Government in London; and negotiations have never been re-opened.

Mr. Krassin, however, after arriving in London, lost no time in making it known through the Press that Russia's preoccupation continued unrepentantly to be to obtain a loan, if not of one kind, then of another, from London. The news reached Whitehall indirectly, and was received in an expectant spirit, for Whitehall on the merits of the situation wanted to see an improvement in Anglo-Russian relations, and was prepared to hear whatever proposals Mr. Krassin might have to make. Sir Austen Chamberlain, who returned from his holiday in Italy in the first week of October, did not return to his table at the Foreign Office till October 11th. Mr. Krassin went to see him that same day. We were told in official British quarters that he had not submitted any new plan, nor any plan, for the resumption of diplomatic negotiations, and that no further meeting between the two was immediately contemplated. Mr. Krassin's primary purpose was to pay his compliments to the Secretary of State on the occasion of his presentation of his credentials at St. James's Palace, an affair that would normally have taken three minutes. In this case, however, the interview lasted more than an hour, and was understood to have ranged over general fundamentals. There was reason to suppose that the British Government's view at that time was something on the following lines.

The Government was anxious both on general grounds and for the particular purposes of trade to resume relations with Russia, but was faced with the difficulty that, whereas Great Britain had recognised the Soviet Government without attempting to interfere in Russia's internal affairs, the Soviet Government had not shown the same disinterested tolerance towards Great Britain. By general propaganda, by its attempt to subsidise the general strike, by the Tomsy "ukase"—if one may adopt the description used by Mr. Robert Williams in his Chairman's address to the Labour Con-

ference at Margate—the Soviet Government had tried to interfere in British domestic affairs. There was the further difficulty that Russia had as yet made no satisfactory proposals to meet either the undertaking given by Mr. Krassin in 1920 about “goods and services” or that given by Mr. Chicherin in 1921 about State obligations.

After his talk with Sir Austen Chamberlain, therefore, Mr. Krassin adjourned to the City of London. His adventure in that field was less forbidding than had been Mr. Rakovsky’s in 1924. In the meantime one of the big banks and one private bank—so one hears—has extended credits to the Russian State bank at a rate of interest and upon security which were held to be justified by the unusual conditions, and the famous Bankers’ Memorandum of 1924 has become a thing of the past in every sense. On the other hand there was the difficulty that whereas Mr. Krassin himself knew from his experience that the City would regard the re-establishment of Russia’s credit as the precedent condition even of any discussion about a further loan, Mr. Krassin’s background in Moscow still nursed the strategic delusion that if debts must be paid, they must be paid out of the proceeds of a further loan. To that curious perversion of thought was added the continuing paradox that while Moscow sought capitalist help from London, it was not prepared to undertake that such help would not be used for purposes antagonistic to the capitalist source from which it came. Mr. Krassin therefore had his difficulties, in spite of the encouragement held out by Mr. Churchill’s public statement that the precedent of the funding terms agreed on in the case of the French and Italian debts would apply also to the funding of the Russian state debts.

“AN ECONOMIC LOCARNO.”

Discussions which took place during the week-end October 9th-10th, at the Hampshire House of Colonel Wilfrid Ashley between representative German and British industrialists were clothed with unnecessary mystery by those who had forgotten their context. What took place at Romsey was the expert preparation for the European “Economic Locarno,” about which so much was heard last spring. At Colonel Ashley’s house the broad subject of discussion was how to put an end to the competitive and disruptive system on which trade between European countries has been conducted since the war, and to substitute by agreement a system of co-operation. In the first instance the foundations are being laid as between Germany and Great Britain, which are the two countries on whom European trade chiefly depends, but the scope will be widened later.

The Governments of the two parties have disinterested themselves—at any rate formally—in the proceedings, on the obviously wise principle that industrialists are more competent to discuss industrial problems than are diplomatists: but certain of the political obstacles to Anglo-German trade have already been removed by the Anglo-German Trade Agreement signed in London on December 2nd, 1924.

The week-end’s private discussions at Romsey followed naturally from certain incipient exchanges that had taken place during the last twelve months, and are expected to prepare the ground for the League of Nations’ Economic Conference which is to be held next spring. When Dr. Stresemann came to London nearly a year ago to sign the Locarno Treaty, he took the opportunity of sounding opinion here on the practical chances of organising an “economic Locarno.” He was supported by Herr Schacht, President of the Reichsbank, who, in the course of routine visits to London during the spring and summer, discussed the matter with British bankers. Next, M. Loucheur espoused the cause on behalf of France, and prominent business men in the City of London gave decisive encouragement to it. The iron and steel trust just formed between Germany and France and between Belgium and Luxemburg is a minor manifestation of the same movement, and the main reason why Great Britain declined the invitation to participate in that trust was that the impending Anglo-German discussions in England were regarded, as will be explained below, as of more relevant concern.

The discussions which took place in October under the Chairmanship of Sir Robert Horne were participated in by representative men from all the big industries of Germany and Great Britain—coal, iron and steel, engineering, chemicals, electricity, shipping, textiles, motors, banking. When the German representatives arrived on October 8th they hurried away to Hampshire, and neither they nor their British colleagues were disposed to be publicly garrulous about their plans, the obvious reason being that a first exploration of so vast a field of inquiry was bound to be of a discursive and all-embracing nature, which did not lend itself to detailed comment. There was the further reason for secrecy among the delegates that one aspect of those first discussions was of a delicate kind. It concerned the subject of tariffs. Since the Anglo-German Commercial Treaty was negotiated in 1924, the British Government has imposed new tariffs on foreign goods, including German goods, and those new tariffs have been the subject of official conversations in London between representatives of the two Governments, such conversations being held by virtue of Article 2 of the Protocol of the Trade Agreement. The points at issue have not yet been settled. In view, moreover, of the impending Im-

perial Conference in London, the subject of tariffs was still more a source of embarrassment to the purely expert industrialists who met in Hampshire.

It was understood that the practical difficulty facing the industrialists from this consideration was that it is less easy to build up an "economic Locarno" on the basis of varying tariffs than it would be on a basis of fixed tariffs. The German delegates, for instance, are understood to have made the point that since December 1924, the new British tariffs, especially those on musical instruments, have created a situation which could not have been foreseen when the Trade Agreement was signed. One of the knottiest points discussed, therefore—and it will be equally knotty when the League Economic Conference meets in the spring—is how to prepare an "economic Locarno" of sufficient elasticity to absorb whatever fiscal changes may be made by the signatory states in the course of time. Other subjects discussed were the effect on industry of the present hypertrophied system of passports; the problem of the depreciated exchanges; of the European debts to the United States; of industrial disputes; and, more particularly, of those aspects of purely Anglo-German trade which were dealt with in the Anglo-German Trade Agreement of 1924.

The discussion produced a complication which reminds one a little of the complications that troubled the progress of the "political Locarno" last year. Naturally the French and Belgian Governments instructed their Ambassadors in London to penetrate the secrecy which surrounded the discussions, and to report what precise agreement had been reached between the British and German industrialists. Those ambassadors went, of course, to see Sir Austen Chamberlain and put their questions. It is said that neither French nor Belgian official opinion felt quite satisfied with the information that no agreement whatever was made at Romsey, that the delegates on both sides had no official status, and that the discussions were private exchanges of information and opinions between industrial experts. But the real complication was of a more personal kind. It was difficult for ambassadors to send home negative news about a meeting which had excited the interest of the whole of Europe, especially as the meeting was held at the house of a British Minister. They exposed themselves to the suspicion that they had failed to discover the real facts. Sir Austen Chamberlain, whose relations with those particular ambassadors are of the friendliest kind, was understood to have deeply sympathised with their position. The upshot was a slight strain on the cordiality of Sir Austen's relations with Colonel Ashley, a result which in informed quarters was regarded as unfair on Colonel Ashley, who, it was recalled, obtained the approval of Mr. Baldwin, of Sir Austen

himself, and of Sir Philip Cunliffe-Lister before the Romsey invitations were sent out. The path of the pacifists, whether diplomatic or industrial, is often unpeaceful.

One of the achievements of the Romsey discussions was that the British delegates were able to satisfy the Germans of the soundness of the main reason which induced Great Britain to refuse the invitation to participate in the Continental Steel Trust. By the terms of that trust the participants undertook to stabilise their exports on the *status quo* revealed by a definite period falling in the first half of the present year. During that period the depreciated French and Belgian exchanges sent French and Belgian exports up to an abnormally high level owing to the advantage in price competition which they created. For France and Belgium therefore the steel trust was doubly welcome. In the case of Great Britain, however, owing to the general strike, to the coal strike and to more general causes, the British quota of exports was abnormally low during that period. It was clearly impossible for Great Britain to stabilise her exports on so unfortunate a distribution of quotas.

RUMANIA AND POLAND.

The *Manchester Guardian* of September 25th published the text of a secret military convention alleged to have been concluded between Poland and Rumania, with France as a virtual third party. The text as published had appeared in the Hearst Press of America. The disclosure, if, as appears to be the case, it rests on solid fact, will inevitably have a wide and serious diplomatic repercussion throughout Europe. The circumstances in which it was concluded are complicated, and its conclusion is a disturbing illustration of the difficulty which faces what may be called the psychological aspect of what was attempted at Locarno.

After the Locarno Treaties were initialed a year ago, it became the fashion for separate States in Europe to make regional treaties of mutual guarantees, neutrality and the like. The Locarno signatories one and all approved of that principle, which was indeed inherent in the Locarno Treaties themselves. It happens, however, that before the Locarno Conference was held there had been built up in the East of Europe on French initiative a whole network of treaties designed in their essence to organise a Central European defence against Germany or Russia or both. One of those treaties was the Polish-Rumanian Treaty of March 31st, 1921, which was of five years' duration and therefore fell due for renewal or for denunciation in March of this year.

In March, however, two important things happened. The Locarno idea went wrong at Geneva, and Germany negotiated a treaty of neutrality with Russia. The Russo-German Treaty was

not signed till April 24th, and it contained nothing incompatible with Locarno. The fact of its being negotiated was, however, known in March, when Poland and Rumania, on French advice, were negotiating for the renewal of their treaty of guarantee. The Polish-Rumanian Treaty was duly renewed at Bukarest on March 23rd, a week before the expiry of the old one. Its terms became known at once, and it was learned with some misgiving in Germany that its character had been altered. Instead of being a treaty of guarantee against an attack from the East (that is, from Russia) it had been made into a general treaty of guarantee (that is, against Germany as well as against Russia). Whether the Russo-German negotiations had any influence in Bukarest is a question on which it would be clearly absurd to dogmatise, but the alarming development took place later. The text of the Russo-German Treaty was signed in Berlin on April 24th and published to the world. It correctly respected Germany's suspended commitments at Locarno and her prospective commitments as a member of the League. From the text of the secret treaty now disclosed, however, we learn that in June Poland and Rumania, with France as mentor, were negotiating a secret military convention to be added as an annex to the Polish-Rumanian Treaty of March 23rd. The text of the convention as published is undated, but General Petala's covering letter fixes the date as the beginning of June.

The treaty and military convention together make elaborate arrangements for concerted Polish-Rumanian-French action against either Russia or Germany, the stipulation being made that the scheme operates only in case of an attack being made either on Poland or on Rumania. To make the arrangement still more watertight, General Petala's covering letter shows how France has co-ordinated her policy with that of the famous Franco-Polish Treaty of February 19th, 1921, which fully commits France to help Poland in case either of a German or of a Russian attack.

The preamble to the Convention records that it is the work of the Polish and the Rumanian General Staffs "as representatives of the two Governments" and describes the Convention as "an annex to the Polish-Rumanian Treaty of 1926." Article 1 stipulates that "in case one of the contracting parties should be attacked by a third Power the other contracting party will be bound to come to her assistance with all her military forces." That commitment is subjected by Article 2 to the condition that it shall not operate if one of the parties "attack a third Power." Articles 3, 4, and 5 make full and detailed arrangements for the passage of Polish troops across Rumania and of Rumanian across Poland. Article 6 states that "All the units of the Rumanian army on Polish territory shall have their field formations complete. An exception shall be made

in the gas service for attack and defence, which shall be supplied—both materials and personnel—partly by Poland and partly by France. The same shall apply to the air service: one-half shall be supplied—both materials and personnel—by Poland and France together." Articles 7 to 11 are concerned with routine military arrangements. Article 12 makes the Convention operate for three years.

A covering letter, dated June 3rd, 1926, was sent by the Rumanian General, General Petala, who negotiated and signed the Convention, to the Rumanian Minister for War, in which the circumstances and implications of the Convention were described. One sentence declared that the Convention "actually represents the point of view of the French Supreme Council of War in the case of an armed conflict between Poland or Rumania and the hostile countries in the neighbourhood." Another states that, in the contingencies contemplated by the Convention "France is going to intervene in conformity with the special treaty concluded with Poland," and the letter proceeds to examine in detail what help France would give. After laying down the general caution that "we must not count on effective support by French troops, since public opinion in France is not yet favourable in regard to such an eventuality" General Petala in his letter proceeds to record in great detail the precise military help that had been promised by the French Supreme War Council.

The publication of that secret military convention at the very time when the Thoiry conversations between M. Briand and Herr Stresemann seemed to be about to inaugurate a new era in French diplomacy produced a shock and a confusion of mind among those who take a serious interest in European diplomacy. At Bukarest there had fructified after Locarno something that had been sown before Locarno, and the fruit was the fruit of the sowing. M. Briand has to choose, and if, as one may reasonably assume, he sticks to Locarno and to Thoiry, he will have to explain to his Supreme War Council that the times have changed.

It is one of the symptoms of a damaged Europe that its harassed constituents are at present engaged in an intensive process of treaty-making, the treaties being characterised by a general motive of self-defence. The number of regional treaties that have been concluded in Europe during the twelve months that have followed the negotiation of the Locarno treaties is hardly believable except to those who have counted them. Commercial treaties, treaties of guarantee, of neutrality, of mutual support, have followed each other in pathetic sequence. There is a danger lest the habit degenerate into meaningless confusion. Those who are concerned for the welfare of Europe as a whole see the particular danger

that the essential, original purpose of the League of Nations be forgotten. Since the Treaty of Versailles was signed in 1919 we have passed through many hectic phases of the pursuit of security. The Locarno idea put an end to one series of nightmares by pacifying, as far as may humanly be possible, the greatest danger spot: the irony would be tragic if another series of nightmares were thereby started. The excuse for the Franco-German gesture being staged at Locarno and not at Geneva in 1925 was that the magnitude of the task justified localised methods, and the results were carefully co-ordinated with Geneva. The aftermath of numerous localised agreements tends to obscure the primary purpose of the League of Nations, which is to protect one and all of its members. It is at least arguable that the small states are weakening, not strengthening, their assets by extra-League regional understandings.

GEORGE GLASGOW.

October 15th, 1926.

LITERARY SUPPLEMENT.

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DR. INGE'S ENGLAND.*

The Dean of St. Paul's volume on England in the series entitled *The Modern World*, edited by Mr. Fisher, despite the intrinsic interest of the book and discounting the curious perspective of the writer, is a disappointing work. Dr. Inge, with characteristic frankness, declares that he found "the preparation of this book the most difficult literary task that I have ever undertaken" that he has tried to be candid and has "made no attempt whatever to be impartial." That is as it should be. It was desirable to have perfectly frank criticism from the personal point of view of a man who beyond all doubt loves his own country dearly. Partiality, historical colour-blindness, incapacity for placing his own age in perspective with other ages: all these things can easily be discounted by any reader who knows Dr. Inge's general views, his great ability and wide reading, his fearlessness of character. What makes the book disappointing is that it is mainly destructive and not constructive. It is full of warnings which sometimes are obvious and sometimes obscurantist. Criticism when it goes hand in hand with faith ought to fling aside non-essentials and point out the resultant path of the forces playing on our present position if those forces are guided aright. Dr. Inge, especially as a great churchman working in the greatest city in the world,

* *England*. By William Ralph Inge, Dean of St. Paul's. Ernest Benn. 10s. 6d. net.

might have been expected to give an optimistic lead to forces which are making for righteousness as never before in England's long history. We believe that the Dean of St. Paul's is an optimist at heart, but his mind is so constructed that he cannot bring his optimism to an intellectual focus and, therefore, cannot become a beacon in that darkness which to many of us foreshadows an early dawn.

That the times are dark no one denies, but not dark in the sense that they were dark in the autumn when Harold fell at Senlac; in the autumn of 1349, when the whole nation lay gasping in the grip of the Black Death; or in the mid fifteenth century when materialism, irreligion, bloodshed and the plague had darkened hope and almost closed the universities of a land that Europe regarded with contempt, openly expressed by the University of Paris. In the darkness of the struggle between the King and Parliament, in the wretched England of the eighteenth century, in the desperate days of the industrial revolution, the clarion note of hope was sounded on all sides. In all these times if Dr. Inge had been entrusted to write a work on England he would have been patriotic to the core, but his patriotism would have been that of Gildas, a patriotism without essential hope. He feels our present difficulties acutely, and it would be well if more men and women felt the same, but after all, difficulties are made to be overcome. As Thomas à Kempis wrote in a darker age than this: we are given the conflict in order that we may conquer. Dr. Inge sees the difficulties of England, social, political, economic. He believes us to be in "great danger" as the result of "anti-social and unpatriotic sectionalism," but the most that he thinks that the Church can do is:

To find its usefulness in steadily holding before the nation a heroic and noble ideal of belief and conduct, in contrast with the secularity, greed and hypocrisy of society in general. So purified from extraneous accretions, Christianity may in the future exercise an incalculable influence upon the life of the nation, and may win the allegiance of many who at present stand aloof from it.

Such a conception of the place of a Church in a majestic community is not likely to satisfy those who believe that Philistia can only be conquered by the sword, and that the fearful evils that the Dean of St. Paul's describes in every field of national life can only be destroyed by a Church Militant that is fighting for Christ and Christendom in all fields. The victories of the Church have not been won by platonism, however excellent. It is true that the armies of the Church must wield chiefly one great weapon, but in the use of this weapon her skill is incomparable, and she can use it in the market place, in the school, in the hospital, in the

slum, in the workshop, with life-giving effect. She had, says Joseph Joubert, and she has, "the talent of making herself loved, and the talent of making men happy. It is that which wrought prodigies for her; it was from thence that she drew her power." To set up an intolerable contrast was not, and is not, her way. The Dean of St. Paul's pictures a world that has fallen among thieves. The Church's business is that of the Good Samaritan.

Dr. Inge's apparent pessimism is largely due to the extraordinary outlook that he says that he holds on the naked facts of English history. We may leave him to hold the wholly untenable view that our Saxon settlers executed what he calls "a general massacre," though how he can explain the persistence of land customs that the Saxons, Jutes and Angles did not bring with them on such an assumption it is hard to say. St. Samson of Dol effectively answers the poor authority of Gildas. A great part of the soul of England, the something that separates it from the Continental races, is the persistence in every region of the Celtic strain. Dr. Inge regards the Norman Conquest in a new light. He says that it "was probably an almost unmitigated misfortune for England." Yet the Normans created the Rule of Law, the processes of education, the Parliamentary system, and provided us with perhaps the greatest thinkers in Europe. He declares that "the customs generally of the conquered Britons" disappeared. In fact, they only disappeared on January 1st, 1926. Dr. Inge declares that since the time of the Norman supremacy "our nation has not been tried in the furnace of adversity." In fact, from the days of the Black Death onwards our souls have been continuously tempered by that furnace. The whole story that this book tells is that of adversities nobly met. Again, Dr. Inge holds that the democratising of Parliament has been fatal to its power and prestige, a view certainly not held by any specialist on constitutional history.

But the Dean of St. Paul's *obiter dicta* are even more startling than his historical theories. The theories may be excused on the ground that, after all, anything is arguable in the forum. But some of the opinions expressed are difficult to bear. Why should he speak of "the crowds of unwanted children who infest the alleys of our great cities"? By whom are they "unwanted"? Certainly the mothers love them and send them to school as clean and well-clad as narrow means allow in the vast majority of cases. Certainly they are not regarded as unwanted by the Churches, the local authorities, the State. From these very alleys have sprung some of the great men and women of England, and thousands of war-heroes. It is a cruel, heart-breaking phrase. Then, again, the sneer at "the laziness of our race" is unworthy. We

are not lazy as a race despite the repetition of the slander in book after book. Our war-time activities, our peace-time activities rebut a statement that is really based on the fact that the Englishman can crowd into a given time more and better work than his competitors. The return that the Englishman has won for creating a new standard of humanism in labour for the whole world is the character of an idle fellow. The slander is the fruit too of the individualism that Dr. Inge rightly praises. It is also unfair to sneer at what we did in the Battle of Jutland. That victory achieved its purpose though it failed to destroy, by sheer bad luck, the German fleet. The residue of that fleet never dared again to move from its base. Dr. Inge is stirred by "the absence of any real Imperial Government." The strength of the Empire is that it is not bound by an iron constitution. Again, this critic attacking rural conditions in England, cannot know what is happening to-day in the revivifying of rural life. In twenty years, thanks to the efforts of the central and local authorities, rural England will be happier than it has ever been, and will cease to send its best men and women to the towns. Dr. Inge declares that any further increase in our home population would be a source of weakness, and says, "we have to choose between the different methods of restriction."

Yet the Dean fully realises that England, though "in a state of chronic civil war," and a place where "the improvement in education has not been accompanied by any intrinsic advance in the intelligence of the people," is a far better world than the England of past days. He admits that :

Whatever faults may be apparent in the tastes of the poorer classes, the improvement in their condition has been enormous, and it would be untrue to say that no moral improvement has gone with it. Self-respect is the ground of half the virtues of an Englishman, and the whole population, except the submerged class, has now learned at least some measure of self-respect. . . . I do not think that the national character has really deteriorated, except in its attitude towards industry and hard work. . . . Our young people . . . respond to sudden calls, as in the Great War or the General Strike, in a manner which shows that they are not really degenerate. . . . Education is not a remedy for barbarism in the soul, but it is a ladder by which those who will may rise out of it.

So the Dean of St. Paul's has delivered his soul, "the hopes and fears for the country that I love." It is a strange delivery and a characteristic. It is not how his predecessor, Dr. John Donne, who equally loved England, delivered his soul. Dr. Inge is obsessed by fears that almost drown the hopes, but it is not untrue to say that the hopes and not the fears are the most helpful part of a very curious book.

J. E. G. DE M.

HOME AND SCHOOL.*

Dr. Kimmins in his preface to the series, *The Home and School Library*, of which Mrs. Radice's helpful book forms part, declares that :

The growing recognition in all civilised countries of the immense importance of the pre-school period in the life of the child carries with it the absolute necessity of careful and intelligent oversight on the part of the parent or parent-substitute during this formative stage. To neglect either the physical or the mental development of the child in the early days may result in an impoverished childhood. . . . The present volume on "Home and School" deals in broad outline with some of the weaknesses in our present system of education, and points the way to reform.

Mrs. Radice asks the vital question, "Is school, as we understand it in England to-day, a preparation for life?" The parent sends the child to school "in the hope of having his special qualities developed," and this may conflict with the school ideal of intercourse with other children. Mrs. Radice feels that English parents have not yet pressed their point of view. The Parents' Association was formed, on the initiative of Mrs. Radice, to assist and advise parents and to represent their interest in dealing with schools. After all, the parents of the family know the children as neither school teachers nor examiners can know them, and it is desirable, in the interest of the school as well as of the children, that the home point of view should be known. Most house-masters in the great secondary schools regard, and perhaps often with reason, parents, and especially mothers, as nuisances. But that is because parents do not put before the school authorities the facts that matter, and fuss about details which, in nine cases out of ten, the house master or the matron understand far better than the parent. But the house master or house mistress cannot know the idiosyncracies of the child, the weaknesses, the strength, the capacity, the medical record of the child. Most schools are satisfied with a mere certificate that the pupil has not been in contact with persons suffering from this or that contagious disease for a specific period. They should have a complete record of the child's life from which the idiosyncracies of the child can be fully ascertained and understood.

Now a study of this book and of the methods and ideals of the Parents' Association would enable a house master or a form master (or mistress) after an interview on definite lines with a parent, to draw up a statement to be placed on record in the school with

* *Home and School*. By Mrs. A. Hutton Radice. With chapters by Viscountess Erleigh, Mrs. H. A. L. Fisher and Mrs. Coombe-Tennant. Preface by Dr. C. W. Kimmins. Partridge: London. 5s. net.

respect to each new pupil. Mrs. Radice's chapters on early development and home life will be valuable in this respect as well as a guide to parents in dealing with the pre-school period, and for teachers in kindergartens or nursery schools. Mrs. Radice's view (parental human nature being what it is) is that "it is safer for a child, in the spiritual sense, to get out of the home atmosphere for a few hours daily, from a very early age," but she definitely rules out "all kindergartens in which the day goes by time-table, or is devoted to occupations which are either academic or have little or no bearing on a child's home life." Mrs. Radice is an advocate of the Montessori method if properly used. The danger is that this method may stimulate the child at too great a pace and hasten brain-growth when the natural brain-growth is going on at a tremendous pace. But probably the answer to this objection is that the responsible person must know when it is desirable and when it is not desirable to use (in the best possible way) the Montessori apparatus. There is certainly a great need, "both in England and the Dominions, for establishments which will train nursery governesses capable of taking on children whom the nursery-nurse can no longer manage, and of assisting their general development, without giving them formal lessons." The principle should also be extended to the case of infants in the public elementary infant schools, to which still many children of the age of four or even earlier are still admitted.

The chapter on nursery schools as conceived of by the Board of Education should be carefully studied. The official regulations "sum up ably the aims of the modern nursery day-school, which most medical authorities would like to see precede the elementary schools." The chapter on Health in Schools should be closely studied both by parents and teachers. Preventive medicine lies at the root of all progress in education, and some of its main features can be exercised in schools. In the chapter on Discipline Mrs. Radice makes it clear that Dr. Montessori does not believe in self-government by young children. "Her method is a method for self-development." Autonomy for children is a very questionable policy. It throws too much responsibility on children, and it has always to be remembered that an essential part of education is external interference. Mrs. Radice thinks that not much can be done in the direction of autonomy before the age of fifteen. But that age is also a dangerous age, save in so far as a very carefully watched prefectual system can be introduced. Little republics tend to become little infernos. Mrs. Radice goes on to discuss new methods of school organisation, the natural interest of children their reading, and various phases of psychology applied to education. All will not agree with all that this very experienced

educationist advocates. There are many theories that have vogue in the world of education; but her book will stimulate interest at every turn, and the interest is not lessened when the article by Mrs. Tennant on "the boy as a future citizen," and that by Mrs. Fisher on "the girl as a future citizen," are studied, while Lady Erleigh's essay on the teaching of mothercraft is an intrinsic part of the whole theme.

* * *

ARABIC LITERATURE.*

Perhaps the only true criticism of Mr. H. A. R. Gibb's excellent introduction to Arabic literature, with its vast implications in the humanisms of Asia and Europe, is that he has tried to put too much information and critical investigation into a very limited space. The book tends to become a guide to other works, and for this purpose will be greatly valued by serious and advanced students, but it has also a very real value as a literary effort on an absorbing theme.

Mr. Gibb strikes the fundamental note of his theme when he says that Arabic literature "is the enduring monument of a civilisation, not of a people." The Arab moulded many peoples into one humanistic community. He with his objective point of view and limited experience had a basic literature which had an essential logical force, but which for that very reason had powers of growth unusual in Semitic literature. The Arabic literature came apparently into sudden flower, but after at least two centuries of oral transmission. The tradition was probably faithful, and the early poems exhibit extraordinary skill in presenting with vivid force the themes of desert life. Those poems gave to the Arabs a sense of unity which Muhammed in the seventh century was not slow to use.

The prophet's contribution to Arabic literature was, of course, the Koran, an amazingly successful effort to create "a prose style out of a poetic dialect." It had little effect on the Arabian poets, but from it sprang many branches of Arabic literature, while it imposed Arabic as a language on all the Muslim peoples from the Pyrenees to the Pamirs. But it was from Mesopotamia rather than from Arabia that the new poetry sprang, a poetry that conquered the narrow, formal confines of the desert verse, and burst into a humanism which, if materialistic in one sense, was a thing of beauty in another. The dynasty of the Abbasids in A.D. 750 brought with it a literature that entered at once its Golden Age.

* *Arabic Literature: An Introduction.* By H. A. R. Gibb. Oxford University Press. 2s. 6d. net.

Largely drawing upon Hellenism through Syriac versions of various works it wedded Greek facts and theories to the story of Arabian life and traditions. The prose was clear and logical and became fixed in style in the mid ninth century. The elements of the Muhammedan faith were inevitably drawn into the struggle between conflicting literary schools, and though the orthodox conquered at first, the influence of the ascetic party, the Sufi, grew rapidly into a form of mysticism which was suppressed with violence at Baghdad. The orthodox reaction to the whole of the movement was the literary collection of the Tradition upon which the law was based, the formation of works which were and are the fundamental supplement to the Koran, and gave it lasting force.

Given a dominant race, a universal tongue, and a deeply founded literature, the spread of a new humanism into all Muhammedan lands was inevitable, and Mr. Gibb naturally passes on to the record of the great Arabian thinkers who in various lands developed, largely from Greek bases, learning, science and art. Libraries and Academies adorned the great cities such as Baghdad, Cairo, Cordova. Avicenna stood out in the eleventh century as the great philosopher and scientist of a world that seemed to have inherited the vigour of Rome and the contagious thoughtfulness of Greece.

It is a wonderful story, and one that is not ended yet. Mr. Gibb asks, what are the prospects of the neo-Arabic literature?

The new movement seems to have thrown all its weight into journalism, perhaps from some half-conscious idea that in the printing press it has its greatest ally. But there lies also its greatest danger. The best augury for its future is that the danger is realised, and that the finest minds of the East are calling for a deeper appreciation by their fellow countrymen of the riches and value of their own historic cultures, not in defiant opposition to the West, but as the only sure foundation on which, by the adaptation of the new learning of Europe, they may develop harmoniously towards a fuller life and a fresh unfolding of the spirit of man.

The gift of assimilation and of the producing of new values from the fact of assimilation is a feature of the whole history of Arabic humanism, and certainly to-day that gift should have great results. The peoples who could from an imperfect knowledge of Greek philosophy and thought produce results that have eternal reactions in Western thought will in the future from their full knowledge of the thought and science of Europe produce even more remarkable results. But the first step is to emulate in the realms of education their achievements when Europe lay in the darkness of the tenth century.

J. E. G. DE M.

W. P. KER.*

These two volumes contain the collected essays of Walter Paton Ker, edited by Mr. Charles Whibley, who writes an Introduction not only to the essays but their author to the reader, who is brought thus face to face with a man who was at all times ripe for adventure, a man with a vast accumulation of knowledge gathered as he trod the highways and by-ways of literature. The same quest possessed him which possessed the pioneers and adventurers of all time: "Fresh fields and pastures new." He sought something to conquer, something to attain, new lands to visit, new languages to learn, whereby he might compass the literature which he always found for the seeking. He was never a recluse, but, on the contrary, delighted and rejoiced in all the genialities and hospitalities of life, as good a listener as a talker. "The deliberate restraint of his style was matched by the periods of silence which marked his talk." Mr. Whibley has etched the author of these essays with so graphic and loving a pen, that all who knew or cared for Walter Paton Ker will welcome the book. His biography is given on the fore page in a few words. Born in 1855 he achieved all that Oxford and London could give him in the way of professorships, honours, lovers. He died seeking the mountain heights in Italy, on July 17th, 1923.

Thither our path lies; wind we up the heights;
Wait ye the warning?
Our low life was the level's and the night's;
He's for the morning.

The content of these two volumes is forty essays save one, but they are in no wise stripes, but learned, able, fair and equable criticisms. Especially does this apply to the essay on Byron, whose works are little read and less appreciated to-day. Professor Ker quotes Goethe's summing up of Byron as:

Neither antique nor romantic; he is present day. . . . Goethe does not speak of Byron merely in passing, carelessly. He thought more about Byron than any contemporary poet . . . and declared deliberately that Byron was the greatest poet of his age. Byron for him is the great explorer, trying everything in poetry or politics; and Goethe's judgment is not to be dismissed as merely a foreigner's pardonable error. Goethe was not prejudiced, and he was not extravagant: he saw that some things were wrong in Byron's art, that Byron was cramped in his dramatic unities, and that his dark misanthropy was overdone. But these defects were nothing compared with Byron's energy and variety.

That Byron has risen to the height and limit of his powers in his astounding *Vision of Judgment* both Goethe and Swinburne agree, though in other respects they are at variance.

* Collected Essays of W. P. Ker. With an Introduction by Charles Whibley. Macmillan and Co. Two volumes. 25s. net.

The Essay on Keats is very interesting in its comparison of Shelley and Keats. "Keats sees Truth in the same way as he sees Beauty, through life and experience, and finds them the same." "The Beauty of Holiness" is the way the Hebrew expresses it in the Old Testament, and this carries the same meaning. "Shelley has a different way of thinking: trained in philosophy, a reader of Plato and Hume, a prose author of many arguments; capable of dealing philosophically, scientifically, in regular form, with moral and political questions." Small wonder that they never really understood one another, yet Shelley felt that Keats' life was a most valuable one, and in a letter to Mrs. Leigh Hunt he wrote, "Where is Keats now? I am anxiously expecting him in Italy, when I shall take care to bestow every possible attention on him. . . . I am aware, indeed, in part, that I am nourishing a rival who will far surpass me; and this is an additional motive, and will be an added pleasure." In acknowledging the *Cenci* (which Shelley had sent him) with but little enthusiasm, Keats adds a little advice: "Be more of an artist, and load every rift of your subject with ore." Professor Ker considers the *Cenci* the strongest of all Shelley's poems—"a miracle, a different thing entirely from all that had gone before, and it has no successor." The comparison of the two poems *Hyperion* and *Prometheus Unbound* is fully brought out, but the palm goes to Keats. The theme of the two poems is the same, there is progress in both, but it is unequal in Shelley, clear and triumphant success in Keats. When studying Professor Ker's analysis of the two poets—and indeed the same spirit pervades each essay—we cannot fail to recognise the impartial and well-weighed criticism, nought set down in haste, much less in malice. He says in his essay on George Wyndham that "the real task of criticism is to find out the good and praise it rightly," and he follows his own teaching throughout.

The essay on Sir Walter Scott is full of interest, a Scotsman discussing a Scot before a French audience (this lecture was given at the Sorbonne, May 22nd, 1919). Professor Ker quotes Haslitt, He is writing of the difference between the genius of Shakespeare and of Sir Walter Scott:

"No one admires or delights in the Scotch novels more than I do, but at the same time, when I hear it asserted that his mind is of the same class with Shakespeare, or that he imitates nature in the same way, I confess I cannot assent to it. Sir Walter is an imitator of nature and nothing more, but I think Shakespeare is infinitely more than this. . . . Sir Walter's mind is full of information, but the 'o'er informing power' is not there. Shakespeare's spirit, like fire, shines through him; Sir Walter's, like a stream, reflects surrounding objects."

Professor Ker reminds his readers that this is the criticism of an art critic, Haslitt being himself a painter. He says in another essay on Sir Walter Scott, "He does not fancy, nor would he for one moment have it supposed, that his name and fame compose all that is worth a moment's consideration in the universe. This is the great secret of his writing—a perfect indifference to self." Professor Ker at the close of this essay gives the scene from *The Antiquary*, where Monkbarns bargains with the fish-wife. It is delightful, and the partiality which Scotsmen feel for their great fellow-countryman is not surprising.

In the second volume of this work the author goes further afield. Spain and her literature occupy three essays. The one on Don Quixote is comprehensive and full of understanding. *The Danish Ballads* and their resemblance to Scottish ballads is fully discussed. Icelandic and Norwegian literature and history follow, and Jacob Grimm and his brother Wilhelm hold high place in the author's regard. Branching off from history and literature to *The Philosophy of Art* (which Mr. Ker strives to define with the philosophy of language) he passes on to *The Philosophy of History*, which is an easier task, as history is a sequence, never an accomplished fact like a work of art. From philosophy he proceeds to the imagination, and *Romance*, both classical and romantic, follows in their train. The volume closes with *The Humanist Ideal*, a fitting sequel to a series of essays of varied and cosmopolitan interest, and wide knowledge which all who read will value.

S. DE M.

* * *

STRIKES AND TRANSPORT.*

The comparative ease with which the long-threatened General Strike of May, 1926, was conquered was no doubt due in great part to the determination of the vast majority of the English people not to tolerate direct action against Constitutional Government by any self-constituted authority. It is not necessary to discuss the motive force of such direct action by the General Council of the Trade Union Congress. The fact that it was intended to control Parliament and was illegal was sufficient for the English people. But determination to resist organised oppression is one thing and power to resist is another. The vogue of the motor car and the vast number of persons not controlled by any union who were able to drive cars of all sorts and electric trains, made resistance possible, yet without organisation behind this power and determination to

* *General Strikes and Road Transport: Being an account of the Road Transport Organisation prepared by the British Government to meet National Emergencies, with a detailed description of its use in the Emergency of May, 1926.* By George Glasgow. With a Foreword by the Right Hon. D. Lloyd George. Geoffrey Bles, Suffolk Street, London. 5s. net.

resist, the General Strike instead of lasting only nine days might have lasted for nine weeks. The Government had had long warning of the proposed strike, and were fully aware of the sinister forces behind it, and an official emergency organisation was absolutely ready for the event with a complete scheme of transport by road. Such a strike can never happen again, since the population knows exactly what it means and how to meet it, and would not tolerate any Government that placed out of action the emergency organisation.

Mr. George Glasgow in his very able book gives the public full information as to the machinery which in fact crushed the General Strike within so brief a period. Mr. Lloyd George in his Foreword to this book, a document of historical value, writes :

The emergency organisation which is kept in permanent readiness for use in the contingency of a national stoppage is the result of a gradual evolution. It has resulted from several years of thought and work. Its exact nature has been something of a secret, and at first thought it might be wondered if Mr. George Glasgow has done a wise thing in making it public. It is my opinion that a general recognition of the decisive efficacy of road transport for the purposes of feeding the nation in a sudden emergency will do good. Certainly the Trade Union Congress was surprised at the success with which the roads did their work. Hundreds of thousands of men, women and children can drive cars. Road transport has developed so gradually but so quickly that few of us were prepared for so complete an illustration of its power as we have now had. Yet the Trade Union Congress was aware, or ought to have been aware of the Government's scheme of transport by road. The scheme has been in continuous readiness since the war.

Mr. Lloyd George goes on to show that even before the end of the war his Cabinet had prepared to meet any industrial crisis interfering with transport and food supplies. After the Armistice a complete organisation was created at Mr. Lloyd George's desire by the Ministry of Food. Food control was still in force, and this enabled the country to be divided into sixteen divisional areas, each with its own commissioner and staff ready to act at a moment's notice, and with statutory power to requisition vehicles. The machinery was tested by the Railway Strike of September, 1919, and worked so well on 75,000 miles of road that it was one of the principal reasons that the general strike fixed for April, 1921, was called off. The strike leaders of 1926 were perhaps deceived by the fact that the Government was not still in control of food supplies and the other advantages of the war. But the Voluntary Haulage Committees took the place of the war-time machinery and had the advantage of bringing in volunteers.

Mr. Lloyd George's final statement is important. He says :

Strikes and lockouts as means of settling industrial disputes are methods of barbarism. But until more civilised methods have

been found and accepted the "non-combatants" in the community must be safeguarded against privation. In organising such protection Governments express no opinion on the merits of a dispute. They are simply performing the elementary functions of good government.

Mr. Glasgow in his introduction says :

The experience of Great Britain has added something new and something important to the sum total of the world's experience in this field. It is not only, or even mainly, that in Great Britain the shock was effectively withstood; that the concerted and simultaneous withdrawal of organised labour from the entire transport system of the country failed of its paralysing purpose. The important thing is that an emergency organisation of transport by road was tested and proved to be adequate to the essential needs of communal life. That is a new fact in history, as the political philosophers have been quick to recognise.

Mr. Glasgow describes "the exact nature of the organisation so successfully put to the test by the British Civil Service." He shows us the scheme in operation. The secrets of the scheme were first the fact that it had been worked out in detail, and secondly the basing of the haulage system on existing commercial lines. "Haulage contractors continued to carry goods as their normal business, to employ their own labour, and to charge commercial rates. One result was that the consumer, not the Government, paid for it. When the price of milk went up by 2d. a quart, for instance, at the beginning of the strike, the increase was an indirect method of paying for transport." The principle of the requisitioning of vehicles was kept in reserve, and was never needed. Mr. Glasgow then shows the problem that had to be solved in London, an area organised like the other nine areas, but with "its own peculiar problems, due mainly to the vast population, and to the concentration within it of political and emotional headquarters." Food distribution was run by experts and the control severely centralised. In the case of milk, the effect of the strike was not a deficiency but a surplus on the eighth day of the strike. The London docks "failed badly in the first week, and the penalty had to be paid for allowing the fatal gap to intervene on the first day." That will not happen again. After the end of the first week the docks began to function adequately. So far as passenger traffic was concerned chaos, in view of the crowd of volunteer vehicles that made for London, "was saved by the very completeness of the strike. Providentially the trams were not running." The General Strike, in a phrase, had cut its own throat. On the last day of the strike almost one-third of the normal supply of motor omnibuses were running. As a correspondent of *The Times* wrote, *in omnibus hilaritas*. The graffiti were most amusing.

Mr. Glasgow goes into full detail, in other chapters, of other

areas after considering some typical preparatory work. His epitaph to the whole great experiment in nation-saving is that "road transport nowadays is equal to a nation-wide emergency." From the experience the nation has learnt self-reliance. It is no longer a bundle of helpless units at the mercy of a small body of well organised industrial workers or experts. The education of the nation has proceeded far enough to give us myriads of young people who are competent at short notice to take up and to excel in work that formerly was supposed to be the exclusive preserve of particular groups of industrial workers. The nation too can provide experts in administration that far excel in efficiency the experts who organised the strike and failed to disorganise the nation. The saddest part of the strike of May last is the evil effect on the workers who were led to believe that to ruin the nation would help the industrial classes. The trades unions are in a condition of financial chaos, and many thousands of men who were forced to strike are still out of work, since the strike took from the nation much of the work that there was to do. The strike was illegal and the men had no heart in it. But with the loyalty that is a main English characteristic they followed their leaders. It is difficult to criticize such action, but it is certain that they will never follow them in such a mad adventure again. The official documents with which Mr. Glasgow's excellent book ends show, however, that the nation is ready for all emergencies.

* * *

FRENCH VERSE.*

It is good to possess a new edition of Mr. St. John Lucas's delightful volume, the Oxford Book of French verse. The original edition "met with a most cordial and kindly reception in France." We are sure that the enlarged and revised edition with some admirable examples of current French verse will receive if possible a warmer reception. The continuity of French verse from the days of Deschamps in the fourteenth century or Villon in the fifteenth, to those of Verlaine and those of Rostand who survived the Great War is in itself a miracle. How familiar is Villon's refrain :

Que ce refrain ne vous remaine :
Mais où sont les neiges d'antan !

and Rostand's modern song of Joffroy Rudel :

Le seul rêve intéresse,
Vivre sans rêve, qu'est-ce ?
Et j'aime la Princesse
Lointaine !

* The Oxford Book of French Verse, XIIIth Century—XXth Century. Chosen by St. John Lucas. Oxford: At the Clarendon Press. 8s. 6d. net.

The sense of loss, of yearning persists through French poetry, and is responsible not only for some of its greatest but some of the mass of poor verse that France, in common with all the western nations, has produced. But what seems strange is that repeatedly the massive mediocrity of a period has been the seed-plot for supreme achievements. The *Chansons de Geste* provided the tongue for the exquisite *Chansons de toile*, the famous sewing songs; a century of artificial verse, verse worked with silk upon a frame, according to law, begat the true music of Charles d'Orleans and the supreme genius of François Villon. The coming of the Renaissance with the revival of classical learning and Roman law in France, an age of awakenment, but also of a great deal of dreary literature, begot Pierre de Ronsard and the *Pléiade*.

In Ronsard, however, the love of learning for its own sake soon changed into a desire to use all his knowledge in glorifying and enriching his own poverty-stricken language. It seemed at that time as if poetry in France was henceforward to be employed, as Marot employed it, in genial commonplace, or devoted, as the ballad-mongers devoted it, to conventional essays in dreariness; that the language had grown anæmic for lack of healthy exercise and sweet air. New blood was needed, and Ronsard found it, as Dante had found it before him, and as André Chénier would find it at the end of another epoch when verse had grown stale; in the poets of Greece and Rome. Style was what was needed—style and a language which should express noble and delicate emotions, uniting the wistful beauty of Theocritus and the *Georgics* with the resonant ardour of Pindar and the *Æneid*. The Renaissance was full of fine ambitions, and the poet's dream was not the least splendid of them.

Mr. Lucas points out that to Ronsard and the *Pléiade* we owe the modern *genres* of poetry, the free lyric, the ode, the Alexandrine forms, the sonnet, the *strophe Malherbienne* or *Ronsardienne*. It is true that the reaction from individualism followed, and the intense sense of form that always persists in French literature defied the lords of music. A national literature can hardly exist in the atmosphere of the grand style. But the return not only to nature but to naturalism had to come, and it came in the fretful twilight that foreran the Revolution. And after the Revolution the spirit of romanticism came in full measure, the spirit that "looks before and after, and longs for what is not." Victor Hugo, Alfred de Vigny, Alfred de Musset, combined the forces that had played upon the French muse in turn; "majestic harmonies," Mr. Lucas rightly calls them. To-day "the passion for order once again obsesses French verse," and no one who thinks of the history of French literature will complain.

SHORTER REVIEWS.

Mr. F. W. Ogilvie in his timely book, *Industrial Conflict*,* examines "the relations now existing between industry and the State" and inquires "how far industrial conflict is due to the absence of any organisation by which industry as a whole can deal with industrial affairs." Mr. Ogilvie does not seem to see that why the recent general strike was "political" in the sense that other strikes (such as a coal strike or a railway strike) may not be "political" was that it aimed deliberately at substituting for Parliament the will of a union of trade unions. That was illegal, and that was why the strike collapsed. English industrial workers are disinclined to take part in anything that is definitely illegal. That was where the State on a purely non-economic issue came into collision with the unions. The economic relationship of Industry and the State is another matter. They are intimately related, and insurance is a phase of the relationship, while in certain cases wages have been regulated, cases where the union system has failed to protect the workers. Factory inspection, child labour, regulation of dangerous trades, are all instances of the economic relationship of Industry and the State. Mr. Ogilvie says, "the elements of industrial conflict are plain. The relations of State and Industry are now so close, and the organisation of industry has grown so lopsided, that industrial disputes will continue to drag the State into the arena until a solution is found. It would be idle to hope that the settlement of a particular dispute in a single industry, coal or other, could do much to solve the broad problem." But it was not an industrial dispute that drew the State into the general strike. It was a revolutionary attempt to destroy the State, that is to say, to control Parliament. The State was strong enough to defeat an attack which has harmed trade unionism. The strike is certainly legal in principle, with certain exceptions, and no person has seriously suggested that it should be made illegal. Mr. Ogilvie sees the solution of all difficulties in giving industry a strong organisation. How can employers be represented? Is the time ripe for the Council of Industry suggested some years ago? Mr. Ogilvie thinks that the time is as ripe as it will ever be. But can Parliament afford to create a body that might try to control it?

* * *

In *The American Nation: Its Problems and Psychology*,† Professor McDougall discusses the meaning of nationalism in general and the growth of the nationhood of America. He believes that nationalism is good in itself, and has come to stay, and he rightly declares that internationalism must be built on a vigorous national self-consciousness. The theoretical chapters, which might have been abbreviated, are followed by a series of interesting surveys of the forces which have tended towards nationhood, such as the Mississippi and railways; the disrupting influences of the alien races; and the negro problem. The closing chapters describe the success with which a real nation has been built up despite many difficulties. The distinguished British psychologist, now an ornament of Harvard, writes with affection of his new home; but there is a suggestion of warning in the preface. "I must confess to a conservative bias. I have a great admiration for and sympathy

* Humphrey Milford. 1s. 6d. net.

† Allen and Unwin. 10s. 6d.

with America as it was in the bygone years; and I am conscious of a desire that the America of the future shall retain some semblance of the America of the past." The most novel portion of the volume is that in which he advocates segregation as the solution of the negro problem—a segregation either in the southern part of the United States, or in Africa, or New Guinea. "Would it not befit a nation that boldly claims the moral leadership of the world to clean its own slate and wipe out a stain from its record by a great national effort?"

* * *

Mr. Herbert W. Horwill's *The Usages of the American Constitution*,* is a masterly treatise on a curiously neglected aspect of a familiar theme, and provides an indispensable supplement to Lord Bryce's classical work. He has mastered the vast literature dealing with the nature and working of the Constitution, and in 250 pages of large print he explains how the practice in many cases differs from the theory. The disappearance of the indirect method of electing the President is known to everyone; but most readers will be surprised to learn that, according to the letter of the Constitution, a Vice-President called to the superior office on the death of the President is nothing more than Acting-President. The additions made by usage are even more important than the subtractions. The opposition to a third term, for instance, is sentimental, not constitutional. The Constitution knows nothing of the Cabinet, without which the machine could not work, nor of the "resident Congressman," who excludes abler men who live outside the State. Mr. Horwill's book is not an arid study of legal technicalities, but a revealing record of growth and adaptation.

* * *

Mr. Orlo Williams has provided "Studies in the art of fiction" in his volume entitled *Some Great English Novels*.†. He had at first thought of naming his book "Old Enchantments," a fitting title for a book dealing with Defoe, Fielding, Jane Austen, Dickens, Thackeray, George Eliot, Meredith. Mr. Samuel Butler and Mr. William de Morgan, Miss Edith Somerville, and Mr. Martin Ross (the authors of stories on the lighter side of Irish life which are in a sense already classics) are the only concessions to recent authors. But many enchantments vanish. Some good novels cannot be read twice, but a great work of art can and should be read many times, and it is true to say with Mr. Williams, "As a rule, if we take the trouble, we shall find, on second reading, how little of a great work of art we had at first taken in." He suggests "that both novelists and critics would learn something if they sometimes imitated the painters by patiently transcribing some old masterpiece of literature." It may be pointed out that in the old fortifying school curriculum this is in fact the practice. "However, if life is too short for this practice, there is no excuse for neglecting an exercise analogous to the intense concentration of a painter or a sculptor upon the single work of a master." So Mr. Williams goes on to concentrate intensely on *Tom Jones*, whose "ample yet stately lines have a fundamental relation to those of our national British temperament," *Martin Chuzzlewit*, by Dickens the "poet," *Pendennis*, that great sad work, *The Egoist* and its fight for womanhood, Defoe's *Roxana* with its outburst for woman's freedom,

* Oxford University Press. 10s. 6d.

† Macmillan. 8s. 6d. net.

Emma with its vital rhythm, *Adam Bede* with its immortal Dinah. These are indeed enchantments and give the feeling that the modern novel is in comparison a poor thing. But then these were the topmost apples on the topmost boughs, and no doubt the present age will have some such apples for harvest.

* * *

Mr. Percy Cross Standing has collected and edited a pleasing *Anthology of Recitations chosen by famous Actors and Actresses*.^{*} The idea is excellent, since it is perhaps only experienced actors who can tell whether a poem is capable of dramatic presentation. Some poems are clearly non-dramatic. For the most part purely descriptive poetry, despite the fact that it may stand very high in an absolute estimate of poetic values, is not suitable for recitation. On the other hand there are many poems that are essentially dramatic, and probably the full value of the poem can only be brought out by the human voice. But there are many intermediate poems which seem doubtful, and it is in this class that the experienced actor can see dramatic possibilities hidden from the mere reader and critic. All the poems collected by Mr. Standing have been selected by actors of various types. Mr. Ainley gives us Marlowe's lines in Tamburlaine's speech beginning "Ah, fair Zenocrate," which at first sight seems a doubtful poem from the point of view of recitation. Mark Antony's Oration is more obvious. Miss Constance Collier chose "In a Year," by Robert Browning, and two poems by D. G. Rossetti, including the famous poem "The Blessed Damozel." Sir J. Forbes-Robertson almost naturally took two of Hamlet's soliloquies and "Buckingham's Farewell." Sir J. Martin Harvey, on the other hand, has unexpected choices, including Lord Tennyson's "Edward Gray." Mr. Owen Nares chooses Robert Buchanan's horrible "Fra Giacomo," a poem that recalls Browning without that poet's idealism. Miss Sybil Thorndike has chosen two poems by Mr. Hilaire Belloc, and Miss Irene Vanburgh a poem by Mr. Henry Newbolt and another by Mr. Noyes. It is on the whole a good selection, but not perhaps as good as would have been chosen by the great actors of a past generation. Yet there is plenty for amateur reciters to choose from, and in choosing they will feel that, at any rate, the choice has been recited with effect and may be again.

NOTICES OF BOOKS.

"A Wayfarer in Sweden,"[†] the latest addition to a well-known series, is an unpretentious but excellent introduction to a visit to that country. Mr. Frederic Whyte, the accomplished biographer of Stead, has travelled widely, and possesses the unusual advantage of having a Swedish wife. The reader will find much that is practically useful about excursions, railways and hotels; but there is also more solid information about Stockholm; the great port of Gothenburg; the ancient city of Visby; the three hero kings, Gustavus Vasa, Gustavus Adolphus, and Charles XII; the novels of Selma Lagerlöf; and the character and customs of the Swedish people. Mr. Whyte draws a pleasant picture of a prosperous and highly civilised nation.

* John Lane.

† Methuen. 7s. 6d.

Mr. P. G. Wodehouse in his delightful series of sketches, "The Heart of a Goof"^{*} has gone to the heart of the public nuisance that the game and play of golf has become to those who decline to regard the game as either a medicine or a religion. It is a good game, and one that requires almost as much skill and pertinacity as great games such as cricket or football. But while other games can be played and can interest intensely non-players, the very presence of a golf-player who has reached a certain stage of inefficiency empties any room. The terminology of golf, which is more offensive than Scottish legal terminology, pleases the empty minds of the vast majority of those who take up the game as the last alternative to other evils. The worst of this attractive, honest, simple Scottish game, designed for illiterate peasants with a small but effective vocabulary, is the dreadful people that it attracts. In that respect it resembles Scotch whisky. The fact is that it is a selfish game (most harmful to school children), and attracts selfish people who hope to secure from it a theme of endless conversation, credit, and a lower standard of obesity. Mr. Wodehouse in his inimitable way pictures, on British and American golf courses and club houses, type after type of the creatures that have beset golfdom. It almost looks as if Mr. Wodehouse plays golf himself, so accurately has he got the horrible patter that is partly responsible for the decay of London club life. A "Goof" is "one of those unfortunate beings who have allowed this noblest of sports to get too great a grip upon them, who have permitted it to eat into their souls, like some malignant growth." The assumption that the "Goof" has a soul is one of those charitable assumptions with which Mr. Wodehouse's books abound.

* * *

Mr. Montague Summers, in "The History of Witchcraft and Demonology,"[†] concentrates on certain features in his great theme. He can write with authority, since he has made "a systematic and intensive study of the older demonologists," and rightly declares that their evidence is of prime importance and value. So this book deals with the witch as a heretic and anarchist, with the worship of the witch, with demons and familiars, with the witches' Sabbath (in itself a vast subject), where "the Principle of Evil, incarnate, was present for the hideous adoration of his besotted worshippers." The Black Mass performed by renegade priests was the most horrible aspect of these congregations of witches. Yet in a sense the imitation is evidence of the belief in and fear of the realities of Christendom. Mr. Summers goes on to deal with the witch in Holy Writ, with diabolic possession and modern spiritism, and lastly the witch in dramatic literature. The whole subject is a terrible and very ancient phase of fallen human nature.

* * *

Miss A. S. Turberville, in "English Men and Manners in the Eighteenth Century: An illustrated Narrative,"[‡] gives to students of this great period, with the help of remarkable contemporary illustrations, a moving picture of the great men who made up the social, political, religious, artistic sides of the eighteenth century supplemented by an account of the great soldiers and admirals who may be said to have laid the basis of the British Empire and her control of the seven

* Herbert Jenkins.

† Kegan Paul. 12s. 6d. net.

‡ Oxford: at the Clarendon Press. 10s. net.

seas. The great divines, the philanthropists, the artists, actors, are brought before the reader in the guise in which they lived. We see their veritable presentments in admirably produced illustrations, while Miss Turberville's very competent pen and wide historical knowledge of the period lead students further afield. Women perhaps have not a fair share of space in the list of portraits, but Mrs. Siddons and her peers awake once more to charm a new generation, and Lady Huntingdon glides upon the scene with her faith and courage.

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Major R. E. Cheesman has done excellent work in bringing before students of tribal life, geography, and archæology new facts in his volume, "In Unknown Arabia."* Major-General Sir Percy Cox, who contributes a preface, was fortunate as High Commissioner of Iraq to acquire the staff services of the author. Major Cheesman as a zoologist planned his expedition to an unexplored tract of eastern Arabia described in this volume, but he did not limit his investigations to ornithology and field-naturalist work. His descriptions of Bahran, Ogair, Solwa, Hafuf, the Great South Desert, Jabrin reveal indeed an unknown world where the vestiges of ancient life offer much to students of regions whence some of the great drifts of population originally came. The book will have classical value in time to come.

* * *

Professor G. H. Turnbull, of the University of Sheffield, in "The Educational Theory of J. G. Fichte: A Critical Account together with Translations"† gives probably the first account of the theory in English. The translations include the whole of Fichte's writings on education with the exception of the famous "Addresses to the German Nation." The Addresses aroused Germany after the terrible defeat of Jena and largely led to the foundation of the University of Berlin and the intensive national system of education that played so great a part in the revival of Germany and the beginning of the Empire that disappeared in 1918. Fichte (1762-1814), a philosopher of the first rank, early became interested in education through his association with Pestalozzi, and the two men evolved a scheme of education that includes what is to-day regarded as the very latest thinking on educational theory. But on one vital issue the two thinkers parted company. "For Pestalozzi morality is subjective; for Fichte it is objective. Fichte finds the essence of morality in service on behalf of the community; Pestalozzi considers that morality is quite individual and cannot be shared by two people." Fichte, therefore, believed that there is an ideal State and that there are no purely individual aims. This doctrine was largely adopted in the region of education by Germany with eventually disastrous results. The Roman view that the State is the servant and supplement of the individual is the only safe view. The worship of the State as a Thing in Itself is the most dangerous form of idolatry.

* Macmillan. 25s. net.

† Hodder and Stoughton. 12s. 6d. net.

LORD OXFORD AND ASQUITH.

IT is literally true of Lord Oxford that he "never strove for any prize." He had neither the disposition nor the need to strive. From first to last—or at all events, up to December, 1916—he was without rival or competitor at any stage of his career. Before he left Oxford his contemporaries were certain that he would be Prime Minister, and the House of Commons was of the same opinion at the end of his first session in Parliament. Forty years ago when I was editing a paper in the north of England, Arthur Acland, who had just been elected to Parliament, used to write to me about a little group of members with whom he was acting, and he hardly ever failed to say that Asquith was head and shoulders above them all. One looks in vain through his early career for any of the checks and vicissitudes that befell the young Gladstone or the young Disraeli. He strayed a little from the orthodox path in the days of the Boer War and the Liberal League, but that was a passing episode in a period of Opposition, and he quickly recovered his title to be thought a "good Liberal."

The only question raised about him in those days was whether a man whose execution was so perfect, who did everything with apparently so little effort, and to whom all advancement came as a gift, would develop the same energy as other men who had to struggle for their rewards. Throughout his life the equanimity with which he faced difficult things and the entire absence of friction and fuss with which he handled them, caused a certain irritation among men of less nimble minds, and led them to construe as lethargy what was in fact mastery. This was a misunderstanding, but it is, I think, true that he paid a certain penalty for his easy and early success. Not only had he never fought for his own hand, but he had never learnt, as other men do in adversity, the legitimate art of self-defence; and when eventually his enemies took him in flank, they found him an easy victim. Well I remember the efforts in the last months of 1916 to warn him what was brewing in his own Government. They were all useless. He would not believe what he was told, and if he had believed it, would not have lifted a finger to save himself. The idea of being in his place a minute longer than his colleagues wanted him or would support him, had simply no place in his thoughts.

The same scrupulous feeling may be read between the lines of the characteristic letter in which, on October 15th, he laid down the leadership of the Liberal Party. That letter raises very serious questions both for the Liberal Party and the country, but at the moment, it is easier to look back than to look forward; and Lord

Oxford himself invites us to do this in the careful survey of Parliament* during his lifetime, which by an undesigned coincidence was published in the same week as his letter of resignation. That survey is both an invaluable contribution to history and an interesting clue to Lord Oxford's own character. But it has one singular characteristic. It deals in a personal and discursive way with events of which he was spectator, and in a severe and impersonal way with events in which he was chief actor. From almost any other man the reader would have expected the reverse process and have been on guard to correct the personal bias from the point at which the narrator became a chief part of what he relates. In reading Lord Oxford's book we have positively to correct the impersonality of the writer and to read into his narrative what he omits of his own part. The result is that the student of these times, and especially of the great constitutional transactions between 1909 and 1911, has an absolutely unvarnished statement of facts which might otherwise have been disputed for generations, but that the student of character is left wondering what manner of man he was who did these things. This self-suppression is through and through Asquithian, but having lived through these times I am tempted to go back a little and endeavour to fill in some of the things that Lord Oxford leaves unsaid.

My own memory dwells first on the weeks in 1908 when Campbell-Bannerman lay dying. There was this time an undisputed succession to the leadership of the Liberal Party and the Prime Ministership. No one doubted that Asquith would and must be Prime Minister. But there were serious doubts as to how he would fill the place. C.B.'s influence over the enormous and somewhat insubordinate Radical Party then in power had seemed to be a secret of his own personality. When he was known to wish a thing, that thing, as the saying is, "went." That C.B. should not be vexed or embarrassed was part of the accepted code even among the frondeurs of the party. But C.B. had won this indulgence by a long and stubborn fight, not only against Conservative opponents, but also against the group in the Liberal Party with which Asquith had been associated; and though he was in his own way both gifted and accomplished, it was C.B.'s special pride to be an "ordinary man" expressing the average view and appealing to the homely sentiments of the Liberal multitude.

Now, whatever else he might be, Asquith was not an "ordinary man." He had behind him a brilliant academic and legal record, but attached to it the kind of suspicion which dogs the legal and academic in British politics. The perfection of his technique, both in Parliament and on the platform, and the intellectual mastery

* *Fifty Years of Parliament*. By the Earl of Oxford and Asquith, K.G. Cassell.

which he had shown in complicated argument on finance and the fiscal question, seemed to qualify him as an expert debater rather than as a leader. It was asked rather anxiously whether with his colder temperament and his remoter accomplishments, he would develop the "human qualities" and the robust kind of radicalism which had found their perfect embodiment in C.B. There were some gloomy prognostications. The Government had already run nearly half its course; the by-elections showed a sharp swing backwards of the pendulum. The general forecast was that his reign as Prime Minister would be short, and that after two years or so the Government would be driven to the country and probably thrown out.

Actually he was in power for nearly nine years, and after weathering unheard-of domestic storms was able to face the great crisis of August, 1914 as the leader of a united country and unbroken party and Cabinet. How did he do it? His own survey leaves us wondering. In that severely impersonal record, there seems to be almost no place for a leader. The tumultuous scenes of which Asquith was for years together the centre appear to have faded from the memory of Lord Oxford. The credit for everything that went right is assigned to one colleague or another, and there seems to be nothing over but the blame for what went wrong. One might imagine from this narrative that no man who served with Mr. Asquith ever made a mistake or suffered from any infirmity of judgment, and that his own part was merely to distribute the laurels. In almost any other man this might be thought a pose, but it is impossible to read Lord Oxford's second volume with any care without coming to the conclusion that it faithfully reflects the actual working of his mind. As one reads on, one slips into the Asquith atmosphere; stands just at his distance from the events described, and begins to measure them in the same impersonal way.

Here, I think, one gets the first clue to Lord Oxford's achievement. His generosity and total absence of vanity and self-seeking were, of course, great qualities which had their reward in all his personal dealings with colleagues and supporters. But alone they would not have carried him through the storms of these years. It was the combination with them of this cool sense of reality, this habit of standing just at the right distance and measuring the forces at work without the distortions of personal interest and ambition, which was his secret. In one sense the stars fought for him, since the extraordinary folly of the Conservative Party in using the House of Lords to reject the Budget of 1909 gave the Liberal Party a new lease of life, just when its sands seemed to be running out. But it was also at this point that the main

difficulties of leadership began, and it was in dealing with these that Asquith showed the power and value of his cool and steady mind.

Let me enter a little into detail about some of the events that followed. For my own part, I shall always remember the three months after the election of January, 1910, as one of the most difficult and perplexing periods of Liberal politics. The Government had come back with a handsome majority if the Irish either voted with them or abstained from voting, but no majority at all if the Irish voted against them. But the Irish were deeply committed to opposing the liquor taxes in the Budget, and for some weeks were inclined to insist either that these taxes should be withdrawn or that, in the alternative, a pledge should be given them to go straight ahead with a Home Rule Bill when the Budget was passed. Lord Oxford says in his book that "a good deal of steering was needed to round this rather hazardous point." It needed, one may say, a good deal more than steering; it needed a strong will and the steadiest adherence to the two points that bargaining about the Budget would be ignominious, and persistence with a Home Rule Bill until the House of Lords question had been dealt with, a mere ploughing of the sands. Well I remember the shifts and compromises which were suggested during these agitated weeks to evade one or other or both these issues, and the firmness with which the Prime Minister met them all. There could, in his view, be no bargain; the Irish must take their own course and shoulder their own responsibility, and if they thought it necessary to vote against the Budget, they must do so and the Government would accept the consequences.

They did not do so, and the Budget went safely through. But from this point onwards the steering was through shoals and rapids the whole way. It was evident to Asquith that the Budget election would not carry the Parliament Bill, and still less a Home Rule Bill. There was no chance of obtaining the consent of the Lords to the diminution of their own powers without guarantees from the Crown, and the Crown could not reasonably be asked to give guarantees on the strength of the Budget election. The situation was very imperfectly understood by either the Irish, the Liberal Party, or the electors generally. To all alike the disclosure of the fact that a second election would be necessary within a few months of what had seemed to be a decisive verdict was bound to be a very disagreeable shock, and the wisest were doubtful whether the country might not in sheer weariness make an end of the controversy by putting the Tories in power. Lloyd George anticipated his later coalition self by favouring the method of Conference after the death of King Edward, and Asquith held

his hand while the leaders of the two parties sat together to exhaust that possibility. But his mind was made up that, if or when it failed, the second election should take place without a moment's unnecessary delay, and back to the country he went before the Christmas of 1910. The decision was his own, and it was taken in the teeth of much reluctant and wavering opinion. It was freely said by even the Ruperts of the party that Asquith was ruining them by his precipitancy, and old hands at electioneering produced lists to show that it must be defeated if he persisted.

It proved to be a wise as well as courageous stroke which was well justified by the result. On the assumption (accepted by both parties) that the will of the country should prevail in the struggle between the two Houses, nothing could have been sounder or more straightforward and constitutionally correct than the action of both the Prime Minister and the Crown in these months. The second election on the issue of Lords and Commons was right, but no Prime Minister could have undertaken it without obtaining a guarantee that the verdict, if given in favour of the Commons, would this time be decisive; and provided the election was taken and the issue made clear, no Constitutional Sovereign could have refused to give this guarantee. But it was also right not to bring the Sovereign into the controversy unless under absolute necessity, and therefore not to disclose the guarantee before the election, or until the very last moment when the resistance of the peers compelled its disclosure. Throughout the whole of this controversy from the rejection of the Budget up to the passing of the Parliament Act, Asquith's handling of the forces he disposed of was wise, skilful and courageous. At the end there could be no legitimate grievance. The Peers had deliberately pitted themselves against the Commons, and in Lord Milner's phrase "damned the consequences." They were then beaten in fair fight after the issue had been carefully disentangled and fined down to the sole point of which should prevail. If the Crown was in any way involved, it was because the peers themselves compelled the disclosure of the guarantees in order to advertise the fact that they acted under *force majeure*. The heat and dust of this controversy are still in memory, but Asquith's constitutional touch was so sure, and his statements of the case for the Commons were invested with such gravity and dignity, that it never in his hands became a vulgar brawl.

To those who saw him intimately at work in these years, the reproach which was afterwards levelled at him of drifting passivity—"wait and see"—will always seem a foolish or wilful misunderstanding of his character. The fair criticism of him is not that he lacked tenacity or will, but that he had at times a too sanguine belief that things would come right of themselves if left

alone. I have myself, in something that I have written recently, criticised his handling of the Ulster crisis from this point of view, and he pays me the compliment of a reasoned answer in his book. The argument, I think, reduces itself to a choice between immediate expediencies and ultimate consequences. The immediate expediencies were undoubtedly on the side of leaving Carsonism alone. A North Ireland jury was unlikely to convict; special coercive legislation would have been necessary, and Irish nationalists were totally opposed to being associated with any policy of coercion aimed against Irishmen on Irish soil. I do not doubt that the entire Cabinet was, as Lord Oxford says, deliberately of opinion that it was choosing the lesser of two evils. Yet the ultimate consequences—the example set to other disturbers of the peace, and the argument left in their mouths that a special indulgence was given to the lawbreaking of a privileged class—have undoubtedly been very serious and, I am afraid, are not yet exhausted. It seems to me at least an open question whether it was not worth all risks to avoid the spectacle of Parliament tolerating for two years together the open preparation of armed resistance to itself.

The blame, whatever it may be, must be distributed between many individuals and parties; and it would be a presumption on my part to try to apportion it. There can in these days be very few Conservatives who do not deeply regret this chapter in the history of their party, or who, in the light of the sequel, do not wish that they had made terms with the moderate form of Home Rule proposed by the Liberal Party. My own question is whether the same prompt grasping of the nettle which had settled the Parliament Act might not in the following year have settled the Ulster question also. This is a might-have-been about which there can be no certainty, but it is perhaps not altogether fanciful to read into this part of the record some fatigue, some loss of driving power after the exhausting battles of the previous years.

It would scarcely be surprising if this were so. One must search far into history to find any period which threw greater or more grievous burdens on to the head of a British Government than the years from 1911 to 1914. Through a large part of the year 1911 the Agadir crisis ran parallel with the Parliamentary struggle, and carried with it from week to week the threat of a great war. Close on that came the Italian expedition to Tripoli, and next the Balkan Wars, raising all the dangerous and difficult questions that were debated at the Ambassadors' Conference held in London during the winter of 1912 and the spring of 1913. And then in 1913 and 1914 followed the last effort to come to terms with Germany, and renewed Cabinet crises about naval estimates, when these failed. Lord Grey has given a full account of these matters in his *Remin-*

iscences, but to get back into the atmosphere of this time we must read his narrative in a context of incessant and exhausting domestic controversy. A very little blundering on the part of the Prime Minister, even a very slight lapse from patience and forbearance, might have wrecked the Cabinet and left the country in confusion between conflicting policies at almost any moment in these years. I am one of those who think that no British Government could have done anything but what the Asquith Government did in 1914, but given the composition of that Government, the dangers of divided counsels and weak compromises were always serious, and that they were avoided was due in the main to the fact that the Prime Minister was a man whom his colleagues trusted to act steadily and straightforwardly and to be completely disinterested in his dealings with all of them.

But war, like Revolution, devours its children, and it is perhaps less surprising that Asquith fell in December, 1916, than that he survived for so long. If Abraham Lincoln, instead of being entrenched as President of the United States, had been a Prime Minister subject to the conditions of the British Cabinet system, he would almost certainly not have been found in his place when the American Civil War ended; and I think we may take it that in the Great War any Prime Minister acting under these conditions was a predestined victim of the failure to achieve victory within the expected time. But Asquith's character and methods undoubtedly made him an easy victim, and the very qualities which served him so well in times of peace recoiled upon him in times of war. Lloyd George knew, as Asquith did not, that he who would hold his place in war must not only *be* firm and strenuous, but seem so in the public eye. A lifelong habit of bearing uncomplainingly the collective burden of sins and shortcomings, and meeting with dignified silence the unceasing assaults of popular newspapers, is not a good equipment for a Prime Minister in war. History will judge hereafter whether the change of leadership in December, 1916, was justified by the results in the following years or whether any of the faults imputed to Asquith were remedied in the subsequent Administration. So far as we know the facts, the verdict on that question is at least "not proven." But the merits were almost immaterial, and at that moment any Prime Minister who was too proud to fight for his own hand was at a serious disadvantage with those who were not.

It has been said that magnanimity, as Asquith practised it, was turned from a virtue into a vice, and there is a grain of truth in the implied criticism. Asquith in these years owed more to himself as Prime Minister than he was willing to pay as a private individual. If Lloyd George overdid the dressing of his shop-window, Asquith went to extreme lengths of self-suppression at a time when the

public looked for a swelling figure-head to give it confidence, and was not content with a modest man taking "the fullest responsibility" for everything that went amiss. No one knew better than the colleagues who served with him, the loyalty and sincerity of this attitude, but an anxious public stirred up by an excited Press had ceased to regard patience as a virtue, and took grimly at his word the man who accepted responsibility for everybody's failings. A Prime Minister of Asquith's disposition needs an organised party with an active Press behind it to blow his trumpet and repel the attacks on him. This he had in full measure in times of peace, but it necessarily failed him in war, and then he stood a solitary figure at the mercy of any organised discontent.

Yet when the full story of these years comes to be written and the responsibilities which were all poured on to the head of the Prime Minister are disentangled and fairly apportioned, justice will surely be done to his own contribution. German writers have told us that the military power of Germany was broken at the end of 1916, and that her hopes were from that time based mainly on the submarine war. The long and exhausting struggle on the West front which wore down the German strength was a very terrible thing, but even more terrible things might have happened if the Government had not been led by a patient and steady man who gave a loyal and generous support to soldiers in the field. It was not for nothing that Asquith was more trusted by men in high commands than almost any other politician in the four years of the war. They knew that in his hands they were sure of fair treatment, and that he was much more likely to bear the burden of their mistakes than to throw them to the crowd, when things went wrong. It was mainly due to Asquith that Kitchener's great qualities were given full play in spite of defects which smaller men found irritating beyond endurance. Now and again during 1915 and 1916 Kitchener's faithful secretary, Fitzgerald, used to ask me to call and see him on my way home from my office, and on each occasion he poured out the same tale. Kitchener had lost his way among those strange beings the politicians, with whom for the first time in his life he found himself closely associated. Their ways were a mystery to him (and some of his, it must be added, to them) but there was one man whom he trusted and understood, and on whom he leant as a rock in the shifting sands. That man was the Prime Minister, and but for the Prime Minister he could never have gone on. This was no mean tribute. There was in both men a massive kind of simplicity which each recognised in the other. Both may be criticised, as who may not, but together they were a symbol of stoic endurance and patient effort, and at a time when these virtues were most needed and hardest to practise.

The judgment must be left to history. We are too near those

tremendous times to deal impartially with the men who played the chief parts in them. Lord Oxford, as Prime Minister, had to bear responsibilities compared with which those that fell on even the most illustrious of his predecessors seem as dust in the scale; and something more will be sought and found in his record than a mere summary of his virtues and accomplishments. But there are certain things that his contemporaries can say without the slightest fear that their judgment will be reversed. He served the country with complete disinterestedness. In all his parliamentary life no one has imputed to him that he ever tricked the public, betrayed a friend or saved himself at the expense of a colleague. If there has been intrigue or chicane or dishonesty, he has had no part in it. So far as he is concerned, the historian may spare himself the pains of searching for hidden records or unavowed motives. From beginning to end his career is an open book which the simplest may read. At a time when much evil is spoken of politicians and the suspicious are encouraged to believe that great events are governed by secret machinations, his example has greatly helped to sustain the credit of British statesmanship and been a guarantee to the world of the honesty and straightforwardness of British policy. Let me express the hope that the closing sentence in his letter of resignation may prove to have a real meaning, and that these great qualities may not even now be lost to the public life of the country.

J. A. SPENDER.

THOUGHTS ARISING OUT OF THE IMPERIAL CONFERENCE, 1926.

THE Imperial Conference met this year at a crucial moment. The affairs of the British Empire are not as happy as we would wish them to be. Serious defects have disclosed themselves: defects in the foundation as well as in the fabric. A fearless survey of the whole edifice needs to be made; the duties of trusteeship must not be shirked.

The first qualification for this task of investigation is a right mental attitude. And here it may be remarked that upon no subject has so much cant been spoken as upon this subject of Empire. A cynic has said, and not without truth, that for the average Englishman the Empire only existed as a topic for after-dinner eloquence. But it is not sufficient to talk, nor yet to think Imperially; the moment has come when we must act Imperially. Hitherto Imperial Conferences have been affairs of speech rather than of action. On these occasions, ministers from afar gathered round a table in the Capital of Empire, and amiably discussed the prospects of the British League of Nations. But, while the inspiration of a common purpose was acutely felt, the outline of a common policy was but dimly perceived. Hence indefiniteness found expression in vague rhetoric. Up to a point perhaps this vague rhetoric fulfilled a useful end, inasmuch as it stimulated Imperial enthusiasm. But the Empire has outgrown rhetoric. It has ceased to be indefinite. It is a fact—the most important fact of our times. But the average man has not yet come to realise that this is so. For him the Empire still means sublime words, not sublime realities and sublime opportunities. For him, like Paradise, it is a beautiful and remote garden, full of forbidden fruit. At intervals exhibitions are held, and he is shown wonderful pictures of this beautiful garden. But he never dreams that he will enter it, just as he never dreams that he will enter Paradise when he sees pictures of angels in the clouds.

The fact that the average British citizen has so hazy a conception of the British Empire is a sure indication that something is wrong. It is evident that Imperialism is not yet a popular ideal and that the Empire is not yet a people's Empire. The cause is, I think, to be found in the haphazard and unbusiness-like manner in which Imperial affairs have hitherto been conducted. A drastic revision of policy is required. *Laissez faire* has had its day; henceforth the motto must be action. But action will be ineffectual unless there is a true appreciation of the problems to be solved. And in order to isolate these problems we must trace them to their

roots in the past. Let us not forget that the rapid growth of the Empire took place in the last one hundred and fifty years during a period that coincided with the rapid expansion of industry in this country. Thus it may be said that the British Empire was founded upon the rock of British industry. Industrial development, due mainly to the invention of steam-power, created vast quantities of commodities for which markets had to be found overseas. Industrial development required enormous supplies of raw material, much of which could only be secured as a consequence of colonisation. Industrial development not only led to a great increase of the population of these isles but was responsible for the continuous surplus available for emigration. And finally industrial development created wealth for investment in colonial enterprise, and increased the purchasing power of the British people to such an extent as to enable them to buy a substantial portion of the production of this Colonial enterprise. Such briefly is the story of the Empire. It is the story of the rapid flow of economic power from its source in these isles to all parts of the universe.

Undeniably the desire for wealth was the main incentive to Imperial expansion. But life is so arranged that materialism and idealism are rarely, if ever, found asunder. And so it has been with the Empire: self-interest and self-sacrifice have contributed equally to its making. Trade followed the flag. The flag was a symbol of patriotism but trade created a basis for this patriotism. No one pretends that grievous blunders have not been committed, blunders for which remorse still lingers. But is it not some satisfaction to reflect that the judgment of our rivals amongst the nations confirms our own not disinterested conviction that the Empire is the foremost civilising influence in the world to-day?

The Empire, as I have said, is a fact, the largest fact of our age. Its anatomy is now plainly discernible. The heart is industrial Britain, the face British civilisation, the body the Empire as a whole, the limbs British dominions and territories overseas, the veins sea and air communications, the blood economic power. If the heart be weak, the life of the whole body is imperilled. Is it true that the heart of Empire is not so strong as it should be in these days of strenuous rivalry? On this point the statesmen who gathered at the Imperial Conference permitted themselves some very frank speech. For that reason the Conference was the most remarkable of all that have hitherto taken place. On former occasions discussions were concerned mainly with topics relating to the overseas dominions. It is true that of recent years foreign policy has been included on the agenda. It is true also that at one time the Dominions exhibited a lively interest in the fate of Ireland. But not until the present year did it enter their minds to raise so

intimate a question as the economic stability of Great Britain herself. Always it has been assumed that Great Britain's economic power was unshakable; and that control of this economic power was in the hands of men who had little to learn.

Eight years have passed since the war came to an end. The Dominions have seen the United States become the first industrial nation in the world. They have seen rapid industrial reconstruction on the Continent, and amongst the results of this reconstruction, France emerging as a leading industrial power; and Germany producing up to ninety per cent. of her pre-war average. They have seen that the volume of world trade is steadily increasing, but that of this increase Great Britain is not securing nearly so large a share as some of her rivals. In particular, they have seen that this circumstance has a disquieting relationship to Imperial interests. Mr. Bruce, the Prime Minister of Australia, presented some striking figures to the Conference, which showed that, whereas the trade of the Empire is increasing, Great Britain is not doing so well as other nations. Between 1913 and 1925-6, for example, America increased her trade with the Empire by 108 per cent., Great Britain by only 48 per cent. It is evident that if this rate should be maintained, not so many years would elapse before Great Britain would be forced to take second place in the trade of her own Empire.

"Great Britain," said Mr. Bruce, "appears to us to be the key to the whole question of the future of the Empire . . . the development and progress of the Dominions, certainly of Australia, absolutely depend upon the purchasing power of Britain, and that purchasing power can only be ensured if Great Britain is maintaining her commercial position, if her people are in employment, and if her purchasing power is increasing in relation to the increase of the production that we have to dispose of. . . . If we look forward to inter-Imperial trade and closer relations inside the Empire, then it is unfortunate that the proportion that we are taking from Great Britain on a competitive basis should be reduced, while on the other hand, we are beginning to look more and more to foreign markets for the sale of the things that we produce. That unquestionably is the trend at the present moment."

Other Premiers spoke in precisely the same strain.

Now, it is not at all a bad sign that the Empire is talking to Great Britain, not Great Britain to the Empire. The children have grown up, and whilst they retain a great affection for their parent, they do not hesitate to tell him that he is going too slow for them. Naturally, they have their own careers to make in the world, and it is not surprising that they should exhibit some anxious interest in the future of the family estate. And who can complain of their conduct in these days of "fathers and sons"? Contrast this conduct with that of the spokesmen for Great Britain,

Mr. Baldwin and Mr. Amery. Mr. Baldwin fled to rhetoric, whilst little Mr. Amery exclaimed: "Our trade with the Empire is increasing; therefore all is well." Neither took cognisance of the fact that the trade of other nations with the Empire is also increasing, that in fact it is swiftly overtaking that of Great Britain.

To-day it is no longer true that trade follows the flag. Trade follows the market. And if this market is not to be found in Great Britain, then Imperial trade will go elsewhere. It has been said that the Roman Empire was the creation of force, the British Empire the creation of freedom. But neither force nor freedom suffices to hold an Empire together in modern times. Economic realism must be present also; in other words, in an age of democracy when the common man expects so much from life, the benefits of Imperialism must be plentiful and widespread. While there is justification for concern, there is no cause for despair. The British Empire, as I have already said, is the result of the rapid economic expansion of the last century and a half. Compared therefore with other Empires which have come and gone it is still youthful; its best days ought to lie before it. In the past, as I have said, its growth was haphazard and adventurous. This was inevitable; for the Empire, as we know it, emerged from the turmoil of the industrial revolution. Because the industrial revolution achieved so much, because its creative force was so stupendous and imposing, men never dared to understand it nor dreamt that it was possible to regulate its consequences. Hence with its untold blessings came untold ills. Hence too, arose that attitude of *laissez faire*, which for so long dominated economic thought in this country and which still lingers within the musty mental reliquaries of our rulers. No wonder economics came to be regarded as a science of fatalism which enriched the few and enslaved the many, a science having no relationship to ethical values, little concern for human dignity, or for the welfare of the ordinary man. Under the shadow of its despondent teachings the British Empire, as we know it to-day, came into being. That, in face of economic confusion, so much should have been accomplished is remarkable. But it would be well to bear in mind that this accomplishment was due to the genius and daring of the race rather than to the wisdom and foresight of its rulers.

The splendour of achievement must not hide from us its limitations. New times call for new ways; the horizon, it is true, is always the horizon, but as the traveller journeys on the horizon of yesterday, is seen to be no longer the horizon of to-day. And so it must be with the Empire. Everywhere throughout the universe fresh and formidable tendencies are manifesting themselves. Who can doubt that we are on the threshold of the second industrial

revolution, a revolution destined to clear up much of the litter of the first industrial revolution, to establish some resemblance of order where hitherto there has been a welter of chaos, consciously to direct economic power so that it will endow the many with that comfort and security which until now have been the heritage of a few? In particular, we see these tendencies at work amongst the forces of both capitalism and labour: on the one hand vast co-ordinations (or trustifications) with a view to eliminating waste and promoting efficiency; on the other, movements towards mass unity and demands for social betterment. The task of the Empire is to bring itself into harmony with the great transformation which is taking place in the lives of men. And for this purpose genius of a quite different quality from that which served so well in the past will be required. The days of adventure are over. Daring as ever will find abundant scope; but this daring will need to be mental and moral rather than physical.

Meanwhile, let us prepare ourselves for the task of the immediate future by a frank stock-taking of the immediate present. Already the lamentable tendencies of Imperial trade have been touched upon. Since these tendencies are traceable to the heart of the Empire they cannot be regarded otherwise than with deep anxiety. Of parallel importance and equally disturbing is the question of population. Here again the source of the evil is to be traced to the heart of the Empire. As is well known, the British Empire contains a population of 463,000,000. Of that total 65,700,000, or a little more than the population of Germany, are of European stock. And of the 65,700,000, no less than 46,000,000 people are squeezed into the British Isles. Not one Dominion of the Empire holds a population equal to that of greater London. Let us present these vital statistics from another angle. The British Empire contains more than one-fourth of the world's land surface and more than one-fourth of the world's people. Yet under the British flag, outside Great Britain, there are not twenty million people of our own race. These figures do not afford pleasant reading. In the former days when the Empire was in the making, it did not matter much that few white men settled in its distant territories. But to hold is far more difficult than to make an Empire. The first requisite is population. This is especially true in modern times when the population of the world as a whole is increasing so rapidly; when the swiftness of communication tends to the annihilation of both time and space, when economic penetration is superseding military conquest, and when there is so much competition for empty lands.

The smallness of the white population within the Empire is serious enough. But when the statistics relating to the occupational

distribution of the white population are examined the outlook becomes still more confusing. Forty-six millions out of sixty-five millions live in these isles, and of these forty-six millions four-fifths are engaged in industry, and only one-fifth in agriculture. In Australia the population of Melbourne and Sydney alone accounts for one-third of the total population of the Continent, the present cultivable fringe of which exceeds the area of all the countries of Europe with the exception of Russia. In Canada the density of the town population is persistently increasing; there is, moreover, a constant drift of population across the border into the United States. And both in Australia and in Canada, but particularly in Australia, labour unrest is increasing. Thus it is evident that in the main the problems of Great Britain and of her dominions are identical. And in all instances, these problems have a common origin: inability to retain a sufficient population on the land. As far as Great Britain is concerned, such inability may at least be understood. In the beginning our people were driven from the land; they did not voluntarily abandon it. Then for the past century the national will has been concentrated upon industrialisation. In the Dominions conditions have been quite otherwise. There an abundance of empty land is awaiting settlement and industrialisation is of recent growth. Yet there as here the fatal flow from the country to the town goes on unceasingly. To increase the British population of the Empire is imperative, but still more urgent is the need to devise some measures such as will stay the flight from agriculture. Once this task were faced all our difficulties would be simplified.

Undoubtedly the chief service of Imperial perplexity is to be found in the fact that whereas the heart of the Empire is excessively industrial, the Dominions overseas consist of limitless spaces which cry out for agricultural exploitation. While this contradiction survives in so acute a form, the Empire will rest on unstable foundations and develop along unhealthy lines. As children imitate their parents so do the Dominions imitate the Motherland. Thus the emigration from country to town which is proceeding there is but a repetition of what is happening with us. Yet if the problem is not soluble at the heart of Empire, how can we possibly expect it to be solved elsewhere? In the meantime emigration has to continue; the Dominions must be populated somehow; but it is the crowded towns and not the empty acres that are being filled up. "Unless we can populate the Dominions" said the Prime Minister of Australia at the recent Imperial Conference "I do not think anyone can look forward with any optimism to the future of the British Empire. I would further say that this problem of populating and developing the Dominions, particularly such a great continent as

Australia, is not a question we can look forward to the future to solve; it is a question we have to solve immediately."

Everyone agrees with Mr. Bruce; it is urgently necessary that the Dominions be populated; it is urgent also that they should be populated with British stock and the best of the British stock too! But where are these ideal settlers to be found in sufficient numbers? Since the war emigration has not been in favour. This circumstance is a reflection of the trade depression which we have experienced for so many years. Experience has always shown that when times are bad emigration declines. To cross the seas and begin life afresh requires both capital and courage; if the one is lacking the other is at a low ebb. Various plans have now been devised for assisting emigrants. While these will doubtless improve matters, too much must not be expected from them. We must not forget the limited capacity of the reservoir. It is well known that the birth rate and death rate have been diminishing in this country for the past fifty years; but the fall in the death rate is not so great as the fall in the birth rate. It is quite possible that within a short time, far from there being a surplus for emigration there may be a shortage of recruits for our own industries. It is also possible that if the future birth and death rates remain on the present level Great Britain will ultimately have a stationary population of fifty millions.

The eugenists will say that there is no reason to be apprehensive about these figures, that quality is merely superseding quantity. Perhaps they are right. But the British Empire is an immense affair; and it stands in need not only of quality but of quantity—of quantity of quality. It may well be that in the future, owing to the development of science and the growth of intelligence, the populations of the world will diminish and its wealth continue to expand, that instead of multitudes in misery, limited numbers will live in comfort. But up to the present declining population is confined mainly to the nations of Western Europe—to England and to France. Where population is increasing rapidly is in those countries where civilisation has lagged behind. This fact ought to serve as a warning to us. Perhaps the barbarians are getting ready for another invasion, perhaps quality is not what we in our self-complacency have imagined it to be.

On the whole, then, there is little cause for gratification in the fall of population of these isles. And if the fall is allowed to continue unchecked the consequences cannot be otherwise than fatal to the Empire; for a declining population in Great Britain means a slackening of emigration, whilst if ever the population should become stationary, emigration would probably cease altogether. It is true that the natural increase of the Dominion populations is fairly rapid; but the aggregates of those populations are absurdly

low compared with those of other countries, whose jealous eyes are cast upon the vacant spaces of our Empire. The problem cannot, therefore, be left to settle itself. The Empire must be peopled quickly if it is to endure at all; and this means that the population of these isles must rise, not fall, and emigration on a vaster scale than has hitherto been dreamt of must take place.

Here we return to the point whence we started. The industrial revolution made the Empire what it is. It expanded wealth and population. But neither wealth nor population were intelligently distributed nor yet increased to the extent that might have been possible had more foresight been exercised. Hence widespread chaos resulted; and this chaos has culminated in the crisis of our times, which manifests itself in Great Britain by excessive concentration in the towns and decline of population.

One cycle is ending; another is emerging, or a second industrial revolution (as some prefer to call it) is beginning. The outlines of this industrial revolution may be dimly perceived in these perspectives: co-ordination and planning, land reforms, electrification of agriculture and industry, development and spread of power, decentralisation of industry, revival of rural industry, close union of agriculture and industry, elimination of waste particularly in the use of coal, migration of populations, development of the science of organising multitudes, increase of publicity and enthusiasm for social welfare. We must bear in mind that the conditions of this second industrial revolution are quite different from those of the first. Great Britain now has many rivals, whereas a century and a half ago she was first in the field. But let us assume that all goes well, that the grand perspectives, of which we have spoken, are not lost sight of. There will be a vast increase of wealth. And, instead of falling, as at present, the population will rise again.

The second phase of Empire will then begin—the phase of consolidation. This consolidation may involve a drastic reconstruction of the Imperial structure. We must be prepared to migrate industries as well as to migrate men. Other nations are setting up their factories near the sources of markets and raw materials. And the Dominions themselves are determined to encourage this development of industry within their own borders, and to diminish imported commodities to the utmost possible extent. Great Britain is the present base of Empire, and her welfare is therefore of immediate concern, but in the future the Empire, let us hope, will contain not merely one but many rich and well-populated nations. In what part of the Empire British citizens multiply and prosper is immaterial, the important point is that they should multiply and prosper *somewhere* within its frontiers.

CHARLES A. MCCURDY.

ALSACE IN TRANSITION.

THE coming of M. Poincaré to power in France, at the head of a strong coalition, was expected to be followed by repressive measures in Alsace and Lorraine: the suppression of the Home Rule movement, and the prosecution of its leaders. When I visited Alsace in August there were indications that this mistaken policy would be adopted. M. Poincaré, who is a Lorrainer, took over the supervision of the Paris Bureau of Alsace-Lorraine from the Ministry of Justice. A law was proposed, fashioned on the lines of some of the German coercive measures, which was to be used as a weapon to smash the autonomist organisation—the *Heimatbund*—and to suppress discontent by force instead of meeting it by conciliation or sympathetic consideration. A politician who had been imprisoned by Germany for taking part in autonomist agitation under the Empire told me that he expected to meet the same fate from France for committing the same political crime. Encouraged by the return of M. Poincaré the official party assumed an aggressive attitude: nationals attacked the autonomists in the Press as traitors and tried to break up their meetings. Anyone who could only speak German was a "boche." German plays had to be translated into the Alsatian dialect before they were allowed to be performed at the Strasbourg municipal theatre—a difficult task, as Alsatian is a spoken, not a written, language. The atmosphere in Alsace was similar to that which existed in Ireland at various periods in its history. A semi-official Paris newspaper which usually expresses the views of the Foreign Office announced in an insidiously worded paragraph that the editor of the autonomist paper, the *Zukunft*, had resigned and that the *Heimatbund* was about to be disbanded: in other words, that the Home Rule agitation was fizzling out.

None of these things have happened. The Home Rule movement is still alive although it is not carried on without difficulty. M. Poincaré has held his hand; more, he has promised to meet some of the Alsatian grievances as voiced by the *Heimatbund*. A Nationalist Senator, M. Helmer, made an appeal to the Prime Minister in a letter describing the grievances from which Alsace suffered and suggested necessary reforms. He did not mince matters. He declared that in view of the gravity of the crisis which had been provoked by injudicious methods, by inefficient administration, and unwise speeches, it was necessary to overhaul the entire administrative machinery, to make a complete clean-up. Among other things the Senator said that all officials in administrative and judicial positions should know German as well as French and that instruction should be given in the German language in

schools to a far greater degree than at present. Further, that the desires of the people should be respected as regards religion. He invited M. Poincaré to take decisive action. The Senator added that he interpreted the complaints and desires of the large majority of people who live in his Department, and suggested that the final solution of the problem can only be found in decentralisation.

It is assumed that this appeal and others addressed to him led M. Poincaré to visit Alsace and Lorraine. His visit has been fruitful not so much up to now in decisive action as in signalling a change in the atmosphere. It is recognised that the Alsations have legitimate grievances. As a scholar and man of academic distinction M. Poincaré, when he visited the schools, must have seen the folly of trying to give instruction to children who only knew German by teachers who only knew French, which is the case in many schools. While M. Poincaré naturally insists that all children should know French—and was pleasantly surprised to find them acquiring it with zest and rapidity—he recognised that Alsace is a country which requires a dual language. He has written to the rector of the Strasbourg Academy recommending an extension of German instruction in the schools and it is expected that this concession will be followed by permission to use German, as well as French, in the law courts and in administrative offices.*

This new policy is reflected in the Alsatian French Press. The subsidised and semi-official journals now see no objection to official recognition of the German language, or to its teaching in schools almost on an equality with French. Plays in German are now allowed in the Strasbourg Union theatre. All these concessions and promises are accepted as the first fruits of the Home Rule movement, but they do not go far. They do not redress or overtake the mistakes of the past. Nothing less than fundamental changes

* As illustrating the defects in education as the result of the language muddle, the *Gazette des Métiers*, the official organ of the Chamber of Handicraft in Alsace-Lorraine, makes the following statement based on the examination of 1,500 young people between sixteen and eighteen years of age after having left the extension schools:—

It was found that:

1. The average standard of learning was considerably lower than prior to the war. More than 50 per cent. of the candidates were under-educated.
2. During the last years the knowledge of French had increased in the classes coming from the towns, but the apprentices coming from the country had a very superficial and inadequate knowledge of the language.
3. Knowledge of German showed an all-round decline. The majority of the candidates could not speak or write German correctly, their knowledge of French was even worse, and they were incapable of expressing themselves clearly except in dialect.
4. The knowledge among the majority of candidates in arithmetic, geography and history was throughout unsatisfactory.
5. The intellectual capacities of the candidates who have presented themselves for examination during the last five years have not been high enough to allow the Chamber's Commission to carry out the theoretical part of the examination programme. While the practical knowledge of the candidates in general was average, their theoretical knowledge was so small that it will only be in a very few cases that the scholars will attain good positions in their chosen trades.

in the policy of the Government will meet the case. There is no question of separation: the Alsatians want to remain under France: there is no desire to return to Germany, which has definitely renounced all claims to the two provinces which are now three Departments. The autonomist movement is not inspired or supported by Germans. Nothing could be more prejudicial to the policy of the Heimatbund if it were. Many Alsatians regard German as their mother tongue and prefer German to French culture; but see no inconsistency between the retention of both and loyalty to France.

The Home Rule movement in Alsace is not new. It is a revival of an old agitation. Dr. Ricklin, the President of the Heimatbund, who is represented as being a pro-German, was a leader in the autonomist agitation under the Empire. He advocated the creation of Alsace-Lorraine as a Federal State within the German Empire. The constitution of 1911, which created a local parliament, did not confer civic and political freedom; it did not concede the principle of Alsace-Lorraine for the Alsatians and Lorrainers. The Empire had given the Alsatians an efficient system of education and of administration, but denied them the right to occupy the premier official positions in it, in the University of Strasbourg or in the higher educational and national institutions. The system of social insurance was the most generous within the Empire; the provinces were developed by German enterprise; industry flourished and the people were prosperous; but they were denied political freedom and declined to be assimilated.

The inhabitants of the two provinces hoped that their wishes would be respected and their aspirations realised when their country was reincorporated in France. Ties of history strengthened by a common democratic sympathy attached them to France. They looked to France as the mother country. Separation for forty-five years had not extinguished cherished memories among the older generation, while the younger people were taught to look upon France as the land of freedom, equality and fraternity—the land which offered to a liberty-loving people the precious heritage which the Kaiser's Government withheld.

In spite of intimate associations, social, literary, political and national, which had been maintained between France and Alsace-Lorraine since 1870, the French Government strangely misread the character and psychology of the inhabitants when the allied victory gave the lost Provinces back to France. The French authorities began by repeating mistakes which the Germans had committed. They assumed that the Alsatians would fall into their arms, eager for assimilation. They believed that the associations of half a century, expressed in language, customs, institutions, family rela-

tionships, could be wiped out by Decree. At the same time while they were convinced that the Alsatians were zealous French patriots yearning to rejoin the mother country, they did not trust them; treated them with suspicion, like the Germans denied them first places. When France assumed control there was an invasion of place hunters and carpet-baggers. The higher and more responsible posts were reserved for Frenchmen who had to be instructed in their duties by their Alsatian subordinates. The inefficiency of the new officials was aggravated by their numbers. It required two Frenchmen to do the work of one German.

Alsace-Lorraine was treated first as a colony without responsible government, a system which had the advantage of unity of local control. It was followed by departmental government and centralisation in Paris. Strasbourg is no longer the capital where local questions can be settled. These first mistakes in French policy disillusioned the people and were responsible for focussing discontent which later on found expression in the Home Rule agitation. But there were other factors—material interests suffered. The inhabitants did not make due allowance for the difficulties and drawbacks inseparable from a period of transition. To transfer two provinces from one country to another, to make new connections for its means of transport, to reorganise its industries, and to find new markets for its products, was the stupendous task which fell to France outside the sphere of Governmental and administrative changes. It was beyond the capacity of France, with all its other reconstructional activities in hand, to accomplish these transformations either quickly or efficiently. France inherited one of the best managed industrial states in Europe but failed to maintain the same scale of productivity. In all the great industries there was a serious decline—in iron and coal, in the metallurgic, textile, chemical and milling industries, also in agriculture, which employs a large proportion of the inhabitants. Livestock decreased and there were more uncultivated acres. The war might have had, in any case, a damaging effect upon economic conditions, but the inhabitants could not fail to make comparisons. They found that they were worse off than under Germany. There has, however, in this respect, been an improvement. The big industries are not yet back in the same state of prosperity as in 1913, but agriculture has improved, trade is better, and the appreciation of the franc under M. Poincaré has had a soothing influence on political tempers.

M. Poincaré has very wisely left alone the question of religious teaching in the schools and the Concordat. It was the threat of M. Herriot against these institutions which gave the Home Rule movement its greatest impetus. The population, which is 80 per cent.

Roman Catholic, still fear that religion may be attacked with the return of a Radical Government, which would bring the laws of Alsace-Lorraine into harmony with the régime in France. There cannot be State religion and religious teaching in schools in one part of France and not in another—in Alsace and not in Brittany—except under a scheme of devolution and local Home Rule.

Assimilation in legislation and in institutions has not yet been seriously tackled. The Germans' scheme of social insurance, their health laws and their general local administration, represented a higher standard than exists in France and uniformity would mean a set-back for the recovered provinces. While for the time being things have improved and new hopes have been raised by M. Poincaré's unexpected moderation and liberal policy, the fundamental difficulties of assimilation remain and will have to be faced in the near future.

While the first duty of France is to respect the culture, usages, customs and institutions of the Alsations and to promote a policy of conciliation, she has a higher mission. It is to see that Alsace, a country at one of the cross-roads of Europe, is used as a centre for disseminating good will and better understanding between France and Germany. This hope was expressed by the brilliant German polemical writer, Maximilian Harden, in his sketch of Clemenceau, written after the signing of the Peace Treaty. He wrote :

"The sole survivor of Bordeaux restores Alsace and Lorraine to his fatherland. Do you have the least idea how bitter, for the Germans, this parting is, this encoffining of forty-seven long years of governmental labour? Although their lack of genial manners and of insight into racial psychology has been most terribly revealed precisely there, yet the Germans have accomplished much for the organisation and the prosperity of those provinces. If anything could give us consolation it would be the certainty that your France means to treat Teutonic Alsace tenderly, not to Gallicise her by violence. Strasburg, city of Erwin von Steinbach and of Goethe, the old imperial cities within whose walls, in the time of your Revolution, resounded the fame of French generals from German stock—Kléber, Kellermann, Rapp—these never were and never will be French. Instead of repeating Prussian mistakes and suppressing language and ancient usage, which is the very essence of individuality in this beautiful land, secure for it uncontrolled self-government—perhaps on the Galveston system—and yourself, in your own lifetime, prepare it thereby for the lofty mission of becoming the mediator between our two peoples, who, because they need each other and can supplement each other marvellously, like flame and fuel, must, therefore, learn to understand one another."

Instead of aspiring to fulfil this noble mission it is lamentable to find that France permits the use of books in schools and colleges intended to foment and perpetuate racial hatred which, if the seed

takes root, will make reconciliation impossible. I made a collection of histories used in schools—bought in Strasbourg and Paris. School histories usually contain an element of bias in favour of the country whose story they tell; but most of these French histories are either wilful misrepresentations or poisonous propaganda—conceivable as the outcome of inflamed passions during the war but inexcusable outrages in time of peace. What makes the case worse is that a number of the books are intended for use in Alsace and Lorraine.

These books which have been published between 1919 and 1925 are undoubtedly used in schools and are on sale at bookshops. They are adapted for children of all ages, from infants, who are just able to read, up to students at college. A brief description of a few examples of this literature of hate will show the offences which France allows to be committed against the spirit and policy of the League of Nations. *Le Petit Bé et le Vilain Boche* describes the adventures of a prodigy of six in whose home an old German is quartered and made to look like a spectacled gorilla. The "Petit Bé" occupies himself in perpetrating practical jokes on the "Vilain Boche," and goes unpunished. The benevolent "Boche" gave the youngster lessons in German, but every time the pupil repeated a German word "he lifted up his handkerchief to his mouth and wiped his lips well, as he knew he had soiled them." The book contains many coloured illustrations in keeping with the text.

The *Grande Lutte de Jacques le Français et de Fritz le Boche* is an ambitious effort to compress into a book of forty quarto pages the history of France from 1214 to the Armistice. It is addressed to the "Children of France whose fathers and brothers fought in the War," and says "This book is written so that the children of France shall not forget." Germany is described as the "hereditary enemy." "Our ancestors willed to us the duty of punishing this enemy and of protecting the world against its domination by drawing its teeth and by reducing it to impotence as we would an evil-minded animal." Fritz is represented with low, brutal, porcine features, while Jacques is given an angelic countenance. According to this veracious history in tabloid, France alone won the Great War. On the other hand, Germany alone defeated Napoleon. Blücher was the victorious general. He is described as "a drunken sot, a glutton, a thief, a perfect example of German 'Kultur'." "This boor with the manners of a whipping corporal," who "preferred to every other society the company of dogs," spoke continuously of shooting Napoleon "to render a service to humanity," and dragged along with his baggage a big case made of slats and open boards which he called "the cage for the

French." Blücher, however, won a complete victory at Waterloo which he did not deserve. The Boches had entered France before the Hundred Days, and in the Marne tore up vines, cut down fruit trees, smashed ploughs, pillaged, burned, ravaged, and massacred. They visited Paris and carried away wagon loads of furniture and treasures, stolen from modest houses and from art museums. There is a picture showing Blücher followed by a pack of nondescript Great Danes and a procession of wagons filled with the stolen treasures. The book ends up with a note inviting the children to keep an eye on the wicked and dangerous neighbour, and above all not to forget. It contains numerous well-drawn pictures illustrating the brutalities of war, intended to strike the imagination of the pupils. There are the usual sympathetic references to Alsace.

The most attractive book in the batch, and consequently the most mischievous, is *Mon Histoire de la Grande Guerre*, in the form of an album with 250 excellent illustrations. It goes through the whole story of the war with the object of instilling into young minds not a hatred of war but continued hatred of Germany. The pictures would have been unpardonable if published during the war: they are positively indecent and diabolical in the days of the League of Nations. The worst crimes of the war, and also imaginary outrages, are profusely illustrated. The Crown Prince is shown in the comradeship of pigs. German soldiers figure as "brutes." The recital of the story of the war naturally glorifies France. It admits that there were allies, including the English, who were little more than onlookers at the battle of Ypres. The book ends with a reference to "our little brothers and sisters" of Alsace-Lorraine, "stolen formerly by the Barbarian," and an appeal to the children to be worthy of the victory which their fathers won: to be good little children, quiet, polite, sincere, courageous and affectionate. This final touch cannot undo the teaching which precedes it, which carries the spirit of the trenches into the classroom. It shows children using weapons of war. It puts an entirely new interpretation on the phrase "teaching the young idea how to shoot." The volume is a serious production published by one of the leading houses in France.

There are others of the same type intended for older children. *Petits français, n'oubliez pas* (Youth of France, do not forget) is one of them. It has for its motto, "To forget would be treason," and lives up to that text. It is a "livre de lecture courante; cours moyen." The story of the war is cleverly and seductively written, with a questionnaire at the end of every chapter. It is told by a boy, and Alsace figures largely in the background. There are eulogies of Italy and the United States, but only very brief and inadequate references to England.

Books written for older children and not specially intended for Alsace and Lorraine are less partisan. In the *Histoire de la Grande Guerre*, by M. Brossolette, a better note is struck and justice is done to the Allies. The writer winds up with these words:

"The Great War brought to an end the period of history, when the world was dominated by Germanism, its Kultur, and its military despotism; but if it is an end it is also a beginning: it opened up a new era where both the victorious and defeated peoples will contend in other spheres than battlefields and where the victors will be those who can bring to bear the highest degree of national energy for the promotion of the most perfect civilisation."

La Grande Guerre racontée aux Petits Français is a book in which a sort of war game is played with toy soldiers. The author calls upon the children to remember the worst atrocities committed in the war, for which atrocities Germany alone was responsible. Marshal Foch strikes the right note in an introduction which consists of these words: "Youth represents the future of France. To tell the youth the truth is to prepare them for the future"—an injunction which the writer ignores. Another great soldier, in a preface to another book, thinks of the heroic tasks of peace. Marshal Joffre appeals to the children in these words: "From your fathers, France, our beloved country, asked the sacrifice of their lives; from you, to complete the victory, she asks hard work for peace and union." That note is only present in a few volumes, and then only after history has been distorted and Germany traduced and vilified, and hatred engendered in the minds of the young. Books which I have examined, intended for older scholars, are unobjectionable except for a very strong bias in favour of France and the presentation of the French view regarding the origin of the war. I have confined my samples of the literature of hate almost entirely to books containing references to Alsace-Lorraine, either textually or pictorially, and obviously meant for use in the schools of the recovered territory. The works are written by experts, professors and pedagogues; they are illustrated by the best artists, and published by such well-known houses as Hachette, Delagrave, Albin Michel, and Armand Colin. They are not ephemeral publications. They are histories for use in school and for home reading. The object is to instil in young minds the bitterest feelings towards their neighbour and former enemy, and to cultivate the passions of war. "To forget is treason," is the call to the youth of France. They are taught that patriotism means, besides love of one's own country, hatred of one's neighbour. The only heroes the children are invited to admire are warriors. The ideal held before them is to do their duty by keeping the fires of hate warm in their hearts and their weapons ready. How strangely

does this gospel contrast with the spirit of Locarno, with the burning eloquence of Briand at Geneva, when he hailed Germany as a brother nation. "Peace for Germany and for France," he cried. "That means that we have finished with all terrible and sanguinary conflicts which have stained the pages of history." The school histories of his country are stained with the gospel of hate, contempt, unfriendliness and all uncharitableness. "No more war," says Briand. "Clear the way for conciliation, arbitration, peace." Say the school historians, "Keep hate alive, nurture fear and jealousy, injustice, no conciliation, no peace! Prepare the minds of youth for another war."

M. Briand is a member of the Government which permits pernicious and poisonous literature to be supplied to schools in Alsace. M. Poincaré is the Prime Minister who promises a conciliatory policy. Both France and Germany are members of the League of Nations, and pledged to promote the lofty ideals of good-will and peace among the peoples by understanding and conciliation, friendship and truth.

It would be in keeping with the spirit of M. Briand's ideals and M. Poincaré's policy were the books which I have mentioned and kindred productions withdrawn, and a school history of the war prepared by French and German educationists for use in the schools of both countries.

ROBERT DONALD.

THE LAST STAGE OF RECONSTRUCTION IN BELGIUM.

WHEN the history of Belgium during the years 1918-1926 comes to be written, and when the events of these last years are considered in their true perspective, the work of reconstruction will be divided into three distinct periods. The first extends roughly from Easter 1919 until 1924, the second from 1924 till 1926, and the third from the beginning of 1926 to the yet uncertain date when Belgian economic conditions will have adapted themselves to the measures of stabilisation recently taken. It will be seen that the actual work of reconstruction, that is to say, the restoration of ways of communication, the rebuilding of houses, the redeeming of devastated areas, presented far less difficulties than the financial problems with which the country was confronted as soon as this work was completed.

At the time of the Armistice, many people were under the illusion that reconstruction meant merely the rebuilding of about 100,000 houses and 1,200 public buildings, and the reclaiming of about 90,000 hectares of barren ground, mostly in West Flanders. They heard that the Belgian war debts to France, to Great Britain and to the United States, making an imposing total of over 1,128,000,000 dollars, had been cancelled at Versailles, or more exactly placed to Germany's reparation account, so that the only difficulty seemed to be to obtain the necessary credits in order to undertake this reconstruction work on a large scale. There was plenty of labour available, and the housing problem could easily be solved by the erection of a large number of temporary huts in all the devastated districts. Six months after the Armistice, the railway system was entirely re-established and the waterways were again accessible. At the beginning of 1924, practically the whole of the devastated area was again under the plough and, with the exception of a few places, such as Dixmude in Flanders, and Dinant in the Ardennes, the rebuilding of towns had proceeded so rapidly that normal conditions seemed again to prevail.

It was just at the time when many Belgians began to congratulate themselves on the results achieved that the country was faced with the financial crisis out of which it has only just emerged. About 12 milliard gold francs had been spent on reconstruction work, and Belgium did not yet reap the full benefit of the Dawes scheme. The negotiations broached with Germany regarding the 6½ milliard gold marks taken over by the Belgian Government immediately after the Armistice, had been fruitless. In order to provide relief to the population during the first months

which followed the Armistice, and to start the work of reconstruction, the Government had been obliged to raise large internal loans and to borrow over 205,000,000 dollars from America and £9,000,000 from Great Britain. The credit of the National Bank became involved, the franc depreciated, and the cost of living rose rapidly, increasing unexpectedly the liabilities of the State, which could only be met by further inflation. It is true, the country enjoyed a period of great industrial prosperity owing to the cheap cost of production, but this advantage did not compensate the increased cost of imported foodstuffs and raw material. Foreigners crossing the country were struck by the activity of the people, their eagerness to work, the rapid progress achieved, but were unable to grasp that this prosperity was merely artificial and might, at any time, be jeopardised by some financial panic and by further depreciation of the currency.

It was already realised by many experts that stabilisation was the only remedy which could cure the evil, but public opinion was not yet prepared to accept this measure, owing to the low rate of the exchange, and the Government of the day preferred to wait until the situation had improved. They took active steps to increase taxation and to reach an agreement with regard to the funding of the British and American debts. During the year 1924, the taxation per head in note currency, compared with that of 1914, reached 981 per cent. It was only 680 per cent. in France, and 578 per cent. in Italy. It was hoped that this increase, together with revenue brought by the Dawes scheme, would consolidate Belgian credit. In August 1925, an agreement was signed at Washington with regard to the funding of the Belgian debt to America. Owing to the written promise given by President Wilson at Versailles, it had been hoped that Belgium's liability would only be 205,249,000 dollars borrowed after the Armistice. The American Debt Commission, however, claimed the full amount of 377,000,000 dollars including the sums borrowed during the war. Arrangements were made accordingly which the Belgian Parliament duly ratified. The British debt, including £9,000,000 borrowed in 1919 for reconstruction, and the loan of £3,600,000 granted in 1916 to the Congo, had a purely commercial character. A satisfactory settlement was signed in London, in December, 1925, which gave full satisfaction to Belgian opinion. Finally, the Government took strict measures to balance the budget and to reduce expenditure, but all these calculations were once more upset by the fluctuations of the currency which followed closely those of the French franc. It was only too evident that neither the funding of foreign debts, nor an increase in taxation and a reduction of expenses, could succeed in restoring confidence, not only

abroad, but also in Belgium, so long as the rate of the franc could not be fixed. As a matter of fact, as early as October, 1925, Mr. Janssen, then Minister of Finance, had undertaken a series of measures for the purpose of fixing the rate of the franc at 107, and had obtained from the Central Banks provisional loans which, it was hoped, would enable him to realise his scheme.

It is not within the scope of this article to examine why this first attempt towards stabilisation did not bear fruit and was followed by the sudden collapse which occurred in March last. It seems evident that, while the majority agreed on the necessity of stabilisation, the country was still divided with regard to the means adopted to achieve this end. There was a conflict of interests between the small bourgeoisie, who were naturally desirous that the rate of the franc should be as high as possible, and the big industrialists who feared that a rate of 107 might injure their trade. The Government of the day was the result of the combination of Socialists and Catholic-Democrats, and had to face the opposition of the Liberals and Conservatives who, not strongly represented in the Chamber, controlled concerns in the country and had a large influence over the Press. The situation was rendered more precarious by the fact that, while the foreign debt had been successfully funded, no provision had yet been made for the funding of the internal debt. Under these circumstances, the slightest hitch in the negotiations was bound to react unfavourably on the exchange. As soon as it was known that the Belgian delegates, who had come to London last March to settle definitely the conditions of the foreign loan of stabilisation, had not been successful in their mission owing to new conditions insisted upon by the foreign banks, the rate of the Belgian franc, which had remained for six months around 107, far above that of the French franc, deteriorated rapidly until it even overstepped the 200 limit.

This alarming situation provoked an immediate reaction among all classes and all parties and, in May last, a new Cabinet was formed under the premiership of M. Jasper (Catholic) including Socialist and Liberal Ministers as well as financial experts, such as MM. Francqui and Houtart. The first measure adopted by Parliament was the organisation of a National Sinking Fund in order to consolidate the floating debt. A public subscription was opened and new taxes, yielding 125,000,000 francs per month, were voted practically without opposition. But the most important step taken was the transformation of the Belgian railways, which had hitherto been administered by the State, into the "Société Nationale des Chemins de Fer Belges," over which the State maintains a certain amount of control, but which is run as a private concern. The first result of this measure was to provide

the Sinking Fund with a capital of ten milliards and a revenue of 250 millions (representing half the yearly profits of the concern). Owing to the extraordinary powers conferred on them, the Government succeeded in forcibly converting a large number of Treasury Bonds into privilege shares of the new concern, and in this way solving the problem of the Floating Debt which had, hitherto, undermined the stability of Belgian finances.

The true meaning of the Bill adopted, in July last, by the Chamber, and conferring extraordinary powers on King Albert to take, through his Ministers, all measures considered necessary to meet the crisis, has led to certain misunderstandings. Some publicists have seen in this measure another illustration of the tendency prevailing in certain European countries of sacrificing democratic institutions for the sake of efficiency and of practically giving a free hand to the Executive. Such a view does not take into account the fact that the duration of these powers was limited to six months and that they were conferred for a set purpose by a unanimous Chamber regularly elected, the new Cabinet being truly representative of all classes and all interests. The measure could not be called unconstitutional, for it falls within the rights of the Executive to assume extraordinary powers under exceptional circumstances with the consent of Parliament, and it was further justified by the fact that the Parliamentary vacations coincided with the period of financial reconstruction.

It was only when the credit of the National Bank had been restored and when the Floating Debt had been duly established, that M. Francqui reopened negotiations with the Central Banks in order to obtain the necessary loans towards stabilisation and the return to the gold standard. The plan, which is now in a fair way of being completed, is similar to that propounded by the General Economic Conference of 1922 and by the French Commission of Experts. It provides for the immediate stabilisation of the franc at about 175 to the pound, or of the new standard money known as "Belga" to about 35. In order to maintain this currency at this rate, the Bank of Belgium obtained from the Central Banks credits amounting to 35,000,000 dollars and, for the purpose of further strengthening its position, an international loan of 100,000,000 dollars was floated, on October 27th, in America, England, Holland, Switzerland and Sweden. The extraordinary success of the loan, which was issued under very favourable terms ($7\frac{1}{2}$ to 8 per cent.), shows that, in this country at least, the credit of Belgium stands unimpaired, and has not suffered to an appreciable extent from the crisis of recent years.

As the Prime Minister remarked at the Guildhall Banquet, the results achieved are due "on the one hand to the enlightened

efforts of the public men of Belgium, and on the other to the organised assistance of the Central Banks of no less than nine other countries," including those of Germany, Austria and Hungary. The adhesion of France, where the process of stabilisation is far less advanced, and where its immediate desirability is still under discussion, is of good omen for the future.

Barring unforeseen eventualities, all danger of financial ruin seems to have been removed from the Belgian horizon, but it would be unduly optimistic to say that stabilisation under such generous conditions will give back to the country the prosperity which it enjoyed before the war. Confidence is restored, and the National Bank disposes already of large reserves of capital brought back from abroad. There has been a notable appreciation in a great number of stocks and shares which may compensate, to a certain extent, the considerable loss suffered by the small bourgeoisie whose income is reduced to 15 per cent. of its pre-war value. As the cost of living had increased almost in the same proportion during recent years, the situation will not be seriously altered, but the holders of Government Bonds and public securities had always hoped that the Belgian franc would be stabilised at a higher rate. It is not likely at present that a new "revalorisation" will take place for some time, so the present stabilisation implies a serious sacrifice on the part of those who can least afford it. This sacrifice must be taken into account if one endeavours to appreciate the attitude of public opinion towards the measures adopted by the Government of the day. The Belgian statesmen well deserve the congratulations of the British Press and the confidence displayed by the investors in the Belgian loan, but it must not be forgotten that they have the support of the whole Belgian people, who have had the wisdom to foresee the danger which threatened the nation and the courage to accept the grim situation with which they were faced.

The conclusion which may be drawn from this rapid sketch of Belgium's reconstruction is that the actual reclaiming of the ground and the rebuilding of destroyed towns is far less difficult to achieve and involves far less effort than the restoration of credit and the resumption of sound financial methods. It is easy to be wise after the event and to criticise those who took an over-optimistic view of the future, and sought refuge in temporary inflation after their disillusion had been dispelled. Financial problems are difficult to understand for the man in the street, and before he reconciles himself to measures which must either threaten his interest or jeopardise the export trade of the country, he must realise, by bitter experience, the urgency of the position. This appears to be true even in countries subjected to a dictatorial

régime; it is quite evident in a country like Belgium which preserves jealously its democratic institutions.

The marriage of Prince Leopold with Princess Astrid followed closely the measures of stabilisation and the success of the international loan. This is a most happy coincidence, since the Belgians could not have manifested their pleasure at this union of their future King and Queen so large-heartedly if the anxiety involved by the financial crisis had not, to a great extent, been removed from their minds. The ceremony in Brussels took place on the eighth anniversary of the country's deliverance, and at the very moment when the last stage of reconstruction was entered upon. The enthusiastic demonstrations which occurred in Antwerp and in the capital correspond to King Albert's "joyous entry" into these towns in 1918. The country has once more succeeded in conjuring the menace which threatened her, though very few Belgians realised, at the time of the Armistice, that the struggle would take so long and require so much patience.

Public satisfaction is considerably increased by the knowledge that the marriage of Prince Leopold to Princess Astrid is literally speaking a "marriage d'inclination." The loyalty of the Belgian people has a peculiarly domestic character. They like to regard their Royal Family as representing a kind of "ideal home," and many of them would have looked askance on any union inspired by the wisest diplomatic reasons. Popular opinion is very sound on this point. The King is not a mere figurehead, but a chosen leader sharing the feelings of the humblest of his compatriots. They rejoice in his happiness, not only because they are devoted to him, but also because they know that the country will benefit from the close collaboration of the Royal Family to promote national welfare. King Albert is well aware of this general feeling and, in the speech which he delivered to the representatives of the Press, and in which he made public the news of the engagement of Prince Leopold with Princess Astrid, he laid special stress on the fact that the marriage was quite spontaneous and that no political consideration influenced, directly or indirectly, the choice made by his son.

It is nevertheless likely that Belgium will be brought closer, in the future, to the Scandinavian countries as the result of the Royal marriage. If the first Chamber in the Dutch Parliament sanctions the wise decision of the second Chamber by ratifying the Belgian Treaty, European policy may derive great benefit from the collaboration of the smaller nations of Western Europe which are so directly interested in the success of the League of Nations. The decision of the Second Dutch Chamber was only obtained by a

very small majority owing to a violent campaign carried on by the adversaries of the Treaty. M. van Karnebeek has certainly done more than anybody else to defend the Treaty, and enlightened opinion in Belgium entirely approves the main arguments which he used in his eloquent appeal to the Chamber. The question of the sovereignty of the Wiefingen Pass which gives access to the main branch of the Scheldt, but lies within Belgian territorial waters, is left in abeyance, but Belgium obtains greater facilities with regard to the buoying, lighting and dredging of the lower Scheldt which, without harming Dutch interests in the least will remove a constant cause of friction and allay the anxieties of the Port of Antwerp Authorities. The rejection of the Treaty, which was only concluded after the most laborious and lengthy negotiations, would have been a most unhappy event for both countries, for it would have been impossible for the Belgian Government, in spite of their desire for reconciliation, to reopen negotiations under the present circumstances. We may now hope that a final ratification will greatly improve the relations existing between the two countries, and that both sides will soon forget the bitterness caused by the plans of some Belgian nationalists and by the views of certain Dutchmen who consider that any improvement in the trade of Antwerp must necessarily be detrimental to Rotterdam.

The ratification of the Belgo-Dutch Treaty would be another ray of light through the clouds of diffidence and suspicion caused by the war, and the difficulties of the Peace settlement. As far as Belgium is concerned, it completes the safeguards secured at Locarno and strengthened by the entry of Germany into the League of Nations. The part played by M. Vandervelde, the Belgian Minister of Foreign Affairs, in the negotiations which led to this last event is too well known to need emphasising. The influence of Belgium must not be over-rated in decisions which, after all, rest with the big Powers, but it has been consistently engaged on the side of peace.

It is no doubt too early to speak of an "economic Locarno," and to forestall the time when the main obstacles to a commercial entente between Western European countries will be overcome, but the participation of Belgium in the Steel Cartel and in the Bankers' Manifesto must at least be mentioned in this rapid survey. Under present conditions it would be impossible for Belgium, surrounded as she is by protectionist countries, to lower her tariff. Comparison between the situation in 1913 and in 1925 shows, nevertheless, that the economic policy of the country has not been greatly altered. The number of taxable articles has been increased from about 300 to about 1,400, but this merely shows that a number of articles, which had been lumped together under

one head, are now considered separately. There is an increase in certain directions which is compensated by a decrease in others and, if the golden value of the franc is taken into account, the situation remains on the whole to-day very much what it was in pre-war days. This is all the more remarkable when a considerable increase in tariffs has taken place both in France and in Germany.

In the domain of trade as well as of finance, the position of Belgium is very much akin to that of England, and is dominated by the fact that the country is obliged to import a large proportion of her food which can only be paid for with exports. In the domain of politics, Belgium's security and very existence remain more than ever to-day intimately dependent on the peaceful settlement of international conflicts and the final success of the policy of the League.

EMILE CAMMAERTS.

LAND REFORM IN CZECHO-SLOVAKIA.

BEFORE dealing with the Land Reform Laws and the result of their working for six years, certain general considerations should be borne in mind. The large landowners of Czecho-Slovakia are, in the main, of alien race—either German, Austrian or Magyar. The old Czech nobility were practically wiped out in the battle of the White Mountain in 1620; and to-day the few large landowners of Czech origin that remain often do not speak the language of the surrounding people. One is at once struck with the detached position of the aristocracy, and the cleavage is much more marked than in this country. Further, and quite apart from the landowners, there are German and Austrian minorities in Bohemia and Moravia and Magyar minorities in Slovakia which, with the Jews scattered throughout the country, constitute 38 per cent. of the population—the remaining 62 per cent. being real Czechs or Slovaks. The Czechs and Slovaks spring from a common origin, and their languages are almost identical; nevertheless, there is amongst the Slovaks a certain restiveness at the Czech dominance, and some demand for autonomy. But probably this is only a passing phase.

Before 1848 land conditions in Czecho-Slovakia seem to have resembled those existing in feudal England of the Middle Ages. There were great landowners farming the land by means of villeins or serfs who possessed little or no land of their own. The revolutionary spirit which passed over Europe about the year 1848 induced the large landowners, while keeping the more fertile domain lands (i.e., large farms and woodlands) to divide up the remaining land among the villeins, so that we often found the landowners' large farms—which they farmed themselves with managers and paid labourers—not in a ring fence but scattered over a wide area. In between these farms are the narrow strips of arable land cultivated by the former villeins. This gives the country the aspect which must have been general in England before the enclosure of the common lands. These peasant owners possess several, sometimes quite a number, of scattered strips, the total area of which may range from one to fifty acres or more; clearly a system which does not work for economy. As time went on these holdings have been sub-divided, as in France, until some of the strips are only a few yards wide, and the size of the holdings is reduced below the economic limit. A re-grouping of these strips into more workable units is essential, and the Czech land reform cannot be regarded as complete until this is done; a fact widely recognised by the reformers. Turning back to the large landowners; before the land reform they farmed vast areas, anything

up to 25,000 acres. Not only did they farm this land well, but they farmed industrially, i.e., in close connection with the actual farming of the land were sugar factories, breweries, malt kilns, flour mills, bacon factories, wine factories, and chicory factories. One of the most striking features to be seen when motoring through Bohemia is the number of factories scattered over the country; in many cases non-agricultural factories are situated in the country. This tendency has been strengthened by an effective supply of cheap electric power. In marked contrast to England, industry has been decentralised and interwoven much more definitely with the rural side of things. In consequence thousands of artisans are living in the country, and have access to gardens and allotments instead of being crowded into great cities. The great landowners of Czecho-Slovakia, by tradition, have been accustomed to interest themselves in breweries, glass and china manufacture, and sugar factories; so that it will be seen that they were not mere rent receivers, but definitely and successfully producers of wealth.

In Bohemia and Moravia the standard of cultivation is very high, and the yield from the land large; but in Slovakia, although the peasants are attractive and intelligent, the standard of education is not high, the land is poorly cultivated, and general conditions are fifty years behind those in Bohemia; in fact, the estates of the great landowners were the only well-cultivated areas. This is a point which must be borne in mind when considering existing conditions and the effect of land reform in Slovakia.

There is another side to the problem of Czecho-Slovakia, as we see it to-day, and that is the extraordinary way in which Czechs and Slovaks have succeeded in keeping alive their racial characteristics and their desire for independence through hundreds of years, in spite of the repressive efforts of their rulers. In Slovakia, before 1918, the people were a proletariat, working at low wages for the Magyars. From the days of John Huss onwards, for the last four hundred years, Czecho-Slovakia has provided a long list of great men, leaders of thought of world-wide reputation. Last year the fifth centenary of John Huss was celebrated: that of a great patriot rather than a great religious leader, by Romanists and Protestants alike. Then some two hundred years ago there lived Comenius, one of the greatest educationalists the world has ever seen. Far in advance of his age, his views are at the present time more than up to date. Following these men come historians, poets and painters, whose works were inspired by patriotism and whose aim was to keep alive the national spirit. Dvorak was a Czech, and Mendel—a Moravian—Abbot of a monastery at Brno. He died in 1882, and was one of the founders of modern agricultural science. Coming to the present day, the

honour of creating the new state of Czecho-Slovakia rests with Masaryk, professor, statesman, and first President of the Republic, a man of vision, high ideals and sound judgment. It is not astonishing, therefore, that when the Czechs and Slovaks secured their independence in 1918, there should have been an overwhelming determination that the soil of Czecho-Slovakia should, in fact, belong to the Czecho-Slovakian race and not to aliens. When the new government took office the land situation was roughly as follows:

Total area of Czecho-Slovakia, 35,000,000 acres; of this					
11½ millions are under forest					33.17%
Agricultural lands 21 m. acres.	14½	"	"	the plough	60.50%
	3½	"	"	grass meadows	
	3	"	"	grazing land	
	½	"	"	gardens and vines	1.5 %
	1	"	"	lakes, buildings or waste	5.16%

This shows that 93½ per cent of the land was put to productive use. The bulk of the forest land was (and still is) in the hands of the great landowners, but the communes and the church are also owners of woodlands. In regard to agricultural land, although the great landowner looms large in the picture, the fact remains that a large number of small owners were created, as already stated, by the subdivision which took place in 1848.

We find before the War about two million owners of land in Czecho-Slovakia. Taking 100 acres as the limit for the small or peasant owner, before the War about 1,961,000 persons were holding 100 acres and under. From the figures at my disposal I find it difficult to estimate the area of land held by this large section, but since it is stated that the reform law (by which no one person may hold more than 375 acres of agricultural land) affects only some four million acres, it is clear that the large owners cannot have held more than about 20 per cent. of the agricultural land of Czecho-Slovakia. I have tried to show that there were racial and political reasons for embarking upon land reform. There was also an economic reason: to wit, some hundreds of thousands of these small-holders held under ten acres of land—an area altogether insufficient to provide a livelihood for their families. All new post-war countries were confronted with the need for land reform; everywhere the great estates were being broken up. In consonance with this general tendency the new Czech Government introduced Land Reform Laws almost as a first measure. Czecho-Slovakia was proclaimed in Prague an independent State on 28th October, 1918. On the 16th of April, 1919, the National Assembly, after only four hours' debate, passed the great "Law concerning the sequestration of the Large Landed Estates." It

affects some 4,000,000 acres of agricultural land. In order to hasten the process of division the Government allowed the large landowners to lease to the peasants for a period not exceeding six years an area up to 25 per cent. of the 4,000,000 acres of agricultural land scheduled for expropriation.

How drastic these land laws are will be seen from the fact that they enacted that no one should possess more than 375 acres of agricultural land or more than 625 acres of mixed agricultural and woodlands. Nominally the landowner was to be compensated for the land taken from him; but this, and the supervision of the dividing up of the land, lay in the hands of the newly constituted Land Office, endowed with very wide powers. One is tempted to speculate why the administration of the Land Reform Laws was not entrusted to the Ministry of Agriculture, which probably would have approached the problem more from the economic and less from the political side. There is general agreement that these land reform laws, affecting as they do the nation's greatest asset, were passed hastily and without sufficient time for their full consideration.

After the War, Czecho-Slovakia, remote from ports of its own, and not self-supporting in regard to bread-stuffs, felt the shortage of farinaceous food so acutely that at the first general election the members of Parliament and Senators were mobbed in their constituencies by threatening parents clamouring for food for themselves and their children. It was useless to urge patience, that corn had to be brought from far countries; and the only measure which in any way appeased popular feeling was to provide poorer people with the means of producing food for themselves by dividing among them land taken from the great estates. On the other hand many query whether in fact such alleged danger of revolution and land hunger really existed. Townspeople, from the very nature of things, must have felt the food shortage most; yet some of those with new land soon showed that they in no way appreciated the privilege of having to produce food by the sweat of their brow and gave up the attempt to cultivate it for themselves. It is true also, and this supports the theory that revolution was imminent, that some of the great houses were seized and occupied by local communists for a short period. As a rule the landowners stuck to their posts, and the Communists withdrew. However, whether or not there had been real danger of bloody revolution, the nation, as a nation, demanded a pacific land revolution.

We now come to the question of what has been achieved by the Land Office under the Land Reform Laws. The official figures with which I was provided, and which carry the story of reform up to April, 1926, show that :

Acres.		Persons.	
a.	1,500,000	were divided amongst	420,000
b.	335,000	were allotted as "Restgut" farms to	1,432
c.	638,750	in farms of 375 acres were retained by former owners	
d.	30,987	were divided up in new equipped smallholdings	1,023
2,504,737		Total amount of scheduled land actually divided.	422,455

This leaves over 1,000,000 still to be divided. The bulk of the land in class "a" was given to men already owning some land in order to make their farms an economic size; the land thus added averaged just under five acres. In regard to "d," the average size of the new holdings is thirty acres. The "Restgut" or "remnant" farms (class "b") average about 235 acres each. They are composed of land surrounding the great farm buildings which formerly served a farm of 1,000 or 1,200 acres run by a large landowner. All these "remnant" farms, therefore, are over-supplied with buildings, which cannot be put to their full economic use. The landowner received no compensation for these costly buildings. To provide 420,000 persons with a plot of land is a great achievement to effect in so short a time, even bearing in mind that no housing accommodation was needed, since the recipients already possessed houses and some farm buildings.

The new smallholding colonies deserve some notice, although they do not contribute much towards the solution of the problem of placing men on the land under organised conditions. The housing of the 30-acre farmer is decidedly below our standard in regard to the number of rooms; but the rooms are larger and better, and the farm buildings are excellent. The Land Office provides these smallholders with land at the clearly uneconomic price of from £10 to £15 per acre for good land. Building is cheaper in Czecho-Slovakia than here, and house and buildings thoroughly well constructed only cost about £626; so that a 30-acre holding is established at about half the cost possible here. The object behind the formation of these new colonies is not to provide for scientific closer settlement; it is rather racial and political. It is deemed expedient to place colonies of Czechs in districts mainly inhabited by alien minorities; to shift people from over-crowded to less crowded areas; and, finally, to place groups of highly skilled Czech cultivators in Slovakia in order to raise the standard of the less skilled Slovaks. While the latter objective is a worthy one, it has the drawback that new people coming into a district are regarded as foreigners by the agricultural population, and co-operative action is rendered more difficult.

This work of colonisation has been carried on by (1) the Land

Office—official; (2) private individuals; (3) colonisation societies, Mr. Daxner, chairman of the Colonisation Society for Slovakia, points out, though under the Land Reform land is indeed given to the smallholders, there is practically no following up. He does not consider the Land Office a suitable body to effect colonisation—"a State office has little initiative, it proceeds in a cumbersome way, it can devise regulations, but it cannot colonise." He is even more critical of private enterprise, which too often ends in the exploitation of the colonist. Nor is he enthusiastic over the work of the Colonisation Societies. He considers that the ideal Executive would be a body composed of practical colonists, officials appointed by the Ministry of Agriculture, and certain agricultural experts.

Some of the existing Colonisation Societies are co-operative, where groups of would-be smallholders have formed a society which has taken the land on behalf of its members; in a few cases the area is farmed collectively, but there is not sufficient data to say how this method is answering. Although there is no great scope for such colonisation in Bohemia or Moravia, it is estimated that eventually 100,000 new self-supporting farms could be created in Slovakia, but much stress is laid on the fact that the process must be a slow and costly one. In regard to co-operation and access to credit, the twin foundations of an organised agriculture, the movement was started in Bohemia and Moravia some fifty years ago and spread rapidly; and the New Government encourages it in every way, particularly in the more backward Slovakia.

The achievements, then, under the Land Reform Laws have been to give land to some 420,000 persons; to create 1,023 new farms; to develop and stimulate the co-operative movement; and to concentrate upon the further development of education, research, and demonstration farms. What have been the results measured in terms of the land economy of the country? The country is still in a state of transition, and several years must elapse before it is possible to judge of this definitely; but certain points may be noted. (1) Large areas of land have been taken from the great owners, who were mostly first-class farmers and contributed materially to the nation's output of wealth. It is true they were of foreign extraction, but they had been in possession of their land for upwards of three hundred years—long enough to establish a title! This the nation recognised. The owners were to be compensated. It was the business of the Land Office to deal with the matter. It decided that the large proprietors were to be paid on an average 2,000 crowns per hectare for the land (£5 per acre), which the Office has resold (and is reselling) to the peasants at from 3,000 to 7,000

crowns per hectare (£7 10s. to £17 10s. per acre), while the land in the open market is worth from £37 to £50 per acre according to figures given by landowners, and from £25 to £30 per acre, according to official figures, which considering the excellence of the land seem to be on the low side. As might be expected, the owners are most indignant, and complain at the way in which the Land Office works. The whole procedure, as may readily be believed, is costing the public purse nothing; in fact, on the face of it, it should be a source of revenue; but it certainly is not sound from the economic point of view.

(2) By abolishing the large estates a considerable number of farm managers—first-class agriculturists—have lost their jobs, and their skill and knowledge are lost to the industry. The situation is most serious in Slovakia, where the peasant cultivation is of a much lower standard than in Bohemia or Moravia. The only good cultivation was to be found on the land of the great landowners. To take land from good cultivators and transfer to indifferent can only lead to one result—a decrease in output, until such time as the standard of the peasant farmer can be raised—a long process.

(3) Even in Bohemia and Moravia, large farms, whose soil required systems of drainage and deep steam ploughing, have been parcelled up. What will be the result? Can the new smallholders maintain the drainage systems, and can they keep the land in good heart seeing that the steam-plough cannot be used on these small plots of land? Further, on the landowners' side, the doubt is expressed as to whether the smallholders, having less to spend on artificial fertilisers, and possessing less livestock, can maintain the general fertility of the land that has been allotted to them.

(4) The breaking up of the great farms has to a large extent rendered valueless much costly machinery, and as has been pointed out, it is no longer possible to put the splendid farm buildings to their full economic use with the reduced area of land now attached to them.

(5) Czech agriculture was highly industrialised, and in consequence there was a carefully thought-out balance between the produce from the land and the factories which it fed; this balance, undoubtedly, has been upset to a certain extent, particularly in the case of sugar. The small cultivators often do not want to grow sugar beet, but rather potatoes or corn for their own consumption.

(6) Breaking up the great estates, in addition to throwing the managers out of their jobs, has affected thousands of agricultural labourers who worked under them. And although the new farmers who have acquired the Restgut or "remnant" farms are obliged to take on the former labourers, this only meets the case to a small

extent, and for the bulk of the labourers the provision made seems inadequate. With some ingenuity the Land Office imposes upon the great landowners the duty of pensioning their ex-employees who are not otherwise provided for! So that we find the landowners compelled to support their ex-employees, and also, to a large extent, to finance the process of the sub-division of the land.

(7) In the beginning of the Land Reform, employees had the right to enter complaints at the Land Office against their employers. This seems now to have been dropped. Such a plan was clearly unworkable. But even to-day a landowner is legally bound to notify the Land Office before engaging, say, a forester, and, further, to accept any man whom the Land Office may appoint. Such attempts at control and interference are clearly not in the interest of industrial efficiency.

(8) In regard to the forest land so splendidly handled by the large landowners, every acre of it is scheduled for expropriation; but, as a matter of fact, the Land Office has taken very little from the owners, and it seems possible that wiser counsels may prevail, and that the unwisdom of transferring an enterprise from efficient private management to the less skilled, unsystematic and sporadic control of the State may be recognised before it is too late; although for purposes of national defence the State may be obliged to take over certain areas of forest contiguous with the frontiers of the country.

(9) It may be stated that in addition to the burdens already mentioned the attempt is being made to raise a heavy capital levy from the large owners, but this is a point somewhat outside the scope of the present article. Racial feeling may largely account for the present policy towards the owners, but there is a further reason: the Czech landowners undoubtedly made much money out of the war. Unlike English landowners, who have built up no system of agricultural factories, and who did not raise their rents during the war, the Czech landowners were nearly all interested in sugar factories, breweries, flour mills, etc., and derived large profits from the war prices.

Taking all these points into consideration, it will be interesting to see what the results will be at the end of another six years or so. And one is led to wonder whether the object could not have been achieved more simply by enacting the breaking up of the great estates (even landowners admit that further sub-division was necessary), and leaving the process to the sellers and buyers to effect in an ordinary business-manner. A certain amount of Government supervision and the creation of some system of loans for the purchase of the land would have been necessary. Even taking the Land Reform Laws as they stand, one cannot help

feeling that the creation of a special land office at such a time has given room for political intrigue, which might have been avoided had the Ministry of Agriculture been entrusted with the administration of the laws. Will it be found possible to abolish the department when its work is done? This is ever a difficult achievement.

Having dealt with certain criticisms, we may now consider the causes which have led to the strikingly vigorous rural life, and the high organisation of agriculture, which are to be found in Czecho-Slovakia. As has been stated, the basis of organisation was laid years ago, but under the present régime it has been further stimulated. Public opinion in Czecho-Slovakia has always been strikingly in favour of a high standard of education. Attendance in elementary schools is compulsory up to the age of fourteen. Comparatively few rural elementary schools were visited, but one got the impression that good work was being done; love of the land, of local customs, traditions and art are carefully fostered, and the importance of manual instruction is recognised. The Government (not necessarily the central government) have a number of research stations, and some of the demonstration farms are self-supporting and remarkable. We visited one demonstration farm of 6,250 acres splendidly run, to which the students from the Brno Agricultural College came for practical work. It is rather interesting to note that in this case, taking the whole capital invested in the farm, surrounding farmers hold 25 per cent., the State holds 25 per cent., and the old shareholders of the company or society which originally founded the farm hold the remaining 50 per cent. Run in conjunction with the farm is a great sugar factory. The total working capital invested in this demonstration enterprise is 36,000,000 kronen, or £223,200, and the profit last year was 20 per cent.

Then there is a wide range of agricultural high schools and institutes, where the course is for about two years, and at the top the great agricultural college at Brno which gives a four-year course and diploma in agricultural engineering. This college has between 300 and 400 agricultural students, and the same number studying forestry. The buildings are magnificent, and compare with those at Gemblou in Belgium or MacDonald College in Canada. It is hard to see where the students from this great institution will find employment. It turns out agricultural engineers, who should manage the great estates, but now there are no great estates to manage! But I understand that a very large percentage of the students are foreigners.

Next there are the "Conseils d'agriculture" which play an important part in agricultural life. In 1770 the Royal Society of

Agriculturists was founded and later changed to the "Conseils d'Agriculture." Each "province" has its "Conseil" which receives grants from the central and provincial governments. They act as the chief propaganda agencies for up-to-date farming, and employ a large staff of experts. They are, to a certain extent, official in character, but work in intimate relation with the farmers.

Finally, there is a great co-operative movement (including credit societies of the Raiffeisen type) founded by Dr. Kampelik in 1850. In 1919 there were 3,746 co-operative credit societies, and by 1923 they had increased to 4,385, and 3,479 co-operative trading societies. Many sugar factories, malt kilns, mills and chicory factories are run by co-operative societies. To-day (1926) the total number of co-operative societies is just under 10,000. The Raiffeisen credit societies also function as savings banks for the agricultural population, and at the present moment hold 900,000,000 kronen, or £5,625,000 savings on deposit. The headquarters of the co-operative movement are in Prague, housed in a vast building. The president is a working farmer; one vice-president is a priest, and the other a teacher. It is most interesting and suggestive to note the part that the priests and teachers play in securing the organisation of the agricultural industry, not only at headquarters, but throughout the country.

To give an example of how the co-operative movement has organised a community, there is nothing in the whole of Czecho-Slovakia more interesting than the ideal village of Prikazy, of some 1,300 inhabitants. About fifty years ago Mr. Pyslouzil, M.P., conceived the idea of forming an ideal rural community out of an existing village. He was assisted by Mr. Waca, a local inhabitant, and they were determined that co-operation should form the basis of their organisation. The result to-day is perhaps the most remarkably organised rural community to be found anywhere in the world. The village is clean and tidy as well as picturesque. Many of the houses date from the seventeenth century, and the interiors are beautifully kept. Every house has land attached. Half of the holdings range between five acres and fifteen acres, the other half between fifteen and forty acres, and there is only one large farm of 250 acres. There are no great estates in the neighbourhood, and the carrying on of the movement organised by the two gentlemen referred to has been entirely in the hands of the community itself. The small owners were not in the least jealous of the large farmer. He plays his part in the community just as the smallholders play theirs. I asked him whether his yield per acre was greater or less than that of the smallholdings, and he said emphatically less, adding that it always must be so when the small farmers were good cultivators.

Housed in a fine building put up three years ago at a cost of £36,000 is the Co-operative (credit) Society. This building forms the business, social, and recreational centre of the community. There is a large and excellent restaurant, so that when the housewife is ill, or is spring-cleaning, the family can get well-cooked food at a moderate price; a theatre seating 500; a gymnasium; the headquarters of the local Sokol; and countless hot and cold baths for the use of the villagers. There is a co-operative mill, absolutely the last word in up-to-date milling, which deals with the villagers' corn and that grown in the surrounding neighbourhood as well. A co-operative bakery relieves the smallholder's wife of the arduous duty of breadmaking; and there is a co-operative malt house for dealing with the famous Hana barley, which grows in that neighbourhood, the most famous malting barley in the world. There is also a co-operative brewery. Further, a co-operative bull and boar society, with five very fine pedigree bulls for the use of the smallholders and five boars of the Middle White type, has raised the quality of the stock to a high level.

Seeing what has been done, and all that is being done, fills one with surprise. One asks how it can be done in so small a community, in a country in the process of re-formation, and not only that, but among a people who suffered acutely from the war. At first it seems impossible to justify the expenditure of £36,000 on such magnificent buildings. The immediate answer to that is that in that building the Credit Society holds £70,000 on deposit for the village smallholders! It is a demonstration of what organisation can do. One cannot help feeling that here is a rural community which is worthy of the close study of agriculturists in all parts of the world. It is an example which has not been created by the new land reform laws of the country, or, indeed, affected by them. It is an example that politicians in Czecho-Slovakia itself would do well to study and reproduce throughout the country.

To sum up briefly the lessons to which the study of rural conditions in Czecho-Slovakia point:

- 1, The importance to the whole nation of a vigorous rural life, based upon a highly organised agriculture; 2, the great economic gain derived from industrialising agriculture through the medium of a wide range of subsidiary industries; 3, that this flourishing agriculture has been achieved by agriculturists and not by State action; 4, that there can be no progress without a wide development of education in all its branches; 5, there is in Prikazy the example of a fully organised rural community that deserves study by all interested in rural welfare; 6, that all over Europe a tendency to eliminate the large estate is noticeable. It is significant that in a highly organised State like Czecho-Slovakia, and with an agricul-

ture industrialised in a high degree, the same tendency has led to the expropriation of the large estate. It is interesting to remember that these drastic measures were taken by a moderate Republic and not by a Communist or Bolshevik government. Racial reasons may have come in, but the main urge was economic; just as it is economic pressure in England that is causing the more or less rapid disappearance of the great estates.

Coming to the Reform Laws and the way in which they have been carried out, certain points may be noted: (a) The danger of hasty reform in an old and necessarily slow-moving industry like agriculture. The fact that the Reform Laws were passed after only four hours debate makes comment needless; (b) The danger of allowing political considerations to dominate unduly the solution of land problems. If the Land Reform in Czecho-Slovakia proves successful, that will be due to the high qualities of the peasant owners, who, being good cultivators, hard workers, and intelligent citizens, seem bound to make a success of the new situation; (c) the ill effect of too much government interference in the management of the industry; (d) that land reform should take the channel of developing occupying-ownership rather than nationalisation (or State ownership). Over and over again it was said to me that nationalisation must mean the end of the agricultural industry. Fortunately in Czecho-Slovakia about one-half of the people are agricultural and depend on the land, and understand the land, so that there was no serious danger of the views of urban extremists gaining the day. In England the position is very different. The rural population only constitutes 20 per cent. of the total population. As was the case in Czecho-Slovakia, a feeling is growing here that there must be drastic changes in our system of tenure. But the great danger that lies before us is that 80 per cent. of our voters are urban and land-ignorant, and therefore unable to form a sound judgment in regard to the policy of land reform. There is a danger that theories, which look well on paper but would be impossible in practice, and would bring ruin to the industry if attempted, may be hailed as the only line of action in regard to the reform of English agriculture and land conditions.

CHRISTOPHER TURNOR.

DANZIG & THE EUROPE OF TO-MORROW.

THE writer's interest in Danzig is that of one who knows that he has made a discovery, and who cannot keep his discovery to himself. Persuaded and re-persuaded as he was (after three visits) of the importance of a strong and independent Poland to the peace of Europe, he had no idea, before living in Danzig (and going about the whole region in a leisurely way), of the extent to which that wonderfully interesting northern city is indeed a key city of Europe, and a key, also, to much that is happening in Europe in the present, and to much that must happen in the future.

The great thing about Danzig is the extent to which its port ("the Port of Danzig") is becoming a great international port, instead of the second-rate, side-tracked affair that it was under Germany* before the War. And also the extent to which it is becoming apparent that its whole future, as one of the great cities of the world, will depend upon the recognition by all (Germany included) of the New Poland as its natural Hinterland.

A still greater thing about Poland is the evolution in and around Danzig of a body of liberal opinion, not only in regard to the present and the future relations of Germany and Poland (or Poland and Germany) but in regard to the new attitude that the peoples of Europe must necessarily take up to the New Europe and to the future of that Europe. A few words of explanation are perhaps necessary.

Danzig, of course, was made a Free City under the protection of the League of Nations. Only the Free City is not merely Danzig (the city proper), but also a fairly large surrounding territory including the suburb of Zoppot and other places—villages and open country. The Port, the Vistula (Poland's great river) and the water communication within the territory of the Free City of Danzig, are governed and exploited by the Harbour and Waterways Board. This last is a mixed body composed of Poles and Danzigers in equal numbers. The Free City has an administrative and a legislative power of its own, in the hands of its Senate and its Parliament. It is a little autonomous State, so to speak (one of the sovereignties of Europe), having a Government and political "parties," just as Poland has, or as Germany has. Danzig, again, is included, so far as Customs duties are concerned, in the Polish frontier. Its Foreign Affairs are conducted by

* Danzig was taken by Germany in 1793 and included by her in the territory she took from Poland in her share of the partitions.

Poland. The railway system in the Port and in the Free City is given to Poland. And it is Poland that allows the sealed-up German trains to pass freely across that portion of Poland that the Germans captiously call the "Corridor." I was told by the Polish Minister of Foreign Affairs in Warsaw that Poland is trying to do more and more to accord Germany even further facilities in this direction.

You are not long in Danzig before you become aware of various high authorities and various high personages: (1) the Representative of the League of Nations that is the protector of the Free City—at present a Dutch jurist and publicist of distinction; (2) the President of the Senate of Danzig, the head of the local Government and the head of the City of Danzig, Dr. Sahn, a prominent German Nationalist; (3) the President of the Harbour and Waterways Board, at present a Swiss appointed by the League of Nations; (4) the High Commissioner of Poland, the most important of the resident Foreign Ministers or Consuls. The Harbour Board is independent of both Poland and Danzig. The Polish Government and the Senate of Danzig can exert their influence upon it only through their delegates to that Board. Poland is, although the country most overwhelmingly interested, merely a customer, as it were, of the Port, although it is the collector of the Customs duties. Of these last it gives a certain proportion to the Free City and a certain proportion to Poland. The Port lives by its own revenues and by the various harbour duties. As matters stand at present, Poland is, together with the Free City, a co-owner and co-administrator of the Port, and has therefore her half share in its management.

It is quite evident that in all this there is the possibility of antagonism and friction. There is, first, the overwhelming and the all-compelling interest of Poland in the Port, and in the needs of its own ever-increasing export and import trade. There is the broad, international interest of the League of Nations (none too popular with some of the extreme Danzig Nationalists) in the conciliation of all antagonisms between Poland and the Port and Danzig and Poland, in the maintenance of peace between Germany and Poland, in the literal fulfilment of the Versailles conditions as to the Port, the Free City, and the "Corridor." There is the interest of Poland in the foreign relations of Danzig with which it has been charged by the Treaties.* And there certainly are such interests, although the (German) Danzig Nationalists do not care to think very much about them.

* The basis of the juridical relations between Poland and Danzig is naturally the Treaty of Versailles. The other two Polish-Danzig juridical documents are the Convention of Paris of 1921, signed by Poland and Dr. Sahn, and the Polish-Danzig Convention concluded at Warsaw in 1923, and signed by Plucinski and Sahn.

Then there is the natural interest of Danzig and Danzigers in the future and in the present of Danzig. To this the Allies perhaps never gave very much thought—any more, say, than they did in the case of Vienna.* As far as they saw, events, as it were, would have to decide this (they are doing so), and the Danzig people would simply have to adapt themselves to these.

Along, too, with the interest of Danzig there is that of the large territory that surrounds it, the Free City, that is to say, outside the limits of Danzig proper. There the population is more Polish and mixed than in the case of Danzig, which at present, we have to admit, is nine-tenths German, though the Polish percentage is increasing. Most of this surrounding territory is fertile agricultural ground, and finds a ready market in Danzig. But what Danzig really needs for its source of supply and for its market is a larger Hinterland still—that of Poland as a whole, as a reunited country, entering now upon a great modern development.

The shopkeepers and merchants of Danzig have to face the fact that a great many (German) Danzigers prefer to-day to buy clothing and other things from Germany, neglecting the local concerns. Many people, too, in the regions in and around Danzig would buy (where possible) from Poland, on account of the greater cheapness of things there—the exchange plays a part. Prospects, in other words, are none too bright in the business world of Danzig—as long, that is to say, as the Danzig Nationalists continue to look upon it as an independent entity, whose interest should control that of Poland and the New Europe—surely a case of the tail trying to swing the dog! As, however, Danzig is holding back at present, it is not to be wondered at that many young men say there is not very much outlook for them there; I was asked frequently about openings in Canada.

The interest, of course, of the foreign concerns that are continually coming into Danzig is naturally international. Thus their outlook is one of the things that strengthen what I call the general liberal and progressive outlook that is becoming more and more characteristic of the place and the region.

In addition to these many perplexing considerations, there are the different interests and tendencies of the Danzig Parliament and of the different parties that are to be found both in the Lower

* There is little analogy between the two places: Vienna is a big city that deliberately kept in subjection a large territory that supplied it, and manufactured for it. Danzig is a small city, with an interesting past, that was kept for over a hundred years (having for eight hundred years been connected with Poland) as a sort of military outpost by Germany, and that has now the possibility of trade with the world and with the great Hinterland of the New Poland. The Poles do not deny the German character of Danzig. In going about it one is reminded in many pleasant ways of Germany and in some unpleasant ways of Prussia.

House (of 120 members) and in the Senate (of 8 full members and 14 honorary). And the Senate, it is to be remembered, has taken over the municipal powers of the City since 1921. The chief parties are: the German Nationalist Party (34), whose aims are outspokenly, as I heard from their own lips, those of the Nationalists of Germany; the United Social Democrats (30); the Clerical Centre that corresponds to the Catholic Centre in the *Reichstag*; the Communists (11); the German Socialist Party (recently 7, but now about 30); the People's Party (7); the Poles (5). The Socialists have now (in 1926) almost the numerical strength of the Nationalists. They profess to be above all reaction, all mere nationalism, and all merely political antagonisms; standing only for Labour and social progress. With the Liberals in the Senate, and many of the Left, and with the Poles, the Socialists may be said to be in favour of an open and a co-operative attitude in regard to the relations between Germany and Poland, the future of the Port, and so on.

As for the vexed question of the administration of the City of Danzig and its enormous expense, and the actual present deficit in the budget, the claim of Polish Danzig citizens is that the whole administration and the whole bureaucratic treatment (by the Germans) is far too costly, and that the Nationalist authorities simply look upon the whole place as an outpost of Germany to be administered by Germans, and by German officials* (*Beamten*). The salaries, the Poles say, paid to Germans in the Port and in the Free City are far too high in comparison with what both ordinary and highly-placed Poles now receive either from Danzig or from Warsaw, from a country slowly getting on its feet. They are far too high, also, in comparison with what Germans receive in Germany. The Danzig Nationalists, on the contrary, say that the City simply does not get enough from its taxes, and from its share of the collected Customs, to run and to maintain its administration. Hence past efforts of the League of Nations in recommending a loan to Danzig, and hence the proposals in the same direction of the recent London Conference on the Finances of the City of Danzig. The whole subject is, of course, a very complex one, and insoluble "politically," as it were—that is, if Germans and Poles were to refuse to co-operate with each other—a thing they simply cannot do, and are not doing, although the German Nationalists co-operate with a very bad grace.

The attitude to the whole Danzig problem taken by all intelligent and responsible Poles, with many of whom I had the privilege of conversing, is in the main what we might call the realistic or

* Many of these actually regard themselves as officials "on furlough," serving Germany in a semi-alien land.

the experimental or the liberal one.* They wish to detach the issue from any further talk about the abstract rights either of Germans or Poles. All that is past, they say—at least, meantime. What they see, and what they want now to see, and what they implore others to see, is the undoubtedly remarkable development of the business of the Port, in consequence of the restored access of Poland to the sea. It is the actual working now of those very Versailles conditions of 1920, that as given were but "half a loaf" and a sorry half at that. "Look," they say, "at the developments of the Port and of its business! Look at the increasing importance of the Free City† even under the restricted conditions under which we Poles are allowed to collect Customs duties and to argue and labour with the Harbour and Waterways Board about the constantly needed extensions and improvements in the Port's facilities, and to deal with the hostile legislature of the Free City! Is not the great thing for all of us, they say, for all the so-called parties of the Free City of Danzig, simply a united and intelligent policy for the development of the Port and of Danzig—if not (meantime) for Poland, then for the sake of the international and the world trade and commerce that alone will sustain them both?" In this the Poles are at one with the liberal elements and with most of the foreign interests.

With regard to the recent progress of the Port of Danzig, I give the following description from an article in the *Gazeta Warszawska Poranna* (September 14th, 1926) by Mr. N. Nagorski, the Director of Traffic of the Port:

"War conditions affected, of course, the greater number of European ports, and very few got back soon to pre-war conditions. Danzig is an exception. In 1925 the percentage of shipping was 90 per cent. greater than in the best years before the war. The causes of this return are: (1) its geographical position on the south shore of the Baltic; (2) its being at the mouth of the Vistula; (3) the opening up, through it, of its natural hinterland of Poland.

The number of foreign ships flying a foreign flag that entered in 1922 was 11, and in 1925, 24. As to merchandise, after the war there was, of course, general chaos. There was then a heavy import of foodstuffs, and export from Poland did not exist. In 1923 exports began to take the chief place—lumber occupying the first place. For the last two years 1,000,000 tons of lumber have been exported yearly. The Polish railways are combining to concentrate the entire Polish lumber trade produce in Danzig. Grain

* I scruple not to use the word "liberal" in connection with the attitude of the Poles of Danzig, although I admit, of course, and even emphasise the existence of liberal tendencies in the case of Germany, and in the case of many Danzig Germans. One of the great things about Poland is that her very national necessities are—owing to her whole past and her present—at the same time international necessities. Poland can only progress along international lines. It is to the interest of the world that the future of Danzig should be associated with Poland and her new development.

† Cf. the article quoted below.

occupies the second place. Grain and sugar export figures are not so great, however, as before the war owing to the lack of Russian grain and sugar. Petroleum and its products are a great new export article. 44,000,000 tons are now exported yearly—the amount that was imported before the war.

As to imports, herrings, rice, tea, coffee, continue at the pre-war level—Poland having none of those things. Machines, autos, cottons, woollens, iron and other manufactured articles are also imported now. Also artificial fertilisers—and the amount of these will increase owing to the Russian demand.

The recent Polish-German conflict has had important consequences for Poland. Up till now the commerce of Danzig has been chiefly with England, Belgium, France, Germany, and commerce with the Baltic States was slight. When, however, Germany closed her doors to Polish coal, the Polish coal industry was forced to seek, and found, new markets in the Scandinavian Baltic States. In these regions England had, of course, been her competitor before the strike. It is easy now for Polish coal to compete with English coal, Polish coal being just as good, and cheaper. The Polish railways, too, are adjusting rates, so that all Polish coal will come to Danzig. The cost of transporting coal thither is 7½ zlotys (about 6/-) for every ton of coal from every Polish pit. And in Danzig the Council of the Port and the shipping firms have greatly lowered the cost of lading. For the first half of the year 1925 the export of coal was 16,000 tons; in the third quarter 180,000 tons; for the fourth quarter 421,000 tons; and in the first half of 1926 1,225,000 tons. The first export place is taken by Sweden; and then come Denmark, Italy, France, Latvia, Finland, Lithuania; and small quantities are sent to Holland and Belgium. The Polish export of coal has assumed now a steady character, and there is a steady market in Leningrad. There is a large import into Poland of crude iron from Sweden. Before the war this came through Danzig, then after the war through Stettin, and it is now coming again through Danzig."

The article from which I am extracting then goes on to speak of the remarkable increase in the facilities of the Port since the Versailles arrangements about the access of Poland to the sea. This increase, however, will be apparent to anyone who takes the trouble to go over the Port. Old forts are being converted into warehouses, and so on.

It is, of course, the persuasion of the Poles, not only of Danzig but of all Poland, that a huge, newly-liberated country like Poland with one great former Baltic area cut off from it by East Prussia (long merely a German colony under the suzerainty of Polish kings) needs a far larger portion of the sea coast than the narrow strip at the sea-end of the "Corridor," around Gyndia, and the peninsula Hel. They know, as we all do, of the decline in the trade and importance of Danzig during the hundred and twenty years of Prussian control and domination—in comparison with the old flourishing days when Danzig was a free Hansa city under

the protection of the Polish kings. And they know from bitter experience—what anyone can still see from the barracks and forts that are now given over to better purposes—what would again happen to Danzig and the Port if made tributary to the Eastward policy of Prusso-Germany (*Drang nach Osten*).^{*} They are surely justified in claiming that, if the Senate of Danzig were more favourable to-day than it is to the development of the Port and the railways of the region, to the natural interest of Poland in its main age-long outlet to the sea, and to the international point of view about Danzig that is coming every day to the fore, then things would go ahead even more rapidly than they do in the whole Danzig region.

With the intransigent (German) Nationalist point of view about Danzig there is little, perhaps, to be done until the passing of the generation that still thinks in war terms. Against it there is to be set, to some extent, the growing liberalism of many Danzigers—the Liberals in the Senate and elsewhere, most of them well-to-do business men who might let the "Corridor" go to Germany, but are for the connection of Danzig with Poland; the German Socialists even (they are for Poland, for Poland brings work to Danzig); the trade internationalists; all who prefer common sense to a belated nationalism; the thousands who want to hear no more of war. All these persons are in different ways for the recognition of Poland as at least a country that has a right to exist, and that was wrongly treated in the past. They all recognise the folly and the fatuity of Russian and Prussian attempts to crush out Polish nationality. They are for the co-operation of Germans and Poles, and of all parties, so far as the common privilege of the development of the Danzig region is concerned.

It is generally felt, I may add, by all who know the Danzig people, that if, in the future, it should be found (as it is likely it will be) that Danzig has more to gain from being inside the Republic of Poland than outside of it, the transition to Polish overlordship would be easily accepted by the bulk of the population, especially by the Germans, who always make good citizens in any country. If you simply stand in the Port, or in some railway depot of Danzig, and see incoming goods handled by Polish and German workers or customers, you feel at once that it is undoubtedly the "economic" and the "social" influence, and not the "political"* as such, that will break down any still surviving antagonism between Germans and Poles. I return consequently to my point about the evolution in and around Danzig of a body of liberal opinion and sentiment that is in keeping with the new

^{*} The "new" political attitude that is springing up everywhere in Europe, the nationalism that is open to internationalism, is, of course, different.

feelings and the new outlook of most of the war-weary peoples of Europe.

I append a few closing considerations. The first of these is that, owing to the recent changes, already referred to, in the composition of the Danzig legislature, through the increase in the strength of the Socialist Party, there has been a distinct improvement in the Danzig atmosphere, so far as Polish hopes of increased sympathy and co-operation on the part of their Danzig fellow-citizens are concerned. The improvement, too, in the general economic condition of Poland, in consequence of the recent political changes, is also having a good effect in the Danzig region. It is increasing somewhat the volume of Danzig business.

The Polish case for Danzig, it seems to me, means really an "open" Europe, and the common advancement of a common understanding between those who yesterday were enemies, and between the so-called greater Powers and the smaller nations that have been given their freedom. In pleading for Poland one is pleading, at the same time, for the peoples of the Little Entente, for the hundred million of free peoples between the Baltic and the Black Sea. "Peace!" "Peace for fifty years!" "Peace and work and co-operation, and the gradual breaking down of nationalist trade barriers"—that is what they are saying all over Poland, and their voice is that of many others.

It has not been necessary for me to refer in any detail to the "Corridor." As a question it is no doubt connected with that of Danzig. The point for us all to grasp is that Poland as a renaissance country has to-day no access to the sea over territory that is *entirely its own*—an anomaly, surely, and an unintentional injustice, or rather failure of justice. The mouth of the Vistula (think of it! her famous national river!), and Danzig (for hundreds of years either her own or under the protection of her kings) are closed to her save on sufferance! Were they Poland's, she would not be building, at a fabulous expense, a second port on her own soil at Gyndia—surely one of the world's monuments to the undying faith and determination of a people. She claims, of course, that in the future both Danzig and Gyndia will be necessary to the national and the international trade of Poland. The "Corridor" (that is a strip of historic and ethnographic Polish territory), and the "Free City" doubtless separate Prusso-Germany from her old Colony of East Prussia. But East Prussia is really a colony or outpost of Prussia, and did not come into the German Empire till 1867. It arose originally through the incursions of the Order

of Teutonic Knights in the thirteenth century, becoming a secular Dukedom in 1525 and a fief of the Polish Crown. Owing to its Colonial character, East Prussia was excluded from the German Federation, which existed from 1815 till 1866.

As a State or territory it was long under the protection of the kings of Poland. Poland as a country is older far than either East Prussia or West Prussia, and was a great civilising State long before either Prussia or Austria. That there should have been in Polish Pomerania that age-long struggle between the Teuton and the Slav is, of course, a fact of history; as is also the fact that it is out of a phase of the same struggle (Austria's treatment of the Southern Slavs) that the War arose. The War is now, however, a thing of the past, and Germany having, through the League, entered into the comity of nations, it is essential now that what belongs to Poland should be guaranteed to Poland, and that the great Slav world should be encouraged to work out its own salvation alongside the German world, and the other peoples of Europe. There is no reason why the Germans who, for any reason, find themselves in Danzig and Poland to-day should not accept the citizenship of the country, as they do in Czecho-Slovakia and Hungary and elsewhere, or as we English accept the fact of our being practically governed by French people in the city of Montreal.

There is another thing that I want to say, and I say it gladly. I have found throughout Poland (just as I have found throughout Czecho-Slovakia) a perfect willingness to admit and to recognise the many contributions to civilisation of the Germans who have for hundreds of years been migrating into Central Europe and settling there. The Poles recognise that the German, although, as the proverb puts it, a poor politician—(he attempted all sorts of unjust colonisation and subjugation schemes in Polish Pomerania and Poznanian both of which kept on electing Polish-born representatives to the *Reichstag* in Berlin)—is a good "instructor" in many ways, and a good "landlord" or "manager"—*ein guter Lehrer, ein guter Wirth, aber ein schlechter Politiker*.

Being, however, one of those who know at first hand of the liberalising and truly democratic and cosmopolitan movements in post-war Germany, I am inclined to find in the new co-operative attitude of Germany, as expressed recently by Stresemann at Geneva—where I had the privilege of hearing him—a great and a far-reaching support of the liberal and liberalising tendencies that I have found to be at work in and around Danzig to-day—that marvellous key city, as I said, to much that is happening in Europe to-day and to much that must happen to-morrow.

W. CALDWELL.

THE ACTIVITY OF GOD.

THE supreme Spiritual Values—The True, the Beautiful and the Good—are the highest and most trustworthy revelation of the meaning of the Universe. To make this judgment is not to assign undue importance to the subjective experience of men. Any and every human attempt to find the secret of the Universe must needs seek primarily to discover its meaning *for men* and must be made by interpreting the deliverances of their experience. To select that which is either valueless, or of inferior value, or of merely instrumental value to man is not to escape from subjectivity, but simply to make an arbitrary, an irrational, and, in the last resort, an unworthy selection from the full content of human experience. Neither Man nor the Universe, regarded as apart from man and from the consciousness that has its earthly representation in man, is self-enclosed. The attempt to isolate either from the other may, at best, only be tolerated for the provisional and departmental inquiries of Science and must be transcended by a higher synthesis directly the objects of such inquiries have been attained if the full truth even about these is to be reached. Man is by his very nature not only the effect and offspring of the Universe, but its mirror and something more. The Universe is incomplete without him, and his organic relationship to it enables him to become both its revealer and its interpreter. Hence the Supreme Values by and for which man comes to himself in his organic relationship to the Universe become the most trustworthy guides to its meaning and aim.

God is the Home, the Source, and the Spring of these Spiritual Values. They are the fullest revelation of Him. He is to be apprehended not merely as the underlying and unifying Substance of the Universe, or as the Energetic Cause of its evolution and order, but, above all, in and through the highest that these bring to growing manifestation and realisation in its history. The former may conceivably tell us *that* He is; only the latter can tell us *What* He is. This and nothing other or less is the meaning of God for Religion. In these Values God, as Love, gives Himself to men: in the pursuit of them men give themselves to God in the response of love. The object of religious thought is to show that what is vital to religion is true and satisfying to reason, and from this starting-point to explore what light is thereby cast upon the Activity of God—His purpose and His ways.

Before, however, this question can be asked and answered, a preliminary inquiry must be made. Does the conception of God as the perfect and eternal realisation of all that can be meant by

Truth, Beauty and Goodness constitute the full idea of His Godhead? And, if so, does He seek completely to manifest Himself as these, and to secure that through the growing apprehension and assimilation of just these Values men should be brought into fellowship with Himself? In this connection, careful consideration must be given to the conclusions reached by Professor Rudolf Otto, and set forth in his remarkable book on *The Idea of the Holy*, which he describes as “an Inquiry into the non-rational Factor in the Idea of the Divine and its relation to the Rational.” Professor Otto finds the root-meaning, the spring and the prevailing temper of Religion in the concerted, though independent, elements which he terms the “Numinous” and “the Holy.” According to him creature-consciousness starts by apprehending the “Mysterium tremendum,” which overshadows men by its awfulness, its “overpowering” majesty, its energy or urgency, and its “wholly-other”ness, while yet it fascinates them. This is the “Numinous.” To this primitive sense “the Holy” becomes subsequently added as a category of Value, which has as its counterpart the sense of sin, of “profaneness,” and of self-depreciation. There is “intrinsic value in the incomprehensible,” and “the Holy is an *à priori* Category.” These are the two non-rational elements of Religion, which is kept true by the balance of its non-rational and rational factors.

Can this be treated as a satisfactory description and explanation? That the two elements are both real, and that they are closely blended in religious experience is undoubtedly true. But is the relationship between the two what Professor Otto states it to be? It appears to me that, on the contrary, “the Holy” is the impression made by the as yet undiscovered and it may be undiscoverable *Hinterland*,—if so it may be described—of the Divine Truth, Beauty and Goodness. It is, in short, the transcendence of the eternal perfection, the reality of which is brought home to us by the immanent yet incomplete revelation of the Spiritual Values and what is implied in them. This partial revelation and the still more partial assimilation of these Values make men aware of the awful and yet adorable majesty of their infinite background in God: and this the more by reason of the perverse self-will, which rebels against, or is content to fall short of, Values which it is yet constrained to venerate. Holiness in God, therefore, is the transcendent and overaweing solemnity of His Truth, Beauty and Goodness; while holiness in so far as it can be ascribed to men is the sustained sense that this transcendence exists, and the steadfast pursuit of its fuller disclosure as the supreme end and satisfaction of life. In regard to the “Numinous,” surely religious—and especially Christian—faith believes

that were the mysterious nature and ways of God to be completely revealed and apprehended they would be shown to be explicable in terms of the perfect Truth, Beauty and Goodness, gleams of which illuminate man's life; it believes also that the limitations which are imposed upon this perfect revelation are due to the spiritual conditions under which alone can such Values come to be appreciated and appropriated by such a creature as man. Hence, though the sense of Mystery is essential to truly religious experience, there is no fissure between the Numinous and the Holy, or between the rational, moral and spiritual factors by means of which the Divine Reality is progressively revealed. All true religion is implicitly rational.

The Christian ideal is that of St. Paul; "That ye may be filled unto all the fullness of God," "Then shall I know even as also I am known." It is the explanation of St. Augustine's statement, referred to by Professor Otto, "Inhorresco, in quantum dissimilis ei sum. Inardesco, in quantum similis ei sum" (Confessions, ii, 9, 1). The rational elements of religion are not imported into it from without, to lie side by side with the non-rational. They spring up from the apprehension of God, which is true and satisfying just in so far as it comes to realise an affinity that subdues and eventually casts out the sense of God as the "all-other." This sense arises and persists only because the revelation of God has not broken through the as yet undifferentiated whole of the Universe by which primitive man is confronted. The very "urgency" of the "Numinous" and the "fascination" it exerts may well be taken as preliminary intimations of this affinity.

Hence, "Holy is He" signifies the transcendent perfection of God and the as yet undiscovered fullness of His Truth, Beauty and Goodness. It is by means of what has been disclosed of these that faith believes that what remains undisclosed is adorable. Correspondingly, therefore, this ascription expresses the reverent worship, which, instead of inhibiting, prompts to the progressive search into the unexplored heights and depths of the Divine Mystery, in the belief that the more fully its content is revealed the more surely it will be known and enjoyed as Truth, Beauty and Goodness. The background is there, but not as a distinct and unknowable element. Its existence and the inadequacy of our apprehension of it are expressed by our confession that the Truth of God is incomprehensible, that His Beauty is ineffable, that His Wisdom and His ways are unsearchable, and that His Goodness is All-holy. The term "All-holy" and the spiritual sense that demands expression through it become extended to cover all these, just as the Idea of the Good comes to dominate and pervade the Ideas of Truth and Beauty, so that as

Plato declared, "The Good is the cause of all Truth and Beauty" (Republic vi, 505a).

If this be the real relationship between the Holy and the positive Values of Truth, Beauty and Goodness, we are entitled to assume that God is truly revealed in these Values, and that He purposes to give a progressive manifestation of Himself by means of the growing apprehension of their meaning. This belief not only warrants but necessitates the consequential belief that God so constitutes and orders the Universe as to make it, if not the only possible, at all events the most suitable scene and instrument of this growing manifestation. What light then do these Values—their nature, authority and satisfying power—throw upon the Activity of God, both as to the fact of its existence and as to the method of its working? This inquiry is of crucial importance alike for rational thought and for true religion. So far as the former is concerned, the acceptance of the position that the supreme Spiritual Values are of their very nature the supreme manifestation of God carries with it the necessity of conceiving the Activity of God as being in accord with the conditions which Spiritual Values require for their revelation and apprehension and of testing the world and its history by this requirement. This governing conception and the tests that are applied to it must be thorough-going; that is to say they must deal, not merely with particular incidents and experiences, but with the constitution and ordering of the world and history as a consistent whole, fitted from the beginning and throughout for the realisation of this sovereign purpose.

For religion, the inquiry is of equal importance. True religion and above all the Christian faith postulates the *Living God*. St. Paul expresses this essential feature of its experience when he reminds his Thessalonian converts that they had turned from idols "to serve a living and true God" (1 Thess., i, 9). In so doing he repeats the witness of the Old Testament prophets, who distinguished Jahweh from the gods of the heathen precisely on the ground that He and He alone is "the Living God," and went on to exhibit the course of the world—its past history, its present situation, and its promise for the future—in the light of this belief. In so doing they satisfied the demand of the personal religion which uttered its inmost need by saying, "My heart and my flesh crieth out for the *living God*" (Ps. lxxxiv, 2), and, in the words of Jeremiah, found in Jahweh "the fountain of living waters," (Jer. xvii, 13). Such religion cannot be content to regard God as being merely the theoretic Idea that sums up and gathers into unity the Totality of things for human reason or imagination. He is more than the rational reflection of things conceived as an

intelligible whole, or the explanation of all things as bound together in a steadfast order. He is, above all, One Who, because He lives, wills and acts, and One Who does so, not as conditioned by the Universe from without, but as its Sovereign Creator—its Life, its Law, its End. Yet, if this be both the demand and the deliverance of true religion, it needs to be clothed in such conceptions of the nature and method of His Activity as are in keeping with the spiritual ends in which His purpose is being fulfilled and by means of which, therefore, the nature of His Activity can be best discerned.

Unless God be supremely active the essential witness of Religion is hopelessly discredited. Yet Thomas Carlyle is said to have murmured, as he lay dying, "God does nothing." Perhaps this exclamation should be treated as the natural and inevitable reaction from the "God does everything" of his Calvinist upbringing. On reflection, perhaps, these two statements may be seen, not merely to counterbalance one another, but as, in the last resort, equivalent; for a God Who does all things does nothing in the ordinary sense of doing. And this whether God be conceived as the supreme and only Potentate, Whose bare will and universal Activity accounts for all things that exist without regard to spiritual and moral distinctions; or whether He be treated as a merely anthropomorphic image, representing the immanent order and process of all things and personified in order to meet the cravings of the human heart uttered independently or even in defiance of philosophic thought and of scientific knowledge. In the former case the discovery of immanent order and spontaneity will eventually relegate the Idea of God to a more or less redundant Deism. In the latter, the same discovery will lead to the Idea of God being treated as the imaginative satisfaction of a purely subjective and emotional craving, which, for the present at least, cannot be brought within the bounds either of solid facts or of calm, yet severe, Reason. In short, "God does everything," in the old sense, is rejected by the modern, as it should be by the Christian, mind; while "God does nothing," though it may satisfy the emotional temper of Pantheism, fails altogether to do justice to the fundamental deliverances of Christian experience.

At this point three distinct elements of the case must be brought together that demand conjoint consideration; first of all, the fundamental deliverances of religious experience; secondly, the conclusion that the Supreme Spiritual Values apprehended by men are not the objects of a merely parochial interest, because they are apprehended by men, but are for that very reason of universal import; and, thirdly, the confirmatory fact of what Professor Lloyd Morgan calls "emergent evolution," with what he justly

terms its "tendency to produce Values." When all these three are taken together, they enable us to discern *preferential* action on the part of God and to apprehend the method of its working, in a way that while it satisfies Religion, is in consonance with Reason, if once the supremacy of the Spiritual Values be conceded.

It is by the evidence of preferential action that the Activity of God, both its end and its method, must be discerned. It is not sufficient that the *Creator creans* should be treated as equivalent to *Natura naturans*, on whichever side of the equation the emphasis be laid. Any such equivalence would suggest mere duplication, and one side would be reduced to and identified with the other; the choice as to which should be surrendered being at the mercy of individual predilections. Even on this basis it might well be contended that the wonder of progressive evolution, with its order, its stages, the compensatory interplay and co-operation of its various elements—above all, with its relevance to consciousness in its ordinary exercise of reason and understanding, justifies us in emphasising the *Creator creans* of Monism against the *Natura naturans* of Naturalism. Yet such a conclusion could at best only be preliminary and precarious, because it would omit the outstanding and most illuminating facts of the case. It could only tell us *that* God is, while supplying us with little or no knowledge of *what* He is. It might present Him as the conscious and organising Substance or even Subject of His Universe; but not as Sovereign Character realising through His order ends that command the adoration, by satisfying the demands and inspiring the quest, of spiritual beings. In short, the universally constitutive activity of God, in the evolution of the Universe must be the basis of His preferential Activity in realising spiritual ends that are eminently worthy of His perfection, or else any arguments for the reality of His constitutive Activity will lose great part of their force.

Spiritual experience reveals a remarkable duality, as moral consciousness becomes sufficiently developed to apprehend its own significance. It not only reflects the Cosmos by responding to it, but criticises it, selects within it, and remoulds it. While part of the Cosmos, it stands over against it and has a sense of superiority over it. It is not content to contemplate, or to use the world *as it is*, but proceeds to conceive the world *as it should be* and to refashion it according to this ideal. Yet the success of such refashioning depends upon man's power to treat the world not as a merely alien element to be subdued, but more truly as a friendly potentiality to be realised. Still more, man comes eventually to perceive that his success in realising this potentiality depends much more directly and intimately upon what he himself becomes than upon what he immediately does. This distinctive feature of man's spiritual expe-

rience contains within itself—like all the other contents of his consciousness—a revelation and reflection of Reality. It witnesses to a duality, though not a dualism, between the constitutive and the preferential Activity of God, the former being the basis, because creating and sustaining the situation upon which the latter is exercised. This preferential Activity has for its end the growing realisation in the Universe and history of the Spiritual Values which constitute the perfection and blessedness of God.

The possibility and success of this preferential Activity imply certain conditions in regard to God Himself, to man (including similar finite beings), and to the Universe. In regard to God, the realisation of Values, which by their very nature demand apprehension, appreciation and pursuit by self-determining, though finite personalities, involves the employment of altogether different resources from those of mere power. Indeed, the more irresistible the power, the more incompatible its exercise would be with the selection and attainment of truly spiritual ends. God, as the spring of spiritual values, must be transcendent; as the revealer of them, He must be immanent. Yet the influence both of His transcendence and of His immanence must be sought in the Values themselves, and not in any external force that is so alien and inferior in its nature that it cannot be manifested in them. In regard to man, preferential activity in God implies the grant of preferential activity, with all its attendant powers and responsibilities, to self-determining personalities, who can only apprehend Spiritual Values, and thereby come into the full enjoyment of personality, by the exercise of free choice. Furthermore, these essential conditions of the highest activity both of God and man strike deep into the nature of the Universe itself. In view of the organic relationship in which man stands to the Universe, it must needs be that if spiritual freedom is to emerge at the summit the preparation for it must be laid in the foundations. The nature of the climax must prescribe the method of the process by which it is reached. In other words, mechanical conceptions cannot be the sufficient explanation of a Universe which culminates in personalities. A mechanically ordered and flawless Universe could not be the birthplace and cradle of spiritual freedom. In view of the governing end a measure of spontaneity must be conferred at the outset, Evolution must partake throughout of the autonomous energy, which, while associated in our minds with organic existences, is generally denied both to substances that are usually regarded as inorganic, and to the material Universe as a whole. Room must even be found in the original constitution of the Universe for contingencies and for the accidental, if it be fixed in a continuous Divine plan that prepares it to receive, to foster, and to discipline the free

personalities which are the culmination of its age-long process.

The outstanding fact with which we are confronted is the emergence of Spirit from Nature, so-called, while yet it remains in organic connection with Nature. The essential principles that govern these two realms are different, and yet they are so connected that Nature provides alike the basis, the environment and the instruments of Spirit, and reaches its culmination in so doing. Hence while the distinction between the two realms is real, it must not be conceived as separation and mutual independence. Yet the fundamental unity of the two orders must not be conceived by suppressing the distinctive qualities and the characteristic activities of the higher order, but, on the contrary, by realising that Nature belongs to Spirit, as preparing the way for it, and that, therefore, the ultimate explanation of Nature will be supplied by Spirit and not the other way about. In theological terms this means that the creative and constitutive Activity of God is to be discerned, above all, in this, that He prepares Nature to be the birthplace, the home and the vital instrument of Spirit, while reserving, so to speak, the fullness of His Spiritual resources to deal with Spirit when it appears and so to order the energies and processes of Nature as to make them compatible with and subservient to this higher order of Reality. Hence the constitutive Activity of God has, from the beginning, His preferential Activity in view; that is to say, it contemplates the appearance of a spiritual and moral order, in which the supreme Values of His perfection may be displayed, and in which they may operate in the characteristic way which their nature requires.

This fundamental truth explains the message of Old Testament prophecy, with the apparent contradiction that pervades it. On the one hand, the attitude of the prophet is that of immediate spiritual realisation; "Thy God reigneth." On the other hand it is that of urgent, though confident, expectation; "Thy kingdom come." That is to say, the universally constitutive activity of God is treated as the condition and promise of His preferential activity, the reality of which is already to be recognised in spiritual experience; and to be recognised as the assurance that the fulfilment of the promise and the satisfaction of the demands implicit in spiritual life will ultimately be brought about. This apocalyptic certainty becomes the vantage-ground from which the Divine Sovereignty and its methods can be surveyed. As man arises out of and belongs to the cosmos, the whole creation is concerned in what St. Paul calls "the manifestation of the sons of God." This manifestation is dependent upon the complete realisation within them of the Spiritual Values of their sonship, and must be brought about by a Divine Activity, which is in accordance with the intrinsic spiritual and moral nature of the end that is thus purposed by God.

Hence, the first and the main disclosure of Divine activity is made, not in the processes of the cosmos, but in the spiritual experience of the personalities, in which its evolution culminates. It is at this point that the Activity of God becomes distinguished from and set over against mere immanent energy. The deliverances of spiritual and moral consciousness are of more importance for the interpretation of the world than those conveyed by the senses. To deny, or even to question this, is indeed the height of unreason. It is simply to make use of Reason for its own dethronement. When the deliverances of spiritual experience have been investigated and due weight has been given to them, then the Divine Activity which is revealed in this experience is read into, or rather becomes visible in, the Cosmos; for just as there is continuity between the Cosmos and man so there must be continuity in the Divine government of both, due allowance being made for the lower and more limited sphere of the cosmos, regarded in abstract isolation from spiritual life.

In the realm of spiritual experience it is as reasonable to recognise and attach weight to pre-eminent gifts of insight, sensibility, and interpretative wisdom as in the sphere either of physical science or of practical affairs. Moreover, the same proviso applies to them all; namely, that what has been apprehended and established in the first instance by superior ability and more extensive experience is capable, in varying degrees, of being subsequently apprehended and verified by enlarging circles of men. Hence the testimony of saints and mystics, of prophets and poets, of outstanding leaders, instead of being belittled must be held in high regard. And this the more, seeing that their experiences are eventually shared and their interpretation approved by growing multitudes of more ordinary men. In the special experience of the greatest the possible experience of the multitude is "writ large."

Now the general testimony of these elect spirits, confirmed by the similar experience of multitudes, bears witness to startling revelations of Spiritual Values which have transformed their lives, to momentous guidance at critical moments, to the mysterious supply of spiritual resources in times of utmost need, to the reception of spiritual commissions which have shattered their pre-conceived plans and run counter to their cherished predilections, to the marvellous co-ordination of circumstances, influences and empowerments which has made their achievements appear possible to a venturesome faith that has gained encouragement and confirmation at every step of their advance. Above all, they have been conscious of a remedial and redemptive grace, which has inwardly transformed them, has constantly succoured them, and has delivered them, from time to time, not only from circumstances

but from themselves. The only interpretation that they can give, either immediately or on reflection, of these experiences, one by one and in sequence, is that "the Hand of God" was upon them and that His Spirit overshadowed them.

From such experiences men go to contemplate the evolution of the world and the course of history. Evolution is "emergent," rising in ordered stages and without breach of continuity from the apparently material through life and mind to spirit—to the spiritual and moral personalities in which life and mind and spirit are combined with the growing promise of the eventual predominance of Spirit. History takes up the tale to which evolution forms the introduction. Eventually and growingly "the stars in their courses" fight on behalf of spiritual superiority. Each goal becomes a starting-point. Ultimately it becomes apparent that only the prevalence of the highest can safeguard even the lowliest interests of life, and that as there is succour for the adoption of the highest, so there is secular judgment upon the acceptance of the lower.

Finally, uniting both these orders—the inward and the objective—stands Jesus Christ, Who as the supreme personality of history, the transcendent expression of spiritual life, is also the Redeemer of personal life, and the only, yet the sufficient, hope of the salvation of civilisation by its spiritual redemption.

In this threefold evidence both the constitutive and the preferential Activity of God are revealed. The best, though an imperfect, analogy with it is that of the activity of human personality, which while it underlies and sustains the manifold stream of human experience, yet guides it, selects within it, and from time to time decisively intervenes with an immanent power that reveals its transcendent responsibility.

In his book on *Science and the Modern World* Professor Whitehead remarks, "God is the ultimate limitation, and His existence is the ultimate irrationality. For no reason can be given for just that limitation which it stands in His nature to impose. God is not concrete, but He is the ground for concrete actuality. No reason can be given for the nature of God, because that nature is the ground of rationality." It is easy to understand what is meant, but it is strange to speak of "the ground of rationality" as the "ultimate irrationality." The older thinkers set forth the same truth by speaking of God as "The Sufficient Reason." It suffices, both for Reason and Religion, to find in God the eternal realisation of the True, the Beautiful, and the Good, and to discover that His Activity is directed to the triumph of these Values in the spiritual history of the world.

THE GROWTH OF INTERNATIONALISM IN FRANCE.

IT is perhaps peculiarly difficult for us, an island people, with our long history of freedom, our Magna Charta with its habeas corpus clause and our inviolable boundary, the sea, to comprehend the psychology of a Latin nation to whom freedom came much later and with startling suddenness, and whose people have had to live for centuries side by side with a menace of violence that has been more and more feared as the nation became more and more self-conscious, until it has become a veritable bogey. In order to comprehend their point of view, we must realise that the individual French man or woman's attitude towards their native soil is different from our own. After centuries of oppression, freedom came to the mass of French people only with the Revolution, and in trying to understand why "la Patrie" seems to mean so much more to them, one wonders if perhaps at that time the peasant, whose former outlet for his sense of reverence, the Church and the King, had been suddenly and violently destroyed, turned into the patch of soil he then acquired and which meant to him both bread and freedom, that devotion to something outside himself which seems inherent in the heart of man. It appears to the onlooker as if the average Frenchman of to-day, descended from peasant stock, does unconsciously symbolise the soil of France as the altar of that Unknown God whom men ignorantly worship, and offer upon it a devotion that we hardly understand.

One summer, not long ago, passing through a typical French agricultural village, I called to see a peasant woman I had known well during the war, a fine courageous creature, with a family of little children. Her husband came rubbing his eyes from the barn where he was taking his noonday sleep among the hay. "You must excuse him," she said, "he has been in our fields since half past three this morning." She told me that she and the children were with him by half past four, and when I pityingly murmured something about hard work, she turned on me astonished that I did not understand. "But it is our life! We love it, all of us. To work in our own fields, that is our happiness." And I felt that perhaps that family as I saw it in the cool shadow of the house-place in the summer afternoon, the mother with the youngest child, the father drowsy with well-earned mid-day rest, had found a secret of contentment and of happiness that was the basis of something real and permanent.

In the years before the war the fierce spirit of guardianship of

their soil, roused in 1870, had died down to a sub-conscious insularity of mind. The ordinary Frenchman was content to live and work in and for his country—to him the best country in the world. What took place outside it had small interest for him. His newspapers as a rule gave him but little news of other countries and his own was large enough and varied enough to keep him occupied. If foreigners came and settled they received not a welcome but a kindly tolerance. In so far as they were willing to merge themselves into French life they were accepted and became part of it. This tolerance extended not merely to individuals of the same level of civilisation as their own but also to individuals of coloured races who were received quite simply as men and women without distinction of race or colour. (It may be mentioned that the distinctions drawn by democratic America with regard to her coloured troops were utterly incomprehensible to the French mind and gave rise to much contempt and bad feeling during the war.)

There was, of course, the comparatively small class in whom the intellectual qualities which are characteristic of the race had developed to the highest degree, and the world of philosophy, science and art was the only one in which the insular outlook was not prominent. There already an international point of view was attained. Religion, labelled as such, was at a discount. Divorced from the State, the Catholic Church had lost much of its grip on the people. The Protestant section, no longer a persecuted church, was losing its fire and vitality, and was sinking into a static condition of narrow Calvinistic tendencies. Sectarian prejudices and bitterness on both sides made any kind of co-operation impossible.

The great wave of religious revival in England, which earlier had set on foot so many movements for social regeneration, had had an echo in France in a movement within the Catholic Church known as "Le Sillon," whose members were banded together to bring about social betterment through the Christian life. Records of this movement show a glimpse of the fervour that animated the mediæval crusades. For reasons never very clear, the Catholic Church discouraged the growth of "Le Sillon" and it died down, to be revived in 1912 as the "Jeune République," founded to deal especially with the growing evil of the divorce between politics and the everyday life of their country, and to bring Christian ethics into the political field. Partly owing to this divorce, whatever the politicians may have thought in 1914, no one who knows the French believes that they had any idea of what was coming upon them. The war was a psychological shock to the whole people which for a short time staggered them. Then leaped up that

fierce sense of desecrated altars which gave such tremendous and irresistible force to the whole nation and made endurance possible through those long years of war.

The end of it found France exhausted, with a huge problem of material reconstruction to face, and a loss of over a million and a quarter of her young men. Many of these had already realised the need for a new international outlook, but they threw themselves into the struggle with all the ardour of a crusade. Or bowing to a stern necessity, those who would have been leaders to-day of a new and wider thought, gave their lives for an ideal they saw no other way to realise. Into the consciousness of the country, longing to return to the state of things before the war, foreign elements obtruded themselves more and more. A vast mass of foreign soldiers were no sooner got rid of than the lack of man power to carry on industry and agriculture made it essential to call in help from outside and to-day there are said to be over two million eight hundred thousand foreigners in France: Poles, Italians, Portuguese, Spanish; chiefly in agriculture and industry. Whether he wants it or not, the Frenchman is beset with voices from outside his country. His farm or workshop is over-run with foreign labour. His newspapers begin to devote space to international affairs, his wireless gives him news of a world he has not got used to, and does not consciously want. Having thankfully got rid of war, "*laisse-moi tranquille*" is the cry of his heart. It is small wonder that the nationalist point of view, irritated by the irresistible pressure from without, puts up defences and seeks without avail to return to a world in which national isolation was possible.

A sense of insecurity and instability, of being blindly led along paths of which they do not see the destination, is helping to cause a deep unrest and depression to-day. France is passing through the difficult stage of adapting herself to an existence much more closely related to the world outside, and though international thought is penetrating slowly the ancient prejudices and indifferences, leaders are wanted who can help her to replace the lesser by that sense of greater unity in which her fine national characteristics should have so important a part to play. One such leader is Marc Sangnier, the originator of "*Le Sillon*" and "*La Jeune République*." This latter group is the spiritual descendant of "*Le Sillon*" whose religious crusade was advertised in these words, "We see our brothers in all men, whatever their race, their opinions or their belief. We have but one weapon, Truth, and one strength, Love." The group had been scattered during the war and many of their leaders killed. Marc Sangnier, in 1921, decided that the time had come for his movement to stand out for belief in the

brotherhood of all men, and he summoned to a Peace Congress in Paris, organised by the "*Jeune République*," representatives of allies and ex-enemies alike. They met together to begin building peace from a world in ruins. Anyone who knows what opinion was in France at that time will realise the courage that made Germans welcome there. Since that day the movement has spread and grown stronger and deeper. Each year there is a Congress held on International Peace—Paris, Austria, Germany, England, Luxembourg, and this year back in France again. The now famous phrase "*disarmament of hatred*," and the means of bringing about social and international peace, are studied together at these meetings.

This year the call was to the young. The subject of the Congress was Peace through the Youth Movement, and Marc Sangnier's genius saw a vision of the immense effect that a meeting of the youth of the world might have upon the growth of international good feeling. Marc Sangnier has a fine estate near Paris, given up usually to the "*Jeune République*" movement. He demanded tents for a Peace Camp from the French Ministry of War, and obtained them. He mobilised his old comrades of "*Le Sillon*" and his young ones of the "*Jeune République*," and together they organised the wonderful International Month that took place last August. The young people responded to the call and flocked to Bierville literally in thousands. Between five and six thousand were formally inscribed as members, and on the great days when there were special trains from Paris, they say that from fifteen to twenty thousand people were listening to the speeches urging peace and international friendship. Thirty-one nations were represented, and during that time of living, learning and discussing together a real unity of spirit, a "peace atmosphere" was created.

Bierville touches three communes. The inhabitants of that lovely part of the Ile de France welcomed the three thousand or so young Germans with an open and friendly mind, and the Sous-Prefet, with the Mayors of Saclas and Boissy-la-Rivière, joined with Marc Sangnier, who is Mayor of Bierville, in the welcome. It was interesting to hear their warm approval of the peace speeches, and their excellent and sincere additions to them. For the first time the Congress was thoroughly well reported in all the Paris papers. One would expect that such a friend of internationalism as Stephen Vallot of the *Oeuvre* would write warmly, but when it comes to over a column in the *Matin*, pictures and an article in *Excelsior*, etc., one realises how quickly public opinion in France has been moving. The phrase used by the *Matin* in speaking of the young people gathered

there—"It looks as though they had come to Bierville to make peace in intimacy, a sort of family peace, outside politics"—is very illuminating. But the echoes from the provincial Press are still more interesting. From Toulouse, from Marseilles, from the Meuse, from the Pyrenees, the Marne and the Cher, and even from Tunis, come words of appreciation and encouragement of the International effort for Peace. One of these journals quotes, "If you wish for peace, prepare for peace.' May they go on saying it and may they continue their helpful crusade. . . They have the gratitude and support of all men of goodwill."

No one who is interested in France's future should fail to follow the progress of the "*Jeune République*," which has now groups or correspondents in practically every town and fifty-three larger sectional groups each with its secretary. During the year over one thousand friendly gatherings and one hundred and twenty big meetings have been held. Every week their journal (of which many thousand copies are folded, wrapped and sent off each week by the voluntary labour of the comrades in Paris) contains a long list of meetings for the week. Housing, Social Purity, Industrial Peace, International Peace, these are among the subjects taken and treated from the point of view of Christian ethics, and each group is intended to be a school for future members of Parliament. From all these groups members have sent in small sums and great towards the expenses of their Congress. These are published in the *Jeune République* and make instructive reading: "From a group of employees in — bank"; "From a petty officer who fought in the war, to make a return of it impossible"; From an abbé "For the suppression of compulsory military service." The fourteenth subscription of ten francs from "a worker of the Loire," fathers of families and all their children, literally thousands of names from all over the country testifying to the growing feeling of unity and brotherhood with a world outside their borders.

The young people of France are reaching out after some wider horizon than their national boundaries. With their keen minds and ardent spirits they are searching for a steady foundation on which to build their new world. Intellectual co-operation they already understand, material and spiritual co-operation they are learning, in the application of their great motto of "*Liberté, Égalité, Fraternité*" to nations and individuals other than their own. The "*Jeune République*" stands for peace upon a spiritual basis. It is helping France to that new international vision which she so sorely needs; and which alone can save her.

EDITH M. PYE.

THE RELIGION OF REALITY.*

YESTERDAY one hundred and forty-one years ago there died near this spot a man to commemorate whom we are met here, in the church in which he worshipped. Let us ask ourselves why we are drawn to pay this tribute to his memory, rather than to another's, why he inspired in his contemporaries, and still inspires, the reverence and the affection we are in this way endeavouring to express.

In the worldly sense he was not born great, being the son of a provincial bookseller. Nor in the worldly sense did he achieve greatness. Neither was there in his appearance and manner that royalty without force which draws men after it as with cords; he was even rather a grotesque figure, though doubtless his look and voice could transform him, since it is "that which goeth out," that which is of the spirit, which makes or mars a countenance. Nor was his that common canonisation, the pathos of an early and untimely death, for he lived past the three score years and ten. Nor would greater genius as a writer alone, still less greater learning employed as that "harmless drudge," a lexicographer, have given him his lasting power. If we regard him as one of those saints whose names are not to be found in red or black in any calendar, it is because the very stuff of his mind and heart was *reality*, and because reality is one of our greatest needs. And reality in him had two aspects, sincerity and charity.

How commonplace! How dull! Are not most of us sincere and charitable? I hope so. But in the measure in which these great gifts were Johnson's, how rare, and how exhilarating! Sincerity has its place both in speculative thought, where it shows itself as intellectual integrity, and in common life, where it shows itself as a sense of fact. In the first sphere, and especially in faith, Johnson brought to bear a strong and trained power of reasoning, which was not in the least inconsistent with the profoundest and humblest piety, nor, properly understood, with that recorded prayer of his, that his mind might be withdrawn "from unprofitable inquiries and from difficulties vainly curious." Throughout the countless records of his conversations we find that when the deepest subjects emerge, as they seem to have done more often than is natural to-day, they call out from him an effort of the closest and tightest reasoning. He is, in his own phrase, "categorical." Our world, which has adopted, in place of the old clear-cut and childlike legends, a variety of foggy superstitions, its astral planes and

* An Address, delivered at the second annual service at St. Clement Danes Church to commemorate the one hundred and forty-first anniversary of the death of Dr. Johnson, 14th December, 1925.

secret wisdoms, its crystal-gazing, its Bacon-Shakespeare and British-Israel, a world which in fact prefers the mental processes of Miss Carmichael to those of the Doctor, would do well to remember and to imitate that strong and rational sincerity, which would try all things and hold fast to that which was good. I do not doubt that in him, and in all men, this hardness of head is the foundation not only of philosophy, but of faith and of virtue also. Unlettered saints there have been and there are, thank God, in plenty. But they will be seen, though unlettered, to possess something which is not indeed learning, though learning may assist it, yet which is seated in the intelligence, an instinctive resistance to ideas that are both intellectually and spiritually degrading, a clear perception of ultimate values, a recognition of the things that are more excellent. That is a perception, that is a recognition, to which the stupid, whether unlearned or learned, never attain. As a modern gnomic poet observes,

Few can be good like the clever,
Or clever so well as the good.

The late Arthur Clutton-Brock maintained that God prefers good art to bad art. It is at least equally certain that He prefers good thinking to bad thinking.

This sincerity, which looks upon truth as a quest to which we are committed by God, was Johnson's. He was no "light half-believer of a casual creed." In youth, he afterwards related, he had been a sceptic, or at least a "loose talker against religion." We may suppose that his standard of scepticism was low; we may also suppose that what he talked loosely against was less religion than its unworthy official representatives. But the statement shows us that his orthodoxy was not just the common petrification; it was achieved, like all manliness, by what Simonides calls "the sweat of the heart." Again and again in his *Prayers and Meditations* Johnson renews his resolutions to study. He may not have kept them; but he was always clear about that duty. We are apt to think of his Churchmanship as no more than "Toryism in its severe and senile aspects." It was certainly not devoid of robust prejudice; nor was he more disposed to Whiggery in Church than in State. In his indictment of Scotchmen their national Presbyterianism weighed perhaps as heavily as their too frequent presence in England. In both counts, however, there was conscious exaggeration and humour. When deeply and seriously touched his orthodoxy was not really narrow or bitter. He had, it is true, excluded references to Dr. Clarke from his Dictionary, on the ground that Clarke was an Arian. Well, it did not matter very much whether the usage of a word were substantiated from Clarke or from someone else; whim might have its way. But when it did

matter, when the old man was dying, we find him pressing this identical Clarke upon his friends, as being fullest upon the doctrine of the Atonement. He said once, "I love Blair's Sermons. Though the dog is a Scotchman, and a Presbyterian, and everything he should not be, I was the first to praise him." He recommended Boswell to read all the works of Richard Baxter. And there is another story, which I like to remember, how when a friend told him that another friend and his wife had been received into the Roman Church, he simply replied "God bless them both."

There is room for the deepest and subtlest sincerity, less perhaps in faith than in a general attitude towards life. We find Johnson always maintaining a strong sense of the real, and with it, as with a hard and solid object, meeting and shattering shams. He uttered no "platitudes in stained glass attitudes." His experience of life was the solid rock on which his wisdom was founded. For example, then as now men imagined that all good and evil were in the control of governments. What did Johnson say?

How small, of all that human hearts endure,
The part that kings or laws can cause or cure!

The haunting melancholy rhythm of those lines may owe something to mere art; but much more to the depth of human experience of which they are the voice. Johnson knew, better than any man, how great, of all that human hearts endure, the part which is caused by human hearts themselves. He knew how hard the way to that "celestial Wisdom" which

calms the mind

And makes the happiness it does not find.

To dreamers, with their political short cuts to happiness, he opposed reality.

Again, take his attitude towards poverty and wealth. He was in no doubt that poverty is an evil, whatever pretty things are said of it, generally by those who live in warm climates. As he related in after years, "When I was running about this town a very poor fellow, I was a great arguer for the advantages of poverty; but I was at the same time very sorry to be poor." His advice to Boswell was "Resolve never to be poor"; indeed he gave this advice many times, adding the indisputable truth that "poverty makes many virtues difficult, and some impossible." Yet so little did he fall into the opposite unreality of overvaluing wealth that, when shown the beauties of Kedleston Park, and the enthusiastic Boswell exclaimed, "The proprietor of all this must be happy," he replied "Nay, sir, all this excludes but one evil—poverty."

More striking still, perhaps, in spite of his intense feeling for his friends, is his constant resistance to the natural tendency to exaggerate the feeling of grief at their loss, which Mrs. Thrale records;

"for (said he) we must either outlive our friends, or our friends must outlive us, and I see no man that would hesitate about the choice." La Rochefoucauld might have said this, and could not have said it better. Indeed, each man's mind was a plough which never failed to turn the surface of life and lay bare the subsoil of realities. This was the sense of solid fact that made Johnson declare, with some half-humorous exaggeration, that only a blockhead ever wrote but for money, and that a man who did not mind his belly would be found not to mind anything else. Against the glittering and fragile shams of those who proposed to write solely for the love of their fellow men, or to take no thought for what they ate or drank, Johnson's rough truthfulness opposed these cynical epigrams.

Nor did he ever make the smallest pretence to be wiser or better than he was. Openly spoken of as "the venerable sage," he never for a moment played the part, but manfully rejected flattery, explaining that he loved it, but that a little too much disgusted him; in fact his grasp of reality appeared under its common form of a sense of humour, which we may well class, with clear thinking, among the graces necessary to a Christian man. Nor was a sense of humour alone in saving him from complacency. We now can witness, in reading his intensely moving *Prayers and Meditations*, what was of necessity hidden from his contemporaries, the agony of humiliation, of remorse, of the fear of death, of pitifully renewed, neglected and again renewed vows and resolutions. Take for example this:

1765

April 7, about 3 in the morning.

I purpose again to partake of the blessed Sacrament; yet when I consider how vainly I have hitherto resolved, at this annual commemoration of my Saviour's death, to regulate my life by His laws, I am almost afraid to renew my resolutions. Since the last Easter I have reformed no evil habit, my time has been unprofitably spent, and seems as a dream that has left nothing behind. My memory grows confused, and I know not how the days pass over me.

Good Lord, deliver me.

It is surely the same sense of wasted talent here expressed which gives the depth and pathos to his lines on old Levett, that

Sure the Eternal Master found
The single talent well employed.

The man that wrote this could not conceivably play the Colossus or the Sage. We must remember that his religious melancholy and despair were due in part directly to congenital and lifelong ill-health, that "vile melancholy" which he inherited from his father, in part indirectly to the same cause through the indolence which it produced, and which he rightly deplored as his besetting sin.

He seems, indeed, to have been half aware of this; for he read medical books with a view to his own case.* But he never makes the smallest excuse for himself, nor suggests that he was blameless for a life which (though, thank God, "cheerfulness kept breaking in") he could truthfully call "radically wretched." On his deathbed he insisted that he would have "no opium"; and those two words of courage might well be the motto for the whole of his life.

He was, indeed, a very human man, not in the least impeccable, still less self-righteous. Great Christian though he was, he never came to command with perfect sureness that courtesy which is a daily and no ignoble part of Christianity. He might at times play "Ursa major," he could even be brutal, though he was always eager to apologise when he had offended in this kind. And in food and drink, as Boswell notes, his strong animal nature could abstain, but could not be temperate.

But there is another Saint, a Saint in the Calendars, who is there because she loved much. A man who has endured hardness, who has been acquainted with sorrows, is sometimes hardened into insensibility. Johnson's heart was enlarged, his grasp of the real unimpaired. He was not in the least addicted to a vapid and unmeaning benevolence towards the race at large; like his friend Bathurst, he hated a fool and he hated a rogue; but towards the unfortunate and the outcast his own wretchedness, past and present, made him infinitely pitiful and tender, "of every friendless name the friend." When he was given his modest pension, he did not sit down with the comfortable reflection, *suave mari magno*; he distributed, so far as we can make out, about two-thirds of it in helping those who were poorer and more helpless than himself. He added to his household of queer, infirm, destitute, and (it must be added) very quarrelsome old dependants, and what is more, he endured them to the end of their lives or his own. On the hard inhospitable cobbles of Fleet Street and the Strand he found poor harlots starving: regardless of his reputation he took them to taverns, fed them, and heard their tales. Once at least he carried one home to his house and nursed her. It is curious and pleasant to reflect that Shelley did the same thing. One trembles to imagine what, had he been able to converse with Shelley, would have been Johnson's part in the debate. But, though the theory of either would have been anathema to the other, on the ground of common human loving-kindness these two great men, the dreamer of dreams and the stout retailer of common sense, are at one.

That he feared death made him the more tender of life and above

* This was clearly the attraction which made Burton's *Anatomy of Melancholy* the only book to read which he ever got out of bed two hours earlier than he would otherwise have done.

all the more tenacious of old loves. Rooted, it may be, in weakness, this is one of the most beautiful flowers of the heart. Johnson's heart was full of it. His early married life with his Tetty was no forgotten far-off thing to him, but constantly commemorated. The letters of Molly Aston, who was his first love, were the last, he said, that he would destroy. He was a tender son to his old mother; his private record of his last prayers and communion with Kitty Chambers, the old friend and inmate of the Lichfield family, is too sacred and too moving to quote. Perhaps the most notable instance is the well-known story of how he did penance in the market place at Uttoxeter for having many years before proudly refused to keep his father's bookstall there, by standing for an hour bareheaded on the spot. One can imagine the scene: the busy market place, the great figure standing there like a grotesque statue; the wonder, perhaps the laughter, of the passers-by; and in the heart of Johnson remorse and sorrow.

Like most of us, he extended his human affection to the scenes in which he had been happy. When he visited Lichfield he kissed an old willow tree, under which he had doubtless played as a child. On leaving Streatham for the last time after Thrall's death he did the same thing, kissing the stones of Streatham Church; and he bade farewell to the library there, where he had passed happy hours.

"I was called early (he wrote in his diary). I packed my bundles. . . . Being earlier than the family I read St. Paul's farewell in the Acts [XX. 17-end] and then read fortuitously in the Gospels, which was my parting use of the library."

These symbolic, almost ceremonial, acts, are only another expression of the same spirit. Life and its loves are short; they are real, let us make the most of them for ourselves and others. Above all, no opium.

Quia multum amavit. It is the old, the availing plea. And as he prayed for the souls of those he had loved, "Tetty and the others," but with the humble and orthodox reservation "so far as it may be lawful," even so many to-day, less careful of authority, and confident that all prayers are heard in the measure of the spirit in which they are uttered, may surely pray for his. There is none of us at least, who cannot, in a time when men build on the sands, learn from Johnson to lay his foundation on the solid rock.

ARUNDELL ESDAILE.

NAPOLEON'S YOUNGEST MARSHAL: A CENTENARY.

"*Malheureusement, les Souverains ne peuvent pas improviser des hommes celui-là.*"—Napoleon on Suchet.

IT is, perhaps, something of a commonplace to say that Louis Suchet was one of the most brilliantly and consistently successful among Napoleon's twenty-six Marshals. He was, in fact, scarcely ever defeated in the field, while most of his many victories may be fairly said to have been the outcome of a thoroughly sound judgment allied to a natural talent for war, for organisation, and for strategical combination. High as was the position to which he eventually attained, it is a remarkable proof of the amount of military talent at his Imperial master's disposal that Suchet's extraordinary merits were not more adequately recognised at an earlier date. In character he would appear to have been of a benevolent, just, and winning disposition, yet with an ample sufficiency of the stern character of the proved soldier. He survived until 1826, a hundred years ago.

Though belonging to the bourgeois class, Louis-Gabriel Suchet was better born than the majority of Napoleon's lieutenants. A child of the south—Lyons and March 2nd, 1770 were the place and date of his birth respectively—he was thus several months younger than the Man of Destiny himself. His father, worthy man, was a prosperous silk manufacturer who desired that, as soon as his son's college course was completed, he also should adopt that eminently respectable and thriving occupation. But the mutterings of the storm of the Revolution "*changée la direction de sa vie.*" In this case there is no sudden flight from home, no story of the ardent love of a warrior's career checked and stifled by a stern parent, to unfold. No: Louis-Gabriel quietly volunteered for the army, openly and in his native city, one fine day in 1792. "He would be a soldier," and his youthful choice—he was now twenty-two—fell upon a cavalry regiment of the National Guard of Lyons. His merits made themselves so speedily conspicuous that within a twelvemonth he was, as chief of the 4th Battalion, serving at the siege of Toulon. During these operations he was responsible for the capture of General O'Hara.

Suchet missed scarcely one battlefield of the earlier brilliant campaigns of the Republican army in Italy. At Loano his regiment captured three Austrian standards, and at Cerea he was so severely wounded in the shoulder that he was compelled to remain resting in Paris for several months. He was again wounded at Neumark (April 2nd, 1797); in fact, in some four years he had assisted at

about a score of battles and been badly wounded twice. Oddly enough, we find the name of Louis-Gabriel Suchet figuring in the list of *émigrés* of the period; and under that infamous system so dearly beloved of "the worst government by which France was ever cursed" he might have lost his liberty, or, at all events, his position in the army, but for the intervention of General Joubert, in whom Suchet lost a good friend by his heroic death at the disastrous battle of Novi. The campaign of Egypt followed.

The young officer next served under Brune in Switzerland, and by him was entrusted with the honourable function of being the bearer to Paris of twenty-five flags taken from the enemy. Now came Masséna's immortal defence of Genoa, when Soult and Suchet were his principal subordinates, the latter having been promoted General of Division. He did not, however, participate in the capitulation of the place when Masséna was finally driven back upon the defences of Genoa, but escaped along the seashore with some 10,000 troops. The sequel to this escape was a forced march and a daring attack upon the Austrians, when he secured many prisoners and guns. These events added enormously to Suchet's steadily-increasing repute as a skilful and resourceful leader. The peace of 1802 brought him a temporary respite from active service, but when the "Army of England" was being concentrated along the coast-line, he was given command of the 4th Division, quartered at the camp of St. Omer. It was therefore with feelings of relief that the young General, burning for fresh opportunities of distinction, led his division across Europe when, on the morrow of Trafalgar, the camp was finally broken up and the new struggle with Austria commenced.

In this and the ensuing campaign, Suchet's division formed a component part of the 5th Corps of the Grand Army. It participated in the glories of Ulm and Austerlitz; and on the memorable autumn evening when the Imperial troops inscribed "Iéna" on their standards, it had the honour of leading the attack. By torch-light the Emperor passed in front of Suchet's expectant troops, and addressed them in those piercing tones of his: "Soldiers! the Prussian army is outflanked as the Austrian was at Ulm a year ago. Fear not its renowned cavalry: oppose to their charge firm squares and the bayonet!" In this sanguinary campaign of Prussia, Suchet's division was made up of the 17th *Léger*, the 34th, 40th, 64th and 88th of the Line, and the 9th and 10th Hussars. I should have mentioned, however, that a few days before Iéna it was this division, practically unsupported, which won the smaller but scarcely less brilliant battle of Saalfeld, capturing fifteen guns. It was here that the gallant, devil-may-care, immoral Prince Louis Ferdinand of Prussia was killed in single combat by the Quarter-

master Guindé (himself subsequently slain at Hanau in 1813) of Suchet's 10th Hussars. The dashing Prince Louis' death in this campaign had been predicted by Napoleon. He was only thirty-four.

Iéna brought Suchet the Grand Eagle of the Legion of Honour and a present from the Emperor of twenty thousand francs.

After the Treaty of Tilsit he was occupied, with Generals Tolstoy and Wittgenstein on the part of Russia, in the comparatively uninspiring task of delimitating the line of demarcation of the newly-constituted Duchy of Warsaw. In 1809 two events of great moment took place in his life. He married and was created a Count of the Empire, and was given a responsible position in Spain—his first independent command. The lady of his choice was Mademoiselle Antonie de St. Joseph, daughter of the Mayor of Marseilles. Scarcely had their wedding-bells ceased ringing, when he was torn from the arms of his bride to assume command of the Army of Aragon. In this lurid sphere of action, Suchet and his coadjutors had to face the dual task of fighting the Spanish armies and maintaining Joseph Bonaparte on the throne of Spain. Suchet's principal opponent in the Peninsula was the celebrated Joachim Blake, who at their first encounter (May 23rd, 1809) actually succeeded in inflicting a reverse upon him. This is known as the battle of Alcanitz, and the French, who numbered 8,700 against 12,000, were repulsed. But on June 15th the French, reinforced, attacked them on the plains of Zarragossa. Blake's position was ill-chosen. Suchet observed this error, and by a vigorous effort broke through Blake's brigade of horse, and cut off his retreat. The darkness saved him, but he lost twenty-five guns. On the French side General Harispe was disabled and a thousand men killed or wounded.

Three days later, the Spanish leader faced Suchet again at the little Aragonese town of Belchite, only to be routed with the loss of 4,000 prisoners and all his remaining guns and baggage. Now followed the long siege of Gerona by Marshal St. Cyr, who reduced it in November while Suchet held the surrounding country. The latter, after months of success and the reduction of many lesser fortresses, sat down before Tarragona and took it after a three months' siege. That city was sacked—and this appears to have been the one serious blot upon Suchet's military escutcheon.* "Amid the cries and deeds of devils," says one slightly biased historian, "the French troops slaughtered 6,000 people. Suchet was also active in other quarters, and reduced Murviedro and other fortresses. He seemed to avenge himself, by his conquests and his cruelties, for the disgraces which the French arms suffered from the British in the west of the Penin-

* Compare the sack of San Sebastian by Wellington's army, after the storming in 1813.

sula,"—this being a reference, doubtless, to Wellington's brilliant overthrow of the veterans of Ney and Masséna

"on grim Busaco's iron ridge."

Suchet, "having passed Castellon de la Plana, masked Pensicola, invested Oropesa, and skirmished at Almansora," brought the Spanish generalissimo to battle in front of Saguntum on October 25th, 1811. This time Blake's losses amounted to 5,000. Napoleon now sent Suchet a reinforcement of 15,000 men under General Reillé. He next drove Blake into Valencia, where a starving population of 50,000 loudly clamoured for a capitulation. The concentrated bombardment of sixty siege-guns forcing Blake to abandon his camp, he retired into the city, and only gave up his sword on the threat of a rising by the citizens. The capitulation was carried into effect on January 9th, 1812, and it comprised "twenty-two generals, 893 other officers, and 18,000 men as prisoners of war; leaving in the hands of the enemy eighty stand of colours, 2,000 horses, 390 pieces of cannon, 40,000 stand of arms, 180,000 pounds of powder, and 3,000,000 ball-cartridges, with a vast store of other warlike munition." Blake himself, too important a personage to be exchanged, was sent captive to Paris, and he did not serve again against the French in Spain, albeit he survived until 1827.

Suchet, who had received the bâton of a Marshal after the fall of Tarragona, was now ennobled by the title of Duke of Albufera.

He escaped—if that be the correct expression—the terrible Russian campaign of 1812. For the Emperor still had need of him in the Iberian Peninsula, where the "Spanish ulcer" had already proved fatal to the military reputations of at least two Marshals (Masséna and Augereau) and to those of many other officers. No less for his tact than for his strategy, the Marshal-Duke of Albufera had proved immeasurably the most successful of the French commanders in Spain, where Napoleon was compelled to maintain a standing army of not less than 200,000. It was only by the fortune of war that Suchet had so little opportunity of meeting British troops in the field. He did, however, encounter a wing of Wellington's army under Sir Rowland (afterwards Lord) Hill in the course of 1812, after Marmont's defeat at Salamanca. Hill compelled Suchet to fall back from Toledo, which the British then occupied and thus cut the French communications with Madrid from the south. Suchet fared better against O'Donnel—the most capable leader of the Spaniards that he encountered after Blake—whom he utterly routed, O'Donnel's men throwing away ten thousand muskets in their flight. A force was now drawn from Sicily, under General Maitland, designed to co-operate with Wellington in driving Marshals Soult and Suchet from the south; but these numbered only 6,000,

and were a mere rabble of Sicilian and other "vagabonds." Yet, such as it was, this contingent landed at Alicante on August 9th, 1812. "Suchet, who was lying in sight of that port, immediately retired, and Maitland, so long as he retired, marched after him and occupied the country; but, soon hearing that King Joseph was marching to reinforce Suchet and that Soult was likely to join them, he again evacuated the country, cooped himself up in Alicante, and lay there, of no use whatever as a diversion in favour of Wellington."

Generally speaking, however, matters were going from bad to worse with the Imperial cause. In 1813, the year of Wellington's crowning victory of Vittoria and of the rising in Germany against Napoleon, Suchet found himself compelled to disarm his German regiments and march them into France under guard. Not only this, but he had to send some of his best French regiments to reinforce the Emperor, and some of his Italian ones to oppose the Austrians in Italy. It was becoming obvious that the end was in sight. In the spring of 1814, after Soult's defeat before Toulouse, we find him writing to Suchet that he could hold that place no longer and was falling back to Villefranche, twenty-four miles away. But meanwhile Napoleon's abdication was already an accomplished fact, and on April 18th-19th conventions were concluded between Wellington and the two French Marshals for the cessation of hostilities. In Tennysonian phrase—

"Follow'd up in valley and glen
With blare of bugle, clamour of men,
Roll of cannon and clash of arms,
And England pouring on her foes,
Such a war had such a close."

After the ensuing restoration of the House of Bourbon, Suchet accepted the rank of Peer of France from Louis XVIII and lived quietly until the spring of 1815. With the return of Napoleon from Elba, however, he found it impossible to refrain from a return to his old allegiance. By the Emperor he was charged with the defence of the south-west frontier of France, so that he played no particularly active or prominent part in the campaign of the Hundred Days. Neither could he very bitterly complain of being deprived of his Bourbon peerage after the second Imperial débâcle; but this was restored to him in 1819. The Marshal-Duke passed away at his château of Saint-Joseph, near Marseilles, early in 1826, in the fifty-seventh year of his age.

We are assured, both by Las Cases and by Dr. O'Meara, that Napoleon stated at St. Helena his considered opinion that Masséna—"l'enfant chéri de la victoire"—came first, and Suchet second, in point of military merit among his generals.

PERCY CROSS STANDING.

FROM A CALIFORNIAN ORANGE RANCH.

THESE is magic in the word California. It conjures up visions of a Kingdom of the Sun, a land of plenty. There are people to whom the names of Los Angeles and Hollywood simply spell Moving Pictures, for the fierce white light that beats upon a throne pales beside that which beats upon the screen; but long before the cinema was invented this was a romantic land and essentially a fruit-growing one, and though many other industries have arisen, this retains its old picturesqueness. So I count it a kindly fortune which enabled me to know intimately an orange ranch which is admittedly one of the most beautiful in the State. It is many years since I first passed through its territory, on the occasion of my first journey from coast to coast. I had thoroughly enjoyed it, the pleasant halts in pleasant places where hospitality had abounded. Then the overwhelming magnificence of the Grand Cañon and the strange fascination of the Desert. The month was May, and instead of the arid waste of sand, this was a garden of unfamiliar wild flowers. Even the spiky hostile cacti were bestarred with delicate blossoms of pink or yellow, while on all sides towered the spires of yuccas with their carillons of creamy bells. There was the usual halt at Albuquerque where clever Mr. Fred Harvey, of Santa Fé fame, contrives that the tourist may have a maximum view of Indian life and civilisation in a minimum of time, and then—hey presto—a transformation scene, and an earthly paradise. Perhaps the dramatic appeal of the Golden State is enhanced by the contrast of the approach which under some circumstances may be very forbidding, but suddenly one plunges into never to be forgotten scenery, a background of snowy mountain peaks, a foreground of white houses, gay gardens, and miles and miles of orange groves. In those days all was new to me, and little could I foretell, when the bellowing engine swung the heavy cars along and cut right across two stately avenues of palm trees, that the white house tucked away at the end of one of them would one day become one of the many temporary homes in my wandering life.

Still it is of more recent experiences that I would write, of those days and weeks spent last year at Azusa, for that is the euphonious name, like a caress, of the bright little modern town which stands where the Padres of the picturesque Spanish days once pastured their flocks and herds. A broad motoring road from Los Angeles leads to the double palm avenues, about a quarter of a mile long, and at the end of each lies a ranch house, for the entire property of some five hundred acres belongs to two sisters. One

of them lives all the year round in the country and is known locally as La Padrona, the other comes and goes intermittently, her town house being in the City of the Angels some thirty miles away; but the place is dear to the hearts of each and everything is done to improve the estate and the welfare of all those who work upon it.

Much time did I spend at the ranch during the hot summer months and I revelled in the luxuriant gardens, in the flicker of sunlight on the great glades of hydrangeas or on the rosy blossoms of the crêpe myrtles planted between the majestic palms; but in spite of copious watering the paths were dry and dusty and the sun was too strong to permit of much activity. So it was October before my town hostess and I went to stay for any length of time, trusting that some heavy showers would soon lay the dust and cool the air, and in this we were not disappointed. How gladly we welcomed an overcast sky and the promise of rain! How joyous we were when at length a kindly storm burst upon us and the rain lashed while the trees turned up their dirty faces to be kissed and washed clean. And after that once again a sky of flawless blue, and the mountains, which for weeks had been veiled by dust and the smoke of a devastating forest fire, stood out once again in clear-cut relief, while from the ground and from the trees came intoxicating odours, pungent, sweet, delicious, from health-giving eucalyptus, fragrant loquat, and the "false" blossoms of the orange orchards bordering on the gardens. And with these scents came a feeling of exaltation, a longing to scale the hills and peep over on the other side, an early premonition of spring madness to which I have ever been a victim. And it was this which impelled me to follow the zig-zag trail leading from the back of the house into the surrounding country. At first it wound its way through characteristic vegetation, silvery aromatic sage, and the gay flowers of the scarlet bugler, though this was not the season in which to look for wildflowers. The withered spikes of the yuccas (Spanish Bayonettes or Candlesticks of the Madonna) were hung with pendant green seedpods instead of the creamy cups of May and June and had I broken open one probably several caterpillars would have made their appearance. For here we have a desert idyll. To the fragrant cups in the summertime come fluttering the white moths which are indispensable to the fertilisation of the plant, and it is to the unromantic-looking offspring of the moths that the pods in return offer hospitality for past favours.

But despite the lack of flowers such as exists in the spring, there was a certain magic abroad which carried me to the top of the first hill from which I could look down upon the stony bed of the St. Gabriel River and upon the bared sides of the fire-swept mountains. The path led on over the ridge of a saddleback calling to me to follow,

leading me up to a tiny white look-out house with a table upon which I lay full length, looking north, south, east and west, on mountains and valleys, on the neat little town of Glendora with its palatial high school, on the orange groves, the trees of which had assumed the proportions of children's toys. Yes, the world was very good. The little path again ran on and again I followed. Then it did what paths and people often do—came to an abrupt end, and I knew that I had made a mistake. So back to the little white house and down a new trail leading into Glendora, a walk along the high road and the eucalyptus avenue, hot and happy, to find my prolonged absence had caused the greatest anxiety and that a band of men were being despatched from the Packing House armed with bandages and with a stretcher upon which to carry me home! I was duly apologetic. How could I explain spring madness in the autumn? Spring madness in middle age? What folly! But once again it prevailed, and I stole away early in the morning and wound my way up the trail. And it was then that I sat and watched the sun rise and cast his beams over the land and listened to the mysterious rustle in the bushes as the birds came to life and to the honey sweet jubilation of a meadowlark in a field below.

But it is of the Ranch itself that I would especially write, of those well tended acres in which at that time the oranges were turning into golden balls recalling to my mind the Christmas tree ornaments which, as a child, my soul desired so much more than the present allotted to me, to the mortification of my elders. Much might be written about the beauty of an orange tree, of its compact symmetry, its glossy leaves, its continuous charm from the time when the scented blossoms, laden with romantic associations, cover the trees which are simultaneously laden with fruit, to the time when the petals drop to the ground in a snowy ring leaving the pistils to form the future harvest. In every phase there is loveliness. But from a practical point of view disappointment often underlies the beauty, even in a place like this where crops are raised under the most favourable conditions—on a southern slope, in good soil and with ample irrigation. I had been told that decomposed granite was what the trees liked best, but apparently both sandy and clay loams suit them as well, and therein flourish the main crop of navels and valencias, with a sprinkling of lemons, grapefruit and tangerines. But there are many perils, pests of all varieties including the ubiquitous red spider, and scale of many hues, black and purple, and a particular sort known as citrococola. Then there are devastating winds which may do untold harm in a single night, and above all there is fatal frost. Should the thermometer sink to 28 degrees then goodbye to the lemon crop, and if to 26 degrees farewell to the oranges!

For the first part of our visit there was no fear of the last contingency. Fumigation was, however, in process on account of the pests, hydrocyanic acid being used for that purpose, but I learned with interest that man can call to his aid two influential assistants to help him fight his enemies. These are a particular variety of lady-bird and a small white fly which are bred and liberated for their invaluable help. These allies cannot entirely control the situation but they can do much good work. It is all these funny little details which make the cultivation of crops so fascinating. Even the humble covercrops of purple vetch and milletotus clover play their important part in nature's chemistry, for the bacteria in the tiny nodules that grow on the roots take up the nitrogen out of the air, and that nitrogen is liberated when the land is ploughed in the spring and contributes its gift to the trees.

Of the wind I can speak from experience, for one night a storm arose without any warning. To me, with no orange crop at stake, it seemed possessed of an eerie fascination. Perhaps it was because on my sleeping porch I seemed to be in touch with the wide world outside, a part-conspirator. In a moment everything became alive: even my static bedclothes, usually so smug and well behaved, showed a marked inclination to float off heavenwards like pale ghosts, and had to be treated with stern severity and made to understand their proper places. Then, when they were firmly secured, how pleasant it was to lie in their warmth looking out into a world white with moonlight and to watch the strange behaviour of the trees. In future no one will ever persuade me that these beautiful beings do not lead curious lives of their own. The plummy eucalyptus of the upper drive, usually so sedate, had thrown off all disguises. Trees? They were wild Bacchantes, springing, leaping in the direction where I lay rolled up and rocking as though in a boat. Perhaps I slept a little, but all the time I felt conscious of those dark monsters striving to reach me, and of a near-by sycamore tossing her gleaming white arms up and down like a skirt dancer. Oh yes, it was all very exciting, primitive and savage, with the wind whistling and the branches snapping in every direction. The next morning all was calm again, the ground strewn with wreckage, but the trees standing so demurely as though no wild sap had ever pulsed through their veins, as though they had never wantoned wildly with the wind. But I knew for all time the secrets of those tall eucalyptus, untidy slatterns that they are, bursting through their well-worn bark in order to display tender pastel shades of green and grey and pink, painted so smoothly by the cunning artist who differs widely from the one who chunks the colour on to the trunks of the sycamores, a true Impressionist. One can visualise his palette. These trees of his abound at the Ranch,

from the so-called "Picnic Tree" with ancient propped up arms (one who could reveal a great deal of private family history) to the bunch of youthful debutantes, ready to dance with every tiny breeze that chances to come along. There are innumerable other sorts as well, including the Flame tree which blazes its blossoms up to heaven, and palms of all descriptions, the date, coco, and the indigenous variety of Southern California, all of them lending a tropical note. At the Ranch, where all is neat and tidy, the dead leaves of the native palms are cut off and used for packing and wrapping, but where they are allowed to hang on the trunks year in year out, the trees present a strange aspect suggesting the mediæval conception of the penitent Magdalen or that of a Hula Hula dancer, according to the temperament of the beholder.

One of the most characteristic trees of California however is the Live Oak, a species of *ilex*, and in the spreading branches of one of the finest on the estate has been fashioned a Tree House, such as would rejoice the heart of any child brought up in the traditions of the Swiss Family Robinson. Despite the many waves that have washed upon the shores of that singularly self-contained island since my youth, the charm still holds good, and I was never tired of sitting aloft, listening to the busy life of the tiny wild things. In the distance a quail would be reiterating his polite "I thank you, I thank you," a smart top-knotted compact little gentleman who would probably appear later with his "two little, four little, six little, eight little, ten little, twelve little wives," though perhaps I asperse him by the quotation. Then the sound of sharp grinding teeth would break the silence, and looking up into the branches I would see the black eyes of a grey squirrel surveying me critically, his bushy tail curled over his back while he demolished an *ilex* acorn, and below on the ground his relations would be hunting for their buried treasures, bounding along like animated croquet hoops. A squirrel finds his way to my heart at once. I love the courtly approach, the tiny hand upon the heart; but like many a courtly gentleman what highly coloured language he can use! Squirrelese and the vocabulary of the blue jay may be analogous, but whereas the squirrel never ceases to be a gentleman, the blue jay is merely a gorgeously appressed profiteer who trusts to his superb raiment to conceal his vulgarity.

Most Californian birds are brilliantly coloured, but are more remarkable for their beauty than for their song. The more sober black and white mocking-birds are the leading vocalists, singing by night as well as by day, but not so much at the time of which I am now writing. One of the sweetest songsters (if limited) is the meadowlark to whom I have already alluded. Over and over again he repeats his joyous melody, like the bubbling of a happy little fountain. In the garden

there would often be the golden glint of an oriole and a flash of the russet wing of the flicker, a handsome kind of woodpecker, but not so beautiful as his black and white cousins with the scarlet heads who spent so much of their time in tap-tapping outside my sleeping porch. A large bird with a cinnamon breast and spangled black and white wings was usually to be found in the bushes skirting the path from the Tree House to the Ranch House. I did so wish he would sit still and allow me to look at him, but he always flew rather heavily into sheltering obscurity, whereupon I took paper and pen and wrote to my friend, Mr. Leon Dawson, the celebrated oologist who has brought out a lordly series of volumes on the Birds of California. He wrote me a charming letter in reply and said he thought I had been lucky enough to see a Black Headed Grosbeak, rather an unusual bird. Lawn sprayers, in this land of little rain, play a large part in gardens, practical little fountains whose waters swirl round and round and catch the dancing sunlight which breaks into tiny rainbows. These are beloved of the darting black and white flycatchers which are to be found on most lawns, and I could always count on finding a couple in front of the house where the sprayers worked, just as I knew that in the drive there would be burnished green humming birds hovering over the banks of long sprayed purple *salvia*, or thrusting their curved beaks into the crimson trumpets of the *bignonia* cascading over the trees.

Flowers, birds, sunshine. Yet winter was at hand, a winter, however, hardly noticeable between autumn and spring. Already, thanks to the rains, a soft haze of green was visible on the hills and under the silvery olives. The sky was still of the deepest blue, yet there were signs of a change, a crimson flush on many trees and a golden chaplet hanging from the big elm on the lawn. It was much pleasanter to walk in the cooler weather and there was much to see in regard to the working of the Ranch. I was taken to the Packing House where all the business is transacted, and to the Model Village which was built in 1921 for the married Mexican workers, twelve nice little houses, each one set in its own garden. They are built of hollow tiles, and are fireproof. Each one has a kitchen, bathroom, bedroom and a living room. What the bath is used for I did not inquire, but at all events it is a symbol of evolution! In Azusa itself I visited the clinic, an excellent institution adjoining a large playground in which stands a palm-thatched shelter where brown babies roll and play all day in the sandpile. The clinic is as much a social centre for the women and children as the reading room is for the men. To it are brought the babies to be weighed and tended. On different days of the week different first class doctors give their services gratis, and a permanent nurse is in charge to give advice for the asking and to look after the patients who go there for minor operations. The removal of tonsils

is one which finds high favour in the eyes of the children, for does it not spell icecream for several days? That is the reason why when La Padrona (in whose kind heart the thought of the clinic first arose) drives down the streets of Azusa in her blue Packard, brown skinned children dance along by its side pointing down their throats to intimate the necessity for immediate operations. And it is not only the babies who take an interest in that blue car which has become a symbol of alleviation for all the woes of mankind, for it was an old Mexican who was heard to declare solemnly that when La Padrona dies she will go straight to heaven in it, a pleasing and up-to-date version of the Translation of Elijah.

No wonder they adore her, this American woman, who though of an alien creed to theirs, enters so wholeheartedly not only into their sorrows but into their joys. Was it not she who lent the handsome striped red and white tent for the dancing which gave so much distinction to the local Jamaica, (By the way, for the uninitiated this word is pronounced "Hymyka." This is a kind of fair, and at Azusa it is held in the playground. In it booths are arranged and covered in greenery to which are attached innumerable electric bulbs of various colours. Most of the people who attended the one at which I was present were Mexicans, or Mission Indians or half-breeds of sorts, and the whole scene seemed curiously exotic for the United States. Chief interest centred round the place where a complicated kind of lottery connected with beans and pictures and prizes was being carried on, but as my intelligence failed to grasp its intricacies, I sought to give satisfaction by eating a Chicken Tamale, made out of heaven knows what, coated in cornmeal and wrapped round in the leaves of the corn cob which were peeled off for me by lean brown fingers. An authentic Tamale, one whose lineage permits investigation, is a delicate dish; but at the Jamaica my mind was full of dark suspicions, which I did my best to sit upon mentally as I balanced myself on the hard bench of the booth. For heart and stomach seemed so often allied, and I wanted to be liked by these kindly black-eyed people who were so anxious to please me, not on my own account, but because I was a friend of La Padrona. After the meal I was placed on a seat of honour under the red and white awning of the dancing tent, and various celebrities were brought up and introduced. There was the nice-looking young man with the beautiful manners, the improviser of "Discorsi" at the Fiestas, and mothers of large families with the latest babies in their arms, and attractive looking girls with the blood of many nations in their veins, a motley throng.

Soon after the Jamaica we returned to Los Angeles, for Thanksgiving and its attendant festivities were upon us. Very sorry was I to say good-bye to the cheery little house and to my white porch which framed the picture of mountain range and trees; most sorry

of all to leave the garden where the roses were still in bloom and the Magnolia Stellata was bursting into blossom, while in the adjacent groves the orange trees were weighed down with their golden freight like those in the Garden of Hesperides. But danger lurked despite the deceptive warmth, and when we drove away from the Ranch every acre had been supplied with funny little black guardian angels to fight against the demon of frost that might appear any night and destroy the crop, which luckily had suffered but little from the wind storm. These guardians are known technically as Smudge Pots, and have, in recent years, changed considerably in figures like the feminine form divine. They too have followed the dictates of a fashion which decrees the long line and fewer curves. But there is a sound reason for this variation. The old Smudge Pot could only hold a small quantity of oil, and drew an enormous amount of attention to its services by covering the land with a pall of smoke, which besides being unpleasant was also useless, heat alone being effectual in raising the surrounding temperature by five degrees. So a new type with a long chimney and elongated body, with a capacity for a three days' supply of oil, has been invented by Mr. Paul Buckley. About forty of these are allotted to an acre, and it was good to know at the end of November that they were all on guard. It was about three weeks after that their services were required and I regretted I was not on the spot to see what must have been a Dantesque scene, men tearing round the groves on motor cycles igniting the pots with their flaming torches, and thanks to their efforts and to Mr. Buckley's smudgers, the Azusa Ranch was able to save its crop while other orchards suffered badly from an unusually sharp frost.

I would like to have seen the rest of the cycle, the harvesting of the fruit and the packing, but by inexorable emigration laws I might not outstay my six months' welcome and had to be out of the States by January 1st. Consequently I had to rely on what I was told with regard to the great care with which the fruit has to be handled. Should an orange be damaged by even the scratch of a fingernail or bruised in any way, decay will set in throughout a whole box in transit. For that reason all those engaged in packing have to wear gloves. Had it not been for the sugar test I might have seen something of the handling, as the crop was an early one and the fruit was ripe enough to pick, but government does not allow the shipping of oranges till this test has been passed in order to prevent the sale of "sweated" fruit. In this trade as in all others there are the inevitable tricks practised by the less reputable firms and it was a source of wealth to the unscrupulous when it was discovered that sour, anæmic oranges could be transformed into brilliantly coloured balls by placing them in a warm room with high humidity. But, alas, for those deceived! And now Californian

oranges are like Cæsar's wife, above suspicion, eight parts acid to one part sugar, which we will hope was not the ratio in the nature of that august lady.

My last visit to the Ranch had little to do with fruit. I had been bidden to La Padróna's for luncheon to be followed by a performance of a Nativity Play. The lunch was a cheery affair, at which a darkey "girl" served up wondrous dishes in "southern style." But my hostess was upset. She gave us a vivid account of what had gone wrong. The Mexican Band which was to have provided the music for the play had been suffering from dissension, and at the last moment an asthmatical American organ had been requisitioned as a substitute. Here she grew eloquent. This thing should never happen again. She herself was going to be the proud possessor of a drum with attachments, and in future she would provide a whole orchestra by herself and shame all delinquents. We drove to the playground where I recognised many of my former friends of the Jamaica. There was a large stage covered with greenery, branches of eucalyptus and pepper trees. The organ wheezed out a prelude and then the great moment arrived. All eyes were fixed upon the approaching procession of white garbed figures with marvellously curled heads. These took up their positions by the stage. The curtains were drawn (with the usual difficulty) and the scene was displayed. There was a diminutive house with the word *Posada* writ large, so that there might be no mistake, and a tinier building outside of which (for the very excellent reason that it could not have been contained within) was the straw-filled Manger. The white figures began to sing the friendly familiar hymns and carols, but in three languages, English, Latin and soft Spanish, *Noche de Luz* echoing out as another procession arrived. There was a tall boy in blue whose rôle I did not grasp for a second, but he proved to be the proprietor of the *Posada*, and after him came Joseph and Mary, the Child already in her arms, followed by the Shepherds, Angels and Three Kings. Very charmingly and very reverently was the ever old and ever new story enacted under these unusual conditions. Very earnest was the little Madonna; in fact all took their rôles with sobriety, though I think the part the Shepherds liked best was when they were found on the wrong side of the stage and were bidden to crawl on hands and knees under the platform. But the merry faces were all composed again before they appeared on the stage, where the tinsel star was pointed out to them by one of the loveliest of children, and then came the final pageant of the Adoration. Such is the little Play acted in Azusa, and, for me a beautiful last *ricordo* of a place I had learned to love.

L. CONWAY EVANS.

CHRONIC RHEUMATIC DISEASE: A NATIONAL PROBLEM.

THE measure of success that has attended the campaigns against the ravages of tuberculosis and venereal disease, and which we have every reason to hope will not be long delayed with regard to cancer, is an encouragement to the extension of similar efforts in dealing with another condition, which up to the present has not received anything like the attention it deserves. The disease in question, rheumatism, is responsible for a vast amount of industrial invalidity and is becoming a serious economic burden. According to statistics published by the Ministry of Health in their "Report on the incidence of rheumatic diseases," 370,000 insured persons seek advice for one or other form of rheumatism every year. Over two million pounds are expended in sickness benefit and three million weeks of work are lost to the country in consequence. These figures do not tell anything like the full story. They refer to the insured population alone and take no account of the sickness arising from this cause before the insurance age.

In trying to arrive at a fuller comprehension of the problem that confronts us we must first of all realise that the term "rheumatism" includes several conditions that vary considerably both with regard to their symptoms and requirements for treatment. In fact, so varied are these manifestations that some observers look on rheumatism as the designation of a group of separate and distinct diseases. Into the arguments for and against this view I do not propose to enter because the question is a purely academic one and quite foreign to the object of this paper, which is to try and establish the need for a National Campaign against that particular form of rheumatism which is the direct cause of the economic burden I have just alluded to.

It must be remembered, however, that there are certain kinds of rheumatic disease which are specially associated with children and young adults. These constitute the acute and sub-acute varieties of the disease and are commonly known as "rheumatic fever." The chief characteristics of the acute forms of the disease are high fever, inflammation and swelling of the joints in older patients, sore throat, St. Vitus's dance and implication of the heart. This last is by far the most important. Speaking broadly one might say that acute rheumatism or rheumatic fever should always be looked upon as heart disease under another name. With comparatively few exceptions it is responsible for practically all fatal cases of heart disease occurring before the age of thirty-five.

More people die from diseases of the heart and circulation each year than from either cancer or tuberculosis. The three great causes of heart disease are acute rheumatism, syphilis and degenerative changes associated with later life, and in the first three decades acute rheumatism easily takes the lead, to the practical exclusion of the other two. The joint affections of acute rheumatism, painful and distressing as they may be at the time, are not likely to lead to permanent crippling in that they usually clear up with the disappearance of the fever. In the case of very young children there may be almost no joint changes at all; their place being taken by what is popularly understood by "growing pains." From this the importance of recognising the true nature of these pains is obvious, as they may be the principal sign of the commencement of an attack of acute rheumatism which may be the cause of permanent heart disease.

Space does not permit a detailed consideration of the special requirements with regard to the treatment of acute rheumatism and its associated heart disease. They are entirely distinct from those of the more chronic forms of the condition as seen in patients of more mature years. To deal with them together would only confuse the issue, and I shall therefore confine the remainder of my remarks to the treatment of the rheumatism of adults.

Speaking generally, the rheumatism of adult life falls into two principal categories which are capable of further subdivision. One affects principally the connective tissue of the body or the structure which holds or binds the soft parts together, and is known as "non-articular" rheumatism or by the more modern name of "fibrositis." The other involves the joints and receives the generic name of "articular" rheumatism. Non-articular rheumatism or "fibrositis" is mainly characterised by small painful swellings in the fibrous sheaths of the muscles and nerves which vary in size from a pin's-head to a pea. When the muscles of the back are implicated the condition is called "lumbago." An ordinary stiff neck is due to the same cause. Other groups of muscles are liable to be affected and names are given according to locality. Many forms of neuritis are undoubtedly rheumatic in origin, sciatica and brachial neuritis being familiar examples.

As this particular type of rheumatism is so common under the conditions so often prevailing in industry, the statistics furnished by the Ministry of Health are a useful guide as to its incidence. We find that nearly one-third of the male and about a quarter of the female rheumatic sick absences are directly due to this cause. Painful and disabling as the affection is, its most serious ill effects are shown by the diminished wage-earning capacity of its victims.

Coming now to the other kind of rheumatism that mainly affects

adults—"articular rheumatism"—we see that there are several varieties which have received different names according to their most prominent manifestations. The nomenclature leaves much to be desired, and will remain so until our ideas with regard to the exact causation and inter-relation of the different conditions which comprise the group become more clarified. Some observers base their classification and terminology on the character of the changes that take place in the ends of the bones that make up the joints. Others again adopt a causal basis for their descriptions and the two combined only succeed in adding to the existing confusion. As already indicated, I wish as far as possible to avoid anything in the nature of an academic discussion, but the point I have just raised serves to show the need for more extended research into the causation of rheumatic disease. I shall deal more fully with this question of research when I come to the consideration of a suggested scheme for the more adequate treatment of these conditions. Included in this group we have such familiar examples as rheumatoid arthritis with its characteristic thinning of the ends of the bones, and swelling of the structures round the joints which eventually results in gross deformities; and osteo-arthritis, with the formation of much new bone in the joint cavities and surroundings with consequent stiffening and eventual locking. Then we have a number of joint disabilities in which both these changes show themselves in turn.

Chronic articular rheumatism in whatever form it may manifest itself is responsible for a vast amount of crippling and permanent invalidism. One is constantly seeing examples of the ravages of this disease, and the position is made all the more tragic by our apparent inability to do anything to mitigate the evil. The presence of so many men and women in the prime of life utterly incapable of doing a useful day's work is a lasting reproach to our civilisation. The reproach is perhaps more justified when we reflect that many of these conditions are eminently curable if taken in time. Speaking generally we would say that the hopeless advanced cases are more usually to be found among the people who are least able to provide themselves with adequate treatment, rather than among those more fortunately situated who are able to adopt timely measures towards the arrest of the disease.

The first essential towards the satisfactory treatment of non-articular and articular rheumatism is the thorough and searching investigation of the cause in each individual instance. We cannot indulge in generalities by saying that the cause of this or that is always so and so. It may be in one case and is just as likely not to be in the next. Among the recognised factors in the causation of these conditions we have hereditary tendencies, the presence of some

diseased tissue such as a decadent tonsil or an infected tooth socket, whereby the continuous absorption of septic material exerts a poisonous effect on the body; disorders of the ductless gland system resulting in the lack of certain secretions which ordinarily maintain the body in health; faults in the processes of digestion entailing the deficient elimination of waste products which being retained act as poisons. In addition to these we have conditions of environment such as dampness of houses or sites, overcrowding, bad ventilation, exposure to prolonged chilling of the surface of the body, lack of sunlight and we may even include among these factors, improper feeding. The last named is of such great importance that it almost requires a paragraph to itself. With such a list of possible causes, not by any means exhaustive, we at once realise that each case is a problem to itself and demands not only the services of skilled investigators but that adequate means shall be at their disposal.

At the present time the facilities for research are far from being sufficient for the needs of the industrial population. Such facilities as there are exist mainly in the shape of special laboratories which have been established in connection with the principal spa hospitals. Unfortunately the fullest advantage cannot be taken of these admirable institutions owing to the "haphazard" method of selection of cases that are sent to health resorts. Many of the patients are found, on arrival, to be in an advanced state of disease and quite hopeless from a curative aspect. Speaking in medical phraseology we should say that the study of "end results" such as these does not materially increase our knowledge of what is of greater importance, viz., how and why they begin. Apart from the spas there is very little to be said. A certain amount of investigation can be, and no doubt is, carried on in the laboratories attached to the large general hospitals, but it is rarely more than "sporadic," and opportunities of correlating the results of investigations of large numbers of cases are entirely wanting.

When we turn to review the situation with regard to the actual treatment of industrial rheumatism, we find the position equally unsatisfactory. Judging by the lack of organised diagnostic facilities we can hardly expect that treatment will be more favoured. Let us consider for a moment what the essentials of treatment are. First of all the cause of the condition must be discovered and dealt with as far as possible. This may entail the removal of some diseased tissue from the body or in other instances the correction of some faulty digestive process. Home surroundings or industrial conditions may need investigation as well as the presence of any inherited tendency. Having ascertained and dealt with the cause as far as opportunities permit, we have next to try and get rid of

any ill effects that may remain. This will include measures for the relief of pain, the treatment of swollen and stiffened joints or muscles and the restoration of function to wasted limbs. The only really effective way of accomplishing the second part of our task is by the employment of physical methods such as baths of various kinds, douches of different sorts, massage, manipulation, electricity and re-educative movements.

At the present time the spa hospitals are the only institutions that provide treatment of this nature. The total number of beds available is round about 680 and the annual number of patients treated for all diseases is about 8,600, of which 93 per cent. belong to the rheumatic group. We said at the beginning of this article that 370,000 insured persons seek advice for rheumatism every year, so that the demand greatly exceeds the supply. Of course, it is not argued that anything like this vast number require spa treatment, but we are perfectly justified in saying that many more need it than get it.

Apart from the spa hospitals there are no institutions devoted solely to the treatment of rheumatic diseases. It is true that most general hospitals of any size both in London and in the country possess departments where physical methods are exclusively employed, but they by no means limit themselves to the treatment of rheumatic cases, neither are they as a rule adequately equipped in the way of baths and douches.

Owing to faulty, or we might say non-existent, organisation, no proper selection of cases likely to benefit from spa treatment takes place. The more obvious the crippling the better the chance of securing a letter of recommendation. When we reflect that the admission of hopeless cases bars the way for the effectual treatment of early and hopeful cases the need for improvement in this direction is self-evident.

Having briefly attempted to outline the present situation regarding the treatment of rheumatic diseases in adults, we will now consider the direction in which improvements in organisation might proceed. Valuable as the work done at the spas is, we cannot depend entirely on them for all the treatment required. Only selected cases should be sent there, and even then the number of beds available would fall far short of the needs. No doubt the accommodation will be materially increased in the near future, but even in these circumstances there will still remain large numbers of patients who can, and ought, to be treated in their own localities. In order to provide for them, treatment centres should be established in London to begin with and gradually extend to all the larger areas of population. These centres should afford all the necessary requirements in the way of baths, douches, electrical appliances, massage and physical methods generally. In addition

to the actual treatment side of the institution there should be a department for research, working in connection therewith. This department would not only be responsible for the thorough investigation of each individual case but would be occupied with the wider question of research into the disease itself in all its aspects. Besides the activities which I have indicated above, the centre would play a very important part in the selection of suitable cases for spa treatment. It would, in other words, be a clearing house for rheumatic cases in that no patient would be sent to any spa for treatment without first passing through the centre. By the adoption of some such means as this, the fullest use would be made of the spas for really hopeful cases.

With the efficient co-ordination of research into the causation of these various conditions, more effectual propaganda work could be undertaken with a view to the education of the public in the methods of prevention. The prevalence of rheumatism, especially among the insured population, has long been recognised as a serious question in its relation to industrial efficiency; but the magnitude of the problem has only been made manifest by the publication of a report by the Ministry of Health on the incidence of the disease, to which reference has already been made.

Taking this report as a basis for consideration, the International Society of Medical Hydrology has appointed committees in all Northern European countries, with the object of collecting information as to the situation in the countries represented and to formulate schemes for the provision of adequate treatment where necessary. The International Society of Medical Hydrology is an internationally constituted body of medical men who are specially interested in the physical and hydrological treatment of rheumatic and other diseases.

A committee has been formed for Great Britain, and the suggestions incorporated in this article are the outcome of their deliberations. The committee includes not only medical men practising at the spas, London, and elsewhere, but representatives of the Ministry of Health, the British Medical Association, the Approved Societies and the Trade Unions. It only remains now to put the scheme into operation. As both the committee and its parent body are devoid of financial resources for any such purpose, the inception of the scheme will have to be undertaken by other agencies if it is to fructify at all. A capital outlay is needed for the provision of the treatment centres or clinics and the laboratories. That side of the project should be under the control of those skilled in financial matters. If the clinics were made available for patients other than those who come under the Insurance Act, payments from this source might go towards providing interest on the capital outlay.

M. B. RAY.

FOREIGN AFFAIRS.

THOIRY AND THE RAILWAY BONDS.

WHEN M. Briand and Herr Stresemann met at Thoiry on September 17th, their primary object was to lay the foundations of a psychological understanding in the Locarno sense. In some ways both men are unpractical by nature, but at Thoiry they had enough practical sense to discuss psychology in terms of what each might reasonably expect to profit by it. Herr Stresemann wanted some assurances that, in spite of M. Poincaré, France would respect the tacit understanding which was the basis of the September event in Geneva, namely, that no further difficulties would be made on the score of Germany's fulfilment or non-fulfilment of the Allied disarmament demands of June, 1925. He wanted M. Briand's promise not to hinder the Allied military evacuation of German territory, and to adopt an amicable attitude when the question of the Saar came before the League Council in December. M. Briand gave those assurances, putting his blind eye to M. Poincaré in the background. He on his side concentrated on a typically French financial project. The French have great qualities, but an understanding of finance happens not to be one of them.

M. Briand's idea was to facilitate the stabilisation of the franc by selling some or all of the Dawes railway bonds, as a result of which transaction, so M. Briand calculated, the French Treasury might mobilise immediate capital. Immediate capital regardless of the consequences is often the mirage of people who have involved themselves in financial difficulties. Herr Stresemann agreed "in principle" to M. Briand's idea, subject to the condition that it should be ratified by the experts as practicable. The French experts of course promptly supplied as much ratification as might be wanted: but that was not the point. Herr Schacht was horrified, and the roundness with which he gave it as his opinion that the project was out of the question, somewhat strained his relations with Herr Stresemann.

London financial quarters patiently examined M. Briand's idea. They recognised that, if it could be realised, it might help to stabilise the franc, in the sense that a capital windfall in Paris might give the French financiers and politicians still another breathing-space in which to tackle the problem of stabilisation, although the new capital in itself could have no bearing on that problem; and they recognised that the deal, if carried through, might conceivably help towards the pacification of Franco-German relations and might induce the French Government to do the far-

sighted thing in the occupied zones, in the Saar, in the matter of military control, and in other controversial fields. Such were the potential attractions of the project.

There were, however, serious considerations of an opposite import. The first and most important objection to the scheme was that it could not be carried out. The sale of the Dawes Railway Bonds would be first and last a financial matter, to be decided by the financiers. The first question therefore was: could the Bonds be sold? Who would buy them? M. Briand's suggestion to Herr Stresemann that Paris would buy some of them probably did not impress Herr Stresemann except as still another indication of M. Briand's freshness of outlook and eagerness of spirit. Of course, the only possible markets would be London and New York. What chance was there of selling £800,000,000 worth of German 5 per cent. railway bonds in London or New York, or both? None. Even New York, which habitually looks for investment possibilities, could not mobilise such capital. Suppose then that M. Briand's second idea, of commercialising a part, say one-eighth (£100,000,000 worth) of the bonds, were to be considered? The necessary capital could conceivably be raised in London and in New York, if the investment were attractive. The investment, however, was not attractive. In the first place the market price would have to be determined by the market price of German 7 per cent. Dawes Loan, which is quoted in London only a few points over par. The railway bonds at 5 per cent. could not be floated at a figure above 70. It would be necessary, therefore, for Great Britain and the United States to realise the capital represented by the bonds at a heavy discount. Why should they? The proceeds would go to Paris *in toto*, if the naïve French idea were adopted of regarding the £100,000,000 of bonds as exclusively belonging to the French 52 per cent. share of the whole, and would go mostly to Paris if the Spa-Dawes percentages were to be applied to the proceeds of the sale. The proposition therefore amounted to this, that London and New York should realise capital at a heavy loss to themselves in order exclusively to help France, who had not yet ratified her debt-funding arrangements either with the one or with the other.

Some French speculators argued that a ratification of the French debt to the United States might do the trick so far as the United States was concerned, and that there would be no need to think any more about the debt to Great Britain: but they reckoned without the New York bankers, who (perhaps naturally) regard it as more important to sympathise with London (which pays £35,000,000 a year) than to flirt with Paris (on the off-chance of Paris paying £4,000,000 a year). There were, moreover, other

objections to the scheme. If the bonds were sold, the service of the interest would thereby be released from the supervision of the Reparation Commission's Trustee and of the Transfer Committee. The Dawes safeguards, which prescribe among other things that transfers shall be modified or postponed according to the exigencies of the exchange, would have to be sacrificed by Germany. No wonder Herr Schacht was indignant: I happened to have a conversation with him about it in Berlin on October 28th, and he had much to say in condemnation of the Thoiry financial plan, and nothing to say in its favour, therein agreeing substantially with the London and New York bankers. There was the still further consideration that if the service of the commercialised bonds were at any time to put a strain on Germany's capacity for payment, the reparations due to Italy, to Great Britain, and to the rest might have to go by the board. All the halfpennies in short would, under the Briand plan, be concentrated in Paris: all the kicks would be distributed impartially among everybody else.

One is reminded somewhat of the Wiesbaden project of 1921. In October, 1921, the Wiesbaden Agreement was drawn up by Herr Rathenau on the German side and by M. Loucheur on the French side. The completed draft was submitted to the Reparation Commission. Lord (then Sir John) Bradbury, the British representative, subjected the draft to so searching an analysis that he convinced both the Italian and the Belgian representatives on the Commission that it would militate against Belgian and Italian as well as against British interests. What in effect the Wiesbaden Agreement aimed at was an acceleration of the German payment of the French share of the indemnity during fourteen years ahead, the interests of the other Allies being left to look after themselves. Sir John showed that German commitments to France under the Wiesbaden Agreement during those fourteen years would be so heavy that Germany would hardly be able to pay anything to the other Allies. As Belgium was not concerned in the Agreement, there resulted a three to one majority against France—namely, Great Britain, Belgium, and Italy—and the Agreement had to be radically altered before it was ratified. There seems to be a common French thread in the Wiesbaden idea of 1921 and the Thoiry idea of 1926.

The financial aspect of Thoiry appears already to have died its death. The diplomatic aspect is perhaps more important.

THOIRY AS A DIPLOMATIC ASPIRATION.

When M. Briand returned to Paris and Herr Stresemann to Berlin, on the morrow of their meeting at Thoiry, they went to their respective experts. M. Briand went to the Quai d'Orsay and

said (more or less) to M. Berthelot: "Maintenant, mon ami, c'est à vous." Herr Stresemann went to the Wilhelmstrasse and said (more or less) to Herr von Schubert: "Es muss was geschehen!" Some twenty-five years ago there was formed in Berlin a Colonial Club. No Colonials attended it: but the meetings were held regularly. The members sat round a table. Suspended from the ceiling and poised over the centre of the table was an illuminated board bearing the inscription, "Es muss was geschehen" ("Something must be done about it!"). In the case of the unfortunate Colonial Club, very little was done about it. In the case of Thoiry, the remarkably loyal permanent officials of the German Foreign Office are grimly engaged in the attempt to invest Thoiry with substance. In the Quai d'Orsay they played up magnificently by speculating through discreet journalistic channels on the prospect of a Franco-German Alliance, until M. Poincaré made himself heard, through private channels, on the subject.

The first French impulse, the pre-Poincaré impulse, went to the length of suggesting that a Franco-German Alliance must have an objective. What was the natural objective? Why, Great Britain. Had not Great Britain been responsible (how, it was not explained) for the collapse of the franc, and most of the evil fortune on which France has fallen? It would be unkind perhaps to pursue the subject. The recrimination of French thought against Great Britain has in it an element of pathos. The tendency to blame Great Britain for everything that goes wrong in Europe is no doubt a form of perverted affection, and an unconscious revelation of the deluded French estimate of Great Britain's power.

During the past month I have discussed Thoiry with many representative Germans, including the Chancellor, high Foreign Office officials, members of the Reichstag, big industrialists. I have found a quiet and sober determination to translate the Thoiry gesture—for it is nothing more—into a factor which may accelerate the Locarno idea in Europe. Sir Austen Chamberlain has in the meantime given the impression of wisely standing aside while the Franco-German attempt at an accommodation pursues its course. After all, there can be no further progress in the West of Europe until Berlin and Paris fraternise diplomatically, as they do socially. The experts of the Wilhelmstrasse believe that Thoiry will bear fruit, not perhaps by the time the League Council meets in December, but by the time it meets in March, when appropriately enough the meeting will take place in Berlin.

THE "ROMSEY" IDEA.

Towards the end of the first year of its course, the Locarno idea has ramified in three directions. One of them led to the Thoiry meeting between M. Briand and Herr Stresemann, the second to

the formation of the steel trust between France, Germany, Belgium and Luxemburg, and the third to the Romsey meeting of Anglo-German industrialists. There is a common likeness between the three events, and they have a common importance.

Among British industrialists and financiers the importance of Germany in the economic recovery of Europe is axiomatic. The main question in which they are interested is how quickly can Germany recover so as to co-operate in the general recovery? Alternatively, how quickly can the others recover so as to co-operate with Germany? Among German industrialists the need of European co-operation is felt with desperate seriousness. In the first week of November I went to see Dr. Duisberg, the head of the great chemical works at Leverkusen, near Cologne—those works which are world-famous for their prodigious size and for their epoch-making inventions, such as that of aspirin and of the explosives which prolonged the war from 1915 to 1918. In 1926 Dr. Duisberg is a pacifist, as are all serious people the world over. When M. Poincaré sent the French bayonets into the Ruhr, Dr. Duisberg was banished to his own cellar, where he lived for fifteen months in three rooms, and was not allowed to use his own front door. His private "mansion" at Leverkusen and his offices in the chemical works were occupied by French officers. The memory of those fifteen months and of their indignities weighs heavy on Dr. Duisberg, but he is the foremost advocate in Germany of an understanding with France. The experience of the French occupation of the Ruhr synchronising with the collapse of the Mark during the inflation period, when the entire capital of Germany, private and industrial, was written off, might reasonably be expected to knock the nonsense, if any, out of any human being. Whether or not Dr. Duisberg ever had more nonsense in him than any other of the mature men in all the countries concerned in the Great War, he is now a chastened enthusiast in the cause of peace. Could the same be said, even at this time of day, of all those influential people who in all countries blustered their militarist vulgarity in the years 1914-1918?

The second meeting of the Anglo-German industrial leaders who held their first meeting at Romsey in October, will take place at Dr. Duisberg's works at Leverkusen at the beginning of April. Dr. Duisberg has invited Sir Robert Horne and his British colleagues for that date, and the rest is a matter of making the necessary arrangements.

A distinction has to be made between the parallel meetings that are being arranged by the British and German trade federations, of which the first meeting will take place in London at the beginning of December. The representatives of the two federations are

meeting in order to acquaint one another with their methods and organisation, but will not discuss trade openings between the two countries. That subject is the province of the private industrialists. It happens that Dr. Duisberg is both President of the "Reichsverbandes des Deutschen Industrie" (the German counterpart to the Federation of British Industries) as well as convenor of the private industrialists; but the two series of meetings do not overlap, nor are they connected.

On the German side intense importance is attached to the meeting which is to take place at Cologne. The present boom in German trade, partly due to the English coal strike, is regarded as without substantial basis, and an economic disaster of the first magnitude is feared for the whole of Europe unless English and German industrial magnates effectively take the lead in stopping the industrial war which rages throughout Europe. The cause of the "economic Locarno" is in short regarded in Germany, even more than in Great Britain, as a matter of life or death for the whole of Europe.

Shortly after the Romsey meeting of the Anglo-German industrialists an important manifesto was issued by representative bankers and business men from Europe and America. It was issued on October 20th, and was signed by prominent business men, bankers and economists in the following countries: Austria, Belgium, Czecho-Slovakia, Denmark, France, Germany, Great Britain, Holland, Hungary, Italy, Norway, Poland, Rumania, Sweden, Switzerland, and the United States. The document read thus: "We desire, as business men, to draw attention to certain grave and disquieting conditions which, in our judgment, are retarding the return to prosperity.

"It is difficult to view without dismay the extent to which tariff barriers, special licences, and prohibitions since the war have been allowed to interfere with international trade and to prevent it from flowing in its natural channels. At no period in recent history has freedom from such restrictions been more needed to enable traders to adapt themselves to new and difficult conditions. And at no period have impediments to trading been more perilously multiplied without a true appreciation of the economic consequences involved.

"The break-up of great political units in Europe dealt a heavy blow to international trade. Across large areas, in which the inhabitants had been allowed to exchange their products freely, a number of new frontiers were erected and jealously guarded by Customs barriers. Old markets disappeared. Racial animosities were permitted to divide communities whose interests were in- be created if a confederation of States were to dissolve the ties

which bind them, and to proceed to penalise and hamper, instead of encouraging, each other's trade. Few will doubt that under such conditions the prosperity of such a country would rapidly decline.

"To mark and defend these new frontiers in Europe, licences, tariffs, and prohibitions were imposed, with results which experience shows already to have been unfortunate for all concerned. One State lost its supplies of cheap food, another its supplies of cheap manufactures. Industries suffered for want of coal, factories for want of raw materials. Behind the Customs barriers new local industries were started, with no real economic foundation, which could only be kept alive in the face of competition by raising the barriers higher still. Railway rates, dictated by political considerations, have made transit and freights difficult and costly. Prices have risen, artificial dearthness has been created. Production as a whole has been diminished. Credit has contracted, and currencies have depreciated. Too many States, in pursuit of false ideals of national interest, have imperilled their own welfare and lost sight of the common interests of the world, by basing their commercial relations on the economic folly which treats all trading as a form of war.

"There can be no recovery in Europe till politicians in all territories, old and new, realise that trade is not war but a process of exchange, that in time of peace our neighbours are our customers, and that their prosperity is a condition of our own well-being. If we check their dealings, their power to pay their debts diminishes, and their power to purchase our goods is reduced. Restricted imports involve restricted exports, and no nation can afford to lose its export trade. Dependent as we all are upon imports and exports, and upon the processes of international exchange, we cannot view without grave concern a policy which means the impoverishment of Europe.

"Happily there are signs that opinion in all countries is awakening at last to the dangers ahead. The League of Nations and the International Chamber of Commerce have been labouring to reduce to a minimum all formalities, prohibitions, and restrictions, to remove inequalities of treatment in other matters than tariffs, to facilitate the transport of passengers and goods. In some countries powerful voices are pleading for the suspension of tariffs altogether. Others have suggested the conclusion for long periods of commercial agreements embodying in every case the most-favoured-nation clause. Some States have recognised in recent treaties the necessity of freeing trade from the restrictions which depress it. And experience is slowly teaching others that the breaking-down of the economic barriers between them may prove

the surest remedy for the stagnation which exists. On the valuable political results which flow from such a policy, from the substitution of good-will for ill-will, of co-operation for exclusiveness, we will not dwell. But we wish to place on record our conviction that the establishment of economic freedom is the best hope of restoring the commerce and the credit of the world."

THE FRUITS OF DEFEAT.

At a moment when the peoples of Europe are being driven to commonsense by economic pressure, there is perhaps something to be gained by "rubbing in" certain of the commonplaces of contemporary Europe. Europe is certainly in a rotten state: and rightly so. If the nations were able to spend five concentrated years in mutual attempts at destruction without paying the cost, there would be no hope whatever, at any rate for Europe, which is the most savage continent on the globe. Most educated Europeans now admit that the Great War was a phenomenon of meaningless stupidity on the part of all concerned. Dr. Marx, for instance, the present Prime Minister of Germany, and Dr. Adenauer, the Mayor of Cologne, one of the shrewdest of Germans and the probable next Prime Minister, equally readily admitted it when I raised the question in conversation, and they showed no desire to pursue fatuous questions of war guilt. So far as common sense goes, Germany has the advantage that she was beaten in the military sense during the war, and Dr. Adenauer gave it as his opinion that defeat had been a good thing for Germany. The working classes in Germany are saving at a rate of 1,000,000,000 gold marks, or £50,000,000 a year. That fact is one of many which illustrate the rapidity with which Germany is recovering from the dual catastrophe of the Great War and of the fantastic inflation of 1923.

The official figures of the German Savings Banks, which are mainly concerned with the savings of the working classes, are impressive. Before the war the amount of savings they held was some 20,000,000,000 gold marks, or £1,000,000,000; in 1924 those savings, in common with the entire internal capital, private and public, of Germany, were destroyed; in August, 1926, they had again accumulated to the figure of 2,000,000,000 gold marks or £100,000,000. It is remarkable that a people which had been robbed of its entire savings by the State—for such was the crude effect of 1923—should so quickly and so fully have regained its confidence in the State that within two years it has deposited savings to the extent of one-tenth of the pre-war total. It is even more remarkable that the people should in that time and in the existing circumstances have amassed such wealth.

Now that Germany has entered the League of Nations, and has taken the first step towards the resumption of normal relations with the rest of Europe, many people try to estimate the net effect on Germany of her defeat in the Great War. If the criterion of victory or defeat be the condition of the belligerents after the war, most people agree that the United States won the war, but few people are inclined to be dogmatic about who lost it. Was it Germany or Great Britain? Which of the two is the worse off as a result of the war? The question is not easy or pleasant to answer.

In spite of the pessimism expressed in all serious German quarters about the immediate future of the German people—a pessimism which in its context must perhaps be subjected to some slight discount—one returns from Germany with a strengthened impression that Great Britain suffers even more than Germany suffers from the war.

Simply put, the German position is this. She lost all her foreign capital during the war. She has lost markets, colonies, and other general resources. All her citizens have lost their private capital. In 1924 Germany was wholly destitute. She had to begin work again from the bottom. The whole population is now working as the Trojans worked, and is proving Dr. Adenauer's diagnosis of the essential good of adversity and military defeat. Even the highest officials of the German Foreign Office keep daily office hours from 8 a.m. to 8 p.m., and they are typical of all classes, except the working classes.

The people are working, too, against odds. There are a million and a half of unemployed, in spite of the English coal strike, which, as most Germans say, has been the biggest single factor in the salvation of Germany. The number of the unemployed has been swollen because Germany now has no army comparable to her pre-war army, and the regular soldiers of the old days seek an outlet in industry; and because those of the middle and upper classes, who before 1923 had private means, must now also find work. The old "idle rich" have ceased to be rich, and have therefore ceased to be idle.

In addition, Germany has to meet a maximum liability of £125,000,000 a year on account of reparations, as crystallised in the Dawes plan, and to that extent has to work the harder. Finally there is the nightmare which disturbs the bankers, that the renaissance of German industry has been financed wholly on credits. Germany has borrowed some £250,000,000 from the United States, Great Britain and other countries. She has already handed back in interest and reparations about half of the proceeds, and retains one-half (with the whole liability) for financing industry. Her bankers and industrialists are gloomy.

That is a bad picture, but it is not unique. Great Britain's million and a half unemployed come from a population of 42,000,000, Germany's from a population of 62,000,000. Germany is building from the foundations, but is building. If she suffers, as she undoubtedly suffers, terrible hardships from her complete loss of capital, Great Britain is crushed beneath a burden of war debt the like of which, as Mr. Churchill said last April, is utterly unknown to history. If Germany has to raise £125,000,000 a year from taxation to meet her war liabilities, Great Britain has to raise £450,000,000 a year, or nearly four times as much, from a population of two-thirds the size, to meet her war liabilities. And Great Britain has maintained her liabilities intact, on the gold basis, since the war, whereas Germany by inflation repudiated all except reparations proper. The standard rate of income-tax in Germany is about one-half the standard rate in Great Britain, although the German tax operates lower in the scale, and is subject to smaller exemptions. German housemaids pay income-tax.

German economists point out that the bulk of the interest in British War Loans is transferred from British pockets as a whole to a few individual pockets; that the money, except for the relatively small amount that goes to the United States, remains in the country, whereas Germany's £125,000,000 goes abroad and is wholly lost to Germany. That is true, but the effect on British industry is not affected thereby. Even the burden of the oppressive "turnover tax" on German industries appears light by contrast with the British Treasury's confiscation of the first 20 per cent. of profits made by all British industries. The argument made in some German quarters that the loss of German capital is the corresponding handicap to the tax on still existent British capital is only partly sound, for the British capital immobilised by the war debt far exceeds the total capital lost by Germany.

If those German students of affairs who confess to puzzled surprise that the British people have "allowed" the coal strike to devastate the country for over six months were to ponder Mr. Baldwin's recent diagnosis of the new industrial revolution in this country, they might see cause for thankfulness that Germany did not "win" (and pay for the bulk of the expense of) the Great War.

GERMAN TRADE WITH RUSSIA.

The German Government has followed the example of the Czecho-Slovak Government by providing incentives for German trade with Russia. The Czecho-Slovak Government, with its habitual enterprise, was the first in Europe to take the industrial plunge into post-war Russia by means of an insurance scheme for

separably connected. The situation is not unlike that which would Czecho-Slovak trade in Russia. The scheme that has now been launched by the German Government follows the main lines of the Czecho-Slovak scheme. Its object is to take the fullest possible advantage of the German-Russian Trade Agreement, and thereby to increase German exports, to reduce German unemployment, and to put Germany in a position to meet the Dawes liabilities.

The Government has undertaken to indemnify traders with Russia up to 60 per cent. of their losses in case Russia should default in payment. Russia having little money at present to pay for goods, the general method of operations is for the German trader to grant credit to Russia for goods supplied, the length of credit being two and a half years in the case of small, and four years in the case of big, contracts. Russia gives dollar bills to the German producers, who hand them on to a central financial institute which has been constituted for the purpose. The Institute is known as the I.F.A.G.O., "Industrie-Finanzierungs-A. G. Ost," that is, the Company for financing industry in the East.

In cases where industrial plant and other machinery for production is delivered by German firms to any of the economic organisations in Russia, the Reich guarantees 35 per cent. of the sale price in case of default, and another 25 per cent. of the "Ausfallgarantie" is provided by the constituent German State in which the operating German firm is established. The firm itself therefore stands to lose no more than 40 per cent. of the sale price in case Russia defaults, an arrangement which means in practice that the firm cannot make any actual loss, for the guaranteed 60 per cent. of the account no doubt in itself covers the cost of production and a margin of profit. The absence of competition for the Russian market makes it possible for simple arithmetic on such lines to be carried out by the German firms with some confidence.

The guarantee of the Reich and of the constituent States is expressly restricted to the sale of machinery for production, the chief articles of export contemplated being agricultural machinery. It is the view of German politicians and of German industrialists, as for instance of Chancellor Marx and Herr Kastl, one of the "Romseyite" leaders, that Russian agriculture not only represents potentially the most profitable field for foreign enterprise, but the most profitable for Russia herself, thereby constituting the most likely basis of Russia's future ability to pay for the machinery supplied. The two classes of machinery contemplated for the purpose of long or short credits are (1) heavy installations, such as the complete installation of industrial plant, and (2) light installations, such as single pieces of machinery. The guarantee applies to the first class in cases where the delivery of the goods is covered

by credits not extending beyond December 31st, 1930, and to the second class where the credits do not extend beyond December 31st, 1928. It is further stipulated that the period within which orders may be financed under this scheme expires on December 31st, 1926, a stipulation which forces the hands of the manufacturers and prevents much "beating about the bush." Each application for a guarantee is judged separately on its merits by an inter-departmental committee of the Government. The scheme does not apply to articles of export wholly or even mainly manufactured in Germany, but only to machinery which will lead to Russian industrial activity and thus to Russian capacity to pay. The funds in the first place are provided by a group of banks, who have already placed 120,000,000 gold marks (£6,000,000) at the disposal of the operating firms, the scheme being to increase the fund to 230,000,000 marks and finally to 300,000,000. The I.F.A.G.O. acts as an intermediary between the industry applying for credits and the financing group.

The British exports credit scheme by contrast does not apply to exports for Russia.

THE CHINESE PUZZLE: 1922-1926-1929.

The beginning of another winter in China finds the foreign Powers in a state of perplexed impotence, and China herself still torn by the disintegrating civil wars, but with the difference that the Kuomintang (the Nationalist Radical Party) is rapidly in the ascendant. Recent events have made the diplomacy of the foreign Powers wear a somewhat haggard look. When the Cantonese Soviet recently imposed an additional Customs levy in their territory and Mr. Wellington Koo capped that achievement in Peking by denouncing the treaty with Belgium, both were palpably bidding for the favour of the Kuomintang. The nationalist wave in China must have, as all nationalist waves must have, a slogan, and it can hardly surprise anyone that "Down with the foreigner!" has become the Chinese slogan. Xenophobia has become so widespread, is so easy, and so destructive a form of emotion, that all factions in China find it expedient to fan it. It might be thought that the lesson for the Powers was obvious. To Great Britain indeed the lesson has been obvious enough, but by a perversion of justice it is precisely Great Britain who has borne the brunt of Chinese xenophobia. Russian influence has apparently had some effect in that sense, but the misfortune is due more to the circumstance that Great Britain's preponderating economic interests in China have thrust upon Great Britain the primary responsibility, as illustrated in the deplorable Yangtse affair, of withstanding the danger to foreign interests when pushed to an

extreme. Yet it is precisely British diplomacy which has taken the initiative among the external Powers for an up-to-date policy towards China.

Before the Tariff Conference met last year it was the British Government that informed Peking of its willingness to discuss full tariff autonomy for China, its willingness, that is, to go beyond the Washington policy of 1922. Great Britain and the Dominions ratified the Washington Treaties in 1922, and the Tariff Conference might have met in Peking, and have succeeded in its progressive object, had not the French Government delayed its ratification of the treaties. France quarrelled with Peking by insisting that the balance of the Boxer Indemnity quota payable to France by virtue of the 1905 protocol should be paid in gold and not in paper francs. The controversy was prolonged till April, 1925, and France did not ratify the Washington Treaties till August 5th of that year. By that time the civil war in China was in full blast, and the delayed Tariff Conference never had a chance. Even that eleventh-hour chance, small as it was, of placating Chinese feeling, was let slip owing to the slowness of some of the Powers in catching up with the times. The United States and Japan continued to insist that the extra Customs to be granted should be made conditional on China's earmarking the proceeds to secure certain of the unsecured Chinese debts. By contrast, Sir Ronald Macleay, the head of the British delegation, issued the following statement on July 3rd of this year, when it was clear that the increasing muddle in China and the halting attitude of the other Powers robbed the Tariff Conference of any immediate prospect of success:

"The British Government (he declared) instruct me to state that it is their earnest desire and intention to implement the Washington Treaty with the least possible delay, and to grant the surtaxes provided therein, if this should be the wish of the Chinese Government, and they are prepared to discuss any reasonable proposition put forward by the Chinese delegates to this end, in harmony with the spirit and letter of the Washington Treaty.

"In the event of the Chinese delegation, on the resumption of the Conference, tabling a proposal for the immediate enforcement of the Washington surtaxes, the British Government have no intention, after agreement on such a proposal has been reached, to suspend the proceedings of the Conference or break off the negotiations for the conclusion of a Tariff Treaty which were interrupted by recent political developments."

The main difficulty for the British Government was, and is, that it is committed on the one hand to the Washington programme and on the other to concerted action with the Powers. The rate of

progression in such concert must needs be that of the slowest. When the Tariff Conference suspended its labours *sine die*, the final proposal put before the Chinese delegates was that the Washington surtaxes should operate in 1929 and that China should undertake in the meantime to abolish *likin*. In other words, the Washington programme of 1922, which ought, and might but for France, have been fulfilled at once, has in 1926 been projected to 1929. At the present moment the non-British Powers still take their stand on 1929. The British Government would be willing to jump and to do the right thing now. When the recent protest was sent to Canton against the levying of the new "illegal" taxes the British Government signed the protest against its better judgment and merely in deference to the wishes of its colleague Governments. The United States and Japan still insist on the condition about securing the unsecured debts.

Now the absurdity of the collective diplomacy of the Powers has been driven home by Canton. Canton has established a second line of Customs behind the Customs of the international board, and is collecting precisely the Washington surtaxes. What practical sense is there in the Powers insisting on conditions for the granting of certain benefits, which one powerful section in China has already taken without reference to Washington, Tokio, or London? What sense is there in asking Peking to accept conditions for the granting of such benefits, when Peking has no jurisdiction and no influence in Canton which has already put those benefits into operation? There is a danger that the competitive bid for Kuomintang favour may lead to a general levying of the new taxes, that the differences between the external Powers may be thereby robbed of their practical importance, and that China will no longer need the redemption of the Washington promise. The diplomacy of the Powers is collectively stupid. Great Britain advocates the businesslike and common-sense course but cannot move alone. Great Britain in the meantime gets all the kicks in China, and her cause is badly served by those pugnacious fire-eating journalists who send from China wild despatches asking if Great Britain is going to take the Kuomintang lying down, and suggesting, if there be any logic in their emotion, that Great Britain should annex China. Certain newspapers at home show a corresponding failure to realise the facts of the position when they criticise British policy for its "weakness." Does any serious person who thinks about the matter for three seconds really want the British Navy to embark on a vague campaign of bombarding the Chinese ports?

The cynics, of course, suggest that the United States and Japanese Governments maintain their condition for the granting

of the surtaxes merely as a pretext for continuing the present state of affairs, in which British goods are boycotted and British markets lost: and there are those who claim to know that American and Japanese merchants are making much progress in the devastated fields of British trade. Such a tactic, if the suggestion be true, would no more stand the test of common sense than the ostensible diplomacy behind which it is alleged to operate. Trade with China is conditional on a stable and well-ordered China; civil war and xenophobia will in the long run react on all foreign interests.

THE DECEMBER LEAGUE COUNCIL.

It is a bad habit to meet trouble half-way. In diplomacy, as in other fields of the human aspiration for wisdom, the best slogan is "Give us this day our daily bread." Those who warned us of the impending Great War before 1914 partly produced it. Those who preach danger are dangerous. The December meeting of the League Council, however, is nearly upon us, and the preparatory diplomacy is in full swing. The December meeting differs from the forty-two that have preceded it because the German delegates will take their full part in its work. It has cast its shadow before to the extent that it has projected into the Stresemann-Briand-Chamberlain triangle the disturbing influence of M. Poincaré. It may be that M. Poincaré's anxiety over the Stresemann-Briand attempt, made at Thoiry, to improve Franco-German relations may yet appear even to M. Poincaré as an unnecessary manifestation of timidity, and that the December meeting of the League Council may therefore run smoothly. Unfortunately, however, one has to record certain things. Article 10 of the agenda which will face the delegates who assemble on December 10th reads thus:

"Execution of the Military, Naval, and Air clauses of the Treaties of Peace; Chairmanship of the Commissions of Investigation." Behind that wording lies the climax of a difficult problem in the triangular diplomacy of Western Europe.

The point is that Germany being now a member of the League, the Inter-Allied Military Control Commission sitting in Berlin at Germany's expense is due to be wound up, and to be supplanted by the League Commission of Investigation. Two controversies result from this contingency. The first, about which, as may be expected, the French are especially concerned, is whether Germany has fulfilled the conditions precedent to the winding-up of the Control Commission; the second, what exact form in the League Commission of Investigation to take? On the first of those issues, the British Government patiently agrees with the French Government in one respect, namely, in the view that whereas Germany, on entering the League, was regarded as being in a "state of

grace" about the Allied disarmament demands, yet it is necessary for Germany to present her account. Germany herself, it is recalled, laid down her own prospective time table for the performance of what remained to be done. That is the technical and unimportant aspect of the matter. The important thing is that Germany, being in the League, has become an equal. British diplomacy is anxious to sweep away all anachronistic quibbles about Germany's fitness for equality, but in practice it is found difficult to persuade France to look forward rather than backwards in this particular field. The French diplomats are inclined to retort that France knows best what is needed for French security. As for the constitution of the League Commission and the appointment of its Chairman, more than one difficulty is anticipated. It is known that France will propose a Frenchman, General Desticker, as Chairman. It is equally known that Germany will not agree. The attitude of Great Britain will as usual be that of providing oil for the waters. Before the question of the Chairman arises, however, the question will have to be debated of what exactly the Commission is to be. The 1924 scheme, which was mentioned to Herr Stresemann at Locarno, no longer holds the field. At Locarno Herr Stresemann was assured that no scheme would be put into operation before Germany had had an opportunity of expressing her view of it. At present the position is that France has drawn up a suggested scheme, which seeks to differentiate between the Rhineland and the rest of Germany and to impose on the Rhineland a permanent system of supervision. To that proposal the Germans are strongly opposed, as being a violation of the Treaty of Versailles and of elementary fairness. The chief hope of an accommodation is that Sir Austen Chamberlain may propose a compromise which may achieve the difficult feat of allaying French fears and doing justice to Germany. It is possible that nothing more may be done at the December meeting than an exchange of views on this subject.

GEORGE GLASGOW.

November 15th, 1926.

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LITERARY SUPPLEMENT

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LORD OXFORD'S RECOLLECTIONS.*

Most readers of Lord Oxford's *Recollections*, while they were appearing in serial form in a Sunday newspaper, must have felt that there was too little of the distinguished author and too much taken from other books. The sumptuous volumes now published confirm this criticism. The first half of the first volume is devoted to the years between 1868 and 1886, during which Mr. Asquith was a spectator of the political game, and in regard to which he tells us scarcely anything that is not familiar to most of those who will read his book. The real interest begins with his election to Parliament in 1886, and he lays down his pen with the outbreak of war in 1914. His record will be eagerly scanned for light on the dark places of these eventful years; but the amount of new material is disappointingly small. As an autobiographer he has "the faults of his qualities," for his almost unexampld modesty dwarfs the leading part which he himself played, and which made him and Mr. Balfour rivals for the title of the greatest Parliamentarian of the time. While many political autobiographies increase our sense of the ability of their authors and decrease our respect for their character, the present volumes enhance our respect for one of the most unselfish and magnanimous of men without raising our estimate of his powers. This scrupulous refusal to blow his own

* *Fifty Years of Parliament*. By the Earl of Oxford and Asquith. Two volumes. Cassell. 50s.

trumpet and to plant himself in the centre of the stage results in a certain lack of definition, and produces a somewhat colourless picture of a period throbbing with passion and bursting with new ideas. The author moves through the historic pageant cool, unruffled, detached, urbane. His judgment of men is as free from the disfigurements of party bias as his narrative of events. To a reviewer surfeited with querulous and self-righteous *apologias*, it is a pleasant experience to meet with a book in which the most generous praise of political opponents is combined with a total absence of malevolent indiscretions. If it is not a great book like Lord Morley's *Recollections* or Lord Grey's *Twenty-Five Years*, it is, at any rate, the work of a great gentleman.

The first full-length portrait of Lord Oxford's first Parliament is that of Parnell, in whose defence he assisted Sir Charles Russell, and whom he studied at close quarters. It is interesting to learn that the two lawyers knew from the first that the incriminating letters were forgeries, and were aware by whom they had been forged. He writes with feeling of the tragic change from "the frigid rhetoric, at once impassive and impressive, to which the House of Commons was accustomed, to the writhings and curses of a baffled and half-demented Titan." The next stage opens with the invitation to enter the Liberal Cabinet of 1892, an honour described by Gladstone as "a just and I think signal tribute to your character and abilities and eloquence." There are some pleasant glimpses of the veteran statesman, and some valuable diary notes of his talk.

The choice of Lord Rosebery as his successor is vindicated in some very interesting pages. "There was something essentially lovable about Harcourt's nature: the nature of a great, breezy, elemental, ungovernable child, who had never grown up. And yet, to tell the naked truth, he was an almost impossible colleague, and would have been a wholly impossible chief. This, I believe, would have been the overwhelming verdict of the members of Mr. Gladstone's last Cabinet. Mr. Morley, in the course which he took, was really acting as the exponent of the general will of those immediately concerned." Since the publication of the Diaries of Sir Algernon West everyone knows what an unhappy family the Rosebery Cabinet was, and the Cordite division was a relief to them all. We learn from these pages that the majority of the Ministers, including the Home Secretary, favoured dissolution, but that "the almost unprecedented spectacle" of the cordial agreement of the Prime Minister and Harcourt in favour of resignation turned the scale. The young Minister's chief Parliamentary duty had been to pilot the Welsh Disestablishment Bill through the House of Commons, in regard to which Mr. Lloyd George, "a natural frondeur,

and already an acute and accomplished debater, from time to time gave me a certain amount of trouble."

The most valuable part of the book is naturally that which describes the years of Premiership. The whole period was darkened and dominated by the struggle of the elected with the hereditary Chamber, and it is on this conflict that these pages throw most new light. We are informed of every step taken by the Government in placing the Veto Bill on the Statute Book; and no reader who pays more than lip-service to the principles of democracy can read the story without feeling that the Liberal campaign was defensive, not aggressive, and was waged with exemplary consideration for the Crown. The second vital issue, that of Home Rule for Ireland, was handled so cautiously that Mr. Spender has censured the timidity of the Government. Lord Oxford replies to his friendly critic that the Cabinet was unanimously opposed to prosecuting Sir Edward Carson for his treasonable frothings; that the Irish Nationalists were equally opposed; and that it was highly improbable that a conviction would have been obtained in a case where politics, not law, would doubtless have had the last word. A Liberal reviewer can only congratulate Lord Oxford and his colleagues in refusing to shed blood—a pastime better suited to the champions of "resolute government." How electric was the atmosphere we are reminded by the narrative of the Curragh incident. Looking back on the Liberal record from 1905 to 1914, when the story told in these volumes comes to an end, we are more than ever struck by the conservative moderation of the reformers and the revolutionary methods of the party which styled itself the Guardian of the Constitution. Lord Oxford lacks the imagination and the creative touch which make the greatest statesmen; but he carried through a series of measures indispensable to our British ideal of ordered freedom, and his place in history is secure.

G. P. GOOCH.

* * *

A GREAT NINETEENTH CENTURY TEACHER.*

Dr. J. H. Bridges was one of the group of young Oxford men who, under the stimulus of Dr. Congreve, then a tutor at Wadham, founded the Positivist movement in England in the 'sixties of the last century. Bridges, unlike Harrison and Beesly who became better known as public men, qualified in medicine after taking his course in Greats, and practised for a short time in Melbourne. But the untimely death of his wife brought him

* *A Nineteenth Century Teacher: John Henry Bridges.* By his niece, Susan Living. Kegan Paul. 10s. 6d.

back to England in 1861, and, after a few years in Bradford, he was appointed in 1869 Medical Inspector to the Local Government Board, and in that capacity he spent twenty-two years in organising the Poor Law Infirmaries of London and putting the medical and educational work of the Board on the level of efficiency and humanity which it has ever since retained. This was his official life's work, and as he did it with all the energy of mind and body which it deserved, he was debarred from the share in the wider work of teaching and propaganda which his fellow-Positivists would have wished him to assume. When they broke away from Congreve he was for a time their titular chief, and he was always qualified to be their leader. Harrison was the advocate and man of letters, Beesly the historian and political fighter; Bridges was the thinker and spiritual force.

Two previous lives of him, on a smaller scale and of a more intimate type, have been written, and now his niece Mrs. Susan Liveing gives us a really admirable picture in a book of 260 pages which should have a large sale. It is not too long, but long enough to paint in vivid colours the almost incredible Evangelical vicarage of his boyhood, his own strong and slowly maturing mind, and the marvellous tenderness, wisdom and goodness of his later years. It is a book to read again and again with ever fresh stimulus, as the man himself was wont to inspire those who heard his conversation and saw his face.

Professor Patrick Geddes writes an introduction which gives a lively picture of the early Positivist conclaves in Chapel Street, and discusses the question why the movement which has been so powerful in its indirect influence had so small results in attracting avowed adherents. He would put first among the causes the triumph of specialism over the synthetic view which Comte and the Positivists following him were more concerned to promote. The very greatness of the causes all held together by the pioneers has led to their dispersion in a multitude of societies working out the original conception in growing details. Thus the League of Nations, vast as we now see it, finds its sketch in Comte's Western Republic and its allied nations.

Many reading the book will ask the question which often exercised the minds of those who met Dr. Bridges when alive. How much of his goodness and wisdom was due to the religion which he espoused, how much did he himself infuse into it from his own upbringing and noble nature? He himself would have attributed most of his good qualities to his home and mother, widened afterwards by the religion of humanity. We may well be content to study him in this spirit and see in him a perfect synthesis of actions mated to the principles he professed.

F. S. MARVIN.

OLD ENGLISH PAINTED GLASS.*

Mr. John Dolbel Le Couteur, a member of an old Jersey family, who died in August, 1925, at the early age of forty-three, was an example of a student who, in despite of great disabilities of health, that checked his educational career and ended all possibility of a professional or business life, became a specialist in an intricate subject—the history of painted glass—and, in addition to the compilation of various technical papers, has given the world this very charming book. It was the last work of a singularly beautiful life in which thoughtfulness for others (and not least for the boys of Winchester College) and unfailing cheerfulness and fun, played as great a part as his own specialist studies. The book, though written with full technical knowledge, is a model of clear, simple statement. Mr. Le Couteur in his preface says of his book (which has been seen through the Press by Mr. G. McN. Rushforth, F.S.A.) that

it endeavours to set out, from the very beginning, the history of English Mediæval glass painting, treating it in a readable manner, avoiding unnecessary technicalities. Chapters have been included dealing with the mediæval glass painters themselves, religion in the Middle Ages, and its effect on contemporary art and subjects in mediæval windows; while for the first time the period 1350-1400 has been regarded as a separate phase in glass painting. The illustrations have also been selected with much care; a few plates of well-known windows have been included, but for the most part less familiar examples have been chosen, each thoroughly typical of the period or subject illustrated, yet without being hackneyed.

This is a very modest statement. The illustrations are remarkable, and with the lucid text should tend to enlarge the school of students of old painted glass. The field is a very large one; there is much work to be done and much examination of glass, in little-known churches, or in unsuspected spots in known churches, that has to be undertaken. Many of those who read this book with care will take to this field of research-work with its opportunities of unravelling not only the mysteries of early glass, but of the social life of which this pleasing art formed an intrinsic part.

Painted windows (Shakespeare consecrates the phrase) make the student wonder how the glass was made in early days. Mr. Le Couteur tells the whole story. It is strange to think that the twelfth and thirteenth century glass "was so well and carefully made that in many cases it has defied corrosion, and is as sound as the day that it was put up." Corrosion is an evil that besets modern glass, and all glass that dates from the fourteenth century. The earliest workmen teach us a lesson of thoroughness. We are shown how

**English Mediæval Painted Glass.* By J. D. Le Couteur. With Illustrations. S.P.G.K. 8s. 6d. net.

the windows were actually made. The artists were, at any rate in the vast majority of cases, craftsmen not monks, and the windows "reflected to the full the daily life and surroundings of the men who produced them." It was a skilled and well-paid trade. We are shown the subjects in these mediæval windows and the different types of windows of successive periods, Norman, Early English, Decorated (1280-1350), Transition (1350-1400), Perpendicular (1400-1500), Renaissance (1500-1550). There are also chapters on later work; on secular and domestic glazing, and on the melancholy "History of Destruction." In a future edition a little more information as to Canterbury Cathedral should be given. The ancient windows there were carefully safeguarded during the war and are now, after cleaning, a revelation of mediæval work.

The chapter on the Transition Period, beginning with the year after the Black Death, the year of the first Statute of Labourers, reveals a remarkable half-century though, as might be expected, the glass was often of poor quality. Practically all the windows of the period contain figures only. The figures are taller and more graceful than in earlier periods, the features are more carefully drawn, the robes are slightly looser, but have often gorgeous colouring. A higher standard of art, something not conventional but naturalistic, seems to have distinguished a period when the return to nature was everywhere visible. This movement was to be immortalised in literature by Gower and Chaucer. It is fascinating to see it in the painted windows of the churches where these poets must have worshipped. Special attention should be paid to this chapter, as it represents the most original ideas of an author whose work and sane outlook are not likely to be forgotten by students of the history of English art.

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PRIME MINISTERS OF THE LAST CENTURY.*

These lectures dealing with the political principles of eight very famous Prime Ministers of the nineteenth century are likely to prove attractive to the general reader—who is often a trained historian nowadays—as well as specially to students. The lectures when delivered at King's College were very largely attended. They were by learned historians and represented the considered opinions of men who had a right to speak with authority. Dr. Temperley is the great authority on George Canning. Canning crushed (for

* *The Political Principles of some Notable Prime Ministers of the Nineteenth Century: A Series of Lectures delivered in King's College, University of London.* Edited by F. J. C. Hearnshaw. Macmillan. 12s. 6d. net.

the time) the party machine "with the steam-hammer of his popularity . . . his victory over the forces of Eldonian and Wellingtonian Toryism was permanent." The test that it was permanent is the decade 1830 to 1840 when the Reform Act, the Poor Law Reform Act, the Municipal Corporations Act, and a marvellous stream of legislation for the reform of the disgraceful legal procedure became law. Canning ushered in the modern world; Wellington honestly feared revolution, and Sir Charles Oman declares that "to regard the Tories of the post-war period 1815-1832 as besotted alarmists is to do them wrong." The Duke thought that "a democracy once set going must sooner or later work itself out in anarchy, and that some sort of despotism must then come to restore society." No doubt he was looking at the French model, but he might have known the Englishmen who had formed his armies better. Steady reform of the kind formulated by Bentham, and made possible by Canning, was destined to solve the dilemma.

Sir Richard Lodge, in dealing with Sir Robert Peel, insists upon "the essential connection in the nineteenth century between political eminence and party allegiance," and declares that the insistence "is a necessary introduction to any survey of the career of Sir Robert Peel." Peel was not tied by the party machine. The Catholic Emancipation Bill was carried by him through the Commons in 1829, and that was not a thing that the Tories liked. But he refused to assume office to carry the Reform Bill which he had also consistently opposed. He led the new opposition after 1832 for nearly a decade, and was the strongest debater in the Commons. Sir Richard says that "Brougham had gone to that uneasy career in the House of Lords, in which he wasted his powers and wrecked his reputation." That is not wholly true, for Brougham did magnificent work in the Lords for national education. Peel's first administration even after a dissolution could not secure a majority, and the Whigs came in in time—one of the pleasanter ironies of history—to welcome the young Queen and the new England. But in 1839 Peel appeared for a moment and was waved off by the Ladies of the Bedchamber. At last, in 1841, the Whigs were out, and the patient Peel had a working Conservative majority with Gladstone as one of his Ministers. Peel dominated his Ministers, dominated the House, dominated even at first the young Disraeli, but he had a tough business when he attempted to convert the party to Free Trade in the teeth of the "master of flouts and gibes." The Corn Bill had a majority, but the Ministry on the same night was defeated in the Commons on the second reading of the Irish Coercion Bill, and Peel resigned, to the chagrin of the Duke of Wellington, and indeed of Gladstone. Lord John declared that the revenge of the Protectionists was the result of a natural

resentment against the man who had twice betrayed his supporters. Peel, like Canning, defied the party machine, but was left without a party, though Protection, in Disraeli's dainty phrase, was "not only dead but damned." Was Peel's political inconsistency justified? Lord Rosebery thought it was not justified. Yet surely it was justifiable on the principle that a man if he changes his mind must give effect to the change. But it is said that on Catholic emancipation he had not changed his mind, but that it was an act of high expediency. Well, that may be justifiable too, if the author of the act is not working from personal motives, and believes that the act is in the interest of the country, of something higher than himself.

Mr. Philip Guedalla deals with the earlier career of Lord Palmerston, Mr. W. F. Reddaway with Lord John Russell. Mr. Reddaway does not lay stress on the work that Lord John Russell did for education, and that perhaps is the most lasting part of his work. The view that this statesman had revealed his best by 1852 and revealed no new virtues later is probably true. The Alabama business was a matter for ribaldry and tears. Dr. Hearnshaw paints the picture of Disraeli, the man who changed his attitude but not his ground: "his principles had relation to concerns immeasurably more profound than devices of government or modes of commercial regulation." Could that not be said also of Canning and of Peel? The new biography of Disraeli declares of him: "There is no lack of the deep consistency which has its roots in a highly original mind, and in a strong intellectual grasp of certain cardinal ideas; in a temperament of a marked idiosyncrasy, and in a character of exceptional persistence." Dr. Hearnshaw says that Bolingbroke and Burke were his inspirers and his guides. But was not the deep mysticism of his stock his real guide? His principles were the principles of a great Jew. Dr. Hearnshaw aptly sums them up: "First, the religious basis of society; secondly, the organic nature of the State; thirdly, the solidarity of the community; fourthly, the need for the maintenance of a balance of power and interests in the body social, economic and politic."

Mr. Ramsay Muir paints the picture of Gladstone: "Essentially an empiric, docile to the teachings of experience." We are shown a personality potent and full of paradox; a man with great physical and mental gifts, with "a capacity to utilise every flying minute," with a "devouring energy in the acquisition of knowledge." Someone once said that Newman had a first-class brain that was never stretched and Gladstone a lesser brain that was used to the utmost limits of its capacity. That may not be true, but certainly Gladstone used his intellectual powers to their utmost

limits, and yet he was simple. Jowett said of him, "it is the first time that any one of such simplicity has been in so exalted a station." It was the simplicity of a man of great and noble ideals who dared not fall from those ideals. To do what was right was Gladstone's first and last call, and to do what is right is simple in the great Christian sense. His religious faith was, as Mr. Ramsay Muir says, "the staff of his life." This was the secret "of the loyalty, almost approaching to adoration, which he inspired in thousands of simple folk." Finally, "it was this which gave unity to his amazing pilgrimage of opinion, and which ballasted a noble ship that lacked the anchorage of fixed and clearly defined political theories." And was not this in a sense true of Canning, of Peel, of Disraeli himself? It certainly was true of Lord Salisbury. Mr. Marten in his interesting paper notices that "Lord Salisbury used to say that all the men he met who had moved in great affairs had a sense of the supernatural." That is a lesson for our time to think about. Great nations have destinies, and the men who sway those destinies if they have not faith in supernatural guidance are likely to sway them wrong.

J. E. G. DE M.

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THE BRITISH EMPIRE.*

These rather crude lectures, delivered of course to an American audience, open with a phrase that rather tempts the reader to throw aside the book as childish. Mr. Zimmern asks why the British Empire has survived the Great War.

I might give you an easy answer. I might say that it is because it had as its associate in the War the power of the United States, because it was fighting on the side that was bound to win. But that is only to push the inquiry a stage further back. The true answer to our first question is more fundamental. The British Empire survived the War because it had in it a principle of vitality which the other Empires lacked. And that principle, that seed of continuing life, is the spirit of liberty.

Are there any thinking Americans who know the history of the crucial period of the Great War, when it was doubtful how neutral America was going to act, and when it was generally believed that if she came in at all she was likely to come in on the German side, who think that the British Empire survived because, at a very late date in the war, America came in? Men who fought in the war certainly had no such idea, and it seems a pity to add this misconception to the many misconceptions that the United States of America have and have had about England and the British

* *The Third British Empire: Being a Course of Lectures delivered at Columbia University, New York.* By Alfred Zimmern. Humphrey Milford. 6s. net.

Empire. To be quite frank, it was not the United States of America that won the war. No American soldier or sailor has any misconceptions on that point. That America won such profits as a Great War gives to neutrals is true; that America expedited the date of the conclusion of peace is also true. But France and her Allies would have won in any event.

But after all, Mr. Zimmern's theme is the British Empire as it emerged from the war. He regards it as something wholly other than the British Empire in 1914, and he supports his thesis by an interesting list of the changes that happened in the structure of the Empire that took place during the war or in the post-war period. He points to the fact that all the self-governing Dominions, including the Irish Free State (created by Parliament after the war), have become members of the League of Nations; that India, though it does not possess full self-government, also has become a member of the League of Nations; that the principle of partial self-government in the case of various Crown Colonies has been extended. In one sense no doubt the League of Nations has added a new field to the activities of the self-governing Dominions, and if there had been no war there would not, presumably, have been a League of Nations. Moreover, it is quite true that the passionate patriotism that brought the Dominions into the war has given them a more vivid sense of responsibility to themselves as well as to the Empire. But all this means that movements and principles, already fully operative before the Great War, were stimulated by the war, and that Canada, South Africa, Australia, are more anxious than ever to make themselves, as they were bound in any event to become, not only self-governing, but fully and determinately self-conscious; not only self-conscious but ever more and more conscious of their place in the great aggregation of commonwealths that make up the British Commonwealth. There is nothing new in all this. But the War stimulated in a wholly desirable and a most wonderful degree the sense of unity in the Empire, and the feeling that that unity could be best exhibited by the swiftly growing efficiency of the various and scattered Dominions of the Empire.

The phrase "The Third British Empire" is entirely misleading, as indeed is the phrase "the Second British Empire," dating from the secession of some of the American colonies. Those colonies would have seceded, that seems the most reasonable view, whatever policy the British Government had adopted in the period 1774-1776. But the secession was also a lesson, and no doubt stimulated the idea of ever-growing local freedom. Lord Durham's famous report on Canada, sixty years after the secession of the southern colonies, settled the working form of the policy that was

destined to build up the British Empire into a shape that was capable of endless expansion, and provided even fuller facilities for local freedom than was possessed by the citizens of Great Britain.

Mr. Zimmern considers that naval supremacy passed from the hands of the British Empire even before the Washington Conference. That view is not held by British sailors. If the need ever comes the British Navy will prove its supremacy. Mr. Zimmern considers that British commercial and industrial supremacy has passed into history. That remains to be seen. The British Empire is thinking out that subject with considerable care at the present time. Mr. Zimmern has great hopes of the future of the League of Nations and of co-operation as the proper alternative to all forms of supremacy in any field. If the League of Nations can secure so noble and desirable a result so much the better for the world and the British Empire. But meantime that Empire is set on proving that it is itself a League of Nations which has infinite possibilities. It governs one-quarter of the population of the world and secures for these teeming millions continuous peace and growing prosperity. The League that sits at Geneva should learn a good deal from the Empire Conference now sitting at Westminster.

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AMERICAN UNIVERSITIES.*

Mr. Fiddes' dispassionate but by no means dry account of American universities, as seen by himself, "a fleeting British tourist," is very welcome. To attain some form of university education is a cult with all classes in the United States of America. There are over five hundred degree-giving institutions in the States, varying in quality from famous institutions like Harvard and Yale "to colleges of the most meagre equipment." It is not clear who grants the power to grant degrees. In the Middle Ages in Europe the Pope claimed this creative power, and we see kings encroaching on the Papal claim and establishing co-equal power. It is in Europe to-day a right vested in every sovereign authority, and so presumably in the United States, as in Canada, the States making up the Federation have the exclusive power of granting the right to grant degrees. In Canada it is by a legislative Act of the Provincial Governments that universities are created, and presumably something of the same course is adopted by the individual States of the United States of America. If so, the power to grant

* *American Universities: A Lecture delivered at the University of Manchester on November 16th, 1925.* By Edward Fiddes, Senior Pro-Vice-Chancellor of the University of Manchester. Longmans. 2s. 6d. net.

degrees has not been very carefully watched by the members of the various legislatures. But however that may be, there are not far short of half a million university students in the United States, a fact which at first sight should make English people blush, as we have but 40,000 full-time students attached to the twelve universities and the handful of university colleges—these colleges cannot grant degrees—which try to supply the English demand. But as Mr. Fiddes points out, a good many of the American students are doing work that is hardly of a university standard. Yet when all deductions are made the passion for higher education is a very notable fact in American life, and the great American universities with their highly organised stages of post-graduate research and professional schools augur great things when the determined current effort to place secondary education in America on a sound basis has achieved success.

It is the American secondary schools that are at present the weak point in the struggle for higher education in the United States. The weakness is fully realised by the great American educationists, and splendid efforts are being made to raise the curriculum to a high standardised level and to make it a thorough preparation for the university and technical grades of education. The States lack a co-ordinating force such as the English Board of Education or the Scotch Education Department. It is a weakness in both Canada and the United States that higher education should be exclusively in the hands of provincial legislatures. That will probably be cured in Canada, where national feeling overrides provincial or parochial ideas. But in the United States the illusory sense of local sovereignty makes centralisation of educational ideas almost impossible. An amendment of the Constitution on this point would be very wise, especially from the point of view of secondary and university education, but such an achievement is highly improbable. The work of co-ordination must, therefore, be voluntary, and no doubt the great universities will combine by means of joint examination boards to impose upon the whole country a definitely high standard for degree work. The secondary schools and training colleges would be dominated by such a policy.

Mr. Fiddes emphasises the fact that at the present time "the American student comes up to college less well prepared than his British contemporary . . . the students of the first two years of the College course—the Freshmen and the Sophomores—are engaged in work which in England would already have been done at the Secondary School." The old fortifying curriculum has not as a rule been theirs. But when they come to college and select their respective curricula—the Elective system, once so earnestly

commended by Eliot of Harvard, now has lost its sting—then freedom disappears. The work for all the degrees, even that of doctor, is supervised and checked to a degree that no English graduate or undergraduate would tolerate. The student has to accumulate "credit points" on all his subjects (including physical exercise) in order to secure his Bachelor's degree. Those who grieve over the prominence given to athletes in English public schools must weep over the official attention and supervision given to athletes in the American University. That is perhaps the serious side to the current quarrel between Harvard and certain other colleges on the subject of athletics. But such officialdom has a good side, since it provides plenty of exercise for the average student and the facilities that ample land and ample water give must make some English universities envious. Moreover, Mr. Fiddes makes it clear that despite ceaseless supervision the original sin of youth is as manifest in the American as it is in the English universities. That is all to the good; and it is also to the good that post-graduate societies and associations keep graduates in touch with their old colleges. Indeed, the fact is a frequent source of wealth to the colleges.

An American who makes money is prepared to pour it out on university buildings bearing in perpetuity his name. Here we cry aloud for a little money; we organise meetings that would draw blood from a stone, and just make ends meet. It is different in the United States. "Between 1918 and 1920 private benefactions to a group of Universities amounted to \$138,000,000, let us say, £27,000,000." The capital painfully accumulated by the Universities of Manchester, Liverpool, Leeds, Sheffield, Birmingham and Bristol, something under eight millions sterling, "during three-quarters of a century, is less than one-third of the gifts to certain American Universities in three years." Such gifts have made possible "new departments and new schools, great laboratories and libraries, students' residences, clubhouses and playing-fields, great observatories, scientific and experimental stations, scientific and archaeological expeditions and explorations." But there is one astounding side to all this. The American benefactor as a rule insists on material physical value for his money, with the result that none, or very little of it, can be applied to the stipends of the professors and assistant—professors are shamefully ill-paid. American educationists feel bitterly on this subject. With all the wealth available for education, "in 1921 it was calculated that an assistant-professor received less pay than a railway employee." There is some slight tendency in the direction of university "window dressing"—splendid buildings and starved teachers—in this country, but it is specifically checked by the University Grants Com-

mittee and the County Councils. Moreover, the teaching profession in Great Britain is highly organised in respect to school-teachers and the university teachers are getting guidance in this way. In fact, also, the school of university administrators who looked for guidance to Germany and America is almost extinct. The danger here is that too little money in years to come will be spent on university buildings. But there is still a tendency towards "window-dressing" that is not at all admirable. In America the mania for perpetuating a benefactor's name in very perishable marble has definitely depressed the teaching community, the community on which all progress depends. Real university life does not depend upon bricks and mortar.

But these errors are not the fault of the universities (though they are the fault, very often, of their very advertising Presidents), nor indeed can they be laid to the door of the remarkable demand for higher education in America. That is wholly admirable, and before another half century is completed it is reasonable to suppose that the United States of America will have facilities for education in the best sense at least equal to facilities provided by any other nation.

J. E. G. DE M.

SHORTER REVIEWS.

This book, *Notable Women of the Bible*,* by Miss Annie Russell Marble, is interesting and well done, and will be welcomed by those who crave more than the Bible gives. To many it will somewhat detract from the simple narrative, so brief in most cases, yet sufficient for every reader to grasp the essential facts. In the representation on the stage of any ideal character, the ideality is lost; for we at once lose *our* ideal, it becomes the actor's ideal and no longer appeals at first hand. This is only a criticism in passing. The aim of the author of this work is to present these "notable women of the Bible," good, bad and indifferent, in the habit as they lived, amid the customs and environment of their time, and to avoid judging them by the standard of our day, and country, and race. We quote from the author's introduction, which clearly sets forth her endeavour. "Women of the Bible—not heroines or martyrs—are the subject of these studies. Some of them have been revered as saints; others have been acknowledged as sinners, some of them have been called 'Wise Women'; others have been examples of sinful foolishness; contrast Deborah and Huldah with Zerah, wife of Haman, and Gomer, wife of Hosea. A few of these women bore large share in political and religious crises; the majority of them were home-makers, sometimes in nomadic tents, sometimes in walled cities. Through modern eyes, with historic background, we seek to visualise certain types and individuals of 'the eternal feminine' as recorded in biblical history, legend, song, and story. Seeking to avoid

* Sampson Low. 3s. 6d. net.

the too general mistake of 'reading back' into their lives the standards and customs of later periods, we would recognise their essential qualities of womanhood, with varied environment, in the days of clans and prophets, in the time of one monarchy and the divided kingdoms of Israel and Judah in the lifetime of Jesus and His apostles." The author has searched widely in sacred and profane history for fuller details for each portrait that she draws, and hopes by this means to bring the student of biblical characters into closer touch with the women she portrays. Woman has dominated and always will dominate the Family, and through the Family, the State. Women of the Bible are no exceptions. It is good to view them, as far as possible, according to their generation and environment; as women of to-day will be judged in the ages to come. Their qualities are ever constant. Their weapons in the past were different from those used by men, they were protective methods, which we of the present may look upon as deceptive; to-day they take a different form, but at the root they are the same. Other times, other methods. The author is to be congratulated on the success with which she has dealt with her characters, drawn from both the Old and New Testaments. These narratives will doubtless revive interest in many women of the Bible of whom little is known, except from the Church's lectionary read Sunday by Sunday.

* * *

Mr. Stanley Unwin's *The Truth about Publishing** contains a mass of information and reflection on one of the most important of modern industries. It is primarily a plea against the commercialisation of literature, and no publisher of our time has done more to make his profession the expression of his ideals. Publishers, like other people, must earn their living; and the larger part of this interesting volume is devoted to explaining the difficulties of doing so, the necessity of a thorough knowledge of every aspect of the craft, the need of wide knowledge, and a first-rate memory. But to Mr. Unwin the prize is not wealth but influence. Publishers have a unique opportunity of serving the community by facilitating the representation of all opinions that are sincerely held. "The unpopular views of to-day are the common-places of to-morrow, and in any case the wise man wants to hear both sides of every question. The lot of the general publisher with a varied range of interest seems to be the most enviable one, particularly if his list is dominated by the ideas of to-morrow rather than those of yesterday." The volume is constructive no less than descriptive, and the interesting chapter on Book Distribution in Germany is full of suggestion.

* * *

Professor A. P. Laurie, Professor of Chemistry in the Royal Academy of Arts, in his valuable work entitled *The Painter's Methods and Materials*,† deals with "the handling of pigments in oil, tempera, water colour and in mural painting. The preparation of grounds and canvas, and the prevention of discoloration, together with the theories of light and colour applied to the making of pictures, all described in a practical and non-technical manner," with many illustrations. This book, which is for the special use of the craftsman painter, incorporates many experiments. "To the best of my knowledge the experiments on

* Allen and Unwin. 7s. 6d.

† Seeley Service. 21s. net.

the transparency of pigments in different refractive media and the changes in the refractive index of linseed oil in process of drying are new." The modern mediums used by painters are very old, and casein is the only medium discovered by modern chemistry. The loss of the "studio tradition", of the great age of painting has involved the loss of knowledge of some of the properties of oil as a medium, and the main purpose of this book "is to discuss the properties of the oil medium and how it should be used." It would be a discovery indeed if the secret of the state of preservation to be seen in the pictures of Van Eyck and his school could be found. Professor Laurie goes through the fifteenth century and other recipes. He comes to the conclusion "that we have no lost medium or special trick to look for in order to explain the durability of the early pictures." It is a question of method. "We have seen how the early oil painting is really a combination of tempera with oil, and how old traditions handed down enabled Van Eyck and his followers to adopt methods which we have found to be optically sound." Oil alone, in the course of time, develops defects, and these defects must be corrected in advance. The painter in oil must master the scientific properties of his material and their limitations. But the method must be the result of individual work and experiment. "The method which has proved most successful in avoiding lowering of tone throughout the centuries, has been the method in which the oil paint is translucent and is painted over a layer of white or bright light colour, whether in gesso, tempera, or oil, a method which differs widely from the method of using oil paint which is most universal to-day, in which solid opaque paint is aimed at. The artist, painting in this modern method, would be well advised, in my opinion, to limit his palette to the more opaque pigments as shown in the table given in Chapter IX. By doing this and avoiding excess of oil he should be able to avoid serious lowering of tone." This is good advice.

* * *

Professor J. Arthur Thomson, of Aberdeen, gives in his very suggestive volume, entitled *Concerning Evolution*,* the first lectures delivered at Yale University on the Dwight H. Terry foundation. There are three lectures: "The Making of Worlds"; "Organic Evolution"; and "The Evolution of Man." Professor Thomson, in his first lecture, dwells upon the apparent purposefulness of Nature, and he writes in his summary "there is nothing inconsistent, so far as we can see, between empirical formulation in terms of Lowest Common Denominators, like electrons and feelings, and transcendental interpretation in terms of the Greatest Common Measure, which is God." There is, it may be said, a Force which lies outside the apparent universe which at any rate if assumed to exist makes that universe intelligible, while the universe is apparently not intelligible without it. When we turn to evolution in organic things we find on the whole "a progressive integration" . . . There is a strong suggestion of purposiveness. The evolutionist picture is in harmony with the religious vision. It is true that "science and religion work with incommensurable categories," but "the outcome of natural evolution may be religiously interpreted as 'the child of God.'" The God of Evolution is an old conception if the word Jehovah means not only "I am that I am," but "I will be what I will be."

* Humphrey Milford. 11s. 6d. net.

There has been some doubt whether Mr. Rudyard Kipling's new book, *Debts and Credits*,* is of the same calibre, if that is the term, as his classical works. In one sense no doubt it is not. The dialogue is too elaborate, while too much is left to the imagination or the memory of the reader who has forgotten, or tried to forget the *argot* of the trenches and the war. The figures are rather like people moving in a dream, in a bad dream that one wants to forget. Possibly Mr. Kipling intends to secure this effect. Moreover, mannerisms that are not the essence of Mr. Kipling's work, but nevertheless occur in all but his best work, have hardened, and are made to seem essential. There is more obscurity and less fine frenzy. But after all these are criticisms that are not in themselves essential, and the essential things are in the narrative together with the extraordinary power of making technical things tell their own story. The story of the Freemasons' Instruction Lodge held during the war in London has in it the very spirit of Masonry and of the wonderful power for good that it contains. The thought that it could be put to other uses "at this juncture" was repelled with scornful regret. The second story arising out of the Lodge of Instruction, "The Janeites," gives us Mr. Kipling at his best. Chaucer could not have bettered it as a story, nor indeed Mr. Kipling in any earlier period of his work. The cunning of the master's hand is not gone, but the reader rather craves for a simplicity of narrative that certainly is in Mr. Kipling's power if he cares to use it. A new generation that knew not the war is arising, and to that generation something is also due, the generation that has to bear the burden of the war.

* * *

The Roman season is getting near, and Mr. Albert G. Mackinnon's excellent volume, *Things Seen in Rome*,† will be useful to visitors and winter residents. The volume is "a description of the modern life of this wonderful city and of the relics of its glorious past, its street life, churches, its people, their amusements and manner of living." It is well illustrated with thirty-two photographs giving attractive pictures of (for instance) the Arch of Titus, the Bridge of S. Angelo, with the dome of St. Peter's peering through an arch, Hadrian's Villa, the *Via Sacra*, the House of the Vestal Virgins in the Forum, the *Terme di Caracalla*, a corner in the vaults of the Church of the Cappuccini—a peep of the wonderful underworld of Rome. A singularly vivid photograph of the town of Subiaco stands out in contrast. The Tempio di Esculapio in the Borghese Gardens is also excellent. Mr. Mackinnon has a vivid pen. His chapters teem with life, ancient and modern. The life and colour of the streets shows Rome as it is. Then we are taken to the Hills and Walls and see The Shadow of the Past: "What a moment was that when Marcus Pomponius ascended those steps [to the Rostra], and holding up his hands hushed the distracted throngs! He told them in calm, clear, unflinching tones that Hannibal, their deadliest foe, had crossed the Alps, was already in Italy, and, most terrible of all, had met and conquered their consul Flaminius at the Trasimene lake and annihilated his whole army." It was the most dangerous moment in the history of Rome. The enemy was within two days' march. But the Romans of old were most to be feared, as Polybius wrote and Mr. Mackinnon recalls, when their peril was

* Macmillan. 7s. 6d. net.

† Seeley Service and Co. 3s. 6d. net.

greatest. This book will carry the tourist to the pages of Mommsen. It will carry the reader to many books as he studies in these pages churches, palaces, art and the life of the people of a city that has had some two thousand five hundred years of continuous life. Rome has only been abandoned once, and then for a few days only in the middle ages. The glory and the splendour have never departed, and it still holds many historical secrets to discover.

* * *

Professor T. F. Tout has written a memoir as an introduction to Mr. H. T. Bartholomew's invaluable compilation, *A Bibliography of Sir Adolphus William Ward, 1837-1924*.^{*} The amazing literary labours of the late Master of Peterhouse, beginning in 1860 with a life of Goethe and ending with a review on a work by Moritz Ritter in the *English Historical Review* for July, 1924, become to some extent explicable in the light of the biography. Born in 1837, he was educated first in Germany, then at Bury St. Edmunds Grammar School (under Donaldson) and lastly at Peterhouse. He was called to the Bar after a distinguished university career, but elected to pursue an academic life. He pursued it with marvellous vigour at Manchester and at Cambridge. A great teacher, as great in literature as in history, he was also a great administrator, as Manchester well knows; and a great editor as Cambridge well knows. But the endless activity of his pen is perhaps not always realised. Lectures, articles, contributions to the newspapers and periodicals poured from his pen, and many of those occasional papers are collected in the five volumes of *Collected Papers* published as a freewill recognition of his services by the Cambridge University Press in 1921. Professor Tout says that the number of those volumes could have been largely increased "from his published articles without damage to their quality." Here the references to all his signed printed work are given, and the student will be amazed at the vastness of his contribution to human thought. He was a tireless letter writer. He always had time for everything, for everybody. His social gifts were great, almost as great as his personality. His was a long life, but it was always a full life and a noble one. "Do not be afraid of being sentimental," is one of his sayings quoted by Professor Tout, who adds "this touch of emotion was not the least of his attractiveness to those who got near enough to him to realise its strength." He was always giving strength to others. This bibliography shows that he will give it to future generations of scholars.

NOTICES OF BOOKS.

Miss Monica Gardner's handsome volume, "Henryk Sienkiewicz, the Patriot Novelist of Poland,"[†] is the latest and most important of contribution to our knowledge of Polish history and literature. The author of "Quo Vadis," probably the most widely-read novel of modern times, was a great patriot no less than an eminent writer, and no Pole since Mickiewicz did so much to keep alive the soul of the people. Though known outside his country mainly as the painter of an immortal picture of the Rome of Nero, it is above all as the author of the famous histori-

* Cambridge: At the University Press. 7s. 6d. net.

† Dent. 10s. 6d.

cal Trilogy that he reigns secure in the hearts of his countrymen. Miss Gardner summarises the contents of these long and powerful works, and of the other writings, historical or otherwise, of this gifted and impressive personality. Her own translations from the Polish convey a vivid impression of the sweep and colour of the original.

* * *

"Local Lore: An Introduction to History,"^{*} by Mr. F. E. Melton, of Tonman Mosley School, Slough, is an excellent little volume, the first of what are called "History Practice Supplements," edited by Mr. Richard Wilson. It is "a book of applied history," taking up one locality as the starting point and building up from that centre the history of the whole land. In this case Mr. Melton starts from Bletchley, a good centre, and he therefore begins with Buckinghamshire folk lore, folk drama, mumming plays, the echoes of echoes of literary realities in prehistoric times. Thus the pupil, well interested in things that formed part of the home life of his own people for generations, begins to look at the early works of men such as hillside tracks and camps and ponds, prehistoric monuments such as menhirs, and hillside markings such as the White Horse at Uffington and the "Long Man" of Wilmington. So we come direct to history, to Roman sites, to land systems, church records, towns, and social life. This method can be applied everywhere, and therefore this book can be specially commended to schools and parents.

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It was a good idea but a difficult task to add to the series of "The World's Classics" a volume entitled "Crime and Detection"[†] (with an introduction by Mr. E. M. Wrong), comprising short representative detective stories. It, of course, contains Poe's "The Murders in the Rue Morgue," and "The Purloined Letter," because these are the undoubted source of all modern detective stories based on the analytic genius of an amateur detective. The prophet Daniel in Mr. Wrong's opinion is the remote ancestor of *Sherlock Holmes* and *Dr. Thorndyke*; but that is a rather far-fetched ancestry in both senses of the word. Sir Arthur Conan Doyle owes his master amateur detective to Poe's *Auguste Dupin*, while Dupin's friend who tells the story is obviously *Dr. Watson*, and the Parisian Prefect is the rather stupid professional detective who welcomes (does he in real life?) amateur help. "The Adventure of the Red-Headed League" is a fair example of Sir Arthur Conan Doyle's work. There are two excellent and horrible stories by Mr. R. Austin Freeman. Mr. H. C. Bailey's "The Business Minister" and Mr. Chesterton's "The Invisible Man" are of the highest order of detective stories. The best detective tale ever written, Mr. Bentley's "Trent's Last Case," is too long to be included. Wilkie Collins, Dickens, Gaboriau (of course) and Stevenson stamped the vogue in long stories, but it was not until 1887 that *Sherlock Holmes* appeared. The detective story tends to become too elaborate and scientific to-day, but Mr. Chesterton and Mr. Bailey have probably given the theme new life. Such stories depend in the end on their high literary art.

* Thomas Nelson. 2s. 6d.

† Oxford University Press.

Mr. F. Brittain in his edition of "The Lyf of Saynt Radegunde"* edited from the copy in Jesus College library, deals with a very rare printed book. The Jesus copy has never appeared in any lists of early printed books, and the only known other copy which was sold at Sotheby's in 1922 for America was therefore supposed to be unique. The book is an example of the printing of the very well-known printer, Richard Pynson, who was King's Printer from 1508 to 1529. This undated "Lyf of Saynt Radegunde" was by the King's Printer, and therefore was published between 1508 and (in fact) 1527. The poem is very probably by Henry Bradshaw, who wrote "The Lyfe of Saynt Werburge," a poem with a very similar structure and many detailed parallels. Saint Radegunde is an historical character of the sixth century who married and left the youngest son of Clovis. She later founded at Poitiers a double community of monks and nuns. She was buried in the monastic church, and her tomb still attracts many pilgrims. The cult came to England before the Conquest and spread somewhat widely, and was not an unreasonable subject for a poem by an English Benedictine such as Bradshaw, who must have known of the suppression of the Benedictine community of Saint Radegunde at Cambridge. The poem illustrates fifteenth century English.

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The text of "As You Like It" has now appeared in "The New Shakespeare,"† and students of Shakespearean texts will be glad to have it. The First Folio is our sole authority for the text, and there seems no reason to suppose that it had been printed before 1623. It was ready for the printers by 1600. It is named in a staying order of that date in the Stationers' Register, probably as a precaution against piracy. Certain revision clues are used for the purposes of the text, and the present text opens for discussion important textual problems. The portrait of Michael Drayton in the National Portrait Gallery is reproduced as a frontispiece. His description of the Forest of Arden in "Polyolbion" is the justification for this.

* * *

The author of "Elizabeth and her German Garden," in her new book, "Introduction to Sally,"‡ is disappointing. It is undoubtedly clever and well written, but the reader expects something more from her than the adventures of an impossibly beautiful young woman; a girl so wonderful that sane men overlook her strong cockney accent and become her abject slaves. "Sally in our Alley" is a sentimental theme that has deserved and received attention, but Sally out of her Alley is rather tiresome.

* * *

The English Bible can be bought by almost the poorest person to-day, and there are few people who have neither read nor heard it read. "The Apocrypha,"§ however, is in a different case; numbers of people have never read it nor heard it read, and know nothing of it, although it is in fact a link between the Old and New Testaments. The Oxford University Press has done a really valuable work in presenting it to the public in an inexpensive form in the World's Classic Series.

* Cambridge: At the University Press. 3s. 6d. net.

† Cambridge: At the University Press. 6s. net.

‡ Macmillan. 7s. 6d. net.

§ Oxford University Press. World's Classics. 2s. cloth, net; 2s. 6d. leather, net.

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